Cataplanas, *ayurveda* and *чай*. Interpreting the Linguistic Landscape of a Goan Seaside Resort

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. The complex past and present local, national, and global developments have shaped the contemporary multilingual situation of the state. 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. In view of the above the paper analyses the use of languages in contemporary Goa by exploring the linguistic landscape of Benaulim, a popular seaside resort. The study demonstrates that, despite the above regulations a vast majority of the collected signs were written in English, there were numerous notices in Russian, a handful of signs in Hindi, Marathi, and Portuguese, and hardly any in Konkani. Noteworthy is also a significant number of mixed-language, multiscriptual 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, while English 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.

Key words: linguistic landscape; multilingualism; 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. This makes its linguistic milieu sufficiently complex to begin with, but 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, has 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 and power structures 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 aim of the paper is to identify the forces which have led to the

current linguistic landscape of Goa, as illustrated by the language visibility in Benaulim, and establish the reasons behind their visibility and distribution.

LINGUISTIC LANDSCAPE

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, as advertisements (Ben-Rafael, 2009, Spolsky, 2009, Santello, 2016, Author, 2024), various types of scripts (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). Recent 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 (Author, 2022c, 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 SITUATION OF GOA

The Goa, Daman and Diu Official Language Act, 1987 (Act No. 5 of 1987) [14-4-1987] stipulates that:

> 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:

Moreover, as highlighted by the NCLM50th Report, Konkani is to use the Devanāgari script.[1] Furthermore, point 4 states what follows:

---

[1] https://web.archive.org/web/20160708012438/http://nclm.nic.in/shared/linkimages/NCLM50thReport.pdf

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.

According to the last census (2011), 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%),[2] which highlights how complex the current linguistic situation in Goa is.

As indicated above, English has also been recognized in Goa. However, it is naturally 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,[3] 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 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, but currently the holy mass in Portuguese is held 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.

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.

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, sub-district Salcete. 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

---

[2] https://censusindia.gov.in/census.website/data/census-tables
[3] http://lisindia.ciil.org/Konkani/Konkani_hist.html

for the current socioeconomic profile of the state, whose income is largely derived from tourism and recreation.[4] 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 pubic 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, bottom-up and top-down sociolinguistic trends in the use of languages in the written public signs in Goa. The signs were first collected in February 2019 and the location was revisited in February 2023 for the purpose of reviewing and augmenting the collected sample post-pandemic. The researched area was the space located between Benaulim Beach, Sernabatim Beach Rd, Sernabatim Benaulim Rd, Vasvaddo Beach Rd., Dabolim-Cavelossim Rd. and Varca Rd. The methodology of collection involved taking photographs of public signs in the above area, which, as indicated above, included names of shops, hotels, restaurants, institutions, businesses, temples as well as private houses and notices displayed by the road by both institutions and individuals. The photographs were subsequently sorted manually in respect of the language employed in them. Consequently, the analysis presented below will be divided in terms of the languages identified in the area with the aim to establish their frequency as well as the possible semantic fields which typically involve the use of respective languages. This, in turn, will be interpreted in connection with their historical and present-day socio-political context and status in the state of Goa. Beside the choice of a language an additional aspect to be discussed here will also be the question of the script.

ANALYSIS OF DATA

Altogether, the linguistic landscape analysis has demonstrated the visibility of 332 signs in as many as seven languages, which were, alphabetically: English, Hindi, Konkani, Marathi, Portuguese, and Russian. The following discussion will study the material collected in the above languages in subsequent sections arranged chronologically (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 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 to be found in the Appendix.

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

---

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

liturgical texts having been developed by the Roman Catholic church in Konkani, it has additionally acquired its Romanised form (Thomaz, 2016), and there has been much pressure exerted by Christian Goans to sanction this Konkani version as well. In 1975 Konkani, now spoken by more than 7 mln users, was recognised as an independent language and in 1992 counted among the national languages by the Indian Constitution.[5] Konkani has been threatened with demise, being used mainly in Goa and not studied outside of it, and there was also 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).

In view of the above, despite its official status and being a marker of identity for many local inhabitants, the overview of the collected signs has rendered very meager results as far as the visibility of Konkani is concerned. Public notices in the researched area contained Konkani only in four cases. One (an extensive church poster with information about an event) was fully in Konkani, two other were paired up with English next to them, 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*, and was further defined by a phrase *Hê Konknni Pustikecho Rupea Utsov*. The event was to be held at *Dhormprantik Loukhik Sevê Kendr Lar de Estudantes. Altinho Ponjê Gôy.* 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: *Brian's Musiclix Boys. Sopon. Zalem Purem. Thirst for the love of Konkani music*. In all the cases the Latin alphabet was used. 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 public and 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

Other Indian languages (from the Indo-European family) which have an official presence in India and in Goa and have been noted in the overview of the collected material are Hindi and Marathi. The two are put in one category because, as in the case of Konkani, their visibility in public space 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 Latin alphabet, the other two do mostly use the Devanāgari script. The script of the two is not identical, as Marathi uses 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.

---

[5] http://lisindia.ciil.org/Konkani/Konkani_hist.html

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 notes 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, and in addition to those also 37 signs including proper Hindi names. Altogether, this category amounts to 58 items with a Hindi/Marathi/Indian element, some, but few, as could be seen above, being complete texts. This category is further extended by multilingual texts (see the end of the section) composed in three or four languages used in one public sign, including a Hindi or a Marathi element. These result, respectively, in six notes in Hindi+English+Russian, one in English+Portuguese+Hindi+Russian; three in Hindi+Russian, and one in Hindi+Portuguese. These, however, will be discussed in connection with English, Portuguese or Russian, respectively, as the Hindi element in them is typically limited to one emblematic Hindi word. With respect to those combinations, it needs to be stated that words that 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 a clear Indian origin and connotations (e.g. *guru* or *ayurveda*). This, in total, amounts to 69 public notices with elements (partly) composed or derived from Hindi or Marathi.

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 a version 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 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 to be found in a large densely printed banner depicting Ministry of Minority Affairs' programme, प्रधानमंत्री जन विकास कार्यक्रम (with the acronym *PMJVK* and the website address being the only non-Hindi elements). 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 in Marathi in Devanāgari: जांगिड़ एंटरप्रायझेस appears. Another is that of *Shree Ganpati General Store*, next to which there is also the same name श्री गणपती जनरल स्टोअर written in the Devanāgari script below. Yet, above the name of the shop a text of a mantra comes in Devanāgari only, i.e. श्री गणेशाय नम.

A different context calling for the use of Hindi is a reference to the Hindu religion. In the investigated area on the Hindu Shri Laxmi Mandir the name of the building is written in Hindi: श्री लक्ष्मी देवालय and additionally accompanied by some other details: श्री लक्ष्मी प्रसन्ना, and below बनावली-गोवा. This is one of two texts entirely written in Hindi, another one being the name of a house, ॐ दत्त ठाकुराधार. The remaining examples, e.g. another sign referring to the temple by the road bear 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 English and in Hindi: मॉन्जिनीज. On the other hand, the Amul company shop uses mostly Hindi, but in the Latin alphabet and some English text in it, viz. *Amul Doodh. Peeta hai India. Amul Milk, Fresh & Frozen Wholesale & Retail*. Also many names of local dishes are written in Hindi, but in the Romanised version.

Similar comments as those regarding the use of Hindi will apply to the vidsibility of Marathi (cf. the names of the two banks, respectively, भारतीय स्टेट बँक and बँक ऑफ बडोदा). 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, and the only item in English reads *Tantra astrologer*.

The remaining examples of signs in Indian languages are written in the Roman script. They tend to be of a more emblematic type, as they are concepts embedded in the Indian culture, e.g. *Benaulim Village Panchayat*; *Sri Damodar Prasanna*; *Jai Hind Supermarket*; *Yatra*; *Aggie's Mahal*; *Ushalaya*. 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, e.g. *yatra* ('trip') for a travel office or *mahal*[6] for 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. 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 include numerous cases of words like: *ayurveda, guru, yoga, mantra, tantric, Diwali, mandir*, e.g. as in *Ayur Mantra, Guru Pantajasli Ayurveda Clinic*, *Ayurvedic Yoga Clinic*. This category may further be enhanced 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 want to stress their proprietorship this way, and otherwise the set-ups do 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 employ Portuguese personal names in the names of enterprises (see below), their presence will enhance the visibility of the native Indian element 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. The public signs in Portuguese used as names of buildings which appeared alone, without any other text or language were only two: *Alegria* and *Casa Gloria*. Otherwise, although the group of 45 items to be discussed below, further enhanced by 3+6 items of trilingual signs (notably, Portuguese+English+Russian or Portuguese+English+Hindi) 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 widely recognised character, viz. *Viva Carnival* (it is to be noted that Goa is famous of its carnival festivities), *Costa Viva, Da Silva Casa Casa de Caji, Castellos*, etc. All these, however, appeared within or were paired up with an English text. 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, e.g. *Maria Hall, Fernandes Supermarket, Emmanuel Guest*

---

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

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 times. The fact that the references to Portuguese tend to appear as primarily personal names of inhabitants proves that the names must have been in use in the local families. And if they are still readily used rather than substituted by Indian or English names, this 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 these proper names marks their identity, making Goan inhabitants unique as a result of their Portuguese, and also, importantly, Christian past. The names, therefore, perform an emblematic 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 signs as the only language, as well as in 45 signs combined with Portuguese, 29 signs with Russian, 9 with Hindi, and 3 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 the state of India, facilitating communication across the states of India, 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 252 texts (76%). In many public notices or names of buildings English is the only language used, 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 the English words also appear together with other languages, especially with Portuguese, Russian and Hindi (45+29+9, respectively), and in others 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*.

The overview of the collected material has demonstrated the use of English in a generic role in such categories as various types of shops (food, jewellery, souvenirs, clothes), e.g*., India Spice Shop; Fernandes Supermarket; Cedric Bakery*; *Pearls gift & Fashion wear, Kashmir Art Gallery Souvenirs*; beauty services: *Ria's Hair and Beauty Saloon;* medical services: *Goa*

Eyecare, services: *Classic laundry*; interior decoration services: *Anceto Decorators*; handicrafts: *Goan Vintage Crafts*, digital services: *Fernandes Studio. Digital photography and videography*. As already highlighted, English is used by default in names of state banks, parallel to 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, as 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, since the times when the first chartered flights arrived from Russia in Goa, a state attracting international tourists with its relaxed and European-like atmosphere. 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 progressing Russian emigration due to 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 on a public sign, as in: Натуральное кокосовое масло; угалок рикки, супы, салаты, блины и многое or аюрведа. Texts in which Russian was combined with English were also well represented (29 signs), e.g. *Indian Pekoe Tea*. магазин чая; *Health and happiness. Chemist & druggist*. здоровья и счастья. химик и аптекарь; *Sho-Faz Galaxy Supermarket, Cold Storage and Wine store*. супермаркет и вино магазин; *The Pavillion Resto-bar. Multi cuisine*. русское меню доступно. свежие морепродукты.

The most interesting and complex combinations of all, as highlighted above, consist of two, three or four languages, occasionally with some elements transliterated, and some left in the original. One of them is a simple example in Hindi+Russian: *Ayur Mantra*. Экскурсии (with Hindi words in a Romanised version). A more complex example is one in Hindi+English+Russian: *Aggie's Mahal. Restaurant and Bar*. агги Махал. ресторан и бар. Noteworthy are three signs in Portuguese+English+Russian, e,g, *Malibu. Bar and Seafood Restaurant*. Малибу ресотарн. *Today's special seafood Goan cataplanas. Benaulim Beach*.

---

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

Two instances in Portuguese+English+Hindi+Russian are also to be taken a notice of, viz. *Pele's Place. Arya Ayurveda & Wellness. Массаж* and *Ricky's Corner cafe and restaurant.* уголок рикки. An interesting notice includes 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. *Graeme.* ГРЭМ. *The Shakti Soul.* Шакти душа *Ub 40 playing reggae at 7.30 pm.* Ub 40 Игра *Reggae at 19.30* часов. *Pedro's Restaurant, Benaulim Beach.* 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, the intention behind being to draw attention of the potential Russian clientele, not to express a proper message in this language.

Undeniably, the presence of Russian in the public space of Benaulim and the tourist regions of Goa cannot be ignored. It numerically exceeds that of the visibility of local Indian languages and stands 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 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.

DISCUSSION

An overview of the linguistic landscape of the Goan beach resort of Benaulim appears to reflect the ethnolinguistic profile of the state primarily in an emblematic way; one can also see the top-down vs. bottom-up differences in the use of the signs. The top-down approach can be found in the names of institutions, in this case banks, which obligatorily use English, Hindi and Marathi. Likewise, the Hindu temple by default employs Hindi in Devanāgari script, while the Christian church uses, sparingly, Konkani, and mostly English, as an auxiliary language and one accepted by the Vatican. Early LL analyses reflected the demarcation of the areas which were inhabited by groups of various ethnic background. In Benaulim such a distinction is not applicable. Private houses do at times have their names, e.g. *Alegria, Thakur, Jimmy Raisa*, but they do not mark ethnic boundaries at the community level, but the 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, which symbolically highlights Goa's colonial past. 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 names in names of various set-ups certainly reflects the recognition of, if not pride in, the citizens' Christian roots.

Interestingly, the visibility of Konkani is hardly marked 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 because of the Latin alphabet used to write it, and in the area analysed it only appeared in the church context. Possibly due to a certain unintended competition against Portuguese, which has also come to be associated with religious domains, the use of Konkani may be less supported by institutions (which rely more on English, and in official situations on Hindi) and by tourists' needs, and has thereby diminished in its scope in

public use. Its visibility is therefore becoming very symbolic, and may soon be limited to private communication, beside the church context.

On the other hand, Goa's integration with India is visible in the public signage too, though in a more subtle way. 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 than elsewhere in India. The Hindu 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 for the sake of tourists, but they are also an important product and a source of income for Goans.

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, which has been 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 the international and national frequency of use. Consequently, English has also gained popularity in Goa, this having been vastly enhanced by the impact of tourism and the influx of labour force from outside the state, which 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 Konkani and Portuguese, two heritage languages, by becoming a *bona fide* language of the area and reducing the other two to their symbolic function.

The market forces which have made 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 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.

That it 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 is used, while the word should take the uninflected form чай. 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, itself a calque from English, elsewhere in the area. Another example of an incorrect use 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 the form of винный магазин, 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 form 'душа Шакти'. Finally, in the phrase *UB 40* игра 'play' *Reggae*, not only the fact that 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. 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 and most recent additions, like English and Russian. As has been demonstrated, it is English that dominates the 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 it to integrate seamlessly with a broader context of India and accommodate the dynamic forces of the fast-developing world.

REFERENCES

Backhaus, P. (2006). Multilingualism in Tokyo: A look into the linguistic landscape. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 3(1), 52-66.

Ben-Rafael, E. (2009). A sociological approach to the study of linguistic landscapes. In E. Shohamy and D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery* (pp. 40-54). New York and London: Routledge.

Ben-Rafael, E., Shohamy, E., Amara, M. & Trumper-Hecht, N. (2006). The symbolic construction of public space: The case of Israel. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 3(1), 7-30.

Biswas, Gopa. (2004). Language policy in Southeast Asia. A case study of India. In S. Mansoor, S. Meraj & A. Tahir (Eds.), *Language Policy, Planning and Practice: A South Asian Perspective* (pp. 106-111). Karachi: Aga Khan University Press & Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Blommaert, J. (2010). *The Sociolinguistics of Globalization.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Blommaert, J. (2013). *Ethnography, Superdiversity and Linguistic Landscapes. Chronicles of Complexity*. Bristol, Buffalo, Toronto: Multilingual Matters.

Coelho, Joanna P. (2016). A historical and political sociological account of the dynamic status of Konkani language in pre-liberation Goa, India. *International Research Journal of Social Sciences* 5(1), 35-41.

Author. (2022c)

Author. (2024)

Dhongde, Ramesh Vaman and Kashi Wali. (2009). *Marathi*. Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing. Co.

Fernandes, Aureliano. (2008). Local power in colonial and contemporary Goa. *Lusotopie* XV(2), 151-173.

Gorter, D. (ed.). (2006). *Linguistic Landscape: A New Approach to Multilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.

Gorter, D. (2013). Linguistic landscapes in a multilingual world. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 33, 190–212.

Gorter, D. (2018). Methods and techniques for linguistic landscape research: About definitions, core issues and technological innovations. In M. Pütz & N. Mundt (Eds.) *Expanding Linguistic Landscape. Linguistic Diversity, Multimodality and the Use of Space as a Semiotic Resource*, (pp. 38-57). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Gorter, D., Cenoz, J., & Van der Worp, K. (2021). The linguistic landscape as a resource for language learning and raising language awareness. *Journal of Spanish Language Teaching*, 8(4): 1-21.

Gorter, D. & Cenoz, J. (2024). *A Panorama of Linguistic Landscape Studies*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Graddol, D. (2010). *English Next India. The Future of English in India*. British Council.

Hasni, Nurul Ain, Shak, Mohamad Syafik Ya, Malik, Norasyikin Abdul & Aini Andria Shirin Anuarudin. (2022). Linguistic landscape of tourist spaces from 2014 to 2022: A review. *International Journal of Academic Research in Business and Social Sciences* 12(10), 1695–1708.

Ivkovic, D. & Lotherington, H. (2009). Multilingualism in cyberspace: Conceptualising the virtual linguistic landscape. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 6(1), 17-36.

Jaworski, A. & Thurlow, C. (Eds.). (2010). *Semiotic Landscapes: Language, Image, Space*. London: Continuum.

Kurzon, D. (2004). *Where East Looks West: Success in English in Goa and on the Konkan Coast.* Clevednon, Buffalo, Toronto, Sydney: Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Landry, R. & Bourhis, R. (1997). Linguistic Landscape and Ethnolinguistic Vitality: An Empirical Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology* 16(1), 23–49.

Lee, Cher Leng. (2024). Singapore hawker centres: A linguistic landscape of identity, diversity, and continuity. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication* 34(1): 23-50.

Masica, C. P. (1991). *The Indo-Aryan Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Matsukawa, Kyoko. (2002). Konkani and "Goan identity" in post-colonial Goa, India. *Journal of the Japanese Association of South Asian Studies* 14, 121-144.

Pavlenko, A. (2009). Language conflict in post-Soviet linguistic landscapes. *Journal of Slavic Studies* 17(1-2), 247-274.

Prasert, Keerati & Pattamawan Jimarkon Zilli. (2019). A linguistic landscape analysis of Pattaya, Thailand's Sin City. *Discourse and Interaction* 12(1), 75-95.

Rodrigues, Maria de Lourdes Bravo da Costa. (2000). The status of Portuguese language and some other cultural aspects in Goa. *Lusophonies Asiatiques, Asiatiques en Lusophonies* 7, 597-609.

Santello, M. (2016). *Advertising and Multilingual Repertoires. From Linguistic Resources to Patterns of Response*. London and New York: Routledge.

Scarvaglieri, C., Redder, A., Pappenhagen, R. & Brehmer, B. (2013). Capturing diversity. Linguistic land- and soundscaping. In J. Duarte & I. Gogolin (Eds.) *Linguistic Superdiversity in Urban Areas: Research Approaches*, (pp. 59-76). Amsterdam, Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Sebba, M. (2013). Multilingualism in written discourse: An approach to the analysis of multilingual texts. *International Journal of Bilingualism* 17(1), 97–118.

Shohamy, E. & Gorter, D. (2009). *Introduction*. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*, (pp.1-10). New York and London: Routledge.

Sloboda, M. (2009). State ideology and linguistic landscape: A comparative analysis of (post)communist Belarus, Czech Republic and Slovakia. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*, (pp. 173-188). New York and London: Routledge.

Spolsky, B. (2009). Prolegomena to a sociolinguistic theory of public signage. In E. Shohamy & D. Gorter (Eds.), *Linguistic Landscape. Expanding the Scenery*, (pp. 25-39). New York and London: Routledge.

Thomaz, Luís Filipe F. R. (2016). The socio-linguistic paradox of Goa. *Human and Social Studies* 5(3), 15–38

Vertovec, S. (2007). Super-diversity and its implications. *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 30(6), 1024-1054.

Wherritt, I. (1985). Portuguese language in Goa, India. *Anthropological Linguistics* 27(4), 437-451.

Yan, X. (2019). A study of language choices in the linguistic landscape of Macao's heritage and gaming tourism. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development* 40 (3), 198–217.

Websites:

Definition of linguistic landscape. *The Linguistic Landscape: An International Journal*. 2015. https://www.jbe-platform.com/content/journals/22149961

Economy of Goa. https://www.iloveindia.com/states/goa/economy.html

Etymology of 'mahal'. https://etymologeek.com/eng/mahal

History of Konkani. http://lisindia.ciil.org/Konkani/Konkani_hist.html

https://web.archive.org/web/20160708012438/http://nclm.nic.in/shared/linkimages/NCLM50thReport.pdf

Languages in India in 2011. https://censusindia.gov.in/census.website/data/census-tables

Russians on Goa. https://worldcrunch.com/focus/russians-in-india

The Russian love affair with Goa. https://www.dw.com/en/the-russian-love-affair-with-goa/a-6439537

APPENDIX

Table 1. Quantitative distribution of languages in the collected signs

Language	Number and percentage of signs out of 332
English	166 – 50%
English+Russian	29 – 8.73%
English+Hindi	9 – 2.71%
Portuguese	2 – 0.6%

Portuguese+English	45 – 13.55%
Portuguese+Hindi	1 – 0.3%
Portuguese+Hindi+Russian	6 – 1.8%
Portuguese+English+Hindi	3 – 0.9%
Hindi/Marathi	6 – 1.8%
Marathi+English	1 – 0.3%
Hindi+English	37 – 11.14%
Hindi/Marathi+English	3 – 0.9%
Hindi in Latin alphabet	7 – 2.1%
Hindi in Latin alphabet+Russian	6 – 1.8%
Konkani	1 – 0.3%
Konkani+English	3 – 0.9%
Russian	6 – 1.8%
Russian+English	3 – 0.9%
Hindi+Russian+English	3 – 0.9%
Portuguese+Hindi+Russian	6 – 1.8%
Portuguese+English+Hindi+Russian	1 – 0.3%