Cataplanas, *ayurveda* and *чай*. Interpreting the Superdiversity of the Linguistic Landscape of Benaulim, Goa

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ABSTRACT

Goa, a former Portuguese colony for nearly five centuries, and earlier under both the Hindu and the Islamic rule, was annexed to India only in 1961. It is at present an affluent state, which attracts numerous tourists from both India and abroad. Portuguese currently holds no status in Goa, and the official local language is the Sanskrit-based Konkani; moreover, also Marathi and English, an auxiliary language of India, may be used in official contexts. The paper analyses the linguistic superdiversity of contemporary Goa in order to establish reasons that inform it by exploring the linguistic landscape of Benaulim, a popular seaside resort. The study demonstrates that, despite official regulations a vast majority of the collected signs were written in English. Otherwise, there were numerous notices in Russian, a handful of signs in Hindi, Marathi, and Portuguese, and hardly any in Konkani. Noteworthy were also numerous mixed-language, multiscriptal signs recorded in the data. The analysis of the distribution and content of the signs has allowed for a broad identification of contexts typically associated with respective languages: the use of Portuguese and Konkani in the religious sphere, Hindi and Marathi in the institutional contexts, Russian in entertainment and medical set-ups. English, on the other hand, has been found in all the investigated contexts as a marker of upward mobility in India and a language of global communication of the contemporary world.

Keywords: linguistic landscape; superdiversity; English; Russian; Konkani

INTRODUCTION

The question of linguistic superdiversity (Vertovec, 2007) has become a frequent aspect of sociolinguistic investigation in the contemporary globalized world. The Indian state of Goa, functioning within the borders of the Republic of India since 1961, following its annexation by India after 461 years as a Portuguese colony, presents a particularly interesting case in this respect (Thomaz, 2016). Not only is it a member of one of the most multilingual countries of the world, with 22 official state languages, Hindi, the national language, and English as an auxiliary language, which already makes its linguistic milieu sufficiently complex. Goa has in itself, over the centuries, also witnessed a varying fate of the languages used within its borders. The contemporary socio-political situation of Goa resulting from the current political system of the country, but also a growing dominance of English in India and a particularly flourishing tourist business there, have added to the linguistic superdiversity of Goa. Studying a linguistic complexity of an area is always challenging. However, an overview of the linguistic landscape of one of the locations, in an attempt

to understand the ideology, power structures, and sense of identity hidden behind the visibility and distribution of particular languages in public signs may serve as a viable source of knowledge, disclosing indirectly what the present status of various social and linguistic groups is.

THE LINGUISTIC SITUATION OF GOA

The Goa, Daman and Diu Official Language Act, 1987 (Act No. 5 of 1987) [14-4-1987][1] stipulates that Konkani is to be the official language of the Union and as such shall be used for all purposes; moreover, as highlighted by the NCLM50th Report, Konkani is to use the Devanāgari script.[2] Beside Konkani, also the Marathi language and the Gujarati language shall have an official status in the Goa District and the Daman and Diu Districts, respectively. Furthermore, point 4 states that the English language shall continue to be used in addition to the languages specified above for any purpose in the Union territory. The complexity of the linguistic situation in Goa is also reflected in the results of the last census (2011), according to which the population of Goa reported the following use of main languages: Konkani (66.11%), Marathi (10.89%), Hindi (8.64%), Kannada (4.65%), and Urdu (2.82%).[3]

English, as indicated above, has also been recognized in Goa, it is, however, not the first European language to have been associated with that part of India. In the 2nd half of the 16th c. Goa became a Portuguese colony (Fernandes, 2008). It was connected with the European race to establish trading posts on the Indian subcontinent, including the British East India Company. However, stronger ties between the British India and Goa date back to the Napoleonic era, when British troops stationed in Goa, and subsequently English-medium schools were established in the area (Coelho, 2016). When annexed by India in 1961, the population of Goa had to decide whether they wished to stay united as a union territory, under the central government of India, or be partitioned among the neighbouring states. In the end, in 1987 Goa was transformed into an autonomous state (Thomaz, 2016).

Even though Portuguese was the sole official language of Portuguese Goa (in 1952 there were 128 schools in Portuguese and 24 in Portuguese combined with other languages), already in 1940 numerous students in Goa spoke Konkani as their vernacular (Rodrigues, 2000), while Portuguese was hardly spoken by the masses and used rather out of necessity. Once Goa got annexed by India, and Konkani became the official language of the state in 1987,[4] the visibility of Portuguese declined. It remained for longer only in some domains (notably, it was used more frequently for religious practices and by women rather than men), and otherwise survived in the

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[1] "3. Official language of the Union territory.— (1) With effect from such date as the Administrator may, by notification, appoint, Konkani language shall, subject to the provisions contained in sections 34 and 35 of the Government of Union Territories Act, 1963 (Central Act 20 of 1963), be the official language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union territory, and different dates may be appointed for different official purposes:
Provided that the Administrator may, by a like notification, direct that in case of the Goa District the Marathi language, and in the case of Daman and Diu Districts, the Gujarati language, shall also be used for all or any of the official purposes and different dates may be appointed for different official purposes: Provided further that nothing contained in this sub-section shall be deemed to affect the use of the Marathi and Gujarati languages in educational, social or cultural fields.
4, Continued use of English language.— Notwithstanding anything contained in section 3, the English language shall continue to be used in addition to the languages specified in that section for all or any of the official purposes of the Union territory." (The Goa, Daman and Diu Official Language Act, 1987; https://www.indiacode.nic.in/bitstream/123456789/6809/1/ official_language_act.pdf)
[2] https://web.archive.org/web/20160708012438/http://nclm.nic.in/shared/linkimages/NCLM50thReport.pdf
[3] https://censusindia.gov.in/census.website/data/census-tables.
[4] http://lisindia.ciil.org/Konkani/Konkani_hist.html

form of borrowings in Konkani (Wherritt, 1985). The Liceu in Panjim continued courses in Portuguese till 1967, but then they were discontinued for the lack of students (Rodrigues, 2000), and the English medium education was introduced instead. Regarding the religious practices, in 1968 the Vatican allowed for the shift of the liturgy from Latin to Konkani, Portuguese and English. Currently, however, the holy mass is held in Portuguese only in three Goan churches, and otherwise liturgy in Konkani prevails. According to the Lusophone Society of Goa website, nowadays there are only ca. 8000 people over 50 who still speak Portuguese in Goa.[5]

The above overview presents the historical development of Goa as regards the official use of languages. Following from the above, it could therefore be assumed that when arriving in Goa one would be exposed to linguistic information and public signs primarily in Konkani, possibly in Marathi, and then in English. This, however, is not necessarily the case, especially regarding the public signage in coastal resorts of the state. In contrast to what the official language policy provides, the overview of the collected data will demonstrate a very different linguistic landscape of Goa to be found in the 21st century.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Linguistic landscape (LL) has by now become a well established research framework, having grown from the initial, descriptive, analyses of certain multilingual locations, e.g. in Canada (Landry & Bourhis, 1997), to by now a diverse field of analysing public signs from both descriptive and critical point of view (Gorter, 2006, 2018, Blommaert, 2013, Gorter & Cenoz, 2024). Defined by Landry and Bouris (1997, p. 23) as "the visibility and salience of languages on public and commercial signs" it has transformed from investigating signs in largely metropolitan spaces, as e.g. Tokyo (Backhaus, 2006, Gorter, 2013), to other locations as well as forms of public signage. The subjects of analysis have been advertisements (Ben-Rafael, 2009, Spolsky, 2009, Santello, 2016, Dąbrowska, 2024), various types of scripts and emblematic[6] use of languages (Blommaert, 2010), and now even images, sounds, smells and other multimodal signs (Ben-Rafael et al., 2006, Ivkovic & Lotherington, 2009, Jaworski and Thurlow, 2010, Scarvaglieri et al., 2013). Contemporary LL studies have particularly focused on tourist spaces (Prasert & Zilli, 2019, Yan 2019, Hasni et al., 2022) and the role of LL in language learning (Gorter et al., 2021). What marks the more recent LL studies is also a critical assessment of changing ideologies which inform the public signage (Pavlenko, 2009, Sloboda, 2009), and a discussion of the dominant position of certain languages (Dąbrowska, 2022c, Rababah et al., 2023, Lee, 2024). According to the definition formulated by *The Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal* (2015: https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/22149961), LL is now viewed as a field which "attempts to understand the motives, uses, ideologies, language varieties and contestations of multiple forms of 'languages' as they are displayed in public spaces."

The linguistic diversity of India has been a subject of numerous studies over the years. The most typical approach has concerned spatial distribution of languages in the state, presented from a contemporary or a historical angle (Dutt et al., 1985, Kalra & Dutt, 2019), and more recently conducted from a critical standpoint with an aim to improve the functioning of Indian society

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[5] https://lusophonegoa.org/en/2021/11/portuguese-language-studies-in-brazil-and-goa
[6] According to Blommaert (2010, p. 31) a word changes from a linguistic sign to an emblematic one when it ceases to be something that produces a linguistic meaning due to lack of the linguistic competence of those who use it and is therefore interpreted more for its semiotic value; a symbolic connotation.

(Jolad & Agarwal, 2021, Vasanthan et al., 2023). A frequent aspect of studies has been the question of multilingual education as well as the role of English in it (Groff, 2015, Rao, 2021, Mahapatra & Anderson, 2023). The inclusion of the concept of linguistic landscape in the Indian context has been fairly limited to date, however. An important early contribution to be noted are seminar proceedings (Itagi & Singh, Eds., 2002) devoted to studies of LL with reference to new states, notably Jharkhand, Uttaranchal and Chhattisgarh. In his study, in turn, Ahmad (2016) postulated the use of LL data as a tool for engaging with linguistic diversity in educational context. Gogoi and Sinha (2023) and Bharadwaz and Shukla (2018) investigated the localities of Sivasagar and Tezpur, respectively, highlighting the dominance of English in the researched areas. Choksi (2015, 2021), on the other hand, focused on the study of linguistic landscape in West Bengal, analysing the distribution and role of various scripts in the local bazaar and the mechanism of antagonistic alignments between communities reflected through those.

The above overview shows, therefore, that the quantitative method applied to the study of the linguistic diversity in specific localities has not been used in India frequently to date, and if so, then primarily with reference to the Hindi-speaking parts. It is an approach, however, which allows for an investigation of both top-down (official) and bottom-up (private) use of languages, observation of the language policy and manifestation of citizens' attitudes towards various language varieties found in a given area. The present study aims to add another location to the linguistic map of India in this respect. Unlike the aforementioned studies, however, it will focus on an area outside the Northern Belt and away from the primary role of Hindi. Its unique contribution is also to be seen in the fact that, unlike in the above areas in which English competed against local languages, in Goa the linguistic diversity will result not only from coexistence of numerous indigenous languages in the investigated area, but also, potentially, as many as three languages transplanted to India from Europe, whose both historical role and present status need to be taken into account to understand the intricate linguistic pattern of the Goan landscape. In this context, the study will also attempt to more closely examine the role and status of Konkani, an official language of the state which contributed to the loss of Portuguese in Goa several decades ago and now itself appears to be in a precarious position due to the growing dominance of English.

The aim of the paper is, therefore, to identify the forces which have led to the current linguistic superdiversity of Goa, and uncover the possible interplay between the local sense of identity and its symbolic representation in the use of languages in the public space and the economic and global trends that shape the contemporary character of the state. A critical assessment of the of the role and distribution of languages in the linguistic landscape of the village of Benaulim, a seaside resort in South Goa, will be used to investigate how the colonial past, the present national loyalty and the globalized forces have contributed to the current superdiversity of Goa and the role that the respective languages have been led to assume.

METHODOLOGY

The discussion of the use of languages in Goa's public space will be based on the analysis of data collected in one specific place in Goa, a seaside resort village of Benaulim in the district of South Goa, the Salcete sub-district. During the Portuguese rule it was one of the *communidades* of Salcete. It has been selected for the purpose of this investigation as a representative location for the current socioeconomic profile of the state, whose income is largely derived from tourism and

recreation.[7] At the same time Benaulim has proved to be sufficiently compact (the total population of Benaulim as of the 2011 census was 11,919 persons) to allow for a fairly thorough overview of its linguistic landscape of public signage visible in the form of names of shops, hotels, services and other private and public institutions, written notices, advertising boards, and other written information, which would, in turn, be treated as reflective of the current, both official and private sociolinguistic trends in the use of languages in the written public signs in Goa.

The collection of data was completed in February 2023. The researched area covered the space located between Benaulim Beach, Sernabatim Beach Rd, Sernabatim Benaulim Rd, Vasvaddo Beach Rd., Dabolim-Cavelossim Rd. and Varca Rd. The area was chosen for the study due to the fact that it is a densely populated quarter between the beach and the main road which itself runs through the village and embraces the village centre. The area, featuring numerous private houses, tourist set-ups, shops, services and places of worship was recognized as a rich and representative source of both public and private signs targeting various types of clientele.

A triangulated quantitative and qualitative method was employed for the purpose of the research. Firstly, the signs were photographed and subsequently manually divided into sets of signs in one of the six languages identified in the area or a particular combination of those. Once the signs were assigned to specific language categories, their content and function were analysed in order to establish a typical semantic field with which a given language was typically associated with. The obtained categories were then critically examined to identify the possible ideologies that were likely to inform such a choice of languages, firstly in respect of the official state linguistic ideology, the expectations imposed by tourism and, finally, markers of the inhabitants' sense of local identity.

The signs collected were only those visible from the road, whether located directly in it on shops and other services' facades or inside the buildings, but still visible from the road (e.g. church notices on notice boards or menus in restaurants and bars as long as they were advertised outside the set-ups, e.g., written on boards outside restaurants). All signs located in the research area were included in the sample, on assumption that they would reflect both top-down and bottom-up use of and preferences for languages in the researched area. In effect, the collected signs would encompass, respectively, names of shops, hotels, restaurants, institutions, businesses, temples as well as private houses and notices displayed by the road by both institutions and individuals (no street names on buildings were detected in the researched area).

The analysis presented below was developed on the premise that the languages in the signs would not be used haphazardly, but represent a certain regularity linked with both the public and the private domain as well as the sense of identity of the owners and/or addressees of the message conveyed by the sign. The following research questions informed the direction of the study and will subsequently contribute to the content of the discussion section:

1. Is the colonial past still in any way reflected in the choice of the languages used in the signs?
2. Is there any pattern visible in the choice of languages used in the signs in connection with the public vs. the private status of the set-ups? Do the public signs reflect the official language policy of the state, especially with regard to Konkani?
3. Is the choice of languages in the signs specifically linked with any cultural, religious, or functional character of the place or activity they refer to?

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[7] https://www.iloveindia.com/states/goa/economy.html

4. Which language dominates in the signs in the researched area? What socio-economic forces inform this choice?

5. Has the public signage admitted any new language as a result of the recent developments of tourism and foreign migration to Goa? If so, which domains in particular have been open to the foreign influence? How has the new language been integrated into the local linguistic landscape?

RESEARCH FINDINGS

Altogether, the linguistic landscape analysis has demonstrated the visibility of 332[4] signs in as many as six languages, which were, alphabetically: English, Hindi, Konkani, Marathi, Portuguese, and Russian. The following sections will discuss the material collected in the above languages in the chronological order (as far as the time at which a given language was introduced to Goa) as well as in respect of their status, relationship and frequency of use. For this reason, Konkani will come first as the official language of the state and one of the earliest languages used in the area before the colonial period. It will be followed by Hindi and Marathi, combined into one section, due to their genetic relatedness, their early presence in the area and also scarcity of the data in the two. The next in line, historically, will be Portuguese, followed by English and, finally, Russian.

The preliminary overview, however, has demonstrated numerous cases of public notices produced in two, three, at times even four languages, either with a parallel or, more often, complementary meaning of the respective textual items (Sebba, 2013). Such cases will also be discussed in the subsequent parts of the text. In order not to create separate sections for these, the language combinations will be included together with the language which, due to its enhanced visibility (its share of the text, size of the letters, etc.) appeared to prevail in the respective public sign. The numerical distribution of signs in respective languages is summarized in Table 1 at the end of the Research Findings section.

KONKANI

Konkani is a Sanskrit-based language, a member of the Southern Indo-Aryan group of languages, and originally written in the Devanāgari script (Masica, 1991). However, due to the liturgical texts having been developed by the Roman Catholic church in Konkani, it has additionally acquired its Romanised form, Romi Konknni, with its roots going back to the 16th c. (Thomaz, 2016). There has also been much pressure exerted by Christian Goans to recognise this Konkani version, sanctioned only recently. In 1975 Konkani, now spoken by more than 7 mln users, was given a status of an independent language, and in 1992 was counted among the national languages by the Indian Constitution.[5] However, today Konkani has been threatened with demise, being used mainly in Goa and not studied outside of it, and there also used to be a period of strong competition between Konkani and Marathi linked with a controversy about their origin and subsequent Christian-Hindu religious tensions (Matsukawa, 2002, Coelho, 2016). Recently, it has been observed that Goan parents often speak English at home instead of Konkani to give their children a better head start for their future professional careers. Most Konkani speakers are bilingual or trilingual, which undoubtedly contributes to the attrition of the language (Kurzon, 2004).

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[4] In a few cases when the same sign appeared twice (viz. names of banks), each instance was counted as a separate sign.
[5] http://lisindia.ciil.org/Konkani/Konkani_hist.html

The overview of the collected signs in the present study has confirmed the very limited use of Konkani also in the written form in public space, despite its official status in Goa and its being a marker of identity for many local inhabitants. Public notices in the researched area contained Konkani only in four cases (1.2% of all the signs). One (an extensive church poster with information about an event) was fully in Konkani, two others offered parallel versions in Konkani and English, and the fourth notice contained a Konkani phrase in otherwise an English matrix text.

It is noteworthy that the notices were mostly found in a local church, the Holy Trinity, and its surroundings. The text fully in Konkani was a poster announcing *Jivitacho Prokas* ('light of life'), and was further defined by a phrase *Hê Konknni Pustikecho Rupea Utsov* ('this is a brochure of the Konkan festival'). The event was to be held at *Dhormprantik Loukhik Sevê Kendr Lar de Estudantes. Altinho Ponjê Gôy* ('the student centre of the religious secular service, Altinho Panaji Goa'). The two further notices were placed at the back of the church on offering boxes, visible from the road. One of them read (in the order indicated): *To the poor / Mhojem Dan goribank*, and the latter: *To the church / Mhojem da igorjek / my offering*. The fourth text was an announcement of an event placed on the fence near the church entrance. It read: *Bryan's Musiclix Boys. Sopon Zalem Purem* ('dreams fulfilled'). *Thirst for the love of Konkani music*. In all the cases the Roman script was used.

FIGURE 1. Examples of signs in Konkani and Konkani with English

This highly limited, yet thematically focused representation of the use of Konkani demonstrates that written Konkani is not the first choice of Goan users as far as either public or private notices are concerned, but when it does appear, it is primarily associated with the institution of the Catholic Church. Indeed, four examples may not lead to reliable conclusions, however, as I observed in both North and South Goa, the church rites are performed (orally) in Konkani, so the church is still where one may hear the language in public space.

HINDI AND MARATHI

The other Indian languages (from the Indo-European family) which have an official presence in India and in Goa and which have been found in the collected material, are Hindi and Marathi. The two are put in one category because, as in the case of Konkani, their visibility in the public space of Benaulim proves to be quite low, though it is more prominent, and of a different quality. While Hindi may stand alone, the appearance of Marathi tends to be combined with Hindi in the identified texts. Moreover, unlike in the case of Konkani, which is more often than not written in the Roman script, the other two mostly, though not solely, use the Devanāgari script. The script of the two is not identical, as Marathi employs some additional characters motivated by a slightly different inventory of sounds, and there is also some difference in the use of diacritics (Dhongde & Wali, 2009). Nevertheless, the two scripts are very similar, and in short inscriptions the two languages may not be easy to distinguish. However, the collected data did contain a few items in Marathi beside the majority of the Devanāgari examples written in Hindi.

The analysis of the Hindi and Marathi texts is complex due to the graphic side, moreover, one also needs to pay attention to whether the inscriptions stand alone or are accompanied by another language, mostly English. Moreover, there have been a number of words reflecting cultural Indian concepts, primarily from Sanskrit or from Persian, found in otherwise English texts. They have certainly become borrowings in English and other non-Indian languages, yet there is no doubt about their origin, and their appearance in the public notices broadly enhances the visibility of Indian words and concepts. What also needs to be noted are proper names in public signs, some of which are Hindi in origin and linked with the Hindu religion and culture.

In conclusion, the pool of data exemplifying Hindi and Marathi elements consists of eight signs in Hindi, all but two cases accompanied by English (and Marathi), five in Marathi (always accompanied by English or Hindi), as well as eight texts containing the above-mentioned characteristic Indian cultural concepts. In addition to those, also 37 signs containing proper Hindi names as well as 7 Hindi concepts used internationally were included. Altogether, this category amounted to 65 items (19.57% of all) with a Hindi/Marathi/Indian element. Some, but few, as could be seen above, were complete texts. This category should further be expanded by multilingual texts (see the end of the section) composed in two, three or four languages used in one public sign, including a Hindi or a Marathi element. These encompass, respectively, one notice in Hindi+Russian, one in Hindi+Portuguese, one in Hindi+English+Russian and three signs in English+Portuguese+Hindi+Russian. They, however, will be discussed in connection with English, Portuguese or Russian, respectively, as the Hindi element in them was typically limited to one emblematic Hindi word. With respect to those combinations, it needs to be stated that words which were recognized as Indian elements could be proper names of people or places, as well as Hindi words written e.g. in the Cyrillic script, but of undisputable Indian origin and connotations (e.g. *guru* or *ayurveda*). This group, in total, consisted of 71 (21.38%) public signs with elements (partly) composed in or derived from Hindi or Marathi.

FIGURE 2. Examples of signs in Hindi and Marathi in the Devanāgari and Roman scripts

Regarding the graphically distinctive inscriptions in this category, two names are the official names of two major Indian banks, the State Bank of India (SBI) and the Bank of Baroda, each of which provides its name in three language versions. The largest in size is written in English, yet next to it versions in Hindi and in Marathi also appear (side by side with which also a phrase बेनावलिम शाखा/*Benaulim Branch* in Hindi and English, is to be seen). Such a choice of languages in the names of the banks is a top-down decision of the state of India to be found all over the country, the use of the two Indian languages is, therefore, obligatory. Here Hindi is high on the national indexicality scale as the official language of the state. A similar reason for the choice of languages is, likewise, to be identified in the case of a large densely printed banner depicting the Ministry of Minority Affairs' programme, प्रधानमंत्री जन विकास कार्यक्रम ('Prime Minister's public development programme') (with the acronym *PMJVK* and the website address being the only non-Hindi elements there).

Other signs, this time featuring English with Marathi, are to be found in banners of two companies. One is that of *Asiapaints*. *Colour World*, in which the name *Jangid Enterprises* is written and next to it the same name is transliterated in Marathi in Devanāgari: जांगिड़ एंटरप्रायझेस. Another is that of *Shree Ganpati General Store*, side by side with which there is also the same name श्री गणपती जनरल स्टोअर transliterated in the Devanāgari script below. Yet, above the name of the shop a text of a mantra, i.e. श्री गणेशाय नम ('Lord Ganesha I pray to you') comes in Devanāgari only.

A different context calling for the use of Hindi is a reference to the Hindu religion. Located in the investigated area the Hindu Shri Laxmi Mandir displays the name of the building written in Hindi: श्री लक्ष्मी देवालय ('Shree Laxmi temple'), which is additionally accompanied by some other details: श्री लक्ष्मी प्रसन्ना ('happy Shree Laxmi'), and below बनावली-गोवा ('Benaulim – Goa'). This is one of two texts entirely written in Hindi, another one being the name of a house, ॐ दत्त ठाकुराधार ('the base of Om Datt Thakur'). The remaining examples, e.g. another sign referring to the temple by the road, contain the same text as on the temple, but are also accompanied by the English version.

Similarly, the name of a cake shop, *Monginis,* by *Shirodkar Enterprises*, is written primarily in English, yet the name of the company comes both in the Roman and the Devanāgari script, viz. मॉन्जिनीज. On the other hand, the Amul company shop uses mostly Hindi, but in the Latin alphabet and some English text in it too, viz. *Amul Doodh Peeta hai India* ('India drinks Amul milk'). *Amul Milk, Fresh & Frozen Wholesale & Retail*. Also many names of local dishes on restaurant boards are written in Hindi, but in the Romanised version.

Similar comments as those regarding the use of Hindi will apply to the visibility of Marathi (cf. the names of the two banks, respectively, भारतीय स्टेट बँक 'State Bank of India' and बँक ऑफ बडोदा 'Bank of Baroda'). The only example that does not fit an institutional context is a private poster which advertises services of an astrologer. The complex text contains 4 phrases in Marathi, with the headline phrased हरे कृष्णा ज्योतिष फेंद्र ('Hare Krishna astrology centre'), and the only item in English reads *Tantra astrologer*.

The remaining examples of signs in the Indian languages are written in the Roman script. They tend to be of a more symbolic character, as they are concepts embedded in the Indian culture, e.g. *Benaulim Village Panchayat* ('village council'); *Sri Damodar Prasanna* ('happy Lord Damodar'); *Jai Hind* ('victory to India') *Supermarket*; *Yatra* ('travel'); *Aggie's Mahal* ('Aggie's palace'); *Ushalaya* ('office'). Such concepts either make references to local names or concepts, e.g. to a locally worshipped god *Damodar* (Vishnu), or they evoke certain symbolic associations, of e.g. *yatra* ('trip') with a travel office or *mahal*[6] with a luxury set-up/hotel.

Side by side with those, as indicated above, one should also include a group of signs in which those by now internationally acclaimed Indian concepts are used. They may not themselves have any specific cultural connotations, but when used as borrowings in foreign languages they do symbolically mark Indianness. And in the context studied in this paper they do enhance the visibility of Indian languages as opposed to Portuguese or English. The words found in the public signs feature items like: *ayurveda, guru, yoga, mantra, tantric, Diwali, mandir*, e.g. as in *Ayur Mantra, Guru Pantajasli Ayurveda Clinic*, *Ayurvedic Yoga Clinic*.

This category, as flagged above, may further be expanded by a group of other 37 items with proper personal names used in names of shops, restaurants and other businesses, which are distinctly Indian in character. Undoubtedly, the owners wanted to stress their proprietorship this way, and otherwise the set-ups did not carry any other specifically Indian connotations beside the names used in them, as in: *Sanjay's Goan Pork & Sausages Shop, Hari's German bakery, Ria's Hair and Beauty, Anand Wines, Mandvi Yoga Classes.* However, when juxtaposed with a sizeable group of names of set-ups which employed Portuguese personal names in the names of the enterprises (see below), their presence undoubtedly enhanced the visibility of native Indian elements in the linguistic landscape of the location.

PORTUGUESE

An overview of the collected material has demonstrated a particularly low representation of the Portuguese language in the linguistic landscape of Benaulim. There were only two public signs (0.6% of all the signs) in Portuguese, used as names of buildings. which appeared alone, without any other text or language: *Alegria* ('happiness') and *Casa Gloria* ('house of glory'). Otherwise, although the group of 45 items to be discussed below (13.55%), further enhanced by 3+3 items (1.8%) of trilingual signs (notably, Portuguese+English+Russian or Portuguese+English+Hindi)

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[6] The word *mahal* 'palace' came to Hindi from Arabic via Persian (https://etymologeek.com/eng/mahal)

may at first appear to be a fairly solid group, the following discussion will demonstrate that they tend to be short phrases of a more emblematic or universally recognised character. They included, e.g. *Viva Carnival* ('long live carnival') (it is to be noted that Goa is famous of its carnival festivities), *Costa Viva* ('living coast'), *Da Silva Casa* ('Da Silva's house'), *Casa de Caji* ('cashews house'), *Castellos* ('castles'), etc. All these, however, appeared within or were paired up with an English text.

FIGURE 3. Examples of signs in Portuguese and Portuguese with English

Otherwise, in mixed-language examples, the Portuguese element was typically that of a name, either of the owner or, possibly, related to some cultural aspect of the place, e.g. *Maria Hall, Fernandes Supermarket, Emmanuel Guest House, Desouza House; Gomes Villa; San João Holiday Homes; Estavão Bakery; King Jesus Store.* Such examples indicate how the local people approach the colonial times/ancestry. As said above, Portuguese connoted the colonial past, especially at the time of the liberation, and as such was strongly discouraged in public communication. Yet, it obviously appears important to Goans to link to that not so distant past, as some may still remember those days. The fact that the references to Portuguese tended to appear as primarily personal names of inhabitants proves that such names must have been in use in the local families. And the fact that they are still readily used, rather than substituted by Indian or English names, demonstrates that people have not rejected their roots and still give Portuguese names to their children (and additionally, names with religious Christian connotations, like *Jesus, Maria, Emmanuel, Aloysius, Francis*). While the visibility of other common Portuguese vocabulary in the public signs appears to be limited, the use of such proper names marks their identity, making Goan inhabitants unique as a result of their Portuguese, and also, importantly, Christian past. The names, therefore, perform a symbolic function (Blommaert, 2010) of their European and Christian heritage, but otherwise Portuguese is not further reflected in the public signage.

ENGLISH

English surpasses all other languages found in the collected sample both in terms of the number and the scope of semantic fields reflected, having been found in 166 (50%) signs as the only language, as well as in 45 (13.55%) signs combined with Portuguese, 29 (8.73%) signs with Russian, 11 (3.31%) with Hindi/Marathi, and 3 (0.9%) with Konkani, most already discussed in the respective sections. English, which substituted another colonial language in Goa just over 60 years ago has permeated the local community to its very core through both official and unofficial channels. As an auxiliary language of India, facilitating communication among the states, it has been encouraged as a medium of communication. Moreover, its role in India has been especially

strengthened as a result of the three-language formula implemented in India's educational system, according to which education is to be delivered in the state language, Hindi and English (Biswas, 2004). In Goa alone, in turn, English has been accepted as a neutral way of communication in substitution of Portuguese and its colonial connotations. The development of the entertainment business in India, notably of Bollywood, has brought a huge popularity of English disseminated through various mass media channels (Graddol, 2010). This has coincided with the exceptional position of English in the contemporary world, which in the case of Goa has become particularly useful in the tourist industry that Goa relies on significantly in the economic sphere.

The number of English-medium notices of various kind in the collected material is massive; the total, when extended by those combinations with other languages, has reached the staggering figure of 301 texts (90.66%). In many public notices or names of buildings English is the only language used (166 signs – 50%), e.g. *Goan Vintage Crafts; Holy Trinity Parish Centre; Holy Trinity Cold Storage; Opening Shortly The Kitchen on Top, Hotel Rental. Single and Double Bed Rooms with Kitchen Available*. In numerous cases English words also appear along items in other languages, especially Portuguese, Russian and Hindi/Marathi (45+29+11, respectively). In some they form a part of the message, e.g. there may only be one English word or phrase in otherwise a Russian text, as in e.g. *Blue Lagoon.* Ресторан у бассейна рядом с супермаркетом (…), or it may form an element of the name of a property which otherwise bears the owner's Portuguese or Hindi name, e.g. *Gomes Land, Rosario's Inn, Sanjay's Goan Pork and Sausages Shop, Hotel Priti.*

FIGURE 4. Examples of signs in English

The overview of the collected material has demonstrated the use of English in a generic role in such categories as a) various types of shops (selling food, jewellery, souvenirs, clothes), e.g.*, India Spice Shop; Fernandes Supermarket; Cedric Bakery*; *Pearls gift & Fashion wear, Kashmir Art Gallery Souvenirs*; b) beauty services: *Ria's Hair and Beauty Saloon*; c) medical care: *Goa Eyecare*; d) cleaning services: *Classic laundry*; e) interior decoration services: *Anceto Decorators*; f) handicrafts: *Goan Vintage Crafts*; or g) digital services: *Fernandes Studio. Digital photography and videography*. As already highlighted, English is used by default in names of state banks, parallel with Hindi and Marathi, as in: *Bank of Baroda; State Bank of India*. It normally appears in restaurant and bar names and menus: *Domnick's Seafood Restaurant; Jack's Corner Bar*, in entertainment advertisements: *Valonia's Seaview Beach Shack presents the Memory Trio, Valentine's Evening Special*, especially those located on the beach, e.g. *Blue Lagoon; Carina Beach Resort.* It comes in almost every name of tourist accommodation, e.g. *Francia Guest House; Desouza House*, even if at times combined with words/names from other languages. It is also a language used in official church references, e.g. in names of the facilities: *Holy Trinity Parish Church; Holy Land Tours* or in information about religious events (parallel with Konkani). Finally, English appears in private notices displayed on notice boards, e.g. *Pre-primary school. Play School, Nursery. English Medium*, and in signs providing directions.

In practice, one may conclude that it is English that defines the day-to-day business in Goa, if not in speech, which has not been investigated here, then most certainly in writing. This, in turn, demonstrates that the position of English is very high on both the local and the global scale. It not only facilitates local business transactions among locals of various ethnic and religious background and, in particular, with tourists and foreign settlers, but it also allows Goans to keep up with contemporary global trends in which the use of English as an international language and a language of upward mobility plays a particularly significant role.

RUSSIAN

The last language identified in the linguistic landscape of Benaulim is Russian. A rather unexpected addition to the landscape, not grown out of any historical events affecting Goa or India in a broad sense, Russian is a development of the recent twenty years, i.e. since the times when the first chartered flights arrived from Russia in Goa. This has led to quite an extensive settlement of Russian expats in Goa, particularly the village of Morjim in North Goa,[7] and has been attracting more settlers ever since. Although the influx of Russian-speaking tourists and settlers diminished over the Covid-19 pandemic, it has started to pick up again post-pandemic, and has also been enhanced by an influx of migrants after Russian invasion of Ukraine.[8]

Most of the Russian inscriptions found in public signs appeared next to other languages, though in nine cases Russian stood alone in a public sign, as in: Натуральное кокосовое масло ('natural coconut oil'); уголок рикки, супы, салаты, блины и многое ('Ricky's corner, soups, salads, pancakes and much more'), or аюрведа ('ayurveda'). Texts in which Russian was combined with English were also well represented (29 signs), e.g. *Indian Pekoe Tea*. магазин чая ('tea shop'); *Health and happiness. Chemist & druggist*. здоровья и счастья. химик и аптекарь ('Health and happiness. chemist and pharmacist'); *Sho-Faz Galaxy Supermarket, Cold Storage and Wine store*. супермаркет и вино магазин ('supermarket and wine shop'); *The Pavillion Resto-*

[7] https://www.dw.com/en/the-russian-love-affair-with-goa/a-6439537
[8] https://worldcrunch.com/focus/russians-in-india

bar. Multi cuisine. русское меню доступно. свежие морепродукты ('Russian menu available. fresh seafood').

FIGURE 5. Examples of texts in Russian and Russian with English

The most interesting and complex combinations of all, as highlighted above, consisted of two, three or four languages, occasionally also with some elements transliterated, and some left in the original. A simple example in Hindi+Russian read: *Ayur Mantra.* Экскурсии ('Excursions'), with the Hindi words in a Romanised version. A more complex example in Hindi+English+Russian was phrased as follows: *Aggie's Mahal. Restaurant and Bar.* агги Махал. ресторан и бар ('Aggie mahal. Restaurant and bar'). Noteworthy were three signs in Portuguese+English+Russian, e.g. *Malibu. Bar and Seafood Restaurant.* Малибу рестоарн ('Malibu restaurant'). *Today's special seafood Goan cataplanas. Benaulim Beach* or *Ricky's Corner cafe and restaurant.* уголок рикки ('Ricky's corner').

Instances of signs in Portuguese+English+Hindi+Russian also featured in the data, e,g., *Pele's Place. Arya Ayurveda & Wellness.* Массаж ('massage'). An especially interesting sign consisted of English and Russian with individual items in Portuguese (a proper name) and Hindi (the word *shakti* 'power' in the Romanised version, as the name of the band), viz. *Tuesday. Pedro's since 1969. Live music. Every Tuesday.* Каждый вторник ('every Tuesday'). *Graeme.* ГРЭМ ('/Grem/'). *The Shakti Soul.* Шакти душа ('Shakti soul') *Ub 40 playing reggae at 7.30 pm. Ub 40* Игра ('play') *Reggae at 19.30* часов ('hours'). *Pedro's Restaurant, Benaulim Beach* (cf. Fig. 6). The text presents a truly complex example of a multilingual sign freely combining the above languages and scripts in a completely unpredictable way, and also with visible breaches of grammar (see below). As in the case of Portuguese, the use of Russian appears to be primarily emblematic here, the intention behind to draw attention of potential Russian clients, not to express a proper message in this language.

FIGURE 6. Examples of multilingual, multiscriptal signs

Undeniably, the presence of Russian in the public space of Benaulim and the tourist regions of Goa cannot be ignored. Signs in Russian numerically exceeded that of the visibility of local Indian languages and stood out too due to the use of yet another script, especially that some of the public signs making use of the Cyrillic alphabet were quite large. Indeed, as was highlighted above, some of the signs were actually Russian transliterations of the local, English, Portuguese or Hindi words or names, like Малибу Ресторан ('Malibu restaurant') or Фернандес супермаркет ('Fernandes supermarket'). However, the very fact of adding a Russian version to feature prominently in the Goan street indicates the importance of the Russian presence in the local communities, mostly as consumers of local goods and services. It may therefore be concluded that on the local scale Russian has attained high indexicality for economic reasons, as Russian tourists contribute significantly to Goa's income.

In summary of the above analysis, the quantitative distribution of the collected signs in the respective languages has been presented in Table 1 for a better assessment of their relative prominence.

TABLE 1. Quantitative distribution of languages in the collected signs

Language	Number and percentage of signs out of 332
English	166 – 50%
English+Portuguese	45 – 13.55%
English+Hindi	37 – 11.14%
English+Russian	29 – 8.73%
English+Hindi/Marathi	11 – 3.31%
Russian	9 – 2.71%
Hindi in Roman script	8 – 2.40%
Hindi international concepts	7 – 2.10%
English+Konkani	3 – 0.9%
English+Hindi+Portuguese	3 – 0.9%
English+Portuguese+Russian	3 – 0.9%
English+Portuguese+Hindi+Russian	3 – 0.9%
Portuguese	2 – 0.6%
Hindi/Marathi	2 – 0.6%
Portuguese+Hindi	1 – 0.3%
Hindi+Russian	1 – 0.3%
Konkani	1 – 0.3%
English+Hindi+Russian	1 – 0.3%

DISCUSSION

The above presentation of the research findings allows us to make a number of observations related to the research questions listed in the methodology section of the paper. They will be summed up in six sections below:

PUBLIC VS. PRIVATE SIGNS

Although the pool of the collected data consisted primarily of private signs (names of shops, hotels, restaurants, etc.), it was also possible to draw certain observations with regard to the distribution of languages used by official institutions as opposed to the private set-up and notices. The top-down approach could be found in the names of state-owned institutions, in this case banks, which obligatorily use English, Hindi and Marathi. Certain norms could be detected in the signage of religious set-ups as well. The Hindu temple by default employed Hindi in the Devanāgari script for the temple-related information. The Catholic church, on the other hand, used, sparingly, Konkani. However, otherwise most inscriptions were formulated in English, an auxiliary language of the state and one accepted by the Vatican. English was also used in the names of local institutions, e.g. the local village council or the local hall, with an occasional incorporation of traditionally acclaimed Hindi words (viz. *village panchayat*) or Portuguese names (viz. *Maria Hall*).

SYMBOLIC REFLECTION OF GOA'S COLONIAL PAST

Early LL analyses reflected the demarcation of the areas which were inhabited by groups of various ethnic background. In Benaulim private houses do at times have their names, e.g. *Alegria, Thakur, Jimmy Raisa*, yet they do not mark ethnic boundaries at the community level, but rather identity of individuals. It is in people's names, especially first names, that their heritage, ethnicity, and a symbolic sense of belonging are reflected. Predominant are names of Portuguese origin, whose use symbolically highlights Goa's colonial past. And it is, to that, Goa's Christian culture that dominates the linguistic landscape, not only through the marked visibility of Christian churches and chapels, but also the use of personal names in public signs which unmistakably hint at their Christian origin, e.g. *(King) Jesus, Maria, Emmanuel, Aloysius, Francis.* The use of Christian references in names of various set-ups certainly reflects the recognition of, if not pride in, the citizens' Christian roots.

THE DECLINE OF THE VISIBILITY OF KONKANI IN PUBLIC SPACE

Despite its official status in Goa, Konkani hardly features in the linguistic landscape of Benaulim. Konkani may still be spoken as a vernacular at home, but its visibility in the public space is imperceptible, also, no doubt, because of the Roman script used to write it these days. In the area analysed Konkani appeared only in the church context. Konkani is not the only language to be associated with the Catholic Church in Goa, however. Whereas in the past it was used side by side with Portuguese, today its role is being eclipsed by English, which is also found in the church signage. The particularly powerful position of English in Goa, not only officially supported by the state as an auxiliary language, but also enhanced locally by the tourism industry appears to be steadily diminishing the role of Konkani in public use in all the public contexts. This, in effect,

may eventually lead to language shift, much as happened with Portuguese some decades ago when faced with competition against Konkani and English. The present investigation has demonstrated that the use of Konkani in Goa's linguistic landscape is becoming quite symbolic, and the language may soon be limited, beside the church context, to the private domain only.

CULTURAL LINKS WITH HINDU INDIA

On the other hand, Goa's integration with the state of India is visible in the public signage too, though in a more subtle way. As already highlighted above, it is conveyed through names of official institutions, primarily banks, but also Hindu religious set-ups, though the latter are much more in the background in Goa than elsewhere in India. The Hindu inhabitants' attachment to their cultural and religious roots surfaces itself in the occasional use of Hindi/Marathi in names and other elements of their enterprises, but is always embedded in or used parallel with English. Personal names, e.g. *Anand, Sanjay, Hari, Ria, Shraddha, Mandvi*, however, do still provide a link to India's predominant cultural and ethnic background. What comes to the foreground is the focus on India's ancient art of ayurveda as well as yoga, which are advertised in Benaulim to attract tourists' attention, but they are important for Goans as a source of income too.

DOMINANCE OF ENGLISH

The predominant language of Benaulim, and broadly of the coastal Goan resorts is unmistakably English. Its position is significant, for it does not have any historical foundations in Goa, unlike in other parts of India which used to belong to the British Empire. It is therefore Portuguese that should still be visible here, but it has given way to the global power of English, the latter particularly strongly reinforced by its position in India overall. English, a language of upward mobility in India (Graddol, 2010), has been supported by Indian media, and notably the cinema, but also the educational system. Its acceptance and prestige have, therefore, been enhanced by both its national and international role as well as frequency of use. Consequently, English has also gained popularity in Goa. Its status has been considerably strengthened by the impact of tourism and the influx of labour force from outside the state, which has promoted the use of English even more (Matsukawa, 2002). One might therefore surmise that the popularity of English in India has indirectly contributed to the loss of visibility of both Portuguese and now Konkani, two heritage languages, by becoming a *bona fide* language of the area and consequently reducing the other two to their symbolic function.

A GROWING PROMINENCE OF RUSSIAN

The market forces which have strengthened English in Goa are now supporting the use of yet another European language in the area. Russian has left a mark on the linguistic landscape of Benaulim and other similar tourist areas to an extent which cannot be easily dismissed. Indeed, its impact has somewhat diminished as a result of the stagnation in tourism due to the pandemic, yet its visibility in the streets of Benaulim is still unquestionable. Though Russians are not the only tourists coming to Goa, no other language has impacted its linguistic landscape except for Russian. It may therefore be assumed that the purchasing force of Russian tourists and expats is so significant that the local tourism businesses, and, what is remarkable, medical, pharmaceutical and alternative medicine set-ups do their best to attract Russian clientele.

The fact that Russian is a new language in the linguistic landscape of Goa is highlighted by the fact that the texts at times show grammatical mistakes or are exact calques of the English models. It can be seen in the advertisement of the local tea, in which, side by side with the English name, the Russian form чая ('of tea') is used, while the word should take the uninflected form чай ('tea'). It may be assumed that the incorrect form has been mechanically copied from a longer version of the Russian name of the shop магазин чая ('tea shop'), itself a calque from English, elsewhere in the area. Another example of incorrect grammar is to be seen in the form of the compound вино магазин 'lit. wine shop', which also employs a typically English construction with the use of the nominal adjunct, while it should have taken the form of винный магазин ('lit. wine_ADJ shop'), where the noun is modified by an adjective. Similarly, the aforementioned phrase Шакти душа ('lit. Shakti soul') also follows the English model, instead of using the expected Russian word order 'душа Шакти'. Finally, in the phrase *UB 40* игра 'play' *Reggae*, the fact that only the (presumed) verb is written in Cyrillic, unlike the rest of the phrase, but also that it is actually not a verb form, but a noun (the translation of (*UB40*) *plays* should be (*UB40*) играет), indicates lack of familiarity with Russian.

It may be assumed, however, that for as long as Russians are an economic force to be reckoned with in Goa, Russian will add to the mosaic of languages visible in Goan streets with yet another script and some creative ways of reflecting English, Hindi or Portuguese business names in Cyrillic. The presence of Russian in a Goan street symbolically represents the contemporary economic and global population shifts that have affected India recently.

CONCLUSION

The linguistic landscape of multilingual states, of which India is a primary example, appears to adapt to both the fast-shifting and the more subtle socio-political and ethnographic forces which shape the contemporary world. The present analysis has demonstrated that, with centuries of multilingualism to relate to, the Indian state of Goa, represented in the study by the seaside resort of Benaulim, has thoroughly embraced the variety of cultures and languages co-existing side-by-side in one area. It has accommodated both heritage languages like Konkani, Portuguese and Hindi/Marathi, with their long history in Goa, and the newer as well as most recent additions, like English and Russian. The study of the intricate web of languages and scripts has made it possible to uncover certain regularities in the use of these languages in the public space and subtle, yet deeply rooted markers of cultural and religious identity of the local population, which visitors to Goa may fail to understand on first encounter. It is hoped, therefore, that the present analysis has elucidated the understanding of the value of various languages in this specific multilingual context.

It has been demonstrated that English dominates the Goan landscape, which symbolically and practically bears testimony to the current position of the language both in India and in the world. However, despite the dominance of English, the linguistic landscape of Benaulim has not excluded other, locally important, if less expansive, languages that have shaped Goa's past and present. They do appear in more specific traditionally established contexts, i.e. Portuguese and Konkani in the religious sphere, Hindi and Marathi in the institutional contexts, Russian in tourism, entertainment and medical services.

Such a neat separation of the languages, however, is never possible. The examined public signs often combined elements of different languages, whether by providing parallel versions of the content in two or more varieties, by reflecting elements of one language in the graphic version of another (e.g. Hindi words in Cyrillic), or else by combining words from various languages in

the same text and making it a multilingual hybrid creation. What, however, tended to feature prominently, especially in English or in Russian texts, were Portuguese or Indian proper names (e.g. *Fernandes, Pedro, Rosario,* or *Sanjay, Anand, Shraddha*) as well as culturally marked words (e.g. *ayurveda, yoga, guru; casa, carnival*). Particularly these elements symbolically convey Goa's sense of identity and highlight subtle but undeniable ties through which Goa can relate to its historical and cultural roots, but which also enable the state to integrate seamlessly with a broader context of India and accommodate the dynamic forces of the fast-developing world.

A particular observation worth stressing in the context of the conducted analysis concerns the position of Konkani in contemporary Goa. Although the language has an official status in the state and appears to be a unique marker of Goan identity, its visibility in public space appears to be drastically diminished. The declining use of Konkani has been pointed out by various individuals or the local press, however, a quantitative study like the one above provides first hand evidence of the erosion of the language in the state. Half a century ago Konkani was a language which successfully competed against Portuguese, leading to its almost complete demise in Goa. Currently it is itself losing ground in competition against English, and may in the long term experience bottom-to-top death, being left mainly as a language of cultural and religious activity.

Seeing how powerful the English language is not only locally, but especially globally Konkani does not appear in a position to win the competition against English by itself, it therefore, would need efforts of local policy makers to reverse the negative trend. Its prestige would need to be strengthened and its public profile raised, possibly through mandatory teaching of Konkani at the primary and secondary level and making Konkani an obligatory language for state-paid jobs, much as has been done in Wales in order to reverse the Welsh language shift there. As regards the visual representation of the language, in turn, the use of Konkani could be made obligatory in names and official notices of public institutions in Goa side by side with English, Hindi, and Marathi. Firstly, however, further investigation concerning the perception of Konkani among the local population would be advisable to examine through more direct means, notably a survey, what attitude the inhabitants of Goa hold towards their state language. This then would make the Goan population more aware of and sensitive to the current state of Konkani and allow policy makers to develop adequate measures to reverse the shift of Konkani in concurrence with the sentiments of the local users.

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