CHAPTER TWO

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING IN GOA: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE
CHAPTER II

LANGUAGE AND EARLY SCHOOLING IN GOA: AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

The Portuguese dominion imposed, directly or indirectly, the colonial language on the native population. The 4-Ds of domination, denial, devotion and desire encapsulate the linguistic and educational realities during the colonial and the post-liberation period. Education in the Portuguese medium made the natives eligible for a few, comparatively high status jobs. Assimilation to the high status language of education on the part of the elite section of Goans and denial of the status of a language to Konkani, considered a dialect of Marathi, deprived Goans of education in Konkani.

Konkani speakers with a little effort, says Almeida, could understand what the Saint poets of Maharashtra sang (Almeida 2004: 57). He opines that

The Konkani speakers must have gradually come to accept Marathi as their religious language, and then they must have made an effort to learn it as a literary language. Curiously enough, if the absence of any Saint poet among Konkani speakers could be the cause of this state of affairs, it could as well be the consequence of it later on.

Denial of the status of language for Konkani meant that Konkani medium of education suffered ignominy. Marathi medium of education profited from its association with Hindu religion as people chose Marathi due to devotional reasons. From the middle of the nineteenth century English turned to be the much-desired language with potentialities towards migration and employment in British India and abroad.

In this chapter the language and education policies and the preferences of people to one or the other medium of education are discussed. An effort is made to examine the subjective considerations as well as the objective constraints which might have influenced the local people to choose a certain language as the medium of instruction for
their children in the course of the four and half centuries of the Portuguese rule in one or the other region of Goa.

This theme is initiated with a brief note on historiography in Goa so as to contextualise the discussion. Historical objectivity is possible and achievable through the subjective reconstructions of individual historians and this attempt is to contribute to the objective and historical understanding of the issue of language and education in the pre-Portuguese, colonial and post-liberation Goa.

BEYOND COLONIAL AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORIOGRAPHY

Colonial historiography denied Goa and its people an objective history by promoting a mythical image of Goa - Goa Dourada (Golden Goa) - to legitimise the process of Lusitanisation and the colonial power (Trichur 2000: 644; Perez 2001: 9). Golden Goa was an imaginary Goa, Portuguese-speaking, Catholic, 'harmonious society without remarkable fractures or ruptures between individuals and groups' (Perez 2001: 10), and 'a paradise ... where you could sit on your veranda listening to music as the breeze blew in from the sea' (Collis 1946: 32 cited in Souza 1994a: 69). The disproportionately Lusocentric scholarship on Goa endorsed the myth of Golden Goa portraying it as the 'Rome of the Orient' and the jewel of Portuguese mercantile empire (Axelrod and Fuerch 1998: 443). It directly or indirectly influenced the many published historical works on Goa.

This history, in fact the bulk of Goa's colonial history, was constructed from the colonizer's perspective. It was aimed at validating the Portuguese claim that Goa was a piece of Portugal, a European enclave, transplanted on to the Indian subcontinent. For most of the colonial historians, the establishment of Portuguese rule, rationalised as the
civilizing process, was a consequence of divine dispensation. Goans are considered more civilized as a result of their being converted and on their discontinuation of Hindu religious practices (Freitas n.d. in Newman 2001: 58n). Conversion, semantically related to translation, had transformed the 'local culture into a different and alien one' (Perez 2001: 10). This claim was strongly conveyed also through the Portuguese radio station at Goa, 'Emissora de Goa', which identified Goa with Portugal by the words 'Aqui é Portugal' (This is Portugal). Perez rightly claims that Portuguese lusocentrism towards Goa led Hindus to sanskritisation (Perez 2001: 36). While the educated Catholics conceived of themselves as Western and Portuguese speakers and looked to Camoes, Eca de Queiroz, and Pessoa, the educated Hindus turned to Marathi and Shivaji, Ramdas, Tukaram, etc., reflecting the influence of their classical literatures and the result of centuries of colonial indoctrination (Newman 2001: 59).

Contemporary historiography or post-liberation Goan studies seek to resurrect the Goan past from the perspective of Goa Indica, which happens to be a nationalist response to the colonial construction of Goa Dourada (Trichur 2000: 641). These latter historians interpret Goan history with the purpose of discerning postcolonial nation building and state formation processes. The post-liberation Goan studies are constructed from the perspective of the colonized and expose the chauvinism inherent in colonial historiography written from the vantage point of the colonizer. In a way the colonized or the objects of research hitherto, are transformed into subjects of history in postcolonial research.

Trichur (2000: 644) pointing out some unintended ramifications of the good intentions of anthropologists and sociologists writes that the post-liberation Goan studies,
have obfuscated, instead of elucidating, the impact of colonialism and the ever-deepening crises in the post-liberation Goan society. To overcome the colonial bias from Goan historiography, the nativist renditions of Goan history, far ‘from being an investigation into history,’ have been reduced to ‘being an historicism – an imposition’ (ibid: 641).

Souza (1994a: 69; 117) appealed for a radical shift in Goan historiography at the first International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese History in 1978. He reiterated his intent at the second International Seminar on Indo-Portuguese history ‘for a new and rectified historiography that will take care of past deficiencies of approach and evidence’ (emphasis original) (ibid: 117). Trichur (2000: 643) observes that Souza’s plea for a replacement of Luso-centric history of Goa, based on European documentation, by Goacentric history, based on indigenous evidences, is suffering from the same limitation, that of being one-dimensional, which he set out to overcome. Viewed from this perspective, the problems in Goan historiography are located in the sources referred and not on the exploitative relations of power in the society.

Researchers have treated Goan history as the history of the colonized, as a homogeneous group, ignoring that Goa ‘is more complex and both multi-layered and multifaceted, not amenable to neat and confident portrayal’ (Kothari 1993: 24 cited in Fernandes 2003: 334). The colonized were never a single homogeneous group but a society divided by caste and class, religion, language, landlords and government officials, and, tenants and other lower classes, both during colonial and postliberation times. Both the Goa Dourada image and the Goa Indica image are class-based ideologies (Trichur 2000: 637) tainting the actual processes that contributed to the making of the contemporary Goan society and its history. As Foucault (1980 cited in Trichur 2000:
wrote, there is a relationship between the production of knowledge and the exercise of power, in the sense that the privileged version of history is the one that belongs to people in power positions. Trichur (ibid: 638) observes that the absence of a theoretically sophisticated and critical account of Goan society and history has led to teleologically constructed assessments rationalizing contemporary developments in the Goan society rather than investigating the social relations contributing to the constitution of historical facts.

Goans during the Portuguese times were never a homogenous group nor are they today. In the past as well as in the present there has been a tendency to speak of Goans as a single entity. History has not provided identical experiences to all Goans and therefore the Goan psyche exhibit a differential consciousness of their history based on religion, caste, language and ownership of property. The elite (upper class landlords and government officials) then and the elite (industrialists and businessmen) now have exploited and are still manipulating the lower classes. It is these elite who have played a determining role in language-related controversies. The outcome of the medium of instruction controversy has been scripted the way it did, perhaps because the voice of the people have remained hushed. An effort is being done in this study to give voice to the voiceless in Goa’s contemporary history by listening and reporting their history as it unfolds on the language and education scene.

After this brief overview of Goan historiography, the realm of language and education, from the beginning of Portuguese rule up to the current language and education scenario, is examined on the basis of secondary sources. An effort will be made to interpret the facts provided by different sources in the context of the social relations
and varied groups, with conflicting interests, existing during the different phases of the history of the Goan people and the present times. In examining the language policy in education during the Portuguese rule due attention would be given to both the political as well as the religious agents since language policy in the erstwhile Portuguese regime was the creation of the two. With Renaissance and Enlightenment the world witnessed the separation of temporal and spiritual powers, but for the Portuguese, who were still medieval-minded and not enlightened, Church and State were one, with interests linked (Pereira 1992: 11 cited in Desai 2002: 32).

**IMPOSITION OF PORTUGUESE IN EDUCATION FOR DOMINATION**

When the Portuguese conquered Goa, they did not meet unlettered or illiterate masses of people, but those well versed in Sanskrit religious literature, conversant with Marathi religious literature and having a well-developed literary culture (Souza 1977: 13; Almeida 2004: 59). Before the advent of the Portuguese, then, there existed a system of education in Goa, which, however, was religion oriented. An informal education by the family instructed the young in caste or craft occupations and the art of social behaviour. The formal education, limited to the upper three high castes (Xavier 1993: 176), and consisting of reading, writing and arithmetic, was provided at *pathshalas* or *parishads* by schoolmasters or *aigals* in local languages. The teachers in the school were also called *Sinais* or *Xennoy* or *Shenvi Mama* who would teach in vestibules of temples, porches of big residential houses and verandahs of village administrative offices (Varde 1977: 1). Every village had a school as George Moraes writing on the spread of these schools says, ‘there was no village but had a school, be it in the shade of a grove or in the porch of the
temple, where the children were exercised in the knowledge of the three R’s’ (cited in D’Souza 1975: 46).

Higher education was provided in the following establishments: the agrahara, the brahmapuri and the mathas. The medium of instruction in these institutions of higher education was Sanskrit. Agraharas were described as universities of medieval India wherein were taught arts, sciences and religion. Music, rhetoric, mathematics, logic, politics, etc., also found place in these institutions. They were groups or communities of learned Brahmans, usually in rural centres, noted for their profound scholarship that attracted students from distant places. The brahmapuris, educational agencies of the pre-Portuguese period, were principally Brahmin colonies or settlements established in urban centres, for the purpose of running educational institutions. At these brahmapuris converged cultured Brahmans well versed in vedas, puranas, smritis, etc. Maths were typical Indian monasteries with monks, ascetics, and students living within their precincts. Apart from these institutions there were among the Muslims institutions of primary (‘maktabs’) and higher (‘madrasas’) education.

While the Spaniards exterminated the indigenous races and cultures in America, and the British ruled their colonies by the policy of ‘divide and rule’, the Portuguese encouraged miscegenation, though it became an end in itself, to homogenize the natives by converting them into a people belonging to one religion, culture and language (Mendonca 2005: 46). Afonso de Albuquerque, visualising for Goa a new mixed society, established in Goa, just as he did in Cochin, schools for Portuguese children and the children of the converted natives mainly to train them for government service (Xavier 1993: 177; Coutinho 1987: 73). The medium of these schools was Portuguese. In fact
Albuquerque wanted to mould Goa in the likeness of Lisboa and strongly felt that the dissemination of the Portuguese language would propagate the Portuguese culture and ways of life (Barros 1988: 166). In the words of Barros, ‘Portuguese language, Roman Catholic religion and Portuguese ways of life i.e. Portuguese modus vivendi began steadily to influence the local population’ (1988: 165).

Albuquerque handed the schools he had established to the village communities but these initial efforts does not seem to have sustained for long as these schools did not flourish (D' Costa 1982: 105; Varde 1977: 1). In 1541, Fr. Miguel Vaz and Diogo Borba founded the Confraternity of Santa Fe. It created a Seminary under its patronage to educate children for priesthood. Latin and Portuguese were taught in this Seminary. Within thirty years of the conquest of Goa till 1772, when secular and official education was begun in Goa, education and educational institutions remained the monopoly of the church, carried on, as they were, by the parochial schools and the seminaries (Xavier 1993: 175; D' Costa 1982: 105). Parochial schools, teaching Portuguese, Christian doctrine and sacred music, were established during the time of the Viceroy Dom Joao de Castro by an order of King Joao III on 8 March 1546 (Coutinho 1987: 73). These schools were the nuclei that helped the spread of Christianity and the adoption of Portuguese way of life.

The Portuguese conquest thus sounded the death knell of the educational institutions, which existed prior to the arrival of the Portuguese. The temples, the parishads, agraharas, brahmapuris and the maths disappeared making way for parishes and parish schools all over Tiswadi, Salcete and Bardez. Teaching in the Parish schools was conducted in the Portuguese language; however, Konkani was also used, as the
teachers were not well versed in the Portuguese language (Couto 2003: 16; Saldanha 1952: 15; Borges 1988: 158). All Christians could frequent these parish schools, but the Portuguese preferred children of Brahmins to those of the other castes. The children of Hindus desirous of schooling had to learn at home or go beyond the jurisdiction of the Portuguese territory (Xavier 1993: 178).

The missionaries themselves made effective contributions to the native languages by compiling dictionaries and grammars. But as T. B. Cunha indicates the contribution of the missionaries to the local languages was not out of love and appreciation of the local culture and languages but for their own benefit and to make up for the vandalism of their predecessors (Cunha 1944: 22). Souza also states that ‘the mastery of languages was a necessary tool for domination, especially at times when the colonial hold over the native populations was still uncertain’ (1994a: 41).

From the mid-18th century, when the colonial power was firmly placed in the saddle, the same religious orders evinced little interest in the local languages and, on the contrary, forced the natives to learn the languages of the colonial power. Such a change in the outlook of the colonizer was already being noticed from 1684.

On June 27, 1684, Count of Alvor decreed that

the locals should speak the Portuguese language and the parish priest and school teachers should teach children the Christian doctrine in the same language so that henceforth it becomes common to all; and their mother tongue should not be used henceforth; and for this effect the Portuguese language should be used in daily life and meetings until they become fluent in it; and for such I assign a period of three years within which all should generally speak the Portuguese language; and only this language should be used for all communication and dealings effected in our lands, and by no means the local language which would attract severe penalty (translation cited in Mendonca 2005: 58).
The Inquisitor, Antonio do Amaral Coutinho, in the year 1731 treading the same dreary path managed to obtain an order from the King by which the subjects were to learn Portuguese, also as a requirement to get married, within a period of six months to one year (Varde 1977: 22; Pereira 1971: 19). Similarly, in 1745 the Archbishop Dom Frei Lourenco de Santa Maria made it mandatory to all would-be priests and even their relatives to be tested through a rigorous examination for their knowledge of, and ability to speak the Portuguese language. The same Archbishop also made it compulsory for the would-be married couples to know and speak the Portuguese language within six months from the date of the publication of that order (Cunha 1944: 22; Shirodkar 1988: 175).

Further, the Archbishop Dom Frei Manoel de Sao Galdino in a bid to improve Portuguese teaching recommended in 1812 that students should be prevented from speaking Konkani in the school premises. The Archbishop lay down that the teachers should ‘forbid the more advanced to talk in the vernacular’ so that the younger ones could learn the Portuguese language soon (Shirodkar 1988: 177; D’Souza 1975: 158).

According to yet another decree dated 23 May 1907, promotion of children to standard second was to be based on the extent of knowledge of Portuguese gained by the student and which would enable them to speak Portuguese (Shirodkar 1988:178). Even when in 1913, the Portuguese allowed institutions of early schooling to carry on education in different media, eligibility to admission in these schools depended upon acquiring the qualifications of Primeiro Grau (Standard IV) of Portuguese. Obviously it was meant to propagate the teaching of Portuguese in schools. Marathi schools, however, could admit without the Primeiro Grau as the government redrafted the order subsequent to various representations from Marathi schools (ibid: 178). However, English schools,
even in 1929, could admit only those students who had passed the *Primeiro Grau* in Portuguese or had acquired a certificate having passed the examination of 'aula de Portugues' (Portuguese class). Not only in the Old but also in the New Conquest the Portuguese tried to spread the Portuguese language. The primary schools established for the teaching of Marathi in the New Conquest in 1887 were converted into Portuguese-Marathi schools in 1932 introducing Portuguese teaching where it was not taught earlier. This was carried on even though there were primary schools in the New Conquest conducted exclusively in Portuguese (*ibid*: 177-178). Even on the eve of liberation, that is, in 1958, the Portuguese government was still attempting to impose Portuguese by making primary education in Portuguese compulsory for children in the age group of seven and thirteen years.

After more than three centuries of Portuguese conquest, an almost equivalent period of parish schools and half a century of public schools, that is, in 1823, Governor D. Manuel de Camara describes the state of public education which was in doldrums thus: 'Public education here borders on nothingness. In a population of 2, 60,000, not a single educational institution can be traced' (*Varde* 1977: 7). Later in 1831 when the first public schools at the cost of the state were established, the viceroy D. Manoel de Portugal e Castro finds it extraordinary that 'a small number of inhabitants speak and write Portuguese' (*Pereira* 1971: 130n. 75). According to *Varde* (1977: 12) in 1870 attendance, at primary schools run by government, parishes and private managements, was only 6124 in a population of 385000. In 1901-02 the enrolment in government primary schools in Portuguese medium was 3895 while it was only 131 students in Marathi-Portuguese schools (*Menezes Braganza* 1923: 164-166; *Varde* 1977: 87). In 1910 the enrolment rose
up to 8078 in Portuguese and 144 students in Marathi-Portuguese schools. Further increase was seen in 1915-16 with the Portuguese enrolment increasing to 8811 and that of Marathi to 193 students (Menezes Braganza 1923:192-93). In 1920-21 the enrolment in Portuguese primary schools was 9040 and in Marathi-Portuguese schools it was 228 students (Varde 1977:87). In the decade 1920-30 the enrolment in Portuguese primary schools, which was higher than the enrolment in schools conducted in other media, began to dwindle and students from both the communities began enrolling in English and Marathi medium in increasing numbers (ibid: 90). In the year 1950 the enrolment in primary, middle and secondary English schools in Goa was 13477 as compared to only 10944 in all Portuguese schools in Goa, Daman and Diu. At the time of liberation the enrolment figure in all Portuguese primary level schools was a meagre 26326 (ibid: 91).

Since 1962-63 some educational institutions began teaching their courses in English instead of the erstwhile Portuguese medium. The remaining carried on parallel courses in Portuguese and English, till there were students opting for Portuguese medium. The Portuguese language lost its appeal, as it was no longer required for government jobs. Almost all educational institutions, including the government primary schools, made a switch to English medium by 1967. Portuguese, however, has been taught as a second language in a number of schools and higher secondary schools in Goa. One can also complete, till date, one’s Bachelors as well as Masters Degree in the Portuguese language through the Goa University; however, hardly any students opt for it at both the levels.

In Goa, evangelisation and westernization went hand in hand. By introducing the Portuguese language as the language of the State, the Church, commercial and social
intercourse among the higher classes, the Portuguese strove towards the assimilation of
the Christians. However, despite the domination of the Portuguese language in
administration, in radio and newspapers, in social intercourse among the higher classes
and, especially, in the government schools, the enrolment of students in Portuguese
medium primary schools all through the colonial regime and towards the end of the
colonial rule was miserably low.

One of the reasons for the pathetic figures is that literacy was very low and
educational facilities were meagre in Goa during the Portuguese times. The literacy level
in Goa was 10.91% in 1881 and increased only to 31.23% in 1960 (Srivastava 1990: 70).
Considering the fact that educational opportunities were rather meagre, a literacy level of
31.23% is due to the fact that many individuals who knew nothing more than signing
their name considered themselves or were considered literate (D' Costa 1982: 109).
Another and more important reason is the fact that in the traditional society education
was considered the exclusive monopoly of the higher castes. Souza (1977: 13) states that
the village temple schools in the early seventeenth century were catering to 'the sons of
the high caste `ganvkars' exclusively'. Higher castes could afford education but more
than that, the higher caste teachers believed education was meant only for their type and
not for the lower castes (D'Costa1982: 109). Theoretically, the parish schools were open
to all Christians but in practice 'it was frequented mostly by the sons of the Brahmin or
landowning families' (Mascarenhas 1989: 86). A third factor contributing to the low
response to education was the Portuguese medium of education. D' Costa rightly says
that 'many children found it unnecessarily troublesome to learn a new language which
was difficult ... uninteresting and purposeless' (D' Costa 1982: 109). Though primary
education was free and compulsory under the Portuguese rule, hardly any parents took advantage of the facility, as the medium of instruction in government primary schools was Portuguese (Correia-Afonso 1987: 209). As Correia-Afonso says ‘Portuguese speaking Goans never constituted more than a handful of the population’ and even at the end of the four and half centuries of Portuguese rule not even ‘2 percent of people claimed Portuguese as their mother tongue’ (Esteves 1966: 22 cited in Correia-Afonso 1987: 210). To quote another historian, ‘At the close of the Portuguese colonial regime in India, after a presence of nearly four and half centuries, barely 5 percent of the inhabitants of Goa, the capital of the “Estado da Índia”, were capable of reading, writing and speaking in Portuguese’ (Souza 1997: 377). Portuguese language, in relation to English, lacked any value in the job market in the subcontinent as well as in the many British colonies where Goans would migrate to work. And the local population by and large never took the Portuguese language with enthusiasm which is reflected in the Konkani saying, ‘Sermanvank gellim axén, sermanv zalo firngi bhaxén’ (Went with eagerness for the sermon, but the sermon was in a foreign language) (ibid: 378).

KONKANI AND EDUCATION IN KONKANI

Gomes (2002b: 54) speaks of the Goan identity in existence from the time the Portuguese conquered Goa, and which was gradually consolidated during the Portuguese regime. One of its main features according to Gomes was ‘a linguistic substance in its versatile Konkani, first in Devanagari, then in Kandvi and Roman scripts, and writing in it dating back to at least the 11th century, with literature from the 15th century onwards’ (ibid: 54). According to Kamat (2000) the first Konkani inscription is from 1187. Couto (2003:14), too, writes about the evidence of written Konkani in the twelfth century, with its first
script being Goya Kannadi. Another Goan scholar Correia-Afonso (1995) holds that Konkani has derived from Prakrit and was written in Devanagari and Kannada in the pre-Portuguese era but had little literature. D’Souza (1975: 43) agrees with the others that Konkani in the pre-Portuguese era was written in Kannada and Devanagari. He (ibid: 46) speaks of Konkani as ‘an ancient and vital language which was used as literary and educational medium and which enjoyed popularity in pre-Portuguese times.’ More evidence to the existence of pre-Portuguese Konkani, according to Pereira (1971: 80-82) is found in Sant Namdev’s verses in the 14th century (Also Couto 2003:14).

Priolkar (1967: 51) differs from the above. According to him, no one has been able to lay their hands on pre-Portuguese Konkani literature, neither in the Old Conquest nor in the New Conquest areas, which like the former were not subjected to any persecution or had to undergo the rigours of inquisition. If pre-Portuguese Konkani literature did exist then one would discover some book or document written in Konkani in those areas, avers Priolkar in his book ‘Goa: Facts versus Fiction’ (Priolkar 1962: 23).

Almeida (2004: 55-57) also begs to differ from those who claim that there was a wealth of pre-Portuguese Konkani literature, which the Portuguese destroyed in their fervour to establish their rule. The destruction, which was limited to Goa cannot account for absence of Konkani literature in areas from Ratnagiri in the North to Cochin in the South. As the Portuguese could not distinguish between Konkani and Marathi literature they could not selectively destroy Konkani literature and to the extent that not even a single leaf of such literature could survive. He further states that the earliest Konkani literature available dates back to the beginning of Portuguese empire. Even the sixteenth century Braga manuscripts No. 771 and 772, Almeida opines, could only be transcripts of
an oral tradition of stories of Mahabharata and Ramayana and not Roman script transliteration of an already existing Konkani manuscript in some Indian alphabet. According to Almeida (2005: 159-160), three scripts, from the five, — the other two being Perso-Arabic and Malayalam — are widely used today for writing Konkani. The Roman script has the longest tradition of more than 450 years, followed by Kannada script and lastly by Devanagari script, which started only with the Konkani-Portuguese dictionary published by Msgr. Sebastiao Rodolpho Dalgado in 1893, though the use of Devanagari was made in 1678 (Sardesai 2004: 45). Christianity gave the much-needed impetus for the beginning of Konkani literature in Goa, but, at the same time, one has to agree with the stalwarts like Cunha Rivara, that the Portuguese rule also stunted, through various measures, the growth of Konkani literary tradition during the first three centuries of Portuguese rule. As no conclusive proof is available about the existence of any pre-Portuguese Konkani written literature in Goa, the only possible conclusion that can be drawn from the above is that there was no Konkani literature comparable to that of Marathi prior to the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa.

Souza (1979: 96), although he accepts that Marathi might have been the literary language of the Goans, argues that the spoken language of Goa was Konkani, which the missionaries referred to as 'lingua canarina', basing himself, amongst others, on Tome Pires. Tome Pires wrote in 1514, 'the language spoken in this kingdom (of Goa) is concanim ... the language of this kingdom of Guoa (sic) differs from that of Deccan as well as from that of Vijayanagar' (cited in Souza 1979: 96).

One of the missions of the Portuguese was to spread Christianity in the orient. The Franciscan friars began working in Goa definitively from 1517. So zealous were they
to spread their religion that they did not mind learning the language of the natives to win
them to their Christian faith. The Jesuits came in the 1540s and began learning Konkani
(also called Canarim or Lingua Brahmana) which they knew would help them in the
process of evangelisation. It is at St. Paul’s College in Old Goa where the newly arrived
Jesuits learnt Konkani and prepared themselves to carry on their missionary work. They
wrote catechisms, hagiographies, sermons and meditations in Konkani. In course of time
many other colleges sprung up where Konkani was taught. Almeida (2004: 61) mentions
‘village schools attached to fifteen Jesuit Parishes in Salcete’, which imparted instruction
in Konkani.

At least the first five Provincial Councils, one after another, beginning from 1567
and going up to 1606, deemed it necessary that the priests/preachers have a good
knowledge of the language of the people (Gomes 1999: 65-66). By 1570 Konkani
grammars and vocabularies were already compiled making it easier for the missionaries
to learn the language (Almeida 2004: 62). Many also mastered the religious and cultural
language of the day, Marathi. Even though the spoken language was Konkani, the
contemporary opinion then, was that any high literary composition, especially of a
religious nature, had to be in Marathi. People would speak Konkani but would make use
of Marathi for religious literary works. This was similar to the linguistic arrangement in
Europe, where the spoken languages were Portuguese, Italian, French etc., but the
language of the liturgy and learned discourses were in Latin. That explains why Thomas
Stephens chose to write the Purana Christao in Marathi and his Doutrina Christam in
Konkani language. In fact in the introduction to Purana Christao he explains his reasons
for not writing his Purana Christao in Shudda Marathi. If he had done so the middle
classes would not understand it. However, it was meant for the intelligentsia who hungered for such literature. This need is embodied in the request by a Brahmin convert to a priest in Salcete, who said: ‘if books in Marathi language on Christian scriptures in the form of Puranas are prepared for us, a deep-felt wish of our people would have been fulfilled’ (Priolkar: 1962: 20). He also compiled a Grammar of Konkani, for the training of his fellow Jesuits, who had to learn the Konkani language to impart the religious instruction to the people.

The village schools taught the Christian doctrine in Konkani following the books of catechism written by the missionaries in Konkani. This practice continued till the _alvara_ decree of 1684 by which the Portuguese tried to impose the Portuguese language in the village schools. The zeal for Konkani did not last long. It is said that the Franciscans, relatively more addicted to an easy life or licentiousness, were the first to revolt against the need to learn the local language (Almeida 2004: 75). In 1627 Archbishop Dom F. Sebastiao de S. Pedro lamented that the Franciscans neglected the learning of the language of the people. In fact the ignominious decree (_Alvara_) of 27 June 1684, also called ‘the sentence of extermination’, forbidding the use of Konkani ‘under pain of being proceeded against with such severe punishment as might seem befitting’ (Cunha 1944: 23), is attributed to the ingenuity of the Franciscans who wanted to continue administering the parishes as Parish Priests without learning the local languages, which the Church was insisting upon. At this time, not only the Franciscans but also the Jesuits, the Dominicans and Augustinians seem to have refused to learn Konkani, which led the Viceroy Antonio de Melo e Castro to complain on 28 January 1666 to the King (Cunha 1944: 22). Many claim that this edict remained in force till the dawning of more
enlightened times in the middle of the 18th century, or the Pombalian regime (Varde 1977: 22; Kurzon 2004: 28). But at least one young historian suggests that the *alvara* may have been toothless from its very inception (Mendonca 2005: 50). He says he is not aware of any penalty or sanctions imposed on anyone for having spoken in the local language. The Inquisition too resolved through Amaral de Coutinho that Christians should speak only Portuguese and give up their language, lest the Hindu Gurus lead them astray (Pereira 1971: 19-20; Cunha 1944: 23). As we have seen in the earlier section, Archbishop Lourenco de Santa Maria, in 1745, also tried his best to do away with the local language. All these decrees and orders proved to be grievously detrimental to Konkani. With the expulsion of Jesuits from Goa in 1759 and later, that of other Religious Orders, the local language was neglected even more (Almeida 2004: 75).

When the Viceroy D. Manoel de Portugal e Castro instituted the first State schools in 1831 at the cost of the state exchequer (by the order dated 5 September 1831) (Gomes 1999: 81), Konkani was excluded from them as being of no avail in the field of education. And even when after a decade on 8 August 1843 the then Governor-General Joaquim Mourao Garcez Palha ‘decided to have chairs in Marathi, Kannada, Tamil, Malayalam and Hindustani in some of Goa’s educational institutions’, (Pereira 1971: 20) the local language ‘Konkani was carefully kept out of all the lists’. It was scorned, downgraded, considered a crude native dialect and given no importance. These measures succeeded in demoralising the Konkani speakers: ‘Many Goan Christian families began to call Portuguese their mother-tongue and speak that language even at home, a thing they do not seem to have done before’ (*ibid.*). When Cunha Rivara landed in Goa in 1855 not only did the government discriminate against Konkani, but among its own speakers,
also, it did not command much respect. The waning of religious zeal and the languishing
of Konkani studies went hand in hand. It had been alienated in its own habitat. For
instance when Miguel Vicente de Abreu wanted a Konkani hymn book to be published at
the government press he was charged the extra 25 percent payable for texts in foreign
languages.

Cunha Rivara writes,

In spite of the great impulse which the language received in the first century of
Portuguese dominion, there was waged against it an implacable war with attempts
to entirely extinguish and proscribe it. Although it was not possible to achieve this
end fully, as it is beyond human power to suppress a language, it has, however,
been corrupted and adulterated and its literary records practically destroyed with
serious loss both to the intellectual and to the moral culture of the people.
(quoted in Pereira 1971: 19)

Education in general lagged behind and primary education even more. Local
Inspection Boards created in 1869, among other limitations of the education system,
pinpointed the medium of education as one of the major causes of inefficiency in
education. Quoting Cunha Rivara, the Commissioner of Instruction, it also suggested that
'as a new language can only be learnt by comparison of its mechanism with that of
mother tongue, concanim language should be made a starting point to teach the Indians
any other language' (quoted in Varde 1977: 13). But the teachers were not convinced of
his cold logic – the educated Hindu elite opposed his plans and in 1869, the Governor
Pestana totally banned Konkani in schools (Pereira: 1971: 23; Desai 2002: 38). When in
1871 there was an order for the conversion of schools existing in Novas Conquistas in to
mixed ones, that is, Portuguese-Marathi and Portuguese-Konkani, there were no Konkani
books, and hence nothing could be done (Varde 1977: 23).
However, there were some efforts by some individuals in writing primers to promote Konkani education. The *Barao* (Baron) of Cumbharjua Tomas Aquino Maurao Garuz Palha published a primer in Konkani in 1888-89. He felt the primer would silence those who held that Konkani language is an unworthy jargon and predicted an era of full development for Konkani literature (Pereira 1971: 136-137n.228; Desai 2002:42). Sebastiao Teotonio Souza published another primer in the Roman script. However, one is not aware if these primers were ever followed in schools. Later in 1939, Madhav Manjunath Shanbag founded Konkani Bhasha Mandal with its objective being the study and advancement of the mother tongue (Pereira 1971: 76). Yet another individual, the uncle of late A. N. Naik, ex-MLA from Margao, in the early 1940s introduced Konkani in his school for girls (Adarsha Vanita Vidyalaya, Margao), however no records of this are available except a letter from Shennoi Goenbab who wrote to convey his congratulations to the management of the school for the pro-Konkani decision (Desai 2002: 87). It was a Montessori school with Konkani as the medium of instruction for the girls up to the age of six years (Samarth 1988: 270-271).

As T. B. Cunha (1944: 21) wrote, the Goans had been denationalised. He wrote not merely about the denationalisation of Goans but also of their cultural bankruptcy, ‘the chief cause of which was the ferocious persecution of their languages, especially of Konkani and Marathi, and the forcible imposition of the Portuguese language. The ban began with the conquest and is still going on especially towards Konkani, which is the mother tongue of Goans’. The net result of following the policy of Official education exclusively in Portuguese, without a single Konkani school, says T. B. Cunha, was the appalling illiteracy prevalent in Goa (*ibid*: 24). At the same time, he further argues that
all the obstacles on the path of development of the mother tongue have deprived Goans of a rich literary Konkani tradition worthy of name to the point that the Goans themselves are ashamed of their uncultivated language (ibid: 25-26).

However, in spite of the obstacles there were some efforts done to introduce education in Konkani medium. Saldanha (1952: 17) wrote that the use of Konkani as the medium of instruction in the initial stages of the Portuguese primary schools had been permitted for some time then, and that it was made use of by many English medium primary schools. Also, in 1962 Konkani Bhasha Mandal was formed in Goa and one of its objectives was to promote primary education in Konkani and support existing schools. It did start a school of its own in Margao. According to Almeida (2000), Loyola High School, the Holy Spirit School and two other convent schools began Konkani medium primary sections in their schools. The Loyola High School and the Holy Spirit School carried on primary sections in Konkani for eight years. Some time later, two other schools had primary sections in Konkani and have continued till date. Not surprisingly then, enrolment in Konkani at that time increased from 2161 to 5551 students, especially, during the years preceding the opinion poll from 1963 to 1965. But the enthusiasm did not last long or beyond the opinion poll (Desai 2002: 121).

On 26 February 1975, the Sahitya Akademi, the National Academy of Letters, New Delhi, accorded Konkani the status of being one of the full-fledged literary languages of the country (Gomes 1999: 14-15) paving way for the decision in 1992 incorporating Konkani into the Eight Schedule of the Constitution wherein are listed the major languages of the country. Another milestone was the establishment of the Goa Konkani Akademi on 4 March 1986 meant for the promotion of Konkani language,
literature and cultural unity of the State (Gomes 1999: 29). Within a year on 4 February 1987 Konkani was declared the Official Language of Goa.

Couto (2003: 16) considers it unfortunate that the Goan people themselves have not shown interest in the ‘language so despised and derided’ that in spite of elementary education in Konkani being approved by the First Provincial Congress in 1916, government schools were opened only in 1961 after the liberation of Goa. The Goan elite used to send their children to the Portuguese schools since Konkani language had no value during the Portuguese times, both in the sphere of education and as far as future prospects were concerned (Cardozo 2006: 20).

From 1990 onwards, Government gives grants only to those schools that impart instruction in regional languages up to the fourth standard. Currently, more than 200 primary schools have Konkani as the medium of instruction (Sardesai 2004: 50). However, as Cardozo (2006: 24) says the parents admit their children in Konkani schools, out of sheer compulsion and not out of love for Konkani education. In fact, Cardozo adds that the use of Devanagari and a particular dialect¹, which is forcibly imposed in schools, has resulted in hatred towards the language itself. Cardozo’s view seems exaggerated as the script has not led to the hatred of the language as such, but many Christians who have had English education from childhood do have an aversion to that script.

To sum up all that has been said, the Portuguese attempted to exterminate Konkani, but it was an exercise in futility. As Souza (1979: 97) says ‘Konkani was never exorcised from the Goan households, but what did happen is that Konkani was denied an opportunity to develop as an independent language and to have some literature worth the
name'. It also led the Konkani speakers to educate their children through Portuguese and Marathi medium schools during the colonial era and through English, and Marathi and Konkani to a much lesser extent, in the post-liberation period.

**MARATHI FOR DEVOTION AND MARATHI IN EDUCATION**

When the Portuguese reached Goa, the people of Goa were not uncivilized and illiterate masses urgently in need of civilization. They were already ‘well versed in Sanskrit religious literature and were conversant with the contemporary Marathi religious literature as well’ (Souza 1977:13). According to Konkannakhyam, ‘Marathi did not enter Goa till late in the 15th century when’ Bijapur Sultans conquered it. They bestowed official status on the language (D’Souza 1975: 44). With regard to literature, extant copies of Marathi literary works have been found (Almeida 2004: 55). For instance V. B. Prabhudessai discovered two manuscripts of Krishnacharitra by Krishnadas Shama about thirty years ago. Many other 16th and 17th century records have been found. In the 13th century, writes Almeida (ibid: 57), there was a shift from the classical language to the regional Marathi, spoken and written language of religion and literature, under the influence of Mahanubhav and Bhakti movements. It was the philosophers and saint poets who using the popular spoken Marathi wrote their teachings and composed devotional songs. Marathi literature and the growth of Marathi as a literary language sprung from this devotional beginning. The Konkani speakers could, without much difficulty, understand what the saint poets of Maharashtra would sing. In course of time the Konkani speakers must have come to accept Marathi as their religious language and also literary language (ibid.).
In the 16th century, conversion and later the rigours of Inquisition forced many Hindus to flee from the Old Conquest to the New Conquest, then outside the Portuguese territory. As noted in the previous paragraph, in the neighbouring area, that of the state of present-day Maharastra, Marathi had been developed much before the coming of the Portuguese to Goa. Jnyaneshwar had written an annotated edition of Bhagavadgita in Marathi in the 13th century, Bhakti was popular in Maharastra from the 15th century, Namdev, Tukaram, Ramdas had written verses praising God in Marathi – contact with these devotional works made Goan Hindus consider Marathi as the language of literature and superior to Konkani which was only a spoken language (Matsukawa 2002: 127).

Pereira (1971: 98) says that it was in a confused moment in the history of the Goan people that Marathi which he calls the 'ghati' tongue, 'succeeded in getting its claim of being Konkani Hinduism's sacred tongue recognised'. The Inquisitional harassment gave the Hindus no choice but to drive them 'in to the arms of Marathi' as it was from the devotional verses in this language that they could derive 'comfort in the dark moments of oppression' (ibid: 21). In support of his argument he claims that history has shown even the most diverse peoples enthusiastically accepting culturally unpalatable tongues when they were hallowed by religion (ibid: 98).

Valaulikar (Pereira 1971: 68) also argued that the association of Marathi with religion has been responsible for the Goan Hindu affection for Marathi, since they mistakenly considered Marathi to be Hinduism's sacred tongue. Even today as Desai (2002:13) writes 'there is a widespread feeling among masses that Marathi is the cultural and religious language of Goa and Goans, especially Hindus'. This is the result of the fact
that Marathi was the medium of religious activities like Kirtan, Bhajan, Aarati, etc (Sardesai 2004: 47).

With regard to Marathi in education, Marathi schools did exist in Goa prior to its conquest by the Portuguese, but it is believed that they were confined to the areas bordering the State of present-day Maharashtra (Coutinho 1987: 162-163). Angle (1994: 66) claims that almost every village in Goa had a primary school in Marathi functioning at a temple or the chowk of a residential place. However, Marathi schools organised in the manner they function today, did not exist till the middle of the nineteenth century (Quadros 1974: 7). It was only on 10 July 1871 that the government converted the primary schools, functioning till then in Portuguese medium in the New Conquests, into mixed ones with two media - Portuguese and Marathi (Kamat 2002: 49-50; Varde 1977: 13). It is believed that the first formal primary school in Marathi was started by Shri Ramchandra Dattatreya Kulkarni alias Rambhau Azrecar at Mapusa in 1890 (Quadros 1974: 8; Angle 1994: 69). However, Desai (2002: 41) speaks of the opening of the first private school in Marathi with ‘modern syllabus’ having started in Mapusa earlier than 1890, that is in 1885, and which was followed by many others in other villages around Mapusa. According to Desai (ibid.) the private initiative continued for the next four decades consolidating into a well-organised movement.

Saraswats encouraged education of their children by starting private Marathi medium schools. The teachers, popularly known as the Shenaimam, were recruited from the Bombay Presidency 2 . The schools would be held in balconies, temple premises or even under a tree where children of other upper castes were also accepted (Quadros 1974: 8; Kamat 2002: 52). As far as the government primary schools are concerned, by 1897,
there were altogether about 7 bilingual government primary schools in the New Conquests (Kamat 2002: 50).

With the establishment of the Democratic Republic on 5 October 1910 there was a marked change as far as educational facilities were concerned. The Portuguese had introduced religious discrimination, putting the Hindus at a disadvantage in the religious, educational and social fields, and that continued till the establishment of the Republic in 1910. With the Republic, education was open to all, irrespective of caste or creed. Dr. Antonio de Noronha, the then Chief Justice of Goa High Court, wrote the following in 'Os Hindus de Goa e a Republica Portuguesa',

Here in Goa the Republic destroyed forever the barrier which rose up before the Hindus for religious motives. They now rush in large numbers just like water confined by a dam, when the dykes are thrown open; attend schools in ever increasing numbers, constitute themselves into associations, open schools, establish libraries, take an active part in public life (quoted in Varde 1977: 89).

Though the government did not make much efforts to establish many Marathi schools, private Marathi primary schools 'run by the Hindu community to satisfy their cultural and religious needs' (Varde 1977: 90) took a leap forward from the beginning of the Republican regime (Kamat 2002: 52; Correia-Afonso 1987: 213). Hindus, generally, would first learn Marathi, spending five years in Marathi primary schools, even when primary schooling in Portuguese was compulsory, and subsequently attend English or Portuguese secondary schools (Newman 2001: 61; Varde 1977: 90; Angle 1994: 70).

At the beginning of Republican rule there were 7 Marathi government primary schools. In 1920-21 the government Marathi medium schools became 8 with an increase of just one more school (Malvankar 2002: 91; Varde 1977: 88). However, apart from the government primary schools there were also private primary schools in Marathi set up by some academically conscious individuals through forming societies or institutions. Some
of them, Mustifund Saunstha, Saraswat Vidyalaya, Goa Vidya Prasarak Mandal, Damodar Vidyalaya, with their dedicated services, are still major contributors in the field of education. The number of such privately run Marathi medium primary schools in 1920-21 was 66. This movement for Education in Marathi began during the last decades of the 19th century and became more and more consolidated during the Republican period. In 1924 when a delegation of eminent persons represented the case of Marathi education, the Governor-General Jaime de Castro Moraes was sympathetic towards their cause and promised to extend financial help to them (Kamat 2002: 59-60). The Hindus also managed to evolve a scheme to get support from local temple funds for the Marathi schools. Thus, by the time of Goa’s liberation there were 4 government primary schools in Marathi with 125 students; and 167 registered non-government private primary schools with an enrolment of 16220 totalling to 16345 students. Varde also claims that there were about 100 unregistered Marathi private primary schools not registered in the Education Department (Varde 1977: 91-92).

Soon after liberation, that is, in 1963, the MGP came to power and took ‘an anti-Konkani, caste and religion based mergerist position designed to wipe Goa from the cultural and political map’ (Newman 2001: 66). The MGP and its supporters claimed that the language of Goa was Marathi and Konkani, a non-language and a useless dialect. The administration headed by late Bhausheb Bandodkar and later by his daughter Shashikala, promoted Marathi as the language of government and education (Rubinoff 1992: 476; Newman 2001: 68). From 1963 to 1980, the MGP continued in office and ‘quietly, silently, insidiously, surreptitiously, deviously’ took over the education in the state (Herald, Panjim, 24 May 1990: 2). In fact a vast majority of the Marathi schools
owe their existence to the policy followed by the MGP in the 60s (Goa Today, Vol. XXIV No. 11, Panjim, June 1990: 5; Malvankar 2002: 98). As it was earlier, with the opening of new schools in Marathi, there was a huge demand for teachers in schools and hence 'Marathi teachers and textbooks flooded in from neighbouring Maharashtra' (Mauzo and Cota 2004). However in the 80s things began to change for Marathi: It was claimed that Marathi students were losing to English schools - which were attracting students from all backgrounds, whether religious or caste and class - at a rate of approximately 2000 students per year (Herald, Panjim, 16 June 1990: 1). The total number of pupils in all Marathi medium schools which was 78,607 in 1980-81 reduced drastically to 58,310 in 1989-90 (Goa Today, Panjim, July 1990: 13).

In 1990, the Progressive Democratic Front, at the helm of affairs of Goa's government, decided to provide financial grants to primary schools conducting education in the regional languages and denying grants to English medium primary schools. With this policy in force, the fast decline in the enrolment of Marathi students has been contained to a great extent.

**MOBILITY ASPIRATIONS AND ENGLISH EDUCATION**

Education in Portuguese, in a way, was forced on the Goans directly and indirectly through a number of incentives ranging from government jobs and economic rewards to acquiring a high social status in the Goan society being attached to it. The Konkani language speakers themselves, especially the elite, did not opt for the Konkani language in education: the Catholics preferring Portuguese education and the Hindus opting for Marathi education (Newman 1999: 20). Hindus longed for Marathi education, as Marathi was mistakenly associated with the Hindu religion. The circumstances that led to a desire
for English education among the Goans are completely different depending more on the push and pull factors operational in Goa at that time.

Though English men, like Thomas Stephens, had lived and worked in Goa from the 16th century at least, the dissemination of the English language may be traced to the time when, because of Napoleonic wars, the British troops were stationed in Goa for about 16 years (Correia-Afonso 1987: 210). In 1801 the Governor of Bombay Jonathan Duncan dispatched seven warships with troops under the command of Colonel William Clark on the pretext of protecting the territory from any possible attack by the French. Later the garrison grew in number exceeding 3000 (De Souza 1975: 10). During the stay of the British troops, English language must have been used by these troops in communicating with at least some local people, who also must have picked up some English given the number of years in mutual contact. The occupation of Goa by the English troops also paved the way for the beginning of Goan migration to Bombay and other places as the English Officers took along with them their subordinate staff whose services they had come to appreciate. Initially, therefore, the domestic staff must have migrated along with the British Officers, but later others too followed (Correia-Afonso 1987: 211).

Correia-Afonso (1987: 212) says it is difficult to give a precise date when the study of English began in Goa but conjectures that private lessons must have been sought by prospective migrants, and taught by ‘Bombay-returned’ Goans. He also presumes that ‘there must have been a fair number of Goans who understood English at that time’ as even at that period in 1885 a weekly ‘Times of Goa’ was launched by a priest, Fr. A. F. X. Alvares.
Some of the Portuguese Governor-Generals introduced very progressive policies. J J. Lopes de Lima is one among those Governor Generals, who considering the universality of the English language in India, by his Ordinance dated the 13 February 1841 introduced two classes, one in French and the other in English at the Military Academy at Panjim (De Souza 1975: 10).

In a little more than a decade, that is in 1854, a great number of residents of Bardez made a representation to the then Governor-General Visconde de Villa de Ourem that an English school may be established in Bardez so that the residents of Bardez, who could not attend the English School in Panjim because of the distance involved, may benefit from the school. While in Goa the economic conditions were deteriorating, in Bombay and other towns and cities in the neighbourhood employment opportunities were created. Bombay, Calcutta, Karachi being port cities would provide access to jobs on steamships, which was the major mode of travel during that time. Both on board 'the ships and in various parts of India there was a considerable demand for cooks, waiters, butlers, ayas, tailors and musicians who could cater to European needs' (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1990: 244). It must be noted that a small number of Goans also acquired white-collar jobs. Hindus also, though a proportionately smaller number, migrated to the neighbouring parts of India, not so much overseas. One of the obvious requirements for migration was the English language, which must have forced the residents of Bardez to make a representation to the Governor-General, who by his Ordinance No. 88 dated 29 September 1854 established an English school in Mapusa, the first English school established in Goa (De Souza 1975: 10).
The Governor-General Jose Ferreira Pestana established yet another English school in Margao on 17 March 1869. However, after some time, these English primary schools ceased to function and were incorporated in the other government schools of Panjim, Margao and Mapusa (De Souza 1975: 10).

The linking of Goa to British India by rail in 1881 further increased Goan migration, facilitating the movement of the population of Salcete to Hubli, Belgaum, Poona and Bombay (Correia-Afonso 1987: 211). Also, at the turn of the twentieth century, there was a considerable demand for manual and white-collar workers in both the Portuguese, particularly Mozambique, and the British colonies in East Africa (Mascarenhas-Keyes 1987: 245). As the Goan emigration gradually kept on increasing the increasing need for English education became all the more imperative.

The Bardez taluka gave the lead in establishing some of the earliest English schools in Goa. It is reported that Fr. Lyons (not a priest but belonged to the Society of Jesus of Bombay which he had left as he suffered from some incurable eczema), a native of Dharwar, came to Goa in November 1882 and was residing at Calangute. He taught at St. Joseph’s School attached to his residence. The school was first transferred to Siolim on 8 January 1883 and subsequently, in 1886 to Arpora, where he founded the St. Joseph’s High School. He was the pioneer of High School education in Goa. In 1900 this school was given permission to send its students to Bombay to answer the Matriculation examination of the University of Bombay. The Governor-General recognising the contribution of the school towards emigration granted it a monthly subsidy of Rs.15/- but the condition for being eligible to receive the grant was establishment of a Portuguese class in the school. This school was like a nursery from which many other schools sprang
up (Correia-Afonso 1987: 213; De Souza 1975: 10). English schools went on expanding slowly and steadily from the latter half of the 19th through the 20th century.

Soon on the heels of St. Joseph's School in Arpora came St. Xavier's School of Assagao, established by some enthusiastic villagers under the leadership of Fr. Diogo Xavier Souza in 1896. The school had Ligorio Monteiro as its Headmaster, who was formerly a teacher at St. Xavier's High School, Bombay. It also had able teachers who led the school to make rapid progress and within a year of its establishment, it had 195 students with 25 boarders from several villages of Bardez. Two years later the rented building from where the school functioned could not accommodate the increasing number of students attracted by the school and there was a plan to build a spacious structure that would be sufficient for about 400 to 500 students and 50 boarders. Later in 1904, however, the school was closed for reasons not known, but during the short span of its existence it achieved a brilliant record (De Souza 1975: 20).

Salcete was not very much behind in establishing an English school. Mr. Roque Santana Gracias founded the Union High School in Margao on 13 July 1899 catering to students from the neighbouring villages. The school grew in strength, but after the death of its founder, it was handed over in 1932 to the Archdiocese of Goa which changed its name to St. Theotonius High School. It was again transferred to the management of the Society of Jesus on 11 July 1944, which changed the name of the school again to Loyola High School (De Souza 1975: 20).

In 1903 a report from a school in Saligao stated that the prosperity of Goans depends on migration that was facilitated by the knowledge of English. Emigration led to remittances to families back home in Goa vitally contributing to Goa's economy.
Thus, subsequently, many more English schools were established to cater to the needs of the aspiring migrants, particularly in Bardez Taluka. Some of them rose to become High Schools. They are: ‘St. Anthony’s High School’ in Monte de Guirim in 1904, ‘Mater Dei Institution’ of Saligao founded on 12 July 1909, and ‘High School of the Sacred Heart of Jesus’ founded in 1912 (De Souza 1975: 20).

The First World War contributed to the increase in the migratory wave by creating a need for all types of jobs, to such an extent that ‘the number of Goan seaman in Bombay rose from 7500 before the war to 12000 during it’ (Correia-Afonso 1987: 211). From then on it became necessary to emigrate if one wanted to improve the standard of life in Goa.

The English schools opened the doors, both to higher education and migration to British India, England and British Colonies in Africa and later in America and Canada. Migration was always in search of remunerative employment. The migrant, especially those who had gone earlier, became pace setters. The migrants, with their letters, their periodic visits, their ostentatious display of wealth, overall the visible evidence of ‘coming up’ in life, served as a reference group for others to imitate. The children of the international migrants, brought up with anticipatory socialisation, were predisposed to migration, much more than the others. In fact as Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes (1990: 247) writes, there was ‘reproduction of international migration’ which ‘was characterised not only by geographical mobility but also occupational mobility as an increasing number of young people took up skilled manual and white collar jobs’. Western education, which would equip the child with internationally marketable linguistic and literary skills, was seen as an investment due to the many job opportunities with high salaries that existed.
outside. Thus, the demand for English language in Portuguese Goa led to the establishment of many English schools. Goan children also patronised the English schools in the neighbouring towns and cities of Bombay, Poona and Belgaum.

In the 1920s the number of English schools kept on increasing in response to the needs of emigration (Varde 1977: 90; De Souza 1975: 20), while the number of students in Government schools declined considerably. Thus, on the one hand, a limited sector of the Goan population leaned on Portuguese studies to secure government jobs, on the other hand, the other and bigger sector aspiring to migrate to British India and to countries abroad opted for English education. With such an increase of English schools and the enrolment in them, the Government of Portuguese India feared the denationalisation of Goans – alienation of Goans from Portuguese India and to counter it introduced in 1929 a bill prohibiting the admission of students in English school before their passing the Primeiro Grau or the third standard in Portuguese. The English schools could also teach a Portuguese class in which the students had to be declared successful before being promoted to the V standard of English (De Souza 1975: 20). Despite such hiccups and obstacles in the path of English education, by 1950 there were about twenty-five schools in Goa whose students appeared for Senior School Certificate Exam of the Poona Board (Rodrigues 1999). In 1959 out of the 92 secondary schools, with an enrolment of 14290 students, only four schools were in Portuguese, the rest being in English medium (Correia-Afonso 1987: 209). The English schools went on progressing in number and in 1961 there were as many as 120 English schools maintaining a high standard of efficiency (De Souza 1975: 20). So much so that the last Governor-General,
Manuel Antonio Vassalo e Silva, when touring rural Goa, was dismayed at the large number of English medium primary schools in Goa (Newman 2001: 61).

Within six months of liberation two colleges, managed by the Dhempes and Chowgules, respectively, were started. In 1963-64, there emerged St Xavier’s College and Nirmala Institute of Education. The Escola Medica was upgraded to two full-fledged Colleges, the Medical College and the Pharmacy College. Carmel College of Nuvem was started in 1964, the Dempo College of Commerce in 1966 and the MES College in 1972. All these colleges are run in English medium and the Colleges that have been established later are also conducted in English medium. At the erstwhile Centre for Postgraduate Instruction and Research and later at the Goa University also the medium of instruction has always been English.

In 1990 when the Progressive Democratic Front (PDF) government decided to fund only those primary schools with regional languages as medium of instruction, and not to give grants to English medium primary schools, there were as many as 42 percent children in these English schools (See Table 5.8).

While there was a constant decrease in the enrolment in Marathi medium for a number of years before the 1990 education policy, there was almost a regular increase in the enrolment in English medium schools. Martins (1990b: 2) portrayed the painful situation of the parents who were adversely affected by the policy. He said the education policy undermined ‘the cultural fact that the majority of English-medium educated parents of the post-liberation era, both in north and south Goa, would by all means prefer their children to study in English-medium schools’. After almost three decades of English primary, secondary, higher secondary and tertiary education, English has spread
and has become, in a sense, the linguistic cultural capital among all sections of the Goan society. Desai (2002: 142) laments that the language leaders have failed to see that reality. He further said that English has become the language of mobility and future prospects, and has been recognised as such by parents irrespective of their social background. From the nursery stage to the higher levels of learning, almost everyone aspires for admissions for their children in English medium schools.

Later the government partially amended the education policy, allowing the establishment of English medium schools, which, however, would not be entitled for any government grants. Fees are prohibitive in these schools and yet there are many parents who opt to have their children educated in these expensive schools. A cursory glance at the number of students in different media confirms the demand for English medium schools. For instance, in 1994-95, the 13 English schools had 10793 students with an average of 830 students per school, the 239 Konkani schools had 29288 students having an average of 122 students per school and the 1028 Marathi schools had 55122 students with an average of only 54 students per school (Barbosa 1995: 58). Botelho (2002: 231) also indicates a pronounced preference for English medium education in both the Old and the New Conquests. Matsukawa (2002: 138) suggests that Goans, ‘regardless of religious affiliation, caste or economic status,’ are opting for English as they have realised its potentialities for jobs. Sardesai (2004: 50) points out that the prestigious private medium schools are all those which are conducted in English medium. She also describes parents as ‘practical minded’ since they choose to educate their children in English, which they feel is the ‘actual language of the stomach’. Cardozo (2006: 24) describes the present education scenario in which ‘poor people’ prefer English education for their children.
The elite can choose freely according to their preferences but the poor, compelled by circumstances, have no freedom of choice of medium, creating an educational divide among the Goans. Thus different studies have emphasised the preference of Goan parents for English medium schooling of their children. Irrespective of religious affiliation, social and economic status, political and linguistic loyalties, there prevails a desire for English medium primary schooling. There are some parents who prefer other languages – their numbers, however, are certainly incomparable to the ones who prefer English medium primary schooling for their children.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Portuguese was imposed during the Portuguese rule and the outcome was the alarming illiteracy prevalent in the region. Barring few from the elite section belonging to both the Catholics and the Hindus, Portuguese education never took off. The lower sections of the society, Hindus and Catholics, even if they did go to school, were hardly educated. The Portuguese education system focussed on primary education and most of the common people did not study beyond the primary classes.

There was no education in Konkani medium in government schools till the liberation of Goa. The few classes that were held during the Portuguese times in the parish schools were meant more for imparting Christian doctrine than widening the pupils' intellectual horizons. Towards the end of the Portuguese rule, the number of schools that carried on Konkani classes in the primary sections of English schools was negligible. The government never gave importance to Konkani schools nor did the people feel Konkani schools to be of any value to them in the job market.
Marathi education with Marathi government schools began towards the last quarter of the 19th century. Besides the government primary schools, which, however, were not many, there were also private Marathi primary schools, set up by Hindu Educational Societies, formed to further their cultural and religious interests. Private Marathi primary schools increased drastically form the Republican period as the Hindus rushed to schools in the society that was freed from religious discrimination prevalent till then. A number of Marathi schools sprang up. Hindus, true to their devotion to Marathi or the association of Marathi with the Hindu religion, went to Marathi schools even when Portuguese primary schooling was compulsory. Portuguese was required to be eligible to join the secondary, whether in English or Portuguese. That sense of devotion to Marathi and the conviction that Hindu religious beliefs are taken care of in the Marathi primary schools are responsible, to a great extent, for the continued choice of Marathi schools even today.

The deterioration of economic conditions in Goa, the job opportunities in British India and British colonies abroad, created a demand for English education in Goa. From the 19th century the attraction to migrate has never diminished, but on the contrary there has been a 'reproduction of international migration', all the while multiplying the demand for English education in Goa. The increasing value of English as language of higher education and general administration in Goa, as a link language in India and an international commercial language, has only added to the incentives already internalised by the Goan people across religion, castes, classes and linguistic affiliations.

While the Portuguese tried to impose the Portuguese language on the people, only the elite pursued higher education in Portuguese. The rest of the population, if at all they
went to school, dropped out even before the completion of the primary stage. They knew little more than writing and signing their name. Today Konkani and Marathi have been imposed in a number of schools, where the parents might have preferred English. As in the past the elite attended Portuguese schools, today also the elite, the middle classes and the neo-rich opt for English medium schools, not Konkani and Marathi medium schools imposed by the government. Attached to English medium is also some amount of social status that parents enjoy which does not accompany enrolment of children in Konkani or Marathi medium schools. From among the Christians, a few (elite, middle classes and the neo-rich) send their children to Konkani schools not because they desire their education to be in Konkani but because of the standard and reputation of the school concerned or because there is no English school in the vicinity, etc. Most of the Christians who enrol their children in government Konkani schools or other parish schools do so most unwillingly, forced by financial or other difficulties.

With regard to Hindus, a few from the Saraswat community, and still fewer from the middle classes desire their children to learn in Konkani, as they consider it to be their mother tongue. Most Hindu children attend Marathi schools more than Konkani schools out of 'devotion', as they still associate Marathi language with their religion. They do not attend English schools because of financial difficulties and absence of English schools in the neighbourhood (see Table 5.9). History is being repeated. The reality today is similar to the past where one language, Portuguese, was imposed by the government in education, and the people desired education in other languages (Marathi and English).

Today, the government is promoting regional languages but people by and large prefer English, even though the enrolment in Konkani and Marathi is much more than in
English. The preference of people, and what objective factors and subjective motives compel people to make particular choices as regards medium of education of their children at the primary level, will be discussed in the fourth chapter, but before that the theoretical inputs from the review of literature in language and education will be examined as a prelude to the presentation of primary data based themes.

NOTES

1. There is a noticeable difference between the written language and the spoken varieties of the Konkani language. Goan Hindus and Christians speak Konkani but with different intonations and peculiarities of the language. Goan Konkani differs not only across religions, but also across talukas. Goans, belonging to different geographical regions, religion, castes and tribes speak many and varied dialects of Konkani. Differences among the Konkani dialects may be traced to the policies of the erstwhile Portuguese regime (Almeida 1989). Almeida claims that there must have been two important dialects in Goa before the 16th century: ‘the northern or Bardes (N) dialect and the southern or Salcete (S) one’ (ibid.: 8). Religious persecution and other factors during the early years of Portuguese rule forced many Hindus to the neighbouring Maharashtra in the North and Kanara in the South. Later, many of the migrants returned to their homeland. According to Almeida (1989: 8), ‘the Hindus of N came back to Goa and some of these families settled down in South Goa. As a result, a remarkable blend of dialects can be observed today’. The dialects of Konkani have been strongly influenced by contact with other languages. The Portuguese language has affected the spoken and written Konkani in the mainland of Goa as a number of Portuguese words have been borrowed and incorporated into Konkani, especially in the Old Conquest. Konkani has also been influenced by Marathi, the literary language of most educated Hindus (Almeida 1989: 8). Konkani speaking Catholics make use of Romanised, at times Portuguese words to express Konkani vocables and also write in Roman script. The Hindus are more at home in the Devanagari script. Pronunciation among Catholics and Hindus, therefore, differs considerably. Use of different scripts has been a hurdle on the path of standardisation of Konkani language. Further, the Devanagari Konkani followed in educational institutions is the dialect of Saraswat Hindus, which, according to Narayan (2006: 5) not only Catholics, but also Bahujan Samaj find difficult to follow. There are dialectal differences based on religion and caste, noticeable especially at the extremes. The Scheduled castes, tribes and OBCs, for instance, also have a distinctive pattern. In Goa, primary schooling begins at the age of five and a half years. By this age the child is well grounded in the dialectal form of Konkani peculiar to the caste, creed, region, etc., and spoken in the household. He/she is habituated to speak in a particular dialect and even if there are no major linguistic differences between the standard and the dialectal forms of language, switching over to the school version of the standard language from the home dialect does not seem to be an easy task. The pupils are confronted by a language variety
considerably different from what they speak at home. Their parents are not familiar
with the school variety and hence find it difficult to tutor them. The choice of Konkani
medium at primary level becomes difficult due to these dialectal differences and a
lack of common standard dialect in Goa.

2. It is to be noted that Shennoi Goenbab (Pereira 1971: 67) used this very fact to
contradict the Marathists’ argument against them: if Marathi were really the native
language of Goans then the Goans would not have needed men from above the ghats
to teach them.