CHAPTER - TWO

KONKANI LANGUAGE:
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2.1 DIGLOSSIA

The present research investigates the process of borrowing in the context of Konkani. Notions of power and prestige have a significant bearing on this process. These notions are intrinsic to the concept of diglossia. Hence the present chapter is concerned with diglossia. It begins by giving the important insights of the research related to diglossia and then moves on to exploring diglossia in the Konkani speech community.

2.1.1 Diglossia: The Classical Version

The term diglossia was introduced by Charles Ferguson in 1959 for characterizing a specific intra-societal linguistic behaviour. He defined the term as follows:

'DIGLOSSIA is a relatively stable language situation in which, in addition to the primary dialects of the language (which may include a standard or regional standards), there is a very divergent, highly codified (often grammatically more complex) superposed variety, the vehicle of a large and respected body of written literature, either of an earlier period or in another speech community, which is learned largely by formal education and is used for most written and formal spoken purposes but is not used by any sector of the community for ordinary conversation.'

This original formulation of diglossia is referred to as 'classical' diglossia in linguistic literature on the topic. For convenience of reference Ferguson
called the superposed variety in diglossia the H ('high') variety and the primary regional dialect the L ('low') variety. Ferguson outlines nine characteristic features of diglossia. These are -

1. **Function:** There is a clearcut functional demarcation of the H and L varieties in a diglossic situation, thus distinguishing it from bilingualism. In one set of situations only H is felt to be appropriate and in another only L. Anyone who uses H in an L domain or L in a H domain becomes either an object of ridicule or outrage.

2. **Prestige:** The native speakers regard H as superior to L. To quote Ferguson, 'sometimes the feeling is so strong that H alone is regarded as real and L is reported "not to exist"'. Even where there is no strong feeling of the reality and superiority of H, speakers usually believe that 'H' is somehow more beautiful, more logical, better able to express important thoughts, etc. This belief is held also by those speakers who have a limited command over H.

3. **Literary Heritage:** In a diglossic situation there is a sizable body of written literature in the H variety. This is either produced in the past history of the diglossic speech community or is in continuous production in another speech community where H is the standard variety of the language. L has a body of folk literature which is mainly oral literature. It is also used in "dialect" poetry, advertising, captioning of cartoons and in the speech of certain characters (usually comical or uneducated) in a play.

4. **Acquisition:** L is acquired in the 'normal' way one acquires one's mother tongue in the home environment. It is the language that is learnt first. H is learnt formally in a school. Whereas the grammatical structure of L is never taught explicitly, that of H is consciously learnt 'in terms of "rules" and norms to be imitated'.

5. **Standardization:** An established norm for orthography, pronunciation,
grammar and vocabulary exists for the H. Descriptive or normative studies of the L are mostly non-existent. Often they are initiated by outside scholars and are written in other languages. The grammatical study of H has a native tradition.

6. Stability: A diglossic situation typically persists at least over a few centuries and at times can last well over a millennium.


8. Lexicon: There exist many paired lexical items, one H, one L, referring to fairly common concepts frequently used in both H and L; the range of meaning of the two items is roughly the same and the use of one or the other immediately marks the utterance or written sequence as H or L.

9. Phonology: The phonological systems of H and L constitute a single structure of which the L phonology is the basic system and the divergent features of H phonology are a subset. If "pure" H items have phonemes that are not found in "pure" L items, there is a substitution of H phonemes by L phonemes in oral use.

Ferguson's study of diglossia was based on four languages -- Arabic, Greek, Swiss German and Haitian Creole. In Arabic and Greek speech communities the superposed varieties are Classical Arabic and Classical Greek respectively. These are varieties that are removed in time. In Swiss German and Haitian Creole speech communities, respectively, Standard German and Standard French are the superposed varieties. These are varieties that are removed in space.

According to Ferguson, diglossia is a probable result when a given speech community fulfills the following three conditions:

'(1) There is a sizable body of literature in a language closely related to (or even identical with) the natural language of the community, and this literature embodies, whether as source (i.e., divine revelation) or
reinforcement, some of the fundamental values of the community. (2) Literacy in the community is limited to a small elite. (3) A suitable period of time, on the order of several centuries, passes from the establishment of (1) and (2).  

Diglossia comes to be regarded as a "problem" by the speech community in which it exists, when certain trends begin to show up. To quote Ferguson:

'These include trends toward (1) more widespread literacy (whether for economic, ideological or other reasons), (2) broader communication among different regional and social segments of the community (e.g., for economic, administrative, military or ideological reasons), (3) desire for a full-fledged standard "national" language as an attribute of autonomy or of sovereignty.'

When these tendencies develop in the community, its leaders engage themselves in bringing about a linguistic unification. This involves promoting either the H or the L, or, less often, a mixed variety of both.

2.1.2 Extended Diglossia

Ferguson's concept of diglossia was further developed by other scholars, particularly by John Gumperz and Joshua Fishman. This eventually culminated in what is referred to as 'Extended Diglossia' and credited in the name of Joshua Fishman. As Francis Britto observes, 'Fishman's Extension' refers to the extension of Ferguson's original concept as developed by various scholars and defined rather explicitly by Fishman.

Here the concept of diglossia is extended even to those bi/multilingual situations where two or more distinct (genetically related or unrelated) languages occupy the H and L positions, such that one of the languages is used in the prestigious domains and the other(s) in the low-prestige domains.
Fishman's modification of Ferguson's diglossia, according to Britto, concerns both, the structural and functional aspects of the codes involved in diglossia. Whereas the modification regarding the structural aspect of the diglossic codes is explicitly stated by Fishman and hence has received much scholarly attention, that regarding the functional aspect is only implicitly stated and hence is overlooked by most scholars.¹¹

To elaborate, Ferguson's diglossia referred to linguistic varieties or codes that were structurally or linguistically 'neither too closely nor too remotely related'¹². These are termed by Britto as 'Optimal Varieties'¹³. By imposing no condition on the structural relatedness of diglossic codes, Ferguson's expansion of diglossia includes both 'super-optimal codes' -- languages, and 'sub-optimal codes' -- dialects, accents, styles, etc., under the concept of diglossia. Thus practically every language community could be called diglossic.¹⁴

In Ferguson's formulation only one kind of functional complementarity constituted diglossia -- that 'in which H is acquisitionally superposed for the whole speech community and in which H is not used for conversational purposes by any portion of the community'¹⁵. Britto points out that Fishman 'implicitly dismisses this special sense of functional complementarity'¹⁵ and allows any type of functional complementarity between codes to be identified as diglossic.

As Britto sees it, 'Fishman's modification regarding the structure of linguistic codes is not as radical a revision of Ferguson's theory as is the modification regarding the function of the linguistic codes.'¹⁶ This modification as regards the functional aspect of the diglossic codes, according to Britto, 'conflates different types of incongruent situations under the label of diglossia'¹⁶.

Britto brings into his framework the concepts of Use-Oriented Code (USOC) and User-Oriented Code (UROC), formulated by other scholars. The
USOCs at the intralanguage level are referred to by Britto as diatypes.17
Some of the important characteristics of USOCs are stated as follows:

'Normally two or more of them are mastered by each member of a
speech community, the use of one or another of them depends on
situations or domains, and they reveal little about the characteristics
of the user, such as where s/he is from or what caste s/he belongs
to.'17

The UROCs at the intralanguage level are referred to as 'dialectal varieties'
or 'dialects.' Important characteristics of UROCs are enumerated as follows:

'Normally each member of a speech community is competent in only
one of the UROCs... and as a rule, a UROC reveals the characteristics
of the user, such as where s/he is from or what caste s/he belongs
to.'18

Britto shows that although Ferguson does not actually use the terms 'Use-
Oriented' and 'User-Oriented' in his original formulation of diglossia, the
discussion in his essay sufficiently reveals that he is concerned with Use-
Oriented and not with User-Oriented variation. For instance, 'standard-with-
dialects' is not considered a case of diglossia by Ferguson because here the
superposed variety is native to the elite or people belonging to the prestigious
region. The criteria of functional complementarity -- that H is not used in
conversation by any portion of the community -- and acquisition -- that in
diglossia H is formally learnt by the whole community -- sufficiently indicates
that in Ferguson's diglossia H is a USOC.18

As pointed out by Britto, Fishman's extension makes the criterion of
functional complementarity irrelevant and as a consequence, H in Fishman's
diglossia could well be a UROC. Thus, within this framework 'standard-
with-dialects' can also be a case of diglossia.18

Accordingly, Britto distinguishes between two kinds of diglossia -- Use
Oriented diglossia or diatypical diglossia (when the H and L involved are intralingual) and User-Oriented diglossia or dialectal diglossia (when the H and L involved are intralingual).  

Taking Britto's conceptualization of diglossia further, P. Rekha Abel views diglossia as a universal of language use. This position assumes that 'every language is used in ways that range over a spectrum. This spectrum features a textual or discursive pole organized around an H code... at one end and a conversational or interactive pole organized around an L code at the other.' According to Abel, 'H and L function as H and L relative to each other and depend on each other for their validation'.

Britto, however, passes a value judgment regarding the 'sociological significance and desirability of the two kinds of diglossia, User-Oriented and Use-Oriented. According to him, 'User-Oriented diglossia thrives on class, caste, religious and regional divisions; whereas Use-Oriented diglossia conquers or equalizes these divisions'. Britto's position mainly rests on his study of Tamil diglossia. He writes, 'In Tamil Nadu, where class, caste, religious and regional divisions abound, it is Use-Oriented diglossia that brings a sense of equality to everyone' and concludes, 'It is User-Oriented diglossia that is the malady, and it is Use-Oriented diglossia that is the remedy'.

The present researcher feels that this perception of diglossia rests on a rather static view of the process of standardization. Investigators of this process have observed that once a particular regional and social dialect becomes the standard dialect, it no longer remains the possession of its native speakers who belong to a particular region or a social class. Users of the standard, belonging to various regions and social classes, in the process of accepting the standard, also modify it. This leads to a disintegration of the uniformity of the standard, which ultimately gives rise to 'a family of standard dialects'. Standard English or standard Hindi are instances of such 'families of standard
dialects. On the basis of this observation, the present researcher feels that if any standard is given a scope to function in as many domains as it can, it can indeed transform into a Use-Oriented Code, although it began as a User-Oriented Code.

2.2 DIGLOSSIA IN THE GOAN KONKANI SPEECH COMMUNITY: YESTERDAY

From the literary contribution of Fr. Thomas Stephens (1549-1619), 'the Father of Christian religious literature in India', it could be inferred that Marathi occupied a place of privilege in the Goan linguistic scenario at the time of the early missionary literary intervention.

At the request of the new Brahmin converts for spiritual/theological texts, Fr. Stephens composed an epic poem on the life of Christ -- *Crista Purana* (1616) -- in Marathi which was probably the literary language of Goans at the time. In the preface to the *Purana*, Fr. Stephens makes it explicit that he chose to write the *Purana* in Marathi because this language was found 'most suitable for expressing matters related to God'; however, as 'pure Marathi was not intelligible to people, the difficult words were replaced by easy words from 'the language of the Brahmans', and thus poetry made easy.

However, although Fr. Stephens wrote the *Purana* in Marathi, based on the Portuguese Catechism of Fr. Marcos Jorge, he prepared a catechism of the Christian Doctrine -- *Doutrina Cristã* in 'Lingoa Bramana Canarim' (Konkani) which was posthumously published in 1622.

The 4th Council of Goa (1592) had decreed that 'a compendium of Christian doctrine and instruction be made, and translated in the most common languages of the province' and had strictly directed that 'churches... be assigned to no one but to those priests who are well qualified and know well the vernacular of the place.' (C.R.: 166) The position of the Council seems
to have influenced Fr. Stephens in his choice of the medium of the Catechism. Also, a grammar of Konkani (*Arte da Lingoa Canarim*, 1640), which in all probability was the 'most common language of the province', and not that of literary Marathi was prepared by him (in Portuguese), and this was probably used by the foreign missionaries for mastering the vernacular in order to carry out missionary activities.

It is significant that in the works of Fr. Stephens Marathi is known as Marathi, (*Maratthy*) but Konkani is known either as *'Bramhannachi bhassa'* ('language of Brahmins') or as *'Lingoa Canarim'* ('Kanarese Language') or as *'Lingoa Bramana Canarim'* ('Brahmin Kanarese Language'). The epithet "Brahmin" in the above constructions could be interpreted as dialect specification of Fr. Stephens' informants. *'Canarim'* seems to be a misnomer that had possibly arisen due to the adoption of a variation of the Kannada script which, according to some scholars, is attested in the old records of Goan village communes. From this it could be deduced that Marathi was the privileged literary language of the time and Konkani, the language of the domain of speech.

It is believed that *Crista Purana* was popular and was used for nearly a century in Goa. But today the Purana has no place in the Christian religious practice. The *Doutrina Cristã* on the other hand, still survives in the daily prayers and remains 'the original matrix of all Konkani catechetical texts' *'Our Father' or 'Hail Mary' in Konkani, for instance, very much echo the translations done by Fr. Stephens centuries ago.*

The colonial intervention paved a way for 'extended diglossia' in the Goan Christian community. Konkani as the language of the natives was picked up by the foreign missionaries for spreading the Christian doctrine, and the Christian community weaned away from Marathi which continued to occupy the high prestige niche in the Hindu society.
Grammars and bilingual vocabularies/dictionaries of Konkani were compiled and literature containing the Christian doctrine was produced by foreign scholars during the first century of the Portuguese rule over Goa. However, it was not a smooth sailing for Konkani all through the colonial era. In fact, history of Konkani is a history of ups and downs in its cultivation by the colonial power and also by the native speakers.

The Portuguese scholar Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1800-1879), in his long essay 'Ensaio Historico da Lingua Concani', published in Nova Goa in 1858 enacts this history by giving evidence from primary sources -- 'authentic documents, government circulars and other facts' (C.R.:150). Herein relating a number of events crucial in the shaping of the history of Konkani, Cunha Rivara puts forth an understanding of how Konkani came to be reduced to a state of neglect by both the Portuguese colonial authorities and the natives despite 'the great impulse which the language received in the first century of the Portuguese dominion' (C.R.:149).

Some of the important events in the history of Konkani as narrated in the Essay could be recounted as follows:

1. In 1648 the Franciscan parish priests from the Bardez province got the Viceroy, Francis de Tavora, Count of Alvor to issue a Decree of Law that 'directed that the use of vernacular should cease within three years and at the same time commanded that the Parish priests should teach Christian doctrine in the Portuguese language.'

   It contained the following lines: '...I assign three years, a period within which the Portuguese language ought to be studied and spoken... this language alone should be used by the people in these parts in their dealings and other contracts which they may wish to enter into, those using the vernacular being severely punished for not obeying this mandate.' (C.R.: 183).

2. In the year 1731, Antonio de Amaral Coutinho, an Inquisitor with eighteen years of service, proposed to the king that the main cause of the
lack of new conversions ("loss of souls") is 'the disregard of the Law of His Majesty,... and the Goan Councils, prohibiting the natives to converse in their own vernacular and making obligatory the use of Portuguese language.' (C.R.: 207, 209).

3. In 1745 the Archbishop, D. Fr. Lourenço de Santa Maria enforced a strict observance of the Decree of the Count of Alvor and issued a circular stating that only such a person would be admitted to priesthood who knows and speaks only Portuguese, further adding, 'this pertains not only to the candidate himself but also to his close relatives of both sexes, this being assured by a rigorous examination and precise care by the Parish-Priests.' (C.R.: 212). This Archbishop also imposed a linguistic impediment to the marriages of Christian subjects in the islands of Goa, Bardez and Salcete - a man or woman ignorant in Portuguese language could not contract marriage. This Circular also ordained that Brahmins and Chardós from Bardez and Salcete learn the Portuguese language within six months and people from other castes within a year. (C.R.: 213).

4. The new Goan Constitutions enjoined by Archbishop D. Antonio Teixeira da Neiva Brum, and revised by Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel de S. Catharina in 1778 'take it for granted that all religious instruction is imparted and received in Portuguese; and do not oblige the Parish Priests to learn the vernacular, rather they are permitted to ignore it.' (C.R.: 213, 214).

5. The Archbishop D. Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino had himself learnt the vernacular and preached fluently in it (C.R.: 215). However, according to Cunha Rivara, he 'was carried away by public opinion, which he did not like to oppose or become an object of derision by giving an impulse to the study of the local language.' (C.R.: 215). In his Regulations to the Seminaries, dated June 15, 1847, he wrote: 'It is absolutely forbidden... both to the students and any Ecclesiastic residing in the Seminary, to converse with one another in the language of Goa.' (C.R.: 215).
6. In a circular issued in 1831 during the establishment of the first public schools in Goa, the Viceroy, D. Manoel de Portugal e Castro, prohibited the use of the Vernacular in schools. Further, by another Order, he also obliged people working in public offices and military quarters to talk only Portuguese. (C.R.: 216).

Placing this information before the reader Cunha Rivara adds, 'Having thus settled that the language of the place was to be considered something worthless and useless, it stands to reason that during the later reforms and plans of public instruction there should be complete silence about it.' (C.R.: 217)

While evaluating the extent of the ignorance of the mother tongue, Cunha Rivara relates two incidents. The first incident which had 'occurred a few months ago' (C.R.: 219), i.e., in the year 1846, in Goa is about a person who wanted to get a prayer book printed in Konkani. The compositors wanted to be paid 25% more than the normal rate of composing in accordance with the prevailing rule that this was payable if the matter to be printed was in a foreign language. Cunha Rivara writes, 'this fact, we believe, is unique in the whole history both of modern and ancient languages; but it is not surprising when we learn that the editor himself, a native, who now disputed with the press, had been influenced, at one time, by general opinion and called the Portuguese language his own.' (C.R.: 219)

In the second instance, Cunha Rivara quotes from an Electoral Speech of a Goan -- A.P. Rodrigues -- published on November 30, 1846: 'The public will forgive us... the unpolished phrases with which we introduce the address that follows. The language which we use, not being ours, (even though in using our own unfortunately we would prove even more deficient) we may be excused when our style is inelegant, unnatural and inappropriate.' (C.R.:219). This declaration made by a Goan native an experienced writer who feels, he cannot express himself correctly in Portuguese because it is
not his own language, and also feels handicapped to write in the language which is his own, according to Cunha Rivara, gives a better picture of the level 'the ignorance of the mother tongue had reached in Goa.' (C.R.: 219).

While urging the Goan youth 'to restore the mother tongue to its rightful place' (C.R.: 220) Cunha Rivara also highlights the status Goan elites accorded to Konkani. He writes --

'Let fools laugh and shout from the depth of their ignorance that the language has no grammar, that it is not capable of being written and that as it is in common use now by only a few individuals, the exertion on its study is insufficiently compensated; that its varieties and dialects from province to province, even from caste to caste, make it complicated and unintelligible and that it is so corrupted that it cannot be purified.' (C.R.: 220).

That Cunha Rivara primarily had the Christian elite in mind becomes clear from the preceding paragraph --

'The methodical culture of the mother tongue will bring you closer to the Marathi language; it will facilitate the knowledge of the Asiatic and European languages, ancient and modern, and thereby useful knowledge will be opened to your intelligence; and the treasures of the world, till now hidden from you, due to the absence of this instrument of exploration, will be opened to you.' (C.R.: 220).

The first sentence could not have been addressed to the Hindu elite as it was already close, in fact intimate, with the Marathi language.

Eduardo José Bruno de Souza (1836-1905) who belonged to the generation after that of Cunha Rivara is given the credit of bringing about 'the revival of Konkani literature after a lull of almost two centuries.' Bruno de Souza launched the first ever Konkani magazine, a fortnightly journal -- *Udentechem Sallok* ('The Lotus of the East') on February 2, 1889 from Pune.
Bruno de Souza wrote a novel in the Roman Script -- *Kristāv Ghorabo* -- "The Christian Family". This novel which was written in 1905 and posthumously published in 1911, according to Manohar Rai SarDessai, is 'one of the first steps towards a secular literature' in Konkani.37 This is the first novel written in Konkani.

As remarked by Manohar Rai SarDessai, 'exposing the basic tenets of Christian religion and defending the cause of Konkani seems (sic) to be the two chief aims of the writer in writing this work.'38 Besides this, the novel also provides information on the status of Konkani in the Goan Christian community at the beginning of the twentieth century. In Chapter V which is titled *Amche bhaxechi sudarñi gorjechi* "It is necessary to bring about improvements in (purify?) our language"39 there is a long conversation between the Vicar of Colvale and Jani, the main protagonist of the novel. The Vicar who ardently works for the development of the Konkani language despite opposition from his colleagues and the government, stresses the need to preach ("give the Word of God") in the language of the people.40 He comments that most of the sermons contain one third words from the Portuguese language (*firigi bhas' "language of foreigners"*), even the grammar is that of Portuguese. He points out that Konkani, as a daughter of Sanskrit, has its own grammar which is different from that of Portuguese. Then he goes on to enumerate the benefits of bringing about improvements and writing in one's own language. At this point Jani mentions that he has heard that people have now begun writing in Konkani (*amchi bhas" our language"); that there are printed manuals of mass in Konkani, also, that some priests make it a point to write down their sermons in Konkani. At this point the Vicar comments that it is written in full imitation of the Portuguese orthography and with little understanding of Konkani grammar, and hence, would do more harm than good to the development of the Konkani language.41

In Jani's speech there is also reference to the general belief in the Konkani
speaking people that Konkani lacks grammar" and, to the shame experienced by Goans while speaking in Konkani.

The above two sources -- "An Historical Essay on the Konkani Language" by Cunha Rivara (1858) and Kristāv Ghorabo by Eduardo José Bruno de Souza (written in 1905) -- serve to throw light on the status and place of Konkani in the Christian society after over three and a half centuries of the colonial rule over Goa.

Nevertheless, the Christian linguistic ethos during the initial decades of the twentieth century, mainly at the level of the masses, did provide a wider space for Konkani. For the majority of Goan Christians, Konkani was to a large extent 'the language of religion' -- one could pray, confess and listen to sermons in Konkani. Konkani was also the medium of mass entertainment like Teatro. This form had its beginning in Bombay in the last decade of the nineteenth century -- 1893. Besides, there was literature in Konkani in the Roman script, the target readership of which was Christian masses. This literature, like Teatro, had its beginning outside Goa almost around the same time as Teatro, and initially catered to the needs of Goan Catholic emigrants to other parts of India, especially to Poona and Bombay.

The relationship between Marathi (H) and Konkani (L) in the Goan Hindu linguistic culture remained a case of 'classical' diglossia until the intervention of Vaman Raghunath Varde Valaulikar alias Shennoi Goembab during the first half of the twentieth century.

1. **Function**: Functions of Marathi (H) and Konkani were clearly demarcated. Konkani was the language of daily conversation, and Marathi the language of formal talk or announcement. The medium of instruction in primary schools was Marathi. Marathi was the medium of prestigious written literature. In fact, all writing used to be in Marathi. A customer wanting to
buy jaggery asked the grocer for $g\alpha l$ (Konkani word for jaggery), the grocer too gave him jaggery as $g\alpha l$ but wrote $gu l$ (Marathi word for jaggery) in his accounts book. Personal letters were written in Marathi. Local magazines meant for Hindu readership used to be in Marathi. Konkani was the vehicle of oral literature (folk-lore). It abounded in folk-tales, folk-songs, proverbs etc. Religious practices like $gara\gamma$ and $prasad$ (invocation of blessings from, and consultations with a deity) -- practices that are not based on any written text -- were carried out in Konkani. But $h\hat{\epsilon}j\hat{\epsilon}m$, $arti$ -- devotional songs, were sung in Marathi. Similarly, $stotr\tilde{a}$ -- verses in praise of a deity -- were written in Marathi.

2. **Prestige:** Marathi was highly valued in the Hindu culture of the time. It was 'the language', or, the 'purer' form of the vernacular. Konkani, in spite of being the language of daily conversation was not considered a language. Rather, it was seen as a dialect, or, an 'impure' form of H.

It was a common practice among Hindu Goans to Marathize their surnames and Goan place names in writing -- $panwel$, $ta\gamma g\tilde{a}$, $h\hat{a}do\gamma$, $sir\alpha \gamma$, $d\tilde{e}w\i\tilde{t}\tilde{a}$, $w\hat{\epsilon}\alpha l\tilde{e}g\tilde{\gamma}y$, $bar\tilde{d}es$, $sa\hat{\gamma}t$ became $p\tilde{o}n\tilde{w}el$, $t\tilde{e}\gamma g\tilde{a}\tilde{w}$, $b\tilde{a}ndi\omega \alpha \tilde{e}$, $\tilde{f}ir\omega \omega \omega \alpha \omega$, $d\tilde{i}t\tilde{o}li$, $t\tilde{h}\tilde{e}r\tilde{l}e\tilde{g}owe$, $bar\tilde{d}es$, $sas\tilde{\gamma}t\tilde{\gamma}i$ when written down. Similarly, the surnames $d\tilde{r}o\gamma \tilde{f}i$, $t\tilde{e}l\tilde{\gamma}g\gamma$, $p\tilde{r}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{b}$, $d\tilde{e}\tilde{r}\tilde{p}\tilde{r}\tilde{\gamma}\tilde{b}$, $m\tilde{\gamma}m\tilde{b}r\tilde{\gamma}o$ became $d\tilde{r}\tilde{\gamma}f\tilde{i}$, $t\tilde{e}l\tilde{\gamma}g\gamma\tilde{a}$, $p\tilde{r}\tilde{\gamma}b\tilde{b}$, $d\tilde{e}\tilde{r}\tilde{p}\tilde{r}\tilde{\gamma}b\tilde{b}$, $m\tilde{\gamma}h\tilde{a}m\tilde{b}r\tilde{e}$. Kar in the surnames based on places was replaced by $k\tilde{e}r$, $f\tilde{m}\tilde{h}\tilde{\gamma}y$ became $\tilde{f}e\tilde{n}\tilde{\gamma}i$. And these Marathized versions of the names were perceived as the 'real' names by Konkani speakers. Not all Hindu Goans were fluent in Marathi. But they considered this language to be their mother-tongue. Knowledge of Marathi was considered a necessary part of 'culture preservation', also of 'being Indian' (nationalist and Hindu).

Two speeches, one by Yashwant Suryarao alias Bhaee Desai and another by Datta Vyankatesh Pai delivered in Mumbai, respectively, in 1943 and 1945, from the platform of 'Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan' are very
revealing in this regard. To quote Bhaee Dessai,

‘...मराठी भाषेला पारखें ज्ञानायमूळें आपल्या क्रिस्ती वांगहत्याची काळी अगतिक स्थिती झाली आहे, अणि मराठीची जीवनसमाज केळीमध्ये देशाभिमान, आपलेपण व हिंदुस्थान देशायाचा वांगहत्याची समस्या या बाबतीत हिंदू समाजाची स्थिती काळी स्वयंवर आहे याचा पुरावा आपणास गोमंतकांतील हिंदू समाजात, जी अगुणतित दिसते तिचे श्रेष्ठ मराठीला आहे.’

(Gist: "Lack of acquaintance with Marathi has made the Catholics helpless, and an acquaintance with and love for Marathi has led the Hindus to identify with the nation and the nationalist movement.")

According to Datta Vyankatesh Pai,

‘गोमंतकीय हिंदूता पोऱणी दिशितक्षेत्र शिविरवाच्या राजवर्तीचा हितकार. असून ते सगळे हिंदुस्थानच्या संपूर्ण स्वतंत्रतेचे पुराव आहेत. अणि हे जर कसाही चढून आलेले असेल तर मराठीच्या द्वारा स्वतंत्रता हितकार शिविरलेल्या स्वतंत्रतेमयीमुक्ती होय.’

(Gist: "Goan Hindus abhor the Portuguese Catholic dictatorship. They support Indian freedom movement. All this on account of the love for freedom inculcated in them by Marathi.")

3. **Literary Heritage:** Marathi had a rich literary heritage. She had great stalwarts like Dnyaneshwara, Namdev, Tukaram, Ramdas, Moropant etc. on her side. Konkani had no known literary heavyweight to boast about.

4. **Acquisition:** Konkani being the language of the home domain was acquired in the way one normally acquires one's mother-tongue. Marathi was acquired through formal teaching or schooling.

5. **Standardization:** Marathi was a standardized language. Grammars and dictionaries of the standard H variety were available. There were plenty of grammars and dictionaries of Konkani. But these were mainly written / compiled by foreign scholars or by native scholars in foreign languages which, is one of the distinctive marks of diglossia.
6. **Stability**: For centuries, it appears, the Goan Hindu society saw nothing wrong with this split linguistic life. It had got used to seeing H as 'language' and L as 'dialect' (of H).

7. **Grammar**: The grammatical structures of Konkani and Marathi are strikingly different. Ferguson hazards a generalization about grammatical complexity for the defining languages chosen by him -- grammatical structure of H is seen to be more complex than that of L. 52 This generalization may not hold in case of Marathi and Konkani.

8. **Lexicon**: There existed many paired lexical items, one H one L with a roughly similar range of meaning. The choice of one or the other indicated the variety chosen by the speaker. For instance, *caha* was written on the restaurant menu-board but a customer always asked for *ca*.

9. **Phonology**: A single phonological structure was at the basis of the sound systems of H and L. Goan Marathi always had a Konkani flavour. Shennoi Goembab's intervention was basically a subversion of the established linguistic ethos of the elitist Hindu linguistic culture to which he belonged.53 He saw the diglossic relationship between Marathi and Konkani as a hegemonic relationship between two languages and took up the task of expanding the domains of the use of Konkani.

By delivering lectures in Konkani on the history of Goans from the platforms of 'The Saraswat Brahman Samaj' and 'The Goa Hindu Association' of Mumbai54, he subverted the belief held by his community that Konkani language was meant only for informal talk. He wrote plays in Konkani and staged these before an audience that was habituated to watching only Marathi plays.55 He translated *the Bhagwat Geeta* into Konkani (1959) and wrote a Konkani primer (1940,1947) along with a teacher's manual (1940) so that Konkani could be taught in primary schools.56
Thus Shennoi Goembab made Konkani enter domains hitherto reserved only for Marathi. However, Shennoi Goembab's subversion was not just a 'Hindu' subversion. He was convinced that in a fragmented Goan Konkani community 'total self-rule' (Purna Swarajya) could be attained only in and through Konkani as this was the only thread that bound Hindus and Christians, masses and classes.

He dreamt of a speech-community unified in a Konkani identity. In this endeavour he sought the blessings of both Sātermay, the patron deity revered by Goan Hindus of all castes and classes, and Akwar Mori "Virgin Mary" revered by all Konkani Christians. Through this new identity based on language, Shennoi Goembab sought to unite all Konkani subcultures that were almost invariably the 'lower' side in diglossic situations.

### 2.3 CHANGING TRENDS IN THE DIGLOSSIC COMMUNITY: THE KONKANI MOVEMENT

The Konkani - Marathi controversy that superficially got expressed as a language v/s dialect controversy during the first half of the twentieth century, was a clear indication that different trends were beginning to appear in the diglossic Konkani speech community. It was indeed a sign that speakers of Konkani regarded diglossia as a "problem" and were willing to get united under Konkani identity, and extricate themselves and the Konkani speech community from diglossic situations.

José Pereira in a detailed investigation of the history of this controversy, traces its origin in an essay on Indian languages written by John Leyden in 1807 wherein Konkani is called a 'dialect of Mharasht'. This dialect v/s language controversy that originated and remained confined for several years in the ivory tower of scholars took a sharp socio-cultural and political turn when Konkani speakers influenced by Shennoi Goembab...
began asserting themselves as a distinct speech community and were brought together under the banner of 'Konkani Parishad' by Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag. To quote Ravindra Kelekar, Konkani writer and a leading Konkani activist, 'the Konkani movement began when Vamanbab Valaulikar who had grown up in the Marathi tradition, started writing in Konkani under the pen-name of Shennoi Goembab. The Movement got its direction in the first session of the Konkani Parishad held in Karwar in 1939..."61

The first session of the Konkani Parishad held in Karwar on July 8, 1939, took eleven resolutions, most of which were in the form of requests. These included the following:

1. A call for Konkani speakers for using Konkani for writing personal letters, keeping personal accounts etc.

2. A request to be made to the Government for carrying out its adult literacy programme in Konkani language for Konkani speakers.

3. The Government to be further requested to get the school text-books prepared in Konkani.

4. Another request to the Government to maintain the practice of indicating Konkani speakers separately in the Census data.

5. Organisations of/for Konkani speakers to be requested to publish their books, or weekly/monthly/trimonthly bulletins in Konkani.

6. Government to be requested to provide primary education in Konkani medium, in areas where there is a sizable Konkani population.62

Had the dispute between Konkani and Marathi been merely grammatical it should have been seen as settled in the court of linguistics, the science of language. And there could have been no better case in favour of Konkani than the detailed scholarly work of S.M. Katre, *The Formation of Konkani* (1966) wherein employing the tools of modern historical and comparative linguistics across six representative Konkani dialects, Katre had shown the
formation of Konkani to be distinct from that of Marathi, thereby proving its position as a separate language, and not a mere dialect.\textsuperscript{63}

But the language v/s dialect controversy was much more political an issue than a linguistic or grammatical one.\textsuperscript{64} With the liberation of Goa in December 1961, the question whether Konkani was to be regarded an independent language or a dialect of Marathi gained political importance as it had a direct bearing on the construction of the new Goan identity. If Konkani was seen as a dialect of Marathi, this would imply that the Konkani speaking Goans ideally belonged to the lot of Marathi speaking Maharashtrians and hence, within the Indian Union in which post-Independence political identities -- states -- were restructured around linguistic identities, Goa could be merged with Maharashtra. If, on the other hand, Konkani was perceived as an independent language, Goa had a chance to forge its own independent Konkani identity within the Indian Union.

The language v/s dialect controversy became important because the issue was politically pertinent. Hence, the Opinion Poll of 1967 which decided the political fate of Goa and kept Goa, Daman and Diu a separate Union Territory almost assumed a Konkani v/s Marathi colour. Interestingly, during this period even those Goans who could hardly even speak or understand Marathi, felt it to be their mother-tongue; stayed with Marathi, and rallied for the merger of Goa into Maharashtra. Also, those Goans who used Konkani only as a vernacular to speak to the masses or to those who otherwise could not be approached in Portuguese, remained with Konkani and voted almost en masse for the separate identity of Goa.

The Konkani movement set before itself various immediate targets and mobilized public support around these --

1. Separate political identity for Goa which was achieved in 1967.
2. Getting Konkani recognized by the Sahitya Akademi (the National Academy of Letters). This would mean, Konkani would be counted
as one of India's literary languages. This was achieved in 1975.

3. Getting Konkani recognized as the official language of administration of Goa. This was achieved in 1987.

4. Getting Konkani included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution which lists the major national languages. This was achieved in 1992.

In this movement, the Konkani community in Goa (Kalelkar's 'Central Konkani' area) was politically more assertive than that in the other states where Konkani was only a minority language. This was because there was more scope for Konkani nationality in Goa than anywhere else.

The Konkani speaking population in Karnataka (a part of which is Kalelkar's 'Southern Konkani' area) and Kerala did participate in the movement for the inclusion of Konkani in the Sahitya Akademi and the Eighth Schedule. But within these states it was a linguistic minority more or less integrated with the dominant linguistic ethos of the states. Here Konkani never clashed with the majority languages and there was no fear of encroachment of these as Konkani was secure in its difference -- the majority languages were Dravidian and Konkani was Indo-Aryan. Even here the domains of use of Konkani were limited. But the typical demands of Konkani speakers here were not tuned towards an expansion of domains but were rather channelized towards winning minority rights for speakers because of their minority linguistic status.

Konkani speaking population in Maharashtra, mainly in the areas contiguous with Goa (Kalelkar's 'Northern Konkani' area), is more or less integrated with the dominant linguistic culture partially on account of the genetic closeness of the language with the dominant language, Marathi. Konkani consciousness which began to assert itself during the Sixties in Goa could not touch these areas.
The religious factor also played a role in the integration of the non-Goan Konkani speakers with their social environment. The Hindu Konkani community could assimilate more easily with the dominant linguistic culture as the dominant cultural ethos was Hindu. Integration of the Christian community was comparatively less easy and hence non-Goan Christian Konkanis remained "more Konkani" than non-Goan Hindu Konkanis. But the attitudes of the minority Konkani speakers towards their language often finds a covert public expression. When the present investigator was a student in Pune she attended two functions of two different 'Poona Goan Association's, one in which the members were predominantly Hindu, and the other in which they were predominantly Christian. In the former the proceedings of the session were all in Marathi and in the latter they were all in English.

The achievements of the Konkani movement during the past four decades have indeed done much to change the status of Konkani. Fifty to sixty years ago, we are told, speakers of Konkani when outside Goa, especially when in Maharashtra, felt ashamed to converse amongst themselves in Konkani. Writing even personal letters in Konkani was not very common. Whenever letters were written in Konkani, it meant, it was an unavoidable option since the sender and/or the receiver were literate enough only to write in Konkani. In other words, Konkani, those days, did not usually step out of the house. Today this is no longer the case. The attitudes of Konkani speakers towards their language have changed. The language v/s dialect controversy has become a thing of the past. There has been an expansion in the domains of use of Konkani. Konkani is the medium of instruction in at least 200 primary schools in Goa. It is an optional language that is opted for by an increasing number of students at the secondary and higher secondary levels. One can now have a Bachelor's degree in Konkani literature. Also there is a Department of Konkani (since 1987) in Goa University which initiated a
fullfledged M.A. course in 1991. Ever since the first year of initiation, on an average about 20 students enroll every year for the course. Five students are presently registered for Ph.D. in the Department. So far one student has received the Ph.D. Degree for her research on Konkani folklore.

2.4 DIGLOSSIA: TODAY

The present-day Goan linguistic scenario, in a way still remains diglossic in which 'High' language is English and 'Low' languages Marathi and Konkani. Between the latter two, in some regards, at the level of formal use Konkani still remains a little 'lower' than Marathi. For instance, quarrels take place in Konkani, the First Information Report (FIR) at the police station is recorded in Marathi and the court judgment delivered in English.

Konkani was made the Official Language of Goa, however, if the State Govt. so desired, the use of Marathi for official purposes was also allowed. The Konkani protagonists demanded an academy at the Government level for the development of Konkani language and literature. This was granted and was followed by a demand of the Marathi protagonists for equal funds for a Marathi academy which was also granted. During the Portuguese rule although there was a trend among Hindus to impart primary education to their children in Marathi, the medium of instruction in the Government primary schools was by and large Portuguese. With Liberation, the place of Portuguese in this domain was almost taken by Marathi which is still the dominant medium in the Government run primary schools. The list of recognised educational institutions in Goa as on Sept. 30, 2001, prepared by the Directorate of Education, Panaji, shows that out of 979 Govt. run primary schools, 930 provide for education in Marathi medium, 81 in Konkani medium, 16 in Kannada medium, 3 in Hindi medium, 2 in English medium and 1 each in Malayalam and Telugu mediums. All the high-prestige private schools where one pays heavy donation for getting an admission are
English medium schools. In some of these, Konkani is not even taught as an optional language. Ironically within the education system of Goa - the sole Konkani state in India, and the mul-pi, "the original place of belonging" of all Konkani speakers - one can be highly educated and yet remain illiterate in Konkani! There is a growing tendency in the 'practical' minded parents to give English medium education to their children right from the primary level, as they feel, English is the actual pojaci bhas, "language of the stomach" and that Konkani cannot get one any further. And time and again demands are made by Konkani protagonists to make Konkani the pojaci bhas at least at the Government level in Goa, i.e., to make the active knowledge of Konkani a necessary prerequisite for obtaining Government jobs. But the Government somehow seems to be lacking either inclination or will to take a firm stand on this issue.

The de facto language of administration in Goa is English. English reigns supreme in Goa as to a large extent in the whole of India, ironically, without even being listed in the Eighth Schedule as one of the national languages of the country!

According to Ravindra Kelekar, the objective of the Konkani Movement that began with the founding of the Parishad in Karwar in 1939 was to unite the several Konkani identities under the banner of 'one language, one script, one literature'. The Konkani state envisaged by this movement stretched beyond the boundaries of present-day Goa which is only a territory that was under Portuguese dominion. For the proper development of the Konkani language and the Konkani people through their language, the Konkani movement must mobilize itself towards Samyukta Goem "United Goa" comprising of Goa plus the adjoining Sindhudurg and Karwar districts respectively of Maharashtra and Karnataka. But the Konkani Movement, today, seems to be too much in a state of euphoria to even consider a mobilization of yet another struggle. Also, Konkani is yet to come to terms
with other questions -- those of script and standardization in particular. The whole Konkani community was united in its struggle against the hegemony of Marathi. But when the 'enemy' was out of sight, different sub-communities became aware of their own differences, and now there are disquietudes regarding one common script and discomfort with the term standardization. Some express a lofty view that Konkani should celebrate its plurality without being bothered by petty concerns of having one script or a standard form. But others, especially those who are actually engaged in this celebration, remain helpless wondering whether a small language like Konkani can really afford this luxury. In short, a community united in and through Konkani still remains a far cry.

2.5 KONKANI LITERATURE BEFORE THE PORTUGUESE CONQUEST OF GOA

Scholarly opinion is divided on the issue of the existence of written literature in Konkani prior to the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese.

Some scholars subscribe to the position taken by Cunha Rivara in the nineteenth Century that the Portuguese 'conquerors had destroyed all records of vernacular literature... suspected of containing idolatrous precepts and doctrines' (C.R.:158,161). This view is either quoted in, or forms the backdrop of the stand taken by scholars on the matter. However, as stated by Matthew Almeida, no scholar taking this stand has so far attempted to substantiate his claim with convincing evidence.

Some take the position that Konkani lacked a tradition of written literature before the Portuguese arrival.

According to Shennoi Goembab, 'in the absence of any preserved literary documents, while it is difficult to tell whether there was written literature in Konkani before the sixteenth century, the European priests deserve credit
for giving an impetus to Konkani literature during this (sixteenth) century. Most of the speculation about the existence of written literature in Konkani before the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa is based on the manuscripts in Roman script numbered 771 and 772 preserved in the District Archives of Braga, Portugal.

The 839 page manuscript no. 771 contains ten parvas of Mahabharata in sixty-nine stories in prose Konkani. It also contains three stories of an incomplete parva of Ramayana and four other independent stories. In some of the parvas of Mahabharata, names of Vistnudasu Nama, Canga Nivrutti and Namadeva are mentioned. The 453 page manuscript no. 772 contains fifteen parvas of Ramayana, three parvas of Mahabharata and three other independent stories in prose Konkani. In some of the stories of Mahabharata there is reference to the name of Vistnudasu Nama.

There is another sixteenth century manuscript from Goa - codex no. 773 - in the District Archives of Braga. This 567 page manuscript in the Roman script contains 30 Marathi poems in about 13,000 ovis. These are based on stories from Ramayana, Mahabharata and the Bhagavata Purana. The first 131 pages contain a long poem named Shri Krishna Charitrakatha in 3123 ovis. The ovis numbered 245-255 of the nineteenth canto of the poem carry the information that Shamaraja of Keloshi began writing this poem on 25th April 1526. Most of the remaining poems (4500 ovis) are authored by Vistnudasa Nama and the rest by several other poets. viz. Gyanadeva, Shivadasu, Simpa Nama, Namadeva, Shamananda Nama, Meghashama, Pataka Nama, Gangadharma Rameshwara and Jivatamu Hari.

Both, L. A. Rodrigues and Pratap Naik inform us that the language of these poems appears to be some (sixteenth century) dialect of Marathi that is quite close to contemporary Konkani.
Rodrigues provides the following information about codices no. 771 and 772:

'The salient feature of these two codices is that almost the whole material of the codex no. 772 consists of rough copies of the stories, while all the stories contained in the codex no. 771 are in fair copies yet, since their sources are different, naturally the stories of the two codices are not the same, except that the "Adi Parva" and the incomplete "Hausadvazachi Katha" are found in both the codices, in the codex no. 772 in rough copy and in 771 in fair copy.'

He further informs us that 'in these codices no story is subscribed by the name of Krishnadas Xama or Xamaraja as author reciter.'

According to Rodrigues,

'...the stories of the Konkani codices nos. 771 and 772 are transliterated into Roman characters probably from oral sources, and not directly from written material...when one goes through a rough copy of story and compares it with its fair one, he feels that there is reciter who reads and hearer who takes down; the scribe, who hears goes on writing as best as he can grasp from the reciter or reader; then he revises his script, sometimes with the help of the reciter... and consequently makes corrections, transpositions or substitution of words, and introduces changes in orthography, morphological flexions and syntactical constructions.'

Rodrigues also tells that there is no punctuation in the text of these manuscripts, that there are no paragraphs, that direct and indirect speeches are mixed up, and as a result, 'a story, often covering 15 pages, flows down to its end without a single stop, comma or other mark of punctuation.'

However, Rodrigues still feels that, '[t]he original texts of the three codices in the native script are probably lost...'
century Konkani manuscripts in the Roman script are reproduction of the
originals in a native script.

Pratap Naik contests this position. According to Naik, these stories were
not read out from the existings written manuscripts, but rather, were orally
narrated by Goan Pundits to the Jesuit missionaries who transcribed the
narrated versions into the Roman script. 78

Pratap Naik grounds his position on the following evidence -

1) There are variations in the word order of some sentences in the two
versions of the Adi Parva - one in codex no 771 (fair copy) and the other in
codex no 772 (rough copy) - the word order in the fair copy appears to be
more appropriate as compared to that in the rough copy. Thus, the Adi
Parva version in 771 appears to be an edited copy of that in 772 which is a
direct transcription of an oral narration. 78

2) Not a single page/leaf of any Konkani manuscript of the Pre-Portuguese
times (before 1510) is available today. This shows that prior to the literary
intervention of the Jesuit Priests, the use of Konkani was restricted only to
the oral domain. 78

Mathew Almeida, too, strongly disagrees with the claim that 'there was a
great treasure of Konkani literature prior to the coming of the Portuguese to
Goa, and that this wealth was soon destroyed altogether by the Portuguese
in their effort to establish their rule and religion'. 79

According to Almeida, during this period of the burning of literature, the
Portuguese rule was restricted only to the Old Conquest area of Goa. But
the Konkani speaking people at the time were spread over a much wider
area along the Konkan coast. Even if one grants that all the extant Konkani
literature in the Old Conquest area was destroyed by the Portuguese, it is
still difficult to accept that nothing of the pre-sixteenth century Konkani
literature survives in other parts of the Konkani area. 80 If Goan Christians
who migrated to Karnataka during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could carry with them the copies of the 'Crista Purana', the learned Hindu Brahmins who fled from the Old Conquest areas to parts of the New Conquest could also possibly carry some Konkani religious literature with them. But no researcher so far has been able to discover a pre-sixteenth or sixteenth century Konkani literary manuscript - not even a single leaf. On the other hand, sixteenth - seventeenth century manuscripts of Goan Marathi literature - Krishnadas Shama's Krishnacharitra and Shrimangesh Kavi's Sivadarpana - have been discovered in Goa by Goan twentieth century researchers.81

Of the three above mentioned sixteenth century manuscripts from Goa, available in the public library of Braga, there is clarity about the authorship of the poetry in the Marathi manuscript.82 There is clarity even about the medium of expression of this poetry - at least Krishnadasa Shyama makes it explicit in some of the ovis of his SriKrishnacharitrakatha that the medium of his poetry is Marathi.83 The prose manuscripts in Konkani lack clarity with regard to authorship;84 also, there is no mention anywhere in the work that it is written in Konkani.

These considerations would support the claim that Marathi poetry was produced in the sixteenth and pre-sixteenth century Goa, and that, the sixteenth century prose Konkani manuscripts were probably a part of the homework done by the missionaries in learning the language. What José Pereira sees as a prose style based on the speech current at the time85 was nothing else but spoken Konkani available to us today thanks to the field work done by the sixteenth century European missionaries.

A comparative investigation into the literary histories of modern Indian languages also leads one to doubt the claims of the origin of Konkani (written) literature in prose.
In the context of the sixteenth century manuscripts of Konkani Ramayana and Mahabharata, Olivinho Gomes writes - 'Towards the last quarter of the fifteenth century or may be at the turn of the sixteenth, Konkani had fashioned what was probably one of the earliest prose of any modern Indo-Aryan language..."86

However, at a time when all the modern Indian literary languages were producing poetry, it becomes difficult indeed to palate that Konkani had discarded this genre altogether and was busy producing prose, which according to José Pereira, was based on the spoken language of the time, a practice that was initiated in Europe by the Romantics in the eighteenth century."87

The pre-sixteenth century Marathi literary scenario was dominated by the Mahanubhava and Varkari cult. The latter which was founded by Dnyanadeva (1275-1296) was an offshoot of the Nath Panth. Saint poets like Namdev (1270-1350), Eknath (1533-1599) belonged to this cult.88

The fifteenth and sixteenth centuries in Kannada literature were dominated by the 'Haridasas' like Purandaradasa, Kanakadasa who were saint poets.89

1450 to 1850 is known in Gujarati literature as the Bhakti period. This period has produced the greatest of the Gujarati devotional poets like Narsimha Mehta, Mirabai, Akho, Premananda, Samal Bhatt and Dayaram.90 The prominent subject of the poetry of these poets was devotion to Lord Krishna.

The Bhakti period in Hindi literature produced several Nirguna, Saguna and Sufi poets like Kabir, Dadu, Tulsi das, Surdas, Jayasi.91

During this time, Bengali literature was under the poetic influence of the Vaishnava devotional movement initiated by Chaitanya.92

Through text-internal evidence V. B. Prabhudesai establishes an influence of the Varkari Sampradaya on Shri Krishnacharitrakatha written by Krishnadas Shama in Marathi in the form of poetry--ovi.93 This Katha is
based on the tenth Adhyaya of the Bhagawata Purana and was written forty-seven years before Eknath wrote his work Bhagvata. The Varkari influence is evident also in Vithoba's Aarati bearing the name of Vishnudas Nama, still sung in Goan homes during the Ganesh festival.

As maintained by S.K. Chatterji, by about 1000 A.D., the Indo-Aryan speech enters into a new period in its history. This is the New Indo-Aryan period which according to Chatterji was 'induced largely by the conquest of Northern India by Turks and other foreigners professing the Muhammadan religion, and of the Deccan by Muhammadans from North India.' This was the age when 'Prakrits through the regional Apabramśas had been transformed into the Modern Indo-Aryan languages.' It was these languages that had to meet with the challenges of their changing times. In Chatterji's opinion, 'if there had been no Turki-Muhammadan conquest the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars might have had their formal birth, but their recognition for serious literary purposes, it would seem, would have been delayed.' During these troubled times 'the vernaculars were taken up to propagate the high cultural and spiritual ideas of their ancestors among the masses, and in this way they were to be fortified against being won over to the ways of the Turk, in faith as well as in life.' Consequently, Hindu religious themes formed the dominant subject-matter of the literature in Modern Indo-Aryan languages.

Chatterji writes: 'The tradition which the New Indo-Aryan inherited from Sanskrit, Prakrit and Apabhramsa was a tradition of verse literature. Prose in India was comparatively in the background when faced with the enormous volume of verse literature in Sanskrit.' The poetic genre better suited the challenges of the time. Compared to the prose genre, poetry, coupled with music had a better mass appeal. Also, as a form, it has an affinity with folk tradition. Poetry even surpassed the barrier of literature. It could be produced orally and could also be disseminated.
All languages that have literature going very close to the dawn of the NIA (New Indo-Aryan) period have a rich heritage of poetry which invariably precedes prose. Thus, most pre-fifteenth century Ramayanas, Mahabharatas or Puranas in the Modern Indo-Aryan languages are in the form of poetry. A survey of the contribution of the Christian missionaries to the development of modern Indian languages and literature reveals that as regards literature, the missionaries have played a significant role, in some cases, a pioneering role in the development of the prose of modern Indian languages. However, John Leyden (1775-1811) is reported to have discovered some Konkani manuscripts in Cochin around the year 1804. These are mentioned in his essay on Indian languages written in 1807, which is still in a manuscript form preserved in the British Museum. Pereira quotes the relevant portion of the manuscript in his book on the history of the Konkani-Marathi controversy. This is reproduced here directly -

"The Koongani dialect differs considerably from the pure Mahratta chiefly from having borrowed copiously from the Canara and Malayalam. It possesses however a great number of native vocables and has been formerly cultivated by authors of learning and ability. The Kongani Bramins are considered as a distinct class from the proper Maharashtra Bramins and these two classes affect to treat each other mutually with contempt. The Koongani characters differ considerably from the Mahratta and Bhagavadam, Linga Purana, Ramayana and Bharata are translated into this language and written in its appropriate character and the Brahmins of this class profess to be in possession of many other translations from the Sanskrit as well as of various original works among which are the Vira-Bhudra-Cheritra & Parasa-Rama-Charitra. The Jargon of Goa is said to differ considerably from the pure Koongani. The Koongani is said to possess many local histories.
and Stala Puranas among which the *Ugria-Bukkir* or history of the pirate Angria and the *Maliwani Bukhir* are probably interesting.\textsuperscript{103}

According to Sonde, it is clear beyond any doubt that these 'books' were not born on the soil of Kerala; rather, they constitute a part of the indigenous Goan literature carried to Kerala by the migrating population.\textsuperscript{104}

One can only say that more research is needed here before one jumps onto any conclusion. One must also be aware that we are dealing with a discovery made in the nineteenth century or at the beginning of the twentieth century and hence cannot altogether ignore any Konkani literature produced on the Kerala Soil.

Another quote from Leyden's manuscript provided by Pereira is also very relevant here - 'the Wudya, Coongani and Tuluva languages I shall pass over, as my knowledge of them is too imperfect hitherto for me to form any accurate estimate of their connection with the history, antiquites or literature of the Dekkan.'\textsuperscript{105}

Leyden's statement as well as discoveries about the Konkani language should be viewed in the light of this 'confessed ignorance.'\textsuperscript{106}

2.6 A STYLISTIC SCRUTINY OF KONKANI MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

A close scrutiny of the Devanagari edited versions of parts of the sixteenth century Konkani manuscripts (of Ramayana and Mahabharata stories)\textsuperscript{107} preserved in the District archives of Braga -- the way the narratives are structured, presented and worded -- would squarely place these within the discourse of orality.

The following points may be considered -
1. Lack of Punctuation marks v/s abundance of 'connecting' words.

As stated by Rodrigues and Pratap Naik, the manuscripts No. 771 & 772 contain no paragraphs and punctuation marks. A prose of this kind, which, as confessed by Naik, is indeed very difficult to read, could not have been intended for a reader. It was possibly aimed at a listener.

Punctuation marks essentially belong to the written discourse. These are visuals signs which facilitate the reader to organise words into paragraphs, sentences, clauses etc. Konkani Ramayana and Mahabharata texts lack these marks, but, on the other hand, abound in the 'connecting' words like "thus", "at that time" (then?), "at that time", मागिरि; एडू/एडा; उपरांते "then"; "later". An abundance of words of this kind is indeed a mark of the oral discourse.

Excerpts from the texts:

1) 'ताबवळ्ठि तेने शेषकार्ये देखून त्यांचे लागणे बिचारलिं, "तु कोणाची कन्या हूं सर्व वर्तमान आमांचं संग."' ताबवळ्ठि ती तांचे लागणे उल्लं लागली

मजो बापु खाल्वो हांव ताची कन्या. पैलं मजं नांव भेडण्या. येकु गार्धच भरी मजे आमिरी पोटाणि जैसी धाळत्येके विविधांशी वेळा तैसी वेळाळो. ताबवळ्ठि हवा मार्गान येकु रसी भरपुर महधेलो तारी उदयु वचुक आडल्यालो. ताबवळ्ठि मजो बापु खाल्वो अप्प्यातु गेल्यालो. हांव येंतचं ते तारी लागणे बैसल्याळी. माका देखून तू सस्तरपु बेगीं गेललही उंदर म्होणु लागल्याळी. ताबवळ्ठि हांवें म्हटें, मजो बापु येंठु उतरित, हांव कन्या कैसे होव्हे उतर्यात?

ताबवळ्ठि येंतात बापु देखून तो रसी आप्प्याचं भोगु मागु लागलो. ताबवळ्ठि हांव भवाणिष्ठत होठु लाच्याळी. ताबवळ्ठि ती रसी बोलु लागलो, "'बेगीं तो माका भोगु दिसी तरी बरें, नाल तरी तुका खापु भरस्त करिं."' ते उतर आव्यक्तु हांवें ताचे लागणे बोलल्याळी, हांव कन्या भोगु दिसेंक तेंमाळ. ताबवळ्ठि ताणें मटें, "तुका बरली पनरा होड सोंज्या वासांच्या सोबासिंगी करिं."' ताबवळ्ठि तिंचे मटें, दिसाचा भोगु दिसेंक तरी नये. समेतं देव, चन्द्, सुरिंदु, समंद्रु, ब्रह्म, वाद देखूनत तांंत्य हांव तुका कैसे भोगु दिसें? ताबवळ्ठि ताणें मटें, "तुं भिप्यों नाजुका. त्यां समेतंची दृष्टांत आम्ही भोगु कर्तनां पड नासी हांव करिं." भन्नु जातां आटांतु दिसांचर कपडांबरक उदक बापु उठावले. त्या उदकान हिंहा जाऊ, अनंदकाह पडलो. मुन्याथच मनुषा देखू नाये जालेल.
In 1, out of 20 sentences (which are a result of the punctuation marks introduced by the editor) 11 begin with तत्पर्य, 2 with पुढा /पुढा. In 2, out of 5 sentences 4 begin with ऐसे or पुढा. In 3, out of 4 sentences 3 begin with मागिरी and 1 with ऐसे. In 4, out of 9 sentences 7 begin with पुढा, ऐसे or तत्पर्य.

आदि पर्य consists of eighteen stories. Out of these, 12 (stories numbered 2, 5, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17 and 18) begin in a verse in the H - Language/ Dialect referred to as Marathi by Naik. Stories that do not begin in a Marathi verse (stories numbered 1, 3, 4, 6, 7 and 8), with the exception of the first story, begin either with ऐसे or पुढा. These connecting words also
feature at the outset of 5 of the verses which introduce the story (see A.P.: 16, 56, 67, 100 and 144), and perhaps are not an integral part of the verse.

2) The presence of सांगन/सांगैन/संगयन, आयका in the narration.

The narrator within the narration of the आवर्त text is सुख इन्द्र. He narrates the story to जलमजय/जनमजय. A sentence meaning 'this story was told to Jalmajaya by Sukha Indra' appears at the end of every story and is often followed by another sentence wherein Jalmajaya expresses his wish to know more of the story to which Sukha Indra gives his assent. सांगन in this context is imminent - internal - to the narration which could very well have been a written narration. However, सांगन/संगयन in other contexts raises a serious doubt about the written form of the narration. Examples:

1) ऐसे पण्डु राजा राजे करिता, सर्व अनंदप्रयुक्तु युयुवंजल जालेम आता, तेन हुमकां सांगन आता, चित दिनु आयका (A.P.:16, 1st line of story No. 5) 111

2) जलमजय आयका. (A.P.: 17, middle of story)*

3) तेन उतर आयकु नु कोन्ठमोजा रायाण काये हेले तेन सांगता, आयका. (A.P.:18, middle of the story)

4) फुडँ र्या दणा दण्डाणी बेवसता दुर्ध भांगता. चित देहु आयक जें मी सांगेन हुज पासिं। (A.P.:40, 1 st line of story No. 8)

5) ऐसी ही कथा जनमजयक सुख इन्द्रान सांगिली. ती तार्थे सर्व मनां हादिली आणि येकावे अभ्यास खैची कथा म्होरु विचारिती, तीर स्तंभ पुराणाची कथा, कोंसडा पाण्डवांची उत्पत्ति. ह्या फुडँ थोर संग्राम आस. दुर्ध निसाली (sic) कथा समाप्त आणि नेणतां जाणतां जरी संगिला, तर हुमां आयकतले भले आसते. अपराते सांगका खेमा कथा ही विनविनी. (A.P.: 154, end of story No. 18)

With the exception of the stories numbered 27, 28, 29, 30, 31 and 32 which are narrated by Shiva to Parvati there is no narrator within the narration for the other Ramayana stories. Yet सांगन/संगयन features at the end of most
of stories:

Examples:

1) हा रुपणाराह्या वंशाची कथा संग्रह (story No. 1 last sentence, K.R.: 28).

2) हा वरचिल कथा संग्रह (story No. 2 last sentence, K.R.: 34).

3) आतां हा वरचिल कथा संग्रह (story No. 3 last sentence, K.R.: 39).

4) आतां हा वरचिल कथा संग्रह (story No. 4 last sentence, K.R.: 56).

5) आतां हा वरचिल रुपणाराह्या वाज्जपिची कथा संग्रह (story No. 5 last para, 2nd sentence, K.R.: 76).

6) हा वरचिल सिताची कथा संग्रह (story No. 6 last sentence, K.R.: 84).

7) आतां तहिंढ्र कथा संग्रह (story No. 7 last sentence, K.R.: 99).

8) आतां अरण्ये कांडपिची कथा संग्रह (story No. 8 last sentence, K.R.: 112).

9) आतां पंचविर्धोची कथा संग्रह (story No. 9 last sentence, K.R.: 122).

10) हा वैरी सितारूँशुचिची कथा संग्रह (story No. 10 last sentence, K.R.: 127).

11) हा तिरंगे कांडपिची कथा संग्रह (story No. 11 last sentence, K.R.: 132).

12) आतां रावणांचे वरक्र इंद्रजी आर्द्र करून युघ्यांत येती ती कथा संग्रह (story No. 12 last sentence, K.R.: 142).

13) आतां राम रावणांचे युध्द कोणी प्रकारी जावं, तें संग्रह (story No. 14 last sentence, K.R.: 176).

14) आतां हरिमुंते रामचंद्राची आण्या येबु, अयोध्या येती, ती कथा संग्रह (story No. 22 last sentence, K.R.: 223).

15) आतां राम लंघे भावनु येता, ती कथा संग्रह (story No. 23 last sentence, K.R.: 234).

16) आतां रामचंद्र आणुव्या इंद्रजी नवना प्रकारी संधीवनु पाहित, ती कथा संग्रह (story No. 24 last sentence, K.R.: 239).

17) आतां वरचिल कथा संग्रह (story No. 25 last sentence, K.R.: 280).
In spite of the presence of सांगन/सांगन/सांगन, the following sentences would 'perhaps lead' one to conclude that Ramayana was a written text -

ही कथा समस्ति आदि अंतु पर्यंत वाचिल्यावरि समूद्र वुळावंतु अवतार रचना, दसरताचो बंयू सैत, समस्त मना येता. हया कारणे तुषी चुटू शामा याणणारी आयकां, हे कथे पित्ति पित्ति, नुढ़, राजनिति कथा सर्व आसा. कथा वाचित्ता सर्व मना येता. आतां काळां कम्युन दुर्याबानी ही रामायण कथा बालुळु जरी कांय चुकि आसावे तरी खेमा करावी. (story No. 5 last para, K.R.:76).

B) ऐशी कथा रामायणां अवतार रचना, आदि अंतु पर्यंत वाचिल्यावरि जितुकि अवतार रचना आसा, तेहूने कहते.

जाणतां, नेणतां कथा बर्यल्या. ती मना हादुळु, दुर्याबानी खेमा करावी.


The words वाचिल्यावरि, वाचित्ता, बालुळु, वाचिल्यावरि, बर्यल्या indicate that there was indeed some written version of Ramayana before the narrator. Perhaps this was a Ramayana in the poetry form which peeped out here is there from within the prose narration.112

However, the words अयकांत "having listened to" and दुर्याबानी "listeners (+ergative case suffix)" suggest an oral discourse within which the Ramayana katha was told.

3. Onomatopoeic expressions characteristic of the spoken style.

1) आयुले मायेचे उतर कानांतु, पदल्या तय कोरु उबरालो. (A.P.:25, 2nd para 3rd sentence)

2) तेज आयुलु रुपानु दशमति मुक्त वर्षाणिक राये, घोटे, रथ, हस्ती, सुदाहलु, चुटूंग सहिते सैत रायच्या दारद्वतांकडे भार भार कोरु उबे रावले. (A.P.: 26, 3rd para 2nd sentence)

3) धुंद अगर उरबानु धालु चुळारी गण गण कोरु माट वारुळ लागलो. (A.P.:152, 2nd para 3rd sentence)

4) ... भितूली फंकाचं आशिलं, उतुलीचं आपण मरगंट कोरुळ खांब लागलो. (K.R.:163, 7th para 2nd sentence)
These expressions are not in themselves a proof that the text belongs to oral discourse, but as they pertain more to oral style and coupled with other indicators of the oral style they tend to strengthen the surmise that both the texts could be situated within the oral discourse.

4. Flanking of direct speech by oral indicators of either side

1) ‘ही तांत्रिक विवेकणी आयुक्तु म्होणूणु लागलो, ‘दोगि कन्यां हचां दीकां जणांक पण्डुक वा दुररास्तरांक जोडुक, तुम्ही वेगां आपले घरीचे ब्राह्मण पाठ्य आणि पत्रिका आमचं नावाची ताका बरा.’ ऐसें म्हणून निरोपु दिलो.’ (A.P.:16, 2nd para)

2) ‘तालिच तो दुपुडु म्होणु लागलो, ‘वेका राखून वेकलो येऊ ऐसें तार्क केलें. तर ताका आतां हांव जिवोचि घोरुं हाहिन.’ ऐसें म्होणु म्हा खंका० जाऊ आपुंप्या कोटांतुलो भाषा सरल.’ (A.P.:45, 3rd para)

3) ‘हे बुहस्पतिच वचन आयुक्तु हनू राष् म्होणु लागलो, ‘हांव तेलिस कोटी देवांचो राजांं म्हा खंडवन कुस्तण अर्जुण उज्ञान देडूं कारण कावे.’ ऐसें म्होणु म्हा कोपांडु जाऊ आपुंलें नवं सेतु हाती येऊं, हस्तु फुटें केलें.’ (A.P.:138, 3rd para)

In the above instances a direct speech is flanked on one side by म्होणु लागले "started saying", and on the other by ऐसें म्हणूनु/म्होणु "having said thus". The written discourse which is more economical in comparison with the spoken discourse, does not usually accomodate the two in a single utterance. Spoken discourse allows for a co-existence of the two within a single utterance so much so that म्होणु लागलो and ऐसें म्हणूनु/म्होणु function respectively as open and closed inverted commas in the discourse. Both Ramayana and Mahabharata texts abound in flanking of this kind.

Examples:

1) ‘तंब भरतान म्हूँ: “आणा रुपाना, आमचे मायेन तुका राज्यां६तुलो भाषा पालावु, राज्य आपलं'
5. Thematic drifts in narration.

The Ramayana stories are characteristic of thematic drifts in narration. So much so that what we have before us is a maze of stories - one leading into another, some related, some altogether unrelated to the main thread of the story. For example, in दुसरी कथा (K.R.: 40-56) King Dasharatha goes for hunting in the Vindhyas. There he sees a very beautiful woman singing and playing the veena. Dasharatha feels attracted towards the woman and asks her who she is. In reply the woman tells the king her long (and rather confusing) story which spans three identities of the woman across her three janmas. Story of king Dilip's daughter who turns into a crocodile due to the curse of a sage is also included as a substory in the woman's narration. This substory is almost unrelated to the main story. The substory ends with the direct speech of the girl who was earlier a crocodile and then there is an abrupt end of the story of the woman playing the veena (K.R.:52) who expresses her desire to marry Dasharatha.
An unplanned narration of this kind apertains more to oral than to the written discourse.

6. **Looseness in the construction of the narrative discourse**

Both stylistically and grammatically there is looseness and inconsistency in the construction of the narrative discourse of both Ramayana and Mahabharata (*Adi Parva*). Take, for instance, the following excerpt:

![Text content from the image]

In the above excerpt the first sentence is in simple past tense. It is followed by a sentence in simple present tense which is again followed by sentences in past tense, mainly, simple past. Viewed from the point of written discourse, the shift to simple present tense rather upsets the smoothness of narration. But shifts of this kind are quite normal in oral narration.

Konkani folk-tales collected by Jayanti Naik, and presented in writing, in the very dialects and narrative styles of the individual narrators, show a similar tense pattern as above. Here are a few examples:

1. ‘*बाप्पा कन्येक समजावली. देवांगी समजावली. सधे लोकांगी समजावली. पृथ कन्या कशीच आहेणा. सामोको हदू घरन आसा.‘ (*हसूर कन्या* : 86).

2. ‘*नाग बरो नामो आन्य कोंपीत येचन आपल्या कएवच घालूक गेल्याअ. ते खंख आसा? जाले! उल्लोना ती थंय? तेज आफ्ना न भांडरेर पात्तालंत कंजंच बतूचं भेजनाए. मायाय आपल्याने राजपुत्राच्या रुपांत थंय ते कुणंया चेडवाली योट जवान बरो कहून रावलो.‘ (*नाग घेव* : 154).
3. 'सकारात मृत्यु बिचारी मनातारी आपत्ति काम्यंदुलिकेश गोली, सांज्ञ जातरूख परत आयली. परत सकारात मृत्यु काम्यंदुलिकेश गोली... असे तोंने जायते दीव गेले. मनातारेली कूर्ली तसीच आयली. तिअंती ती भाजू वी कांयच खाली नाह.' (‘कूर्ली बायल’: 155).

4. ‘एक दिसा तांडूळी एक कोल्लो खान सोूळक भायर गरलो. जायते भोजनूब ताका कांय मेक्लो नाह. भोजनू भोजनू तो समुदायानी पातलो. समुद्रा बेंकरी जायते कुरले खाब्यू भोजनताय. कोल्लो मोरानु उदाक आयलें. होकडे होकडे कुरले! तकतकीच आरसय! कोल्लो एक कुर्ल्याळ धोक्लंक धावलो.’ (‘कोल्ले आनी कुरले’: 212).

To come back to the above excerpt from Konkani Ramayana, the reflexive pronoun आणण in the second sentence appears to be another regular feature of the colloquial style.

Furthermore, the subject of the third sentence is in ergative case (देशानी) but the verb is an intransitive verb (हुजाक आयले), which does not go with an ergative subject. Hence, the sentence is grammatically illformed. This mistake could easily be 'explained' by taking the view point of the oral discourse - देशानी was first chosen by the narrator. But since his sentence became a little too long and unruly, he perhaps 'forgot' that the verb had to be a transitive one. Or, as speech is irreversible since words cannot be retracted, the mistake remained.

In the 4th sentence, (कुडं) ते दैत्य seems to be the 'topic' of the utterance. But there is no 'comment' related to this topic. "देशांचे सवती भाव, बाय येंकु, माय दोंगी' only further elucidates the topic. And this elucidation only seems unnecessary at this point. It could perhaps have come earlier. त्या दैत्यांचे रती येंकु मृषिणानु नांबा दैत्य, त्या दैत्यांचे सादा सहय वहसां तप केलं is the actual utterance.

Sentence No. 6 is almost a repetition of the information in sentence No. 4. The only extra information is अनु उदक बर्जून. A 'writer' would have accomodated this detail in sentence No. 4 itself. But, for an extempore speaker this was perhaps the bit of information he remembered later, and hence had to be incororparated in the story along with the repetition.
2) In the first excerpt from the *Adi Parva* given above (A.P.: 3,4), narration in the First Person that begins from sentence No. 2, abruptly gives way to narration in the Third Person from sentence No. 15.

3) तव जंब्रुमाळी महणिये राखेसु, तामें आपसू तथा सहस्र बंदु सहित नाम पास भेचनु, त्या वानराक नागपासानी बांटु लागले (K.R.: 162) This is an ill-formed sentence. It violates subject-verb concord - subject (जंब्रुमाळी) is in singular and the verb (बांटु लागले) is in plural. Perhaps the verb refers to जंब्रुमाळी and his ता सहस्र बंदु, in which case, a well-formed sentence would have to be something like तव जंब्रुमाळी महणिये राखेसु, आपल्या ता सहस्र बंदु सहित नाम पास भेचनु आयलो आनी ते त्या वानराक नागपासानी बांटु लागले. Also, the ergative pronoun तामें is unwarrented in the above sentence.

4) तावचि हांचं त्या वानराक मुठीन त्या वानराच्या मस्तकावरी मारिलो (K.R.: 156) The sentence crams two sentences into one - तावचि हांचं त्या वानराक मुठीन मारिलो and/or तावचि हांचं त्या वानराच्या मस्तकावरी मुठी मारिल्यो.

7. Improper placing of proper nouns.

In many an instance proper nouns are not introduced at proper places. This aspect too points at a stylistic looseness in discourse building that is more characteristic of oral discourse. See the following examples:

1) "फुडं भेकु प्रत्येकमु उठलिंदे हौं माण्विकावि अयोध्या नगरा वर्चुक गेलो. २थ्या सांगतां ताचो माण्विकावि, दोगां महतात्तर महाबुद्धि ३थ्या दोगांकर काव्यं करून ठीकं दोगां जाणां दों करें बैसून, ती काव्यं खांदारी पेचतु, वर्चु लागलो. ४तेंं केल्यक मार्गं क्रमौशु दसरतात बिखिलें बन, त्या बनांतु पावलो. ५तंब त्या माण्विकावि तान लागली. "तानेन भोइ गांजलि।"

7) "तव ती दोगां महतात्तर त्या आपुल्या पुनर्लगी बोलु लागली, ‘आगा पुन, सुलखेना, तुम्ह सारिको पुन गुणवतु माण्विकावि देवा कारितलो, ऐसो मेळा ना. "तवर आतं आमो तूर्णेन पिलसेंक, आमकां जिवन उदक करि तुल आमची तुर्या निवारणक उदकाक वचूनचे."

10) त्या पुरुषांना आपकु, संगतेमुं ती खांदारी काव्यं बनांतु तेवसु आपण उदक सोहि वर्चु लागलो. ११तंब केल्यकु मार्गं क्रमाविलो आसांत, तेवऱ वसरकर उदकाच भरता, कमठां पुलत्यांति,
Here the Proper Noun ब्राह्म is only casually introduced in the 11th sentence. The first reference to this character is through the common noun (येक्र) ब्राह्मण "a Brahmin" in sentence No.1. Later this ब्राह्मण is referred as पुत्र "son" (sentences -7,10)

2) येक्र दिव्य राजान आपुल्य सभामंदिरां बैसलो आसतां, महाव रिंगणं जीवा साह भाव, दिखु राजण संदर्भु आपुल्य प्राणाचा पाळी बोलू लागलो. "आपि प्राणाचा, ह्या आम्हिला राज्या निकेत येक्र वाम रूप भोरता मह्यांनु आपेक्षिते। तरी दू आतां आम्हिला नगरांतू भोरतू ल्या वानार सोदू दी."

तो प्राणाचा राजणांतू सोदू लागलो. (K.R. : 161)

Here ब्रजेमाळी - the proper noun of Ravana's प्रेमपानो comes almost like an epithet of the common noun प्राणा.

3) "फुक्क ते दोंग ब्राह्मण अस्तान्तु आपूले. 2वैक्रम देवक मेंती. 3नमस्तकार कसू पत्रिका हाती दिली. 4ती पत्रिका बानुं पडेुन महे, "आमी दोंगी कन्या सागित्यार वेदेव महोणु बरूता.

तरी आतां चढुरंग सत्ती साहित वेणी वचा. 6ताचे कामचं नगर बेंदुं दोंगी कन्या वेणी चेंदुं या. 7इतुंचं तुम्ही काम कन्या. 5जरी ताचे महार दुधिशाद, मार्शिय, मार्य, तरी तुम्हां वा देशसाधक गुजरी नां." 9तं राज्यांचं उतर आयुक्तु देख्वत महोणु लागलो, "स्वाम्या तुप्प हिटोप वेगेंज जरी करित तुम्ही आय्या कर्तिसी ती आतनं भंगु जार दे नां. 10महोणु राज्याच्या पाहावर मारें ठेवूले.

तावळी रायण पाठ शास्त्रितीली. "किन्न करं नाका. उपाया." महोणु आपल्या हातान कृपुरा रायणचं बिहो दिली. आपूले आणि वस्त्रां दिली. 12तो देख्वत मदर्सेनु सोंतसु जालो.'

(A.P. : 17).

The proper noun of the देख्वत "commander-in-chief" should have come in sentence No. 9. But it is introduced a little later in sentence No. 12. Further, sentence No. 4 begins with an ambiguous note. Initially one does not know whether the direct speech is uttered by the Brahmins who meet Bhishma or by Bhishma himself. This ambiguity is resolved only at the end of the direct
speech.

A similar flaw in discourse building could be pointed out in the eighth story of the Ramayana titled सहिष्णु कथा –

‘तब के लेखक कात्यायिनी थंग खबर आयकर्ली कि जनकाचे पत्र त्याने सहिष्णु माहिलां। समेत पृथ्वीचे राज, देव, देश, गण गंधर्व, समेत मेघल्याती.

ऐशी खबर आयकर्ली तब त्या रूपांतरी म्हणून, "आगा राज्यात, तुम्ही सिवेच्या सहिष्णु वचन. तुका ती माणून पालली."

ऐशी त्या रूपांतरी वतन्त्र आयकून, त्या विश्वामित्रा सांगाती रामु लक्षांमणु त्या सहिष्णु गेले. पृथ्वी त्या जनकाचे नगरी समत्र सम्म करून तैल सेल्यं आसलं, तिंतुले पृथ्वीच्या राम सहिष्णु आयलं, तांच्याने ते गुप्त उत्तराय ना देखून, तेर अस्तो करून लागले. (K.R. : 106, 107)

Here the swayamwara condition is not explicitly stated. Either it is a slip or, perhaps, the narrator expects the reader (listener?) to know it probably from its mention in the previous chapter in the direct speech of Parshurama to king Janaka - 'आगा राज्या, ही कन्या तूं कोणाक दिव्या नाका. जो हे मर्याद धनुष उचललं, ताता ही कन्या माणून पालली.' (K.R. : 98)

An instance like this one would perhaps serve to indicate that here one is confronting an oral narrative that often takes for granted the familiarity of the listeners with the 'grand narrative' - the Ramayana epic. A written narrative would not take such important details for granted.

8. Ambiguity/confusion in proper nouns.

Some proper nouns appear in more than one phonetic form in the two texts. For instance, मथिमान (K. R.:36) becomes मुधुमान (K. R. : 37); इंद्रोजी and इंद्रजित appear on one and the same page (K. R. :143) and there is also इंद्रजितमु, at the end of the same story (K. R. :150). कृपाचार्य (A. P. : 28) becomes कृपाचारी (A. P. :29) and कृपाचारु (A. P. :31); जलमण (A. P. : 2) becomes जमलमण (A. P. : 10); हिन्दिविषि (A. P. : 94) becomes हिन्दिविषि (A. P. : 100). A variation of this
There is quite some confusion in the proper nouns of persons in the Ramayana narrative, so much so that a single identity is referred with more than one name, also, a single name refers to more than one identity. For instance, पुजुर्णु, the king of Ayodhya (K. R. :2) attacks the Dātyas to win over them (K. R. :3). The name गुजुर्णु, is mentioned only once. Later references to the king who is fighting the Dātyas feature the name शुरसेनु (K.R. :5). शुरसेनु is resisted by one बिरसेनु, a Dātya, the brother of Kubera (K. R. :4). However, शुरसेनु 'becomes' बिरसेनु on the very next page (K. R. :6). कालकवचु, a Dātya, swallows up बिरसेनु's army, ties him up and is on his way back home along with बिरसेनु/बीरसेनु. On the way the, Dātya gets drunk, and siezing this opportunity, बिरसेनु chops off his lips and nose, and then returns to his home town - Ayodhya. This reference to 'home-town Ayodhya' confirms that बिरसेनु is indeed शुरसेनु who was गुजुर्णु at the outset. This बिरसेनु 'becomes' शेसेनु/श्रसेनु (K. R. :7,8), and then once again becomes शुरसेनु (K. R. : 8,9), and then again turns into वीरसेनु (K. R. : 22,23).

प्रथंजन्तु, the king of भद्रवति (K. R. :10) becomes बीरपाश्चय (K. R. :12). This king बीरपाश्चय has four daughters (K. R. :10). One of the daughters marries a king who is initially referred only by the common noun राज/राज (K. R.:14,15). His proper identity is revealed only on page 18 and it happens to be बीरपाश्चय.


The proper nouns वीरसेनु/वीरसेनु/वरसेनु and विरपाश्चु/वीरपाश्चय seem to be favourite ones of the narrator. Each of these represent at least six different identities (see K. R. : 45, 62, 104, 182, 254 and 282 for वीरसेनु/वीरसेनु/विरसेन and K. R.: 182, 184, 197, 208, 246 and 255 for विरपाश्चु/वीरपाश्चय). Then, there are three विरसेनु/वीरसेनु (K. R. : 44, 85 and 246). The place name कांतीपुर नगर (K. R. : 85 and 104) represents two different locations and there is also काँती नररी
(K.R. : 92); similarly, पुप्पाजी नगरी (K. R. : 204) and पुप्पाजी नगर (K. R. : 209) are two different locations in two consecutive stories.

Such a casual preference for certain names could be seen as a feature of oral narrative. A writer would be more particular about the choice of names.

**9. Some more indicators of the oral form**

The following constructions also seem to belong to the oral discourse:

1. तुम्हें मजेजी अपबब रे हो मणी हांवे झेलो महोणु, बोलिलागी. (K. R. : 260).

2. आमच्या नरळतु सोवनाची पत्रिका मस्तकाक बांदित्या, ऐसो शोटो नगरांतु हिंदत. (K. R. : 268)

3. धंध धानक बाण घेऊन उदका लागी राखुक बैसलो, भे सावज्जा येताति महोणु. (A. P. : 21)

4. आमच्ये बंसीं राजे कारसो कोण नां महोणु चिन्ना भिस्मदेवाक थोरी लागल्या. (A. P. : 25)

5. हे रायाचे उत्तर आयाकुं दाखळकर था पना जन चित्र साखांतु धांदु गेले. (A. P. : 63)

6. ऐसे आसां दुपबद्ध ब्रांडे केले, सिही आपूर्व बाबायु बाटा पल्ला देखुनु प्रधाना मुक्त वर्तनिक राजारी राजालो.(A. P. : 49)

7. तापमान अस्तुतन काये केलेले? संदर्भ कोटुं त्या बिरांचे ब्रांडे येताति ते निवार्ण लागलो. (A. P. : 50)

In 1, 2, 3, 4, 5 the word order is very casual. Although the constructions are not ungrammatical, they definitely point towards a "better way of putting":

1. हो मणी हांवे झेलो महोणु तुम्हें मजेजी अपबब बोलिलागी.

2. सोवनाची पत्रिका मस्तकाक बांदित्या ऐसो शोटो आमच्या नरळतु हिंदत.

3. उदका लागी सावज्जा येताति महोणु धंध धानक बाण घेऊन राखुक बैसलो.

4. आमच्ये बंसीं राजे कारसो कोण नां महोणु भिस्मदेवाक थोरी चिन्ना लागल्या.

5. हे रायाचे उत्तर आयाकुं था पना जन दाखळकर चित्र साखांतु धांदु गेले.

Constructions No. 6 and 7 are very characteristic of oral discourse - The question-answer mode of discourse building is very common in story telling. The folk-tales collected by Jayanti Naik (2000) amply serve to highlight this mode of oral narrative discourse -
10. Ambiguities/inconsistencies in the thematic construction of the discourse.

There are quite a few ambiguities, inconsistencies, contradictions and mistakes in the thematic construction of the narrative discourse. These are quite prominent in Ramayana.

Examples:

1. ‘फुडां तो वाणवतो बैसलो आसनला, तावे छिंयेन मध्ये, ‘कटकटा, देवा, आमी बेचवड़ो गेलां. तरी हसा भिकानायोक अन्न आमी दिवस ना. आमका देवान जितुके जाय जितुके दिवस आसतां, हसा भिकानायोक मुडभरि अन्न नेदे जावन आमी शांतिर्यांब. तरी हो लखिम चंचल, सिधार नय. हो लखिम दान धमुँ, पुण्य केल्यावरी हिंदार जाता. आमी तंब कांक्य दान धमुँ नकं. मेणे करतया की सो परमेश्वर आमका बेठेकरित तंब नकं।’’

ऐंते ते छिंयेन बोलुन मूहा दूरेर्षिं मल्लात जाली. पण त्या पातिव्या भेद्यान कांक्य न बोलतां वोगिचि रागली.’ (K. R.: 64)

The first sentence gives the impression that the merchant’s wife spoke to the merchant. But the last sentence gives the feeling that the wife said all that to herself in her mind.

Immediately following this last sentence above, we have -
Reading this, one feels, either the mother and the son had a conversation, or each one spoke to himself/herself.

2. In the following piece of narration there is a counting mistake -

The breakup of ownership of the villages shown exceeds 900; it comes to 1200.

3) Ravana's brother (K.R.: 123) who had died at the hands of Rama and Laxmana (K.R.: 128) is summoned by Ravana (K.R.:169) to distract Hanumana from getting the medicine to cure wounded Laxmana.

4) See the following abstract:

By saying 'महाया पतिचि शिरां हों...' "These are the heads of my husbands..." and 'रावणक कैसे तुमी मेंठले?" "how could Ravana get hold of you (both)" Sita appears to treat both Rama and Laxmana as her husbands. However, on pages 151 and 152 we have Ravana's brother telling Ravana '..पैठ्याची बावल, माय ऐशी मानुंची...आतां तुं सरामची शिरा ताका दी.' "Someone else's wife must be considered one's mother... Give Rama's Sita to Rama." Considering this, 'महाया पतिचि शिरां हों...' could be viewed as a narrational slip. In the above speech of Sita, there is another inconsistency - once she addresses herself to both Rama, Rama.
Laxmana and once only to Rama (तू साह्यात राम अवतारू). Rama who is an *awatara* of Vishnu is referred tautologically as Ram Awatar.

5) Story No. 21 titled सातवी मथा – अनंतशेषेवची is the story of one of the wives of Ravana. It happens to be a story of one राजपत्ति, daughter of king विष्णु (K.R.: 210). This princess once sees a prince who is accompanied by his Prime Minister's son in the forest, and feels attracted towards him. She then plucks four flowers and places them on four different parts of the body - one on the ear, another on her foot, third on her chest and the fourth on her teeth, thereby suggesting to the Prince that she is from the करणकुळ नगर, and is the daughter of one दत्तसे वायश्या, that her name is Padmavati and that she has given her heart to the Prince. This story of the Princess (?) revealing her identity to the Prince by placing flowers on four different parts of her body is surely a grafted story. Because, करणकुळ नगर, दत्तसे वायश्याने and the name पद्मावती - these details contradict others given earlier - भुपाडी नगर, विष्णुराजा and Princess राजपत्ति.

When the Prince asks the Prime - Minister (K.R.: 210), in fact it should be the son of the Prime - Minister, because, it was the son who had accompanied the prince to the forest. And, one who replies the prince is the Prime - Minister's son. Who the young girl is, the Prime - Minister's son replies, saying she is king Chitrasesen's daughter and that, whoever she marries would die at once. This girl ultimately marries Ravana (K.R.: 212) and Ravana does not die.

6) Story No. 27 begins as follows:

‘बेकु वृत्तिधर्ममा राखेसु, तो बनातु हिहता, सिकिंद नगर, ते नगरी बाँधि राजा, तो राखेसु त्या बाँधिव्या नगरा पाबलो.

तं तः राजसु, दिसा जिखुक त्या बाँधिव्या नगरा जरि पाब, तरि त्या नगरातु खबर चेतलो।’ (K.R.: 213)

Only in the first sentence there is a mention of the name वृत्तिधर्ममा. Then राजसु takes over from the very next sentence.
These ambiguities inconsistencies/contradictions / mistakes could be seen as slips in oral narration on the part of the narrator.

2.7 CONCLUSION

From the literary contribution of the sixteenth and seventeenth century missionary writers it appears that Marathi occupied a place of privilege in the Goan linguistic society. Konkani as the native language of Goa was picked up by the missionaries for spreading the Christian doctrine, and the use of Portuguese was promoted by the State and the Church. These interventions ultimately culminated into 'classical' and 'extended' diglossia in the Goan Konkani speech community. The manifestations of diglossia were different in the Hindu and the Christian communities. The Konkani movement that began from the twentieth century is an indication that Konkani speakers regarded diglossia as a problem.

More systematic research is needed to either prove or disprove the claims of the existence of Konkani literature in the pre-Portuguese era. However, a stylistic scrutiny of the Devanagari edited versions of the parts of the sixteenth century manuscripts of the stories of Ramayana and Mahabharata indicates that these manuscripts belong to the discourse of orality and form a part of the home work of the European missionaries.

These points will be developed in the concluding Chapter.

Notes and References

1 For a detailed theoretical and critical exploration of diglossia, the reader is referred to, Francis Britto, Diglossia: A Study of the Theory with Application to Tamil. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown UP, 1986), especially to part I of the book. Parts II and III of the book present Britto's understanding of a special case of diglossia - Tamil diglossia in history and present times.


3 See. Harold F. Schiffman, "Diglossia as a Sociolinguistic Situation". The Handbook of

1 See Ferguson: 430-435
2 Ibid: 431.
3 Ibid: 432.
5 See Schiffman.
6 Britto: 27.


7 Britto: 35.
9 See ibid: 10-12.
10 Ibid: 32-34.
11 Ibid: 35.
12 Ibid: 44.
13 Ibid: 35.
14 Ibid: 36.
15 Ibid: 37.


17 Britto: 44.
18 Ibid: 45.


19 Ibid.

Sassastty dessi yeque Deuamandhirī

Astamanī aditeuari

Christauanche cumara ritsu sary

Doutriny Baissale

92
Doutrinicha vellu sarala
Tāva yece bramhannu patala
Padry gurussi bolata zahala,
Namascaru carunu

Panna he doutriny vanchoni ana
Cahi yece agallē xstra puranna
Zari amā caraute pathanna

Tari hontē changa

Tumi tari varilē maguilī purannē
Tari pratipustaque amā carannē
Caissī nacarity tumī

Ya passonyā zi atā
Gentiyanchea puranna cathā
Nauea Christauanchea chita
Atthauaty deqha

Zari Marathiye bhassechī cahi
Xstra purannē hontī amā tthaī
Tari locacha manorathu paī
Purna honta


28 Hē sarua Marathiye bhassena lihilē ahe. Hea dessincheē bhassā bhitura hy bhassa Paramesuwarachea vastu niropunssi yogue aissy dissali mhannaunu, panna sudha Maratthy madhima locassi nacalle deqhunu, hea purannacha phallu bahutā zananssi suphallu hounssi, cae quelē, maguileē cauesuaranchē bahequē auaghaddē utarē sanddunu sampucheyā cauesuaranchiye ritu pramannē anniyequē somī Bramhannanche bhassechī utarē tthaī tthaī missarita carunu cauitua sompē quelē ... (Priolkar : 240)

to this work in the present chapter shall be indicated in the main text as (C.R.).

30 Gajanand Ghantkar cit. Gomes 2000 : 37
31 SarDessai : 39.
32 Caetano Da Cruz Fernandes, Research into the Konkani Caechism (Old Goa : Pastoral Institute Saint Pius X, [2005]) 4.
33 See Appendix.
34 At places in the Essay, Cunha Rivara refers to Konkani as 'the mother tongue'. See pages 149, 219, 220.
36 Udentechem Sallok began as a monthly. It later became a fortnightly magazine. In fact, it was a bilingual magazine, and contained writings in Konkani and Portuguese (See Shennoi Goembab Yewkar Adhyakshamalem Ulowp. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1945) 80.
37 SarDessai : 107.
38 Ibid : 105.
40 All throughout Kristāv Ghorabo, Konkani is referred as amchi bhas "our language", and Portuguese as firīgi bhas "language of the foreigners". For convenience of reference, these are translated here, respectively, as Konkani and Portuguese. This was a regular practice of referring to the two languages in the Goan Christian Community 110 to 115 years ago. Perhaps this was so also during the first half of the 20th century. Also see Jaime Couto, "Dalgadacho Ulo, Zap Diwpi Ami." Editorial. Dalgadacho Sandesh (For Private Circulation, 2005) 1,2.
41 De Souza 1911: 27, 28.
42 Ibid: 27.
44 Much later, T.B. Cunha in his short article titled "Goan Konkani Press" (1957) comments on the 'semi-literacy' of Goan (Christian) masses ("Goan Konkani Press." 1957. Goa's Freedom Struggle (Selected Writings of T.B. Cunha). (Bombay : Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961) 508-511.) for whom Konkani is the 'only source of knowledge and information' (Ibid : 511). A 'semi-literate' Goan in this context would be one who had studied some Portuguese at the primary level but was not very fluent with it, and perhaps having migrated to British India had also picked up some English but had no mastery over it (see SarDessai : 101). Konkani literature in the Roman script largely catered to the need of this Goan.
45 SarDessai : 34
47 The publisher's preface to the 2nd edition of Shennoi Goembab's play Mogachem Lagn throws light on the diglossia in the Goan Hindu community of the time. In 1913 when the first
edition of *Mogachem Lagn* was published, Shennoi Goembab wanted to give an advertisement in Konkani in a well known Goan Marathi weekly and thereby announce his book to the potential Konkani readers. The editor of the weekly, we are told, had hesitated a lot, and was not very sure whether he would allow a Konkani advertisement in his Marathi magazine. Kashinath Shridhar Naik, "Chovis Varsamni". Preface. *Mogachem Lagn*. 2nd ed. 1938. By Shennoi Goembab. 3rd ed. (Margao-Goa : Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1989) 5-10.

49 See Shennoi Goembab 1930: 47.


51 The first modern Marathi medium school in Goa -- a school based on modern principles of education and having a definite curriculum -- was established by Mr. Ramchandra Dattaji Ajrekar alias Rambhau Kulkarni at Mapusa in 1885 ("Gomantakatil Marathi Shikshan" in *Azcha wa Kalcha Gomantak* ed. Silver Jubilee Committee, The Goa Hindu Association, Mumbai, 1954, pg. 143). Prior to this, Hindu children, normally those of the Hindu elite acquired proficiency in Marathi either by going to the schools run in a home lounge or in the village temple premises (ibid, pg. 140). Usually a native speaker of Marathi was employed as *fiinhon or mastir* "teacher". This teacher normally came from across the Goan border and belonged to the (Marathi speaking) area under the British dominion. (See Shennoi Goembab 1930:2). Shennoi Goembab draws our attention to the irony in this dependence of Goans on outsiders for acquiring their own mother-tongue.)


53 These lectures were later published under the title 'Goemkaramchi Goyabhayli Vasnuk' ("Emigrations of Goans"), 1928, by the Gomantak Printing Press in Bombay. Shennoi Goembab was one of the founder members of the Goa Hindu Association which was established in Bombay in 1919. From 1919 to 1937, as a member of the Executive Committee, he actively participated in the activities of the association. Four selective speeches, addressed by Shennoi Goembab to Goan students studying in Bombay, and delivered in functions organized by the Goa Hindu Association and the Goa Hindu Students' Association were later published by the Gomantak Printing Press under the title 'Konknai Vidyarthyamk' "to Konkani Students" 1958. See R. N. Naik : 41-43.

54 R.N. Naik informs us that the three plays -- 'Mogachem lagn', 'Jhilba Ranno' and 'Pownachem Taplem' were put up several times in the functions of the Goa Hindu Association. Perhaps these were written specially for the functions of the Association. In the 2nd edition of 'Jhilba Ranno' we are informed that writing of this play was completed on November 17, 1933, and on December 3, 1933 it was staged at the annual function of the Association held in Girgaum.


Ferguson: 436.

Ibid.

José Pereira, Konkani: A Language: A History of the Konkani Marathi Controversy (Dharwar: Karnataka University, 1971) 4.


A similar pattern was noticed by Nancy Dorian (1977) in her study of Scottish Gaelic. See Nancy C. Dorian, "The Value of Language-Maintenance Efforts which are Unlikely to Succeed." IJSL 68 (1987): 57-67.


Pratap Naik 1990: VIII.; According to L.A. Rodrigues, ‘[i]n codex no. 771 prevail stories from Mahabharata, and in no. 772 those of Ramayana and a few fables.’ L. A. Rodrigues. Introduc-
Neither Rodrigues nor Naik make it clear whether the language - Konkani/Marathi - was specified on the codices. From the introductions of both Rodrigues and Naik to their respective edited versions of *Adi Parva*, and also from the preface of A. Noronha to Rodrigues' book, it appears that it is the twentieth century scholars who have classified these as Konkani and Marathi manuscripts.

Rodrigues : XV Naik, P. 1990 : VII, VIII.
Rodrigues : XVI
Ibid: XVII.
Naik P. 1990 : VII.
Almeida 2004:55.

José Pereira in his brief account of the history of literary Konkani writes, 'At least one MS. in the Kannada characters of Vijayanagara has come down to us, with the Marathi text and interlinear Konkani translation' (Literary Konkani: A Brief History, 2nd ed. (Panaji: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1992) 26. Pereira, however, provides no further details of the manuscript as also about its whereabouts.

In his history José Pereira highlights the events whose impact, according to him, made Konkani what it is today (1992:7). Interestingly, these events that begin with the 'background event' (pg. 8) of the entry of the Aryans into the Konkan (around the eighth century A.D.) make no mention of the burning of the Konkani literature by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century. This, and the statement that 'Christianity rendered Konkani the service that Buddhism and Jainism had done to many other now flourishing Indian tongues' (1992:9) perhaps indicate that José Pereira does not subscribe to the claim that Konkani had a sizeable body of literature before the sixteenth century, which was later destroyed by the Portuguese.

Bibliography

Almeida 2004:55,56.
See Rodrigues XVII; Naik, P. 1990 : VII, VIII.
See Rodrigues : XVI, XVII; Naik P. 1990 VII.
Pereira 1992: 26,27.
Pereira 1992 : 26, 27.
See L.S. Seshagiri Rao, "Kannada Literature" *Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature* Vol. III.


Ibid: 103.

Ibid: 106.

Ibid: 108.

Some of the papers in The Ramayana Tradition in Asia, ed. V. Raghavan (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1980) make an interesting reading in this regard.


Pereira 1971:5.


In fact, the first sentence could be seen as two sentences - 1) माफीरे या व्यासर्वे ध्यान मलेवे and 2) अमृत दित्तम कधे ही होणी जगाळे संयुक्त आमिर. In this case, four out of five sentences could be seen as beginning with 'connecting' words.
According to Naik, the story numbered 8 also begins in/with a 'Marathi Sloka' (1990: IX). This story begins with the following words: तूठि त्या दुर्गा दुर्गदाची वेळेला तुम्हां संगाता. या रूपानुसार आयुक्त वे नी सागै तुज पासी. Although ते मी सागै तुज पासी gives a Marathi touch to the language, a comparison of these two lines with rest of the versified lines at the outset of the above mentioned chapters, reveals that the former belongs to prose. With the exception of the verse at the beginning of the 15th chapter, all other verses keep to a single pattern of rhyming where the first three parts? of the verse rhyme and the fourth is free. Moreover, all the verses are immediately followed by an explanation in prose in Konkani. This explanation is lacking after तूठि त्या दुर्गा... तुज पासी.

In the immediately following prose paraphrase of these lines तुठि and आयुक्त replace तुम्हां and आयुक्त respectively. तुम्हां/आयुक्त here, in all likelihood, refers to the plurality of listeners in the oral discourse and not to the listener internal to the story (जत्तजय) in the written discourse. There are grounds to conclude this way because honorific use of तुम्हां is very very rare in the narration. On pages 123 (2nd last line) & 124 (1st line) सुखद्रणा is addressed to by जत्तजय in honorific. Elsewhere जत्तजय is addressed to by सुखद्रष्ट्र in second person singular; so also is सुखद्रष्ट्र addressed likewise by जत्तजय. (See for example: pg. 5 (last line of the text), pg. 10 (second last line of the text), pg. 123 (last line), pg. 152 (first paragraph, last line). This also holds in case of direct speech between other protagonists in the narration.

As compared to the Ramayana text, the Mahabharata text is better organized, both form wise and also thematically: usually a story begins in a couplet and thematically, it does not get too unwieldy although there are drifts in the story here and there. Couplets do appear also in the Ramayana narration, at the beginning of a few stories and also in the middle. Rather, more in the middle of the stories than at the beginning. Only on three occasions (K.R.: 224, 291 and 294) the couplet is explicitly given in the text. In other instances - at least twelve of this kind - only the word विपेकेंद्र appears followed by ellipsis, again followed by अनु "meaning" which is likely to be a paraphrase of the विपेकेंद्र. Also there are many drifts in the story which indeed tax the reader quite a bit and often make him/her lose the thread of the story.

Jayanti Naik, Konknni Lokkannyo (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2003). Page numbers of the examples taken from the book shall be indicated in the text within brackets against the title of the story.


'Topic' and 'comment' are terms used in linguistics to characterize the binary nature of the sentence structure. 'Topic' of the sentence is the person or thing about whom/which something is said. 'Comment' is the statement made about this person or thing. (David Crystal, A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics, (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1985) 56,311).