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***LINGUA MATERNA, LINGUA RECEPTIVA, LINGUA FRANCA, MULTILINGUA FRANCA?* THE LINGUASCAPE OF THE POLISH-CZECH BORDERLAND FROM THE PERSPECTIVE OF SUSTAINABLE MULTILINGUALISM¹**

Summary. As statistical surveys show, both Poland and the neighbouring Czech Republic are single-ethnic and highly monolingual countries. The observation of the linguistic landscape of the Polish-Czech borderland suggests, however, that the display of common natural heritage is conducive to weakening monolingualism and the development of multilingual practices instead. The hypothesis is being checked in a comparative analysis of the linguistic landscape of two picturesque locations - Czech Adršpach and Polish Karlów where a lot of natural sights in the form of rocks can be found. The case study proves that different languages and communication modes are used to describe these attractions: *lingua materna*, *lingua receptiva*, and global or regional *lingua franca*. The research material includes 211 signs photographed in the Rock City in Adršpach and 283 signs photographed at local tourist attractions near Karlów, namely, on the Szczeliniec Wielki mountain peak and in the Błędne Skały area. The analysis covers both the language hierarchy as well as the specific multilingual character of information signs which refer mainly to the rock objects. The selected photographs are presented in the paper in the attempt to illustrate the particular linguistic practices in examples. The research is based on the assumption of applied ecolinguistics that the diversity of languages should be maintained through appropriate language policy and other activities supporting the preservation of the linguistic and natural heritage. This perspective might shed a new light on the moment of transition from the monolingual paradigm to more open and sustainable multilingual practices in the linguistic landscape of Polish-Czech borderland.

Keywords: *lingua materna*; *lingua receptiva*; *lingua franca*; *multilingua franca*; ecolinguistics; sustainable multilingualism.

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Introduction

Ecolinguistic Approach to Linguistic Landscape Analysis

Peter Mühlhäusler, one of the most leading figures in contemporary ecolinguistics, pointed out that modern linguistics functioning in the dominant structural paradigm was based on a non-ecological assumption that language as an object of its interest should be studied in isolation from all other phenomena. Meanwhile, ecolinguistics as postmodern science draws its meta-language from other fields of science, especially from biology and ecology, pointing to the key role of the interdependence and connections between language and its natural environment. Mühlhäusler admitted, however, that it was not his attempt to justify ecolinguistics as a life science, but rather to capture the dynamic and basically nonmetaphorical relationship between the biodiversity of the ecosystems and language maintaining. He stressed that "there is growing evidence that the loss of language and culture is related to the loss of biological diversity" (Mühlhäusler, 2003, p. 7). Sune Vork Steffensen and Alwin Fill in their review article dedicated to the emergence and development of ecological linguistics from the early 1970s argue that linking the problem of co-existing of languages with a critique of the linguistic practices that lead to the degradation of the natural environment is his key contribution to ecolinguistics (Steffensen & Fill, 2014, p. 10).

The problem mentioned above has received considerable attention in the latest *Routledge Handbook of Ecolinguistics* (2018). The Introduction to the volume starts with two important questions relating to language diversity and sustainability that have been investigated in ecolinguistics within the last decades: "Can language diversity be sustained on this earth? Can the resource language be used sustainably? Ecolinguistics addresses language loss and language maintenance in the age of globalization and the question of how language construes our view of nature and environment" (Fill & Penz, 2018, p. VII). Traditionally, particular attention is paid to the topics like language diversity, language endangerment, language survival, language death, and language revitalization as well as language

imperialism or ecology of language in mono-, bi- and multilingual settings. However, the ecolinguistic insights for the study of the interaction between place names, humans and nature are undertaken in the volume in the article "Ecolinguistics and place-names: interaction between humans and nature" by Joshua Nash (2018). This perspective will be extended in the present paper within the rapidly growing framework of linguistic landscape studies whose theoretical, methodological, and critical perspectives have been widely discussed in the articles collected by Elana Shohamy and Durk Gorter (2009). In a static view, linguascape consists of the language of public road signs, street and square names, public-access buildings, company and shop signs, hoardings, etc. Studies have proved it to be a powerful tool in examining the ethnolinguistic vitality of a given community by counting the languages on the plaques and showing their hierarchy, comparing it with the officially declared language policy or showing differences in the official and non-official use of languages (Moriarty, 2014). We adapted the static view in the performed analysis.

It is important to keep in mind that one of the basic tasks of applied ecolinguistics is to maintain the diversity of languages through an appropriate language policy, including planning, management, education and other activities supporting the preservation of the linguistic and natural heritage (Fill, 2007, p. 1). Therefore, in human rights perspective developed by Tove Skutnabb-Kangas and Robert Phillipson (2008), the practical dimension of ecolinguistics is to provide languages with the conditions for sustainable development in which mutual interactions among people with different ethnolinguistic background do not allow one language to spread at the expense of other languages. It might be also worth noting that the global *versus* local opposition is usually recognized in terms of values in this context. As Alastair Pennycook (2010) reveals, it is assumed that global influences always have unifying effects. Strengthening the center's expansiveness towards the periphery, they also involve the breakdown of local cultures and the disappearance of minority languages as well as the exploitation of natural resources. Locality, on the other hand, is considered as the area of resistance and opposition with its unique traditions and original culture, which should be supported and protected. In our

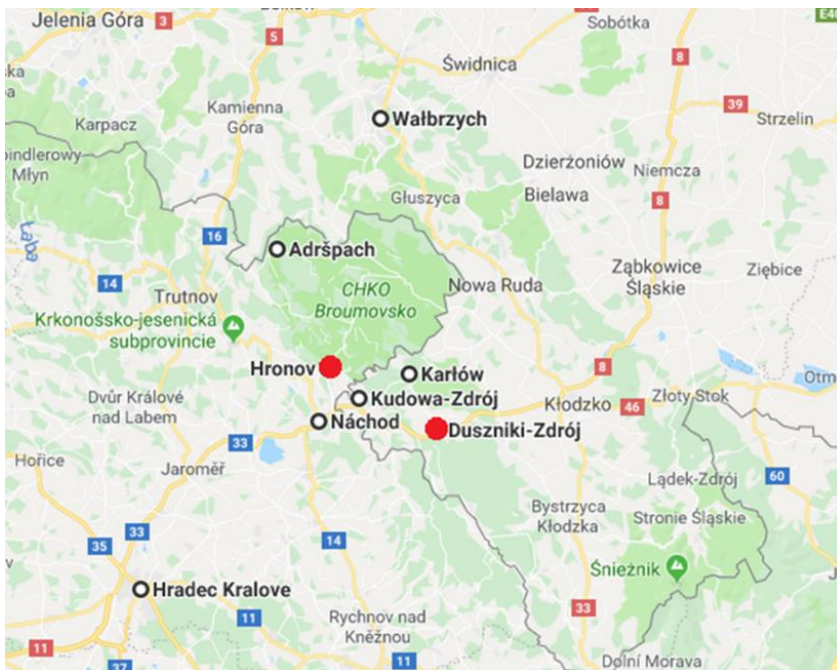
analysis, we try to avoid such binary oppositions in favor of a more nuanced view in which tensions between local and global language practices are captured not so much on the basis of competition or even alternative choices, but rather on the basis of translation and adaptation regarded by Arjun Appadurai (1996) as specific forms of glocalisation.

The Aims of the Analysis

The linguistic landscape of the Polish-Czech borderland seems to be very interesting in respect of the development of sustainable language practices as well as manifestations of the glocalisation effect. The study that we conducted in the summer of 2018 covered its small but typical section – geographically attractive and tourism-oriented region of Kralovohradeck on the Czech side and the corresponding border area of the Lower Silesian Voivodship on the Polish side (see Figure 1).

Figure 1

The research area of the Polish-Czech borderland



The overall aim of the study is to accomplish a comparative analysis of the linguistic landscape of two picturesque locations – Czech ADRŠPACH and Polish KARŁÓW, where a lot of natural sights in the form of rocks can be found. Their uniqueness is evidenced by the fact that they have become one of the filming locations of "The Chronicles of Narnia". The first two parts of the film adaptation of the C. S. Lewis' fantasy novels – "The Lion, the Witch, and the Old Wardrobe" and "Prince Caspian" directed by Andrew Adamson – were filmed around those two places, showing their beautiful landscapes and nature in a very attractive way. In effect, unusual rock shapes have become more popular, and tourist traffic has increased.

The analysis aims at distinguishing similarities and differences in the linguistic landscape on the Czech and Polish side of the border. It is also scrutinized if any of the languages is evenly and repeatedly represented in the researched area. The analysis examines the extent to which language hierarchy promotes sustainable multilingualism. The problem of the dominating language hierarchy is investigated in this view. The question posed in the ecolinguistic perspective is the link between the multilingual character of signboards and the natural heritage that they refer to or the implications of the natural environment of language in general.

The Results of the Analysis

The Linguascapes of Karłów and ADRŠPACH Compared

The results of the study are discussed in the next three subsections. The first subsection focuses on the typology of signs. The collected material was divided with regard to the following criteria: the degree of officiality of the sign, the diversity of its language content, and the type of the information it contains. Since the analysis is quantitative, the trends observed are confirmed by the numbers. In the second subsection, we focus on multilingual signs, tracing the language configurations and hierarchies that are represented most frequently. Moreover, to discuss the problem in a wider perspective of multilingualism studies, we introduce here coherent terminology and define precisely the meaning of the terms included in the

title of the paper: *lingua materna*, *lingua franca*, *lingua receptiva*, and *multilingua franca*. The proposed conceptual frames enable us to conclude about more general rules and patterns in the selection of languages on signs appearing in the linguistic landscape of the Polish-Czech borderland. In the third subsection, special attention is paid to the adverse phenomenon that was observed in the category of private signs. We suggest that the chaotic form and content manifested in them may be considered in terms of the pathology of the linguistic landscape in the studied area.

The Typology of Signs in the Linguascape of Karłów and Adršpach

The analysis covers both the language hierarchy that has evolved in the studied area as well as the specificity of signs and their linguistic character, namely, whether they are monolingual or multilingual, homophonic or polyphonic signs. The signs of different categories which contain messages expressed in one language are considered as monolingual. Homophonic signs are those that present the same content in a minimum of two languages in an equivalent way. Similarly, polyphonic signs also contain at least two languages, but the wording or meaning expressed in them is not the same (Landry & Bourhis, 1997; Backhaus, 2007).

Public signs were divided into four categories: name signs and information signs, notice boards (announcements) as well as signposts and road signs (see Figure 2). Private signs were divided in a similar way. However, it has to be admitted that, in practice, the distinction between public and private signs sometimes was not easy to recognize and arbitrary decisions were necessary. Despite this fact, we insist on letting this classification remain for the purpose of comparing the official, more or less planned language policy with the unofficial, more spontaneous and bottom-up linguistic hierarchy.

Figure 2

The categories of signs

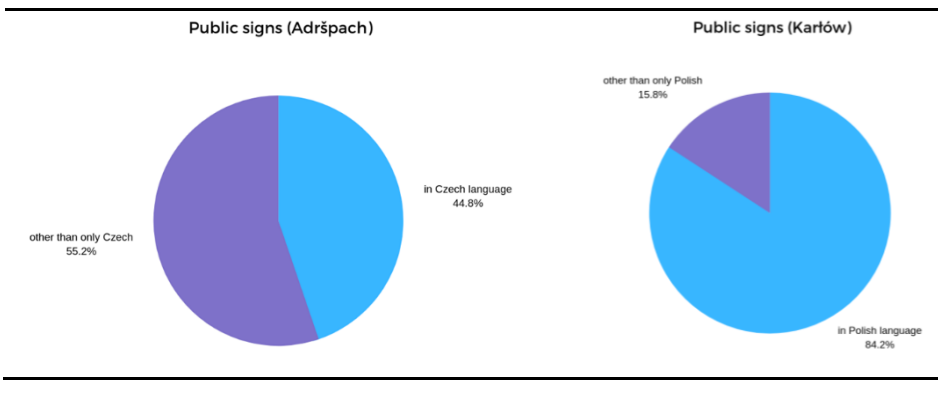


The research material includes 211 signs photographed in the Rock City in the Czech Adršpach, including 102 signs in the Czech language and 100 signs with foreign language elements. The research material in the Polish town Karlów consists of 283 signs photographed at local tourist attractions, namely, the Szczeliniec Wielki mountain peak and the Błędne Skały area. 250 of them are in the Polish language and 33 include other languages.

When it comes to public signs, in Adršpach, 60 of them are presented in Czech; 74 signs contain inscriptions in a different language. In the area of Karlów, 152 public signs were examined, including 128 signs in Polish and 24 signs containing a foreign-language message (see Figure 3).

Figure 3

Public signs in Adršpach and Karlów



The category of names does not provide us with information on the linguistic diversity of public signs or the reasons for the disproportion between the Polish and Czech linguistic landscape. Being expressed in the mother tongue, they introduce one language only. It does not mean, however, that this element of the linguistic landscape is completely monolingual. One of the name signs in the Mountains National Park (see Figure 4) has foreign language stickers: one is a mixed Czech-English sign (*Český ráj: Outdoor sports*), two are written in English (*Punks not dead, Locals Skateboards Manufacture*) and one is presented in Czech (*Spatobické Šlapky*). It is a unique example of a situation when a spontaneous interference of tourists or foreign language users breaks the entire power of the Polish language in the surrounding linguistic landscape.

Figure 4

The name sign in Karlów near Szczeliniec Wielki mountain peak



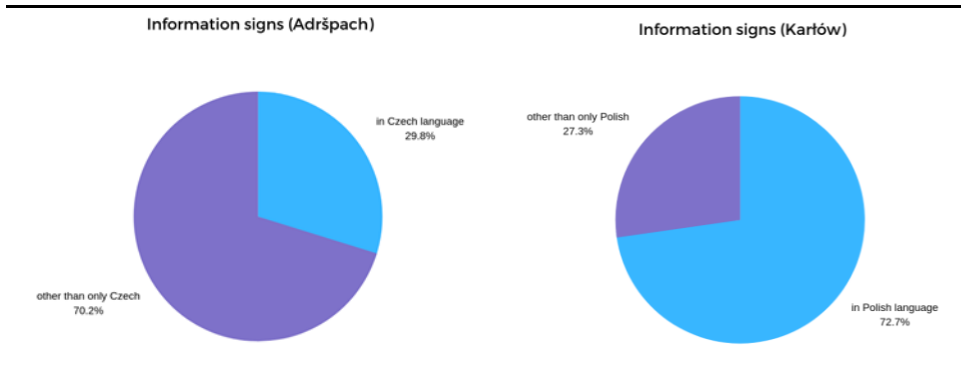
The category of signposts also does not answer the question about the essence of multilingualism in the studied border area. In the Czech Adršpach, there are 22 signs in Czech and 6 homophonic ones: 3 Czech-Polish-English-German and 3 Czech-Polish-German-English. Most of them provide information on the direction of visiting the Rock City objects or include warnings for having a safe trip. There are as many as 48 signposts in the Polish Karlów, and all of them include information in Polish.

The category of information boards is the most diverse in terms of languages used. In Adršpach, there are 28 information boards in the Czech

language and 66 containing inscriptions in other languages. There are also 64 information boards in Polish and 24 multilingual boards in Karłów (see Figure 5).

Figure 5

Information signs in Aadršpach and Karłów



As the quantitative analysis reveals, the category of information boards is the only element of the linguistic landscape in which multilingualism largely dominates the native language in Czech Aadršpach and significantly increases in Polish Karłów.

Language Configuration on the Multilingual Information Signs: Global and Regional *Lingua Franca*, *Lingua Receptiva*, and *Lingua Materna*

To discuss a diverse and unstable language configuration on multilingual signboards in the linguascape of the Polish-Czech borderland, we need to appeal to more abstract levels and introduce coherent terminology that provides us with concepts adequate in multilingual settings.

As it is widely known, *lingua franca*, in its narrow sense, is the name of a simplified inter-dialect, which developed among merchants in the ports of the Mediterranean Sea in the Middle Ages. However, the recent evolution of the concept, today relating to English, goes far beyond the reductive notion of a restricted language, used simply for the transactional exchange of

information. In the studies of English as a *lingua franca*, it is defined as "any use of English among speakers of different first languages for whom English is the communicative medium of choice, and often the only option" (Seildhofer, 2011, p. 7) and framed widely as a multilingual mode of communication, functioning in the transient, diversified and complex social, cultural and linguistic configurations (Jenkins, 2009; Mauranen, 2005). The regional *lingua franca* is, in turn, understood as language resources that are most useful at a specific place and time, used in more localized contexts such as regional contacts across the state borders (Backus et al., 2013, p. 195).

However, in the Middle Ages, an alternative model of receptive communication between people speaking different languages was developed. Although it did not receive as much attention as *lingua franca*, recently the concept of *lingua receptiva* has been extended in order to consider the phenomenon in contemporary surroundings. The cradle of *lingua receptiva* in Europe was the Baltic Sea region, where, since the mid-12th century, the vibrant Hanseatic League prospered. Therefore, merchants who were members of the League used the related languages (on the one hand, the Scandinavian ones – Danish, Swedish, Norwegian; on the other hand – Lower and Upper Saxon); thus, receptive multilingualism proved to be effective in direct contacts. However, as Kurt Braunmüller (2013, p. 217) points out, the key condition of effectiveness was not—as it may seem—the typological proximity of languages or dialects used, but rather the lack of their standardization and generally known rules in respect of the written form, which resulted in increased flexibility in verbal communication, supported by para- or non-verbal elements.

What gradually restricted its application was the 'enlightened' ideals of the language and linking the nation with the language community in the concept of the mother tongue (*Muttersprache*) or—in accordance with previously introduced terms—*lingua materna*. As a monolingual model of communication, it stresses a static mode of belonging to the national collective (Yildiz, 2013, p. 9).

Language configuration on the multilingual signboards in the linguascape of the Polish-Czech borderland seems to contain them all.

Since the phenomenon is very unstable on both sides of the border, only the dominating tendencies in the language configuration and hierarchy of inscriptions may be distinguished, as presented in the table below (see Table 1):

Table 1

Language configurations on the multilingual signs

No.	Language configuration	No.	Language configuration
1.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua franca</i> (English) regional <i>lingua franca</i> (German) <i>lingua receptiva</i> (neighbors' language)	6.	<i>lingua franca</i> <i>lingua materna</i> regional <i>lingua franca</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i>
2.	<i>lingua materna</i> regional <i>lingua franca</i> <i>lingua franca</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i>	7.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i> regional <i>lingua franca</i>
3.	<i>lingua materna</i> regional <i>lingua franca</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i> <i>lingua franca</i>	8.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i> <i>lingua franca</i>
4.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i> <i>lingua franca</i> regional <i>lingua franca</i>	9.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i>
5.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua receptiva</i> regional <i>lingua franca</i> <i>lingua franca</i>	10.	<i>lingua materna</i> <i>lingua franca</i>

Although it may seem chaotic at first, there is a fixed pattern in this diversity. Firstly, the most important position is occupied by *lingua materna*; secondly, the language of the neighbor understood receptively is the language that most often appears in second place in the hierarchy (only on one sign it was completely omitted). It may indicate a fairly good position of the neighbor's language among others, including those with a range of international languages. Thirdly, only on boards with the names of rock objects, both on the Polish and Czech side of the border, information is always provided in

four languages. This suggests that signboards with the most complex linguistic configuration refer to natural heritage.

These boards differ both visually as well as in the hierarchy of languages. In Adršpach, the following order dominates: (1) *lingua materna* (Czech), (2) *lingua franca* (English), (3) regional *lingua franca* (German), and (4) *lingua receptiva* (Polish); however, one can observe slight modifications.

Figure 6

The information sign in the Rock City in Adršpach



In the above picture (see Figure 6), a sign with two plates is photographed. One contains information about the rock presented in the dominant configuration. Next to it, there is a sign informing about the observation point. Created on the basis of the same visual scheme, it contains a different hierarchy of languages: Czech, Polish, German and English. If we took a closer look, we may assume that the sign in question is newer in comparison to the first one. Thus it appears that the change in the position of the neighbor's language from the last one to the second one in the hierarchy is happening at the moment. We managed to find 3 such plates. However, it is difficult to judge whether *lingua receptiva* success is going to be a long-lasting trend.

In Polish Karlów, the hierarchy on the signs describing rock objects is more fixed and consists of four languages in the following order: (1) *lingua materna* (Polish), (2) *lingua receptiva* (Czech), (3) *lingua franca* (English), and (4) regional *lingua franca* (German).

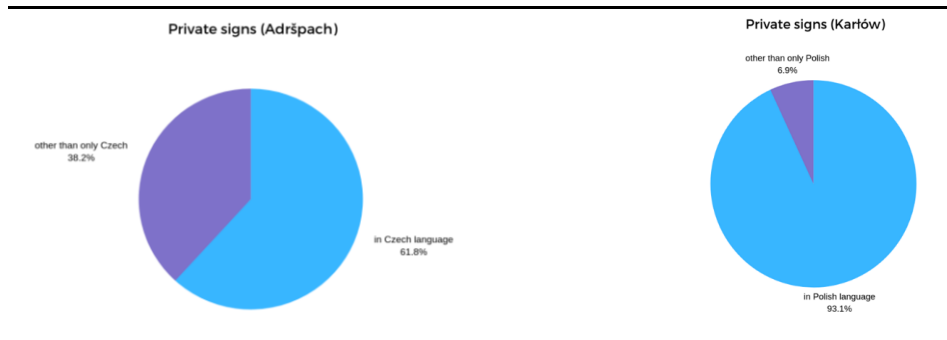
Our case study generally shows a gradual decline in the monolingual paradigm in the landscape of cities and towns of the Polish-Czech borderland. In order to capture breakthroughs in its dominance, Yasemin Yildiz (2012) introduces the concept of 'postmonolingual condition' understood as a sphere of tension between the persistent paradigm of monolingualism and the pressure of multilingual practices. The analysis of the linguascape of the Polish-Czech borderland proves that—in contrast to the so-called transit areas in which global English dominates, or large "post-modern" cities in which more open and creative multilingual practices framed as *multilingua franca* (Pennycook, Otsui 2015) are observed—in more peripheral areas where different languages and cultures cross, postmonolingual practices have been developed. They maintain the leading position of *lingua materna*, but they also adopt other language options: *lingua franca*—both in the local and global dimension—or *lingua receptiva*, that is, the receptive communication based on related native languages (in this respect the Polish and Czech languages). It seems, however, that these practices should not be treated as a transitional phase on the way to rich multilingualism, but rather as a specific globalisation effect. It has to be admitted that further research is required to support our thesis.

Private Signs: The Pathology of the Linguistic Landscape in Borderland Areas

A somewhat surprising result of the comparative analysis of the linguascape in Karlów and Adršpach is that the largest disproportion may be noticed in the private sector. Out of the 131 private signs photographed near Karlów, only 9 contain a foreign-language message. In the case of Adršpach, a larger variety is observed: 42 signs are presented in Czech, 26 are multilingual (homophonic and polyphonic, see Figure 7).

Figure 7

Private signs in Aadršpach and Karłow



These disproportions suggest that different communication strategies are practised by private individuals on the Polish and Czech side of the border. A linguistic landscape analysis of Aadršpach presents a Czech entrepreneur who is not limited to *lingua materna*, but he also tries to provide information about his offer in a more multilingual way. There are signs in English as a *lingua franca*, but also in Polish or German. In fact, one can see a certain chaos in this diversity, as shown in the picture below (see Figure 8).

Figure 8

Private signs at the entrance to the Rock City in Aadršpach



A special term 'szyldoza' that refers to the observed phenomenon has been lately coined in the Polish language. A new lexical entry was recorded in 2015 by the Language Observatory of the Warsaw University with an exemplification from a print media report on the Polish-German border area (Obserwatorium Językowe Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego, 2015). The derivative is a hybrid word-formation with the suffix -osis (Greek: osis), which, in medical terminology, means an abnormal condition, disorder and is used to construct the names of disease entities, e.g. neurosis, psychosis, sclerosis, etc. Therefore, formally, 'szyldoza' can be understood as the pathology of the linguistic landscape. It may be translated as 'signboardosis' and defined as excessive, badly planned, and distasteful filling in urban space with all kinds of advertising signs, billboards, etc.

Conclusions

The analysis of the signs in Adršpach and Karłów allows to distinguish several significant similarities and differences in the language landscape on the Czech and Polish side of the border. Not only it gives the opportunity to determine whether each of the languages exhibited in its linguistic landscape is evenly and repeatedly represented, but also to indirectly trace what communication goals and strategies are adopted by both private individuals and official institutions in shaping the language hierarchy.

Looking at Adršpach and Karłów from the perspective of applied ecolinguistics, it can be stated that the optimal set of languages that should be represented on the Polish-Czech borderland is the configuration that occurs in the description of natural heritage of the studied area: (1) *lingua materna*, (2) *lingua receptiva*, (3) *lingua franca*, and (4) regional *lingua franca*. First of all, this hierarchy reflects the high position of the mother tongue in societies with a high degree of monolingualism. The last census in Poland shows that Polish is a "home language" for 98% of Poles (Główny Urząd Statystyczny, 2015, p. 78); similarly in the Czech Republic, 96% of Czechs speak Czech as their first language (Český statistický úřad, 2014, tab. 153). Secondly, it indicates the specificity of the area, where the neighbor's language is exposed communicatively not only in tourist

information but also in other domains of the social life. *Lingua receptiva* as a communication mode using the similarity of related Slavic languages clearly dominates *lingua franca* as a communication mode in the region under observation. The presence of global *lingua franca*, in turn, may be perceived as a manifestation of socio-economic modernization changes and civilization development towards the Western centre. Regional *lingua franca*, or German, is, on the one hand, a testimony to the history of the studied area, visible especially in old German-language inscriptions carved in rocks, and, on the other hand, the effect of tourism of Germans who willingly visit border areas.

Overall, it seems that the revealed configuration regulates the language situation on the Polish-Czech borderland well, also supporting the sustainable development of the region. It takes into account its natural heritage, promotes cultural diversity, supports modernization ambitions, and above all, overcomes the paradigm of monolingualism, which is the opposite of the more open, diverse and (from the ecolinguistic point of view) desirable language practices.

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LINGUA MATERNA, LINGUA RECEPTIVA, LINGUA FRANCA, MULTILINGUA FRANCA? LENKIJOS IR ČEKIJOS PASIENIO KALBINIS KRAŠTOVAIZDIS DARNIOSIOS DAUGIAKALBYSTĖS POŽIŪRIU

Santrauka. Kaip rodo statistiniai tyrimai, tiek Lenkija, tiek kaimyninė Čekija yra vienatautės ir vienakalbės šalys. 2011 m. surašymo duomenimis, lenkų kalba kaip gimtąja kalba kalba 98 % šalies gyventojų; čekų kalba kaip gimtąja kalba kalba 96 % čekų. Tačiau Lenkijos ir Čekijos pasienio kalbinio kraštovaizdžio stebėjimas rodo, kad gimtasis kalbos paveldas padeda silpninti vienakalbystę ir plėtoti daugiakalbystę. Šis straipsnis susijęs su dviejų vaizdingų vietovių – Čekijos Adršpach ir Lenkijos Karłów – kalbinio kraštovaizdžio lyginamąja analize. Šiose vietovėse galima rasti daug natūralių gamtos paminklų – uolų (dėl to čia buvo filmuojamos „Narnijos kronikos“). Tyrimai rodo, kad šioms vietovėms apibūdinti vartojamos skirtingos kalbos ir komunikacijos būdai: *lingua nativa*, *lingua receptiva*, *lingua franca*. Šis tyrimas grindžiamas šiuolaikinės ekolingvistikos prielaidomis, kurios atskleidžia perėjimo tarpsnį nuo vienakalbės paradigmos prie daugiakalbystės Lenkijos ir Čekijos pasienio kalbinėje aplinkoje.

Pagrindinės sąvokos: *lingua materna*; *lingua receptiva*; *lingua franca*; *multilingua franca*; ekolingvistika; darnioji daugiakalbystė.