Goa, as a tiny territorial unit in the Indian Union, has a special political as well as cultural significance. The territory carries the history of being a part of the colonial possessions of a European power for a duration almost twice longer than the rest of India. It was the first to go under Western colonial control (1510) and the last to emerge from it (1961), among all the regions of India. In terms of the cultural contact and encounter with Europe in the early phase of the modern era, Goa should be regarded as the first territory in India to experience an intense and sustained interaction with Western culture, one that was enforced by the political power of a European state in connivance with the Catholic church. As a result of this encounter this land has been described as the 'Rome of the East', as perceived by the West on the one hand, or as ‘Konkan Kashi’ i.e. ‘the holy land (the popular name among religious minded Hindus for the city of Varanasi or Benares) of Konkan’ as described by the local Hindu protagonists on the other (Apte, 1999). Goa is also portrayed as a place of communal harmony and peaceful living, where people of the two major religious groups viz. Hindus and Catholics,

1 Generally, this period of colonial rule over Goa is said to be of 451 years starting from Nov. 1510 to December 1961. However, the areas which experienced the Portuguese rule for this entire period were only those covered by the district called Tiswadi (thirty villages) later named as Ilhas, which gained significance due to the capital city of Goa (now known as Old Goa) followed by Panaji, the present capital. The two other districts Bardez or Bardez (twelve localities) and Sasashiti or Salsette (region of sixty-six villages) came under the sway of the Portuguese in 1543. These three together (four in the present arrangement as Salsette was later split into two by creating Murgao or Mormugao in the early 20th century) are called the ‘Old Conquests’ or ‘Velhas Conquistas’ and have been transformed totally through religious conversions, destruction of temples in hundreds and infamous inquisition in the early centuries of the alien rule. The remaining seven talukas of Goa to go under the Portuguese control in 1763 (Ponda, Sanguem and Quepem or Kepe), 1764 (Canacona or Kankon), 1781 (Bicholim or Dicholi and Satari or Sattari) and 1788 (Pernem or Pedne) make the ‘New Conquests’ or ‘Novas Conquistas’.
often share the customs, traditions, rituals and deities while developing a culture of mutual co-existence (Lusotopie, 2000: 333-345; Newman, 2001: 110-125). This interculturality, evident in the day-to-day life of Goans, has recently received the attention of scholars in the field of anthropology and sociology. Goa therefore is a place where the burden of its history weighs heavily on its contemporary politics, on its definition of itself today.

**Goa: Geography And Topography**

While we think of Goa today as a territory admeasuring 3702 sq. km. (bounded on the north by the state of Maharashtra and on the south by the state of Karnataka, with the natural boundaries of the Western Ghats and the Arabian sea on the east and west respectively), the boundaries have kept changing with its history. In the pre-colonial past Goa represented the capital city (Govapuri) which later became the initial territorial holding of the Portuguese colonial power. It was a famous port town and a trading centre visited by traders from overseas as well as from the neighbouring regions (Fernandes, 1989: 61-62). In relation to what is known as Goa today the capital city of Goa was a much smaller territory. Again, this capital with the same name was located at two different places in two different periods of history. The earlier one was the capital of the Kadamba kings, on the banks of the river Zuari, referred to as Goa Velha till the current times, while the latter was the present Old Goa (*Velha Goa* in Portuguese) which had

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3. Dr. Alexander Henn of Heidelberg University has referred to it in his paper ‘Becoming of Goa’ presented at the Lusotopie Conference 2000 held in Goa.
Brahmapuri as a centre of pilgrimage for Hindus. It was later made into a centre of pilgrimage for the Roman Catholics which it continues to be even today.

The city of Goa that had the honour of being the capital city under different political powers changed from the earliest *Goa Velha* of the Kadamba Kings to *Velha Goa* of the Adilshah (occupied by the Portuguese) and lastly to *Nova Goa* (currently known as Panaji) midway through the Portuguese rule. The history of Goa has much to do with this changing description of Goa or *Goem*, from *Goa Velha* or *Vhoddlem Goem* (Greater Goa) through *Velha Goa* i.e. *Pornem Goem* (Old Goa) to *Nova Goa* or *Novem Goem* (New Goa). In this sense Goa represents an idea, an image, a concept that has many parts: hierarchy, history and territory. This idea or image of Goa has the glory and glitter of the past attached to it which has led to its often being aptly described as ‘Golden Goa’ or ‘Amchem Bhangrochem Goem’ in popular expression.

The geographical extent of Goa under the Kadambas and the rulers before them covered the areas now coming under the district of Sindhudurg in Maharashtra, areas of Belgaum, Supa, Dandeli, Karwar and Honavar in the present Karnataka (Kamat, 1983: 11). The importance of Gopakapattana in terms of defence and security made this capital city not only a political and diplomatic centre but being a port town also a commercial one. The territories controlled from this capital made a much larger Goa than the one that we know of at present.

The image of Goa over the centuries has undergone a lot of change not only in terms of the geographical extent or area as discussed above but also in relation to its role in the life of local people, change in the nature of relationship it had for those who had to leave the place and also those who chose to stay on.
Those who left the place out of compulsion did not abandon the rights they had in the village community system which operated in a participatory fashion (Gomes Pereira, 1981). They continued to retain their emotional links with their respective villages and received their dues generation after generation. They remained as beneficiaries and shareholders in the village surplus even without being the residents and contributors to the local economy. On the other hand, those who stayed on—facing the stringent rules and diverse demands of the new rulers were, in many instances, deprived of their own belongings. For them their physical presence in Goa did not assure a parity of status with many others. The two sections looked at Goa differently on the basis of their experience.

Also what we call Goa today is not the product of common political events evenly shared by the entire territory in the course of its history. There have been the shifts and changes in political control and cultural influences in the history of different parts of the territory now known as Goa. Therefore the idea of Goa is not a homogenous one. It has an elite and a subaltern view, a community centred construction and finally an evolutionary character.

**Goa: Myth And Text**

Both Konkan and Goa have their mythical past closely linked to the larger Indian landscape from Gujarat to Kerala through the legendary Parashurama (Kamat, 1989: 4), the warrior God, the sixth incarnation of Lord Vishnu in the Hindu tradition. Legend has it that the Lord Parashurama created this piece of land by shooting an arrow into the sea and settled some Brahmin families from the northern territories of India on the reclaimed territory (Wagle, 1970), making
it ‘Parashurama Kshetra’ or the ‘land of Parashurama’. There are other versions like the immigration of Brahmins from the north due to severe famine in that region (Gunjikar, 1884), or with divine order to some Brahmins to settle in Goa on their return journey from pilgrimage of Rameshwar in the south to their homeland in the north (Gunjikar, 1884: 10). These references to mythical roots claim GSBs as the original settlers in Goa but as is the case with many Puranic accounts, the later additions and interpolations containing subjective elements associated generally with the brahmanical formulations cannot be denied in this case. Such addition of new material is done ‘to facilitate and legitimate certain social and economic needs’ of particular sections (Rao, 1999).

Goa figures as Gomanta in Mahabharata and etymologically denotes the land where the arrow of Lord Parashurama fell. The other name Gomantak is interpreted by Shenai Goembab as a territory abounding in cattle, and by some others as the place where the demon Goma (?) met his end (interview- K.N.Rao). We also find names such as Gomanchal (in Sahyadri Khanda of Skanda Purana) and Gomanta durga with reference to Goa.

What is common in the whole of Konkan and Aparanta (the western end) is the story of reclamation of land from the sea by Lord Parashurama, colonisation especially of Gomanta, or Goa territory, ‘with ten families of Brahmins from Trihotrapura’, and that they belonged ‘to one of the five sub-divisions of the Gauda-Brahmans’(da Cunha, 1991: 11). These brahmans belonging to ten gotras were divided into ninety-six families, each settled in a village, leading to the specific denominations of the two provinces in the territory viz. Tisuary (Tisvadi = thirty villages) and Salsette (Sasashitti = shat + shashti = 6+60 = sixty-six
[villages] representing North and South Goa respectively, and totalling up to ninety-six or Shannav in local language. This word Shannav denoting the number is said to represent the origin of the class name Shenavi (Senoy, Sinay, Sanavi, Senvi according to da Cunha). This resemblance of the territorial configuration with the class denomination is significant in terms of the present study which deals with the territorial or regional vis-à-vis the language identity debates involving the GSBs (Shenavis) as the most prominent stakeholders. The recent debates on Goan identity have brought this link of spatial and social appropriation of a language area by a class group to the fore.

Equating Gomanta (a part) with Aparanta (the whole) for the purpose of deciding the terms of cultural and political participation through language via script element and acquiring the control over the dynamics of recognition and representation in democratic set-up through organisational structure deserve further probing into the motives and methods. A cursory look at Goa’s documented history should help.

Goa: History till Portuguese Colonialism

The continuous history of Goa from records can be reconstructed from the sixth century A.D (Naik, 1957: 4). That the region called Goa had a place of importance from ancient times can be seen from the reference made to it as the capital of Konkan in a copper plate of 1391 A.D. The other names that occur are

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1. Though there are some edicts and cooper plate writings available for the period earlier than that, historians have no unanimity on the periods in some cases and not much is known of the period.

2. Copper plate of 1391 A.D. is mentioned by Shennai Goembab in his lecture dtd. 22nd May 1927 quoting JBBRAS vol.4, pp.107, 115.
Gomanta\(^5\) or Govapuri. Mention of ‘Kauba’ in a geographer’s treatise\(^6\) or a traveller’s reference to a place called ‘Sandabur’\(^7\) also refer to Goa.

Goa today is a unit state in the Indian federal set up. In the past it formed a part of Konkan, geographically and culturally. Konkan as a geographical entity finds mention as early as the 6\(^{th}\) century A.D (Chavan, 1995: 3).\(^8\) The earlier name for this territory was *Aparanta* which finds mention in *Raghuvansha* of the poet Kalidasa. The name Konkan must have come after this. It has been described with different boundaries over time. We hear of the *Sapta Konkan* or seven Konkans (Chavan, 1995: 8), Konkan of 900 (Sukhthankar, 1970; Valavalikar, 1928)\(^9\) and 1400 villages (Valavalikar, 1928: 2), North and South Konkan, Konkan between the two Gangas\(^10\) (Chavan, 1995: 9), or the land between the two *Gads*\(^11\) (Nairne, 1988) etc. The divisions of *Parashurama Kshetra* are named as *Gomanta* and *Aparanta* in the old texts, supposed to be representing the North and South Konkan. The term *Aparanta* is sometimes applied to the whole of the

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\(^5\) Bhishma Parva ch. 9 of Mahabharata gives a list of Janapadas in India, including Gomanta.

\(^6\) Ptolomayus or Ptolemy, the Greek geographer in his treatise written during AD 2\(^{nd}\) century speaks of some towns on the west coast of India under this name, which, say some writers, should have undergone phonetic transformation subsequently. See Angle, Prabhakar, 1994. p.6. Goa: Concepts and Misconcepts.

\(^7\) Selections from the travels of Ibn Batuta 1325-1354, London.1983, Routledge & Kegan Paul.p.231. See introduction – Minorities on India’s West Coast

\(^8\) Chavan mentions about the Chalukyas overrunning Konkan in the latter half of the sixth century.

\(^9\) These seven coastal regions stretch from Somnath in Kathiawar in the north to Kanyakumari in the south. They include Saurashtra, Barara, Konkana, Karhata, Karnata, Tulunga and Kerala, according to Sahyadri kanda of Skanda Purana. ‘Prapancha Hridaya’ mentions Mushika (South Travancore), Kerala (North Travancore, Cochin and South Malabar) including southern half of Kurumbanad taluka, Kupaka (North Malabar), Aluva (South Kanara) also called Aluva Kheda, Pashu (perhaps North Kanara or Haiga), Konkana (Goa and Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra) and Para Konkan (the rest of northern territory extending, perhaps up to the river Vaitarani). The two speak of different names but more or less the same geographical area.

\(^10\) This included the area south of the Kundalika river during the rule of Kadamba king Shivachitta, as noted in the copper plate inscription of 1160 A.D.

\(^11\) This was based on the copper plate inscriptions of 997 A.D. and 1127 A.D.

\(^12\) Daman ganga river in the north and Gangavali in the south are considered as the two natural boundaries of Konkan.
western coast (in the sense of 'the country near the western end', as *Apara* in Sanskrit denotes west and *Anta* means end), while *sunaparanta* is considered as the second name of *Gomanta* (Valavalikar, 1928: 14). All such descriptions include Gomantak or Goa.

In terms of regional history, Goa experienced the rule of the Mauryas (324 – 127 B.C.), Bhojas and Satavahanas followed by the Konkan Mauryas (till 578 A.D.), Chalukyas of Badami (578 – 757 A.D.), Rashtrakutas and Shilaharas before it was conquered by the Kadambas in the 10th century A.D. The territory changed hands quite frequently (almost every decade or two) for the next three centuries before the Halsi Kadambas took over in 1218 A.D. It was during this volatile period that the ‘Gopaka pattana’ or Vhoddlem Goem (Goa Velha) became the capital city of the King Jayakeshi I in 1042 A.D. and existed as an important centre of power before it was destroyed by Malik Kafur in 1313 A.D. (Kamat, 1983). There was no respite from this instability for another fifty years until the advent of the Vijayanagara rule in 1370 that continued for a century before Goa fell into the hands of the Bijapur rulers in 1471 A.D. At the end of the 15th century Adilshahi was established at Bijapur and Goa came under its sway to be lost to the Portuguese within a decade i.e. in 1510 A.D. though only a part of it (Kamat, 1983: 52-55)

The lack of continuity and of stability of political rule suffered by the different regions that make up contemporary Goa, its being included with different parts of Konkan and Ghats area in different periods of

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13 Rev. A.K. Nairne mentions Bird's reference to Sanskrit writers according to whom Konkan stretched from Devgad to Sadashivgad (that is a distance altogether of only about ninety miles): 'History of the Konkan, 1988 [1896] p. x (Introduction).
history have had their own influence in shaping the Goan polity, society and culture.

Goa: Cultural Aspect

The cultural shaping of Goa is also very interesting. In terms of religion the changes have been in keeping with the overall Indian scene. The Vedic religion with the Brahminic influence is evident in the inscriptions and epigraphic records available to scholars (Apte, 1999: 12). The spread of Buddhism in Goa is testified by the existence of the Buddhist caves in different parts of Goa. One of the earliest disciples of Buddha was Punna, a Goan according to one account (Valavalikar, 1928: 9), who worked for the spread of Buddhism during the fifth century B.C. The influence of Jainism was experienced through proximity to important Jain pilgrimage centres in Karnataka and due to Halsi Kadambas (Kamat, 1989: 12) who ruled Goa for some time. In the period following the rule of the Kadamba dynasty Goa was under the Hindu reign which was followed by the Muslim arrival in this small territory. The shuffling and reshuffling in religious life of Goans over the centuries through a number of rulers, preceding the arrival of the Portuguese, had its effects on the cultural image of the land and its people. The most affected of the cultural aspects were religion and language.

In religious life, the introduction of deities and worship patterns varied in a limited measure with the faiths that followed political changes. But generally the folk life and practices continued without much disturbance. The folk deities and rituals of worship had existed for long and with the passage of time they might have absorbed certain influences from the new religions but the larger
framework of the folk religion remained intact. The tribal religion of the Kunnbis, considered aboriginals in Goa, as seen today is a reminder of the distant past largely unaffected by the external influences till very recently (Khedekar, 1993). The deities like Santeri and Betal still hold their sway over community in villages. In case of the higher castes sanskritic religion and vedic deities possibly formed an important part of their cultural life. The names of deities from the list of Salsette temples destroyed by the Portuguese in the middle of the sixteenth century include varieties of Betal and of Santer. Different forms of Ishvar or Purush (Purush, Adya Purush and Gram Purush) and also Vir (Vir in Varca, Aquem, Cortalim and Majorda; Chovis Vir in Chicalim, Vaddem; Mul Vir in Margao) along with others like Bhairav, Kshetrapal, as also different forms of Nath (Siddhanath, Naganath, Chincharanath, Chandranath, Ravalnath, Ramnath) were commonly worshipped. All these together made a majority of the temples destroyed, while few others among the rest (such as Mangesh, Shantadurga, Mahalakshmi, Mahalasa) belonging to the deities in the Greater tradition, flourished in their new settings in the New Conquest areas. Nothing is found written about their status in their original places, and the reason given is that anything and everything found in these temples and even in the homes of

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14. Agyavetal of Carmona, Betalbatim etc.; Betal of Chinchim, Colva, Loutulim etc.; Betal of Utorda, Velim, Telaulim etc. are mentioned in the list. Santer of Chicolna, Cansaulim, Assolna, Margao, Sernabatim, Varca etc.; Santeri of Dabolim, Calata etc; Shanteri of Cortalim, Cuncolim etc; Kanyakanter of Loutulim are some of these.

15. Bhogeshwar of Arassim, Baneshwar and Sankeshwar of Benaulim, Vajaneshwar of Cuelim, Baleshwar and Makaleshwar of Colva, Gantameshwar of Gonsua and Orlim, Laveshwar of Verna etc., Gaveshwar of Margao, Dhareshwar of Pali, Suneshwar in Majorda, Reyeshwar in Raia, Goreshwar in Vavelim and Ishwar in many villages are mentioned in the list of temples destroyed in the 16th century.

16. The Portuguese policy of mass destruction of native people’s places of worship in their early possessions in Goa has been described by some historians. Some of these deities rendered homeless in Salsette were shifted overnight across the Zuari river into the territory outside the Portuguese possessions to be relocated in the villages nearby.
people was consumed by flames (Bhembre, 1987). Looking into the past of these later Hindu deities of the Great Tradition we are confronted with the question of their origin and their positioning in the pan-Indian religion. The relationship of Mangesh (in Ponda taluka) and Mallikarjun (in Canacona) or of the goddess Mahalsa (Mardol, Ponda) with the known deities such as Mangirish of the East (Assam) and Mallikarjun of the South (Andhra Pradesh) (Dhume, 1973) or Mahalasa of Maharashtra (Khedekar, 1983: 15) respectively is a matter worth further scrutiny. There are questions posed regarding the likelihood of the original status of these relocated deities (in their present locations) being the local folk deities of the aboriginals later abrogated and associated with the ones in the Greater Tradition (Dhume, 1973: 17). This association and appropriation have, perhaps, resulted in the representation of the cultural reality to suit the understanding of the Hindu mind appreciative of the sanskritic culture and vedic religion. This understanding, in its turn, has made an impact on the language and communication within the religious realm in the form of prayers, addresses, expressions, methods of approach and appreciation.

Folk deities were worshipped in vernacular and the means of worship differed from those for the classical Hindu deities. The vedic deities of Greater Tradition were worshipped in Sanskrit and the prayers, addresses were in the priests' language, not in regular use among the devotees at large. All these factors in religious and cultural sphere are the carriers of language: and language as a symbol of identity and tool of power, is the central concern of this study.

17. God Mangesh, for example, is said to have been found by a cow-herd in the service of a landlord.
Language Scenario

The language situation in Goa and Konkan in the earlier part of the last millenium should have remained volatile due to a number of political and religious upheavals. Konkan and Goa experienced the political rule of Vijayanagara empire during the major part of the fifteenth century (Kamat, 1983). Prior to the inception of this rule in 1366 A.D. the era of political instability accompanied by cultural and religious volatility had continued in the region for almost two centuries. The religious literature produced by the early Marathi saint poets of the 13th and 14th century was accessible to a very small section of upper caste Goan Hindus, while the Goan masses had the folk religion available to them, which did not have such a literature. Their religious world was built around the *Mandd* (the central place in a locality for all the social, religious rituals), and bounded by the *Shims* (boundaries of the village world) where the *Shimevoilo* (the one on the boundary = protecting spirit) had to be the protector and caretaker. The concepts of *Puris* (*kula-purusha*) – the founder of the clan, *Gram dev* (village deity), *Kull dev* (deity of the clan) are known to people of all the sections of the Hindu society in Goa and hold prominence in their religious and social life. *Santeri* as the village deity in a large number of villages, and *Betal* as the protector God, form an integral part of the cultural life of a Goan village as is the case in a large part of the Konkan. Language of worship of these village deities of the folks was not textual or standard in the modern sense and had little to do with Bhakti tradition practices and the Bhagavata Dharma popularised from the 14th century onwards. The traditional rituals of *Disht*, *Bhar* or *Avsar*, *Prasad* (Khedekar, 1993) continue to be practised in day-to-day life of Goans till today.
The language has both spatial and ritual contexts. These are valued by the masses as the genuine and reliable religious tools. None of these have significant role for textual language of mainstream vedic religion like Sanskrit or the popular Bhakti tradition language called Marathi. In Goa most of the temples created in the twentieth century have these latter languages in use. Today, there is a widespread feeling among masses that Marathi is the cultural and religious language of Goa and Goans, especially Hindus, which has been reflected in the political and administrative decisions and actions in the democratic polity.

Marathi as one of the major modern languages on the western coast of India has a place of prominence in the regional literary and cultural scene. The evolution of the language into a literary vehicle is traced to the end of the 12th century A.D (Joshi, 1978: 78). *Jnaneshwari*, the magnum opus written in 1290 A.D. by the saint Jnaneshwara (1275-1296 A.D.), marks the beginning of Marathi as a language capable of bringing the good and the great in the Indian tradition and philosophy into the popular discourse. This period was known for some of the saint poets, the last among them being Namdev (1270-1350 A.D.). All of them contributed to devotional poetry literature in their attempt to promote Bhagavata Dharma. As the Vijayanagara Hindu kingdom was favourable to this movement its spread helped in the evolution of language and culture of Maharashtra. The later century or two (15th and 16th) were marked by the advent and expansion of

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18. During the Portuguese rule, Marathi was used for public official communication (like notices and instructions in the Government Bulletin/Gazette) with Hindus and after liberation it continued to be used. With the pro-Marathi sections acquiring political power it was also proposed to be used in legislative affairs mainly debates and discussions but had to make way for Konkani as most of the legislators were not quite comfortable with Marathi, though they claimed it as their mother tongue and used it for their cultural, social and official activities.

19. The earliest literary text Viveka Sindhu by Mukundaraj was produced in saka 1110 i.e. 1188 A.D.
the Muslim rule during which the territory of Maharashtra witnessed the destruction and chaos in cultural and political life. It is the same period that saw the advent of the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa.

This colonial experience was unique in many ways. With specific reference to language and culture (that acquired the centre stage in the determination of the political future of Goa in the Indian subcontinent) its role deserves detailed study. Looking at the cultural and linguistic identity of Goa as the one carried through the ages as a part of local folk traditions and larger Indian tradition, ignoring the colonial intervention, will perhaps make an incomplete story. When Marathi was yet to acquire its true modern form through depiction and capturing of the social, political experiences of its speakers under the alien rule, mainly Muslims, Goa had fallen into the hands of equally alien rulers who had a stronger agenda than the one followed by the rulers of the erstwhile Maharashtra. The local language that was available for the evangelists and proselytisers who accompanied the colonial masters was the one that had been left unnurtured for almost two centuries after Namdeva (1270-1350 A.D.). The form and content of the language in use was of the pre-Maratha age, the one that was yet to realise its full potential as ‘Marathi’ in the modern age. The century that was marked by the grafting of the Roman Catholicism with beleagured Hinduism\textsuperscript{20} in Goa by the British Jesuit Thomas Stephens (1549-1619 A.D.) through ‘\textit{lingua bramanica}’ made a significant departure from the age of revival and reinforcement of the \textit{Bhagavat Dharma} by saint Eknath (1532-1599 A.D.) in

\textsuperscript{20} Though the term is used here for convenience, its use started much later even in the larger Indian context; in Goa the Portuguese named locals as \textit{gentios, indigenes} at different times in the colonial period.
Maharashtra through Marathi. What the later Marathi saints Tukaram (1608-1650 A.D.) and Ramadas (1608-1682 A.D.) represented for the larger Marathi culture was different from what they would mean to those living in seventeenth century Goa (comprising of the Old Conquests mainland and islands) that was experiencing colonial catastrophe not only of a different kind but also of a much larger magnitude. This distinct development of Goa, during the crucial phase of the formation of Marathi, makes the language issue more relevant in the state formation process in independent India.

Language is the focal theme in Goan life in all its spheres. Culturally it has been the field of friction as Konkani – the language finding its own place in the family of national languages of India after a closely guarded ‘struggle’– has been considered the ‘creation’ of the European colonial power (Priolkar, 1967) by some scholars while others have seen it as the rightful sibling of the modern Indian languages (Dalgado, 1893). In political arena, its role has been of a determinant factor in the settlement of the critical issue of the standing of Goa in the federal set up in India. The only instance so far of a plebiscite\(^{21}\), under the Indian constitutional arrangements in over fifty years of their effect, was held in the case of Goa. It brought out the popular opinion based primarily on language and culture with regard to Goa after its liberation from the Portuguese colonial rule. The common national view is that Goa was liberated by the use of Indian military force (hence termed by many in the pro-Portuguese camp as annexation)

\(^{21}\) The Opinion Poll to decide the political future of Goa, Daman and Diu (the three erstwhile Portuguese holdings on the west coast of India) in the Indian federal system was held on 16\(^{th}\) January 1967; it provided the choice to Goan voters to decide whether or not to merge with the neighbouring Maharashtra; the main planks of the political debate over this choice were language and culture.
but it is worth noting that its integration in the Union of India was reinforced in the 'Opinion Poll' with language and culture as its prime planks.

COLONIAL EXPERIENCE UNDER THE PORTUGUESE

The advent of the Portuguese on the Goan scene was prompted by the suggestion and request from a Hindu naval officer under the Vijayanagara kingdom, for their help against the Adilshahi rulers. In this sense the Portuguese were the saviours of Goan Hindus from the Adilshahi atrocities. It was the political ambition of a Hindu officer Timoja to gain power for himself and the territorial gain for the Hindu kingdom (Pissurlencar, 1945), that formed the basis of invitation to Alfonso de Alburqueque in 1510 to attack Goa. As history would have it, what was seen as a political solution to the unwanted rule was to become a social upheaval and religious persecution in their extremes, along with the economic disaster following strengthening of the colonial rule using state religion. The colonial experience of Goa has become a phenomenon that has yet to be revealed in all its facets.

Socio-cultural transformation

The arrival of the Portuguese in Goa in 1510 A.D. marks a dramatic phase in the life of the territory of Konkan in general and Goa in particular and in a wider context, a turning point in the history of the Indian subcontinent as a whole.

22 Timoja or Timayya, finds mention in Portuguese documents as a leading Hindu politician. In one of his letters Albuquerque refers to Timoja as 'capitao do Rei de Bisnaga'.
23 Timayya’s plan was to get Goa under the Vijayanagara king after the anticipated departure of the Portuguese from the place (following the defeat of the Muslim power there at his request) and be the vassal under the Vijayanagara rule controlling the affairs of Goa himself.
In a sense, the very making of Goa - as it exists - is the work of the Portuguese rule. As they had conquered Goa in the first instance all further additions were the expansion of Goa. Hence the city of Goa was gradually made into the Portuguese State of India — *Estado da India*. Making of this new state began with the creation of a community that would be most trustworthy in terms of their loyalty and stability. For this purpose the Portuguese General Alfonso de Albuquerque arranged marriages of ‘some Mussalman women fair and of good looks and some clean men’ (Cunha, 1961: 64). Some of these women were ‘of the rulers who preceded him, who had either escaped his first massacre or whose fathers and husbands had been ordered by him to be treacherously killed’.

The Portuguese who came to India ‘in search of spices and Christians’ (Sukhthankar, 1954: 96) were invited to Goa for a different purpose as stated above. Their motive behind the capture of Goa, however, was mainly economic as they wanted to control the maritime trade route in order to end the monopoly in the eastern trade enjoyed by the Turks (Malekandathil & Mohammed: 2001). To ensure continuity in trade they needed a stronghold like Goa which they also needed to civilize through christianization. This was started soon after their arrival. In this the normal ways of persuasion and education regarding the new

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24. It put a halt to the Muslim monopoly in maritime trade and brought European culture to India. Modern history of India evolved out of the interaction between the European colonial powers reaching India following the Portuguese on the one hand and that between them and indigenous rulers on the other.

25. T. B. Cunha describes in his essay ‘The Denationalisation of Goans’ the means and methods adopted in this regard by the Portuguese, following their capture of Goa.

26. Vasco de Gama, in his first visit to Calicut at the end of the 15th century, was asked about the cause of his visit to which he replied in these words.
faith did not work and had to be replaced by other means – use of force and threats, blackmail etc. (Mendonca, 2002). In the case of religious life the natives had their own religious places and practices in place; the existence of mosques and temples side by side in the city of Goa finds mention in the early reports of the Portuguese on their capturing Goa. This was something strange for them. In their bid to start christianization the Portuguese built a cathedral in Goa followed by the establishment of the Bishopric in Goa in 1534 A.D. (Naik, 1957:27). With the appointment of Fr. Miguel Vaz as Vicar General in 1538 the proselytization process was initiated. The first major attack on the religious front was the mass destruction of the Hindu temples numbering around 160 in the whole of Tisvady as a part of the christianization drive. The organized campaign of conversion to Christianity got impetus with the arrival of Francis xavier of the Society of Jesus to Goa with his associates on 6th May 1542 as the special representative of the Pope (Naik, 1957:28). This was followed by establishment of the Inquisition in Goa on the recommendation of Francis Xavier (Priolkar, 1961). The Jesuits have had and have much to do with the Goan society of the Portuguese making and also with the formation of Konkani, as both these features of Goan identity had their centres of prominence in the district of Salsette which was under the control of the Jesuits. Both these had religion as the common element.

27. Description of these methods is found in the historic essay 'Denationalisation of Goans' by T.B. Cunha.
28. Much of the debate on the issues of Goan identity and of nationalism was seen from this area during the early days of the Portuguese, as can be seen in the protests and resistance from some villages; as regards the earliest works of Konkani, especially their printing, Raehol played a significant role.
The codification of the revenue and administrative procedures and regulations practised in the territory in the early sixteenth century was compiled in the form of the *Foral* in 1526 by Afonso Mexia (Gomes Pereira, 1981: 62). This gave the colonisers a fair idea of the social structure and economic system prevailing in their new possessions. It was this system that was later used to force conversion on the locals and also to punish those unwilling to join the new faith (Sukhthankar, 1954: 107).

The European contact through the Portuguese had its own features. Portugal as a European nation had certain locational advantages that had brought them to India and Goa. European presence on the west coast of India made a difference to the local kings and rulers. With control of important ports and major maritime trade activities by the Portuguese, these local rulers would have to depend on the Portuguese, giving the latter an advantage (Shastry, 1981). Another factor was the constant conflicts among the petty rulers in which mediation between the parties or support to any one in terms of ammunition, weaponry or manpower would provide opportunities to enhance the prestige and position in the political and diplomatic sphere. This also provided opportunities to local elites to gain insights into the western skills of diplomacy and administration.

In terms of culture the Portuguese presence has made an all-pervasive impact. Destruction of temples on large scale in the islands of Goa in the first half of the sixteenth century...
of the sixteenth century followed by those in Bardez and Salsette in 1560's
(Bharat Mitra, June 1956: 168, July 1956:190-192) marked the beginning of this
change of face. It implied not merely a replacement of physical structures but the
whole transformation of the socio-cultural world around the new converts. The
abolition of a long living custom like sati, introduction of civil code that
introduced the principle of equality, import of printing technology, codification of
the local language, introduction of a variety of plants leading to change of cuisine
were the elements of socio-cultural transformation brought by the colonial rule.

The religious scene in these coastal lands had been shaped by political
changes during the past centuries. The Brahminic influence in the religious
matters had gained centrality under the rule of different local dynasties and gifts
of lands to Agraharas was common in the early centuries of the second millennium.
Simple shelters of folk and other deities maintained by the villagers coexisted
with the pagodas of vedic and sanskritic deities (of the Great Tradition that was
Brahminical). These latter were often built by the royal support and were only
few. But the influence of Brahmins was on the rise and consultation with them in
religious matters was considered desirable. Idol worship among non-Brahmins
had led to the transformation of folk deities into sanskritic deities (Dhume, 1973).
The destruction of Hindu temples in hundreds in the sixteenth century Goa had a
mix of such deities, as mentioned in the earlier section. In the first wave of
transformation some of them acquired a padestal but this second destruction led to
annihilation of many popular deities and places of worship.

Social life in Goa at the time of the advent of the Portuguese was strictly
regularised by the traditional caste system. This also meant that the economic
system was functional in the way prescribed by the caste based occupational structure. This structure in the pattern of *gaonkaris* was linked to the local temple in each village. Introducers of the new Faith brought into picture a scheme of things where these temples and deities had no place in social and economic life. This was not easy to understand for the people whose concept of community (*bhous*) and locality (*ganv*) was woven around the deity and its control over the physical or spatial, spiritual or metaphysical and also economic or material. Society and its functioning in the traditional set up was directed towards maintaining and conducting the affairs for the deity (Gomes Pereira, 1978)\(^ {31}\).

Hierarchy and stratification linked to birth and occupation were an integral part of the system. Those who entered the new world of Christianity carried with them the baggage of caste not envisaged in that Faith. Thus, instead of establishing the Christianity practising equality of all, the Goan project of proselytisation developed a local form of it, allowing the castes to continue. In the later phases of colonial rule, especially in the nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, caste system played a prominent role in Goan politics (Sardesai, 1994: 180)\(^ {32}\).

Entry of the Portuguese as a European power in the subcontinent had multiple implications in the long run — in both local and regional terms. The Portuguese had navigational abilities that gave them certain advantages in trade

\(^{31}\) The two institutions of *Mazanias* and *Comunidades* were linked to the temple of local deity and the village land belonged to the deity; the village affairs were run by the *comunidade* whereas the temple control was with the *mazanias*; both these institutions had distinct functions conducted by common members in their specific capacities.

\(^{32}\) The two political parties of Goan Catholics operating in the early 20th century were divided on caste basis — ‘Parte do indiano’ of the non-Brahmins and ‘Ultramar’ of Brahmins. Their activities were also guided by the caste rivalries more than the genuine political or economic concerns of the state as a whole.
and commerce. The local rulers who had been in constant struggle among themselves were now faced with the prospects of dealing with the power that used techniques of defence different from the ones known so far. Moreover, the mediational role acquired by the Portuguese in local conflicts of rulers in Malabar or on the western coast as a whole altered the nature of regional politics (Pearson, 1981).

Culturally the early colonisation of Goa by a European power led to a number of changes. With the attempts of christianization on large scale the cultural world of the locals was shaken drastically. Rituals and practices prevailing in the local religion had no place in the Christian worship. Deities in their variety of forms were not acceptable to the strangers who forced conversion on locals. Religious literature for the neo-converts was not available. The priests with the knowledge of local language were not available. The inbuilt unity of temporal with the spiritual could not be experienced in the new Faith. As a result the attempts to return to the local Faith or continue the practices and customs of the old Faith were common (Priolkar, 1961).

However, it should be remembered that the new Faith was not easily accepted by the locals. The upper caste Hindus, Sinais, were not ready to get converted. For others, their inferior status in the social hierarchy, economic problems and misconceptions about purity or sacredness led to their conversion. There were also methods of luring people to the new Faith, promises of better security and economic opportunities as well as threats and ‘tricks’ like ‘polluting’ people through physical touch, pollution of water bodies, food items etc. (Mendonca, 2002). There were many who accepted the new religion to save their
properties from confiscation. Methods of rumour-mongering, spying too were put to use. Saraswat Brahmins in large numbers ran away leaving all their belongings, but there were few among them who chose to give in for certain benefits. There are instances of people ‘creating a situation of helplessness through tacit understanding with the missionaries’ to justify the conversion. But through all such means Christianisation of the Old Conquests was achieved in the first two centuries of the Portuguese rule.

The missionaries had to learn the language and create religious literature by adopting the forms and norms of contemporary practice in the local religion. Forms like ‘ladainha’ evolved to replace certain Hindu practices habitually followed by the neo-converts. There was a beginning made in the area of language learning that signified the dawn of the era of Orientalism (Pereira, 1970: 42). The seeds of inter-culturality observed by scholars today were sown in the season of banishment of Hindu customs, beliefs and practices and through the technique of ban on many rituals and performances in the land of spiritual plenty that Goa was. As we find many deities in Goa being worshipped by both Catholics and Hindus, so also many of the rituals performed traditionally by

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33. Amalgamation of Ovi (a poetic meter) and Purana (a literary form) of the Indian tradition with the faith of ‘Crista’ resulting in the creation of ‘Krista Purana’ is the instance.
34. Folk researcher Vinayak Khedekar informs on the authority of some learned Catholic priests that Imactinha evolved to replace the Sattia Nal -aye -1n Puja commonly performed among Goan Hindus. The singing of ‘Asraisi’ in the old religion was replaced by hymns, distribution of ‘prasad’ was continued as ‘shiri’ (pieces of coconut kernel) and beans and even serving of food to the villagers, though only after 1950s this food included chicken. Also liquor came to be offered to guests.
35. In many European countries, Indian studies began by way of Konkani studies: Thomas Stephens (1549-1617) was the first Orientalist of England, Diogo Ribeiro (1560-1633) that of Portugal, Etienne de la Croix (17th century) of France and Karel Prikryl (1718-1785) of Czechoslovakia. - says Dr. Jose Pereira.
Hindus have continued among Catholics, often overlooked by the Church and the priests\textsuperscript{36}.

The 16\textsuperscript{th} century saw ‘the flight of the deities’ from their homes in the Portuguese occupied territories to the neighbouring ones outside their area, after their temples were razed to the ground in a frenzy by the Portuguese officials and priests. This was not merely an issue of migration or transportation of an idol, resettlement of the deity or reconstruction of a temple. The whole world of faith, of loyalty, of belonging, of relatedness, of obligation, of duty built around the deity disappeared and the people were left with a void that the missionaries and officials wanted to fill with the new religion. The ‘ganv’ (village) that was ‘created’ and ‘constructed’ around the deity and the temple in their original sites could not be transferred in this dismantling of the community and it was a ‘loss’ that people found impossible to count or measure. The socio-cultural structure and functions as well as politico-economic rights and obligations of different sections of the inhabitants were decided in the pre-colonial system on the basis of their specific roles and placements in the temple management and village administration (Gomes Pereira, 1978)\textsuperscript{37}. For the purposes such as maintenance of temples of the main and supplementary deities, conduct of the regular worship and annual festivals, sustenance of the temple functionaries and servants, meeting emergencies and calamities in the village etc. the community made provisions; different castes or occupational groups had their membership rights and collective

\textsuperscript{36} In socio-religious occasions such as marriages among converts, certain rituals belonging to their pre-conversion status are performed at home even today without the knowledge of priests. This is confirmed through interviews with Jess Fernandes (a Catholic Konkani writer and Tiatrist) and Martin Menino Fernandes (a teacher and social activist).
obligations with regard to the village and temple. With deities from the villages gone, the very soul of the community was lost. The members, who were converted to Christianity were asked to adopt the new ways to be eligible to enjoy economic and social rights.

In the new settings, the shifted Hindu deities were located on the boundaries of the existing villages and this process of relocation created certain questions of the role and honour or rights and privileges to certain families or castes in the temple functions (Dhume, 1973: 53) as also absence of some other rights and positions for large sections. Certain demands were made on the socio-political system by these sections having some symbolic rights, honours, privileges or their absence in the changed situation in the 20th century. Again such relocation of deities culminated into the unmaking and remaking of the deity's spatial world of 'ganv' and in their aggregation, the 'reshaping' or 'remaking' of Goa.

Impact On Language

What is significant for this study is the impact this whole transformation had on the language. Language here comes not only as a religious tool but also as

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37. These insights were provided in the lectures delivered by Mr. Alito Siqueira and Dr. Alexander Henn for the students of Goa University doing a course on Goa under the Department of Sociology.

38. In the major temples such as Shantadurga of Kavalem and Mangesh of Priol (Mangeshi) there are specific honours to be made in a symbolic way to individuals/ couples of non-Saraswat/ lower castes like Mahar and Gaudda. Residents of villages where these deities were relocated are designated as Kulavis (disciples) but non-Brahmins among them cannot become Mahajans (members of the group entitled to elect or occupy positions in the managing bodies of temples) of the major Saraswat-managed temples in Goa.

39. The case of Nakul Gurav, a traditional non-Brahmin priest in Mahalasa Temple at Mardol in mid-eighties or the practice of discrimination between Kulavis and Mahajans on the basis of caste, against which a social movement was organised around the same period are the cases in point.
an intellectual discipline, technique of communication and the tool of administration. The brief survey of impact of the Portuguese colonialism in these three areas viz. language study, technology, and language policy can make the task easy. Language study, as we know, was taken up by the missionaries with the help of some local converts among themselves. The earliest works by the missionaries were in the form of catechisms, prayers and hymns (Pinge, 1960: 14-25). These were prepared for the neo-converts in the language they followed and used. The problem was not merely about introducing the new faith, it was more of giving the neo-converts what they had been missing as a result of giving up their old one. For this project of producing the material having a resemblance to the Puranas, it became essential to make a systemic and scientific study of the language in the form of grammars and dictionaries, vocabularies or glossaries. It was also necessary to train new priests for the job. For this purpose the early Jesuit priests produced a grammar "Arte da Lingua Canarim", Fransiscans prepared Arte Grammatia da Lingua Canarina and Arte da Lingua Canarina, also various other authors wrote works such as Arte da Grammatica da Lingua Bracmana. Fr. Francis Xavier's Grammatica ou Observacoes Grammaticaes sobre a lingua de Concana is one of these earliest works. Dictionaries and vocabularies such as Vocabulario da Lingua Canarina of Diogo Ribeiro, Vocabulario da Lingua Concanica of Father Antonio de Saldanha, both Jesuits also belong to this period. This exercise of scientific treatment of the language of the region viz. Canarim is among the earliest in the Indian context. To understand the significance of these linguistic studies with specific mention of Konkani as distinct from Marathi (Canarim as distinct from Maraste), it is necessary to look
at the other languages in the region where Konkani speaking people are found in large numbers. It must be remembered that these events of systematic study took place about four and a half centuries ago when the language map of India itself, in terms of the important languages today, was going through its early formation.

We are concerned here with the middle of the 16th century which is supposed to be the period of writing of the first grammar (Pereira, 1992: 27) with the specific mention of Konkani. The three main languages in the areas of residence of the majority of Konkani speakers today are Gujarati (in the metropolis of Mumbai), Kannada (in major parts of North and South Kanara) and Marathi (in Mumbai and North Konkan). Of these the first and the last are considered as the Indo-Aryan and the second as a south Indian or a Dravidian language. Also, Marathi has a very close affinity to Konkani, which, in the opinion of some, makes the latter a dialect of the former (Prabhudesai, 1963).

While Konkani had its grammar and dictionaries prepared on the lines of the western discipline developing in the fifteenth century Europe, Marathi was yet to receive attention in this regard. The earliest of such philological and lexicographical exercises in case of Marathi in the authentic Marathi regions are seen only in the early years of the nineteenth century (Pinge, 1960: 31, 72).

Andre Vaz, a Goan laybrother is said to have prepared this on the lines of the one for Portuguese which came in the fourth decade of the 16th century.

V.B. Prabhudesai considered it as a Goan dialect and studied it as a Marathi dialect of the seventeenth century, to produce his Ph.D. Thesis entitled ‘Sataravvyan Shatakaateey Gomantakeya Marathi Bolee’ (Goan Marathi dialect in the seventeenth century) in Marathi under the guidance of A.K. Priolkar.

The first grammar book ‘Gramatica Marista’ by a Jesuit from Goa was published in 1805, (the second edition of the one printed in Rome in 1778); also William Carey’s ‘A Grammar of the Mahratta Language’ which was prepared by Vydenath, Mahratta Pundit, in conjunction with Mr. William Carey, teacher of the Shanscrit and Bengalee languages’ is attributed to the same year, (but 1806 in Majumdar, 1981 vol. 10 - pt.II, p.184). The Marathi-English Dictionary of 1810, prepared by William Carey was followed by some dictionary-making efforts by Dr. Drummond, Capt. Hutchinson, Gen. Kennedy and others.
just before Capt. Molesworth’s (1795-1872) acclaimed work was released in 1831\textsuperscript{43}. Many of those who wrote in Marathi on religious, scientific, social or other matters had come to Maharashtra either as employees of the British or through evangelical missions, and learnt the official as well as local languages with the help of local intellectuals, pundits or through interaction with common people (Pinge, 1960: 233-234). Other attempts in the earlier period were by the Jesuits and they distinguished between the languages of the North and the South Konkan. In any case it is sure that the systematic study of Marathi on modern lines in the western sense started only in the beginning of the nineteenth century i.e. almost two and a half centuries after the earliest attempts of such exercises in case of Konkani.

In respect of Gujarati the work on dictionaries and grammars can be traced back to Hemchandra’s (1088 – 1172 A.D.) \textit{Deshi Nam Mala} (list of local names) of the 12\textsuperscript{th} century (Sunitha bai, 1987: 1) but in terms of modern discipline the earliest of grammars of Gujarati in the modern style came in 1873\textsuperscript{44}, though this language (Guzerattee) along with ‘Hindoostani and Mahratta’ was considered useful under the British rule and the Civil Servants were informed in the early period of the century about the promotional opportunities on acquiring their knowledge (Pinge, 1959: 101)\textsuperscript{45}.

Kannada as a language of the region which has the largest Konkani speaking population in India has influenced the literary activities and genres of Konkani particularly that in \textit{Manglluri} (Mangalore regional) variety. Because

\textsuperscript{43} ‘A Dictionary Marathi and English’ of 1162 pages covering 40000 words by Capt. Molesworth came as a result of six years of consistent labour and was widely praised.

\textsuperscript{44} \textit{Narmakosh} by Narmad, ‘Father of the modern Gujarati’ is said to be one of the earliest in the language.
Karnataka as a whole came into contact with the European powers quite late as compared to the other western coastal territories we find the study of their language on modern lines taking shape only in the second half of the nineteenth century. Indigenous attempts to bring out dictionaries and grammars of modern Kannada, however, came earlier — in 1838 Krishnammacharya’s Hosagannada Nudigannadi was published (Majumdar, 1991: 201).

Having seen that Konkani was the first among these major regional languages to benefit from the systematic and scientific study and analysis we are confronted with the following questions: Why were literary activities and public use of the language restricted? Did this factor affect its growth and development as a modern Indian language and a member of the language family representing modern independent India? How did the above issues affect the shaping of linguistic identity, which, in the Indian context, formed the core of the state formation process in the early decades of our federation?

Language development in the modern world is intimately connected with technology. It is the technology of printing that has helped the growth of literary activities and also education and spread of languages through literacy, creating thereby standard languages. Printing in its rudimentary form involved the issues of material and financial aspects such as the type of material or the cost of the material, and also of psychological and cultural choices like the selection of a particular set of characters for printing as well as the cultural or religious significance of the latter. These decisions were guided by the level of skills available at the time and also the exigencies of demand for the product.

45. Excerpts from a circular in 1823 from Governor Elphinstone addressed to civil servants.
Considering the variety of tongues in vogue in the period when printing
technology entered the region it was also necessary to decide on the particular
form, style or variety that could be subjected to printing, thereby leading towards
standardization of languages. With the writing and reproduction of the words in
matter it also led to freeing the speech from the traditional sacredness that was
attributed to the scriptural nature of language, moving into the direction of its
secularization in multiple senses. All this was intrinsic to the process of printing
and Konkani having earned the privilege of being senior in this respect ought to
have been recognised as one among those others in the area, and as equal with
them. This should have come as a natural consequence of language evolution and
growth. But as the modern developments show, this seniority did not work to
Konkani's advantage due to the pronounced inconsistencies and recurring
reverses in the language policy of the Portuguese throughout their rule in Goa.

During the early Portuguese period, Goans spoke a language which was
different from the literary standard of the time. This is evident from what Fr.
Stephens mentioned in his introduction to his 'Krista Purana' as 'the occasional
use of words from local Brahmana language in order to make the work intelligible
to them (common people)' (SarDessai, 2000: 37), while stating that the work
itself was written in Marathi. Mention of lingoa canarim or bramana canarim by
Thomas Stephens, lingua Bramana Marasta by Etienne de la Croix, lingua
bramana or bramana vulgar by the Jesuits, lingua canarina by Fr. Gaspar de S.
Minguel, lingua Maraste and lingua decanica by some others (Pinge, 1960),
indicate a variety of names relating to these earliest productions on the languages
on the west coast of India, especially of Konkan. Three main elements that can be
derived from all these names are *Canarina* or *Canarim* and *Deccanica* (of Canara/Deccan) commonly viewed as indicative of geographical and topographical attribute, *bramana* or *bramanica* (of Brahmins) pointing to a social section, and *Maraste* (of *Maharashtra* or great rashtra = larger state) signifying a political construction. Considering the fact that most of these were the Jesuit priests who had stayed and moved around in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries within Goa, that too in the Salsette (in South Goa of today) that was assigned to their Order, it is more likely that they had access to a specific speech variety in use during the specific period and in the limited area. All of them had learnt the language after their arrival here with the help of locals and through the writings of the past, which they could find in the area. It is their work alone that stands as a testimony to the claimed existence of the language called Konkani in Goa before the British era in India, which is held as the period of emergence of modern linguistic identities of the Indian vernaculars or *bhasas*. If this old language in the sub-continent had no place in the larger community of Indian languages of the twentieth century, it has, perhaps, much to do with the treatment it received from the Portuguese as a part of their larger socio-cultural policy.

**Language Policy**

Language policy of the Portuguese can be viewed as the creation of the two agents – political and religious. In the first century of the Portuguese rule there was a clear policy of destruction of temples and mass conversion of locals to Christianity in thousands (Naik, 1957: 27-38). In modern view this could be called a part of religious policy but taking into account the period of this
devastation it will be clear that there was no separation of political and religious at that stage; though the world witnessed the separation of powers as part of Renaissance and Enlightenment, Portuguese were not the enlightened ones but medieval-minded; ‘for them Church and State were one, with interests linked’ (Pereira, 1992: 11). In fact the period of colonisation of Goa was both an era of christianization and a project to create a community of ‘Black Portuguese’ (Priolkar, 1967; Pereira, 1992). The converted people were asked to give up their traditional dress. Their modes of worship had to change. Food and its preparation were modified through constant instructions. There were specific orders to stop the use of local language, accompanied by the prescribed penalties for non-conformists. In short, the entire culture was to be thrown away or disowned. Therefore the stress on language, which is the major vehicle of culture, formed a crucial element of colonial policy.

With replacement of temples by churches in different parts of Goa in the second half of the 16th century, the Portuguese thought of strengthening Christianity in Goa. Their efforts to curtail and gradually abolish the symbols of paganism (including written texts and books) over the period of a century did not succeed in totally wiping out the local faith, but led to desertion of villages and towns (Naik, 1957: 42) as a result of mass migration of Hindus to the neighbouring territories - to the north and south - outside the Portuguese control. In the shadow of Inquisition neo-converts who followed their traditional customs and practices of the earlier faith had also to follow suit. The oral tradition was

\textsuperscript{46} In the Goa city alone the number of locals came down to 20,000 from the original four lacs by one account.
quite strong among the locals and that survived through the local speech. In order to remove the hurdle of this language in the work of consolidation of faith in Goa, the rulers issued a decree in 1684 (Priolkar,1967: 64) allowing only three years for every one residing within the Goan borders to learn Portuguese. Later dictats in this regard penalised people for not being able to speak Portuguese. This continued for almost a century, but with meagre success. The attitude of persecution of people and suppression of language at all levels and by all means finally gave way to the realisation of inevitability of the use of local language in the missionary task. In their search for books to learn the language the priests realised the blunder they had committed in consigning all the literature in the local languages in the territory to flames. Now the emphasis was on adoption of the language. But with earlier orders to learn Portuguese, people had started using the words and phrases in that language in the local speech to avoid penalties and sufferings. This was the stage of assimilation which, with the passage of time, resulted in the appropriation of large amount of Portuguese vocables in Konkani, giving rise to common observation that Konkani in Goa is 'devoid of its genuine form' (Sunitha Bai, 1987: 4).

47. On June 7, 1684, Viceroy Conde de Alvor issued this decree saying that "this language (Portuguese) should be used by the people in these parts in the dealings and other contracts which they may wish to enter into, those using the vernacular being severely punished for not obeying the mandate."
48. This move on the part of the ruler was the result of clash of interests and power conflict between the European missionaries and their local counterparts particularly in Bardez which was under the Fransiscans.
49. It was announced that no marriages would take place if both the bride and the bridegroom were not conversant with Portuguese. For initiation into the religious Order, not only the aspirants but also their family members were supposed to know Portuguese language fairly well.
50. In the second half of the eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century the use of Konkani was banished from education provided by the Portuguese. Even later Konkani did not figure in education inspite of government decisions recommending it.
51. Pereira, Jose, 1992 — Literary Konkani
These extreme steps on the part of the colonial rulers in the matter of language gave rise to certain identity issues. Those who were converted were kept away from Marathi literature in Bhakti tradition and elites among them were encouraged to take up Portuguese, with the provision of incentives. Among converts as well as Hindu elites, the acquisition of language brought prestige and status through the official recognition and opportunities. Many among the Goan Hindu elites worked as translators, pleaders and agents for the colonial powers. Among the Hindus, who migrated to Maharashtra, many worked for regional powers such as Peshwas during the Portuguese rule (Naik, 1957: 96-98), and for other princely states and foreign companies in the later part of the colonial era. With better economic conditions and social status, elites among them found themselves in prominent positions in administrative, academic and diplomatic spheres (Bharat Mitra 1959-1962: vol. 31/11-vol. 34/5). As for the converts, those who were forced to migrate in the earlier phase of colonialism, the issue was of integration with the locals in their new abodes in the coastal Tulu region of the south (like Mangalore and other parts of South Kanara) or Marathi regions beyond the Ghats to the north (areas surrounding Kolhapur and Belgaum) maintaining the new faith without ecclesiastical support or Inquisitorial threats, till the Christian church reached them. Those who moved into Konkan

52. Goans commonly known as 'Bardeskars' (belonging to Bardes in the North Goa of the present) who had to run away in the fear of persecution from the church for following their old customs, reached Sawantwadi, Vengurla, Malvan in the north and in the areas around Belgaum above the ghats. They were caught in between for quite long, as they had no religious authority to support. For some time, they lived in isolated hamlets outside the villages and followed the new Faith under the guidance of Irnmaos, some senior members among them. Church authorities reached them after few years.
northwards were economically backward and struggled for survival with their language and the new faith till the parts became increasingly Marathi-ised with the state policy in 1960s. Those who continued in Goa had to face different predicaments. The upper caste elites among Catholics, with constant pressure to adopt the western way of life with its language, accompanied by the promise of benefits under the Portuguese, created a class of people who considered themselves closer to the rulers, by appropriating the language of the latter at the cost of their local original language. The lower caste converts with no proper education of any language beyond the Roman alphabet and elementary skills in the church music learnt in parish schools, were compelled to migrate to British India as sailors, butlers and cooks living with their language but putting it to written use for communication in the Roman alphabet. Other cultural elements like music and dance were also adopted by this social strata. In their yearning for the lost past, these social strata generated a genre like ‘Manddo’ and ‘Dekhmi’ which in recent times stood for Goan heritage (BIMB, 1982: No. 135). With the language and music borrowed from the colonial rulers under compulsion, the sentiments and sensibilities of the sons and daughters of the Goan soil reverberated in the Portuguese Goa and continue to echo the past in Goa Indica.

53 Many settled on the coastline and took to fishing and other related activities. Many sold fish to the people in the Ghats areas. With spread of education and dependence of large sections of locals on Bombay economy Marathi became the language of education and communication. After the formation of Maharashtra state this process of Marathi-isation of Konkani speaking areas was officially streamlined.
Goa was liberated in December 1961 to integrate it with the Indian union. Though the final scene of the long struggle was written by the Indian military intervention, actually there was thinking and efforts on the part of Goans - both Hindus and Catholics – for over three decades before the actual action\(^{54}\), to effect such integration. Much before this, exactly a century before the liberation, a Goan representative in the Portuguese parliament had affirmed this relationship of Goa with India (Priolkar, 1967: 4)\(^{55}\).

The period of this intervening century can be divided into four phases for a better understanding of the language situation in Goa. The first is the early period of association with Maharashtra (1860 – 1885). The second extends to the end of the Republic (1885 – 1926). This is followed by the third – the period of emergence of the Konkani movement (1927 –1946), which leads to the fourth – the phase of the liberation struggle (1946 – 1961) culminating in the liberation of Goa at the end of 1961.

The early phase

The convenient point to start the survey of language scenario in nineteenth century of Goa is 1858, the year of publication of the historic *Ensaio Historico de Lingua Concani* (An Historical Essay on the Konkani Language) by J.H. da

\(^{54}\) T.B.Cunha, with the help of others had formed Goa Congress Committee in 1928, in line with the other provincial committees in the princely states in India.

\(^{55}\) Francisco Luis Gomes, in his letter dated 5\(^{th}\) January 1861, to the well-known French poet Lamartine, had said that he was proud of his belonging to ‘the race which wrote the *Mahabharata* and invented chess.’
Cunha Rivara\(^{56}\) (Priolkar, 1958: 149), a Portuguese civil servant. His appeal to Konkani speakers and his efforts to start education in this mother-tongue of Goans\(^{57}\) did not bear fruit as can be seen from the educational scenario prevailing at the time\(^{58}\).

While the Government and Parish elementary schools providing education in Latin and Portuguese respectively were attended by 6124 students in all (2174 in Govt. schools and the rest in Parish ones) in 1869-70, there was hardly any arrangement by the government for Marathi education in some organised form (Sardesai, 1994: 51)\(^{59}\). Primary education was made compulsory by the Act of 1869 but not much could be achieved due to ‘the faulty teaching practice, defective text books and lack of furniture’, but most importantly, ‘absence of instruction in local language’ (Satoskar 1973 pt. II: 9)\(^{60}\). The recommendations ‘to teach Portuguese through the local language, to appoint teachers knowing both the languages for this purpose, to start schools in the main centres in the New Conquests and to run them in a specific manner’ prompted the government to convert all the schools in the New Conquests into the mixed medium i.e. Marathi-
Portuguese in 1871. The only Konkani medium school started in Pernem by a retired teacher, probably at a much later date, could not survive for long. Cunha Rivara had published three grammars and a dictionary of Konkani as a preparatory exercise pending the preparation of school text books but due to opposition from the educated Hindu elites to his plan, government banned Konkani in education by an order of 1869 (Pereira, 1971). In 1871, Government made education compulsory for the children in the age group of 7-12 residing in the two kilometre radius of the existing schools.

The private efforts for education among Goan Hindus till then were not of much academic substance either. All that their children acquired in the name of education by the age of 12-14 years were the basic skills of literacy and numeracy for their personal or family use. This system called ‘Shennaimam’ pattern supplied the students with four ‘Barpam’ and four ‘Terjo’ along with the recitation of ‘Lalit’ and prayers (Swayam sevak, April 1924: 220) essentially for preparing them to take up the economic and religious functions in the family. There was no education among Hindu girls and even in any exceptional cases, it

61. The inspection committee appointed under the provisions of the said Act in its report mentioned these as the factors responsible for the slow progress of education.
62. This maiden attempt was by Fr. Apolonio D’Cunha, a retired Portuguese teacher who started a school in Pernem around the last decade of the nineteenth century.
63. Named after the teachers who were called Shennaillla, perhaps after the caste to which they generally belonged, it provided instructions to children in some landlord’s house as his employee or in the precincts of the village temple.
64. ‘Barpam’ literally meaning ‘writings’ comprised of four scripts viz. Balabodh (Nagari), Modi (a twisted form of Nagari in use for letter writing and record-keeping specially among landlords, businessmen in Maharashtra and Goa until the early part of the 20th century), Kannada and Hindi (the twisted form of Kannada). Four ‘Terjo’ (or calculations/computations comprising of addition and subtraction) in respect of four different currencies viz. Asarfis, Rupees, Nawanks and Grams. Numeracy skills were mainly in the form of tables of multiplication involving numbers broken down to fractionals and mixed numbers. The literacy skills were aimed at the reading of written matter in the first two scripts. ‘Lalits’ were the morning prayers called Bhupais popular in Maharashtra.
did not go beyond mere introduction to the Nagari script and numbers with few multiplication tables. The Portuguese government, responding to public demand for Marathi schools, opened two of them – one each in Mapusa and Margao, but this was not to the satisfaction of the Hindus, who decided to help themselves in this important matter. With facilities of formal education for Hindus almost non-existent, Hindus had little social organisation or political participation. The activities they had in the name of education were of no relevance to any social or political activity within the territory, particularly the ones promoted by the colonial rulers. Around the same period, the neighbouring Maharashtra was experiencing a wave of reforms in education in the form of nationalist schools. Social awakening through different organisations and publications was gaining momentum in the major centre like Pune. With the commencement of railway link between Bombay and Goa, migration of Goans to Bombay had started in a larger degree. Those who moved to the metropolis had access to Marathi education and literature and were hence exposed to new ideas. The Marathi press in Pune and Bombay (Mumbai) had found entry to Goa in a limited way. In Goa the social scene among Hindus – even the upper castes among them – was not very promising till then, in terms of economic prospects or social awakening. The communication of new ideas was now facilitated through Marathi in a limited way and Hindu upper castes easily identified with that language as their cultural tool and political means in their search for identity. Later years strengthened these ties with efforts in education and communication in Goan Hindu community.
The publication activity in Goa, which was revived after a gap of almost half a century, in the form of Gazeta de Goa in 1821 saw the private publications starting only in 1836 and over fifteen of them that appeared during the next twenty-five years were all short lived. Till 1859 all the printing activity was carried on in the government press before the first private printing press was established to publish ‘O Ultramar’ followed by ‘A India Portuguesa’. All these were the attempts of the Portuguese-educated Goan catholics at self-expression and self-projection, and according to some, they published material full of personal prejudices and malice (Satoskar 1973 pt.II: 67). The last two in particular were considered as the mouthpieces of the two upper castes among Goan catholics viz. ‘Bamons’ and ‘Chaddos’. For the Goan Hindus there was no opportunity for public expression as there was no printing facility available till 1853. Attempts to produce manuscript magazines such as Sarva Sangraha by some individuals (Sardesai, 1994: 128) had limited reach. The first Marathi periodical on modern lines published from Goa was ‘Ananda Lahari’ (1870), which was followed by a monthly magazine ‘Desha Sudhaaranechchu’ in 1872. Though the monthly magazine had to be closed down, it appeared as a weekly after five years and started appealing to government for promotion of Marathi education. The periodical survived for hardly a year. For the next three years there was no Marathi periodical in Goa. In the last five years of this first phase (i.e.}

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64. The first phase of publishing in Goa started with the arrival of the printing press in mid-sixteenth century for the use of the missionaries and continued till the mid-eighteenth when the publishing was totally banned and the missionaries thrown out of Goa. The second phase was started by the government initiative.
between 1880 and 1885) there was only one Marathi monthly started from Margao (Goa Mitra) which survived for only one year.

Crucial Period

The second phase begins with the opening of the first private Marathi school with 'modern syllabus' started in 1885 at Mapusa. This was followed by many others in the villages around Mapusa in Bardez. This probably prompted the Portuguese government to start Marathi–Portuguese schools within the next three years in four different places. The private initiative however continued through the next four decades and got formalised into a strong and well organised movement. Schools were started in different places all over Goa on the model and inspiration provided by the city schools whose motivation came from the major centre of Marathi socio-cultural activities i.e., Poona and the emerging second home of Goans i.e., Bombay. These Maharashtra towns acted as models in another respect too. Taking inspiration from the Sarvajanik Sabha in Poona, the two leading social minded individuals from Ponda taluka, Ramachandra Panduranga alias Dada Vaidya and Pandharinath Kelekar came forward to establish the Sarvajanik Sabha in Mangeshi in 1888 (Naik, 1938: 96). This was followed by the opening of public libraries and reading rooms to provide Marathi books and periodicals to locals. Similar movement in the neighbouring Maharashtra became a guiding torch for all such efforts in Goa. These efforts on

65. The first of them was started in Marcela in 1889 and was called ‘Saraswat Vidyapeeth’. This was followed by ‘Goo Hindu Pustakalaya’ (1900) in Panaji and ‘Ramnanth Damudar Vachan Mandir’ in Margao in the same year.
the part of Hindus to organise and develop their cultural life on the lines of Maharashtra were inspired by the initiatives on the part of leaders like Chiplunkar, and facilitated by the periodicals in Marathi.

The local Portuguese government, on the other hand, was trying to promote Konkani, for which there were renewed efforts in the form of a plan of text-book preparation. The efforts of Cunha Rivara to introduce Konkani in education in 1860s had not gone far in the face of the government teachers' indifference and the Governor's decision to ban Konkani in schools. The Marathi interpreter to the Portuguese government, Suriaji Anand Rao (1828-1888) was also against the promotion of Konkani as a language. It was only after his death that the proposal of text-book preparation was considered. Barao de Cumbarjua i.e. Baron of Cumbarjua (Tomas Aquino Maurao Garcez Palha), working as the Inspector of Government Primary Schools, who was interested in the local languages and had earlier published a Marathi monthly, was entrusted with this task in 1889, which he started by publishing a Konkani Primer in Devanagari in 1896 (Sardesai, 1954: 253). Another Primer in the Roman script was published in the same year by Sebastiao Teotonio de Sousa.

This is the period of the emergence of popular Goan Konkani theatre and periodicals with their sites outside Goa (Kale, 1986). This was also the period of the beginning of Konkani novels, the first of which came in 1890's (Naik, 1995). All this work was of the Catholic Goans and was for their community. Also the

66. He started the first primary school in Poona – the New English School - which became the centre of nationalist education. The organised movement for 'nationalist education' (1906 – 1932) was yet to start.
Konkani renaissance in Mangalore started with the missionary intervention of Fr. Maffei (1844-1899), who called upon the Konkani speakers to save their mother-tongue from decay. By this time the immigrants had spent around three centuries in South Kanara and they had adopted - rather merely continued - the use of Kannada script in their writings. South Kanara in general and Mangalore in particular had a large population of Konkani speaking Catholics from Goa and their socio-cultural communication in Konkani was restricted to religious rituals and family celebrations. The first periodical in Konkani in Kannada script – Konkani Dirvem - came in 1912.

At the turn of the nineteenth century the Roman script had acquired a role of a literary vehicle, a theatre language and a journalistic medium for Konkani publications. All these activities revolved around the Konkani speaking Roman Catholic Goans settled in Goa and outside, within India and outside. The other two scripts i.e. Devanagari and Kannada were yet to make a beginning in this regard. By this time, Goa had a few institutions and organisations of the Hindu elites serving Marathi as their language of culture and social communication or public expression. These were guided mostly from the centre of Marathi culture that was Poona. Therefore the language politics, as it is seen today, comes as the issue of the twentieth century, as far as Goans are concerned. This politics has

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67. The first Konkani flair was staged in Bombay in 1892 and the first monthly magazine appeared in Poona in 1889.
68. Fr. Maffei, who compiled the Dictionary of Konkani and wrote Grammar of the language, was disturbed with the plight of Konkani due to neglect and indifference of its own children. He highlighted the beauty and strength of the language and urged its speakers to use and save the same.
69. Though it is generally believed that this is a regional peculiarity caused due to migration, it must be noted that the use of Canarese script in the writing of the native language of Goa was common in the time prior to and even after the Portuguese conquest of Goa (Ghantkar, 1993 - introduction).
70. The first Konkani novel was ‘Cristao Ghorobo’ brought out in 1890, the first periodical Udentechem Sallok started in 1889 and the first Konkani tiatr Italian Bhurgo was staged in 1892.
relied heavily on the social dynamics and economic concerns in the neighbouring Maharashtra, especially in relation to inter-elite contests for opportunities and power. Goan Hindu elites, particularly the GSBs, their search for identity and power have been closely linked to this politics.

In this crucial phase, we find the beginning of this politics taking shape in the metropolis of Bombay and the homeland of Goa. The first decade of the twentieth century created lot of heat and dust in British India due to the Partition of Bengal, consolidation of the Congress. These events and their repercussions on Indian people were known to Goan Hindu elites through Marathi press and led to a new awakening in the form of expansion of education through more schools and libraries. The Portuguese Republic (proclaimed in 1910) had positive effect and Hindus found entry in Portuguese administration, developed their institutional and organisational network using Marathi as the medium.

The first quarter of the twentieth century witnessed the consolidation of castes in Goa through their conferences (Naik, 1938: 1-2). A number of educational institutions were set up in major towns of Goa. A number

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71 Saraswats had their two conferences called ‘Eki’ (Pro-Unity of all sub-castes) and ‘Beki’ (pro-unity of only two major sub-castes viz. Smartas and Vaishnavas) at Mapusa and Quelem i.e. Kavale (Ponda) in 1910, Dravida Brahmins had one for the unification of Bhatta Prabhhus and Paddyes in 1924 at Kapileshwari near Ponda, Vaishya Conference took place at Dhargal in Pernem (Pedne) at the end of 1925. Daivadnya Brahmins i.e. goldsmiths had one at Madgaon (Margao) in 1927, Gayaks (Devdasis) had five of them at different places in Goa between 1925-1929. Bhandaris’ Education Conference had its 13th session at Panaji in 1926. The organisers in each case used the occasion for creating a collective image and a sense of unity within the community, charting the course for better prospects for their own caste/community, resolving minor issues of dispute in different sections.

72 Goa Vidya Prasarak Mandal of Ponda, which had its Colegio Antonio Jose de Almeida (A.J. de Almeida High School of current times) was established in 1911, Shantadurga Vidyalaya of Vidya Vardhak Mandal of Bicholim, Damodar Vidyalaya of Margao and many others in Cuncolim, Benaulim, Cumbarjua, Pernem can be cited as examples.
of journals and periodicals started by the Hindus\textsuperscript{73} under this new found freedom continued their journalistic endeavours which had begun in 1870 with *Anandalahari*\textsuperscript{74} with greater consistency and vigour. With Marathi periodicals extending their circulation beyond Goa, the ideas like ‘All Goa Hindu Conference’\textsuperscript{75} or ‘Brihan Maharashtra’ (*Swayamsevak*, August 1923)\textsuperscript{76} emerged and caught the attention of a large number of Goans. In their efforts to find political representation Hindu elites also formed their Pragatik Sangha (*Pragatik Sangha* - constitution, 1921)\textsuperscript{77}.

The confidence gained with the Republic was used by the Hindu elites to assert their cultural and religious identity, even during the dictatorial days that followed. But what this identity would represent in linguistic terms was the prime issue in the next two decades.

**Goa And The Konkani Identity**

The republic gave way to dictatorial regime in Portugal in 1926 but the Hindu forces continued their crusade for self assertion. As Goan Hindu elites


\textsuperscript{74} This monthly magazine was started by Suryaji Sadashiv Mahatme and survived barely for a year. Since then a few short lived attempts were seen in this regard.

\textsuperscript{75} For protection and promotion of Hindu interests in social and political life in Goa, it was suggested that dedicated Hindu volunteers should come forward (*Bharat Mitra*, 1923); the need of a strong Hindu organisation was stressed through the columns of this publication.

\textsuperscript{76} In its special issue on the theme, the editorial says that it is a new idea that makes Goa a part of Greater Maharashtra comprising the areas having Marathi speakers, beyond the Maharashtra as known to people then.

\textsuperscript{77} In the Parliamentary elections of Portugal and the local Assembly of Goa the limited franchise had proved beneficial to the Catholics. With the establishment of the Republic, Hindus had equal opportunities and Pragatik Sangha i.e. Progressive Association aimed at utilising them through awareness and organised effort.
gained political courage through the republic their social expression through the press and other activities questioned the government over the policy matters on the one hand and challenged the church through the campaign for 'Shuddhi'.

This religious move was accompanied by political debate through the press run by the Hindu elites. During this period there was a move to get Goa associated with the Indian National Congress. Goa Congress Committee was formed and duly affiliated with the Indian National Congress. Goan Hindus in their attempt to resolve ‘the dilemma of nationality’ organised the 15th session of the Marathi Sahitya Sammelan. Interestingly, most of the presentations by Goan Saraswats in this event were in Konkani (Sardesai, 1994). A speech by D. V. Pai on ‘Konkani – Marathi relationship’ was also in Konkani. The resolution demanding education in Marathi said that Marathi was the mother-tongue of more

78. This was the movement for reconversion of the aboriginal convert Gaudas back to the Hindu fold. Started by the Hindu elites in 1927, the movement was expanded in 1928 and with the help of monks of Masurashram near Satara in Maharashtra, around 8000 Goan Gaudas from different talukas were ‘purified’ in public ceremonies within one week, to allow their reentry to Hindu fold. This caused a shock in the church authorities and the government. There were arrests of some upper caste Hindus who were leading the campaign; the Masurashram monks were deported by the authorities.

79. ‘Hindu’, a Marathi weekly specially with ‘political’ objective was started in 1924 under the editorship of Dattatray Venkatesh Pai and continued till 1930. ‘Pracascha’ owned and edited by Venkatesh Suryarao Sardesai was a firebrand journal in Portuguese in which many secular and progressive catholics wrote under different pen-names, attacking the Archbishop Patriarch and the government on their opposition to reconversion.

80. Mr. T. B. Cunha was instrumental in this. Venkatesh Sardesai was another leader.

81. The editor of ‘Hindu’ weekly, who, in his maiden editorial on 27th January 1924 had commented that the nationality of Goa was ‘under the cloud of uncertainty and to live as a nation it was essential to have the identity and work towards protecting it’, was the founder of the Mandal and the General secretary of the Sammelan.

82. This literary conference of Marathi was held in Goa for the first time in Margao between 3rd -5th May 1930, under the auspices of Gomantak Sahitya Sevak Mandal formed in 1928 and affiliated to the Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad, an umbrella organisation of all the Marathi language associations in Maharashtra.

83. Most of these presentations were on the concluding day. They included singing of Konkani poems by B. W. Sawardekar, rendering of a Konkani song by Dada Vaidya, a christian Konkani song by V. S. Sukhthankar, a Konkani poem sung by G.S. Amonkar.
than half of the Goan people. But these Goans did not see any conflict between
the two because they considered Konkani as a dialect of Marathi.

It was this decade that marked the beginning of the expression of Konkani
identity as distinct from the Marathi one. The debate on 'the Goan language' (e.g.
'Gomantakeya Bhasha' by V.V.Prabhudesai of Rivona in Bharat Mitra in 1926)
in the Marathi press in Goa and Maharashtra involved writers and journalists. Though some periodicals like Bharat Mitra allowed Konkani writings in their
journals they accommodated them only as a variety of Marathi and not as
independent language. It was in Bombay that the thesis of Konkani as an old
independent language was presented in a series of lectures (Chavan,1924) that
concluded on a note of its gloomy prospects on account of its utter neglect. This
was followed by another series of lectures on the 'settlements of Goans outside
Goa' (Valavalikar, 1928) in which the history and glory of Hindu – essentially
Saraswat - Goans was emphatically presented. The speaker in the latter case was
himself a crusader of the cause of Konkani and had been writing in that language
since the early years of the twentieth century, using the language in public
addresses, struggling to prove its status as the language of Goa and Konkan.

The next decade saw certain developments to assert this Konkani identity
through official means and organisational efforts. The first was done in the
Census of India 1931 in which Konkani was enumerated separately from Marathi

84. This is seen in the Goan Marathi periodicals like 'Bharat' and 'Hindu' in 1925-26 and in monthly
magazines like 'Navyung' and 'Vividha Dnyana Vistar' published from Bombay.
85. The published material in Konkani in this period consisted of proverbs, some monologues or articles in
lighter vein.
86. Under the auspices of Saraswat Brahman Samaj, Shennai Goembab delivered these lectures which were attended in large numbers, and later came out in a compilation of the first four lectures as the first volume. Second volume was announced but does not seem to have been published.
for the first time, which became a matter of concern for the larger Marathi group in Maharashtra. The publication of books and periodicals in Konkani had started in Devanagari script in a very limited way, primarily with the inspiration of Shennai Goembab. The pioneer in book publication was the Gomantak Press in Bombay owned by a Goan Saraswat, Kashinath Shridhar Naik, who published all the books of Shennai Goembab as a mission. The only periodical in Konkani to appear in Devanagari script in that period was ‘Navem Goem’, also a joint venture of the twosome, which did not continue for long. A parallel move in North Kanara was towards organising people for literary activities that included compilation of vocabulary and other language items like proverbs, idioms, folk literature etc.

There was a group in Bombay with its membership entirely made up of Karwar emigrants, predominantly Saraswats, who were also engaged in Konkani literary activities (Vonvalam, 1998 [1935]).

The public debate in the press on the status of Konkani and mostly individual endeavours of printing and publication of literature in that medium were the only public manifestations of language identity till the end of the decade. The movement for Konkani till that time was an academic and literary exercise. It was in 1939 that the social and public expression of this identity got its shape in the form of Konkani Parishad in Karwar, which was expected to become a

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87. The Marathi Sahitya Parishad in its session at Baroda appointed a committee to look into the matter and to give its opinion on the issue. Report of the committee was published in 1938.
88. All the major writings of Shennai Goembab on the issues related to Goa, Goans and Konkani were brought out by Gomantak Press; its proprietor Kashinath Shridhar Naik acknowledged the inspiration from Shennai Goembab and stood by him till his death in 1946. Some of the writings of Shennai Goembab were published almost a decade after his death.
89. In the first half of 1930s a group was formed in Karwar and another with a broad area to include Kumtha, Sirsi. The first was Konkani Mandal in Karwar (1934) and the second, Uttara Kannada Zilla Konkani Sahitya Mandal (1935-36).
rallying point for the Konkani people. It was here that the issue of script came up quite explicitly in the form of one of its objectives that advocated Devanagari as the ‘natural’ script for Konkani as it was ‘the national script’ (Souvenir, Parishad Golden Jubilee, 1989). As the people using the language were writing in five different scripts in different regions on the west coast, the selection of a script and its officialisation in this way had little to do with any academic or linguistic criteria or scientific or social mechanism as the guiding principle. In this sense it was a sectional and emotional choice which in later years crystallised into the politics of script. While the conflict with Marathi was still on, this additional area of dispute was to involve multiple aspects such as religion, region, nationality, and would come to be judged on dimensions of economic viability, popularity and creative productivity.

In the third session of the Parishad held in Bombay (1942), Shennai Goembab, himself as President of the Reception Committee, dealt with the wealth and strength of Konkani at length and finally got a permanent body to work for the cause of Konkani in the form of Konkani Bhasha Mandal in Bombay. His real force of argument was seen in his last piece of writing (Valavalikar, 1977: 207 – 244), which was a rejoinder to the speech of Kaka Kalelkar appealing for the

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\(9\) Konkani Sahitya Sangha, Girgaon was a literary group formed by Konkani writers on the model of the 'Ravikiran Mandal' of the prominent Marathi poets such as Madhav Julian and others.

\(91\) His Essay ‘Ain Vellar’ meaning ‘at the nick of time’ was written to counter Kalelkar’s view that without the assistance of Maharashtra, Goan economy would become weak, social life would become isolated. Shennai Goembab argued that Goan economy had a long history and its social life was shaped independently and much earlier than that of Maharashtra.
continuation of both the scripts for Konkani in Goa\(^2\) (Kalelkar, 1958: 15). This last word of the ‘Father of modern Konkani literature’ made the script issue central to the project of building the edifice of Konkani, in the eyes of Shennai’s Goan disciples\(^3\).

Kaka Kalelkar was himself a Marathi speaker but also wrote in Hindi and Gujarati. With his knowledge of the ground situation in Goa he felt that Konkani and Marathi had to co-exist in Goa. He opined that Konkani needed much more nourishment for development of its literature, which could be available through its constant interaction with Marathi, a rich language having common history with Konkani. His approach to communal harmony prompted him to say that both Roman and Devanagari scripts had to be allowed to continue for writing Konkani at least for some time. Konkani-Marathi co-operation was essential also in order to sustain the economic activity in Goa, which was too small in size and had to rely on Maharashtra as a wide market. Kalelkar underlined the cultural and social bonds between Goa and Maharashtra to show that the mutual interests of Goans and Maharashtrians were based on history and geography. According to him,

\(^2\) Presiding over the third session of Gonantak Marathi Sahiya Sannelan in Bombay in 1945, Kaka Kalelkar, in his address, favoured co-existence of both Konkani and Marathi in Goa and appealed to Goan writers to love both these languages in their mutual interest. He also argued for the continuation of both the scripts – Devanagari and Roman – for writing Konkani, and publish books and other material like pamphlets issued in the interest of Goans at large in both the scripts.

\(^3\) Since 1950’s Goan youth in Bombay who worked for Konkani considered Shennai Goembab’s ‘Yevkar Adhyakshaham Utoyp’ and ‘Ain Veellor’ (combined into a book) as their guide-book and planned their activities based on the suggestions contained therein.
though Konkani would be the rightful state language of liberated Goa it would remain weak without the support of Marathi.

Shennai Goembab, in response to these observations and suggestions, attacked the attitude of Goans who considered Goa as an integral part of Maharashtra. He was critical of their hatred towards Goan Catholics for the latters’ claim to Portuguese identity. Questioning the wisdom of hoping to get Goa attached to Maharashtra after liberation, he criticised them for their love for slavery. In his opinion Konkani was older than Marathi and the latter had grown by exploiting the former. Hence he was against having any contact with or remaining under any obligation of Marathi. On the script issue he felt that dualism would prove detrimental to the development of the mother-tongue of Goans and as an elder daughter of the vedic language Konkani should be nurtured through Devanagari script alone. According to him, the language had survived through neglect and destitution only because of her close relationship with the vedic language and hence can be enriched through Devanagari alone. To establish the independence of Konkan and Goa Shennai Goembab offered clues to show that his ancestors were instrumental in developing Konkan and Konkani culture that could be preserved through Konkani alone.

By establishing the thesis of Goan supremacy in Konkan Shennai Goembab set an agenda for the young Konkani activists, which they followed through later decades.
Language In The Liberation Struggle

The struggle for Goa’s liberation from the Portuguese rule is generally taken to be starting in 1946 with the open challenge from Lohia of the colonial restrictions on civil liberties (Mathew, 1986). Prior to this, the work of Goa Congress Committee was conducted through its Bombay branch by holding meetings, publishing writings in the form of articles in the press and booklets on the Goa related issues (Cunha, 1960), which were all in English and had a limited audience. The Goa Congress Committee had planned for a ‘Political Conference’ in Bombay in 1945 to mobilise support of Goan masses for its ‘Quit Goa’ resolution through awareness among Goans in Bombay (Sukhthankar, 1954: 335), but this had to be postponed. In the meantime a movement began in Goa under Dr. Lohia, in which public meetings were addressed and processions/demonstrations were undertaken by both Hindus and Catholics. There were people like T.B.Cunha, Evagrio Jorge, Lakshmanrao Sardesai who considered Konkani to be the people’s language and others like Dr. Sukhthankar, U.V. Talaulikar who did not think so. The language debate did not get into the way of the larger debate on civil liberties but the issue was alive in the minds of different personalities. The body formed to carry on the struggle locally (named as Sanghatana Samiti i.e., Organisation Committee) could not continue unitedly and those very close to Lohia formed another group called ‘Goa National Congress’, which was followed by the formation of ‘Gomantak Congress’ by the others in the Organisation Committee. From the two names given to the groups it appears
that the cause of the dispute was possibly language\textsuperscript{94}, along with other ideological issues that separated the socialists from the congressmen. In the next few years the liberation struggle as such was dormant as most of the frontline leaders\textsuperscript{95}, in the Satyagraha following the Lohia episode of 1946, were sentenced to long term imprisonment with deportation in many cases.

Around this time, the Goan youth, mostly Saraswat Brahmins, attending colleges in Bombay and other towns such as Dharwar in that state, formed their Konkani literary circles on the lines of the existing Marathi ones and they were engaged in a variety of activities carried out the whole year. They had as their members many Konkani speakers from other areas, mainly the two Kanaras, but leadership generally remained with Goan students\textsuperscript{96}. The demand for the use of Konkani in radio broadcasts was fulfilled in 1952 and All India Radio Bombay allotted regular time for Konkani broadcasts, through which a large number of young writers, poets and singers got opportunities. The Marathi literary conference held in Karwar in 1954 considered the issues of Goa and its language seriously and the entire Presidential Address was devoted to it (Komarpant, 1992: 243 - 269). The active involvement of people from all over India in the Satyagraha of 1954 was the result of the interest shown by the political leaders and literateurs from Maharashtra, whose mission was to liberate their 'Marathi

\textsuperscript{94} The naming of the territory as Gomantak was always a part of the Marathi and pro-Maharashtra thinking particularly after 1920's (earlier references as 'Govern or Gvern' are available) whereas the Konkani side used Goa, 'Goem or Gvern' in their expressions.

\textsuperscript{95} Starting from T.B.Cunha, many nationalists such as Ram Hegade, Purushottam Kakodkar, Lakshmikant Bhembre were deported to Portugal for long periods and many others were fined and jailed for periods of a few years and their civil rights were withdrawn.

\textsuperscript{96} Konkani Samaj formed under the guidance of Prof. Armando Menezes in Karnataka College, Dharwad in 1945 and 'Vangmay Mandal' in a number of Bombay Colleges around the same period were instrumental in making many youth the active workers of Konkani. Dr. Manoharrai SarDessai was a leading organiser.
brethren' from the colonial bondage. Socialists such as N.G.Goray led the movement.

The language debate continued among the Goan nationalists inside the prison. The leadership on the Konkani side consisted of the Saraswat Brahmins and the Catholics while the Marathi group had non-Saraswats led by a Karhada Brahmin. Being educated in Poona and because of involvement in the political mobilisation under the Socialists there, the Marathi leadership in the prison was speaking of integration on the basis of language. This group used the manuscript, magazine of the inmates for teaching and popularising Hindi language among them, both Hindus and Catholics. The political education of the Catholics was the main function of the liberation efforts, according to the Marathi side. Some of the Congress members among Saraswat Brahmins were committed Konkani loyalists but many had their reservations and considered the Konkani argument untenable. The twin work of popularisation of Konkani and political education of the Goan Catholics was continued in the period preceding liberation through free distribution of books on Gandhian thought in Roman script.

97. Inside the civil jail at Reis magos, the Konkani group established a Konkani Abhyas Mandal on 28th June, 1955 which brought out a monthly manuscript magazine JOT in Devanagari Konkani starting from 15th August, 1955. The slogan that guided the activity was: "The mother-tongue is our natural right". This was followed by the appearance of its Marathi-Hindi counterpart 'Gomantak', which started on 16th September, as a reaction to the Konkani effort.

98. Nagesh Karmali and Mark Fernandes were on the forefront of Konkani side whereas the Marathi side was led by Madhav Pandit, who was approached by some others from Pedne.

99. Adv. Pandurang Meigaonkar was on the side of Konkani while Gopal Apa Kamat, (who later became the Speaker of the Legislative Assembly of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu) had expressed apprehensions regarding the Konkani linguistic position.

100. Gomant Bharati, an institution to promote Gandhian thought among Konkani speakers was established in late 1950s in Bombay and many small booklets on Gandhian principles and philosophy were published in Roman script for distribution among Goan catholics in particular.
With liberation the language debate took the centre-stage in the life of Goans. The main concerns were administration and education. For the Marathi side the time was right for 'cultural renaissance' (Dudh Sagar, 1968) in Goa. There were suggestions on the agenda to be adopted for attaining this objective to facilitate the transition of the territory from the status of a liberated colony to the position of the ‘Nandavan of Maharashtra’. The sessions of Marathi language and literary events such as Marathi Shikshan Sammelan (Margao-April 1962), Gomantak Sahitya Sammelan (Panaji-December 1962) (both being conferences limited to Goa – first being on education and the second literary), Maharashtra Sahitya Sammelan (Panaji-1962) (Maharashtra literary conference) and Maharashtra Granthalaya Parishad (Panaji-1964) (Maharashtra Library Conference) were held in the first two years after liberation. Konkani Parishad was organised in May 1962 at Margao. In the intervening period between the first and the last of the above events came the Education Commission appointed by the Government of India to decide the issues related to education in liberated Goa\(^1\). The three-member Commission could not come to a conclusion on the crucial issue of the mother-tongue of Goan people and left it to the parents to decide the mother-tongue of their children for the purpose of elementary education.

\(^1\) The Commission headed by Mr. B.N. Za had Mrs. Vijaya Mulay as the Secretary and Prof. Armando Menezes as the member. It was expected to decide on the scope and structure of the school education system, expansion of facilities, financing of education etc. The report submitted by the Commission (after hearing the views of some 75 individuals and representatives of organisations) to the central government was never sent to the local administration and only some part – particularly the one containing the recommendations for implementation – that was received by the local administration for implementation from the academic year 1962-1963.
education (Satoskar, 1970). The Commission also recommended Devanagari script for Konkani if the latter was chosen as the medium of education. This led to contesting moves on the part of the two sides working for Konkani and Marathi. In a sense the contest was for a script rather than for a language. Because if the Roman script widely used for Konkani by the Goan Catholics was allowed to continue in government education there would be little or no scope for the language protagonists among Hindus to demand Devanagari for Konkani. Marathi had its own constituency already established during the past fifty years through privately run primary schools but Konkani had to start from the scratch. Text-books in Konkani prepared by the Konkani Bhasha Mandal of Bombay (as per the decision of the Bombay state in early 50's to introduce the language in education) were adopted with minor changes. Schools were started by some individual initiatives, but the enthusiasm did not last beyond the

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102 In the course of its hearings, on the issue of the medium of instruction at the elementary level, the Commission received suggestions to prescribe Konkani or Marathi exclusively and the one also for beginning in Konkani in the first two years and concluding with Marathi in the next two years of the elementary stage. There was a section among Catholics claiming English as the mother-tongue and some considered Portuguese as their mother-tongue. In this situation, the commission chose to be silent on the medium of education at elementary and higher primary as well as the secondary stage of education.

103 After the Marathi Shikshan Sammelan, its supporter Dayanand Bandodkar came into the limelight as the saviour of Marathi and extended material and logistic support for opening of primary schools in Marathi all over Goa, recruiting teachers from Goa. In case of the private schools that were functioning before liberation, there was a problem of survival as the elementary education was now to be managed by the government. Teachers in these private schools were to become jobless. It was Bandodkar who supported them in organising their morcha in Panaji – the first of its kind in liberated Goa. Konkani protagonists on their part tried to rope in a few of the church-managed city schools to start Konkani medium. A few attempts by the Saraswat Brahmins around Ponda were a part of such moves which were short-lived.

104 Roman script was earlier in use in education even for Konkani, but only among the catholics. They had their primers in that script but not many books for subjects. Hindus had been having their education in Marathi. Devanagari script was in use among them but no one was interested in Konkani. It was possible to attract catholics through Konkani but the script they were expected to adopt was Devanagari. Hindus, irrespective of castes, have not accepted Konkani in primary education even today, except in one school run by Konkani Bhasha Mandal in Margao which has not moved beyond the elementary stage.
Opinion Poll (1967) that decided the political future of Goa in favour of separate existence.

In the course of this interim phase where socio-economic issues had evolved in relation to identity, culture, and power, language was a pivotal theme in this debate on Goa and Goans. The categories of Goans and Non-Goans/ Bhitarle/ Bhaile i.e., insiders versus outsiders or Goemkar/ Ghantti i.e., Goans and non-Goans (coming from Ghat), Maharashtrians and Indians became relevant. Formation of new classes in conflict (Bhatkar/Mundkar = landlord/tenant, Bamonn-Bahujan i.e., Brahmin meaning Saraswats versus masses or non-brahmin castes) became significant. Choice of status for Goa in the Indian federation was linked to language, culture, identity. Congress policy and positions (at national and regional levels) on Goa were a part of the discussion. All these together brought the language identity face to face with politics in Goan context. Within the language identity realm, there was an inbuilt politics of script, which will be the focus of this study.

LANGUAGE IDENTITY AND POLITICS

Language as a vehicle of culture acts as a powerful symbol of identity. Groups and communities bound together by a language feel the sense of unity and belonging together as they share not only the wealth of the language in terms of expressions, vocabulary, literature and cultural history but more importantly, they share dreams, ideas and aspirations produced through it. Language carries identity which is complex and contested. This contested nature of identity is a product of
power relationships whether in private or public spheres (Preston, 1997: 49). This power is the essence of politics.

Language identity has been a crucial political element in the sense that the power relationships in modern age have been determined by the development and dynamics of language groups and communities. Evolution of nationalities based on languages (along with other elements) has been a hallmark of modern nationalism. Use of bhasas in nationalist mobilisation is a common phenomenon. Recognition of linguistic and cultural differences in modern democracies is seen as a positive political development and in multicultural situations state has to pay attention to these diversities by providing securities, concessions and privileges to linguistic minorities. Language identities are intimately linked with politics – they are both the causes and consequences of political decisions and actions.

Language is seen as ‘one of the most important manifestations of ethnic collectivities’ (Narang, 1995: 152). People relate to a language as their own and in their attempt to build the language identity they also place demands on the state in terms of respectable position to their language in state functioning. The situation becomes more complex where the language groups are more and of unequal strength. Seeking role for one’s language in diverse fields in the state domain requires mobilisation of language community. Contesting language groups in a multilingual state use their languages as tools to claim their share in economic opportunities and political power. This is done through different means.

Census as one of the institutions of power (Anderson, 1994: 163) has political value. It is through the census returns that language identities can be projected and later used to acquire political role. In this process state also plays a
crucial role in determining the potential of a language community by monitoring, managing or even manipulating the criteria for consideration of speech varieties to be considered as languages or otherwise, also categorising, classifying or clubbing together different mother-tongues etc. Census figures are used as basis for policy decisions on providing welfare measures or certain facilities in educational, cultural fields, which, in turn, enable different groups to access state resources (Singh and Manoharan, 1997).

Language movements are organised to create awareness among language speakers and members of a language community regarding the need and importance of promoting or projecting language loyalty. This awareness can be brought about through periodicals and publications, cultural performances and literary programmes. Different language and literary associations act as agents of mobilisation and consolidation of language community. This numerical strength is then used to demand certain status in education (elementary or further school system under government control), as Official Language in administration (use in government offices, courts or legislature) or communication (broadcasting under state control or in government announcements and publications like Government Gazette) to the language concerned. In this way a language community attempts to seek its share in socio-cultural and political life. Pressure groups operate in the name of language community and put forth demands in terms of preferential treatment in recruitment for state employment, state support to publication activity or literary productions etc. All these are meant to create economic and political opportunities and resources for the language community (Brass, 1974).
While doing this language leadership mostly consisting of elites acquires for itself the role of mediator between the language community and the state power. Certain provisions and safeguards proposed for the language are in real effect meant to benefit the elite group or small section within the community. In this sense language movement tends to be a discriminative device creating a privileged group that is able to make choices at the cost of others.

ISSUES AND QUESTIONS

From the overview of history of Goa till its liberation from the Portuguese rule and integration in the Indian nation a number of issues emerge in relation to the language called Konkani and its place in Goan life and society. They can be viewed with regard to linguistics, semiotics or politics.

As regards the language, there are linguistic concerns related to its formation, morphology and phonetics. The past researchers have spoken about its emergence from the Bal Bhasha (Dalgado), evolution from Maharashtri Prakrit (Desai), amalgamation of Magadhi and Shauraseni Prakrits (Mallaya) etc. There have been studies on its grammatical connections with Sanskrit, Marathi, Hindi or Portuguese etc. Its status as a dialect has been subjected to academic scrutiny (Prabhudesai, 1963) and its lexical wealth has been explored through a number of exercises (Ribciro, 1626; Maffei, 1883; Dalgado, 1893, 1905; Desai, 1980-1993; 105 Basti Pundalik Venkatesh Shennai wrote in Kannada a book titled 'Konkani mitru Marathi Ivagala Tulanatmaka Vimarshe haagu Saraswat Brahmuaar Prachina Itihasa' (Comparative study of Konkani - Marathi and the ancient history of Saraswat Brahmins) in the middle of the twentieth century.)
Suneetha Bai, 1987; Kelekar, 1994; Borkar et al, 1999). Aspects of usage, codes, prestige and styles, standard and orthography are all significant in case of Konkani and need thorough study.

Konkani also needs to be explored in terms of semiotics. The signs and symbols used in the language, their evolution and development, orthography of Konkani under each of the scripts in use to write the language, attempts to modernise and improve script and response from the users etc. are all relevant to the study of Konkani. But that is not the scope of the present study.

What this study aims to look at is politics involved in the language issue related to Konkani. The historical emergence of Konkani linguistic identity, its manifestations in regional, religious, caste-community groups and the actions on the part of these groups to consolidate their positions and assert their identity in terms of facilities or concessions for their language, and in terms of their relation to languages and language groups, the part played by political parties and the state, especially with respect to the vote politics of the state, government consent for education and communication in that language, acquisition of constitutional status or statutory recognition for the language etc. form the field of enquiry of this study.

In this process, the questions of regional distribution, dialectical variation, linguistic diversity of the area and difference in colonial experiences of the
speakers under different powers leading to their adoption of different scripts, distinct literary forms and diverse mechanisms to maintain the language stand out as significant elements of the phenomenon. The focus of this study is the politics of script within the larger politics of language.

METHOD AND STRUCTURE

The methodology adopted in the study involves a mix of exploring **primary sources** and use of published material in Konkani and Marathi, **personal interviews** of key persons in the events and movement linked to Konkani in different pockets in coastal South India and also **participant observation** as a delegate at conferences, seminars in Konkani and also as a member of Konkani language and literary organisations. As Konkani literature is produced in five different scripts (of which three have sizable and organised literary/cultural activities including regular publishing), without knowledge of and ability to use them it is neither possible nor desirable to comment on the trends and developments in them. Interviews with prominent functionaries of language organisations like *Akhil Bharatiya Konkani Parishad* or *Konkani Bhasha Mandals*, promoters of regional groups and associations like *Mandd Sobhann* (Mangalore) or Kerala Konkani Academy (Kochi), or institutions such as Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendra and Dalgado Academy (both from Goa), also leaders of movements such as *Konkani Jatha* (Karnataka) and *Konkani Porjecho Avaz* (Goa) have helped to keep abreast of the views, opinions and positions of the regional groupings (as users of specific scripts) on the issues and problems concerning the language or on state policy on language etc.. Participant observation has given a
deeper understanding of the undercurrents of the language movement in different states, which, while appearing as single and united in outlook and direction, invariably represents diverse interests and intents. The unified vision of Konkani language and culture is qualified by specific regional, sectional aspirations as well as apprehensions, which are managed and manipulated at crucial events such as the sessions of the Konkani Parishad over the years or during the decisive movements/ agitations such as the Official Language agitation in Goa (1985 – 1987). In relation to recognition and achievements of Konkani, the theme of script has remained alive in the regional settings but the trade-offs and understandings between different groups, compromises reached in inter-state handling of issues, general sentiment on politics of recognition find no mention in any official or public records. In this sense politics is based in the scripts and language as social constructs.

The theme ‘Politics of Script: The case of Konkani (1961 – 1992)’ will be dealt with under the following chapters. The current chapter, ‘Socio-Historical Background of Konkani’, which is introductory in nature, provides a cultural and political topography of the language covering the pre-colonial and colonial history followed by the post-colonial phase. It presents the methodology adopted and defines the scope of this study.

The second chapter ‘Mapping the Konkani Language Landscape’ will discuss language in the context of a modern polity, looking at the Indian language debate during the twentieth century and its linkages with the mechanics of state formation. This will be used to locate the evolution of Konkani identities and to assess the multiple language dynamics along the Konkan. It will look at aspects
such as migration, metropolis, leadership, and economic factors at work in the evolution of these identities. This chapter will examine the regional manifestation of this evolution of the Konkani identity through the language movement in Goa leading to the acquisition of Official language status for Konkani and its inclusion in the eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

This is followed by a discussion on ‘Script as a Dress Code’ in the third chapter. The discussion begins with Konkani and its scripts followed by a brief literary history of each script. Multilingualism and the factors causing it are touched upon, with greater attention to migration and metropolis. Internal economy of Konkani is viewed in the context of script diversity, which is followed by discussion on linguistic and cultural concerns with regard to choices of scripts. Subjecting script to socio-political perspectives such as pluralism, nationalism, liberalism and federalism, the chapter concludes with observations on interrelationship between script, culture and identity.

In the fourth chapter titled ‘Regional Dynamics of Language and Script’ language and script issues are analysed by reviewing the Konkani movement in its diverse dimensions. Tracing the social bases of major groups involved in the language movement, their strategies, interrelationships and benefits are investigated. Elements of caste, community, region are considered in the process of formation and functioning of these groups in order to assess relative benefits and handicaps of these groups in the course of the movement.

In the fifth chapter ‘The Changing Politics of Recognition’ the discussion is taken upto the end of the twentieth century. The last quarter of the century forms the time-frame of this chapter. As the politics of script evolved over
the two decades following the liberation of Goa the language community as a whole had undergone socio-economic change and the demands on the state had increased. Economic problems like unemployment of increasing number of educated youth, policy issues like implementation of Official Language Act and competing claims of regional Konkani groups for the share in benefits of recognition to Konkani language are closely related to the script issue. Role of the Goan Hindu elites in the script politics is explained to show how the use of script as a subjective symbol has helped them in maintaining their ethnic separateness while retaining their dominance in relation to subordinate classes at the same time (Brass, 1991: 269). The chapter highlights the internal conflicts of interests within the Konkani movement.

In the sixth chapter, ‘Achievements and Dilemmas of the Movement’, while drawing the conclusions from the discussion and analysis, it is attempted to see the significance of the study for understanding the issues related to language, culture and politics of Goa.

In discussing this politics the theoretical approach adopted is that of Historical- Institutionalism (Skokpol, T., and Fiorina, M., 1999: 12). For the purpose of empirical research voluntary associations are studied in terms of their evolution, social base, interests and interconnections. Attempt is made to see ‘how individuals and social groups influence government and public life’ and conversely to understand the ‘ways in which institutions and activities of the state and union governments have influenced the identities, organisational forms, and strategies of voluntary associations’ in the context of Konkani language and region.
While the issue of Konkani has contributed to the establishment of Goa as a state in the Indian union, its impact on the language community as a whole is quite uneven. Though it has touched the sections of its speakers settled in the southern states of Karnataka and Kerala, its relevance and significance has remained different for each of them. Elements of caste, class, community determine the degree of intensity of response to state policy and government decisions or actions. Forces of history, polity and economy have induced mobilisation and organisation within the different regional and caste groups in the Konkani speaking community. Formation of a single Konkani identity through language and literature has been hindered largely by the script question which is the basis of this probe into the politics of script.