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JĘZYKOZNAWSTWO

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Between familiarity and exoticism: Tourists' and locals' attitudes to Cyrillic signage in Karlovy Vary's linguistic landscape

Между привычным и экзотичным: отношение туристов и местных жителей к кириллическим вывескам в языковом ландшафте Карловых Вар

Abstract. The present article posits the argument that in Karlovy Vary the social meaning of Russian Cyrillic has undergone a shift from its former status as a routine tourist resource to a marked, politically charged symbol. This study builds on the findings of research in the field of linguistic landscapes, which has historically placed significant emphasis on the production of signs. The present study proposes an audience-centred evaluation of how scripts are read and assessed in the post-pandemic era, with a particular focus on the consequences of the 2022 Russian invasion of Ukraine. A sample of 100 residents and tourists (50% of each group) were invited to rate eight photographed signs (six in Cyrillic and two in English) from commercial, institutional and commemorative settings on 7-point scales (familiarity, exoticism, legibility, overall evaluation) and to report their script proficiency. Across domains, English/Latin signage was judged to be significantly more familiar and legible and less exotic than Cyrillic. The residents' perception of Cyrillic was that it was more ordinary than that of the tourists, yet both groups treated English as the unmarked international code. The enhancement of Cyrillic literacy led to an increase in familiarity; however, it did not eliminate the "exoticity premium", which was most pronounced in institutional and commemorative contexts. These findings document a symbolic re-evaluation of Russian in Central Europe and demonstrate the analytical value of integrating perception measures into linguistic landscape studies.

Keywords: Karlovy Vary, linguistic landscape, Russian, English, attitudes

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Introduction[1]

Public signage, including shopfronts, notices, menus, street-name signs and advertisements, constitutes a visible stratum of language use commonly referred to as the linguistic landscape (LL). Over the past two decades, the field of LL scholarship[2] has demonstrated the use of displayed scripts and languages in signalling social hierarchies, economic circulations, and political projects. Furthermore, it has been demonstrated how these phenomena mediate processes of belonging and boundary-making, and how they crystallise both historical and contemporary mobilities. In periods of heightened volatility, shifts in what is publicly displayed become especially salient as indicators of wider societal dynamics, particularly given – as Themistocleous notes – that the public sphere assumes a pivotal role in turbulent times (Themistocleous 127). In this context, geopolitical conflict becomes legible in the LL, as languages associated with particular actors may be reinterpreted, contested, or strategically downplayed in public display. In this context, Ukraine's efforts to defend against Russia's invasion have had a significant impact on public perceptions of Russia and, consequently, of the Russian language.

This article focuses on the status and visibility of Russian in the Czech Republic, with a case study of Karlovy Vary. Karlovy Vary is a well-known spa town of about 78,000 residents close to the Czech-German border[3]. Although Czech is the official language and the country does not border Russia, but Poland, Austria and Slovakia, for many years Karlovy Vary was widely regarded as predominantly Russian-speaking. Early accounts portray the spa quarter almost as a Russophone enclave – a view locally embraced prior to COVID-19 (Shánělová; Sloboda); recent corpus-based studies, however, present a notably different pic-

[1] I wish to thank the anonymous reviewers who provided feedback on my paper. I am grateful for their insightful comments and valuable suggestions for improvements. I would also like to express my gratitude to Doc. Marián Sloboda, Prof. Danuta Wiśniewska and Prof. Pavol Odaloš for inspiring discussions on linguistic landscapes.

[2] The LL as a theme is also present in Slavonic studies, e.g. at the University of Greifswald, where a conference on this topic is held annually. For more details, cf. Lisek, Henzelmann (2025) and Henzelmann, Lisek (2025).

[3] We should remember, that borderland settings such as this are frequently marked by oral or visual multilingualism. One important consequence is that the sociocultural life of borderland places has a strong influence onthe language behavior of the local population. This has been investigated in several border region sacross Europe (e.g. Kostiučenko; Henzelmann and Mitrinov 294–296; Jańczak). Hence, borderlands react heavily to language contact, because 'permeable border areas are places of particular language diffusion and […] processes of multilingualism, including language hybridisation, occur more intensively in them than in inland areas' (Jańczak 344).

ture (Lisek 2025b, 2026). The town's connections with Russia are long-standing, often traced to the visits of Peter I. Today, Czech overwhelmingly dominates in the LL of Karlovy Vary, frequently co-occurring with English, while Russian has receded to a narrowly defined niche, appearing on 20 percent of multilingual signs (cf. Lisek 2026: 210). This focus on Russian script coincides with two proceedings – the global pandemic and Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine – and highlights how code-choice on urban signage serves as a frontline indicator of ideological realignment, audience targeting and collective identity construction (cf. Themistocleous 127; Baranova).

On the one hand, studies indicate a contraction of Russian in public space or its confinement to specific discursive niches in the city centre. As Lisek (2025a) shows, "Czech and English often serve as base languages, while Russian and German are deployed strategically for specific services. Russian is particularly prominent in the domains of beauty, medicine and travel, reflecting the traditional destinations of Russian-speaking tourists and suggesting that Russian-speaking visitors constitute a high-spending target group". Further nexus-analytic work suggests that, while such signage cultivates hospitality towards Russian-speaking tourists, it exhibits limited historical or socio-cultural integration (cf. Lisek 2026). A complementary study (cf. Lisek 2025b) examines the composition of artistic and regulatory LL discourses in Karlovy Vary, demonstrating the dominance of Czech and the strategic use of English in multilingual signage; Russian appears only marginally in quadrilingual signs across both discourse types, a pattern consistent with symbolic distancing in the context of recent geopolitical developments[4]. On the other hand – and arguably more crucial for the present contribution – the reception of Russian in the city's LL has not yet been investigated. A perception-oriented perspective is, as Gorter (2025)[5] argues, indispensable for analysing a city's or region's LL; his schematic model[6] highlights the centrality of perception within the overall LL framework.

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[4] In this article, the term *geopolitical context* or *geopolitical developments* refers to the ongoing war in Ukraine, Russia's stance following the annexation of Crimea, and a range of conflicts worldwide, including those in the Middle East. In this regard, Israeli-Russian relations are also a relevant factor.

[5] The model was presented during the conference "Applied Linguistics in the Face of the Challenges of a Changing World" at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznań, during a public lecture by Prof. Gorter in September 2025.

[6] The model cited here is not intended to suggest that it constitutes the sole framework for reflecting on, or scientifically modelling, the phenomenon examined in this study. Instead, it is adopted for pragmatic reasons: it offers a genuinely holistic synthesis of the different dimensions discussed above, bringing together prior insights and background knowledge on linguistic landscapes and language attitudes, and presenting them in a particularly clear and effective visual form.

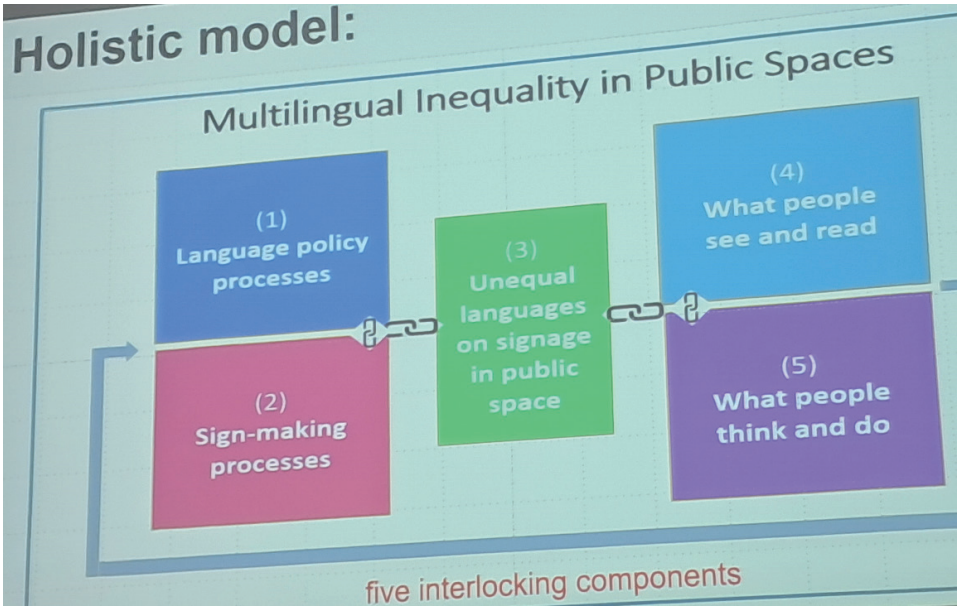

Fig. 1. Holistic model by Gorter and research goals

As we see above, the holistic model delineates five interlinked components – language policy processes, sign-making processes, unequal language display, what people see and read, and what people think and do – organised in a cyclical sequence with response into policy and practice, thereby emphasising path dependence and the reproduction of potential and possible inequality. Within this chain, "what people see and read" forms the critical centre: it captures the perceptual encounter with signage – visibility, legibility, salience, decoding – through which the material display of languages is filtered and rendered substantial for interpretation, affect, and behaviour, of which the last two are traditionally part of attitudes – also towards languages or linguistic landscapes. So far, attitudes towards LL – and consequently towards individual languages or those appearing in various constellations – have remained under-researched. This article seeks to counteract this gap by not only identifying the existing lacuna but also, as far as possible, narrowing it. The focus is therefore placed on tourists and local residents of Karlovy Vary, who were able to articulate their attitudes, particularly in terms of affective responses.

This article addresses the following research questions: 1) How do residents and tourists in Karlovy Vary evaluate Cyrillic as opposed to Latin/English signage along the dimensions of familiarity, perceived ordinariness/exoticism, leg-

ibility and overall affective stance within the local LL? 2) To what extent does self-reported Cyrillic literacy predict individual evaluations of Cyrillic signage in terms of familiarity, ordinariness/exoticism, legibility and global attitudinal orientation? 3) How are these evaluations of Cyrillic signage patterned across different functional domains of the LL, namely commercial, institutional/regulatory and commemorative/heritage displays? 4) How far can observed differences between residents and tourists, and between more and less proficient readers of Cyrillic, be interpreted as indexical of broader ideological realignments surrounding Russian and its script in the contemporary Czech public sphere?

In order to address the questions, the article adopts a quantitative, perception-oriented linguistic landscape design. In the subsequent section, section 2 provides a conceptual framework for understanding language attitudes in relation to public writing. It also provides a rationale for an affect-sensitive focus on how Cyrillic signage is encountered, interpreted, and evaluated in situ. The third section provides a detailed exposition of the analytical framework and the study design. This includes the participant recruitment, which was carried out among residents and tourists. It also includes the stimulus set, which spans the domains of commercial, institutional/regulatory, and commemorative. Furthermore, it details the semantic-differential and global evaluative measures that were used to operationalise the concepts of familiarity, ordinariness/exoticism, legibility, and overall stance. Section 4 presents the results of the study, which include a comparison of script effects (Cyrillic vs. English/Latin), domain patterns, and differences between locals and visitors. The section also explores how self-reported Cyrillic literacy predicts evaluations. Section 5 provides a detailed discussion of these findings, set against the broader context of post-pandemic tourist economies and the post-2022 symbolic re-evaluation of Russian influence in Central Europe. This section goes on to explore the implications of these findings for LL theory and signage governance. The final section of the study offers a conclusion in the form of a summary of its contributions, an outline of its limitations, and a proposal for further research in the form of longitudinal and qualitative follow-ups.

Language attitudes and Cyrillic signage

The concept of language attitude is widely recognised as a foundational construct within the domain of sociolinguistics. However, it exhibits a high degree of conceptual plasticity, often converging with related concepts such as beliefs, values, and stereotypes (Garrett). In this study, attitudes towards Cyrillic signage

in Karlovy Vary's linguistic landscape are approached as context-sensitive evaluative orientations that are elicited through encounters with visible script in public space (Baker; Albarracín et al.). In accordance with research that conceptualises attitudes as socially produced and institutionally mediated (Gardner; Dörnyei & Ryan), the linguistic landscape is theorised in this study as a regulatory and symbolic arena in which scripts may be normalised, marginalised, or politicised through practices of semiotic governance (e.g., signage by-laws, transliteration conventions, and enforcement regimes). According to this perspective, public writing functions as a situated site of interaction where evaluative dispositions can be reinforced, reoriented, or contested (Przybył & Wiśniewska). For the purposes of this study, the understanding of attitudes as relatively enduring evaluative orientations that can be located on a positive-negative continuum, as articulated by Kostiučenko (79), is adopted. While the tripartite distinction between cognitive, affective, and behavioural components (Eagly & Chaiken; Fischer & Wiswede) provides a useful heuristic, the present design is not intended to capture the full attitude complex. Instead, it places a premium on the overall evaluative stance towards Cyrillic signage as the primary outcome, operationalised via a global valence item. This approach is complemented by stimulus-based perceptual appraisals (such as familiarity, ordinariness/exoticism, and legibility) and a self-reported approach-avoidance intention, as an alternative to behavioural observation.

Analytical Framework and Study Design

In this section, I outline the composition of the respondent sample and the design of the study. I detail the rationale for the approach and the sequential procedures adopted, noting in particular that respondents were recruited both in person and online. As tourists were primarily recruited in person, and residents predominantly online, the mode of data collection is partially confounded with the participant group. In order to minimise mode effects, the content of the questionnaire, the order of the items, and the format of the scale were held constant across modes and languages, and identical instructions were used. An instructed-response item was incorporated into the study as a quality control measure. The responses obtained revealed no instances of missing data or systematic satisficing patterns. However, any observed between-group differences must be interpreted with caution, as they may be indicative not only of audience status (i.e. whether the participants are local residents or tourists), but also of response tendencies related to the mode of data collection (e.g. the context in which the data was collected).

Participant recruitment and temporal sampling

The Data from tourists were gathered in July 2025 to capture fluctuations in tourist footfall and to secure a demographically diverse sample in terms of first language, age and country of origin.

On Sunday (27th July), fieldwork ran from 10:00 am to 7:30 pm, with scheduled intermissions 12:00–12:30 pm, 1:30–2:00 pm and 6:00–7:00 pm. These breaks corresponded both to observed lulls in pedestrian traffic along the main promenade and adjacent shopping streets, and to an abrupt rain shower at approximately 3:30 pm. On Monday (28th July), data collection began at 9:30 am and was curtailed at 2:00 pm due to worsening weather conditions. Recruitment occurred at six high-traffic locations (nábř. Jana Palacha, dvořákovy Sady, Mlýnské nábř., ul. Lázeňská, ul. Tržiště and ul. T.G. Masaryka), with the plurality of interviews conducted at sites Mlýnské nábř. and Lázeňská. At each site and during each time slot, potential participants were identified as tourists-evidenced by backpacks, city maps, a leisurely walking pace or resting on nearby benches – and approached in English or Czech[7].

The paper-based questionnaire was offered in German, English, Czech and Russian, with Polish provided orally upon request; participants indicated their preferred language at the outset. To achieve a balanced sample of fifty, a quota strategy was applied: interviewers aimed for equal numbers of male and female respondents and a broad spread of age cohorts, based on an initial visual assessment.

This two-day, multi-site, temporally stratified approach ensured that the sample reflected a wide range of tourist profiles visiting Karlovy Vary, thereby bolstering the ecological and sociolinguistic validity of the data.

In parallel, responses from residents of Karlovy Vary were collected online until the end of September 2025 for practical research reasons[8]. I received substantially more replies (n = 107) than anticipated, which allowed the comparison sample to be constructed with approximate gender balance[9]. Participants were

[7] Accordingly, the tourist sample is best understood as centre-based, summer-season visitor traffic, not as a comprehensive representation of all tourist segments.

[8] In the context of practical research endeavours, accessibility to participants was accorded paramount importance, given its susceptibility to fluctuations in school holidays and leave periods across various municipal and private-sector institutions. Consequently, a longer survey window was deliberately selected. In contrast to the influx of tourists who visit the city during the summer months, local residents frequently absent themselves from Karlovy Vary during this period. The extension of the data-collection period was instrumental in ensuring that all residents who were contacted had equivalent opportunities to access and complete the survey.

[9] From the larger sample (n = 107) used for the purposes of this study, individuals under the age of 15, those not residing in Karlovy Vary, and those who did not specify their gender were excluded.

recruited via online outreach through the municipal library, the public transport operator, Christian organisations, the city information office, well-known cafés, hotels known to the author, and colleagues at the Pilsen University branch. This approach was intended to secure as broad an access route to the survey as possible.

Despite the fact that the sample is not statistically representative, it was constructed to be analytically informative for the study's comparative aims. The implementation of quota targets and the utilisation of temporally and spatially stratified recruitment strategies within the urban centre were employed to optimise heterogeneity and enhance the comparability between residents and tourists.

Characteristics of the stimuli

Presented here is also a brief description of the stimuli (A–H)[10], together with believable and expected assessments of them, undertaken to provide a broader interpretive context for the study.

The corpus samples three functional and discursive LL domains – commercial (A, E, F, H), institutional/regulatory (B, C) and commemorative/heritage (D, G) – under two script regimes, with Cyrillic targets (A–F) and Latin controls (G–H). Within the Cyrillic set, market signs (A, E, F) appear alongside civic and institutional texts (B, C) and historical memory (D). The portfolio comprises: a Russian excursion lightbox with directional and pricing cues (A); a hotel/spa board presenting parallel Czech-Russian-German streams (B); a polite municipal notice for colonnades and springs carrying a city URL (C); a Pavlov commemorative plaque in a lapidary register (D); a high-immediacy Russian call-out on a tourism billboard with QR access (E); and a beauty banner combining Russian caption-

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In addition, men were specifically favoured in the sample as they were in the minority; therefore, the remaining entries from female respondents were not taken into account.

[10] In this context, the term "stimuli" is employed in a methodological sense to denote a small, controlled set of photographic sign tokens presented for rating. The selection of signs was not arbitrary; all photographs were taken in the central spa and promenade area of Karlovy Vary (i.e. the city's most prominent tourist-facing signage zone) and were chosen to reflect locally attested signage practices along the streets and locations where multilingual display is concentrated. The selection was made in accordance with explicit sampling criteria that were aligned with the research questions. These criteria can be outlined as follows: firstly, the selection aimed to represent three distinct functional LL domains, namely commercial, institutional/regulatory, and commemorative/heritage; secondly, the selection aimed to ensure comparability across script regimes, specifically by including Cyrillic targets alongside Latin-script controls; and thirdly, the selection aimed to minimise variation in genre and visual format while maintaining communicative function as far as possible. Consequently, the analysis focuses on audience evaluations of signage in a specific sub-area of the city, as opposed to asserting comprehensive coverage of Karlovy Vary's linguistic landscape in its entirety.

ing with international brand marks (F). Two Latin-script controls are matched by domain: an English war memorial stele (G) and an English clinic poster with image-rich professional framing (H). Variation in visual design – from dense paragraphic style to headline bullets and image-led layouts – permits tests of familiarity, legibility and ordinary-exotic connotation beyond code choice alone. I anticipate that massed uppercase Cyrillic (A, E) may reduce perceived legibility relative to mixed layouts (B, F); that commemorative item (D, G) will cue slower, respectful reading; and that commercial Cyrillic will elicit stronger affect, positive or negative, than commemorative Cyrillic, with the English controls providing an "international" reference point. When considered as a whole, the corpus provides a foundation for the comparison of locals and visitors, and for the examination of domain- and script-associated differences in semantic-differential ratings.

Fig. 2. Stimuli used in the study

The study utilised three 7-point bipolar semantic differentials[11] per stimulus unfamiliar-familiar**,** ordinary-exotic, and illegible-legible – with multilingual anchors and equidistant numeric options, indexing perceived familiarity/typicality, connotative markedness, and readability, respectively. At the beginning of the questionnaire, respondents were also asked to report their proficiency in English and Russian. A 7-point Likert-type global evaluative item captured overall affect towards Cyrillic signage in Karlovy Vary (very negative-very positive) and probed approach-avoidance (likelihood of visiting a place because of the signage). An instructed-response attention check ("select 4") supported data quality control. The questionnaire concluded with a brief demographic module, which also elicited respondents' first language and nationality. These details were necessary to assess potential correlations and, where appropriate, to explore plausible causal relations among the variables.

Data quality appears to be high because no cases exhibited missing values, and all respondents passed the instructed-response (attention-check) item. Inspection for anomalous patterns (e.g. uniform straight-lining) showed no systematic irregularities, supporting the conclusion that the dataset is reliable for the descriptive and inferential analyses reported below.

Results

The study comprises N = 100 respondents, evenly divided between Karlovy Vary residents and tourists (50/50) visiting this town. In the full sample, age spans late adolescence to advanced older age with a concentration in the early-mid forties (M = 42.75; SD = 14.05; range 17–85; median 42). Self-reported Cyrillic proficiency is generally low (19% fluent, 23% with problems, 58% not at all), whereas English proficiency is higher (36% fluent, 45% with problems, 19% not at all). The overall gender split is 59% female and 41% male. Concerning the first language (L1), Czech predominates (62%), followed by German (20%), with smaller groups of Polish (5%), Russian (6%), Spanish (3%), Slovak (2%), Lithuanian (1%) and Ukrainian (1%). Nationality broadly mirrors this profile: Czech 62% and German 20%, together with Polish (5%), Ukrainian (4%), Spanish (2%) and Slovak (2%), with single cases from Russia, Lithuania, Colombia, Azerbaijan and Israel (1% each).

[11] The complete questionnaire, encompassing all items, instructions, and response formats in all language versions, is provided in Appendix A.

Comparing the two subsamples, tourists show a broader age spread (M = 43.66, SD = 16.62; 17–85; median 43.5) than residents (M = 41.84, SD = 11.00; 20–67; median 41.5). Residents are more female-skewed (68% female, 32% male) than tourists (50/50). Residents also state lower Cyrillic proficiency (14% fluent, 20% with problems, 66% not at all) and lower English proficiency (30% fluent, 50% with problems, 20% not at all) than tourists (Cyrillic: 24/26/50%; English: 42/40/18%). In L1, residents are almost exclusively Czech (98%, with a single Russian L1 case), whereas tourists are linguistically diverse (Czech 26%, German 40%, Polish 10%, Russian 10%, Spanish 6%, Slovak 4%, Lithuanian 2%, Ukrainian 2%). The same pattern holds for declared nationality: residents are nearly all Czech (98%, plus one Ukrainian), while tourists include substantial German representation (40%) alongside Czech (26%), Polish (10%), Ukrainian (6%), Spanish (4%), Slovak (4%) and single cases from Russia, Lithuania, Colombia, Azerbaijan and Israel.

The demographic variables of age, gender, and origin (L1/nationality) were reported descriptively to characterise the two samples; however, these variables were not included in the primary cross-analyses. The inferential models were centred on the theoretically salient predictors, which included audience status (residents versus tourists), script/domain, and Cyrillic literacy. Given the convenience of the sample and the highly uneven distributions (e.g., the residents were almost exclusively Czech L1 speakers), including origin variables as predictors would not yield stable or interpretable estimates.

To facilitate a clearer understanding of the statistical results and to enable easier identification of the stimuli, the stimulus labels (A–H) are aligned here with the corresponding variable codes (RU/ENG): A = RU-1, B = RU-2, C = RU-3, D = RU-4, E = RU-5, F = RU-6, G = ENG-1, H = ENG-2.

Tourists and Locals Reading the Signs: Script-Based Differences

In the dataset (N = 100) across the eight stimuli, the two Latin-script controls (ENG-1/ENG-2) score maximum on familiarity and legibility and lowest on exoticism, with ENG-2 emerging as the most familiar (M = 4.87) and most legible (M = 5.80) while similarly being the most "ordinary" (exoticism M = 2.48). Within the Cyrillic set, RU-5 is regarded as the most familiar (M = 3.50), RU-3 as the most exotic (M = 3.98), and RU-6 as both the most legible (M = 3.74) and – by a small margin – the least exotic (M = 3.67). In sum, the pattern shows a clear script effect: Latin controls are perceived as more familiar and readable and less exotic than Cyrillic items, while Cyrillic assessments vary by function/format, with RU-6 and RU-4 relatively advantaged on legibility.

Descriptive comparisons by subgroup show the expected script effect for the Latin controls and broadly comparable central tendencies for Cyrillic items, with tourists typically displaying greater diffusion. Independent-samples tests display systematic group differences in perceived exoticism for Cyrillic items: tourists rated RU-2, RU-3, RU-5, RU-6 as more exotic than residents (two-tailed $ps \leq .035$), with small-to-moderate effect sizes (Cohen's $d \approx -0.43$, -0.50, -0.67, -0.60, respectively). For RU-1 exotic, the difference reached the one-tailed criterion ($p = .039$) but not the stricter two-tailed threshold ($p = .078$). However, familiarity ("known") and legibility for Cyrillic items did not differ reliably by group (all two-tailed $ps > .10$). For the Latin controls, tourists judged ENG-1 and ENG-2 as more familiar than residents (two-tailed $ps \leq .027$; $d \approx -0.45$ and -0.71), and also regarded ENG-2 as more legible ($p = .023$; $d \approx -0.46$), while exoticism for the Latin items did not differ (two-tailed $ps > .20$). In conclusion, the global valence measure (pos-neg) showed a substantial group difference, with tourists reporting more positive assessments than residents ($p < .001$; $d \approx -1.03$).

In general, these results indicate that group contrasts are concentrated on the connotative (exoticism) dimension for Cyrillic signage, with tourists consistently perceiving Cyrillic items as more exotic, whereas decoding-proximal dimensions (familiarity, legibility) are rather even across groups. For English-language controls, tourists claim higher familiarity and (for ENG-2) better legibility, consistent with a more international profile. The strong between-group divergence on overall assessing stance highlights the importance of audience composition when interpreting attitudes to the local LL.

Familiarity, ordinariness, and legibility indices

Further compound indices were computed so that higher values reflected greater familiarity, perceived ordinariness (reverse-scored as 8 − Exoticism), and legibility on 1–7 scales. Internal consistency for the two-item Familiarity composite for the Latin control items (ENG-1/ENG-2) was adequate for a brief indicator (Cronbach's $\alpha = .65$, $N = 100$). Independent-samples t tests revealed two clear sets of group differences. For Latin controls, tourists reported higher familiarity and greater legibility than residents (Familiarity: $M_{tour} = 5.45$ vs $M_{res} = 4.13$, $t(98) = -3.39$, $p < .001$, $d \approx 0.68$; Legibility: 6.02 vs 5.25, $t(98) = -2.08$, $p = .040$, $d \approx 0.42$). For Cyrillic items, residents rated commercial and institutional/regulatory signage as more ordinary than tourists (Commercial: 4.85 vs 3.71, $t(98) = 2.81$, $p = .006$, $d \approx 0.56$; Institutional: 4.56 vs 3.48, $t(98) = 2.49$, $p = .015$, $d \approx 0.50$), whereas other familiarity and legibility contrasts for Cyrillic did not reach conventional significance levels.

Domain and group effects on ordinariness

Repeated-measures GLM confirmed strong domain effects and localized audience differences for Ordinariness. There was a main effect of Domain, $F(3, 294) = 14.31$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .127$, and a Domain × Group interaction, $F(3, 294) = 4.01$, $p = .008$, $\eta^2_p = .039$. Estimated marginal means placed Latin controls as the most ordinary overall ($M_{emm} = 5.32$), followed by Cyrillic-commemorative (4.32), Cyrillic-commercial (4.28), and Cyrillic-institutional (4.02), with tourists systematically down-rating the ordinariness of the two Cyrillic service/governance domains relative to residents.

Domain effects on familiarity and legibility

For Familiarity, Domain again had a strong effect, $F(3, 294) = 20.61$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .174$ (EMMs: Latin 4.79 > Heritage 3.48 ≈ Commercial 3.35 > Institutional 3.04), but no Domain × Group interaction emerged ($p \approx .19$), and the between-subjects Group effect was only marginal, $F(1, 98) = 3.62$, $p = .060$. For Legibility, Domain was dominant, $F(3, 294) = 46.76$, $p < .001$, $\eta^2_p = .323$ (EMMs: Latin 5.64 > Heritage 3.68 > Commercial 3.37 > Institutional 3.11), with no interaction (ps ≥ .40). Assumption checks were satisfactory for most indices, although Levene's tests indicated some heteroscedasticity for a few variables (e.g., Ord_CYR_HER, Leg_LAT_CTRL). Overall, the results suggest that form/script and domain structure shape judgments of legibility and broad familiarity, while audience composition selectively conditions connotative evaluations: visitors construe visible Cyrillic – especially in market and regulatory contexts – as less routine (more exotic) than local residents do, even as both groups converge in their evaluations of Latin/English signage.

Russian knowledge and LL

Within the data set, self-reported Cyrillic literacy was relatively limited ($M = 0.61$, $SD = 0.79$, range 0–2, with 2 indicating fluent reading). A mean-centred reading score (CYR_READ_c, higher values indexing greater Cyrillic proficiency) was strongly positively associated with overall familiarity with Cyrillic signage ($r = .65$, $p < .001$), and this association was mirrored across commercial, institutional and heritage subdomains (Fam_CYR_COMM: $r = .60$; Fam_CYR_INST: $r = .59$; Fam_CYR_HER: $r = .63$; all $p < .001$). A linear regression model confirms that Cyrillic literacy is a substantial predictor of perceived familiarity:

CYR_READ_c accounts for 42% of the variance in the global familiarity index ($R = .65$, $R^2 = .42$, $F(1,98) = 70.93$, $p < .001$), with higher proficiency yielding higher familiarity ratings ($B = 1.85$, $SE = 0.22$, $\beta = .65$, $p < .001$). At the same time, Cyrillic proficiency is positively related to ratings on the ordinary-exotic scale for institutional and heritage inscriptions (Ord_CYR_INST: $r = .59$; Ord_CYR_HER: $r = .63$; both $p < .001$), and regression analyses indicate that more proficient readers evaluate these displays as more, rather than less, exotic (Ord_CYR_INST: $R = .33$, $R^2 = .11$, $B = 0.92$, $\beta = .33$, $p < .001$; Ord_CYR_HER: $R = .38$, $R^2 = .14$, $B = 1.08$, $\beta = .38$, $p < .001$). Taken together, the findings suggest that increased access to the Cyrillic code enhances experiential familiarity with Cyrillic signage, while simultaneously sustaining – and in commemorative and institutional contexts even amplifying – its perceived markedness and semiotic distinctiveness[12] within the local LL.

Cyrillic vs. English in commemorative and commercial signs

Among the data (N = 100), the paired comparison between Pavlov's Cyrillic plaque and the English war memorial plaque exposes a systematic differentiation along the three evaluative dimensions of familiarity, exoticity and legibility. Difference scores were calculated in a such a way that positive values indicate higher ratings for the Cyrillic plaque relative to the English one; descriptively, the Cyrillic plaque was less familiar ($M = –1.23$, $SD = 3.46$) and less legible ($M = –1.79$, $SD = 3.41$), but more exotic ($M = 0.79$, $SD = 2.83$) than its English counterpart. Paired-samples t-tests on the raw item scores confirm that these contrasts are statistically strong: the Cyrillic commemorative plaque is rated significantly less familiar than the English plaque, $t(99) = –3.55$, $p < .001$, Cohen's $d \approx –0.36$, significantly more exotic, $t(99) = 2.79$, $p = .006$, $d \approx 0.28$, and markedly less legible, $t(99) = –5.26$, $p < .001$, $d \approx –0.53$. To examine the role of individual differences in script competence, three simple linear regressions were estimated

[12] The concept of 'semiotic distinctiveness' is defined as the script's perceived visual markedness and salience in the local sign ecology. The concept of sign ecology is predicated on the notion of a dynamic interplay and coexistence of diverse signs (i.e. texts, symbols, scripts and images) within a shared urban or public space. This is analogous to an ecosystem wherein elements interact, compete or complement each other. Introduced in the field of linguistic landscape (LL) research, it has shifted the focus from individual signs to the overall "semiotic landscape" – the manner in which multilingual signage, advertisements and public texts create meaning through visibility, prominence, hierarchy and contrast. The significance of semiotics in LL is a subject that has been underrepresented in Slavic studies. A recent study describes semiotic approaches in a bilingual context, cf. Henzelmann & Haci (2025).

with the difference scores as dependent variables and mean-centred Cyrillic reading ability (CYR_READ_c; higher values indexing poorer ability) as predictor. Cyrillic reading ability accounted for a non-trivial proportion of variance in all three contrasts ($R^2 \approx .15–.21$): for familiarity, poorer Cyrillic readers perceived a smaller familiarity gap between the two plaques, whereas more proficient readers accentuated the familiarity advantage of the English plaque; for legibility, a similar pattern emerged, with higher proficiency sharpening the perceived legibility disadvantage of Cyrillic relative to English; for exoticity, by contrast, better Cyrillic readers tended to ascribe a stronger exoticity premium to the Cyrillic plaque, while this difference was attenuated among weak or non-readers. Additional paired t-tests extended this pattern beyond the commemorative domain to commercial signage: across four pairings of Cyrillic commercial signs (RU-1, RU-2, RU-5, RU-6) with an English commercial sign (ENG-2), the Cyrillic versions were consistently evaluated as more exotic by roughly 1.2–1.3 scale points, all $p < .001$, with small-to-medium effect sizes (Cohen's $d \approx 0.41–0.44$). Overall, the findings suggest that Cyrillic is systematically constructed as more exotic than English in both commemorative and commercial contexts, while English holds a clear advantage in perceived familiarity and legibility; at the same time, these contrasts are not fixed, but are modulated in systematic ways by readers' competence in the non-dominant script.

Discussion

Within the stimulus-based sample and the three functional domains examined here (commercial, institutional/regulatory, and commemorative/heritage), the findings indicate a clear script-based stratification in respondents' evaluations: English/Latin signage is perceived as more familiar and legible and as less exotic than functionally comparable Cyrillic signage. This pattern is particularly salient in the commemorative pairing included in the stimulus set, where the English war memorial plaque is rated as more familiar and legible, while the Cyrillic Pavlov plaque attracts a robust "exoticity premium". In other words, commemorative inscriptions – which might conventionally be expected to index continuity and shared heritage – here reproduce a symbolic distance between scripts, with Latin aligned with normality and internationality, and Cyrillic cast as marked and semiotically "other".

It seems evident that these patterns do not demonstrate uniformity across diverse audiences. In terms of the ordinary-exotic dimension, tourists evaluated several Cyrillic stimuli as more exotic than residents. However, group differences in ratings of familiarity and legibility for the Cyrillic items were not statistical-

ly significant. The two groups evaluated the English and Latin controls as comparatively familiar, legible and low in exoticism. Furthermore, tourists reported a more positive overall affective stance towards the signage presented in the study. Conversely, residents evaluated Cyrillic commercial and institutional/regulatory signage as more "ordinary" than tourists did. When considered as a whole, these results are consistent with LL accounts in which English tends to operate as a relatively unmarked resource in tourist-facing environments, whilst Cyrillic may remain connotatively marked for some visitors even when decoding-proximal judgements are broadly similar across groups. This interpretation is offered with a degree of caution, given the limited stimulus set and the heterogeneity of both the "tourist" and "resident" categories.

With regard to individual differences, self-reported literacy in the Cyrillic alphabet was strongly associated with higher familiarity ratings for Cyrillic signage overall and across the commercial, institutional and heritage subdomains. Concurrently, higher levels of Cyrillic literacy exhibited a positive correlation with exoticism (i.e., reduced ordinariness) for institutional and heritage items. Regression analyses further substantiated that proficiency is a predictor of elevated scores on the ordinary-exotic scale within these domains. In this particular dataset, therefore, familiarity and perceived markedness do not manifest as simple opposites: greater script competence is concomitant with greater reported familiarity, but not necessarily with lower exoticism. One cautious reading of the results is that interpretive access to the script (captured here via self-reported literacy) and connotative evaluation may operate as partially independent components of attitude. This is compatible with the study's broader framing of attitudes as multi-componential.

This asymmetrical pattern is best understood against the backdrop of recent geopolitical developments. The contraction of Russian on signs and its confinement to specific commercial niches, documented in production-oriented LL work, coincides with Russia's invasion of Ukraine and with a broader re-evaluation of Russian symbolic capital in Central Europe. The attitudinal results reported here extend this picture: English emerges as the default unmarked international code for addressing mobile publics, whereas Cyrillic is re-framed as a visually salient, potentially contentious resource whose presence is tolerated or even welcomed in certain high-value domains (health, beauty, tourism), but whose commemorative and institutional instantiations are read through the prism of current political tensions. When considered in conjunction with production-oriented studies of Karlovy Vary's linguistic landscape, the available perception data indicates that the town's publicly visible multilingualism is not solely a consequence of service ecology, but is also indicative of broader processes of ideological realignment. In particular, within the domains sampled here, Cyrillic emerges as a visually salient

and potentially contested resource, whereas English is treated as the relatively unmarked international code.

These findings have also implications for language planning and the governance of public signage in multilingual tourist centres. They show that de facto language policy is shaped less by formal regulation than by the visual economy of signs. In Karlovy Vary, where Cyrillic is not legally restricted, its presence is nonetheless tightly patterned: it is concentrated in commercial niches aimed at affluent visitors, marginal in regulatory and commemorative texts, and routinely overshadowed by English in multilingual combinations. Choices between Czech, English and Cyrillic thus do not merely transmit information but index alignment, distancing and imagined publics. The results also caution against assuming that simply increasing Cyrillic provision will foster integration or hospitality towards Russian-speaking visitors. Higher Cyrillic proficiency makes such signage more accessible yet can maintain perceptions of markedness, especially in institutional and heritage contexts. Efforts to "normalise" Cyrillic, for instance by adding Russian to plaques or public information boards, may therefore be read as inclusive and pragmatic by some, but as politically insensitive or misaligned with post-2022 solidarity with Ukraine by others, while abrupt removal risks erasing historical connections and marginalising Russian-speaking residents and guests. A more nuanced signage policy would differentiate clearly between domains: in tourist-oriented commerce, the focus should be on balanced, comprehensible multilingual repertoires with Czech and English as bases and Russian (and other languages) as targeted additions; in institutional and heritage domains, carefully framed combinations of Czech, English, Russian and, where appropriate, Ukrainian can acknowledge multi-layered histories while signalling critical distance from current state politics. More broadly, the Karlovy Vary case underlines that debates about "too much" or "too little" Russian should be informed not only by sign counts but by empirically grounded evidence on how different audiences perceive and evaluate these signs.

Conclusion and outlook

This study has examined how residents and tourists in Karlovy Vary perceive Cyrillic signage in relation to Latin/English signage, and how these perceptions are structured by script competence, functional domain and geopolitical context[13].

[13] The conclusions drawn are inherently constrained by the stimulus-based design and the domains represented in the corpus; consequently, they should be interpreted as evidence concerning the evaluation of specific instances of Cyrillic and English signage in Karlovy Vary, rather than as comprehensive statements about the town's linguistic landscape in its entirety.

By combining a controlled set of stimuli with semantic-differential ratings and a global attitudinal measure, the analysis has shown that Cyrillic is systematically judged as more exotic and less legible than English, even when communicative function and visual complexity are held constant. It has also demonstrated that individual differences in Cyrillic literacy substantially enhance perceived familiarity while simultaneously preserving, and in some domains intensifying, the script's perceived markedness.

The study thus contributes to LL research by foregrounding perceptual "receiving end" of public signage and by unpacking the non-linear relationship between familiarity, legibility and exoticism in a politically sensitive script. A further contribution lies in the comparison between residents and tourists. While both groups converge in constructing English as the unmarked international code and Cyrillic as a visually salient "other", residents evaluate Cyrillic commercial and institutional signs as more ordinary than tourists, and tourists express more positive global affect towards the LL overall. More broadly, the findings underscore the value of integrating perceptions into models of the LL: what people see, read and feel is not a secondary epiphenomenon but a key mechanism through which language ideologies and symbolic hierarchiesare reproduced or reconfigured in public space[14].

Study limitations

It is imperative to acknowledge several limitations that shape the interpretation of the findings. Initially, the respondent sample was obtained through convenience and quota-based recruitment, as opposed to probabilistic sampling. Consequently, it facilitates analytically informative comparisons within the present dataset. However, it should not be assumed that the results are representative of all residents of Karlovy Vary or all visitor populations. Furthermore, the two subsamples differ markedly in terms of their sociolinguistic composition (residents are overwhelmingly Czech L1, whereas tourists are linguistically diverse), which means that contrasts between "locals" and "tourists" may partly reflect differences in language biography and nationality rather than audience status alone.

A further constraint pertains to the mode of data collection. Tourists were recruited primarily in situ using a paper questionnaire, whereas residents were sur-

[14] In this study, the approach adopted aligns with Blommaert (431) conceptualisation of language ideologies as socially shared beliefs and evaluations concerning languages and their users, alongside the notion of symbolic hierarchies as the resultant status rankings between languages and scripts within the context of public space.

veyed predominantly online. Despite the constant content of questionnaire items, order of presentation, scale format and instructions across modes, it is not possible to rule out mode-specific response tendencies (e.g. situational engagement, time pressure, device-mediated responding). Consequently, any observed variations between the groups should be interpreted as differences between the two recruited samples under their respective collection conditions, rather than as direct consequences of residence status.

Secondly, the stimulus set is necessarily limited. While the eight signs were selected to span three functional domains and to include Cyrillic targets alongside Latin-script controls, the small number of items per domain restricts the extent to which domain patterns can be generalised beyond the specific signs used in this study. It is hypothesised that sign-level idiosyncrasies (i.e. layout density, typography, imagery, materiality and salience) may contribute to ratings, alongside script and language choice. In addition, the Latin-script controls are English-language items; they provide an "international" benchmark within Karlovy Vary's tourist economy, but they do not allow a strict separation of script effects from broader language-ideological associations attached to English. In a broader sense, script regime, language and geopolitical indexicality are closely intertwined in the contemporary reception of Cyrillic, and the present design is unable to fully disentangle these components.

Thirdly, the key individual-difference measures are coarse. Self-reported proficiency in both Cyrillic and English is subject to misestimation and does not capture fine-grained literacy practices such as partial decoding, recognition of cognates, or reliance on visual branding and contextual cues. This introduces measurement error into analyses that relate competence to perceptual and evaluative outcomes.

Fourthly, the study is cross-sectional and anchored in a particular temporal window (summer 2025), in a period shaped by the post-pandemic restructuring of tourist flows and the ongoing consequences of Russia's 2022 invasion of Ukraine. It is acknowledged that both signage practices and public attitudes may be subject to change in line with evolving geopolitical conditions, mobility patterns and local economies; therefore, the patterns reported here should be regarded as time-bound rather than as stable properties of the city's LL.

Finally, the methodological focus on rating scales offers comparability across stimuli and respondents but does not capture the interpretive depth of respondents' reasoning, such as narrative framings, moral evaluations, and autobiographical associations with Russian and its script. Furthermore, the analysis focuses on visible and relatively stable signage; more transient semiotic resources (e.g. stickers, protest posters, digital overlays) that may be especially sensitive to political events are not included in the present design.

Predictions for longitudinal and qualitative follow-ups

These limitations point towards several promising avenues for future research. Longitudinal studies tracking both production and perception of signage over time would make it possible to observe whether the current configuration of Cyrillic and English in Karlovy Vary's LL represents a transient response to geopolitical crisis or a more durable restructuring of the town's semiotic regime. Re-sampling the same locations and, where feasible, the same businesses and institutions at regular intervals would enable researchers to correlate changes in sign repertoires with shifts in tourist demographics, policy interventions and public opinion.

Qualitative and mixed-methods extensions could deepen understanding of the attitudinal dynamics identified here. Ethnographic interviews and walking tours with residents, tourists and sign-producers would shed light on how actors rationalise their choices of script and language, how they narrate the presence or absence of Russian in public space, and how they position themselves vis-à-vis competing demands of hospitality, political solidarity and commercial pragmatism. Discourse-analytic work on media debates and policy documents relating to signage could further contextualise local practices within wider national and transnational discourses around Russian, Ukrainian and English. In sum, such longitudinal and qualitative follow-ups would allow a more comprehensive account of how scripts become enregistered, contested and renegotiated in the LL of contemporary Europe.

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Appendix

Fragebogen zur Wahrnehmung kyrillischer Beschilderung in Karlovy Vary / Questionnaire on Perception of Cyrillic Signage in Karlovy Vary / Dotazník vnímání cyrilice v Karlových Varech / Опросник по восприятию кириллических надписей в Карловых Варах

Die Teilnahme ist freiwillig. Es können keine Rückschlüsse auf Ihre Person erfolgen. Die Umfrage dient einem wissenschaftlichen Zweck. Es geht um Sprache im öffentlichen Raum. / Participation is voluntary. No conclusions can be drawn about your identity. The survey serves a scientific purpose. It is about language in public spaces. / Účast je dobrovolná. Není možné učinit žádné závěry o vaší osobě. Průzkum slouží vědeckému účelu. Jedná se o jazyk ve veřejném prostoru. / Участие является добровольным. Невозможно сделать выводы о Вашей личности. Опрос проводится в научных целях. Речь идёт о языке в общественном пространстве.

Bitte wählen Sie Ihre Sprache / Please select your language / Vyberte prosím jazyk / Пожалуйста, выберите язык:
1. ( ) Deutsch (DE)
2. ( ) English (EN)
3. ( ) Česky (CZ)
4. ( ) Русский (RU)

1. Screening / Screening / Screening / Скрининг

DE: 1.1. Wohnen Sie in Karlovy Vary oder im Umkreis von 50 km? (Ja / Nein)
EN: 1.1. Do you reside in Karlovy Vary or within a 50 km radius? (Yes / No)
CZ: 1.1. Bydlíte v Karlových Varech nebo v okruhu 50 km? (Ano / Ne)
RU: 1.1. Вы проживаете в Карловых Варах или в радиусе 50 км? (Да / Нет)
DE: 1.2. Falls Nein: Haben Sie Karlovy Vary in den letzten 12 Monaten besucht? (Ja / Nein)
EN: 1.2. If No: Have you visited Karlovy Vary in the last 12 months? (Yes / No)
CZ: 1.2. Pokud ne: Navštívili jste Karlovy Vary v posledních 12 měsících? (Ano / Ne)
RU: 1.2. Если нет: Посещали ли вы Карловы Вары за последние 12 месяцев? (Да / Нет)

2. Sprachkompetenz / Language Proficiency / Jazykové dovednosti / Владение языками

DE: 2.1. Können Sie kyrillische Schrift lesen? (Fließend / Mit Mühe / Gar nicht)
EN: 2.1. Can you read Cyrillic script? (Fluent / With difficulty / Not at all)
CZ: 2.1. Umíte číst cyrilici? (Plynně / S obtížemi / Vůbec ne)
RU: 2.1. Можете ли вы читать кириллицу? (Свободно / С трудом / Совсем нет)
DE: 2.2. Wie gut können Sie Englisch? (Fließend / Mit Mühe / Gar nicht)
EN: 2.2. How well do you know English? (Fluent / With difficulty / Not at all)
CZ: 2.2. Jak dobře umíte anglicky? (Plynně / S obtížemi / Vůbec ne)
RU: 2.2. Насколько хорошо вы знаете английский? (Свободно / С трудом / Совсем нет)

3. Stimuli-Bewertung / Stimuli Rating / Hodnocení stimulů / Оценка стимулов

Bitte betrachten Sie die Bilder und kreuzen Sie die Zahl an, die Ihren Eindruck am besten widerspiegelt. / Please view the images and select the number that best reflects your impression.

/ Prohlédněte si obrázky a vyberte číslo, které nejlépe vyjadřuje Váš dojem. / Просмотрите изображения и отметьте число, которое лучше всего отражает ваше впечатление.

Stimulus A:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

Stimulus B:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

Stimulus C:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

Stimulus D:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

Stimulus E:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

Stimulus F:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

4. Kontrollstimuli (englisch) / Control stimuli (English) / Kontrolní stimuly (anglicky) / Контрольные стимулы (английские)

Stimulus G:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic /

Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

Stimulus H:
Unfamiliar / Unvertraut / Neznámé / Незнакомо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Familiar / Vertraut / Známé / Знакомо Ordinary / Gewöhnlich / Běžné / Обычное [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Exotic / Exotisch / Exotické / Экзотическое Illegible / Unleserlich / Nečitelný / Нечитаемо [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Legible / Leserlich / Čitelný / Читаемо

5. Attention-Check / Attention Check / Kontrolní otázka pozornosti / Проверочный вопрос
Bitte kreuzen Sie „4“ an, um zu zeigen, dass Sie aufmerksam sind.
Please select “4” to show that you are paying attention.

Vyberte prosím „4”, abyste ukázali, že věnujete pozornost.
Пожалуйста, выберите „4”, чтобы показать, что вы внимательны.
[1] [2] [3] [4] [5] [6] [7]

6. Zusatzfragen / Additional Questions / Dodatečné otázky / Дополнительные вопросы
6.1. Wie positiv / negativ ist Ihr Gesamteindruck von kyrillischer Beschilderung in Karlovy Vary?
6.1. How positive / negative is your overall impression of Cyrillic signage in Karlovy Vary?
6.1. Jak pozitivní / negativní je Váš celkový dojem cyrilských nápisů v Karlových Varech?
6.1. Насколько позитивное / негативное у вас общее впечатление от кириллических надписей в Карловых Варах?
Very negative / Sehr negativ / Velmi negativní / Очень негативно [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Sehr positiv / Very positive / Velmi pozitivní / Очень позитивно
6.2. Würden Sie aufgrund dieser Beschilderung eher geneigt sein, einen Ort aufzusuchen?
6.2. Would you be more likely to visit a location because of this signage?
6.2. Byli byste vice nakloněni navštívit místo kvůli tomuto označení?
6.2. Из-за этих надписей вы более склонны посетить это место?
Eher nicht / Rather not / Spíš ne / Скорее нет [1][2][3][4][5][6][7] Eher ja / Rather yes / Spíše ano / Скорее да

7. Demografische Angaben / Demographic Data / Demografické údaje / Демографические данные
Alter / Age / Věk / Возраст:
Geschlecht / Gender / Pohlaví / Пол: [ ] Weiblich / Female / Žena / Женский [ ] Männlich / Male / Muž / Мужской [ ] Divers / Diverse / Divers / Divers [ ] Keine Angabe / Prefer not to say
/ Ne chciu vádět / Предпочитаю не указывать
Muttersprache(n) / Mother tongue(s) / Mateřský jazyk(y) / Родные языки:
Nationalität / Nationality / Národnost / Национальность