

A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani

THESIS SUBMITTED TO
GOA UNIVERSITY

FOR THE AWARD OF THE DEGREE OF

Doctor of Philosophy

in English

By

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*All suggestions &
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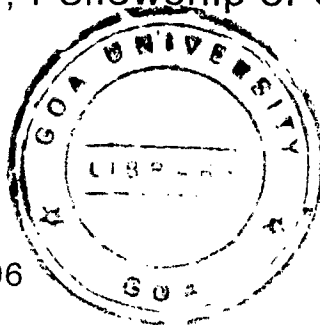
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DECLARATION

As required under the Goa University Ordinance OB 9.9 (ii), I, **Madhavi Sardesai**, hereby declare that the Thesis titled '**A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani**' is the outcome of my own research undertaken under the joint supervision of Dr. Anand B. Patil, Reader in English (Retd.), Goa University, and Dr. (Mrs.) Kiran Budkuley, Reader in English, Goa University, in an attempt to find new insights into the chosen area of study. All the bibliographic, critical and biographical sources used in the course of this work have been duly acknowledged in the Thesis. This work has not previously formed the basis of any award of Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles to me.



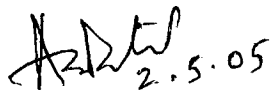
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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis titled ***A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani*** submitted by **Madhavi Sardesai** for the degree of **Doctor of Philosophy in English** of Goa University is completed under our joint supervision. The thesis is a record of the research work done by her during the period of study, and no part of it has previously formed the basis for the award of any degree or diploma to her.

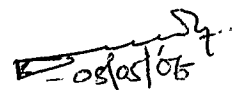


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On the day of his 151st birth anniversary,
to the memory of

Mgr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado

(1855-1922)

who pioneered the research of influences
on Konkani language, and
who has been and will continue
to be an inspiration for
Konkani scholarship.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This humble work is the outcome of a long period of involvement with issues concerning Konkani language so close to the heart that, at times a dispassionate study seemed almost painfully impossible. The study now stands wound up in a Thesis. But there are several loose ends, presently difficult to tie up, with invitations for future research ventures.

However, at this point of 'arrival', I am filled with immense gratitude for all those who have made this Thesis possible.

First and foremost, I feel deep indebtedness to my uncle, Mr. Ravindra Kelekar who helped me discover 'value' in Konkani, and showed me the avenues of linguistics. All throughout the period of the present study he has been my constant interlocutor.

My sincere thanks are due to Prof. Anand Patil for his valuable suggestions, particularly on the Chapter on influences on literary Konkani, a chapter that was not in my original plan of work. It was Prof. Patil who steered the course of my research towards literature.

I feel deep gratitude towards Dr. (Mrs.) Kiran Budkuley who went out of her way to help me complete the Thesis in time. Her critical analysis and questions raised by her made me aware of moments of undue haste and temptations to conclude one way or the other. I have to say that I have learnt quite a few valuable things from her 'ways of seeing', and shall always remain indebted to her for the same.

I am grateful to Prof. Ashok Kelkar from whom I received initiations into Linguistics at the Deccan College, Pune. Prof. Kelkar went through the first draft of my 'Typology of Konkani Loans' and gave his invaluable critical feedback.

Prof. N. Jayaram, the former Head of our Department of Sociology, brought my ramblings on Konkani Kinship terminology on the appropriate theoretical track. My thanks are due to him.

I am also grateful to Dr. Alexandér Henn of the South Asia Institute, Heidelberg University, and Dr. Rosa Maria Perez of 'Instituto de Ciencias do Trabalho e de Empresa', Lisbon who have helped the research by way of raising critical queries and making useful suggestions.

I sincerely thank Prof. Probal Dasgupta of the University of Hyderabad for his suggestions on the plan of the Thesis.

And then there are others who willingly helped me by way of providing the necessary reference material needed for research. I am extremely grateful to them - Fr. Jaime Couto, Mr. S. M. Borges, Mr. Uday Bhembre, Dr. Matthew Almeida, Dr. Pratap Naik, Dr. Balkrishna Kanolkar, Bro. Alex Carvalho. Mr. Suresh Borkar allowed me to go through his unpublished manuscripts of the translations of the Introductions to Mgr. Dalgado's dictionaries. I am indeed grateful to him.

I must thank Dr. Chandralekha D'Souza, Head, Department of Konkani where I belong, for all her help extended especially towards the end of the research period and also for her caring concern. Hereby I also acknowledge the help and warmth extended by my other colleagues, Ms. Priyadarshini Tadkodkar and Mr. Prakash Parienkar. Their good wishes have indeed been a support.

Special thanks are due to Mr. Gunaji Desai with whom I have shared my anxieties during the period of winding up the writing of the Thesis. He has gone out of his way to help me.

My colleagues in the Dept. of English - Dr. K.S. Bhat, Dr. Anita Vashistha, Dr. N:na Caldeira and Dr. Rafael Fernandes, too have always been very supportive and helpful. I thank each one of them.

Then there are my students. How could I forget them? Many of the concerns of the present research have taken shape in the course of classroom interactions with my students. My thanks are due to all of them.

I also thank the staff of the Goa University Library and the Faculty of Languages for all their help.

Last, but not the least, there are friends and the close relatives. It is indeed a long list, and I must say, I have been very lucky on this front. Without the love, constant care, encouragement and support of my friends and close relations, this Thesis would not have seen the light of the day. I have them all vividly in my mind at this moment and take the liberty to thank them with all my heart, without naming them individually. I am sure they will understand this.

Madhavi Sardesai

- Madhavi Sardesai

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CHAPTER - ONE
INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 GENERAL INTRODUCTION

This study titled, "*A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical Influences on Konkani*", is a comparative analysis of foreign as well as indigenous influences on Konkani vocabulary from a linguistic as well as a cultural point of view. What follows is a broad introduction to the entire thesis but more particularly to Konkani language which is the object of this study.

1.2 LOCATING KONKANI IN THE INDO-ARYAN

If one decides to begin from the very beginning, one indeed has to acknowledge the fact that the history of Konkani language forms a part of over 3000 years of the history of the Indo-Aryan speech on the Indian soil. According to Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 'the beginning of the Aryan ingress to India was comparatively a late event in ancient history... it looks unlikely that this event can be placed at a date earlier than the middle of the 2nd millenium B.C. It may even be later'.¹ When the Aryans came to India circa 1500 B.C., their speech had already passed through two stages of development, namely, the Primitive Indo-European stage, and the Indo-Iranian stage.² The Indo-Aryan stage of the Indo-European began in India. The Indo-Aryan speech went through three main developmental stages, viz. the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA), roughly from 1500 B.C. to 600 B.C., the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA), roughly from 600 B.C. to 1000 A.D. and, the New Indo Aryan (NIA), roughly from 1000 A.D. onwards.³

As Chatterji puts it, 'we have to take Indian history as a part of world -

history, as being intimately connected with that of the lands of the Near East particularly'.⁴ This indeed holds also in case of Konkani. History of Konkani is undeniably a part of the history of the Indo-Aryan, intimately connected with that of the Indo-Aryan speech geographically contiguous with Konkani.

However, not all Konkani scholars seem to hold this view. Historical formation of Konkani is quite often depicted by isolating it from the Indo-Aryan linguistic continuum.

Naguesh Sonde, for example, sees the origin of Konkani in the Sauraseni-Maharashtri group of Prakrits, with Western Hindi, Rajasthani, Sindhi and Gujarati as the other close kins. Marathi is seen as originating from the Magadhi group of Prakrits, with Eastern Hindi, Bihari, Bengali and Oriya as the nearest sisters.⁵

Shripad Desai, too, holds that the roots of Konkani and Marathi are different. According to him, Konkani, along with Gujarati and Rajasthani, has evolved from the Nagar and Upanagar dialects of Apabhramsha, and Marathi, from a mixture of Apabhramsha and Mishra Prakrit.⁶

To quote José Pereira

'Into a non-Aryan country came the Sarasvat Brahmins and the *Tsaddi* (the Punjabi Chaddas? Chardos) bearing with them a Northern Indian speech. In their trek southwards they took over some of the Nagari Prakrit of Western India and more of the Maharashtri of the Northern Deccan - ancient India's song-language. By the eighth century they were already in the Konkani. The amalgam of the Prakrits had, two centuries afterwards, given rise to Konkani'.⁷

According to R.K. Rao, '...Konkani roots go into a proto Australoid tongue to ancient Mundari on the one hand... and to the vedic ancestry on the other.'⁸

N. Purushothama Mallaya writes, '...Konkani of today which is the direct off-shoot of Eastern Magadhi has got a good deal of "Dardic" influence i.e. *Paisachi Prakriti*, the most ancient among 'Prakritis' of India.'⁹

According to L. Suneetha Bai,

'...The historical background of the Konkani language is closely connected with the ancient historical tradition of India. This language had been greatly influenced by the ancient Indian Brahmanical culture. The primitive sounds, Harappan lexemes, Vedic and Sanskrit vocables found in Konkani, are evidences to the fact that the Konkani language had its roots in the Vedic as well as the ancient riverine cultures of India.'¹⁰

J. Gerson da Cunha's position that '[Konkani] is one of the Gaudian languages of the north-western group, imported into the Konkan by a colony of Brahmans from the north',¹¹ reinforced by a reading of the *Sahyādri Khaṇḍa* of the *Skanda Purāṇa*, seems to have influenced some of the above scholars.

The above positions are mainly based on secondary sources, and partially on similarities of vocabulary. They lack a systematic structural approach of historical and comparative linguistics. These positions must indeed be situated in the context of the emergence and assertion of the Konkani identity. At this point it may suffice to say that there is enough scope to revisit this site of the historical reconstruction of *Truth* and also that of the truth of historical reconstruction.

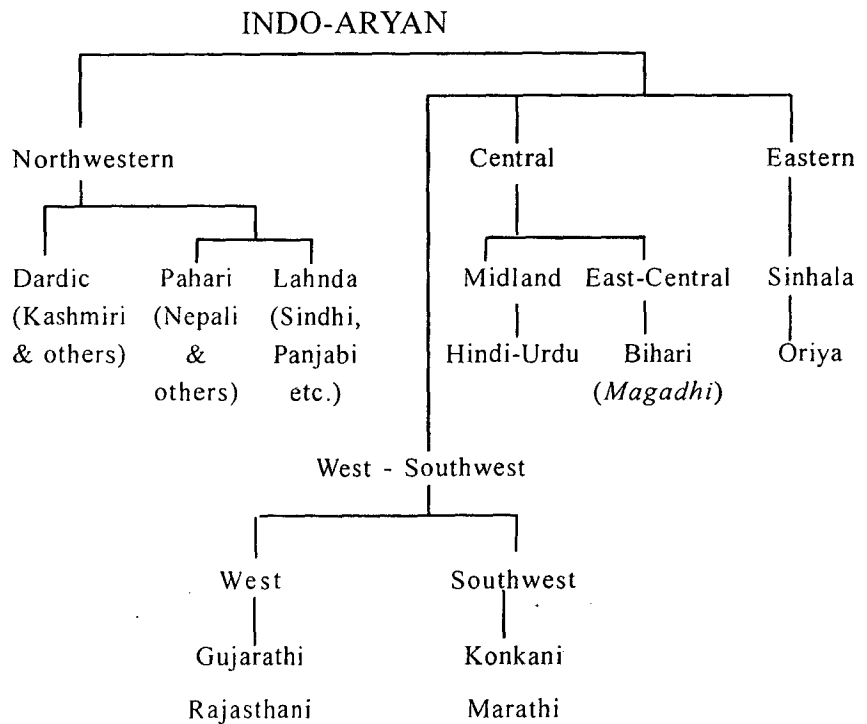
On the basis of a comparative and historical study of the phonology, morphology and syntax of six representative Konkani dialects, S.M. Katre writes:

'Taking into account all the main features of Konkani we may now definitely assign it to the South-Western group (having Marathi and

Gujarati as its nearest of kin) with a tinge of the Central group (Hindi, especially in the dative postposition *-ka*). The differentiations noted in the formation of the direct singular of masculine nouns in their extended form and the divergent postpositions for the dative clearly mark off Konkani as a separate language from Marathi, preserving in many respects an earlier stage of development. Its position as a separate language (and not a mere dialect) is thereby proved, but phonological considerations show that both belong to a common parent Prakrit.¹²

According to Katre, '[a]consideration of the vocabulary shows that in its purely inherited form the dialects of Konkani are nearest to Marathi and Gujarati.'¹³

Based on a historical comparative reconstruction from the modern speech forms by P.B.Pandit¹⁴, Ashok R.Kelkar presents the regional branching of the modern Indo-Aryan languages in the following diagram in which Konkani and Marathi form a group¹⁵ –



Konkani occupies the southernmost position in the Indo-Aryan linguistic continuum on the Indian peninsula . Towards the North and the North-East it merges gradually with Marathi , its closest kin. Towards the South and the South-East it touches Kannada , a language belonging to the Dravidian family. There are pockets of Konkani speaking population in and around Mangalore (predominantly a Tulu area) in the South Kanara district of Karnataka , and in and around Cochin (predominantly a Malayalam area). These are a result of the exodus of the Konkani speaking Goans under the Portuguese rule — mass migration of Hindus from the Old Conquests for avoiding the coercive proselytizing policy of the Government, and mass migration of the Christians in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries with a view to avoiding the terror of the Inquisition policy of the Church.¹⁶

Following N.G.Kalelkar, taking into consideration the historical events and cultural ties of the speakers, the Konkani linguistic continuum could be seen as comprising of three main dialect groups— Northern Konkani, Central Konkani and Southern Konkani.¹⁷ Northern Konkani would comprise of the group of Konkani dialects spoken in the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra. These dialects have strong cultural ties with the Marathi language . Southern Konkani would consist of the group of Konkani dialects spoken in the North Kanara district of Karnataka . These have come in close contact with the Kannada language which is the dominant regional means of cultural expression and instruction. Central Konkani would subsume the Konkani dialects in the state of Goa , an erstwhile Portuguese colony . Here Konkani came in close contact with Portuguese language and culture .

According to the 1991 Census, Konkani has 17, 60, 607 speakers in India. Of these, 6,02,626 are in Goa, 7,06,397 in Karnataka, 3,12,618 in Maharashtra and 64,008 in Kerala.

The present study is focussed on the Goan varieties of Konkani, and literature produced in these. So a brief historical glimpse of Goa would be useful at this point.

A BRIEF NOTE ON HISTORY THAT PRODUCED THE PRESENT STATE OF GOA

The present day state of Goa, as outlined by its geo-political boundaries, is a product of the Portuguese colonial rule. To quote Pratima Kamat, 'the territorial limits of the modern state of Goa have undergone several changes of expansion and reduction before they were sketched to the present-day boundaries in the second half of the eighteenth century'.¹⁸

The colonial rule over Goa began in 1510 when the Portuguese governor, Afonso de Albuquerque, captured the islands of Goa (*Ilhas*) from Yusuf Adil Shah, the Sultan of Bijapur. By 1543 the Portuguese succeeded in establishing their control over the adjoining territories of Bardez and Salcete (which included the present day Mormugao Taluka), respectively to the north and south of *Ilhas*. These three territories of Tiswadi (*Ilhas*), Bardez and Salcete that were acquired by the Portuguese in the sixteenth century were referred in Goan history as the 'Old Conquests' (*Velhas Conquistas*) of the Portuguese.

In 1763 Portuguese captured Ponda from the Marathas. In the following year, the territories of Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona, that were under the sovereignty of the ruler of Sonda (presently located in the Uttar Karnataka District of Karnataka) were temporarily placed by him in Portuguese custody in the wake of an attack on his kingdom by Hyder Ali, the ruler of Mysore. However, the ruler of Sonda could not recover from Hyder Ali's attack and his territories in Portuguese custody eventually became a part of the Portuguese *Estado da India*. Between 1781 and 1788 the Portuguese captured Pernem, Bicholim and Sattari from the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi. Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, Canacona, Pernem, Bicholim and Sattari, that became a part of Portuguese India in the second half of the eighteenth century, were designated as 'New Conquests' (*Novas Conquistas*) of the Portuguese in Goa. Thus, by 1788, the present day geo-political boundaries of Goa

came to be demarcated.¹⁹

This Goa remained under Portuguese rule till December 19, 1961. On this day following 'Operation Vijay' of the Indian Army, Goa along with Daman and Diu, which were Portuguese colonial pockets located in Gujarat, became a part of the Indian Union, as the Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu. On May 30, 1987 Goa was given full-fledged statehood.

The geo-political state of Goa is a creation of the colonial rule. It was not a state restructured on linguistic principles as the other Indian states had been.

From third/fourth century A.D. to the early sixteenth century A.D. parts or the whole of the present-day Goan territory was ruled by Satavahanas, Bhojas, Konkani Mauryas, Rashtrakutas, Chalukyas, Shilaharas, Kadambas, Bahamanis, the Vijayanagar kings and the Adil Shah of Bijapur.²⁰

Going by S.K. Chatterji's view that the New Indo-Aryan phase begins by about the tenth century A.D.²¹, the period of Goan history from the Kadamba rule (tenth to fourteenth century A.D.) onwards is the period directly relevant for the study of the influences on Konkani.

Incidentally, Katre observes that at no period was Konkani the court language of any of the medieval dynasties ruling over Konkani area,²² adding, '...we have no instance of royal patronage either for Konkani or the speakers of this language in any medieval account.'²³

1.4 KONKANI: A SITE OF VARIATION

The regional and social dialectal texture of Konkani is rich and intricate. Within Konkani spoken in Goa, the Pednem, Kankon, Sashti, Bardez or Antruz dialects, for instance, are easily identifiable. Also, a Goan variant is easily distinguishable from a non-Goan – a Karwari or a Mangalorean or a Cochin variant. Thus, on the basis of the speech of a Konkani speaker, he or she could be situated on the regional map of Konkani without much

difficulty .

Social dialects of Konkani are of two types – caste dialects and dialects of religion. The latter are more pronounced in the Old Conquest areas that were under Portuguese dominion for over four centuries. Thus, the speech of a Konkani speaker also helps the listener to place him/her on the social map of Konkani. It tells, for instance, whether the speaker is a Bamon or a Chaddo or a Shet or a Gawdo..., whether he/she is a Hindu or a Christian or a Muslim. The Christian Konkani community also ‘shows more or less the full spectrum of caste stratification’²⁴ as the Hindu Konkani community. Thus, the Konkani community has both, Hindu Brahmins as well as Christian Bamon, Hindu Gawde as well as Christian Gawde...

Sometimes the social dialectal differentiation is much more noticeable than the regional one. Thus, for example, the speech of a Hindu Brahmin and a Christian Brahmin living as neighbours in a single locality probably for centuries differs much more than the speech of two Hindu Brahmins living kilometers apart. The same is true of caste dialects. Thus social barriers seem to have distanced Konkani speakers much more than geographical barriers.

During the recent years, Konkani has also displayed tendencies towards standardization. Although one cannot speak of standard Konkani with the same distinctness as one could speak of standard English or French or, for that matter, standard Hindi or Marathi, one can say with more or less certainty that the process of standardization of Konkani is under way, and is felt much more in written Konkani than in the spoken. Preparation of school text books in Konkani, teaching of Konkani at the degree and the University levels, and the launching of a Konkani newspaper (*Sunaparant*) in the Devanagari script (in 1987) opened up avenues for standardization of Konkani. This process would have been hastened by the use of Konkani in government administration. But ironically enough, the language of State administration in

a State where Konkani is the official state language is any other but Konkani! Konkani is written in five scripts—Roman, Kannada, Malayalam, Perso-Arabic and Devanagari. However, as far as production of literature is concerned, Roman, Kannada and Devanagari could be called the main scripts of Konkani.²⁵ The Roman script probably has the oldest extant literary tradition beginning from the sixteenth century. But today, as stated by Pratap Naik, in comparison with Devanagari and Kannada scripts, less books are being published in the Roman script. Naik informs us that of the 77 books published in Konkani in the year 2002, only 9 were in the Roman script. He further comments that there must both be a qualitative as well as a quantitative rise in publishing of the books in the Roman script.²⁶

The use of Devanagari for Konkani, which is now its official script, is believed by some scholars to be the most recent. Monsenhor Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, Konkani scholar and lexicographer, was the first to strongly advocate the adoption of Devanagari for Konkani. He himself used the script in the entries of his Konkani-Portuguese dictionary published in 1893.²⁷ However there are others who hold that Devanagari was a script likely to be familiar to the Konkani speaking people, and might have been in use too. They often site the example of the three *Vaidyas* who certified the first volume of *Hortus Indicus Malabaricus* by H. Van Rheede, published in Amsterdam in 1678 in Devanagari Konkani almost a century and a half after the conquest of Goa. Moreover, the work was being done in a Malayalam prevalent province where subsequently Malayalam script came to be used for Konkani. After Dalgado it was Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag, an advocate by profession from Karwar, who stood up for Devanagari script for Konkani. With a few like-minded companions he travelled in all the Konkani speaking areas, seeking to unite the fragmented Konkani community under the banner of 'one language, one script, one literature'. He succeeded in organizing the first All India Konkani Parishad in Karwar in 1939.²⁸

Modern revivalists of Konkani chose Devanagari as the script for Konkani as Konkani belongs to the Indo-Aryan family. Devanagari being the script of the Sanskrit-Prakrit linguistic antecedents of Konkani was seen as belonging as much to Konkani as it belonged to Hindi, Marathi, Rajasthani, Maithili, Nepali— sister languages of Konkani.²⁹ Also there were phonetic reasons. For instance, compared to the Roman script, Devanagari was seen as giving a better representation to the contrasts significant to Konkani, dental v/s retroflex, unaspirated v/s aspirated contrasts, for instance.³⁰

Devanagari was further preferred also because it was a script of Hindi/Hindustani which in the late twenties or the early thirties was already envisaged as the national /link language of independent India. As all literate Indians would necessarily have to familiarize themselves with Hindi/Hindustani, Devanagari would not be an additional script to be learnt by all Konkani speakers.³¹

The use of Devanagari script for Konkani was not an ‘influence of Marathi’ as has been seen by Rocky Miranda.³² It was much less the ‘Goan Hindu expression’ of written Konkani. Whereas the other scripts used for Konkani were historical accidents and convenient local choices, Devanagari was a conscious choice. It was a ‘new culture’ that was opted for.

However, although the adoption of script can be the result of a conscious and rational choice, the choice of vocabulary may not always be so. The following discussion on Konkani will indicate how subtle and therefore indiscernible is the absorption of words into the language.

1.5. KONKANI : A SITE OF CONTACT

Konkani has a rich history of language contact. The sixteenth century manuscripts of Konkani Ramayana and Mahabharata³³ bear testimony to the influence of Kannada, Persian and Arabic on Konkani. The present day

Konkani spoken not only in Goa but elsewhere in the Konkani belt also carries this influence.

Examples :

1. Loanwords from Kannada:

taḷ "plate", *tāṭī* "egg", *bḥṭy* "write", *unḍo* "small and round bread", *aḍo* "fence", *mḥ* "ridge", *māw* "father-in-law", *duḍu* "money", *gḥurut* "gum prepared with wheat flour", *kati* - kind of hand axe-, *gūḍḍo* "stone".

Loanwords from Persian:

bḥkar "jobless", *umed* "enthusiasm", *baḍḍar* "market", *dḥimin* "land", *beman* "ungrateful", *kḥos* "happiness", *dḥrya* "sea", *dukan* "shop", *yad* "remembrance, memory", *dusman* "enemy".

Loanwords from Arabic:

nḥfīb "fate", *nḥḍḥ* "sight, vision", *wḥḡḥ* "time", *sayb* "lord", *dḥap* "answer", *kagat* "paper, letter", *luskan/luksan/nuksan* "loss", *wḥḍḥḥn* "weight", *kḥḥḥḥ* "news", *tarik* "date".

The influence of Kannada on Konkani could largely be attributed to the rule of Kadambas and the Vijaynagar Kings over Konkani speaking area. Similarly, the rule of the Bahamani Sultans and that of Adil Shah of Bijapur was mainly responsible for the Perso-Arabic influence on Konkani.³⁴

With the Portuguese colonial rule beginning from 1510, Konkani began receiving influence of the Portuguese language. The four and a half centuries of contact with Portuguese has influenced Konkani remarkably. This influence is at once evident at the level of lexicon. Many words which form a part of the daily, even the basic, vocabulary of Goan Konkani are loans from Portuguese. Examples: *kḥḍḍḍḍ* "chair", *mḥḍḍ* "table", *kulḥ* "spoon", *dḥḥḥḥ* "window", *pasḥy* "walk", *bḥḍḥ* "pocket", *burak* "hole", *fḥḥḥ* "match-box", *igḥḥz* "church", *wḥḥ* "hour".

To quote J. Gerson da Cunha,

'Portuguese is mixed with [Konkani] by the right of domain over the Konkan, just as words from Romans, Angles, Jutes, and Saxons, were introduced into English by their conquest of Britain, or from Arabs into Spanish and Portuguese.'³⁵

Portuguese has also influenced word-formation processes of Konkani. For instance, along with *fugasāw* "suffocation", *istimasāw* "esteem, affection", *conisāo* "condition" that are Portuguese loans, Konkani also has words like *bɛjasāw*, *katkisāw*, *guḍḍilasāw* that sound like Portuguese loans but in fact are native creations in which only the suffix *sāw* is Portuguese. *Bɛjasāw* "boredom", for example, is *bɛdʰar*, a Persian loan plus Portuguese *sāw*.

The Portuguese influence on Konkani syntax is even more subtle. Thus for instance, while in all sister languages of Konkani, the expression for "what time is it?" is literally in terms of "how many times has it rung?" (eg. Marathi: *kiti wadʰle*; Hindi: *kitne bəje*; Gujarati: *keḷa wagra*) Konkani asks, *kitlī wəṛā dʰalī* or *wəṛā kitlī dʰalī* which is literally "how many hours have happened", which is a version of *que horas sāo*.

The mass migrations of Konkani speaking population from Goa to Karnataka (in and around Mangalore) and to Malabar (in and around Cochin) during the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries brought Konkani in contact with Kannada and Malayalam, the culturally and politically dominant languages of the region. Later, Konkani of these immigrants was also influenced by English, the language of the colonial power of the region.

- Immigration of Goans during the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries, more during the latter, to places like Mumbai or Pune, mainly for economic reasons, prepared grounds for the influence of Marathi and English on Konkani.

Similarly, Kalelkar's 'Northern Konkani' and 'Southern Konkani' have been

influenced by Marathi and Kannada, respectively, and also by English.³⁶

Influence of a particular language on a particular Konkani variety varies with region, also, with religion. For instance, Portuguese influence is more on Goan dialects of Konkani than on the non Goan dialects which are influenced more by the dominant regional languages of the respective areas, and English. Thus, a person from Canacona would say *duyent pəḍəp* "falling ill", with a loanword from Portuguese *duyent* "ill", and a person from Karwar - just across the border - would say *sik pəḍəp* with a loanword from English - *sik* "sick".

The Portuguese influence is more on the Christian variants of Konkani than on the Hindu variants. As observed by Miranda, 'Christians were more susceptible to Portuguese influence because of religious and cultural ties.'³⁷ This influence has even been conspicuous at the level of syntax, especially on the structure of the sentence in the written style and formal oral style, formerly found in Church sermons. In his concluding observations, in the *The Formation of Konkani*, Katre comments on this 'complete subservience to Portuguese word-order (SVO)³⁸ as seen in the Goan Christian varieties. As has been pointed out by Miranda, there has been a conscious effort to 'delusitanize' the syntax of the literary Christian dialect in the post-liberation years, which has implied a return to the word-order proper to Konkani (SVO).³⁹ Joaquim Antonio Fernandes was a great influence towards this effect.

The distinctiveness of the two main religious cultures of Goa - Hindu and Christian - is sometimes brought about at the lexical level by a distinctiveness in Konkani vocabulary. Whereas in Portuguese, for instance, one could talk of a Hindu marriage or a Christian marriage with the same word - *casamento*, a Hindu marriage in Konkani is *lign* or *login* and a Christian marriage *kadʼar*; a song sung in a Hindu dialect is a *pəḍ* and that in a Christian dialect is a *kātar*; a play performed in a Christian dialect is a *tiyatr* which is performed

on a *palk* “stage”, and a play performed in a Hindu dialect is a *najek* which is performed on a *maci* ‘stage’. The kinship vocabulary in the Christian Konkani dialects also bears a remarkable Portuguese influence.

The relationship between Konkani and Marathi has been quite ambivalent. This ambivalence has found an expression more in written Konkani than in the spoken. At times, the pressures of the language/dialect controversy have pushed Konkani writers away from the influence of Marathi. At times, they have sought the help of experienced Marathi for enabling Konkani to function effectively in new domains.

1.6 GENERAL LAYOUT OF THE DISSERTATION

This study is a comparative analysis of the foreign as well as indigenous influences on Konkani vocabulary from a linguistic as well as a cultural point of view. Exploring the influences of the Portuguese language with which Konkani was in contact for over four centuries, forms one of the main concerns of the present study. It aims at providing both, a linguistic typology of Konkani loans, and also investigating their socio-cultural, historical and political determinants. It has been carried out mainly within the framework of linguistics.

The diverse aspects of this work, along with the relevant methodological approaches, have been discussed in seven chapters. The observations and findings made in the course of this study have been reported in the concluding chapter. The overall layout of the dissertation is given below.

Chapter One, evidently the present chapter, is a general gateway to the entire thesis. As such, it is a broad introduction to Konkani language. Among other things, it provides information in brief on a number of relevant issues like, the number of Konkani speakers, areas where Konkani is spoken in India, dialectal variation in Konkani, and offers a brief account of contacts Konkani

has had with several languages in its history. This is followed by the general layout and methodology of the thesis, previous work done on the subject of study, the relevant theoretical approaches adopted to study the various linguistic encounters.

Chapter Two is titled 'Konkani Language: Diglossia and Emergence of Literature'. The main thrust of research in this chapter is the study of Konkani from the perspective of diglossia. With the help of available evidence in extant literature in Konkani, Marathi and English, from the sixteenth century onwards, this investigation tracks Konkani diglossia - both 'classical' (Charles Ferguson 1959)⁴⁰ and 'extended' (Joshua Fishman 1972)⁴¹ - in history and upto the present times. This chapter also deals briefly with the politics of Konkani - the Konkani-Marathi controversy, and the Konkani movement.

It also investigates a matter of controversy that has a strong bearing on the study of Konkani diglossia - whether there was written literature in Konkani prior to the establishment of the Portuguese colonial rule over Goa. In the light of scholarly opinions on the matter, and on the basis of a careful stylistic scrutiny of the available edited Devanagari versions of parts of the sixteenth century Konkani manuscripts in the Roman script, a critical position is taken.

Chapter Three titled 'Linguistic Typology of Konkani Loans' is a formal classification of loanwords in Konkani. It adopts Einar Haugen⁴² as the theoretical mainstay since the complex structural typology presented therein is very systematic and widely inclusive. This chapter also deals with 'hybrid creations' - words imbibing influence of other languages -- but which do not fit into Haugen's definition of a loan. Adjunctions of two synonyms, one native and the other foreign, that are a typical pan-Indian response to situations of language contact, are investigated in the context of Konkani. This chapter addresses itself also to issues like the degree of bilingualism and the extent of phonological distortions in loanwords, the role of loan

translations and 'loan translators' in the development of Konkani, some loaning trends in the writings of academic literary critics, and the influence of Marathi in the expansion of Konkani lexicon. The impact of loan words on the phonology of the borrowing language is also explored, albeit in the context of /f/.

Chapter Four -- 'Hindu and Christian Kinship Terminology: a Comparative Study' -- examines the influences on a very specific domain of Konkani lexicon - the domain of kinship - by comparing the kinship terminology in the Hindu and the Christian dialects of Konkani. The study is based on the field-work carried out in the Salcete Taluka of Goa. The data is presented and the influences therein are analyzed largely within the theoretical perspective of George Peter Murdock.⁴³ Konkani Kinship terms are classified according to their linguistic structure and their range of application. Comparisons are carried out and inferences drawn regarding indigenous as well as foreign influences on Konkani kinship terms, as also regarding the structural changes in the system of kinship terminology brought about by these influences. An attempt is also made to trace the evolution of most of the elementary Konkani kinship terms of Indo-Aryan origin by juxtaposing these alongside their cognates in the sister New Indo-Aryan and those in the Middle Indo-Aryan as well as the Old Indo-Aryan languages. The reconstructed Proto Indo-European form is also cited wherever possible so as to bring home the approximate time-span of the evolution of the Konkani words.

Chapter Five -- 'Influence on Konkani : a Textual Approach' -- examines the influences on Konkani lexicon as revealed through select Konkani texts. It also discusses the choice of influences of the pioneering Konkani writers thereby highlighting their contribution to (written) Konkani. Both 'cultural' and 'intimate'⁴⁴ contact of Konkani mainly with Portuguese is explored through a scrutiny of selective texts from the sixteenth century onwards.

Changing patterns of influences on Christian religious literature in Konkani are also partially studied.

Chapter Six -- 'Nativistic Approach to the Konkani Lexicon: a Comparative Case-Study.' -- is a case-study of Shennoi Goembab's work. His lexical choices are compared with those of Mgr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado and Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar. Dalgado and Shennoi Goembab, each in his respective capacity, as an influential indigenous lexicographer of Konkani, and as an influential writer of the polemic of Konkani as also of the first modern Konkani prose in the Devanagari script, have both had a considerable impact on Konkani literature. This impact is examined by means of a scrutiny of their lexical choices which seem to have been determined by their socio-cultural background. The choices made by Shennoi Goembab while writing the first grammar of Konkani in Konkani, and within the lexical framework of Sanskrit are compared with those of Tarkhadkar who pioneered the modern era of Marathi grammar. The impact of these initial choices on the present day grammatical meta-language is also briefly examined. Towards the end of the chapter, Shennoi Goembab's lexical innovations are classified and defined.

Chapter Seven titled 'Conclusion' reports the specific findings arrived at in the course of the present research work with due substantiation and elaboration of the relevant points discussed in the various chapters on the basis of extensive research.

The methodological approach adopted is basically comparative if somewhat eclectic. This is so because this study is not exclusively a linguistic study, but also a cultural study. Moreover, the geographic/historical context of Konkani over the centuries necessitates a comparative approach. The research is principally anchored in linguistics, both theoretically and methodologically. But some of the theoretical insights of anthropology and Comparative Literature, along with the ensuing methodology are also adopted wher-

ever found necessary.

This is not a study of a particular variant of Konkani, whether spoken or written. The study does not encompass all Konkani varieties either. The scope of the study is limited only to Goan varieties of Konkani as expressed in speech or writing. Literature considered is obviously that in which Goan varieties have found an expression.

One of the parts of the present research is a comparative study of Hindu and Christian kinship terminologies. It does not include a discussion of the Muslim kinship terminology. This study is based on field work carried out in the Salcete Taluka of Goa by employing methods of field linguistics. Kinship terms in Konkani are provided in the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA). The IPA is also employed for representing Konkani loanwords in Chapter Three. The phonetic representations of these latter, however, approximate those in the variety spoken by the investigator.

1.7 REVIEW OF PREVIOUS WORK DONE

Limited literature that could be called systematic study, is available on the subject of lexical influences on Konkani.

Mgr. Sebastião Rudolpho Dalgado appears to have laid the foundation of this study with his work - '*Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiaticas*' (Henceforth *Vocabulario*).⁴⁵

The *Vocabulario*, translated by Anthony Xavier Soares into English as '*Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*', is a compilation of Portuguese loanwords into over fifty Asian languages belonging to around ten language families / sub-families. As the writer of 'a sketch of the, author's [Dalgado's] Life' (probably the translator) puts it, therein Mgr. Dalgado '...track[s] down the numerous Portuguese vocables which like nondescripts, without papers or passport, had strayed into the boundaries of Eastern idioms, and so many

of whom had lost every semblance which might bespeak their country of origin'⁴⁶ As pointed out by Soares, '[t]he *Vocabulario* was primarily addressed to the Portuguese, and it was presumably to acquaint even such of them as have no interest in philology with the great linguistic legacy their forefathers have bequeathed to the East...'⁴⁷ Dalgado sees lexical influence of Portuguese on Eastern languages, as a part of 'the civilizing influence of Portugal' on the East.⁴⁸

He writes:

'...When perchance Portuguese shall have ceased to be spoken in the East, the words from the beautiful tongue of Camoëns, adopted and naturalised in a hundred and one of the vernaculars of the East, will continue to exist as long as the vernaculars themselves endure and stand as living and abiding monuments of the Portuguese dominion and civilization in those parts.'⁴⁹

As A.R. Gonsalves Viana points out, Dalgado, in his investigation of the influence of the Portuguese language, takes count of the long time span of about five centuries of language contact of Portuguese with the Asian tongues, and in respect of space, he covers the expanse from Ceylon to Japan.⁵⁰

Dalgado's compilation of Portuguese loanwords is primarily based on a word by word scrutiny of the dictionaries of these languages.⁵¹

The principal part of the *Vocabulario* is an alphabetically ordered inventory of Portuguese loanwords into Asian languages. Within an entry, the Portuguese word is followed by its adaptation in the various languages arranged according to their geneological affiliations. Dalgado begins with the Indo-Aryan and takes Konkani as the starting point. Important etymological and lexicographical information is also provided in many entries. The entries of *Balde* "bucket" and *leilão* "auction sale" may be seen as examples of such scholarly and informative entries. (The footnotes below these entries are omitted.) --

'**Balde** (a bucket). Konk[ani], Mar[athi], Guj[arati] *bāldí*, - Beng[ali], Hindust[ani], L[askari] Hindust[ani] *bāldí, balti*. - Sindh[i] *báldiya, báliya*. - Tam[il] *báldi*. - Tel[ugu] *baldí, bādlí*, Tul[u] *báldi*. - Anglo-Ind[ian] *balty*. - Gar[o] *balti, baltin*. - Mal[ay], Tet[o], Gal[oli] *báldi*.

The etymology of *balde* is not clear. The Portuguese dictionary, *Contemporaneo*, derives it from Low Latin *batellus*, and Cândido de Figueiredo, associates it, in a doubtful manner, with *baldo* ('unprovided, penniless'). Gaspar Correia regards the word as new and assigns to it an Indian origin.

"All this our men will see for themselves in the port of Cananor, in which there are very large vessels, which the Captains will send their men to see, so that they might give an account of everything they had seen when they go to Portugal; on these ships there are no pumps, only some pails made of thick cow's hide, tanned in such a way, that they last long, and with these they bale the water out by hand; these pails they call **baldes** (I, p. 123).

"Luis de Mello de Mendoça set out with his companions to help at the **baldes**, with which they began to bale out the water" (1546). Diogo de Couto, Dec. VI., iii, 3.

Indian dictionary-writers give the Portuguese word as the original: "Balty, s. H. *balti*, 'a bucket', is the Portuguese *balde*", *Hobson-Jobson*.¹⁵²

Leilao (auction sale). Konk[ani] *leylám̃v*; vern[acular] term *pāvñí*. - Mar[athi] *lilám̃v, lilám, nilám*. - Guj[arati] *lilám, nilám* - Hindi *nilám, nilam*. - Hindust[ani], Or[iya] *nilám* - Nep[ali] *līlám*. - Beng[ali] *nilám, nīlám, nilāmá*. - Ass[amese] *lilám*. - Sindh[i] *nilámu, nīlámu*. - Punj[abi] *lalám, nilám*. - Tam[il] *e-lam*. - Malayal[am] *lelam, élam*.

- Tel[ugu] *lélām, yálam, yalam, yélamu*. - Kan[nada] *leylam, lilámu, yálam, yélamu*. - Tul[u] *leilámu, yelamu, yélamu*. - Anglo-Ind[ian] *leelam, neelam*. - Gar[o] *ilam*. - Bur[mese] *lay-lan*. - Khas[i] *lilam, nilam, Die lilam*, to sell at an auction. - Siam[ese] *leláng*. - Mal[ay] *lelan, lélon, lélong*. - Ach[inese], Batt[a], Sund[anese], Jav[anese], Mac[assar], Bug[ui], *lelang*. - Day[ak] *lelang*. - Tet[o], Gal[oli] *leilã, lelã*. - Chinese of Canton *yélong*. - Amoy *lélang*. - Swatow *loylang*. *Leylãmkár* (Konk[ani]), *lilámvkarṇārā, lilám-vālā, [lilamdar, lilamvdar.]* (Mar[athi]) *lilámkarnár* (Guj[arathi]) *nīlam-karná, nīlam-vālā* (Hindi, Hindust[ani]), *nīlangar* (Hindi), *nīlám-karivālā* (Beng[ali]) *yālamgára, yálam-hākuvara* (Kan[nada]), an auctioneer. *Vālā* (Hindi-Hindust[ani]) means 'agent, man of', and is equivalent to the Portuguese suffix *-dor* and *-eiro*.

Lalami, bought at an auction sale (Punj[abi]). *Yalam-chītu*, a lottery ticket. *Yalam-vīguṭa*, to sell by auction (Telugu). *Nglélong, nglenglang*, to place in an auction. *Ngligan gake, neglē langaken*, to put up for sale, to sell (Jav[anese])

With regard to the change of *l* into *n*, cf. *nimbú* and *limbú* ('lemon'), *nāngar* and *lāngar* ('anchor'), *nāchár* and *lāchár* ('indigent, wretched'): and the Portuguese *laranja* from the Ar[abic] *nāranj*, Spanish *naranja*.'

Cândido de Figueiredo says that the origin of *leilão* is uncertain. Brown gives as its probable derivation the Arabic *al-i'lam*, "proclamation, advertisement, notice, placard", which, according to Belot, signifies "to stamp, to distinguish with a sign."

Auction-sales took place very largely among the Portuguese, when one of them died or was transferred from one place to another. The Dutch traveller Linschoten (1598) is a witness to the fact that even the

effects of a Viceroy were disposed of by auction. There were in the city of Goa signboards with the following inscription "The auction-sale which is held every morning in the *Rua Direita* ('The Straight Street') of Goa." ¹⁵³

The inventory of Portuguese loanwords in the *Vocabulario* is preceded by a lengthy introduction (82 pp.) wherein the investigator sets the work in a perspective and provides brief informative notes on each of the considered languages. He also makes some important observations pertaining to the socio-cultural determinants of borrowing; phonological and morphological assimilation of Portuguese loanwords into languages of Asia.

According to Dalgado, certain agencies 'working either separately or simultaneously'¹⁵⁴, are responsible for the introduction of Portuguese words into Asian languages. These are :

- (a) direct dominion
- (b) commercial connection
- (c) political influence
- (d) vicinage of Portuguese colonies
- (e) religious propaganda
- (f) consociation of many vernaculars in certain cities
- (g) borrowings from a contiguous language or from a more important language which had already been influenced
- (h) co-existence of Indo-Portuguese
- (i) Anglo-Indian vocabulary¹⁵⁴

Dalgado also identifies the following reasons behind the borrowing of Portuguese words into Asian languages--⁵⁵

1. Propagation of Christianity in Asian Society, thanks to Portuguese

missionaries. Terms concerning the Christian doctrine were borrowed from the Portuguese language as local languages were found lacking in equivalent terms. Dalgado also feels that 'even when suitable terms or expressions existed in the indigenous languages, they made use of the Portuguese words for fear lest the people might confound Christianity with Hinduism or Mahomedanism and thereby trace resemblances between these three religions'.⁵⁶

2) Portuguese civilization introduced new objects in Asian Society. These came along with the Portuguese words by which they were represented.

3) The Portuguese introduced new plants/trees on the Asian soil. These often came with their Portuguese names.

4) Portuguese words are sometimes preferred to native alternatives as they are felt to be making an impact of 'distinction or superiority'⁵⁷.

5) Some words are borrowed because, in comparison with the native options they are 'simple to pronounce, and are expressive and characteristic'⁵⁷.

6) Certain terms are adopted, sometimes replacing the native terms, sometimes in addition to these, simply because they fascinate the user.⁵⁸

Dalgado also makes some general observations regarding phonological and morphological integration of Portuguese loanwords in Asian languages. One of the important observations pertaining to Konkani is regarding the assimilation of Portuguese verb forms (infinitives) into Konkani. Dalgado was the first one to notice that 'in Konkani they [infinitives] remain as a rule unchanged and are conjugated with the vernacular verb corresponding to 'to make' or 'to be' according to whether it is transitive or intransitive and reflexive.'⁵⁹

Dalgado also sees a possible classification of Portuguese loanwords in accordance with the range of their impact on the various languages. Thus, there would be

- 1) loanwords, few in number as compared to the rest, found in nearly 'all the indigenous cultivated languages';
- 2) loanwords 'exclusively used by Christians', and,
- 3) loanwords with which only the city dwelling 'educated classes' are familiar.⁶⁰

The Socio-cultural and educational background of the speakers is indeed a determining factor in the borrowing of Portuguese loanwords into Konkani.

In a recent study of Konkani loans conducted within the framework of Generative Grammar, Francis Alves takes up the issue of gender marking of substantives borrowed from English into Konkani.⁶¹ Konkani data which is analyzed is seen to be reinforcing the claims of 'the Elsewhere Condition' formulated by Paul Kiparsky. Based on the application of this concept to the problem of gender assignment to borrowed nouns in Konkani, Alves concludes that 'in Konkani, gender resides in both form and meaning', and that 'the form takes precedence over meaning.'⁶²

Another systematic study of loanwords in Konkani is Rocky Miranda's investigation of the influence of Kannada on Old Konkani lexicon (sixteenth and seventeenth century Konkani).⁶³ Miranda identifies over one hundred loanwords from Kannada into Konkani, which are recorded in the three available versions of the oldest of the Konkani - Portuguese dictionaries - that compiled by Diogo Ribeiro in 1626. Miranda makes the following observations:

1. '[A]lmost all the Kannada loans found in Old Konkani are content words and, among these, most are nouns'.⁶⁴
2. 'In addition to the verbs borrowed directly from Kannada, Old Konkani also has a couple of verbs that have been formed from other parts of speech borrowed from Kannada.'⁶⁵
3. 'The number of adjectives borrowed from Kannada is quite small'.⁶⁶

4. 'Old Konkani has a couple of postpositions from Kannada, which still survive.'⁶⁷
5. 'Probably a large number of [Sanskrit loans] came into Konkani through Kannada and Marathi, the influential literary languages in the Konkani area.'⁶⁸
6. 'Some of the Kannada loans in Old Konkani are in hybrid formations consisting of Kannada and Sanskrit elements.'⁶⁸
7. 'Kannada loans in Old Konkani show signs of being well assimilated morphologically.'⁶⁹
8. 'In the course of such assimilation, Kannada loans have undergone many phonological and semantic alterations.'⁷⁰

1.8 THEORETICAL PRELIMINARIES

Language, like all other aspects of human culture, changes over a period of time. The linguistic structure -- phonology, morphology, syntax and semantics-- as also the linguistic inventories -- phonetic spectrum and lexicon -- of a language are affected by change.

A particular linguistic feature may undergo modification 'on its own' or on account of an outside influence, i.e., the influence of another language or another dialect of the same language. Changes of the latter type are 'introduced into languages as speakers of one language adopt elements of another.'⁷¹ These elements may be words, stems -- forms smaller than words, and even phrases -- forms larger than words.⁷²

The process whereby linguistic elements get transferred from one language to another as also the form that is introduced or taken over by a language or a dialect from another⁷³ is traditionally referred in Comparative and Historical Linguistics as *borrowing*. The language or linguistic variety from which a form spreads into another is referred as the 'source' (language /variety), and

the language or linguistic variety into which a form from the source spreads is called the 'target' (language/variety).

Borrowing carries the assumption that every language has a specific inherent identity. This is perhaps what is hinted at when Leonard Bloomfield alludes to 'the basic tradition' of a language before defining linguistic borrowing as 'the adoption of features which differ from those of the main tradition.'⁷⁴ While outlining the theoretical preliminaries of his seminal work on language contact, Uriel Weinreich at the very outset writes--

'A structuralist theory of communication which distinguishes between speech and language... necessarily assumes that every speech event belongs to a definite language. Only on this assumption is it possible to conceive of an utterance containing some elements which belong to another language than the rest. Because it is usually known, to either the speaker or the describer or both, to which language an utterance as a whole belongs, the non-belonging elements can be separated as "borrowed" or TRANSFERRED.'⁷⁵

Borrowed elements are thus 'outsiders' in a language. But they are outsiders only from the diachronic perspective of a self-conscious speaker-listener or an investigator. Otherwise a borrowed element is hardly perceived as an outsider except when it is a fairly recent innovation. Also, a borrowed element hardly functions as an outsider alienated from the system of the host-language, and is also capable of introducing alterations in it.

Here Weinreich's distinction between borrowing and interference -- becomes relevant to the discussion. While borrowing to him implies 'mere additions to an inventory... [i]n the more loosely patterned domains of a language -- some of the syntax or vocabulary of an incidental nature...', interference signifies 'the rearrangement of patterns that result from the introduction of foreign elements into the more highly structured domains of language, such as the bulk of the phonemic system, a large part of the morphology and

syntax, and some areas of the vocabulary (kinship, color, weather, etc.).¹⁷⁶ Weinreich further cautions that although it may be proper to speak of borrowing when our stress is on the transfer of an element as such, we cannot rule out the possibility of a simple borrowed element 'ensuing rearrangements in the patterns'¹⁷⁶ of the language and thus eventually turning out to be an interference.

Borrowing is one of the mechanisms of linguistic change. But, as remarked by Charles Hockett, it 'stands somewhat apart from the other mechanisms.'¹⁷⁷ Other mechanisms like sound change and analogy⁷⁸ 'can bring about an innovation, but if the innovation survives and spreads to other speakers only borrowing can be responsible.'¹⁷⁷ All acts of face-to-face speech are prone to borrowing. As Hockett puts it, '... the conditions for borrowing are present constantly, as a natural accompaniment of every use of language except genuine soliloquy.'¹⁷⁷ Herold Bloom, while discussing the *anxiety of influence*, argues that 'poetic history... is... indistinguishable from poetic influence.'¹⁷⁹ Likewise, linguistic history is a story of linguistic influence.

The part of language that is most vulnerable to influence is its vocabulary. As pointed out by Rene Appel and Pieter Muysken, 'lexical borrowing is as old as the oldest cuneiform tablets and rock inscriptions, and older yet.'⁸⁰ As Weinreich puts it, this is 'the domain of borrowing par excellence.'⁸¹ This vulnerability of the vocabulary could also be seen as its strength, its power. Words can create wonders; they create a history when they move from one language to another. While responding to Lucien Febvre's sketch of the history of the term 'civilization', Emile Benveniste writes -- 'the whole history of modern thought and the principal intellectual achievements in the western world are connected with the creation and handling of a few dozen essential words which are all the common possession of the western European languages.'⁸² This '*common possession*' may indeed be ascribed to inter-linguistic transfer or borrowing. Vocabulary is 'the most visible part of a

language.⁸³ Hence, influences on vocabulary are always perceived better by speakers and investigators of language. Moreover, borrowing of other features (like linguistic sounds or morphological formations) usually goes hand in hand with the borrowing of vocabulary. This perhaps explains why borrowing in linguistics is generally treated synonymous with 'lexical borrowing.'

1.9 **BORROWING: A DISCUSSION**

Although borrowing is a well established term in the linguist's register, some linguists have felt uneasy with it. A suppressed discomfort could be sensed in the following lines of Charles Hockett -- '... this term requires some caution,' writes Hockett, '...that which is "borrowed" does not have to be paid back; the donor makes no sacrifice and does not have to be asked for permission. Indeed, nothing changes hands : the donor goes on speaking as before, and only the borrower's speech is altered.'⁸⁴ Thus, linguistic borrowing is a borrowing without conditions and obligations. Then the question arises, why name this process borrowing at all! Weinreich in *Languages in Contact* appears to have preferred the term transference to borrowing.⁸⁵ Punya Sloka Ray finds the term borrowing misleading as the borrowing language is allowed to keep the borrowed word for itself forever and has no obligation to return it; he prefers the term inheritance.⁸⁶ However, inheritance used in the sense of borrowing has its own disadvantages as it is customary in linguistics to use it to refer to the 'non-foreign' features that are present in a language due to its family affiliations. Inherited features are those that are received by the *daughter-language* from its predecessor - the *mother-language*. And these features are precisely those that are **not borrowed**. Fasold shows his preference for lexical copying. He feels, this phrase 'would be more accurate to describe what actually happens. When one language 'borrows' a word from another the 'lending' language doesn't

lose the word, the borrowing language simply has a 'copy' of it for its own use.'⁸⁷

According to J. Heath, 'it is a historical quirk that the term 'borrowing' is used instead of spreading, imitation, proliferation, cloning, or mitosis.'⁸⁸ He thinks, this term is 'semantically misleading from the start, since it implies that the source language relinquishes a form in lending it temporarily to the target language which is expected to return the form later (with or without interest).'⁸⁸

Haugen too finds the metaphor implied in the term borrowing to be absurd as 'borrowing takes place without the lender's consent or even awareness, and the borrower is under no obligation to repay the loan.'⁸⁹ He further writes:

'One might as well call it stealing, were it not that the owner is deprived of nothing and feels no urge to recover his goods. The process might be called an adoption, for the speaker does adopt elements from a second language into his own. But what would one call a word that had been adopted -- an adoptee? Anthropologists speak of 'diffusion' in connection with a similar process in the spread of non-linguistic cultural items. One might well speak of linguistic diffusion though this would suggest the spread of the language itself rather than of elements from it.'⁸⁹

Despite feeling that the term 'borrowing' is inappropriate for referring to the process of what is known in popular parlance as mixture or hybridization in languages, Haugen does not discard it. According to him 'the real advantage of the term borrowing is the fact that it is not applied to language by laymen. It has therefore remained comparatively unambiguous in linguistic discussion, and no apter term has yet been invented.'⁸⁹

Thus, retaining 'borrowing' which is a well-established term in linguistics,

Haugen proceeds to delimit its use thereby giving it a precise definition. He restricts the use of 'borrowing' only to refer to the process of 'reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another,'⁹⁹ and uses the term 'loan' to refer to the result or the end product of the borrowing process.⁹⁰

In order to avoid ambiguity in discussion, the present research adheres to this distinction made by Haugen.

1.10 BORROWING AND CODE SWITCHING

The process of borrowing is also differentiated from that of 'code switching' which broadly refers to 'the juxtaposition of elements from two (or more) languages or dialects.'⁹¹ According to Heath, when we talk of borrowing, we are ideally concerned with 'a historically transferred form, usually a word (or lexical stem), that has settled comfortably into the target language.'⁹²

Whereas under code-switching, we are ideally dealing with 'a spontaneous, clearly bounded switch from sentences of one language to sentences of another, affecting all levels of linguistic structure simultaneously.'⁹²

However, boundaries between borrowing and code-switching cannot be clearly outlined in actual situations of speech communication in bi/multilingual settings. As pointed out by Heath, many borrowed elements are 'only partially nativized into the target language and even monolingual speakers may be conscious of their foreign status.'⁹² Here borrowing resembles code-switching. Similarly, when phrases or words from a foreign language are incorporated into 'slots in a clearly primary base language'⁹² rather than shifting abruptly from sentences of one language to those of another, code-switching approximates borrowing. The term code-mixing is coined by some linguists to refer to cases such as phrasal code-switching.⁹³

Appel and Muysken, addressing themselves to the 'classical view'⁹⁴ that borrowing and code mixing are distinguishable on the basis of the adaptation

of non-native items, write: 'this view is problematic for at least two reasons: first, there may be different degrees of phonological adaptation for borrowed items; second, it is not evident that all non-adapted items are clearly cases of code mixing.'⁹⁴ On the basis of relevant evidence, Appel and Muysken conclude that it is very difficult 'to distinguish individual cases of code-mixing from not-yet-integrated borrowings on the basis of simple diagnostic criteria.'⁹⁵ According to them, 'this distinction has a theoretical basis in the difference between use of two systems (mixing) and adoption into a system (borrowing)',⁹⁵ and linguists would have to yield new operational criteria by working further on the implications of this difference.

According to Ralph Fasold, a speaker has three kinds of language choice - choice between languages, choice between varieties of a single language and in between these, a third kind of choice when 'pieces of one language are used while a speaker is basically using another language.'⁹⁶ This third choice is the choice to code-switch. Fasold further writes: 'It is often the case that these three kinds of choice cannot be clearly separated from each other... (and) are best viewed as points on a continuum.'⁹⁷

However, for Fasold, when code mixing concerns words, it is borrowing.⁹⁶

Suzanne Romaine uses the term code-switching in the same sense in which John Gumperz defines it, as 'the juxtaposition within the same speech exchange of passages of speech belonging to two different grammatical systems or subsystems.'⁹⁸ She supports the view of Gumperz and Hernández-Chavez who 'talk of code-switching as a type of borrowing.'⁹⁸ Thus the types of code-switching would constitute a continuum 'ranging from whole sentences, clauses and other chunks of discourse to single words... speakers could then borrow items of various sizes, depending on various linguistic and social factors, in constructing a code-mixed / code-switched discourse.'⁹⁸

Carol Myers-Scotton points out that there is a clear relation between code-

switching and borrowing as far as the motivation behind these processes is concerned: 'In both, elements from one language are inserted into the grammatical frame of another language because these elements meet speakers' expressive needs.'⁹⁹ Having pointed out this similarity, Myers-Scotton brings out three points of difference between the two:

1. Only bilinguals can engage in code-switching. But borrowed lexemes occur even in the speech of monolinguals.
2. Borrowed lexemes are part of the mental lexicon of both, the source and the target languages; a code-switched form is part of the mental lexicon of only one language -- the 'embedded language.'¹⁰⁰
3. In lexical borrowing, lexemes from 'a more sociopolitical (sic) dominant language' find their way into 'a less commanding language.'¹⁰¹ With code switching it may be the contrary.

Myers-Scotton makes an important point about how some code-switching can ultimately lead to borrowing. She draws a distinction between 'core borrowings' and 'cultural borrowings.'¹⁰² Whereas core borrowings 'stand for concepts or objects already covered by recipient language'¹⁰³, cultural borrowings stand for new concepts or objects as far as the recipient language is concerned. According to Myers-Scotton, the life of a core borrowing into a particular language begins as an instance of a singly occurring lexeme in code switching between that language and another. As core borrowings are additional duplicates in the lexicon of a language and since these 'do not fill lexical gaps, there is no motivation to adopt them overnight, but rather over time.'¹⁰³ A cultural borrowing on the other hand 'almost necessarily enters the recipient language abruptly. Such lexemes fill lexical gaps which need immediate attention.'¹⁰³ The process of code-switching, thus, is responsible for core borrowings but has nothing to do with the introduction of cultural borrowings.

As pointed out by Suzanne Romaine, 'in general, in the study of language contact there has been little agreement on the appropriate definitions of various effects of language contact...'¹⁰⁴ The terms borrowing, code switching, and code mixing are certainly not exceptions.

1.11 CONCLUSION

In concluding this chapter, it needs to be reiterated that the above discussion regarding the theoretical preliminaries, has been necessitated by the nature of this work. The present study which is an investigation into influences on Konkani lexicon is basically concerned with the process of borrowing. However, some influences that are probably code-switches but, being widespread, that seem likely to enter the lexicon of Konkani over time are also dealt with.

An outline of the history of the evolution of Konkani and of its historically determined geographic location has been provided in the course of this Chapter, as a basis for the study of the lexical influences on Konkani. As has been evident in the foregone conclusion, the history of Konkani has been a story of submerged cultivation, since it has been a site for multiple linguistic contacts, but never in a politically empowered position, if one should go by Katre's observation quoted earlier in the discussion. Konkani's shifting political destiny has provided the impetus for the emergence of series of diglossia. As such, Konkani's encounter with successive diglossias forms the theme of the following Chapter.

Notes and References

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² Ibid : 18,19.

³ For a detailed exposition of the evolution of the Indo-Aryan speech in India, *ibid*: 1-137 may be referred.

⁴ *Ibid* : 18.

⁵ Nagesh Sonde, *Konknni Bhashecho Itihas* (Mumbai: Vasantik Prakashan, 1981) 33,34.

⁶ Shripad Desai, *Konknni Bhashechi Kullkatha, Konkani Shabdakosh-IV-Supplement* (Pune: Saundarya Lahari Prakashan, 1990) 13.

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¹² S.M. Katre, *The Formation of Konkani* (Pune: Deccan College, 1966) 173,174.

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¹⁴ P. B. Pandit, "Relationship in Language, *Seminar Papers in Linguistics* (Kathmandu: Institute of Nepal and Asian Studies, Tribhuvan University) 85-98.

¹⁵ Ashok R. Kelkar, "Marathi Language" MS. (for inclusion in *The Encyclopaedia Asiatica*, Vol. IV : Language and Litetaure)

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¹⁷ N. G. Kalelkar, "*Konknni*". *Bhasha anni Sanskriti* (Mumbai: Mauz Prakashan, 1962) 108.

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¹⁹ *Ibid* : 23-25.

²⁰ For more details Kamat 1999 : 12-23; V. R. Mitragotri, *A Socio-Cultural History of Goa from the Bhojas to the Vijayanagara* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999) 33-41, may be referred.

²¹ Chatterji 1969:102.

²² Katre 1966:175.

²³ *Ibid*: 177.

²⁴ Miranda 1978:84.

²⁵ Pratap Naik, "Romi Lipi Ani Ticho Fuddar". Sod: Konkani Research Bulletin 8 (2005) 73.

²⁶ Ibid : 82, 83.

²⁷ Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, Diccionario Komkani - Portuguez - Philologico-Etymologico. (Mumbai: Typographia do "Indu-Prakash", 1893).

²⁸ Ravindra Kelekar "*Samyukta Goem Zalemna Zalyar Konknni Lok Shenntalo*", Maha Konkani Sudarshan ed. Suhas Dalal (Quepem: Pratibha Prakashan, 2003) 14.

²⁹ See Sebastião Rudolpho Dalgado, Introduction, Diccionario Komkani - Portuguez (Mumbai: Typographia do "Indu-Prakash", 1893); Shennoi Goembab, Yewkar - Adhyakshamlem Ulowp (Mumbai: Gomantak Printing Press, 1945) 57-61.

³⁰ Dalgado 1893: Introduction.

³¹ Shennoi Goembab 1945:61.

³² See Miranda 1978:80.

³³ Sollavya Shemkddya Adlem Konknni Ramayan, ed. Olivinho Gomes (Taleigao-Goa : Goa University, 1996); Sollavya Shemkddyamtem Konknni Mhabharat : Adi Parva, ed. Pratap Naik (Porvorim-Goa: TSKK, 1990)

³⁴ See Da Cunha : 20,21.

³⁵ Ibid: 22.

³⁶ Kalelkar :108.

³⁷ Miranda 1978:88.

³⁸ Katre 1966:178.

³⁹ Miranda 1978:88.

⁴⁰ Charles A. Ferguson, "Diglossia." Language in Culture and Society. Ed. Dell Hymes. (New Delhi : Allied Publishers, 1964) 429-439.

⁴¹ Joshua A. Fishman, "Societal Bilingualism : Stable and Transitional." Language in Sociocultural Change. Ed. Anwar S. Dil. (Stanford : Stanford UP, 1972)135-152.

⁴² Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing." 1950. The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen. Ed. Anwar S. Dil. California: Sanford UP, 1972. 79-109

⁴³ George Peter Murdock, Social Structure. (New York : The Free Press, 1949).

⁴⁴ Leonard Bloomfield, Language. (New York: Henry Holt & Co. 1933) 444-475.

⁴⁵ Aniceto dos Reis GonCalves Viana of the Academy of Sciences, Lisbon, strongly recommending Dalgado's manuscript of Vocabulario for the publication grant of the Academy writes : '...uptil now, orientalist... have preferred to devote their time to investigate the origin of exotic vocables of varying provenance which have made their entry into European languages, and not to examine the influence which these latter have exercised over the vernaculars of the other parts of the world' (See Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages. Tr. of Influencia do Vocabulario Português, em Linguas Asiaticas (abragendo cerca

de cinquenta idiomas). Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, Lisbon: the Academy of Sciences, 1913. Tr. by Anthony Xavier Soares. 1936, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988 Rpt.: cxvii). From this it could be inferred that Dalgado also pioneered the study of the influence of Portuguese on non-European languages. Furthermore, Dalgado's *Glossario Luso-Asiatico* in two volumes (Vol. I, Coimbra 1919, lxvii+535 pp., Vol. II, Lisbon, 1921, vii+580 pp), according to Anthony Xavier Soares, his *chef d'oeuvre*, wherein 'the author traces the history of the innumerable Eastern terms met with in Portuguese chronicles' (ibid: xvii) may be considered the beginning also of the study of the influence of Konkani on Portuguese.

⁴⁶ "A Sketch of the Author's life", Portuguese Vocabes in Asiatic Languages. Tr. of *Influencia do Vocabulario Português, em Linguas Asiaticas (abragendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas)*. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, Lisbon: the Academy of Sciences, 1913. Tr. by Anthony Xavier Soares. 1936, New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988 Rpt. : xvii.

⁴⁷ 'Translator's Preface', ibid : ix.

⁴⁸ 'The Author's Introduction', ibid xxxii.

⁴⁹ Ibid xxxiv.

⁵⁰ Ibid : cxvii.

⁵¹ See 'The Author's Introduction', ibid : li-liv.

⁵² Ibid : 33,34.

⁵³ Ibid : 193,194.

⁵⁴ Ibid : xliii.

⁵⁵ See ibid : xliii - xlvi.

⁵⁶ Ibid : xlv.

⁵⁷ Ibid : xlv.

⁵⁸ All the above reasons could be subsumed under the two motives behind borrowing that are identified by linguists. viz. the need filling motive, and, the prestige motive (see Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics. 1958. (New Delhi : Oxford IBH Publishing Co., 1970) 404-407). When, as in 1,2,3, and probably 5, borrowing 'fills a gap' (ibid : 405) in the borrowing language, the need-filling motive is operative in the borrowing process. On the other hand, when one borrows a vocable not because it fills a gap but because borrowing from the particular donor language brings about certain identification with the 'admired' in the society, the prestige motive is in operation. This is the case of 4 and probably also 6.

⁵⁹ Ibid : xlvi. In fact, the Portuguese infinitive, when imported into Konkani is made to fill in the slot for adverb (of manner) in the already existing transitive/intransitive construction patterns in Konkani grammar.

Konkani syntactic patterns:

I. Subject (Agent) - Object - Adverb - Verb ("make")

ex. I. *rajan setkarak girest kelo*

king (ERGATIVE) · farmer (ACCUSATIVE) rich made

"king made the farmer rich"

ex. 2. <i>awhyn</i>	<i>b^hurgyak</i>	<i>k^ho fi</i>	<i>kɛlɛ̃</i>
mother (ERGATIVE)	child (ACCUSATIVE)	happy	made
"mother made the child happy."			
2. Subject (Agent-Experiencer)	-	Adverb	- Verb "become"
ex. 1. <i>setkar</i>		<i>girest</i>	<i>ḍalɔ</i>
farmer		rich	became
"the farmer became rich"			
ex. 2. <i>b^hurgē</i>		<i>k^ho fi</i>	<i>ḍalɛ̃</i>
child		happy	became
"the child became happy"			
3. Subject (Agent/Experiencer)	-	Adverb	- Verb
ex. 1. <i>setkar</i>		<i>girest</i>	<i>asa ("be")</i>
farmer		rich	is
"the farmer is rich"			
ex. 2. <i>b^hurgē</i>		<i>k^ho fi</i>	<i>asa</i>
child		happy	is
"the child is happy"			

When the borrowed Portuguese verb (in the infinitive form) is a verb of state, it appears in all the three combinations. Thus we have *perturbar kɛlɔ* "(someone) disturbed (someone)", *perturbar ḍalɔ* "(someone) got ("became") disturbed", and *perturbar aslɔ* "(someone) was disturbed". But when the verb is a verb of action, it appears only in two combinations - one with 'make', the other with 'become'. Thus we have *kurar kɛlɔ* "(someone) cured (someone)", "*kurar ḍalɔ* "(someone) got cured"; *salwar kɛlɔ* "(someone) saved (someone)", *salwar ḍalɔ* "(someone) got saved." More research is needed to fully explain the combinations with the infinitives borrowed from Portuguese.

⁶⁰ Ibid: xliii

⁶¹ Francis X. Alves, "Gender Marking of Konkani Nouns Borrowed from English." *Sod: Konkani Research Bulletin*, 1 (2000) 76-90.

⁶² Ibid: 90.

⁶³ Rocky Valerine Miranda, "Kannada Influence on Old Konkani Lexicon." *Sod: Konkani Research Bulletin*, 3 (2002): 81-94.

⁶⁴ Ibid: 84.

⁶⁵ Ibid: 87.

- ⁶⁶ Ibid: 88.
- ⁶⁷ Ibid: 89.
- ⁶⁸ Ibid: 90.
- ⁶⁹ Ibid: 91.
- ⁷⁰ Ibid: 93.
- ⁷¹ Winfred P. Lehmann , Historical Linguistics. 3rd ed. London : Routledge, 1995 : 3.
- ⁷² See J. Heath , "Borrowing" The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. 10 Vols. Ed. A. E. Asher. (Oxford : Pergamon Press, 1994) 383-394.
- ⁷³ See David Crystal, A Dictionary of Linguistics and Phonetics. (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1985) 36.
- ⁷⁴ Bloomfield: 444.
- ⁷⁵ Uriel Weinreich, Languages in Contact: Findings and Problems, 1953. (The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1963) 7
- ⁷⁶ Ibid : 1
- ⁷⁷ Charles F. Hockett, A Course in Modern Linguistics. 1958. (New Delhi : Oxford IBH Publishing Co., 1970) 402.
- ⁷⁸ Sound change refers to the process whereby the speech habits of a speech community gradually change over a period of time and result in a change in the sound system of a language. Analogy refers to the process whereby speakers regularize the exceptions in a linguistic system.
- ⁷⁹ Harold Bloom, The Anxiety of Influence - a Theory of Poetry. 1973. (New York: Oxford UP, 1982 Rpt.) 5
- ⁸⁰ René Appel and Pieter Muysken. Language Contact and Bilingualism. (London: Edward Arnold: 1987)154.
- ⁸¹ Weinreich : 56.
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- ⁸⁶ Punya Sloka Ray. Cit. Ralph Fasold, Introduction to Sociolinguistics Vol. I. (Oxford : Basil Blackwell, 1987).
- ⁸⁷ See Fasold
- ⁸⁸ Heath: 384.

⁸⁹ Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing." Dil, Anwar S, ed. The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen. Ed. Anwar S. Dil. (California: Sanford UP, 1972) 81.

⁹⁰ See Haugen: 81-85.

⁹¹ K.M. McCormick, "Code-switching and Mixing." The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. 10 Vols. Ed. A. E. Asher. (Oxford : Pergamon Press, 1994) 581.

⁹² Heath : 384.

⁹³ See *ibid*.

⁹⁴ Appel & Muysken : 172.

⁹⁵ *Ibid* : 173.

⁹⁶ Fasold : 180.

⁹⁷ *Ibid*: 181.

⁹⁸ Susanne Romaine, Bilingualism. (Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd., 1989) 114.

⁹⁹ Carol Myers - Scotton, "Code-Switching" The Handbook of Sociolinguistics. Ed. Florian Coulmas, (Oxford : Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997) 228.

¹⁰⁰ While discussing code-switching, Myers-Scotton distinguishes between 'matrix language' and 'embedded language.' Matrix language is the language that 'sets the grammatical frame' for the mixed constituents in code switching. The other language(s) participating in code switching is (are) the embedded language(s). :220.

¹⁰¹ *Ibid*.

¹⁰² The distinction is similar to the one made by Leonardo Bloomfield between 'intimate borrowing' and 'cultural borrowing.' (Bloomfield : 444-475)

¹⁰³ Myers-Scotton : 228.

¹⁰⁴ Romaine : 114.



CHAPTER - TWO

KONKANI LANGUAGE :

DIGLOSSIA AND

EMERGENCE OF LITERATURE

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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.¹

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.'²

This original formulation of diglossia is referred to as 'classical' diglossia in linguistic literature on the topic.³ 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.⁴ 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" ¹⁵. 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'⁵ 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'⁶.

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.

7. Grammar: The grammatical structures of H and L differ extensively.

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).¹⁷

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.'¹⁷

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'¹⁸ 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.¹⁹

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.¹⁰

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).¹⁹

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.'²⁰ According to Abel, 'H and L function as H and L relative to each other and depend on each other for their validation'.²¹

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'.¹² 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'.²³

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'.²⁴ Standard English or standard Hindi are instances of such 'families of standard

dialects'²⁵. 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',²⁶ 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.²⁷ 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.'²⁸

However, although Fr. Stephens wrote the *Purana* in Marathi, based on the Portuguese Catechism of Fr. Marcos Jorge,²⁹ 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.³⁰ 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.³¹ 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'³² 'Our Father' or 'Hail Mary' in Konkani, for instance, very much echo the translations done by Fr. Stephens centuries ago.³³

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 Fransiscan 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.'³⁴ 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.'³⁵ 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.³⁶

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 sudarṇi 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 (*'firīgi 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 grammar⁴² and, to the shame experienced by Goans while speaking in Konkani⁴³.

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 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.⁴⁴ This literature, like *Teatro*, had 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.⁴⁵

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 *gṛ* (Konkani word for jaggery), the grocer too gave him jaggery as *gṛ* but wrote *guḷ* (Marathi word for jaggery) in his accounts book.⁴⁶ Personal letters were written in Marathi. Local magazines meant for Hindu readership used to be in Marathi.⁴⁷ Konkani was the vehicle of oral literature (folk-lore). It abounded in folk-tales, folk-songs, proverbs etc. Religious practices like *garanḍē* and *prāsad* (invocation of blessings from, and consultations with a deity) -- practices that are not based on any written text -- were carried out in Konkani. But *b^hajən*, *arti* -- devotional songs, were sung in Marathi. Similarly, *stotrā* -- 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.⁴⁸

It was a common practice among Hindu Goans to Marathize their surnames and Goan place names in writing -- *panwel*, *taḷgāw*, *bādoḍḍē*, *sirḍḍē*, *dīwt^sḥ*, *w^hḍḍḍē gōy*, *bardes*, *saḷḷ* became *pənwel*, *təḷegāw*, *bandiwḍḍē*, *sirwḍḍē*, *dī^roli*, *thorle gowe*, *bardes*, *saḷḷḷi* when written down. Similarly, the surnames *d^roy si*, *teliṅg*, *porob*, *desporob*, *m^hambrḍ* became *d^ro si*, *teləṅgə*, *prəb^hu*, *deḷprəb^hu*, *məhambre*. *Kar* in the surnames based on places was replaced by *kə*, *ḷḷḷi* became *ḷḷḷi*. 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 पारखे झाल्यामुळे आपल्या क्रिस्ती बांधवांची कशी अगतिक स्थिति झाली आहे, आणि मराठीची जोपासना केल्यामुळे देशाभिमान, आपलेपणा व हिंदुस्थान देशाच्या चळवळीशी समरसता या बाबतीत हिंदु समाजाची स्थिति कशी स्पृहणीय आहे याचा पुरावा आपणास गोमंतकांतील हिंदु समाजांत, जी जागृति दिसते तिचे श्रेय मराठीला आहे.'⁴⁹

(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 हिंदूंना पोर्तुगीज कॅथोलिक-फॅसिस्ट डिक्टेटरशिपच्या राजवटीचा तिटकारा असून ते सगळे हिंदुस्थानच्या संपूर्ण स्वातंत्र्याचे पुरस्कर्ते आहेत. आणि हे जर कशाने घडून आले असेल तर मराठीच्या द्वारा त्यांच्यांत शिरलेल्या स्वातंत्र्यप्रेमामुळेच होय.'⁵⁰

(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.⁵¹
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.⁵²

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, *cəha* 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 Christians⁵⁷. 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.⁵⁸ It was indeed a sign that speakers of Konkani regarded diglossia as a "problem"⁵⁹ 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'⁶⁰

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.⁶³

But the language v/s dialect controversy was much more political an issue than a linguistic or grammatical one.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 Konkani remained "more Konkani" than non-Goan Hindu Konkani. 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.⁶⁵ 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 mediums⁶⁶. 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-pit^h*, "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 *poçaci b^has*, "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 *poçaci b^has* 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.⁶⁷ 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.⁶⁸ 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.⁶⁹ However, as stated by Matthew Almeida, no scholar taking this stand has so far attempted to substantiate his claim with convincing evidence.⁷⁰

Some take the position that Konkani lacked a tradition of written literature before the Portuguese arrival.⁷¹

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) century⁷²

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.⁷³

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*.⁷⁴ 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 Vistnudasu Nama and the rest by several other poets. viz. Gyanadeva, Shivadasu, Simpa Nama, Nama Sada, Shamananda Nama, Meghashama, Pataka Nama, Gangadhara Rameshwara and Jivatamu Hari.⁷⁵

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. ¹⁷⁶

He further informs us that 'in these codices no story is subscribed by the name of Krishnadas Xama or Xamaraja as author reciter. ¹⁷⁶

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. ⁷⁶

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. ¹⁷⁷

However, Rodrigues still feels that, '[t]he original texts of the three codices in the native script are probably lost... ¹⁷⁷ In other words, that the sixteenth

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, Tulsidas, 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. Prabhudessai 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*.⁹⁴ 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.'⁹⁵ This was the age when 'Prakrits through the regional Apabramśas had been transformed into the Modern Indo-Aryan languages.'⁹⁶ 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.'⁹⁶ 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.'⁹⁷ 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'⁹⁸

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

orally.

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.⁹⁹

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.¹⁰⁰

However, John Leyden (1775-1811) is reported to have discovered some Konkani manuscripts in Cochin around the year 1804.¹⁰¹ These are mentioned in his essay on Indian languages written in 1807, which is still in a manuscript form preserved in the British Museum.¹⁰² 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."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.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, antiquities or literature of the Dekkan.'¹⁰⁵

Leyden's statement as well as discoveries about the Konkani language should be viewed in the light of this 'confessed ignorance.'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)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,

1. As stated by Rodrigues and Pratap Naik, the manuscripts No. 771 & 772 contain no paragraphs and punctuation marks.¹⁰⁸ 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 visual 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 ऐसैं/ऐशें "thus", तावळि "at that time" (then?), तंव "at that time", मागिरि; फुडां/पुडां; उपरांतें "then"; "later". An abundance of words of this kind is indeed a mark of the oral discourse.

Excerpts from the texts:

1) 'तावळि ते शेवकार्नीं देखुनु तिचे लागीं विचारिलें, "तुं कोणाची कन्या हें सर्व वर्तमान आमकां सांग." तावळि ती तांचे लागी उलीं लागली

मजो बापु खारुवो हांव ताची कन्या. पैलें मजें नांव मछगन्दा. येकु गाडं भरि मजे आंगिची पोटांणि जैसी मासळ्येक हिंवसाणि येता तैसी येताली. तावळी ह्या मार्गान येकु रुसी परस्परु म्हळेलो तारि उतर्नु वचुंक आयललो. तावळी मजो बापु खारुवो अरण्यांतु गेललो. हांव येकलिचि ते तारी लागी बैसललीं. माका देखुनु तो रुसेस्परु वेगीं पेलतडी उतरि म्होणुं लागलो. तावळी हांवें म्हळें, मजो बापु येउनु उतरित, हांव कन्या कैसैं होडें उतरुं?

तावळी येकान्त वासु देखुनु तो रुसी आपण्याक भोगु मागुं लागलो. तावळी हांव भयाभिति होउनु लाजिलीं. तावळि तो रुसी बोलुं लागलो, "वेगीं तुं माका भोगु दिसी तरि बरें, नां तरि तुका सापुनु भस्म करिन." तें उतर आयकुनु हांवें ताचे लागी बोलिलें, हांव कन्या भोगु दिउंक नेणां. तावळि ताणें म्हळें, "तुका बरवी पनरा होउ सोळां वरुसांची सोवासिणि करिन." तावळि तिणें म्हळें, दिसाचो भोगु दिउं तरि नये. समेस्त देव, चन्द्रु, सुरियु, समन्द्रु, ब्रखे, वाउतर देखताति हांव तुका कैसो भोगु दिउं? तावळी ताणें म्हळें, "तुं भियेउं नाका. त्यां समेस्तांची दृस्टि आमीं भोगु कर्तनां पड नांसी हांव करिन," म्हणौनु आटांय दिसांक कमडळिचें उदक काडुनु उडैलें. त्या उदकान हिंवर जाउनु अन्दकारु पडलो. मनुश्याक मनुश देखुं नाये जालें.

फुडां ते मळे कनेन त्या रुसिक भोगु दिलो. फुडां तिगेरि व्यासु पुत्रु जालो, आणी तिका नांव सुगन्दा म्हणौनु ठेय्लें.' (A.P. : 3,4.)

2) 'ऐसें ते दिवसीं मासीं वाडुं लागले. फुडां धां बारां वरुसांचे जाले. धनुर्विध्या शेत्रां अस्त्रांची विध्या सतिस दण्ड युध्यांची विध्या पुनं सिकिले. ऐसें सिकुनु सोन्तसीं आसतां, फुडां ताचो बापु सन्तान चक्रवती मेलो. ताचें सर्व जैसें परमेस्परान फर्मायल्या प्रमाणीं क्रिया काम चालविलें. फुडां त्या चित्राक भिस्मान सिहांसणावरि बैसौनु अबिशोकु राज्याचो केलो.' (A.P. : 6.)

3) 'मागिरि त्या व्यासाचें ध्यान सरलें, अमृत दिस्टिन पळे तरि तेगी जणी आपुले सन्मुख आसति. मागिरि ताणें म्हळें, "तुमीं जैस्यो संगारु कोरुनु आयल्याति तैसेचि पुत्र तुमंगेरि जाउंति." ऐसें म्हणत खेवीं त्यो गर्भस्ती जाल्यो. मागिरि पर्तुनु आपुल्यां राउळरांतु आयल्यो.' (A.P. : 13.)

4) 'फुडां के तिका काळीं त्या रायाचे पूत्र राज्य करितां, व्हडल्येचे पुत्र त्या दोगांची शेवा करिताति. ऐशें आसतां समेस्त दळभारां सांगातीं घेवुनु, ते दोगय जाण पुत्र वनांतु पारदिक गेले. फुडां केतिक मार्गु क्रमवितां त्या विद्याचळा पर्वतावरि ते दोगय पावले. तंव त्या पर्वता वयरि नाना परिंचे कोगूळ बरवे स्वर करिताति. मोरांचे स्वर, शिव, सारदुळांची गर्जना, रूशींचो आनंदु आयकूनु, ते दोगय जाण महा संतोसु पावले.

फुडां त्या दोगां पुत्रांनी आपुलें सहिन्यें त्या पर्वताच्या मुळांतु ठेवुनु, धनुश्य बाण घेवुनु त्या पर्वताच्या शिखरावरी जरि वचति, तरि महा सुंधर मनोहर घरां देखुनु सुखी जाले. फुडां वेतां त्या दोगांय जाणांनी त्या वनांतु रेखे भितरि त्यो दोगी मृगी देखिल्यो. तंव धनुश्य बाण घेवुनु दोगांनीय संधान करुनु त्यो दोगी मृगी भूमिवरि पाडिल्यो..' (K.R. : 17,18.)

In 1, out of 20 sentences (which are a result of the punctuation marks introduced by the editor) 11 begin with तावळि, 2 with पुडां /फुडां. In 2, out of 5 sentences 4 begin with ऐसें or फुडां. In 3, out of 4 sentences 3 begin with मागिरि and 1 with ऐसें.¹⁰⁹ In 4, out of 9 sentences 7 begin with फुडां, ऐशें or तंव.

आदि पर्व 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.¹¹⁰ 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 ऐसें or फुडां. 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/सांगयन, आयका in the narration.

The narrator within the narration of the आदिपर्व text is सुख इन्द्र. He narrates the story to जल्मजय/जन्मजय. 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/सांगैन in other contexts raises a serious doubt about the written form of the narration. Examples:

- 1) ऐसे पण्डू राव राजे करितां, सर्व अनंदमये भुमण्डळ जालें आतां, तें तुमकां सांगैन आतां, चित दिउनु आयका (A.P.:16, 1st line of story No. 5)¹¹¹
- 2) सांगार्ती सहिने कितुलें व्हेलें तें तुमी आयका. (A.P.: 17, middle of story)*
- 3) तें उतर आयकुनु कोन्तभोजा रायान काये केलें तें सांगतां, आयका. (A.P.:18, middle of the story)
- 4) फुडां त्या दृणा दृपदाची वेवस्ता तुमां सांगतां. चित देउनु आयक जें मीं सांगैन तुज पासिं. (A.P.:40, 1 st line of story No. 8)
- 5) ऐसी ही कथा जन्मजयाक सुख इन्द्रान सांगिली. ती ताणें सर्व मनां हाडिली आणी येकादे अग्न्यान खैंची कथा म्होणु विचारिती, तरि स्कंद पुराणाची कथा, कोउरवां पाण्डवांची उत्पत्ति. ह्या फुडां थोरू संग्राम आस. इकुणिसावी (sic) कथा समाप्त आणि नेणतां जाणतां जरि सांगिलां, तरि तुमी आयकतले भले आसति. अपरादु आमकां खेमा कन्या ही विनंती. (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/सांगैन/सांगयन features at the end of most

of stories:

Examples:

- 1) ह्या रघुनाथाच्या वंशाची कथा सांगन (story No. 1 last sentence, K.R.: 28).
- 2) ह्या वरचिल कथा सांगन (story No. 2 last sentence, K.R.: 34).
- 3) आतां ह्या वरचिल कथा सांगन (story No. 3 last sentence, K.R.: 39).
- 4) आतां ह्या वरि फुडिली कथा रामु जल्मलो दसरताचे घरीं, तें सांगन (story No. 4 last sentence, K.R.: 56).
- 5) आतां ह्या वरिं रघुनाथाची बाळपणिची कथा सांगन (story No. 5 last para, 2nd sentence, K.R.: 76).
- 6) ह्या वरचिल सितेची कथा सांगन (story No. 6 last sentence, K.R.: 84).
- 7) आतां सहिवर कथा सांगन (story No. 7 last sentence, K.R.: 99).
- 8) आतां अरण्ये कांडिची कथा सांगन (story No. 8 last sentence, K.R.: 112).
- 9) आतां पंचवटिकेची कथा सांगन (story No. 9 last sentence, K.R.: 122).
- 10) ह्या वैरि सिता शुधिची कथा सांगन (story No. 10 last sentence, K.R.: 127).
- 11) ह्या सिकंद कांडिची कथा सांगन (story No. 11 last sentence, K.R.: 132).
- 12) आतां रावणाचें कटक इंद्रोजी आदीं करुनु युध्याक येति ती कथा सांगन (story No. 12 last sentence, K.R.: 142).
- 13) आतां राम रावणाचें युध्द कोणी प्रकारिं जायत, तें सांगन (story No. 14 last sentence, K.R.: 176).
- 14) आतां हनिमुंत रामचंद्राची आग्न्या घेवुनु, अयोध्या वेता, ती कथा सांगन (story No. 22 last sentence, K.R.: 223).
- 15) आतां रामु लंखे थावुनु येता, ती कथा सांगन (story No. 23 last sentence, K.R.: 234).
- 16) आतां रामचंद्र आपुल्या इश्टांक नाना प्रकारिं संबोखुनु धाडित, ती कथा सांगन (story No. 24 last sentence, K.R.: 239).
- 17) आतां वरचिल कथा सांगन (story No. 25 last sentence, K.R.: 280).

Inspite of the presence of सांगन/सांगैन/सांगयन, the following sentences would 'perhaps lead' one to conclude that Ramayana was a written text -

ही कथा समस्ति आदीं अंतु पर्येंत्र वाचिल्यावरि समूळ वृत्तावंतु अवतार रचना, दसरताचो वंशु सैत, समस्त मना येता. ह्या कारणें तुमी चतूरा शयाण्यांनी आयकतां, हे कथे भितरि निति, युध्द, राजनिति कथा सर्व आसा. कथा वाचितां सर्व मना येता. आतां कृपा करुनु श्रुत्यानी ही रामायण कथा वाचुनु जरि कांय चुकि आसति तरि खेमा करावी. (story No. 5 last para, K.R.:76).

B) ऐशी कथा रामायेणी अवतार रचना, आदी अंतु पर्येंत्र वाचिल्यारि जितुकि अवतार रचना आसा, तेतुकि कळत.

जाणतां, नेणतां कथा बरयल्या. ती मना हाडुनु, श्रुत्यानी खेमा करावी.

(concluding sentences of story No. 26, K.R.:287).

The words वाचिल्यावरि, वाचितां, वाचुनु, वाचिल्यारि, बरयल्या 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 आयकतां "having listened to" and श्रुत्यानी "listeners (+ergative case suffix)" suggest an oral discourse within which the Ramayana *katha* was told.

3. Onomatopoeic expressions characteristic of the spoken style.

- 1) आपुले मायेचें उतर कानांतु पडतचि टप कोर्नु उबटालो. (A.P.:25, 2nd para 3rd sentence)
- 2) तें आयकुनु प्रधानु दळपति मुकुट वर्धणिक राये, घोडे, रथ, हस्ती, संधारुनु, चतुरंग सहिने सैत रायाच्या दारवट्याकडे भार भार कोर्नु उबे रावले. (A.P.: 26, 3rd para 2nd sentence)
- 3) धुंपु अगर उज्यांतु घाल्नु मुखारि गण गण कोर्नु घाट वाजुं लागलो. (A.P.:152, 2nd para 3rd sentence)
- 4) ... जितुलीं फळां आशिलीं, इतुलींय आपण मटमट कोरुनु खांव लागलो. (K.R.:163, 7th para 2nd sentence)

5) ...तंव तो वानर नाग पास तिटी तिटी कोरनु, कातोरनु गेलो. (K.R.:164, 6th Para)

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 तांची विनवणी आयकुनु म्होणुं लागलो, "दोगी कन्यां ह्यां दोगांय जणांक पण्डुक वा दूतरास्तराक जोडुंक, तुमीं वेगीं आपुले घरिंचे ब्राम्हण धाड्या आणी पत्रिका आमचे नांविची ताका बरया" ऐसें म्हणौनु निरोपु दिलो.' (A.P.:16, 2nd para)
- 2) 'तावळि तो दूपदु म्होणुं लागलो, "येका रथान येकलो येउनु ऐसें ताणें केलें. तरि ताका आतां हांव जिवोचि धोनुं हाडिन." ऐसें म्होणु म्हा खंकाळु जाउनु आपुल्या कोटांतुलो भायर सर्लो.' (A.P.:45, 3rd para)
- 3) 'हें बृहस्पतिचें वचन आयकुनु इन्द्र राव म्होणुं लागलो, "हांव तेतिस कोटी देवांचो राजा. मजें खण्डवन कृष्णा अर्जुनान उज्याक देउंक कारण काये," ऐसें म्होणु म्हा कोपारुडु जाउनु आपुलें वज्र शस्त्र हातीं घेउनु, हस्तु फुडे केलो.' (A.P.:138, 3rd para)

In the above instances a direct speech is flanked on one side by म्होणुं लागलो "started saying", and on the other by ऐसें म्हणौनु/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 म्हणूं लागलो and ऐसें म्हणौनु/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) 'तंव भरतान म्हळें: "आगा रगुनाथा, आमचे मायेन तुका राज्यांतुलो भायर घालूनु, राज्य आमकां

मागिलें. तरि तुजे वांचूनु, राज्याक सर्वथा जरि वचन, तरि ह्या तुज्या चरणांची आण.' ऐशें त्या भरतान बोलिलें.' (K.R.:120 : last para)

2) 'तावळि त्या रायाक म्हळें, 'आगा राया, ह्या होमाक बत्तिस लखेणायेचें मास जाय. तरि तें मास खंय मेळत, तें तूं हाडि.' ऐशें त्या जोग्यान रायाक म्हळें.' (K.R.:204: 6th Para)

3) 'तावळि नगरिचे लोकां बोलूं लागले, 'खंयची पापिणि रायान बायल हाडिली. ती धर्मदत्ता सारिख्या पुत्राचें शिर मागता. तरि हिचे सारिखी पापिणी आप्येकि ना.' ऐशें नगर लोकां बोलूं लागले.' (K.R.:230. last para)

Here the sentence introduced by ऐशें "thus" is almost a repetition of the clause introduced by तंव or तावळि "then/at that time". In comparison with the first three examples from आदि पर्व in which the present participles म्हणौनु/म्होणु introduce a new detail in the narrative, sentences introduced by ऐशें here are even more redundant.

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-

'¹ऐशें त्या रायान बोलिलें आसतां, समेस्त देवांनी विमानारि बैसवनु त्या रायाक स्वर्गावरि व्हेलो.
²तावळि इंद्रालें राज्य दैत्यांनी घेवनु, आपण राज्य करिताति. ³फुडां देवांनी तो राजा आणि तेत्तिस कोटी देव गण, गंधर्व, येक्य, किन्नर घुयेंक सिध्द, ऐशें सहिन्यें सांगातीं घेवनु इंद्र, वरूण, इश्यानु, चंद्र, सूर्य, अग्नि, ऐशें अश्टलोकपाळ, इतुक्यां सैत त्या दैत्यांवरि झुजाक आयले. ⁴फुडां ते दैत्य, देवांचे सवती भाव, बाप येकु, माय दोगी, त्या दैत्यांचे घरीं येकु मृधिमामानु नांवा दैत्य, त्या दैत्यांन साटि सहस्र वरूसां तप केलें. ⁵येका उंगट्यावरिचि आपुल्या सर्व शरिराचो भारू घालनु, परमेस्पराचें चिंतन करूं लागलो. ⁶ऐशीं साटि सहस्र वरूसां भोगलीं आसतां अन्न उदक वर्जुनु तप केलें.'

(K.R.:36)

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.¹¹³ Here are a few examples:

1. 'बाप्पान कन्येक समजायली. देवांनी समजायली, सभे लोकांनी समजायली. पूण कन्या कशीच आयकना. सामको हट्ट धरून आसा.' ('इशुण कन्या' : 86).
2. 'नाग बरो न्हालो आनी खोपींत येवन आपलें कवच घालूंक गेल्यार, तें खंय आसा? जालें! उल्लोना तो थंय? तेका कवच ना म्हण्टरेर पाताळांत कांय वचूंक मेळना! तो मागीर आपल्यागेल्या राजपुत्राच्या रुपांत थंय त्या कुळंब्या चेडवालो घोव जावन बरो करून रावलो.' ('नाग घोव' : 154).

3. 'सकाळीं उठून बिचारी म्हातारी आपल्या कामधंद्याक गेली, सांज जातरेक परत आयली. परत सकाळीं उठून कामाक गेली... अशे तरेन जायते दीस गेले. म्हातारेली कुल्ली तशीच आसा. तिणें ती भाजून बी कांयच खाली ना.' ('कुल्ली बायल' : 155).
4. 'एक दिसा तांतुलो एकु कोल्लो खाण सोदूंक भायर सरलो. जायतें भोवनूय ताका कांय मेळ्ळें ना. भोवनू भोवनू तो समुद्रालागीं पावलो. समुद्रा वेळेंरी जायते कुरले धावनू भोंवताय. कोल्याचे तोणांतु उदाक आयलें. होळ्ळे होळ्ळे कुरले! तकतकीच आस्सय! कोल्लो एक कुरल्याक धोरूंक धांवलो.' ('कोल्ले आनी कुरले' : 212).

To come back to the above excerpt from *Konkani Ramayana*, the reflexive pronoun आपण 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 (देवांनी) but the verb is an intransitive verb (झुजाक 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 - देवांनी 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,¹¹⁴ the mistake remained.

In the 4th sentence, (फुडां) ते दैत्य seems to be the 'topic' of the utterance. But there is no 'comment' related to this topic.¹¹⁵ 'देवांचे सवती भाव, बाप येकु, माय दोगी' only further elucidates the topic. And this elucidation only seems unnecessary at this point. It could perhaps have come earlier. त्या दैत्यांचे घरीं येकु मृधिमामु नांवा दैत्य, त्या दैत्यांन साटि सहस्र वरुसां तप केलें is the actual utterance.

Sentence No. 6 is almost a repetition of the information in sentence No. 4. The only extra information is अन्न उदक वर्जुनु. A 'writer' would have accommodated 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 incorporated 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) तंव जंबुमाळी म्हणिपे राखेसु, ताणें आपुले धा सहस्र बंदुं सहित नाग पास घेवनु, त्या वानराक नागपासांनी बांदुं लागले. (K.R. :162) This is an ill-formed sentence. It violates subject - verb concord - subject (जंबुमाळी) is in singular and the verb (बांदू लागले) is in plural. Perhaps the verb refers to जंबुमाळी and his धा सहस्र बंदुं, in which case, a well-formed sentence would have to be something like तंव जंबुमाळी म्हणिपे राखेसु, आपल्या धा सहस्र बंदुं सहित नाग पास घेवनु आयलो आनी ते त्या वानराक नागपासांनी बांदुं लागले. Also, the ergative pronoun ताणें is unwarranted in the above sentence.

4) तावळि हांवें त्या वानराक मुठीन त्या वानराच्या मस्तकावरि मारिलो (K.R. :156)

The sentence crams two sentences into one - तावळि हांवें त्या वानराक मुठीन मारिलो and/or तावळि हांवें त्या वानराच्या मस्तकावरि 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) ¹'फुडां येकु ब्राह्मणु उत्तरदिशे हौनु मार्गावरि अयोध्या नगरा वचूंक गेलो. ²त्या सांगातीं ताचो मायेबापु, दोगांय म्हातारीं महावृद्ध. ³त्या दोगांकय कावडि करुनु तीं दोगांय जाणां दों कडें बैसूनु, ती कावडि खांदारि घेवनु, वचू लागलो. ⁴वेतां के त्येक मार्गु क्रमौनु दसरतान वेडिल्लें जें वन, त्या वनांतु पावलो. ⁵तंव त्या मायबापाक तान लागली. ⁶तानेन भोव गांजलीं.

⁷तंव तीं दोगांय म्हातारीं त्या आपुल्या पुत्रा लागीं बोल् लागलीं, 'आगा पुत्रा, सुलखेणा, तुजे सारिखो पुत्रु गुणवंतु मायबापाची शेवा करितलो, ऐसो मेळ ना. ⁸तरि आतां आमी तृशेन पिडलेंव, आमकां जिवन उदक. ⁹तरि तुवें आमची तृश्या निवारूंक उदकाक वचूंचें.'

¹⁰तें त्या पुत्रान आयकूनु, संतोसूनु ती खांदावेली कावडि वनांतु ठेवनु आपण उदक सोदित वचू लागलो. ¹¹तंव के त्येकु मार्ग क्रमविलो आसतां, येक सरोवर उदकान भरला, कमळां फुलल्यांति,

नाना परिंचे राजहौंस त्या कमळांवरि बैसल्याति, भोंवराचे रूणजुणाकार जाता, तो पुत्र श्रवणु त्या तळ्या लागीं पावलो. (K.R. :58,59)'

Here the Proper Noun श्रवण is only casually introduced in the 11th sentence, The first reference to this character is through the common noun (येक) ब्राह्मण "a Brahmin" in sentence No.1. Later this ब्राह्मणु is referred as पुत्र "son" (sentences -7,10)

2) 'येके दिवशीं रावणान, आपुल्या सभामंटपांतु बैसलो आसतां, महा वीर रणरंगधिर चौदा सहस्र भाव, देखूनु, रावणु संतोसुनु आपुल्या प्रधाना पार्शीं बोलूं लागलो, "आगा प्रधाना, ह्या आमच्या राज्या भितरि येक वानर रूप भोंवता म्हणौनु आयकिलें. तरि तूं आतां आमच्या नगरांतु भोंवनु त्या वानराक सोदूनु दी.'"

ऐशें त्या जंबोमाळ्या प्रधानाक बोलिलें.

तो प्रधान राज्यांतु सोदूं लागलो. (K.R. : 161)'

Here जंबोमाळी - the proper noun of Ravana's *pradhānā* comes almost like an epithet of the common noun प्रधान.

3) '1'फुडां ते दोगै ब्राह्मण अस्तानपुराक आयले. 2'भिस्म देवाक भेटले. 3'नमस्कारु करुनु पत्रिका हातीं दिली. 4'ती पत्रिका वाचुनु पळेउनु म्हळें, "आमी दोगी कन्या मागिल्यारि नेदेउं म्होणु बरैता. 5'तरि आतां चतुरंग सहिने सहित वेगीं वचा. 6'ताचें कास्मिर नगर वेडुनु दोगी कन्या वेगीं घेउनु या. 7'इतुकेंचि तुमीं काम कन्या. 8'जरि ताचो गाउं लुटिशात, मारिशात, नागैशात, तरि तुमकां वा दळपतिक गुजरी नां." 9'हें रायाचें उतर आयकुनु दळपति म्होणुं लागलो, "स्वाम्या तुज्या निरोपा वेगळें जरि करिनु तुजी आन्या करिसी ती आगना भंगु जाउं दि नां." 10'म्हणौनु रायाच्यां पायारि माथें ठेयलें. 11'तावळि रायान पाठि थापटिली. "चिन्ता करुं नाका. उभटा." म्होणु आपल्या हातान कर्पूरा पानांचो विडो दिलो. आपुले आंगिचीं वस्त्रां दिलीं. 12'तो दळपति चन्द्रशेनु सोन्तसु जालो.' (A.P. : 17).

The proper noun of the दळपति "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 सहिवर कथा –

'तंव के त्येक काळांनी थंय खबर आयकिली कि जनकाचे घरीं सितेक सहिवर मांडिलां. समेस्त पृथुविचे राय, देव, दैत्य, गण गंधर्व, समेस्त मेळल्याति.

ऐशी खबर आयकिली तंव त्या रूशींनी म्हळें, "आगा रगुनाथा, तुमी सितेच्या सहिवराक वचा. तुका ती माळ घालित."

ऐशें त्या रूशीचें वचन आयकूनु, त्या विश्वामित्रा सांगातीं रामु लखिमणु त्या सहिवराक गेले. फुडां त्या जनकाचे नगरीं समस्त सभा करूनु बैसले आसतां, जितुके प्रथुविचे राय सहिवराक आयलले, तांच्यान तें धनुश्य उबारव ना देखुनु, थोर अचर्यें करूं 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 राया, ही कन्या तूं कोणाक दिवूं नाका. जो हें मजें धनुश्य उचलित, ताका ही कन्या माळ घालित.' (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, मृधिमानु (K. R. :36) becomes मृधुमान (K. R. : 37); इंद्रोजी and इंद्रजित appear on one and the same page (K. R. :143) and there is also इंद्रोजितु at the end of the same story (K. R. :150). कृपाचार्य (A. P. : 28) becomes कृपाचारी (A. P. :29) and कृपाचारू (A. P. :31); जल्मजय (A. P. : 2) becomes जन्मजय (A. P. : 10); हिडम्बिणि (A. P. : 94) becomes हिडम्बी (A. P. : 100). A variation of this

kind would fit well within an oral discourse.

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, पुतुपर्नु, the king of Ayodhya (K. R. :2) attacks the *Daityas* to win over them (K. R. :3). The name पुतुपर्नु, is mentioned only once. Later references to the king who is fighting the *Daityas* feature the name शूरसेनु (K.R. :5). शूरसेनु is resisted by one विरसेनु a *Daitya*, the brother of Kubera (K.R. :4). However, शूरसेनु 'becomes' विरसेनु on the very next page (K. R. :6). काळकवचु, a *Daitya*, swallows up विरसेनु's army, ties him up and is on his way back home along with विरसेनु/वीरसेनु. On the way the, *Daitya* gets drunk, and siezing this opportunity, विरसेनु chops off his lips and nose, and then returns to his home town - Ayodhya. This reference to 'home-town Ayodhya' confirms that विरसेनु is indeed शूरसेनु who was पुतुपर्नु at the outset. This विरसेनु 'becomes' रुशसेन/रुशसेन (K. R. :7,8), and then once again becomes शूरसेनु (K. R. : 8,9), and then again turns into वीरसेनु (K. R. : 22,23).

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

'The story of Sita' begins with the story of one king चित्रसेन of कांतीपुर नगर (K.R. : 85). This चित्रसेनु eventually becomes जनक (K. R. : 90). Likewise king शांतान (K. R. : 253) becomes विरशेन on the very next page (K. R. : 254).

The proper nouns वीरशेनु/वीरसेनु/विरशेनु and विरूपाख्यु/विरूपाख्य 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 वीरशेनु/वीरसेनु/विरशेन and K. R. : 182, 184, 197, 208, 246 and 255 for विरूपाख्यु/विरूपाख्य). Then, there are three चित्रसेनु/चित्रशेनु (K. R. : 44, 85 and 246). The place name कांतीपुर नगर (K. R. : 85 and 104) represents two different locations and there is also क्रांती नगरी

(K.R. : 92); similarly, भुपाळी नगरी (K. R. : 204) and भुपाळी 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. तुवें मजेरी अपशब्दु हो मणी हांवें व्हेलो म्होणु, बोलिलाशी. (K. R. : 260).
2. आमच्या नगरांतु सोवर्नाची पत्रिका मस्तकाक बांदिल्या, ऐसो घोडो नगरांतु हिंडता. (K. R. : 268)
3. थंय धणुक बाण घेउनु उदका लागी राखुंक बैसलो, थें सावजां येताति म्होणु. (A. P. : 21)
4. आमचे वंसीं राजे करिसो कोण नां म्होणु चिन्ता भिस्मदेवाक थोरि लागल्या. (A. P. : 25)
5. हें रायाचें उतर आयकुनु काठिकार धा पनरा जण चित्र साळ्यांतु धाउंनु गेले. (A. P. : 63)
6. ऐसें आसतां दृपदान काये केलें, सहिने आपुलें बाराय् वाटां पळता देखुनु प्रधाना मुकुट वर्दनिक रायांरि रागलो. (A. P. : 49)
7. तावळि अर्जुनान काये केलें? सन्दाण कोनु त्या विरांचे बाण येताति ते निवारं लागलो. (A. P. : 50)

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

1. हो मणी हांवें व्हेलो म्होणु तुवें मजेरी अपशब्दु बोलिलाशी.
2. सोवर्नाची पत्रिका मस्तकाक बांदिल्या ऐसो घोडो आमच्या नगरांतु हिंडता.
3. उदका लागीं सावजां येताति म्होणु थंय धणुक बाण घेउनु राखुंक बैसलो.
4. आमचे वंसीं राजे करिसो कोण नां म्होणु भिस्मदेवाक थोरि चिन्ता लागल्या.
5. हें रायाचें उतर आयकुनु धा पनरा जाण काठिकार चित्र साळ्यांतु धाउंनु 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 -

1. 'आतां इण्णु कितें करतलो? बायले फुडें तेगेलें कांयच सांगणें चलना जालें. (इण्णु कन्या: 86)
2. आँ! आतां काय करतले? वोगोत चुकतकच काय प्राण व्हरपाक तेंकां जायना. ते वयतात परतून तोंड इल्लासा करून. (सात यमदूत आनी गाय : 79)
3. एक दिवस कितें जालें? भटाक बेजार येयलो. म्हाका हे संवसाराचे दंडदंडणे नाकात आनी त्रासय नाकात! म्हाका जगूंकच नाका! अशें म्हण तो येवजिलो आनी जीव दिवूंक गेलो. (अती आशा गती निराशा : 175)
4. तर हांगा कितें जाता? राणी परतून गुरवार जाता. तसो राजा बरो खोशाल जाता. (गावपी झाड, भांगराचें उदक, छप्पन भाशी कीर : 99)

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 आसतां, ताचे सियेन म्हळें, 'कटकटा, देवा, आमी येवडीं ग्रेस्तां. तरि ह्या भिकाऱ्याक अन्न आमी दिलें ना. आमकां देवान जितुकें जाय तितुकें दिलें आसतां, ह्या भिकाऱ्याक मुहुभरि अन्न नेदे जावन आमी राविल्योव. तरि ही लखमि चंचळि, स्थिरि न्हय. ही लखमि दान धर्मु, पुण्य केल्यावरि स्थिरि जाता. आमी तंव कांय दान धर्मु नकरूं! येणे करितां कैसो परमेस्परू आमकां बरवें करित तें तंव नकळ!'

ऐशें ते सियेन बोलुनू महा दुखेस्ति मनीं जाली. पण त्या पतिच्या भेयान कांय न बोलतां वोमिचि रावली.' (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 -

'फुडां त्या वाणवत्याच्या पुतान बोलिलें, "आमच्या बापान कांहीं धर्म तंव केलो ना. हो अनाथु भिकारी आयलो. मुठुभरि अन्न नेदेतां त्या अनाथाक भायरि घालूनु, हो मजो बापु वोगो रावलो. तरि हो पापी." ऐशें माय पूत्रान बोलिलें.' (K.R.: 64)

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 -

'लंखेचो विस्तारू नवशीं गांव. त्या मधें तिनिशीं गांव रावणाचें नगर, तिनिशें गांव बिबिशणाचे नगर, तिनिशीं गांव कुंबकर्नाचें. तिनिशीं गांव हें समस्तांगेले नगर.' (K.R.: 123)

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

3) मारिचि, Ravana's मावळो (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:

तावळि रावणान दुसेरीं माव केली. मावेचि दोनि शिरां रचून, राम लखिमणाचीं कोरनु, अशोक बनिं जंय सिता बैसल्या, थंय तिच्या मुखावरि घालीं. तंव सिता डोळे उगडूनु पळे, तंव मावेचि शिरां रामा लखिमणाचीं देखिलीं.

देखनु दुख करूं लागली. 'कटकटा, देवा, म्हज्या पतिचि शिरां हीं तंव दिसताति, आतां कोणु प्रकारूं करूं? तूं साख्यात राम अवतारू. तरि रावणाक केशे तुमी मेळले? (K.R.: 175)

By saying 'मज्या पतिचि शिरां हीं....' "These are the heads of my husbands..." and 'रावणाक केशे तुमी मेळले?' "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 कुंबकर्नु, Ravana's brother telling Ravana '...पेल्याची बायल, माय ऐशी मानुंची... आतां तूं रामाची सिता ताका दी.' "Someone else's wife must be considered one's mother... Give Rama's Sita to Rama." Considering this, 'म्हज्या पतिचि शिरां हीं...' could be viewed as a narrational slip. In the above speech of Sita, there is another inconsistency - once she addresses herself to both Rama,

Laxmana and once only to Rama (तू साख्यात राम अवतारू). Rama who is an *awatar* of Vishnu is referred tautologically as Ram Awatar.

5) Story No. 21 titled सातवी कथा – अनंगशेनेची is the story of one of the wives of Ravana. It happens to be a story of one रूपवंति, daughter of king चित्रशेनु (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 कर्नकुब्ज town, and is the daughter of one दंतशेठि Vaishya, 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, कर्नकुब्ज नगर, दंतशेठि वाणयो and the name पद्मावती - these details contradict others given earlier - भुपाळी नगर, चित्रशेनु राजा and Princess रूपवंति.

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 Chitrasen'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:

'येकु वृद्धिदवर्धमा राखेसु. तो वनांतु हिंडतां, सिकंद नगर, ते नगरीं वाळि राजा, तो राखेसु त्या वाळिच्या नगरा पावलो.

तंव हो रावणु दिसा जिखूंक त्या वाळिच्या नगरा जरि पाव, तरि त्या नगरांतु खबर घेतली'. (K.R.:213)

Only in the first sentence there is a mention of the name वृद्धिदवर्धमा. Then रावणु 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.

² Charles A Ferguson, "Diglossia" Language in Culture and Society. Ed. Dell Hymes. (New Delhi: Allied Publishers, 1964) 435.

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

Sociolinguistics. Ed. Flourian Coulmas . (Oxford : Blackwell Publishers Ltd., 1997).

⁴ See Ferguson : 430-435

⁵ Ibid : 431.

⁶ Ibid :432.

⁷ Ibid : 436.

⁸ See Schiffman .

⁹ Britto : 27.

¹⁰ Joshua Fishman, "Societal Bilingualism : Stable and Transitional". Language in Sociocultural Change. Ed. Anwar S. Dil. (Stanford : Stanford UP, 1972) 135-152.

¹¹ Britto :35.

¹² Ibid : 321.

¹³ See ibid : 10-12.

¹⁴ See ibid : 32-34.

¹⁵ Ibid : 35.

¹⁶ Ibid : 44.

¹⁷ Ibid : 35.

¹⁸ Ibid: 36.

¹⁹ Ibid : 37.

²⁰ P. Rekha Abel "Diglossia as a Linguistic Reality". Yearbook of South Asian Languages and Linguistics 1998. Ed. Rajendra Singh. (New Delhi: Sage Publication, 1998) 100.

²¹ Ibid : 101.

²² Britto : 44.

²³ Ibid : 45.

²⁴ Ashok R Kelkar, "*Bhasheche Niyaman*". Vaikhari Bhasha Anni BhashaVyawahar. (Mumbai: Majestic Book Stall, 1983) 67.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Manohar Rai SarDessai, A History of Konkani Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000) 34.

²⁷ *Sassastty dessī yequē Deuamandhirī*

Astamanī aditeuarī

Christauanche cumara ritu sary

Doutriny Baissale

1

...

Doutrinicha vellsu sarala
Tāua yecu bramhannu patala
Padry gurussi bolata zahala
Namascaru carunu 3

...
Panna he doutriny vanchoni ana
Cahī yeca agallē xastra puranna
Zari amā carauite patthanna
Tari hontē changa 9

...
Tumī tari varilī maguilī purannē
Tari pratipustaquē amā carannē
Caissī nacarity tumī 18

Ya passoniyā zi atā
Gentiyanchea puranna catha
Nauea Christauanchea chita
Atthauaty deqha 19

Zari Maratthiye bhassechī cahī
Xastra purannē honti amā tthāī
Tari locacha manorathu paī
Purna honta 20

(Anant Kakba Priyolkar, The Printing Press in India: Its beginning and Early Development (Mumbai: Marathi Samshodhana Mandal, 1958) 246-250.

²⁸ *Hē sarua Maratthiye bhassena lihilē ahe. Hea dessincheā bhassā bhitura hy bhassa Paramesuarachea vastu niropunssi yogue aissy dissali mhannaunu, panna sudha Maratthy madhima locassi nacalle deqhunu, hea purannacha phallu bahuṭā zananssi suphallu hounssi, cae quelē, maguileā cauesuaranchī bahutequē auaghaddē utarē sanddunu sampucheyā cauesuaranchiye ritu pramannē anniyequē sompī Bramhannanche bhassechī utarē tthāī tthāī missarita carunu cavitua sompē quelē ...* (Priolkar : 240)

²⁹ Joaquim Heliodoro Da Cunha Rivara, "An Historical Essay on the Konkani Language", 1858, trans. Theophilus Lobo, in The Printing Press in India : Its Beginning and Early Development, Anant Kakba Priolkar (Mumbai : Marathi Samshodhana Mandal, 1958) 116. Henceforth all references

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

³⁰ Gajanan 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.

³⁵ SarDessai : 101.

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 Adhyakshamlem Ulowp. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1945) 80.

³⁷ SarDessai : 107.

³⁸ Ibid : 105.

³⁹ Eduardo José Bruno de Souza, Kristāv Ghorabo. (Mumbai: Typographia Mariana 1911) 23-30.

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.

⁴³ Ibid: 29.

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

⁴⁶ Shennoi Goembab, Konknni Bhashechem Zait (Mumbai:Gomantak Printing Press, 1930)39.

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.

⁴⁸ See Shennoi Goembab 1930: 47.

⁴⁹ Yeshwant Suryarao Desai, "*Swagatadhyaksheeya Bhashann*". 1943. *Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan : Aadhyaksheeya Wa Swagatadhyaksheeya Bhashanne*. Ed. Somnath Komarpant. (Panaji-Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1992) 31.

⁵⁰ Datta Vyankatesh Pai, "*Swagatadhyaksheeya Bhashann*." 1945. *Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan : Aadhyaksheeya Wa Swagatadhyaksheeya Bhashanne* Ed. Somnath Komarpant. Panaji-Goa: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1992) 79,80.

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 *śāhīyam* or *māstī* "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.)

⁵² See Ferguson : 433.

⁵³ For an introductory reading on the life and works of Shennoi Goembab the reader may refer to R.N. Naik *Shennoi Goembab*. Makers of Indian Literature Monograph Ser. (New Delhi : Sahitya Akademi, 1980); Kiran Budkuley, *Shenoi Goembab: the Man and his Work*. (Margao-Goa : Asmitai Pratishthan, 2003).

⁵⁴ These lectures were later published under the title '*Goemkaramchi Gōyabhayli Vasnnuk*' ("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 '*Konknni Vidyarthiyamk*' "to Konkani Students" 1958. See R. N. Naik : 41-43.

⁵⁵ R.N. Naik informs us that the three plays -- '*Mogachem lagn*', '*Jhilba Ranno*' and '*Pownāchem 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.

⁵⁶ See Kashinath Shridhar Naik, publisher's preface. Konknni Mullavem Pustak. By Shennoi Goembab. 2nd ed. (Mumbai: Gomantak Printing Press, 1947) inside cover I.

⁵⁷ Shennoi Goembab. Yewkar Adhyakshamlem Ulowp (Mumbai: Gomantak Printing Press, 1945)137.

⁵⁸ Ferguson :436.

⁵⁹ Ibid.

⁶⁰ José Pereira. Konkani: A Language : A Hisory of the Konkani Marathi Controversy (Dharwar: Karnatak University, 1971)4.

⁶¹ Ravindra Kelekar, "*Ek Bhagyawant Drashto Konknni Bhakt.*" Foreward. Ugdasamche Kotthyekuddint. By Shantaram Amonkar (Priol-Goa: Jaag Prakashan, 2005) Six.

⁶² Konknni Parishad: Tisre Baskechi Khabar. (Mumbai: Gomantak Printing Press, 1944) Appendix1:13,14.

⁶³ S.M. Katre, The Formation of Konkani. Deccan College Building & Silver Jubilee Monograph ser. 23. (Poona : Deccan College, 1966) 173,174.

⁶⁴ Ravindra Kelekar Konknniche Rajkarann. (Margao-Goa : Nava - Gomanta Prakashan, 1964); "*Marathi - Konknni Wad : Kahi Antahprawaha.*" *Bhasha Anni Jeewan* 8.1 (1990) 27-38.

⁶⁵ See. Kashinath Shridhar Naik (1938).

⁶⁶ Pratap Naik and Preeta Naik. "Educational Scene in Goa for the Academic Year 2001-2002." Unpublished (Porvorim : TSKK) 2003.

⁶⁷ Ravindra Kelekar. "*Samyukta Goem Zaalena Zalyar Konknni Lok Shennttalo*". Mahaa Konkann Sudarshan. ed. Suhas Dalal (Quepem-Goa: Pratibha Pakashan, 2003) 13, 14.

⁶⁸ 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.

⁶⁹ J. Gerson Da Cunha, The Konkani Language and Literature 1881. (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services 1981 Rpt.) 25; Naguesh Sonde Konknni Bhashecho Itihas (Mumbai : Vasantik Prakashan, 1981) 62; Olivinho J.F. Gomes Konknni Saraspaticho Itihas : Ek Supullo Niyall (Chandor-Goa : Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1989) 4; SarDessai 2000 : 12.

⁷⁰ Matthew Almeida, "Franciscan and Jesuit Contribution to Konkani". Sod, 6 (Porvorim: TSKK, 2004)55.

⁷¹ V.B. PrabuDessai Satravya Shatakamtil Gomantaki Boli (Mumbai: University of Bombay, 1963) 68-82; Katre 1966:174; Pratap Naik. Introduction. Sollavya Shemkddyamtlem Konknni Mahabharat : Adi Parv. Ed. Naik. (Porvorim-Goa: Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr, 1990) VI, VII; S.K. Chatterjee cit. Kelekar 2003; Almeida 2004 : 55-58.

⁷² Shennoi Goembab: 1945 :13.

⁷³ Pratap Naik 1990: VIII.; According to L.A. Rodrigues, '[i]n codex no. 771 prevail stories from *Mahabarata*, and in no. 772 those of *Ramayana* and a few fables.' L. A. Rodrigues. Introduc-

tion. Mohabharot, ed. Rodrigues. (Goa, 1988) XVI.

⁷⁴ 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.

⁷⁵ Rodrigues : XV Naik, P. 1990 : VII, VIII.

⁷⁶ Rodrigues : XVI

⁷⁷ Ibid: XVII.

⁷⁸ Naik P. 1990 : VII.

⁷⁹ Almeida 2004:55.

⁸⁰ 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.

⁸¹ Almeida 2004:55,56.

⁸² See Rodrigues XVII; Naik, P. 1990 : VII, VIII.

⁸³ See. V. B. Prabhudessai "Gomantakachi Marathi Parampara." Gomantakiya Marathi Yangmayacha Itihas. Eds. V.B. Prabhudessai and Ravindra Ghavi, Vol.I (Panaji-Goa: Gomantak Marathi Akademi, 2003) 99.

⁸⁴ See Rodrigues : XVI, XVII; Naik P. 1990 VII.

⁸⁵ Pereira 1992: 26,27.

⁸⁶ Olivinho Gomes, Introduction. Sollavya Shemkddya Adlem Konkanni Ramayann. Ed. by Gomes. Taleigao-Goa : Goa University, 1996)XII.

⁸⁷ Pereira 1992 : 26, 27.

⁸⁸ See Prabhakar Machwe, "Marathi Literature". Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature 9 Vol. III (New Delhi : Sahitya Akademi, 1989)

⁸⁹ See L.S. Seshagiri Rao, "Kannada Literature" Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature Vol. III.

Ed. Amaresh Datta. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi , 1989) 2378-2383.

⁹⁰ See Ramesh M. Shukla, "Gujarati Literature" Encyclopaedia of India Literature Vol. III. Ed. Amaresh Datta. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi , 1989) 2366-2374.

⁹¹ See Vijayendra Snatak, "Hindi Literature." Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature Vol. III. Ed. Amaresh Datta. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi , 1989) 2376-2378.

⁹² See Sukumar Sen. and Manoj M. Chakravarti. "Bengali Literature." Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature Vol. III. Ed. Amaresh Datta. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi , 1989) 2346-2353.

⁹³ See Prabhudessai 2003: 98,99.

⁹⁴ SarDessai : 31; also see Prabhudessai 2003:98.

⁹⁵ Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi. (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, revised & enlarged 2nd ed. 1969) 102, 103.

⁹⁶ Ibid: 103.

⁹⁷ Ibid: 106.

⁹⁸ Ibid: 108.

⁹⁹ 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.

¹⁰⁰ See Amaresh Datta, ed. Encyclopaedia of Indian Literature, Vol. III. (New Delhi : Sahitya Akademi, 1989) 2694-2712.

¹⁰¹ Pereira 1992:38,39; Sonde 1981:71; Gomes 1989:42.

¹⁰² José Pereira, Konkani : A Language : A History of the Konkani Marathi Controversy. (Dharwar : Karnataka Univ. 1971) 4.

¹⁰³ John Leyden, Plan for the Investigation of the Languages, Literatures, Antiquities and History of the Dekkan. British Museum, Additional Ms. 26, 566, pp. 67-70 (or fols. 37r-37v). Pereira 1971:127.

¹⁰⁴ Naguesh Sonde, Konknni Bhashecho Itihas, (Mumbai: Vasantik Prakashan, 1981)71.

¹⁰⁵ John Leyden p. 42 (fol. 19v) in Pereira 1971:5.

¹⁰⁶ Pereira 1971:5.

¹⁰⁷ Sollavya Shemkddy Adlem Konknni Ramayann. Ed. Olivinho Gomes. (Taleigao-Goa : Goa University, 1996); Sollavya Shemkddyamtle Konknni Mahabharat : Adi Parv. Ed. Pratap Naik. (Porvorim-Goa: Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr, 1990). Henceforth, all references to the texts of Konkani Ramayana and Konkani Mahabharata shall be indicated in the main text within brackets and with abbreviations respectively as (K.R.), (A.P.).

¹⁰⁸ Rodrigues : XVI, XVII; Naik, P. 1990 : VI.

¹⁰⁹ In fact, the first sentence could be seen as two sentences - 1) मागिरि त्या व्यासाचें ध्यान सरलें and 2) अमृत दिस्टिन पळे तरि तेगी जणी आपुले सन्मुख आसाति. In this case, four out of five sentences could be seen as beginning with 'connecting' words.

¹¹⁰ According to Naik, the story numbered 8 also begins in/with a 'Marathi Sloka' (1990 : IX). This story begins with the following words: फुडां त्या दणा दुपदाची वेवस्ता तुमां सांगतां. चित देउनु आयक जें मों सांगें तुज पासि. Although जें मों सांगें तुज पासि 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 फुडां त्या दणा... तुज पासि.

¹¹¹ In the immediately following prose paraphrase of these lines तुका and आयक replace तुमकां and आयका respectively. तुमकां/आयका here, in all likelihood, refers to the plurality of listeners in the oral discourse and not to the listener internal to the story (जल्मजय) in the written discourse. There are grounds to conclude this way because honorific use of तुमी is very very rare in the narration. on pages 123 (2nd last line) & 124 (1st line) सुखइन्द्र is addressed to by जल्मजय in honorific. Elsewhere जल्मजय is addressed to by सुखइन्द्र in second person singular; so also is सुखइन्द्र addressed likewise by जल्मजय. (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.

¹¹² 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 शिल्लोकु appears followed by ellipsis, again followed by अर्थ "meaning" which is likely to be a paraphrase of the शिल्लोकु. 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.

¹¹³ 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.

¹¹⁴ Roland Barthes, "Writers, Intellectuals, Teachers", *Barthes: Selected Writings*, ed. Susan Sontag (Oxford: Fontana Paperbacks, 1971) 379.

¹¹⁵ '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).



CHAPTER - THREE

LINGUISTIC TYPOLOGY OF

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3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides a structural classification of Konkani loans. This classification is mainly based on the one provided by Einar Haugen.¹ A part of the chapter also deals with hybrid creations which are a product of external (linguistic) influence, but which do not fit into the accepted definition of loan. Another typically pan-Indian response to situations of language contact, that which gets expressed as an adjunction of two synonyms, one native and the other foreign, is also investigated in the context of Konkani.

From the point of view of the socio-cultural determinants of borrowing, Leonard Bloomfield classifies lexical borrowing into two broad categories - Cultural borrowing and Intimate borrowing.²

Cultural borrowing is a part of the general process of cultural diffusion and involves the spread of speech-forms representing new objects and practices from one linguistic group to another.³ It is both a universal and a mutual phenomenon - all languages borrow speech-forms from one another and, all languages in contact contribute something new to one another's linguistic culture by means of new words.⁴

Intimate borrowing is not mutual. It is one-sided. To quote Bloomfield, here one needs to

'distinguish between the *upper* or *dominant* language, spoken by the conquering or otherwise more privileged group, and the *lower* language, spoken by the subject people, or... by humble immigrants. The borrowing goes predominantly from the upper language to the lower, and it very often extends to speech-forms that are not connected with cultural novelties.'⁴

In other words, intimate borrowing takes place necessarily in a diglossic situation where two (or more) languages are bound in a H-L relationship, and the L mainly borrows from the H. The L borrows not only those lexical items that represent cultural novelties, but also those that contribute nothing new to its culture.

The most obvious motive for cultural borrowing is the need-filling motive - the loan fills a gap in the borrowing language. Intimate borrowing, on the other hand, is largely ascribable to the prestige motive.⁵ Within the socio-cultural context of a 'dominant' and a 'lower' language, speakers of the 'lower' language get a feel of higher prestige when, to borrow Bloomfield's expression, they garnish their lower language speech with borrowings from the dominant speech.⁶

René Appel and Pieter Muysken mention a distinction in lexical borrowing from an anthropological perspective made by X. Albo who distinguishes between substitution and addition of vocabulary.⁷ 'There is substitution if the borrowed item is used for a concept which already exists in the culture, and addition if it is a new concept.'⁸

Loans are a product of borrowing. These have been tagged by various writers with terms such as loanword, hybrid, loan translation, or semantic loan.⁹

Einar Haugen provides a very complex structural typology of loans mainly on the basis of morphological considerations. This classification seems to be the only one of its kind in linguistics. According to Appel and Muysken, in the course of this classification, Haugen has also 'managed to systematize the terminology hitherto used for explaining the phenomenon of borrowing.'¹⁰ For instance, the term borrowing, which is customarily used in linguistics loosely to refer to both, the process and the product, is strictly reserved by Haugen only to refer to the process, and the product is called a loan. Terms like 'loanword', 'hybrid', 'loan translation' or 'semantic loan' that are used in literature on borrowing, sometimes vaguely, are first discussed and some of

these are later incorporated into a well defined and well structured schema of classification of loans.

The typology of Konkani loans provided in the present chapter has adopted Haugen as the theoretical mainstay.

3.2 HAUGEN'S CLASSIFICATION OF LOANS

Haugen defines borrowing as 'the attempted reproduction in one language of patterns previously found in another.'¹¹ He calls the 'original pattern' the model and recognizes that its reproduction - the loan may vary in the kind and degree of similarity with the model.¹² Comparing the model with the reproduction, Haugen distinguishes two kinds of activities that constitute borrowing -- importation and substitution. Importation implies the introduction of a new pattern into the language, and substitution refers to the replacement of a pattern in the model with another from the receiving language.¹²

On the basis of the distinction between morphemic and phonemic substitution Haugen sets up three classes of loans, viz.- 1. Loanwords; 2. Loanblends; and 3. Loanshifts. Loanwords 'show morphemic importation without substitution' ; loanblends 'show morphemic substitution as well as importation' and loanshifts 'show morphemic substitution without importation.'¹³

Loanwords are further classified into three types on the basis of the degree of phonemic substitution - 1. loanwords with no phonemic substitution; 2. loanwords with partial phonemic substitution; and 3. loanwords with complete phonemic substitution .¹³

Similarly, loanblends are classified as - 1. blended stems; 2. blended derivatives; and 3. blended compounds.¹⁴ In blended stems, a part of the model stem is substituted with a native affix which is often meaningless. Blended derivatives may be of two types - 1. Those in which foreign affixes

are replaced by the native; and 2. those in which foreign affixes are retained and the base is translated. In blended compounds one of the morphemes in the model compound is substituted by a native morpheme.¹⁴

In loanshifts 'foreign loans appear in the language only as changes in the usage of native words'¹⁵ When there is a loanshift in simple stems we either get loan homonyms or loan synonyms depending upon the extent of similarity between the two meanings, new and old. In the former, the two meanings are far apart, and in the latter there is some degree of semantic affinity between the new and the old meanings. Whereas a loan homonym gives a totally new meaning to the native word, a loan synonym gives it just a new shade of meaning.¹⁵ When there is a complete morphemic shift in a compound, we have a loan translation.¹⁶

3.3 KONKANI LOANS : A CLASSIFICATION

In keeping with the above schema, loans in Konkani are classified as Loanwords, Loanblends and Loanshifts.

3.3.1. Loanwords

When the phonetic repertoire, syllabic combinations and prosodic patterns of the donor and the borrower language match, loanwords tend to be accepted without having to make any phonetic adjustment. Thus there are loans with no phonetic substitution. When the two languages differ in the above mentioned aspects, the result is nativization of foreign features, or adaptation. Thus we get loanwords with partial or complete phonetic substitution.¹⁷

Quite a few of the loans from Kannada (Ka.) into Old Konkani (sixteenth & seventeenth century Konkani) that have been identified by Rocky Miranda from the three different versions of Diogo Ribeiro's Konkani - Portuguese dictionary, are direct loans, with no phonemic substitution.¹⁸

Examples :

1. *usiru* "respite" < Ka. *usiru* "breath"
2. *kambi* "lath" < Ka. *kambi* "bar , pole"
3. *kempu* "enamel" < Ka. *kempu* "red colour , ruby"
4. *kombu* "sprout , bud" < Ka. *kombu* "sprout , horn"
5. *kuḷa* "tenant farmer" < Ka. *kuḷa* "lessee , tenant farmer"
6. *guḍi* "flag " < Ka. *guḍi* "flag "
7. *tumbu* "pipe , spout" < Ka. *tumbu* "tube"
8. *ba:gu* "bend" < Ka. *ba:gu* "bend"
9. *biḍa:ra* "lodging" < Ka. *biḍa:ra* "lodging , dwelling"
10. *hinḍu* "flock" < Ka. *hinḍu* "flock"

All these loans survive in Modern Goan Konkani . But in most Konkani dialects they have undergone phonological changes together with the native words . Loss of final short vowels is a phonological change shared by most Konkani dialects.¹⁹ This is accompanied by compensatory lengthening of the vowel in the last syllable. Just as the native *dewu* "God" , *putu* "son" became [de:w] , [pu:t] in these dialects, *usiru*, *kambi* , etc. became [uʃi:r], [kā:mb], etc. Besides, there have been other changes brought about by the processes of assimilation , metathesis, etc.

Examples :

1. *usiru* > *usi:r* (loss of final short i accompanied by compensatory lengthening)
usi:r > *uʃi:r* (assimilation : dental ʃ becomes palatal ʃ under the influence of palatal i)
2. *biḍa:rə* > *biḍa:r* (loss of final short ə)
biḍa:r > *bira:d*(metathesis)

Most Pan-Indian translations and creations of recent times have come to Konkani via Marathi and Hindi. Most of these could be seen as loanwords with no phonemic substitution .

Examples :

1. *dur-dər ʃən* literally, "television", - name of the national television channel-
2. *aka ʃwani* - name of the Indian radio network -
3. *widyapiṭ^h* "university"
4. *kuləguru* "vice-chancellor"
5. *kuləpəti* "chancellor"
6. *loksəb^ha* "lower house of Indian parliament"
7. *rajyəsəb^ha* "upper house of Indian parliament"
8. *vid^hansəb^ha* "legislative assembly"
9. *prəd^hanməntri* "prime-minister"
10. *ra ʃtrəpati* "president"

Konkani normally replaces word-initial *ʃ* and *z* in the Portuguese models respectively by *c* and *j* .

Examples :

1. *cheiro* "smell" > *cer* "perfume"
2. *chávena* "cup" > *cawn*
3. *chapéu* "hat" > *cəpē*
4. *chinela* - a kind of foot wear - > *cinəl*
5. *chouriço* "sausage" > *coris / cowris*
6. *Janeiro* "January" > *janer*
7. *Jesus* "Jesus" > *jed^zu*

8. *Joaquim* - a name - > *jokĩ*

9. *juro* "interest (banking)" > *jur*

10. *justo* "exactly" > *just / jist*

Exceptions :

1. *chocado* "shocked" > *ʃɔkad*

2. *chefe* "boss" > *ʃɛf*

3. *janela* "window" > *dʰənɛl*

4. *juiz* "judge" > *dʰuwidʰ*

5. *jeito* "pose" > *jʰet*

When there is complete phonological substitution of a foreign sound sequence by a native one, 'the results may be almost completely unrecognizable to the speakers of the model language'²⁰

Portuguese *fósforo* "match" has come to Konkani as *fəsk / fəsək / fɔsɔk* "match-box" ; *cruz* "cross" is reproduced in the various Konkani dialects as *kuris, kʰuris* or *furis*.

One version of English 'cleaner' "attendant in a public van" in Konkani is *kiliŋdər* - a word rhyming with 'conductor'. The professional registers of plumbers and mechanics contain quite a few English loans with complete phonological substitution . 'Washer' ("a thin flat ring usually of metal or plastic that is used in the screwing of taps , pipes etc.") in the Konkani plumber's register has become *waysər* . Similarly, 'shock-absorber' in a Konkani car-mechanic's register is *cɔkɔpsər* or *cɔkɔps* .

As pointed out by Haugen, degree of bilingualism is very crucial in determining the extent of phonological distortions in a loanword.²¹ By giving examples from languages like Menomini, Tagalog, English and German, Bloomfield too has demonstrated that an 'increased familiarity with the foreign language may lead to a newer, more correct version of a foreign form.'²²

kiliṅḍəṛ, *waysəṛ*, *cɔkɔpsəṛ* are adaptations of the English models by Konkani speakers who are not bilingual speakers of English. From the point of view of these speakers, *kiliṅḍəṛ* is merely a label of a function to be performed in a public transport system in which a non-native language (English) came to be associated. Similarly, a Konkani plumber or mechanic came to deal with *waysəṛ* and *cɔkɔpsəṛ* that were from their point of view merely names in a non-native language (English), of parts that were nameless in the local language.

English - Konkani contact is a comparatively recent phenomenon in the history of language contact pertaining to Goan Konkani. As the administrative language and the language of higher education in the neighbouring British India, and also as a foreign language associated with international communication, English did have prestige even in Portuguese Goa. But it was only after its liberation (Dec. 19, 1961) that Goa opened its doors wide for English to reign in the administrative and educational spheres. Having a good command over English came to have prestige in the post-liberation Goan society as had been the case with Portuguese in pre-liberation Goa. With the democratization of public education, English seeped into the Goan masses. For the Konkani speakers who were thus educated in the English medium schools *kiliṅḍəṛ*, *waysəṛ*, *cɔkɔpsəṛ* were only 'funny' adaptations of the English models in the speech of Konkani speakers who were ignorant in English. Owing to this attitude, the wild adaptations of English models like *kiliṅḍəṛ* etc. could not diffuse widely in Goan Konkani and are seen today only as a mark of the speech of the 'uneducated' i.e. people who have not received any formal English education. A Konkani speaker with even a reasonable command over English tends to avoid these loans and goes for recognizable English versions of the same.

b^hikarb^haso "useless talk / discussion" - a word always used in the plural - is probably a Konkani adaptation of the Hindustani phrase *bekar* (Persian)

ki *bēḥēs* (Arabic). Portuguese *alma perdida* "lost soul" has come to Konkani as *aləm pēḍḍyar*. Similarly, *São João* "St. John" has become *sājāw / sājāw* in the context of St. John feast.²³ *amori* "dusk" is a realization of Latin *Avé Maria* "Hail Mary" which has come to Konkani via Portuguese. At 7 O' clock in the evening *Angelus (Avé Maria)* was recited in front of altars. *Avé Maria* became *aymori/amori* in Konkani and eventually came to signify the time in the evening when the prayer was said. However, for the Hindu speakers it simply means "time at the end of evening and the advent of night".

Portuguese *vá se embora* "get out" (imperative) is adapted in Konkani in various ways as *wasimḍr*, *wḍsmar*, *bēḣṁēr* etc. which, besides meaning "get out", is also an interjection used to convey a strong feeling of rejection or refusal²⁴. A new phrase *wasimḍrad diwəp* "giving *wasimḍrad*" i.e. "asking someone to get out and get lost" is also coined in Konkani by deriving *wasimḍrad* from *wasimḍr*. This phrase is structured like the phrases *t^hapəḥ diwəp* "give a slap", *utər diwəp* "give word", *mət diwəp* "give vote" etc., in which the first word is a noun. *wasimḍrad* is likewise a feminine noun in Konkani (*hāwē taka wasimḍrad (F) dili(F)* "I asked him to get out"; *hawē taka t^hapəḥ(N) dilē (N)* "I gave him a slap". However, it is a native construction only 'sounding' like a Portuguese word formed with a suffix *-ado /a* like *pesado/a* "heavy" *gelado/a* "freezing ; ice-cream". *vá se embora* is only an imperative of *ir-se embora* "to get out". It does not have any corresponding noun-form in Portuguese.

English phrase 'first class' has been adapted into Konkani as *fəskəlas* or *fəḣkəlas* "very good" which is used both as an attribute, and also as an interjection.

Loanwords may be either simple words with single morphemes, or compounds with two or more morphemes. Often, compounds or even phrases and sentences in the donor language function as simple words in the borrowing

language . Thus, as mentioned earlier, English 'shock-absorber' or Portuguese (< Latin) *Avé Maria* "Hail Mary" becomes *cɔkɔpsər* and *amori* in Konkani, respectively. Similarly , Hindustani phrase *bekar ki bəhəs* "useless discussion" or Portuguese sentence *vá se embora* "get out" are adapted in Konkani as single words - respectively as *b^hikarb^haso* and *wasimɔr* . Hence, Uriel Weinreich feels , *simple* in the context of loanwords 'must be defined from the point of view of the bilinguals who perform the transfer, rather than that of the descriptive linguist.'²⁵ From this angle, simple words include whatever that is ' transferred in an unanalyzed form'²⁵ -- as a single unit in the borrowing language .

3.3.2. [ʃ] in Konkani : an effect of borrowing ?

In the available linguistic literature on Konkani, there is some confusion and inconsistency in the statements made on aspiration in Konkani . According to S.M. Katre, 'aspirates are not in general tolerated [in Konkani] except in the initial position.'²⁶ In other words , non-initial de-aspiration is universal and without any exception in Konkani.²⁷ Although this statement rightly captures an aspect in the formation / evolution of the Konkani language, as pointed out by Matthew Almeida, it

'should be taken in its proper context : Katre is speaking from a diachronic or historical point of view, but one who looks at Konkani from a synchronic or contemporary point of view has to admit that the language has been borrowing words containing aspirated segments from Sanskrit and other cognate languages'.²⁸

Almeida observes that,

'Konkani dialects vary considerably in the way they aspirate the different phonemes . Frequency of the use of aspiration too varies from dialect to dialect . The highest amount of aspiration is found in

the Bardeshi dialect of the North and the lowest amount of aspiration is found in the Mangluri dialect of the South... Between the Bardeshi and Mangluri extremes there are a number of shades of aspiration both in its frequency and quality.¹²⁸

However, 'Bardeshi' and 'Mangluri' as regional dialects of Konkani are themselves plural entities. Within these regional variants there is a considerable phonological variation in the social dialects, especially in those pertaining to the variable of religion. The Hindu and Christian dialects in these regions differ considerably with respect to aspiration.²⁹ Furthermore, A.M. Ghatage's synchronic surveys of a Mangluri and a Cochin dialect of Konkani provide evidence of aspiration in these variants of Konkani.³⁰

Coming to the [p^h] / [f] variation in this light, to quote Almeida,

'There is a gap in the distribution of unaspirated and aspirated voiceless consonants in modern Konkani, viz. */p^h/ does not exist. It must have existed in older Konkani, because it is still found in the pronunciation of a few Konkani speakers settled along the ghats. Other dialects seem to have replaced */p^h/ with /f/, a labio-dental fricative'³¹

According to Katre,

'in the Christian dialects generally and in certain Hindu dialects, e.g. ns. [Konkani of North Kanara Saraswats], ngs. [Konkani of North Kanara Gauda Saraswats], g. [Konkani of Goa Hindus] etc. to a certain extent this aspirate [p^h] is pronounced as a dentolabial fricative *f*, and so indicated in the X [Christian] dialects in Roman Transliteration.'³²

Miranda records /f/ only in the Salcete Christian dialect.³³ According to him, this is a realization of the Proto-Konkani initial *p^h and *k^h which he sees as consonant clusters with *h as the second member.³⁴ "Flower" would be p^hulə in the Mangalore Hindu Konkani dialect and p^hul in the

Mangalore Christian , Bardez Hindu, Bardez Christian and Salcete Hindu dialects.³⁵ In other words, in the Salcete Christian dialect alone "flower" would be *ful* . This however does not hold at least for Goan Konkani in which [p^h] exists only in the dialects spoken in the Pednem Taluka that are phonetically quite similar to those spoken in the adjoining area that comes under the Ratnagiri district of Maharashtra.

It appears that [f] has entered the Konkani phonetic system due to borrowing from Portuguese and thereafter replaced the native [p^h]. This is a well attested phenomenon in history of languages. To quote Bloomfield,

'If the borrowing people is relatively familiar with the lending language, or if the borrowed words are fairly numerous, then foreign sounds which are acoustically remote from any native phoneme, may be preserved in a more or less accurate rendering that violates the native phonetic system.'³⁶

Thus, Scandinavian loanwords have introduced the [sk] cluster into English. This cluster occurs in loanwords like *sky*, *skin* and *shirt*, and also in later formations like *scatters*, *scrawl*, *scream*. [z-] and [j-] in the initial position in English, was an effect of borrowing from French. *Zip*, *zoom*, *jab*, *jounce* were new creations in the language after [z-] and [j-] were accepted in the phonological system of English.³⁶

Konkani, especially Goan Konkani has borrowed copiously from Portuguese, and /f/ is present in many of these loans .

Examples (only those loans with /f/ in the initial position are picked up; where the meaning of the model and the loan is identical or almost identical, it is provided only in one place - after the loan.) :

1. *fals* "false ;untrue;bad " < *falso*
2. *falt* "less" < *falta* "want , lack"
3. *fam* "fame" < *fama*

4. *famad* "famous" < *afamado*
5. *fati* "slice of bread" < *fatia*
6. *fāt* "suit" < *fato*
7. *favor* "favour" < *favour*
8. *fɛst* "feast" < *festa*
9. *felis* - name of a person - < *felicio* "happy"
10. *feryad* "holiday" < *feriado*
11. *ferid* "wound" < *ferida*
12. *fɛrr* "iron" < *ferro*
13. *fɛrrad* "pressed (clothes)" < *ferrado*
14. *fidalg* "noble man" < *fidalgo*
15. *fugãw* "chicken-pox" < *fogão*
16. *fog* "fire-work" < *fogo* "fire"
17. *foget* "fire-cracker" < *foguete*
18. *foger* "one who makes fire-works" < *fogueiro* "one who feeds fire in a metal plant"; *fougeteiro* "one who makes/lights firework."
19. *fɔlg* "enjoyment" < *folga*
20. *fol* "page" < *folha*
21. *for* "cover" < *forro*
22. *fɔrm* "form, mould" < *forma*
23. *fɔrn* "oven" < *forno*
24. *fɔrt* "fine! (exclamation); strong" < *forte*
25. *fors* "strength" < *força*
26. *fask* "match-box" < *fósforo* "match"

27. *fɔʃɔ* < "photo(graph)" < *foto(grafia)*
28. *frakedz* "weakness ; mad" < *fraqueza* "weakness"
29. *fug* "air" < *fuga* "leak , escape"
30. *fujo* "ran away" < *fugiu*
31. *funel* "funnel" < *funil*
32. *fur* "hole" < *furo*
33. *farmas* "pharmacy" < *farmácia*
34. *furyodz* "furious" < *furioso*
35. *febrer* "February" < *Fevereiro*

That *f* was one of the later developments in the language becomes evident from the following considerations -

1. One of the earliest Konkani-Portuguese vocabularies probably belonging to the seventeenth century and attributed to Father Diogo Ribeiro records no words under *f* (i.e. words beginning with *f*), and directs the reader instead to look under *p^h*.³⁷ *Doutrina Cristã* by Thomas Stephens contains the following words with *ph* but not a single one with *f* : *phaulē, phalla, phudde, pharica, pharmailã*.³⁸

2. One of the earliest migrations of Goans during the Portuguese rule has been to Cochin . Speakers of Konkani of Cochin are descendants of the Hindu Goans from Salcete and Bardez who left Goa in the sixteenth century due to fear of conversion, and settled down in Cochin.³⁹ The Cochin Konkani contains *p^h* and not *f*.⁴⁰ This Konkani bears close resemblance to the Hindu Konkani of South Kanara. Speakers of the latter, according to Miranda, had migrated to Mangalore from Salcete in the sixteenth century.⁴¹ According to Ghatage's Survey, Konkani of South Kanara has both *f* and *p^h*.⁴² However, as compared to *p^h*, *f* is less frequent, rather, quite rare -- only four words in the entire data contain *f*. Secondly, whereas words with

p^h are mostly native, those with *f* are mostly loans . With the exception of *kə:fə* "phlegm", *fi* "fee", *ə:fu* "opium" and *faydɔ* "profit" are non-native words.⁴³

3. Sister-languages of Konkani contain *p^h* in the native words ; *f* in these languages is due to foreign influence . In Hindi and Urdu it is due to Perso-Arabic influence, and in Marathi it is due to English influence . Hindi and Urdu have maintained both *p^h* and *f*-- *p^h* in the native words, and *f* in the Perso-Arabic and English loans. Marathi has *p^h* in फायदा, फाजील, नफा, अफू/अफीम, फी, फुटबॉल etc.; both *p^h* and *f* in ऑफिस, फोन, फॅशन, etc.; *f* in फायर एंजिन (but both *p^h* and *f* in फायर करणे), फिजिक्स, ट्रॅफिक etc. Factors like time of borrowing, knowledge of English among borrowers, and possibly others, are responsible for this variation. However, according to linguists, over the past two decades or so, *f* is gradually replacing earlier *p^h* even in non-borrowed words. Linguists have further observed that this change seems to have occurred first among speakers of Marathi belonging to the Chandraseneeya Kayastha Prabhu group in Mumbai, and that the fashion is catching on.⁴⁴ Konkani, in general seems to have replaced native *p^h* by the foreign *f*.

3.3.3 Loan Blends

Here a part or all of a native morpheme is substituted for some part of the model . Loan blends give us an inkling into the way speakers analyze the models that they are imitating .

Blended Stems

Here a part of the model stem is replaced by a native affix which is sometimes meaningless. Thus, when the model is an *a*-ending masculine noun, Konkani usually replaces the *-a* by *-ɔ* which is a native masculine marker .

Examples :

1. *faydɔ* "profit" < Arabic (Ar.) *fayəda*
2. *dʰrya / dʰryɔ* "sea" < Persian (Per.) *dərya*
3. *kəɮwəɮɔ* "anguish" < Ka. *kəɮəwəɮa*⁴⁵
4. *dərdʰɔ* "level" < Marathi (Mar.) *dərdʰa* (< Ar. *dərəjə:*)
5. *lɛŋɔɔ / lɛŋɔ* < Mar. *leŋga* (< Hindi (Hin.) *lɛʰŋga*)
6. *kurtɔ* < Mar. *kurta* (< Hin. *kurta*)
7. *dərodɔ* "burglary" < Mar. *dərodə*
8. *bʰəpkɔ* "show" < Mar. *bʰəpka*
9. *gʰɔɮaɮɔ* "scam" < Mar. *gʰoɮaɮa*
10. *tabɔ* "possession" < Mar. *taba*

In all the above loans the final -ɔ is hardly more than a gender marker.⁴⁶

Blended Derivatives

Here, either native affixes or bases are substituted for the foreign.

Derivatives substituting affixes

Examples :

A

1. *gʰiɮay* "strength"
2. *lābay / lamay* "height"
3. *tʰəŋɮay* "cool ; silence"
4. *mʰargay* "inflation"

B

1. *girɛstkay / girɛstəkay* "richness"
2. *sobitkay* "beauty"
3. *dʰaŋwikay* "awareness"
4. *wʰiɖwikay* "grandeur"

C

1. *sōwskrutay* "culture"
2. *swəθənrətay* "liberation, freedom"
3. *wiwidʰtai / wiwittay* "diversity"
4. *utsuktay* "curiosity"

Words in A are abstract nouns formed by adding *-ay* to the adjective : *ghɨ* "strong" + *-ay* = *ghɨay* "strength" ; *lāb* "tall" + *-ay* = *lābay* "height" etc.

1 and 2 in B are also similar in structure : *girest* "rich" + *-kay* = *girɛstkay* "richness" ; *sobit* "beautiful" + *-kay* = *sobitkay* "beauty". 3 and 4 in B belong

to a different pattern. *dʰaŋwikay* and *wʰiɖwikay* are synonymous with *dʰanwik* and *wʰiɖwik*, and are formed by adding *-ay* to these : *dʰaŋwik* + *-ay* = *dʰaŋwikay*; *wʰiɖwik* + *-ay* = *wʰiɖwikay*. (Infact , *dʰaŋwik* and *wʰiɖwik* are themselves derived by adding *-wik* to *dʰaŋ* and *wʰiɖ* (A)) .

Here abstract nouns *dʰaŋwikay* and *wʰiɖwikay* are formed from abstract nouns *dʰaŋwik* and *wʰiɖwik*. The products are semantic replicas with a different phonetic flavour . The word-final *-kay* makes these formations rhyme with adjective + abstract noun suffix formations like *girɛstkay* and *sobitkay*

Words in C could be seen as Konkani adaptations of foreign models . *sōwskrutay* seems to be a 'Konkanization' of *səmskriti* , a loan from the Classical Language -- Sanskrit , freely used in most Indo-Aryan and even in the Dravidian languages . In *sōwskrutay* the word-final *-i* of *səmskriti* is substituted by the native suffix *-ay* . *swəθənrətay* in all likelihood is derived

from Hindi *swatēntrāta* by replacing the word-final *-a* by *-ay*.⁴⁷ *wiwittay* is an adaptation of Marathi / Hindi *wiwid^hāta* ; and *utsuktay* is modelled on Marathi *utsukāta* .

Most *-tai* ending abstract nouns in Konkani are thus a historical subset of the *-ay* ending nouns. But due to a number of words like *sōwskrutay*, *swatēntrātay*, *wiwittay* , *utsuktay*, *g^hmb^hirtay* "seriousness", *sāhād^ztay* "ease", *śākyātay* "possibility", *sāb^hyātay* "civilization" etc. *-tay* has established itself as an abstract noun suffix in Konkani . In fact , a widely used formation like *#itay* "exaggeration" which is a translation of Marathi *eti śāyokti* uses *-tay* as a derivational suffix . *#itay* is *#i* "too much" + *-tay*. *ititai* also has additional semantic capacity in that it indicates 'excess' as against *eti śāyokti* which is confined only to verbal exaggeration.⁴⁸

Of late there has been a trend , especially in the writings related to academic literary criticism, to use any *-ta* ending abstract noun from Marathi / Hindi (which is mostly a loan from Sanskrit) by replacing *-ta* by Konkani *-tai* . The following examples are taken from the writings of Kiran Budkuley, Priyadarshini Tadkodkar and Bhushan Bhave.⁴⁹

prāgēlb^hātay, *āsuraśītāy*, *manāsiktay*, *tāṭast^hātay*, *susutrāy*, *wastāwiktay*, *g^hāniśtāy* (S.N. : respectively, 52, 58, 60, 63, 70, 94, 98); *sulāb^htay*, *āt^zuktay*, *wāstuniśtāy*, *bāhuśrutāy*, *sujaṇāy*, *viśiśtāy*, *lāwciktay*, *nīścittay* (S.S.: respectively, 2, 2, 2, 8, 28, 32, 32, 34); *ucśruṅk^hāltay*, *krutrimtay*, *wiśwatmākāy*, *aśāysucāy*, *kālatmākāy*, *fuṭirtay*, *āiptāy*, *hātābāltay*, *āśliltay*, *krutādnyāy*, *ut^hāltay*, *b^hawuktay*, *rāsiktay* (A.S. : respectively, 186, 188, 188, 189, 193, 195, 196, 197, 199, 208, 214, 224, 236).

These blends have not entered the written discourse from the spoken language . Rather, they are conscious adaptations of the Marathi / Hindi models into written Konkani, at times requiring the Konkani reader to consult a Marathi / Hindi dictionary .

This proliferation of the *-tay* ending nouns in present-day written Konkani is no doubt an outcome of the expansion in the domains of use of Konkani . Study of Konkani literature at the graduation and post-graduation levels opened up a whole new vista of literary criticism for Konkani. This necessitated utilization of appropriate terminology for analytical/theoretical discourse. The option available was creation of neologisms/blends. Also, those who had an exposure in the field through Marathi and Hindi came to be writing on the subject in Konkani . Those with a background of English came to Konkani via Marathi / Hindi as the path was more facilitating.⁵⁰

The indiscriminate usage of the 'converted' *-tay* ending nouns can be seen as leading to an unbridled influence of Marathi / Hindi on today's academic Konkani . Such a licence to adopt any *-ta* ending Marathi / Hindi word into Konkani by merely changing the suffix also eclipses other options already available in the language. For instance, the user just does not notice *k^ha śelpəŋ* "salient feature" and coins *vi śe śtay* "salient feature" from *vi śe śəta* (S.S.: 8). A word *əsvəst^h ətay* (A.S.: 186, 187) is created (from *əsvəst^h əta*) when Konkani already has *əsvəst^h əkay*. *sō śiktay* (A.S.: 213) is created (from *səhən śiləta* ?) when *sō śikpəŋ* is readily available on the Konkani tongue. Konkani does not really 'need' *muk^h ətay* (S.S.: 45) when it already has *muk^h əlpəŋ*. Such seemingly Konkani words as *sō śiktay* and *muk^h ətay* serve to strengthen *-tay* as a Konkani suffix and become language internal models for a limitless conversion of *-ta* into *-tay* . This is also a matrix of the writer's knowledge of extant terminology in Konkani, his/her discrimination in creating terms; and discretion in the selection of the appropriate affix.

Writings of Shennoi Goembab also contain many *-tay* ending formations . But a close scrutiny of these shows that only a few of these are simple conversions of Marathi / Hindi *-ta* ending models. *nəmrətay*⁵¹ "humility" is thus derived from *nəmrəta*. But *akrutay*⁵² "shape" and *arogyətay*⁵³ "health"

are adaptations respectively of *akṛti* and *arogyə* which belong to the pan-Indian vocabulary . Similarly *puṇyətay*⁵⁴ "reward" is a new version of *puṇyay* which corresponds to *puṇyayi* in Marathi . From Marathi *nipuṇəta* "skill" and *marmikəta* "subtlety" are derived *nipuṇay*⁵⁵ and *marmikay*.⁵⁶ Shennoi Goembab's language also contains many *-ay* ending abstract nouns whose existence cannot be attributed to foreign models, and thus need to be grouped under Native Creations. To give a few examples, *weglikay*⁵⁷ "difference", *inḍ hūkay*⁵⁸ "envy" *sīlay*⁵⁹ "looseness", *bəṇḍay*⁶⁰ "revolt". All these innovations tone in well with the overall creativity and simplicity of the author's language .

Marathi abstract nouns formed with suffix *-pəṇa* are sometimes borrowed into Konkani by changing *-pəṇa* to *-pəṇ*. To give a few examples , *kəḍwəpəṇ < kəḍwəpəṇa* "bitterness", *mənməkḷəpəṇ < manmōkḷəpəṇa* "openness" (here *mōkle* is also translated as *məkḷə*), *dik^həupəṇ < dik^həupəṇa* "show." (A.S. : respectively 189, 191,236) At times, these adaptations seem quite unwarranted. For instance, when Konkani already has *koḍṣaṇ* "bitterness", a writer really 'need not' invent *kəḍwəpəṇ* .

Occasionally, Marathi / Hindi suffix *-ta* is replaced by Konkani *-pəṇ*. Words like *səwədən siləta* , *b^həwyəta* , *kəlatməkəta* , *wi saləta* have been adapted by S. M. Tadkod respectively as *səwwədən silpəṇ* , *b^həwyəpəṇ*, *kəlatməkəpəṇ* and *wi salpəṇ*.⁶¹

Derivatives substituting the base

Examples :

1. Konkani *inwəḷk^hi* "unknown" is formed from Marathi *ənoḷk^hi* by retaining the negative prefix *-ən* and replacing the base *oḷk^hi* (*oḷək^h-i > oḷk^hi*) by Konkani *wəḷk^hi* (*wəḷək^h-i > wəḷk^hi*) .
2. Konkani *wet^sṇuk* "election" is based on Marathi *niwəḍṇuk* - - the base *niwəḍ* "choose" is translated as *we t^s* and the suffix *-nuk* is retained.

Incidentally , this suffix is also native to Konkani which contains quite a few words like *g^hoḷḥuk* "use", *t^sḥḥuk* 'behaviour', *pidḥuk* "persecution". *wet^sḥuk* was an innovation of Felicio Cardoso while he was running the Konkani Daily *Sot*.⁶²

3. Konkani also has loans like the following in which the foreign base-morpheme is replaced by the native, and the part that has the semblance of an affix is retained -- *rēwāḷ* "desert" is formed from Marathi *walwāḷ* where *walū* "sand" is replaced by Konkani *rēw* and the suffix-like part-*wāḷ* retained in the *wāḷ* of *rēwāḷ*. Perhaps it was poet B.B. Borkar who gave this word to Konkani lexicon. It is used in his translation of Ravindranath Tagore's poem - 'Where the Mind is without Fear.'

4. *kakḷuteḥi*⁶³ "piteable" is probably a similar formation that echoes Marathi *kevilwāḥi*. It is a rhyme formed by adding the 'pseudo-suffix' *-ḥi* to the oblique of *kakḷut* "pity" *kakḷute*.

5. Word for "cauliflower" in common Konkani parlance is *fulawār*. This could be seen as *fula* (the oblique of *ful*) + a false-suffix *-wār*. English 'flower' is not a compound formation, and infact is a cognate of *ful*. But Konkani speakers seem to be analyzing it as a compound -- *fula-wār*. The loan translation of 'cauliflower' -- *kobi-ful* literally meaning "cabbage flower" is also in use in Konkani.

Blended compounds

Here one of the morphemes in the model compound is substituted by a native morpheme .

Examples :

When a Sanskrit / Marathi / Hindi word beginning with *bəhu* is adapted into Konkani, *bəhu* is changed into *b^how* --

1. *bəhuwəcən* "plural" > *b^howwəcən*
2. *bəhuman* "respect" > *b^howman*
3. *bəhub^haṣik* "multilingual" > *b^howb^ha sik*
4. *bəhujənsəmaj* "masses" > *b^howjənsəmaj*

This pattern also becomes a model for a further adaptation of similar words into Konkani e.x. *b^howr^hiṅgi* "multicoloured" and *b^howd^hiṅgi* "multifaceted" are derived respectively from *bəhurəṅgi* and *bəhud^həṅgi*⁶⁴

Marathi compounds with *śahi* "rule" like *lok śahi* "democracy", *hukum śahi* "dictatorship", *raje śahi* "monarchy", *umraw śahi* "aristocracy", *ekad^hikar śahi* "autocracy", *b^haṅḍwəl śahi* "capitalism", *nokər śahi*⁶⁵ "bureaucracy", *kəmpu śahi* "groupism" are adapted into Konkani by replacing *śahi* by *śay*, respectively as *lok śay*, *hukum śay*, *raje śay*, *umraw śay*, *ekad^hikar śay*, *b^haṅḍwəl śay*, *nokər śay* and *kəmpu śay*. Konkani has also created *b^haṭkar śay* "feudalism" which is *səṛəṅjam śahi* or *saməntə śahi* in Marathi.

Marathi *hokar* "acceptance" and *nəkar* "unacceptance" are behind Konkani *h^hikar* and *n^hikar* in which Konkani *h^h* "yes" and *n^h* "not" have replaced the *ho-* and *nə-* in the Marathi words. *h^hikar* and *n^hikar* have further yielded the adjectives *h^hikari* "affirmative" and *n^hikari* "negative"⁶⁶ in Konkani for which in Marathi there is a further compounding - - *hokarart^hi* (*ho-kar-ərt^hi*) and *nəkarart^hi* (*nə-kar-ərt^hi*).

Konkani *muk^helmn^htri* "Chief-Minister" is an adaptation of Marathi / Hindi *muk^hyəməntri*. So is *paṭāprəd^han* "Prime-Minister"⁶⁷ a Konkani version of Marathi *pəntəprəd^han*. Konkani *paṭā-* "chief?" as in *paṭāgəḍo*, roughly meaning, "one who is ahead of others", here replaces Marathi *pəntə*, which is a shortening of *Pandit*, a prefix for Brahmans. *Pe śwa* which comes from Persian *pe ś* "front" was not the official title. From Shivaji's time, it was *pəntəprəd^han*.⁶⁸ *Paṭā* also replaces Marathi *pəṭṭə - pəṭṭə-raṅi* "Chief-

Queen" is rendered as *paṭā-raṇi*⁶⁹ in Konkani. However, *paṭā-raṇi* is more a loanshift (loan-translation) than a loanblend since *rani* is as much native to Konkani as it is to Marathi . In both *paṭā-pradhān* and *paṭā-rani*, *paṭā* implies "chief".

Shennoi Goembab has also given quite a few blended compounds to Konkani. To give a few examples - -

1. *d^harmə-saḷ*⁷⁰ "a charitable rest house" < Skt. / Mar. / Hin. *d^harməśala*
2. *d^harmə-d^hud*⁷¹ "crusade, moral battle" < Skt. *d^harmə-yudd^hə*
3. *waḷ-margi*⁷² "wayfarer" < Mar. *waḷṣəru*
4. *daru-guḷ*⁷³ "ammunition" < Mar. *darugoḷa*
5. *g^hoḍesūwar*⁷⁴ "horseman" < Mar. *g^hoḍeswar* .

Blended compounds like *kəlpəna śkṭ* "imagination" (S.N.:30) from Mar./ Hin. *kəlpəna śakti* , *ṁbh^hṁwi śwə* "world of experience" (S.N.:45) from Mar. / Hin. *ṁubhəwī śwə* are widely used in present-day critical Konkani writings .

In most cases of blended compounds, the part that is substituted in the loan bears a close resemblance in both sound and meaning to that in the model compound .

3.3.4 Loanshifts

According to Weinreich , this is the type of interference that involves ‘ the extension of the use of an indigenous word of the influenced language in conformity with the foreign model’.⁷⁵ Weinreich elaborates on this interference as follows : ‘ If two languages have semantemes , or units of content , which are partly similar, the interference consists in the identification and adjustment of the semantemes to fuller congruence.’⁷⁵ Konkani usage of loanwords substantiates this observation.

Loan Homonyms

Examples :

The word *d^hɔŋ* means "bulge/protuberance" in Konkani . However, when it is used in the sense of "pretext" as in the sentence given below , it is modelled on the Marathi word *d^hoŋg* meaning "pretence/hypocrisy" :
t^həŋɖayecē lik^hit k^hcyā d^hɔŋan d^huwāw māśadak albukɛrkakidēn d^hadun dilɔ. "Under the **pretext** of signing the Peace Treaty, João Machado was sent to Albuquerque."⁷⁶

akant formerly meant only "shock/calamity" in Konkani . But during the early days of *Sunaparant* - - the first and the only Konkani daily in the Devanagari script - - when the language was groping for journalistic terminology , the word was also used in the sense of "terror" i.e. *atəŋk* in Marathi / Hindi, and gave rise to the new compounds - - *akantwad* "terrorism" and *akantwadi* "terrorist" modelled on Marathi / Hindi *atəŋkwad* and *atəŋkwadi* . This *atəŋk* = *akant* equation was initially not very much welcome by Konkani writers, especially by R. V. Pandit who had written a letter to the editor to this effect. However, *Sunaparant* persisted in its use of the terms with *akant* "terror", so much so that the words have found entry into the recently compiled Konkani dictionaries, for example, 'The English - Konkani Dictionary' compiled by Gurunath Kelekar.⁷⁷

niwəɖ in Konkani means "clean" and *niwwəɖ* in Marathi means "pure/sheer". However, Konkani *niwəɖ* is sometimes used in the sense of Marathi *niwwəɖ* as in the following sentence -...*sahityə borowpi niwwəɖ bɔɔwp korūk lagta* "one who writes literature begins to write sheer literature."⁷⁸

Loan Synonyms

Examples :

Konkani *wansa* generally means "desire" as in the following sentences - -

1. *taka bhikecit wansa* . "He desires deprivation."

2. *m^haka jēwnacit wansa na d^alya* . "I don't have the desire to eat / I just don't feel like eating."

In the following sentence *wansa* is used in the sense of Marathi / Hindi *wasəna* "sexual desire" - '*...hāvē ticer aglik korun mhji vansa bhagiyli.*' "...By molesting her, I quenched my sexual desire."⁷⁹

d^həpkɔ which means "blow" in Konkani is also used by Shennoi Goembab in the sense of Marathi *d^həkka* "blow ; shock" - - '*m^həjya mənak ho s^his^hit d^həpkɔ b^hislɔ.*' "This was a great shock to my mind."⁸⁰ This shift has found a fairly wide currency in journalistic Konkani, especially in the daily *Sunaparant*. The meaning has also found an entry in the Konkani dictionary mentioned above.

b^hat in Konkani means "rice grain (bulk) along with the husk" and *b^hat* in Marathi means "cooked rice". "Cooked rice" in Konkani is *fit* and *fit* in Marathi means "a single grain of rice" which is *gɔɔ* in Konkani . In the Konkani saying *fitawəlyan b^hataci p^hiksa* literally meaning" you can test the rice (whether it is cooked or not) from (by pressing) a single grain" a semantic confusion⁸¹ is created when *fit* and *b^hat* in the Konkani saying echo the Marathi meanings . Konkani speakers often interpret the saying as - - "one can test (the quality / type) of the grain from the cooked rice" This confusion hints at the mistake of the 'original translator' who saw no difference between both the *fit* and *b^hat*. The fact that the import of the saying is based on the Marathi meanings of *fit* and *b^hat* indicates that Konkani has borrowed the saying from Marathi .

As pointed out by Haugen, loanshifts 'occur most readily when there is both phonetic and semantic resemblance between foreign and native terms.'⁸²

Loan Translations

As pointed out by Haugen , loan translations 'have played a great role in the development of many languages.'⁸² Konkani is not an exception here .

Examples :

1. *suḷke d^hud^rari* translation (tr.) of Mar. *swatəṅtryə səyṅnik* which is a tr. of Eng. 'freedom fighter.'
2. *bəṛē magpi* tr. of Eng. 'well wisher' which is translated as *ṣub^həcintək / hitəcintək* in Hin. / Mar .
3. *faḷ-b^hūy* tr. of Hin. / Mar. *priṣṭ^həb^hu:mi* which is a tr. of Eng. 'background.'
4. *b^hūykāp* tr. of Mar. *b^hu:kəmpə* which is a tr. of Eng. 'earthquake.'
5. *b^hawki / b^hawpəḷ* tr. of Eng. 'brotherhood '.
6. *fulpakulē* "butterfly" tr. of Mar. *fuləpak^həṛū*.⁸³
7. *hat kapᵊ* tr. of Eng. 'sleeveless'.
8. *məsalaᵊpᵊᵊ* tr. of the pan-Indian '*məsala-dosa*.'
9. *uddeg-d^həndᵊ* "industry" tr. of Mar. '*udyog-d^hənda*.'
10. *s^hymə-mogi* tr. of Hin. / Mar. *nisərgə-premi*, probably a tr. of Eng. 'nature lover'.
11. *matye b^hṛwṛṅ / b^hūy b^hṛwṛṅ* "destroyed, razed" tr. of Mar. *d^rəmindost*.
12. *waḷcirᵊ* (S.N.: 47) literally meaning "path stone", tr. of Eng. 'milestone .'.
13. *kaḷᵊbad^rar* tr. of Mar. *kaḷa bad^rar*, a tr. of Eng. 'black market.' The 'black' from 'black market' has also given rise to the Konkani expression *blək kəṛəp* , literally meaning "doing black" i.e. to be involved in black market.

14. *wad̄dis* (*wad̄-dis*) "birthday" tr. of Marathi *wad̄^hdiwəs*, and *j̄l̄mdis* tr. of Hindi *j̄n̄əndin*. While the Marathi model which literally means "growth day" is an adaptation of English 'birthday', the Hindi model is its literal translation.

15. *jiwitkə^ha* translation of Marathi *ji:wən-cəritrə* which is a translation of English 'biography'. For Shennai Goembab 'biography' is the simple word *jiṅ* which denotes "life", and as in English also means "life story". *jiṅ* shows up in *ap-jiṅ* which is a translation of Marathi / Hindi *atm̄əc̄itrə* / *atm̄əkə^ha* translations of English 'autobiography'. *atm̄əkə^ha* is also adapted as *nid̄'akani⁸⁴* "one's own story." *ap* in the sense of "self" also participates in loan translations like the following : *ap-ul̄ɔwp* "monologue" translation of Marathi / Hindi *swəgət*, *ap-wawurpi* "volunteer" translation of Marathi / Hindi *swəyəmsewək*.

16. *jiṅedi s̄t̄* "view of life" translation of Marathi / Hindi *ji:wənədr̄iṣ̄ṭi* which is also translated as the blended compound *jiwən di s̄ṭi*. (S.N.90)

17. *kamsaḷ⁸⁵* translation of Marathi / Hindi *karyəsaḷa*, translation of English 'workshop' which is also rendered as the blended compound *karyəsaḷ*.

18. *lakuḍmar⁸⁶* translation of Marathi *lakuḍtodya*, which is possibly a translation of English 'wood cutter'. In fact, wood cutter is not a Konkani occupation. There are *b^hər̄skarā* "peddlars selling bundles of firewood" and *lakḍācirpi* "timber -sliver" among Konkani folk, but no *lakuḍmarḷ*. Perhaps one needs a *lakuḍmar* for characterising protagonists in folktales from non - Konkani culture.

Loan translations could be either literal i.e. word-to-word translations of the model or their free adaptations. If *suf̄ke d^hud^hari* "freedom fighter" is a word-to-word translation of *swat̄entryəsəȳnnik*, *ap-wawurpi* "volunteer", literally, "one who participates in the action out of his / her own will" is an adaptation of *swəyəmsewək*. Here Weinreich's distinction between loan

translations 'in which the components appear with their familiar semantemes' and those 'where one or more of the components is involved in a semantic extension'⁸⁷ becomes relevant. An example of the first type would be *s̄ym̄mogi* "nature lover" in which both *s̄ym̄* "nature" and *mogi* "lover" have the 'normal' meanings assigned to them by the language . Here only the pairing of *s̄ym̄* and *mogi* is due to the influence of another language. *jiṇe di s̄t̄* "view of life" or *m̄sal̄ḍp̄ḍḍ* "masala dosa" are examples of the second type . *di s̄t̄* which ordinarily means "evil eye" in Konkani signifies "view / view point" in *jiṇe di s̄t̄* and thus has undergone an extension in meaning . Similarly, *m̄sal̄ḍ* which normally means "spice(s)" in Konkani has, under the influence of foreign *m̄sala dosa*, come to mean the cooked potato and onion stuffing inside the dosa .

Most of the loan translations given above have emanated from individual creative writers and, having begun in the written discourse thereafter have diffused in the spoken language. Greater the influence of the writer , greater the chance of diffusion of a loan translation. A classical example would be that of "*sanskriti*". It was coined by V.K. Rajwade to translate English *culture*. Rabindranath Tagore came to know about it from P.L. Vaidya, who taught Sanskrit in Fergusson College, Pune. Tagore liked it better than Bangla *kriṣ̄ṭi*, a literal translation of culture. Tagore's prestige made *sanskriti* a pan-Indian word.⁸⁸ Shennoi Goembab has given many loan translations to Konkani. (Chapter Six of the present study may be referred).

Interestingly, many a loan translation has remained only within the confines of the written discourse and formal speech, and direct loanwords have been adopted into informal speech . For instance , although a word like *ε̄fa t̄k̄ḍ*⁸⁹ which is a translation of English 'time -table' exists in Konkani, Konkani speakers are given to using 'time -table' in everyday speech.

It appears that there is a historical and social basis to this choice of loans - the word 'time - table' has first entered Konkani and established itself in

everyday Konkani speech . *wɛʃa takʃ* has entered, or rather, has been made to enter, at a later stage as a conscious translation of an established loan. Further, 'time -table' is a part of a whole group of borrowed words / expressions that constitute a Konkani speaker's educational (formal) register where English dominates . See the following examples : *siʃ nʌmbə* "seat number", *kwɛʃcən / kwɛʃən pepə* "question paper" , *ansə pepə* "answer paper" , *səplimɛʃ* "supplement" , *riɖətʃ* "result" , *mark* "mark" , *klas* "class" , *pas dʰawəp* "pass" , *fel dʰawəp* "fail" , *fəsʃ yɛwəp* "stand first" , *sɛkɛʃdʃ klasāt yɛwəp* "get second class" , *distiŋgʃən mɛʃəp* "get a distinction" etc. These loans suffice to show that Konkani has not really entered the discourse of formal education . Hence, any native substitution of the above remains mainly at the level of formal spoken discourse.

During the past two - three decades that have witnessed an expansion in the domains of use of Konkani in Goa , many a Marathi loan translation has been borrowed directly into the language , especially in written Konkani . To take a few examples ,

1. *paʃʰyə pustək* tr. of 'text-book'
2. *wimantəʃ* tr. of 'aerodrome'
3. *rəktəgəʃ* tr. of 'blood group'
4. *jiwənsətʰwə* tr. of 'vitamin'
5. *cəkriwadəʃ* tr. of 'whirlwind / cyclone'
6. *mənorənjən* tr. of 'entertainment'
7. *rugŋəwahika* tr. of 'ambulance'
8. *mandʰən* tr. of 'honorarium'
9. *prəmaŋikəʃən* tr. of 'standardization'
10. *ʃitəpɛʃi* tr. of 'cold storage'

Several pan-Indian loan translations have entered Konkani through Marathi.

Examples :

1. *vacənaləy* tr. of 'library'
2. *ra s̄rəgit* tr. of 'national anthem'
3. *par s̄wəsəŋgit* tr. of 'background music'
4. *aykə* tr. of 'income-tax'

A close scrutiny of the language of *Sunaparant*, especially that of the news items, reveals substantial influence of Marathi on Konkani . It almost appears that an average present-day Goan Konkani journalist hardly distinguishes between a pan-Indian choice of vocabulary and that specific to the Marathi language. At times, any Marathi loanshift is freely borrowed into Konkani as if it were a part of the pan-Indian vocabulary, so much so that one sometimes gets the impression that today Konkani is moving away from the status of an active translator that it was earlier and increasingly becoming a passive consumer of readymade Marathi translations .

3.4 HYBRID CREATIONS

Haugen's schema of loans sieves out 'hybrid creations' . These are ' terms whose existence may ultimately be due to contact with a second culture and its language.'⁹⁰ But these cannot strictly be called loans as ' these did not come into being as direct imitations of a foreign model , but were secondarily created within the borrowing language.'⁹⁰ The term 'hybrid creation' is coined by Haugen 'to distinguish it from the kind of creation that consists entirely of native material.'⁹¹

Konkani contains many interesting hybrid creations .

Creations with -sāw

Konkani has quite a few loanwords coming from Portuguese that are abstract nouns ending in -sāw. To give a few examples.

1. *istimasāw* "esteem, appreciation"
2. *maldisāw* "curse "
3. *konisāw* "condition"

Konkani has also borrowed infinitive forms from Portuguese.

Examples: *fugar* "to get suffocated", *wirar* "to turn (go mad)", *kurar* "to set right, to cure", *pikar* "to trouble".

Sometimes, Konkani creates words that seem like Portuguese loanwords by adding - *sāw* to elements of Portuguese loans. *pikasāw*, *fugasāw* are thus created by adding *sāw* to *pika* or *fuga* of Portuguese *picar* and *afogar*. Likewise *sāw* is added also to elements of loans from other linguistic sources. Thus *bɛjasāw* "boredom" is created by adding *sāw* to *bɛja* of *bɛdʰar*, a loanword from Perso-Arabic sources. *bɛjasāw* which has the semblance of a Portuguese loan is in effect a Konkani hybrid creation that fuses patterns from two foreign sources - -Perso-Arabic and Portuguese . Konkani has a few more hybrid creations with the Portuguese nominal suffix *sāw*—

- a. *katkisāw* "hassle, botheration"
- b. *gudḍilasāw* "cheating"
- c. *ulluməsāw* - - used for a person who gets distracted very easily
i.e. who is not stable

Although the above creations could be analyzed as *katki-sāw* ; *gudḍila-sāw* and *ulluma-sāw* , the morphs *katki-*, *gudḍila-* and *ulluma* are 'empty' since these cannot be assigned to any morphemes. These meaningless features have a meaning only when accompanied by *sāw*.

All these creations have a wide currency in spoken Goan Konkani. These words with a Portuguese punch seem to have originated in slang usage and were probably invented by Konkani speakers who either did not have a

command over Portuguese or else, they had a fertile imagination. This could also be said of *bɛjasāw*.

One could also venture to comment that these hybrid creations came into Konkani when the language already had ample of loanwords from Portuguese that had the suffix *sāw*.

Out - - an adverb in English is borrowed into Konkani as *awɭ* and combined with *dʰawəp* and *kəp* to mean, respectively, "going mad (insane)" and "making (someone) mad (insane)".

Examples :

1. *ɪɔ awɭ dʰala*

"he "out" has become"

"he has gone mad"

2. *tuwɛ taka awɭ kɛla*

"you (Erg.)to-him "out" have made"

"you have made him mad"

awɭ "mad" combines with the adjectival / nominal endings - - *-ɔ/ -i/ -ɛ* (sg.) and *-ɛ/ -yo/ -ĩ* (pl.) to give the following adjectival / nominal hybrid creations meaning "mad":

awɭɔ (M) / *awɭi* (F) / *awɭɛ* (N) - - - (sg.)

awɭɛ (M) / *awɭyo* (F) / *awɭĩ* (N) - - - (pl.)

These are modelled on the following native constructions and are also used similarly :

piɔ (M) / *piɟi* (F) / *piɟɛ* (N) - - - (sg.)

piɟɛ (M) / *piɟyo* (F) / *piɟĩ* (N) - - (pl.)

Konkani also contains the expression *awṭsaṇ* "madness" which is a hybrid creation with the native abstract noun suffix *-saṇ*. This creation features in the typically colloquial expression of the following type - -

samki awṭsaṇ mərɛ!

"(somebody) is sheer madness"

In this expression the abstract noun is used like an adjective. The above construction appears to have been modelled on the native construction *samki pisay mərɛ!* that features the abstract noun *pisay* "madness".

According to Haugen, hybrid creation 'is not a part of the borrowing process' but it gives 'evidence of an intimate fusion into the language of the borrowed material, since it has become productive in the new language.'⁹²

3.5 REDUNDANT COMPOUNDS

Many Indian languages possess a type of construction that is an adjunction of two synonyms, mostly nouns, one of which, usually the first one, is native and the other foreign. Constructions of this type have been called 'translation compounds'⁹³ or 'redundant compounds.'⁹⁴ Translation/redundant compounds are a typical pan-Indian response to situations of language contact. This type of construction is amply documented in modern Hindi.⁹⁵

Examples⁹⁶ :

1. *tən-bədən* "body etc."
2. *wiwah-ṣadi* "marriage etc."
3. *dhən-daulət* "money etc."
4. *sak-səbji* "Vegetable etc."
5. *dhərəm-iman* "religion etc."
6. *sneh-muhəbbət* "love etc."

7. *laj-ṣərm* "deference etc."

8. *nata-ri ṣta* "relation etc."

In all these noun-noun constructions the first noun is native and the second foreign -- Arabic or Persian. A similar construction like *wəkil-bəristər* "lawyer etc." from Perso-Arabic *wəkil* and English *bəristər*⁹⁷ probably implies that 'native' here does not necessarily imply "of Indo-Aryan descent". It may also include a borrowed noun that is completely assimilated in the linguistic culture of the community, so much so, that it is regarded as indigenous. The above mentioned examples of noun-noun compounds provided by Singh probably belong to a time when Arabic or Persian words still had an aura of the 'foreign' as far as the speakers of Khari-boli were concerned. *wəkil-bəristər* seems to belong to a later time when Arabic / Persian words were naturalized members of the language and an invitation was extended to the new 'foreigners' - words from English.

Suniti Kumar Chatterji gives instances of 'translation compounds' from Bengali - *cak*-(<*cak*) *khadi* "writing chalk" from English 'chalk' and Bengali *khadi*, *baks-pemda* from English 'box' and Bengali *pemda*. In these the first member is foreign and the second native. Chatterji also gives evidence of similar compounds from Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. e.x. *karṣa-paṇa* 'a coin of monetary value' from old Persian *karṣa* and Sanskrit (of Austric origin) *pana*; *shali-hotra* "horse" from Austric *shali* and Sanskrit *hotra*.

According to Singh, there are two types of compounds - 1) rule-derived primary compounds, and 2) frozen, lexicalized compounds.⁹⁸ The former satisfy two conditions. viz. 1) the Variable R Condition, and, 2) the IS A Condition. The Variable R Condition implies that there could be 'a variable range of possible relations between the two nouns' (ibid). To give Singh's own example, although the compound 'water-mill' is normally understood as "mill powered by water" it can also mean "mill which produces water", "mill for analyzing the contents of water", "mill where the employees drink

water" etc. The 'IS A Condition' interpreted formally implies that morphologically the N+N structure is a N, and, interpreted semantically it means that 'a productive noun-noun compound designates something that is a type of N: a 'rose-bush', for example, is a bush and a 'beer-can' is a can.'⁹⁹

Frozen/lexicalized compounds are compounds that do not yield to any one general rule of compounding. There is no one overall pattern of freezing. In other words, every frozen compound has its own peculiar way of freezing. To take examples given by Singh, 'cart-wheel' (an acrobatic stunt) and 'paper-back' (book) are totally different in lexicalization.

Singh shows that 'redundant compounds' are neither rule-governed compounds nor are they frozen compounds. This particular morphological form essentially involves a reduplication of noun in its native and non-native shape, and, the product of this reduplication means "Noun etc."

Reduplication is either 'complete' or 'partial' -*dane dane* "each grain" in *dane dane pər likʰa hai kʰanewale ka nam* is an instance of the former, which is liable for the 'distributive interpretation.'⁹⁹ Echo formations like the Hindi *dana-wana* "grain etc." are instances of partial reduplication which, according to Singh, is liable for the 'et cetera interpretation.'¹⁰⁰ Redundant compounds (translation compounds), according to Singh, are not compounds but are 'outputs of the rule of partial reduplication.'¹⁰⁰

Chatterji sees 'translation compounds' to be a result of societal polyglottism in India, ancient as well as modern. Singh, however, thinks, it would be improper to attribute such structures merely to code-switching behaviour of speakers. These structures, according to him, may have been rendered possible by the contact situation, but this possibility could be realized in actuality only because the native structural resources of the language had a room for reduplication - complete (*dane-dane* type) as well as partial (*khana-wana* type). For Singh, 'redundant' construction is 'essentially a minor extension of a native pattern.'¹⁰¹ He draws our attention to the fact

that sociolinguistically there was enough scope for such constructions in the English-French contact . But this contact did not result in redundant compounds because the structure of the English language does not allow reduplication.

Singh sees the redundant construction as representing an effort of the speech community 'to forge a hybrid language' and thus 'eliminate the unstable situation characterized by code-switching.'¹⁰¹

3.5.1 Redundant Compounds in Konkani

Examples :

1. *ghər-dar*

+Native -Native (Arabic)

"house etc."

2. *sim-mɛr*

+Native -Native (Kannada)

"limit etc."

3. *b^haḷ-bēṣ*

+Native -Native (Portuguese)

"property"

4. *d^haqā-pɛqā*

+Native -Native (Hindustani)

"trees etc."

This N+N redundant construction in Konkani lends itself to the 'et cetera interpretation' and hence could be seen as an output of a rule of partial reduplication. However, in comparison with the parallel construction in Hindi,

the Konkani redundant construction is structurally even closer to the echo construction.

Examples:

A	B
1. <i>g^hər-bir</i> 'house etc.'	1. <i>g^hərā-birā</i> "houses etc."
2. <i>ṣim-bim</i> "limit etc."	2. <i>ṣimo-bimo</i> "limits etc."
3. <i>b^haṭ-biṭ</i> "property etc."	3. <i>b^haṭā-biṭā</i> "properties etc."
4. <i>d^zad^z-biḍ</i> "tree etc."	4. <i>d^zad^zā-biḍā</i> "trees etc."

A comparison of these echo-constructions with the corresponding N (+Native)+N(-Native) constructions given above would reveal that the non-native part of these constructions besides being a semantic echo of the native noun is assimilated in the language in such a way that it also becomes its grammatical echo - *dar*, *mer*, *bēs*, *pēḍ* are given the same gender as their native counterparts and consequently have similar and rhyming plural forms.:

Sg.	Pl.	Model
1. <i>g^hər</i> (N) - <i>dar</i>	<i>g^hərā-darā</i>	<i>dar</i> (M) Arabic
2. <i>ṣim</i> (F) - <i>mer</i>	<i>ṣimo-mero</i>	<i>mere</i> (N) Kannada
3. <i>b^haṭ</i> (N) - <i>bēs</i>	<i>b^haṭā-bēsā</i>	<i>bens</i> (M.pl.) Portuguese
4. <i>d^zad</i> (N) - <i>pēḍ</i>	<i>d^zad^zā-pēḍā</i>	<i>ped</i> (M) Hindustani

Such a 'strong' assimilation of the non-native nouns in Konkani redundant constructions has almost robbed the non-native nouns of meaning. From the point of view of the Konkani speaker, these constructions are not much different from the corresponding echo-constructions in which *bir*, *bim*, *biṭ*, *biḍ* are only 'et ceteras'. *Dar* in the sense of 'house' and *pēḍ* in the sense of "tree" are not even used as free forms in Konkani.

The Hindi redundant construction does not absorb the non-native form totally into the native grammar. It is only a concatenation of two nouns and there is no conversion of the non-native noun to the gender of the native noun. If in *tən-bədən* "body etc.", both native and the non-native nouns are masculine it is because the gender of *bədən* in the donor language is masculine. In *dhən-dəulət* "money etc.", *dhən* is masculine and *dəulət* feminine. However, the redundant construction functions as a single word and the gender of the second noun determines the gender of the translation compound.

Examples:

1. *uski dhən-dəulət*

and not* *uska dhən-dəulət*

2. *beḥiyō ka sadi-byah*

and not* *beḥiyō ki sadi-byah*

The following translation compounds appear in Konkani folk rhymes:

1. *nagḍo-bəṭaḷḍ¹⁰²*

+Native-Native (Kannada)

"naked"

2. *cila-pṭē¹⁰³*

- Native (Kannada) + Native

"bag"

These constructions seem to be lacking in the 'et cetera' component.

At least two of Konkani proper nouns - place names - are translation compounds -

1. *moti dōgor* (moti < Portuguese monte "hill")

- Native + Native "hill"

- a hill in Margao -

2. *mōnt giri*

- Native (Portuguese) + Native "mountain"

- a hill near Mhapsa -

While *dōgor* is a common Konkani word for mountain, *giri* (< Sanskrit *giri* "mountain") is not. Both the above mentioned hills are mainly known for the chapel/church built on them, and probably were not residential areas before the arrival of the Portuguese in Goa. A concatenation of *monte* with *dōgor* and *giri* was perhaps a way of naturalizing the new 'foreign' place names. In both these constructions the non-native nouns come first. This is probably because *Moti/Monte* came to Konkani as proper nouns of local hills. Even in the expression *cila-pṛt̃* the non-native noun comes first. This may be due to the pressures of rhyming *pṛt̃* with *kʰɛt̃*. The expression *cila-pot̃* features exclusively in a single folk-rhyme given here. *Monte* is in fact a common noun in Portuguese. Here proper nouns are produced by bringing together two common nouns - one non-native and the other native.

3.5.2 Concatenation of Synonymous Words in Old Konkani Literature: a Study

'*Vonvallyancho Mollo*' (वनवाळ्यांचो मळो) "Garden of Shepherds", a seventeenth century (1658, 59) prose text in Konkani¹⁰⁴ by Miguel de Almeida (1604-1683) contains several instances of pairing of synonymous words that appear like redundant compounds.

Examples :

1. ... वनिचे गोंवाळे गोपाळ मेळ्ळु ... (149, 150) "shepherds"

2. ... जितुले वेळो ... मार्गा बिदिरि दृश्टी पडो... (151) "road"
3. आपण्याक अपमानु बेहर्मति भोगताशी समजूनु ... (176) "disrespect"
4. कांय येकि कोपा, क्रोधाची खुण दाखयनां ... (185) "anger"
5. तुजें तोंड... कांती, प्रकासान भरलां ... (185) "light"
6. ... तांकां आपुल्या भावां, बंदवां सारिखे मानूनु ... (186) "brothers"
7. ... ताका... कश्ट दग्द दिले... (187) "troubles"
8. ताच्या मुखकमळाक खत लंछन लांवच्याक चितिलें... (187) "blot"
9. भोडुवे ताका मानु हर्मति देवनु चालताति ... (189) "respect"
10. ... सधा सर्वधा तुजी तुस्ति पोवाडे वर्निन. ... (332) "praises"

At least in some of these pairs (see 2, 3, 10 above) one of the synonyms (the second one) belongs to a non-Indo-Aryan source - Dravidian (Kannada *bidi* "road") and Persian (*behurmati*, *hurmati*, "disrespect, respect"). However, these pairs of synonymous words could be termed as redundant compounds only if these could be established grammatically as single word units. But the test of gender agreement employed across some such pairs reveals that these pairs do not always behave like single words.

Examples :

1. ...कोणी प्रमाणिं ताची तुस्ति वाखाणें करुं चेंशें माका नकळो. (322) "praise"

In this sentence, the possessive adjective *taci* "his (F)" agrees with *tusti* (F), but the non-finite form *karūcē* (N) plus particle *ṣē* (N) agrees with the immediately preceding *wak^haṇē* (N).

2. ...सधा सर्वधा तुजी तुस्ति पोवाडे वर्निन....(332) "praise"

Here, *tuji* "your (F)" agrees with *tusti* (F), and *powade* remains masculine.

3. ...मालाकियास म्हळल्या प्रोफे ताच्या भविश्य फुडाराचें लिहित वाचितां... (291) "future"

In this sentence *b^hawi ṣyθ* (N) *fudār* (M) appears to behave like a single word since the oblique formation of neuter and masculine nouns is similar.

But see the following sentences:

a) इजायियास प्रोफेतु-II आपुलें भविश्य फुडार लिहिलल्या पुस्तकिच्या इकराव्या अध्यांता ... (418)

b) भविश्यफुडार जेणे प्रमाणि तांणि सांगिलले(M), तैशेचि(M) वर्तले(M)... (466)

In (a) the agreement of *apul ē* (N) "one's own" is with the immediately succeeding *b^hawi ſyə* (N). In (b) the agreement of the verb forms *saṅgiləle* and *wərtələ* and the adverb *təi ſəci* is with the preceding *fudār* which is masculine.

This shows that the pairs of synonyms in *Vonvallyancho Mollo do not necessarily* function like single linguistic units (even though they are written as single words as in (b) above) Rather, these appear to be a feature of the author's ornate style.¹⁰⁵ Miguel de Almeida brings together in his writing as many synonymous words (or words with similar meanings) as possible as were current in the Goan linguistic usage of his time. These would include words of Indo-Aryan origin proper to Konkani, words from the 'High' (in the sense used by Charles Ferguson in his exposition of Diglossia (1959)) Marathi (*Marasta bhas*),¹⁰⁶ and also loanwords from Kannada, Persian, Arabic and Portuguese. Thus, this 'all inclusive' linguistic orientation of the author in a way provides a considerable scope for the study of linguistic influences on seventeenth century Konkani.

The juxtaposition of synonymous words ranges from 2 to 6 words in *Vonvallyancho Mollo*.

Examples :

1. ...लटिकि गोवाय, साखि ("testimony") ... (178)
2. ... रूखां झाडांच्या ("trees") पानांचें ... (205)
3. ... गुंड्यां फातरांचि ("stones")... माणिकां ... (205)
4. ...गर्व हांकाराची ("pride") दाळणी ... (243)
5. ... लढकर्यां, पायकांक ("armymen") आपौनु ... (231)

6. ... काल, वगत, वा समैयो ("time/opportunity") सोदितलेति (181)
7. ...बोब, हाक, शिहाडे ("loud call") देवन् ... (181)
8. ...प्रियेव, प्रति वा दुलबाय ("love/affection") ...दाखेली ... (201)
9. ... ग्रेस्त, कुबेरू संपनिकु ("wealthy") केल्लो ... (215)
10. ...हे नांव, वाखाणे वा बुद ("name") ... (338)
11. ... सर्वय बळ्ळिक, व्यादि, रोग, पिडा ("name") पोरो चालनु ... (369)
12. ... ताचे कश्ट, अपदा, दंडणा, घाशी ("suffering") ... (428).
13. अंतस्करणाकय आपुली अभ्यांतरि भास, वाच्या, उतर, बोली ("language") आसा ... (268)
14. ... वेगवेगळि शारां, पुरां, नगरां, पाठणां ... ("towns") (203)
15. ... मुखकमळ... दिप्ती, प्रभे, कांती प्रकासान ("light") फांकरें केलें ... (187)
16. ...सां जो झेफाची थोरिव, प्राप्ति, सासाय, महिमा, मानु, मानत्व ("glory") ... (338)
17. ... सुखा, संतोसा, आनंदा, उलासा, हर्का उछयावाची ("delight/happiness") भरती ... (402)

some pairs of synonyms in 'Vonvallyancho Mollo' juxtapose a term from Christian religious ethos alongside another from Hindu religious ethos.

Examples :

1. ... तेगांय शिसां आपोस्तलानिं ... ("apostles") जेझु क्रिस्ताची पवित्र कुडि... देखिली... (201)
2. ... स्वामयान हो भग्तु आपोस्तलु ("apostle"), मरणा पावतलो न्हय, ऐशें म्हळें नां... (210)
3. ... ताका होमु साक्रि फिस्यु ("sacrifice") समर्पुंच्याक... (262)
4. ... हया वातिरि अश्रवचन बेसांव ("blessings")) दितांव. (288)
5. ... पुनर्जिवित्व रेजुरेयसांव ("resurrection") जरि बरवें.... (240)

Here, आपोस्तलु, साक्रि फिस्यु, बेसांव and रेजुरेयसांव - concepts from the recently introduced religious culture are in a way located within the familiar concepts of शिशु/भग्तु, होमु, अश्रवचन and पुनर्जिवित्व.¹⁰⁷ These are used as cultural pegs by which near parallel ideas are introduced. In the process there is also an

appropriation of the indigenous concepts by the new spiritual culture.

3.6 CONCLUSION

This Chapter has provided a structural classification of Konkani loans primarily on the basis of Haugen's schema. It has also discussed 'hybrid creations' and 'redundant compounds' in Konkani. Participation of the sister languages of Konkani - Marathi and Hindi in particular-in the development of Konkani vocabulary by way of loanblends and loanshifts is also assessed to a certain extent. Concatenations of synonyms in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* are grammatically scrutinized to show that these cannot be termed redundant compounds. On the basis of the synchronic and diachronic research on aspiration in Konkani it is concluded that copious borrowing from Portuguese that brought in loanwords with /f/ eventually led to a replacement of the native /p^h/ by foreign /f/. Findings and observations of this Chapter shall be developed in the concluding Chapter.

Notes and References

¹ Einar Haugen, "The Analysis of Linguistic Borrowing." *The Ecology of Language: Essays by Einar Haugen.* Ed. Anwar S. Dil (California : Sanford UP, 1972) 79-109.

² Leonard Bloomfield, *Language.* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1933) 444-475.

³ See *ibid*: 445.

⁴ See *ibid*:461.

⁵ Charles Hockett, *A Course in Modern Linguistics.* 1958 (New Delhi : Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1970) 404,405.

⁶ See Bloomfield :462.

⁷ X. Albo, *Social Constraints on Cochabamba Quechua.* Dissertation Series no. 19, Latin American Studies Program (New York: Cornell University. Ithaca, 1970)

⁸ René Appel and Pieter Muysken. Language Contact and Bilingualism. (London: Edward Arnold, 1987)

⁹ See Haugen :83,84.

¹⁰ Appel and Muysken :164.

¹¹ Haugen : 81.

¹² Ibid : 82.

¹³ Ibid : 85.

¹⁴ Ibid : 90.

¹⁵ Ibid : 91.

¹⁶ Ibid : 92.

¹⁷ J. Heath, "Borrowing" The Encyclopedia of Language and Linguistics. 10 Vols. Ed. A. E. Asher. Oxford : Pergamon Press, 1994. 383-394.

¹⁸ There are three versions of Diogo Ribeiro's work . For more information, Miranda "Kannada Influence on Old Konkani Lexicon", Sod: Konkani Research Bulletin. 3 (2002) : 83,93 may be referred.

¹⁹ Rocky Miranda, "Synchronic and Historical Phonology of Six Konkani Dialects. "Diss. Cornell U. 1971. 98; S.M. Katre, The Formation of Konkani (Pune: Deccan College, 1966) 9-13. may also be referred.

²⁰ Haugen : 85.

²¹ Ibid : 87.

²² Bloomfield :447, 448.

²³ The feast of St. John is celebrated mainly by eating and drinking well . Hence sōjāw has also come to signify a drunken orgy in colloquial Christian Konkani .

²⁴ As discussed by Uriel Weinreich, many interjections or interjectional sentences are transferred from one language to another . For instance , the interjection 'holy smoke(s)!' from American English is transferred into Pennsylvanian German as the interjection holismok ! . The interjectional sentences ' that's all right ' and ' what's the matter ? ' have been transferred into American Italian respectively as *azzoraiti* and *vazzumara* (Languages in Contact : Findings and Problems (The Mouton & Co., 1963) 47). Interestingly, va se embora is not an interjection in Portuguese but functions as one in Konkani . A parallel interjection in Christian dialects of Konkani -- *wɔs!* / *wɔs re!* literally meaning "go !" is perhaps modelled on *wasimɔ*.

²⁵ Weinreich: 47.

²⁶ S. M. Katre, The Formation of Konkani (Pune : Deccan College, 1966)54.

²⁷ Ibid: 56.

²⁸ Mathew Almeida, "Aspects of Konkani-III: Aspiration in Konkani." Boletim do Instituto Menezes Baganza, 174 (1995) offprint.

²⁹ For some more details of the dialectal differentiation in the Konkani area refer Rocky

Miranda, Valerine "Caste, Religion and Dialect Differentiation in the Konkani Area." IJSL. 16 (1978): 77-91.

³⁰ A.M. Ghatge, Konkani of South Kanara, A Survey of Marathi Dialects-I (Bombay: The State Board for Literature & Culture, 1963); Cochin, A Survey of Marathi Dialects-I (Bombay: The State Board for Literature & Culture, 1967).

³¹ Almeida 1995:2,3.

³² Katre: 64,65. Katre's sketch of the origin and development of Konkani is based on six representative Konkani dialects - - three Hindu and three Christian , viz. Konkani spoken by the Kanara or Chitrapur Saraswats, Konkani spoken by the Gauda Saraswats, Konkani of the Goa Hindus, represented particularly in the writings of Valaulikar (Shennoi Goembab) and in the *Navem Goem* quarterly of the Gomantak Press, Mumbai, Konkani of the Christians of Mangalore and South Kanara, Konkani of the Christians of North Kanara, and Konkani of the Christians of Goa .

³³ Rocky Valerine Miranda, "Synchronic and Historical Phonology of Six Konkani Dialects". (Diss. Cornell University, 1971). Miranda's sketch of the synchronic and historical phonology of six Konkani dialects is based on the following dialects of Konkani : Bardez Hindu Brahmin Konkani, Bardez Christian Brahmin Konkani, Salcete Hindu Brahmin Konkani, Salcete Christian Brahmin Konkani, Mangalore Hindu Brahmin Konkani, and Mangalore Christian Brahmin Konkani.

³⁴ Ibid: 81.

³⁵ Ibid: 43.

³⁶ Bloomfield : 447.

³⁷ This vocabulary originally available in a manuscript of 204 pages in the Portuguese Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (the Overseas Historical Archives) was titled *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarina com versam Portugueza*. It was published in photo-version by the 'Junta de Investigações do Ultramar' in Lisbon in 1973.

³⁸ Thomas Stephens Doutrina Cristã em Lingua Concani. 1622. 2nd facsimile ed. with Introduction, Notes and Glossary by Mariano Saldanha (Lisbon : Agência Geral das Colónias, 1945) 66, 85, 108, 45, 138.

³⁹ See Shennoi Goembab, Gomykaramli Gomya Bhayli Vasnnuk (Mumbai: Gomantak Chapkhano 1928) 128-131.

⁴⁰ See A.M.Ghatage, Cochin. A Survey of Marathi Dialects - IV. (Mumbai: The State Board for Literature and Culture, 1967).

⁴¹ See Miranda 1971.

⁴² Ghatage 1963:12.

⁴³ Ibid: 12, 121, 140.

⁴⁴ This information was given by Ashok R. Kelkar.

⁴⁵ Miranda 2002 : 93.

⁴⁶ It is difficult to find examples of loans of a similar kind that could be traced to models from

Portuguese and English. Perhaps there are none, since the a-ending nouns are mostly feminine in Portuguese. As for English, the language has very few nouns that end in *-a*. And, given the stress pattern of these languages, the final vowel in the model usually passes unheard by speakers of an Indo-Aryan language like Konkani.

⁴⁷ Both these Konkani words are absent in both the dictionaries compiled by Mon. S. R. Dalgado (1893, 1905). Hence one could hazard a guess that these were added to the vocabulary of Konkani in the twentieth century.

⁴⁸ *hitay* in all probability is a twentieth century addition to the Konkani lexicon.

⁴⁹ Kiran Budkuley, *Sahitya Niyall : Antarang ani Kayarupam.* (Canacona-Goa: Aum Shri Datta Padmaja Prakashan, 1998); Priyadarshini Tadmokkar *Pundalik Narayan Nayak - Sahitya Suchi (Warnnanatmak)* (Panaji-Goa : Kedar Prakashan Griha, 1999); Bhushah Bhav "Pundalik Narayan Naik: Ashttatasamcho Sahityayatri". *Venchik Pundalik.* Ed. Raju Nayak, Bhushan Bhav and Jyoti Kuncolienkar. Margao-Goa :Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1999. 185-238. Henceforth references to these texts shall be indicated in the main text of the chapter, within brackets and with abbreviations respectively, as *Sahitya Niyall (S.N.)*, *Sahitya Suchi (S.S.)*, *Ashttatasamcho Sahityayatri (A.S.)*

⁵⁰ We see a similar trend in today's Konkani journalism.

⁵¹ Shennoi Goembab, *Gomantopanishat-* Vol. II. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1933) 119.

⁵² Ibid: 121.

⁵³ Shennoi Goembab *Albukerkan Goem Kashem Jikhalem.* (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1955)90.

⁵⁴ Shennoi Goembab 1933: 186.

⁵⁵ Shennoi Goembab, *Konknni Bhashechem Zait.* (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1930) 43.

⁵⁶ Ibid: 12.

⁵⁷ Ibid: 34.

⁵⁸ Shennoi Goembab, 1933 : 121.

⁵⁹ Shennoi Goembab, *Yewkar Adhyakshamlem Ulowp.* (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1945)111.

⁶⁰ Shennoi Goembab, 1955 : 5.

⁶¹ S.M. Tadmok, *Konknni Samikshann : Tatva Ani Prayog.* (Panaji-Goa : Kedar Prakashan Griha, 1989) 19, 48, 62, 62.

⁶² This was conveyed to the present researcher by Felicio Cardoso himself.

⁶³ Shennoi Goembab 1933 : 116.

⁶⁴ Budkuley 1998 : 42. Budkuley also creates new words with *b^how* that have no parallels in other languages. E.x. *b^howta fi* "multifaceted" (1998 : 59) and *b^howprakar* "subsuming several types" (1998 : 76)

- ⁶⁵ *Nokarshahi* was coined by Lokmanya Tilak. (Information given by Ashok Kelkar).
- ⁶⁶ Shennoi Goembab, 1945 : 193 , 194.
- ⁶⁷ Mirg 1st Jan. 1955:1.
- ⁶⁸ Information given by Ashok Kelkar.
- ⁶⁹ Shennoi Goembab, 1930 : 11.
- ⁷⁰ Shennoi Goembab, 1933:181.
- ⁷¹ Shennoi Goembab, Gomantopanishat- Vol. I. 1933. 3rd ed. (Margao-Goa : Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1989) 100.
- ⁷² Ibid:95.
- ⁷³ Shennoi Goembab, 1955:7.
- ⁷⁴ Ibid:6.
- ⁷⁵ Weinreich : 48.
- ⁷⁶ Shennoi Goembab, 1955 : 43.
- ⁷⁷ Gurunath Kelekar, English-Konkani Dictionary. (Bangalore : Focus Press, 1994).
- ⁷⁸ Tadmok 1989: 21
- ⁷⁹ Shennoi Goembab, 1933: 170.
- ⁸⁰ Ibid : 132.
- ⁸¹ Haugen: 91.
- ⁸² Ibid:92.
- ⁸³ Here a new word *pakulē* that could be seen as a neuter of *pak^ho* "moth / butterfly" is created to match with the neuter *pak^herū* in the model.
- ⁸⁴ Tadmok : 33.
- ⁸⁵ Sod Konkani Research Bulletin. 1 (2000) 1.
- ⁸⁶ G. Kelekar : 499.
- ⁸⁷ Weinreich
- ⁸⁸ Information given by Ashok Kelkar.
- ⁸⁹ G. Kelekar, 1997 :459.
- ⁹⁰ Haugen : 92.
- ⁹¹ Ibid: 93.
- ⁹² Ibid: 93, 94.
- ⁹³ Suniti Kumar Chatterji, Indo-Aryan and Hindi (Calcutta : Firma K.L. Mukhopadhyay, 2nd ed., 1969) 100.

⁹⁴ Rajendra Singh, "On Some 'Redundant Compounds' in Modern Hindi" *Lingua* 56, 1982, 345-351; "Modern Hindustani and Formal and Social Aspects of Language Contact" in Rajendra Singh et al. (ed.) 1995.

⁹⁵ Wienreich also mentions 'a special type of hybrid compound represented by forms like American Italian canabuldogga 'bulldog' where one element of a compound (dog) is both transferred and reproduced (cana-) (1963: 52). Although we see a repetition of "dog" in the above example, this compound cannot be called a 'redundant compound' since the native cana and the non-native buldogga are not fully synonymous. Cana means "dog" and buldogga is a type of dog. It is a name of a species of dogs. "Dog" (dogga) in this non-native part is only a part of a compound which is a name. Wienreich gives only one example of this type of hybrid compound. From this meagre data it is difficult to surmise that there are 'redundant compounds' even in European languages. If a hybrid creation is defined as a term that owes its existence to contact with a second culture (Haugen 1950:92) then, redundant compounds are indeed hybrid creations. However, these are treated under a separate subsection as redundant compounds are a type of hybrid creation that is an areal feature or Indian languages probably also of South-East Asian languages) that a strong structural basis.

⁹⁶ Singh 1982: 346; 1995:93. The Hindi examples are given in IPA script.

⁹⁷ Chatterji 1962:100.

⁹⁸ Singh 1995:93.

⁹⁹ Singh 1995:94.

¹⁰⁰ Singh 1995:95. For a convincing presentation of the argument Singh 1995 :94-97 may be seen.

¹⁰¹ Singh 1995:97.

¹⁰² *nagḍḍ bḍaḷḷ ʃḍāt vḍalḷ*

ʃḍkaracḍ mut piwn gḍḍara yḍtalḷ

"the naked fellow used to go to the fields and having drunk the farmer's urine, return home" (a rhyme used for teasing a naked boy-child).

¹⁰³ *bḍawoji bḍawoji cila potḍ*

bḍawojicya kḍādar hagḷḍ kḍḍḍ

(a rhyme used for teasing sister's husband)

¹⁰⁴ 'Vonvallyancho Mollo' is in five volumes. The text scrutinized in the present chapter is the reconstructed and edited Devanagari version of Vol. III by O.J.F. Gomes in Old Konkani Literature - The Portuguese Role (Chandor-Goa : Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1999) 137-575. Henceforth in this chapter, all references to 'Vonvallyancho Mollo' shall be indicated in the main text within brackets, and only by stating the page number.

¹⁰⁵ V.B. Prabhudessai has taken a note of this stylistic feature in the Introduction to his own edited version of 'Vonvallyancho Mollo' 1974 : Intro. pg. 15.

¹⁰⁶ Konkani and Marathi (*Marasta*) as names of distinct languages appear on pg. 392 in *Vonvallyuncho Mollo*.

¹⁰⁷ पुनर्जिवित्व seems to be a newly coined word based on पुनर्जल्म "re-birth", a familiar concept in the Hindu spirituality. Resurrection is not rebirth of Christ. Rather, it is an event in which Christ comes back to life after he had been killed. It is a continuation of life lived with an interruption. Hence पुनर्जिवित्व and not पुनर्जल्म.



CHAPTER - FOUR

HINDU AND CHRISTIAN KINSHIP

TERMINOLOGY :

A COMPARATIVE STUDY

CHAPTER FOUR

HINDU AND CHRISTIAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY : A COMPARATIVE STUDY¹

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter examines the influences on a very specific domain of Konkani lexicon -- the domain of kinship, by comparing the kinship terminology in the Hindu and Christian dialects of Konkani.

The kinship domain is universally demarcated in the lexicons of all languages.² The kinship terminology of a language reveals the way kinship relations are patterned in a particular linguistic culture. According to George Peter Murdock, 'kinship systems constitute one of the universals of human culture.'³

The long period of the Portuguese colonial rule over Goa has left its indelible imprint on the Konkani language. It has promoted both cultural and intimate borrowing⁴ from Portuguese to Konkani on a large scale. All Konkani dialects that have come into contact with Portuguese have borrowed linguistic elements from this language. However, as observed by Rocky Miranda, due to socio-cultural and religious ties of the Christian community with the Portuguese, the Christian dialects of Konkani were more prone to Portuguese influence than the Hindu dialects.⁵ Certain socio-cultural domains serve well to locate this influence. One of these is the domain of kinship terminology. A comparison between the Hindu and Christian kinship terminologies is quite revealing.

The present study is based on field work carried out in the Salcete Taluka, which, being a part of the Old Conquest area, was under Portuguese rule for over four centuries.

Since one intended to analyze the influences on Konkani kinship terminology

vis-à-vis religious affiliations of the speakers, the variable of caste-affiliation was more or less ignored while identifying the informants. However, care was taken to see to it that all the informants did not belong to a single caste group.

Only those persons were chosen to be informants who spoke Konkani as first language in the home domain. All the informants were women. (Some men were indeed approached as informants in this regard. They however felt that women were more knowledgeable and competent to provide information on this topic. Hence, it was decided to keep the sex of the informants constant. This (supposed?) relationship between the knowledge of kinship and women in itself could be a topic for an independent study.)

Initially information was collected from women belonging to the age-group of 50 to 70. Later, informants belonging to the age-group 20 to 30 were also incorporated so as to study the changing trends in kinship terminology.

After comparing the Hindu and Christian kinship terms collected from women informants of the Salcete Taluka, inferences are drawn regarding indigenous as well as foreign - Portuguese in particular - influences on Konkani kinship terminology. Structural changes brought about by these influences are also highlighted.

With the help of the data of Indian kinship terms provided by Irawati Karve (1953),⁶ an attempt is made to trace the evolution of most of the elementary Konkani kinship terms of Indo-Aryan origin by juxtaposing these alongside their cognates in the sister New Indo-Aryan and those in the Middle as well as Old Indo-Aryan languages. The reconstructed Proto Indo-European form is also cited wherever possible so as to bring home the approximate time-span of the evolution of Konkani kinship terms.

The influences on Konkani kinship terminology are analyzed largely within the perspective provided by George Peter Murdock. This perspective is chosen because it addresses itself to the linguistic aspect of kinship, and is also grounded on a wide linguistic data base.

While sketching the background of his own contribution to the analysis of kinship, Murdock draws on the research of all his predecessors in anthropology.⁷ Based on his presentation of this account of kinship analysis, the theoretical essentials for analyzing kinship terminology, as also the available parameters for classifying kinship terms are briefly enumerated below.

Kinship terms are linguistic elements that characterize the reciprocal relationships between kinsmen.⁸ These relationships form a part of a structured whole -- a kinship system, in which 'individuals are bound to one another by complex interlocking and ramifying ties.'⁹

Kinship systems have their origin in the individual's membership in two nuclear families -- the family of orientation in which he/she was born and reared, and the family of procreation which he/she establishes by marriage.¹⁰ 'Every person forms a link between the members of his/her family of orientation and those of his/her family of procreation, and ramifying series of such links bind members of individuals to one another through kinship ties.'¹⁰

Kinship ties are classified as primary, secondary, tertiary and remote.¹¹ A person's primary relatives are those relatives who belong to the same nuclear family as him/her, i.e., his/her father, mother, brothers and sisters in the family of orientation, and wife/husband, sons and daughters in the family of procreation. Secondary relatives are primary relatives of the primary relatives of the Ego but those that are not among the Ego's primary relatives. For example, father's father, mother's brother, daughter's husband, son's daughter

etc. Tertiary relatives are those primary relatives of the secondary relatives that are neither primary nor secondary relatives of the Ego. For example, father's father's brother, mother's brother's wife, daughter's husband's mother, son's daughter's son etc. Other relatives that are even more remote are distant relatives.

Depending upon the type of link in the relation whether of blood or that of marriage, relatives are classified respectively as consanguineal and affinal.¹²

Kinship terms are classified in three different ways -- 1) according to their mode of use, 2) according to their linguistic structure and 3) according to their range of application.¹³

The mode of use classifies kinship terms into two types, viz., 1) terms of address and 2) terms of reference. A term of address may be defined as a term by which a relative who in the instance of speech communication is the first person, addresses another who is the second person. It is a term used in speaking to a particular relative. A term of reference designates the name given to a kinship relation. It is a term usually used in referring to a particular relative who is the third person in the act of communication.

In a kinship analysis, terms of reference are felt to be more dependable and useful than terms of address.¹⁴ This is because the former are more specific in their application and usually more complete than the latter. Complete, because terms of reference always cover a larger area of the kinship domain than those of address. Besides, there is more duplication and overlapping in terms of address than in those of reference.

As regards linguistic structure, kinship terms are classified as 1) elementary, 2) derivative and 3) descriptive terms. According to Murdock,

'An *elementary term* is an irreducible word, like English "father" or "nephew" which cannot be analyzed into component lexical elements with kinship meanings. A *derivative term* is one which, like English

"grandfather", "sister-in-law", or "stepson" is compounded from an elementary term and some other lexical element which does not have primarily a kinship meaning. A *descriptive term* is one which, like Swedish *farbror* (father's brother), combines two or more elementary terms to denote a specific relative.¹⁵

According to the range of application, kinship terms are grouped under two categories -- denotative and classificatory.

'A *denotative term* is one which applies only to relatives in a single kinship category as defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection... A *classificatory term* is one that applies to persons of two or more kinship categories as these are defined by generation, sex and genealogical connection.'¹⁶

4.3 **KONKANI KINSHIP TERMS: A STRUCTURAL CLASSIFICATION**

As mentioned earlier, a kinship analysis relies more on terms of reference than on terms of address, as the former are more specific in application and more complete than the latter.

Moreover, a language like Konkani, as also most other Indian languages, allow for a lot of variation in terms of address. For instance, a Konkani child need not necessarily address his/her father with set terms of address like *Baba, Pay, Pappa* etc. He/she could even call him *Akũ* or *Ja*, terms like nicknames that are specific only to particular individual users. Thus, terms of address may vary from person to person. Also, in a Konkani extended or joint family, a grandfather may be addressed as *Baba* or *Papa* or *Pai* which is normally a term of address for father. (This could be because a child hears one's elders addressing him in this way.) There are even more 'confusions' here. For instance, by imitating one's elder cousins in a joint family one may address one's father as *Kaka* - a term of address for paternal

uncle. A cultural convention of naming the child after the name of a deceased elder -- grandfather or great grandfather -- also influences the term of address used in case of a child. Since in the given culture, elders are not addressed with their first names, a child who is named after his grandfather is usually addressed with the term of address used for the grandfather. Thus grandfather, father or son may be addressed as *Baba*.

Hence, the present study is based only on terms of reference.

With some modification of the classification of kinship terms on the basis of linguistic structure, mentioned above, Konkani kinship terms are classified as follows: 1) elementary terms, 2) composite terms and 3) descriptive expressions. Elementary terms are terms that cannot be analyzed into further lexical elements with kinship meanings. Usually these are irreducible single morpheme units. Composite terms are formed with one elementary term and at least another prefixed bound form -- an 'operator'.¹⁷ This bound form is an allomorph of a morpheme to which an elementary term belongs. Descriptive expressions are expressions, usually formed with a genitive case marker, in which two or more elementary terms combine to denote a particular relative. These linguistic expressions are more than single words. Rather, these are noun phrases that would not be listed in a dictionary of the language. The data presented and analyzed in this chapter is restricted only to those terms that express primary, secondary and tertiary kinship ties.

KONKANI KINSHIP TERMS

TABLE 1

	HINDU	CHRISTIAN
1. Fa	<i>bapuy</i>	<i>pay</i>
2. Mo	<i>avṭy</i>	<i>māy</i>
3. Br	<i>b^haw</i>	<i>baw</i>

4. Si	<i>b^hiyŋ</i>	<i>boynŋ</i>
5. FaBr	<i>hapolyɔ / kaka / t^hultɔ</i>	<i>titiw</i>
6. MoBr	<i>mama</i>	<i>mam</i>
7. FaSi	<i>atɛ / ak / aka / mawf^hŋ</i>	<i>titin / timan</i>
8. MoSi	<i>mawfi</i>	<i>mawfi / maʃan</i>
9. FaFa	<i>ad^hɔ</i>	<i>ʃɛpay</i>
10. MoFa	<i>ad^hɔ</i>	<i>papay / mapay</i>
11. FaMo	<i>aji</i>	<i>ʃɛmāy</i>
12. MoMo	<i>aji</i>	<i>mamāy</i>
13. FaFaFa	<i>pɔŋd^hɔ</i>	<i>paygɛ ʃɛpay</i>
14. MoFaFa	<i>pɔŋd^hɔ</i>	<i>māygɛ ʃɛpay</i>
15. FaFaMo	<i>p^hji</i>	<i>paygɛ ʃɛmāy</i>
16. MoFaMo	<i>p^hji</i>	<i>odli māy</i>
17. Hu	<i>g^how / g^hərkar</i>	<i>gow / gərkar / poti</i>
18. Wi	<i>bayl / g^hərkan</i>	<i>bayl / gərkan / potiŋ</i>
19. HuFa	<i>māw</i>	<i>sasu-pay / sas-pay</i>
20. WiFa	<i>māw</i>	<i>sasu-pay / sas-pay</i>
21. HuMo	<i>māy</i>	<i>sasu-māy / sas-māy</i>
22. WiMo	<i>māy</i>	<i>sasu-māy / sas-māy</i>
23. HuBr	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
24. WiBr	<i>mɛwŋɔ</i>	<i>mɛwŋɔ</i>
25. HuSi	<i>nəŋən</i>	<i>nɔŋɔn</i>
26. WiSi	<i>mewni</i>	<i>mewni</i>
27. So	<i>cɛdɔ / put / t^həlɔ</i>	<i>cɛdɔ / put</i>

28. Da	<i>cedū / d^huw / t^sʔi</i>	<i>cedū / duw</i>
29. SoWi	<i>sun</i>	<i>sun</i>
30. DaHu	<i>d^hāwʔy</i>	<i>d^hāwōy -</i>
31. SoWiFa	<i>vey</i>	<i>vey</i>
32. DaHuFa	<i>vey</i>	<i>vey</i>
33. SoWiMo	<i>yeŋ / veŋ</i>	<i>yeŋ</i>
34. DaHuMo	<i>yeŋ / veŋ</i>	<i>yeŋ</i>
35. SoSo	<i>natu</i>	<i>natu</i>
36. DaSo	<i>natu</i>	<i>natu</i>
37. SoDa	<i>nat</i>	<i>nat</i>
38. DaDa	<i>nat</i>	<i>nat</i>
39. SoSoSo	<i>p^hɿtu</i>	<i>poŋtu</i>
40. SoDaSo	<i>p^hɿtu</i>	<i>poŋtu</i>
41. DaSoSo	<i>p^hɿtu</i>	<i>poŋtu</i>
42. DaDaSo	<i>p^hɿtu</i>	<i>poŋtu</i>
43. SoSoDa	<i>p^hɿti</i>	<i>poŋti</i>
44. SoDaDa	<i>p^hɿti</i>	<i>poŋti</i>
45. DaSoDa	<i>p^hɿti</i>	<i>poŋti</i>
46. DaDaDa	<i>p^hɿti</i>	<i>poŋti</i>
47. FaBrSo	<i>bapol -b^haw /</i> <i>t^sulət-b^haw</i>	<i>bapol baw /</i> <i>titiwage cεdɔ</i>
48. MoBrSo	<i>mame-b^haw</i>	<i>mamage cεdɔ</i>
49. FaBrDa	<i>bapol-b^hɿŋ / t^sulət-b^hɿŋ</i>	<i>titiwage cεdū</i>
50. MoBrDa	<i>mame-b^hɿŋ</i>	<i>mamage cεdū</i>

51. FaSiSo	<i>ate-b^haw</i>	<i>timanagε / titinagε cεdɔ</i>
52. MoSiSo	<i>maw se-b^haw</i>	<i>maw segε / ma sanagε cεdɔ</i>
53. FaSiDa	<i>ate-b^hiyn</i>	<i>timanagε / titinagε cedū</i>
54. MoSiDa	<i>maw se-b^hiyn</i>	<i>maw segε / ma sanagε cedū</i>
55. BrSo (man speaking)	<i>put^hɣɔ</i>	<i>bawagε cεdɔ / subrin</i>
56. BrSo (woman speaking)	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>bawagε cedɔ / subrin</i>
57. SiSo (man speaking)	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>boy^higε cεdɔ / subrin</i>
58. SiSo (woman speaking)	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>boy^higε cεdɔ / subrin</i>
59. BrDa (man speaking)	<i>put^hɣi / d^huwɖi</i>	<i>bawagε cedū / subrin</i>
60. BrDa (woman speaking)	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>bawagε cedū / subrin</i>
61. SiDa (man speaking)	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>boy^higε cedū / subrin</i>
62. SiDa (woman speaking)	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>boy^higε cedū / subrin</i>
63. HuBrSo	<i>put^hɣɔ</i>	<i>deragε cεdɔ</i>
64. HuSiSo	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>nondegε cεdɔ</i>
65. HuBrDa	<i>put^hɣi / d^huwɖi</i>	<i>deragε cedū</i>
66. HuSiDa	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>nondegε cedū</i>
67. WiBrSo	<i>mεw^hɣalɔ cεdɔ / t^səlɔ</i>	<i>mεw^hɣagε cεdɔ</i>
68. WiSiSo	<i>mew^hɣelɔ cεdɔ / t^səlɔ</i>	<i>mew^hɣegε cεdɔ</i>
69. WiBrDa	<i>mεw^hɣalē cedū / t^sɪli</i>	<i>mεw^hɣagε cedū</i>
70. WiSiDa	<i>mew^hɣalē cedū / t^sɪli</i>	<i>mew^hɣegε cedū</i>
71. BrWi	<i>b^hawəd^s</i>	<i>honi / huni</i>

72. SiHu	<i>b^hawoji</i>	<i>kunyad</i>
73. FaBrWi	<i>kaki / t^hulti</i>	<i>timāy / titiwagε bayl</i>
74. MoBrWi	<i>mami</i>	<i>mami</i>
75. FaSiHu	<i>atelɔ g^how / mawsɔ / b^hawoji</i>	<i>titiw</i>
76. MoSiHu	<i>mawsɔ</i>	<i>maw segε gow / ma sana gow</i>
77. HuBrWi	<i>d^haw</i>	<i>d^haw</i>
78. WiBrWi	<i>mεwŋyali bayl</i>	<i>mεwŋya: bayl</i>
79. WiSiHu	<i>saɖu</i>	<i>saɖu</i>
80. Father's wife other than Ego's mother	<i>sawətrə aw^hy</i>	<i>maw si</i>
81. Mother's husband other than Ego's father	—	—
82. Co-wife	<i>s^hw^h</i>	<i>sowot-bayl</i>
83. Co-husband		

In the following tables this data is classified according to the linguistic structure of the kinship terms.

TABLE 2
ELEMENTARY TERMS

	HINDU	CHRISTIAN
1. Fa	<i>bapuy</i>	<i>pay</i>
2. Mo	<i>aw^hy</i>	<i>māy</i>
3. Br	<i>b^haw</i>	<i>baw</i>

4. Si	<i>h^hʔyŋ</i>	<i>boyn</i>
5. FaBr	<i>hapolyɔ / kaka / t^hultɔ</i>	<i>titiw</i>
6. MoBr	<i>mama</i>	<i>mam</i>
7. FaSi	<i>atē / ate / ak / aka / mawʔiŋ</i>	<i>titin / timan</i>
8. MoSi	<i>maw si</i>	<i>maw si / ma san</i>
9. FaFa	<i>ad^hɔ</i>	<i>ʃɛpay</i>
10. MoFa	<i>ad^hɔ</i>	<i>papay / mapay</i>
11. FaMo	<i>aji</i>	<i>ʃɛmāy</i>
12. MoMo	<i>aji</i>	<i>mamāy</i>
13. FaFaFa	<i>pəŋd^hɔ</i>	
14. MoFaFa	<i>pəŋd^hɔ</i>	
15. FaFaMo	<i>p^hiŋji</i>	
16. MoFaMo	<i>p^hiŋji</i>	
17. Hu	<i>g^how / g^hərkar</i>	<i>gow / gɔrkər / poti</i>
18. Wi	<i>bayl / g^hərkan</i>	<i>bayl / gɔrkann / potiŋ</i>
19. HuFa	<i>māw</i>	
20. WiFa	<i>māw</i>	
21. HuMo	<i>māy</i>	
22. WiMo	<i>māy</i>	
23. HuBr	<i>der</i>	<i>der</i>
24. WiBr	<i>mɛwŋɔ</i>	<i>mɛwŋɔ</i>
25. HuSi	<i>nəŋən</i>	<i>nɔŋɔn</i>
26. WiSi	<i>mewŋi</i>	<i>mewŋi</i>

27. So	<i>cɛdɔ / put / tʰəlɔ</i>	<i>cɛdɔ / put</i>
28. Da	<i>cedū / dʰuw / tʰli</i>	<i>cedū / duw</i>
29. SoWi	<i>sun</i>	<i>sun</i>
30. DaHu	<i>dʰāwɿy</i>	<i>dʰāwōy</i>
31. SoWiFa	<i>vey</i>	<i>vey</i>
32. DaHuFa	<i>vey</i>	<i>vey</i>
33. SoWiMo	<i>yeŋ / veŋ</i>	<i>yeŋ</i>
34. DaHuMo	<i>yeŋ / veŋ</i>	<i>yeŋ</i>
35. SoSo	<i>natu</i>	<i>natu</i>
36. DaSo	<i>natu</i>	<i>natu</i>
37. SoDa	<i>nat</i>	<i>nat</i>
38. DaDa	<i>nat</i>	<i>nat</i>
39. SoSoSo	<i>pʰɿfu</i>	<i>poŋfu</i>
40. SoDaSo	<i>pʰɿfu</i>	<i>poŋfu</i>
41. DaSoSo	<i>pʰɿfu</i>	<i>poŋfu</i>
42. DaDaSo	<i>pʰɿfu</i>	<i>poŋfu</i>
43. SoSoDa	<i>pʰɿfi</i>	<i>poŋfi</i>
44. SoDaDa	<i>pʰɿfi</i>	<i>poŋfi</i>
45. DaSoDa	<i>pʰɿfi</i>	<i>poŋfi</i>
46. DaDaDa	<i>pʰɿfi</i>	<i>poŋfi</i>
47. BrSo	<i>putʰɿɔ</i>	<i>subrin</i>
(man speaking)		
48. BrSo	<i>bʰatʰɔ</i>	<i>subrin</i>
(woman speaking)		

49. SiSo (man speaking)	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>subrin</i>
50. SiSo (woman speaking)	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>subrin</i>
51. BrDa (man speaking)	<i>put^hɪ / d^huwɔ̃</i>	<i>subrin</i>
52. BrDa (woman speaking)	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>subrin</i>
53. SiDa (man speaking)	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>subrin</i>
54. SiDa (woman speaking)	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>subrin</i>
55. HuBrSo	<i>put^hɪyɔ</i>	
56. HuSiSo		<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>
57. HuBrDa	<i>put^hɪ / d^huwɔ̃</i>	
58. HuSiDa	<i>b^haci</i>	
59. BrWi	<i>b^hawəɖ^z</i>	<i>honi / huni</i>
60. SiHu	<i>b^hawoji</i>	<i>kunyad</i>
61. FaBrWi	<i>kaki / t^hulti</i>	<i>timāy</i>
62. MoBrWi	<i>mami</i>	<i>mami</i>
63. FaSiHu	<i>mawsɔ / b^hawoji</i>	<i>titiw</i>
64. MoSiHu		<i>mawsɔ</i>
65. HuBrWi	<i>d^zaw</i>	<i>d^zaw</i>
66. WiSiHu	<i>saɖu</i>	<i>saɖu</i>
67. Father's wife other than Ego's mother		<i>maw fi</i>
68. Co-wife	<i>s^hw^hɪ</i>	

TABLE 3
COMPOSITE TERMS

	HINDU	CHRISTIAN
1. HuFa		<i>sasu-pay / sas-pay</i>
2. WiFa		<i>sasu-pay / sas-pay</i>
3. HuMo		<i>sasu-māy / sas-māy</i>
4. WiMo		<i>sasu-māy / sas-māy</i>
5. FaBrSo	<i>bapol -b^haw / t^sulət-b^haw</i>	<i>bapol baw</i>
6. MoBrSo	<i>mame-b^haw</i>	
7. FaBrDa	<i>bapol-b^hiyŋ / t^sulət-b^hiyŋ</i>	
8. MoBrDa	<i>mame-b^hiyŋ</i>	
9. FaSiSo	<i>ate-b^haw</i>	
10. MoSiSo	<i>maw se-b^haw</i>	
11. FaSiDa	<i>ate-b^hiyŋ</i>	
12. MoSiDa	<i>maw se-b^hiyŋ</i>	
13. Father's wife other than Ego's mother	<i>sawətrə aw iy</i>	
14. Co-wife		<i>sowot-bayl</i>

TABLE 4
DESCRIPTIVE EXPRESSIONS

HINDU	CHRISTIAN
1. FaFaFa	<i>payε ʃεpay</i>
2. MoFaFa	<i>māyγε ʃεpay</i>
3. FaFaMo	<i>payε ʃεmāy</i>
4. MoFaMo	<i>oqli māy</i>
5. FaBrSo	<i>titiwage cεdɔ</i>
6. MoBrSo	<i>mamage cεdɔ</i>
7. FaBrDa	<i>titiwage cedū</i>
8. MoBrDa	<i>mamage cedū</i>
9. FaSiSo	<i>timanage / titinage cεdɔ</i>
10. MoSiSo	<i>maw ʃεγε / ma ʃanage cεdɔ</i>
11. FaSiDa	<i>timanage / titinage cedū</i>
12. MoSiDa	<i>maw ʃεγε / ma ʃanage cedū</i>
13. BrSo (man speaking)	<i>bawage cεdɔ</i>
14. BrSo (woman speaking)	<i>bawage cεdɔ</i>
15. SiSo (man speaking)	<i>boynige cεdɔ</i>
16. SiSo (woman speaking)	<i>boynige cεdɔ</i>
17. BrDa (man speaking)	<i>bawage cedū</i>
18. BrDa (woman speaking)	<i>bawage cedū</i>
19. SiDa (man speaking)	<i>boynige cedū</i>
20. SiDa (woman speaking)	<i>boynige cedū</i>
21. HuBrSo	<i>dεrage cεdɔ</i>
22. HuSiSo	<i>noŋdege cεdɔ</i>

23. HuBrDa		<i>dɛragɛ cɛd̄u</i>
24. HuSiDa		<i>noŋdɛgɛ cɛd̄u</i>
25. WiBrSo	<i>mɛwŋyalɔ cɛd̄ɔ / tʰəlɔ</i>	<i>mɛwŋyagɛ cɛd̄ɔ</i>
26. WiSiSo	<i>mewŋelɔ cɛd̄ɔ / tʰəlɔ</i>	<i>mewŋegɛ cɛd̄ɔ</i>
27. WiBrDa	<i>m̄ɛwŋyalɛ̄ cɛd̄u / tʰəli</i>	<i>mɛwŋyagɛ cɛd̄u</i>
28. WiSiDa	<i>mewŋelɛ̄ cɛd̄u / tʰəli</i>	<i>mewŋegɛ cɛd̄u</i>
29. FaBrWi	<i>timãɣ / titiwagɛ bayl</i>	
30. MoSiHu	<i>mawʃegɛ gow / maʃana gow</i>	
31. WiBrWi	<i>mewŋyali bayl</i>	<i>mɛwŋya: bayl</i>

Observations:

As far as terms for primary, secondary and tertiary kinship ties are concerned, both the dialect groups - Hindu and Christian -- contain more elementary terms than composite terms and descriptive expressions.

The Hindu dialect group seems to contain more composite terms than descriptive expressions. These terms denote the various parallel and cross cousins. As against this, Christian dialects seem to abound in descriptive expressions. These denote not only tertiary but also some of secondary kinship relations. If descriptive expressions are not to be regarded as *words*, it may be inferred that, as compared to Hindu dialects, Christian dialects contain fewer kinship terms.

The operators *bapol/tʰulət*, *mame*, *ate*, *mawʃe* are derived respectively from *bapolyɔ / tʰultɔ* "father's brother", *mama* "mother's brother", *ate* "father's sister" and *mawʃi* "mother's sister". In fact, these are pivots of further kinship ties and can combine with an elementary or a composite term to yield more composite terms to denote tertiary or remote kinship relations. Thus, besides *bapol-bʰaw* "father's brother's son" and *bapol-bʰiŋ* "father's brother's daughter", the language also allows composite terms like the

following : *bapol-der* "husband's father's brother's son", *bapol-nəŋən* "husband's father's brother's daughter", *bapol-dʷaw* "husband's father's brother's son's wife", *bapol-māw* "husband's father's brother", *bapol-māy* "husband's father's brother's wife", *bapol-mame-bʰɨŋ* "mother's father's brother's son's daughter", *bapol-ate-bʰaw* "father's father's brother's daughter's son" etc.

Thus, the kinship domain of the lexicon of Hindu dialects encompasses a very large kinship area. Theoretically, *mame*, *ate* and *mawʃe* could and do also combine likewise. But the combinations with *bapol*, it seems, are more in use. Expressions like *ate-der*, *mawʃe-māy*, *mame-dʷaw* etc., though grammatically possible, are rarely used. An explanation of this could be found in the cultural prescription of patrilocal residence for married couples. Such a rule of residence opens up more possibilities of relating to one's kin from father's side.¹⁸

Also, the younger generations seem to avoid articulating remote kinship ties through composite terms. Thus instead of *hi mʰɨi ate-nəŋən*, literally "this is my sister-in-law through husband's aunt (father's sister)", one tends to say *hi mʰəjya gʰɔwali ate-bʰɨŋ*, literally, "this is my husband's cousin through his aunt (father's sister)".

There is one more term in the Hindu dialect which stands for "father's father's brother's son" -- *tipolyɔ*. His children are Ego's *tipol-bʰawŋā* -- *tipol-bʰaw* / *tipol-bʰɨŋ*. *tipolyɔ* does not have a corresponding feminine form.

Christian dialects have only four composite terms -- *bapol-bʰaw*, *bapol-boŋ*, *sasu* / *sas-pay* and *sasu* / *sas-māy*.

There is a confusion in the Hindu dialects regarding the term for father's sister's husband. Some of the informants gave the term *bʰawoji* which is both a term of reference and a term of address used for sister's husband. Father's sister's husband is father's *bʰawoji*, and is often addressed as one in his wife's family of orientation. Some informants gave the term *mawsɔ*

which is the masculine of *maw fi* "mother's sister" and primarily means "mother's sister's husband." Some said, there was no word for this relation and described it only *atelɔ ghow* "father's sister's husband." Christian informants were quite clear that father's sister's husband is *titiw*. In fact *titiw* is a classificatory term in Christian dialects and applies both to father's brother and father's sister's husband.

According to Murdock, a classificatory term arises only by ignoring one or more fundamental distinctions between relatives which if given full linguistic recognition, would result in designating them by different denotative terms.¹⁹ Six major criteria form the basis of terminological differentiation of kinship terms. These are the criteria of generation, sex, affinity, collaterality, bifurcation and polarity.²⁰ When all these criteria are linguistically recognized, we get denotative terms, and when any one or more criteria is/ are ignored we get a classificatory term. *titiw*, which is applied to both "father's brother" and "father's sister's husband", ignores the criterion of affinity since, a consanguineal kinsman (father's brother) and an affinal kinsman -- a kinsman whose relation with Ego is traced through a marital link (father's sister's husband) - are treated alike.

However, the criterion of affinity is not ignored in case of father's sister who is *titin / timan* and, father's brother's wife who is *timāy*.

In Hindu dialects, *b^haw* is a classificatory term for "brother" and all male cousins. Similarly, *b^hiyŋ* is a classificatory term for "sister" and all female cousins. These classificatory terms have arisen due to ignoring of the criterion of collaterality that 'rests on the biological fact that among consanguineal relatives of the same generation and sex, some will be more akin to Ego than others.'²¹ One's own sibling -- brother or sister -- is respectively *b^haw* or *k^hasa / səkk^hɔ b^haw* and *b^hiyŋ* or *k^hasa / sɪkk^hi b^hiyŋ*. The epithets *səkk^hɔ / sɪkk^hi*, cognates of Marathi *səkk^ha / səkk^hi*, Hindi *səga / səgi* etc. are, according to Irawati Karve, descendants of the Old Indo Aryan *svəkə* "one's

own".²² One's cousins are one's brothers and sisters through particular uncles or aunts. Thus *bapol-b^haw* and *bapol-b^hiyŋ* are brother and sister, respectively, through the *bapolyɔ* "father's brother"; *mame-b^haw* and *mame-b^hiyŋ* are brother and sister, respectively, through *mama* "mother's brother"; *ate-b^haw* and *ate-b^hiyŋ* are brother and sister, respectively, through the *ate* "father's sister", and *maw se-b^haw* and *maw se-b^hiyŋ* are brother and sister respectively through *maw si* "mother's sister".

This seems to be a part of the general inheritance of an Old Indo-Aryan linguistic / cultural feature. As highlighted by Irawati Karve, in ancient Sanskrit literature (*Srutis, Smritis, Puranas* and *Kavyas*) *bhrātr* or *bhrātā* "brother" are used for one's seminal and uterine brother as also for the son of father's brother and cousin, son of father's and mother's sister and son of mother's brother. So also are the terms *śvasrā* or *bhagini* used for one's sister and all female cousins.²³

Linguistically, all the above composite terms in Konkani are endocentric constructions with *b^haw* or *b^hiyŋ* as the head elements. *bapol*, *mame*, *ate*, *maw se*, like *k^hasa* and *səkk^hɔ* / *s^hkk^hi* are all attributes or modifiers of the above heads.

In Christian dialects, with the possible exception of the pair *bapol-baw* "brother through father's brother" and *bapol-boynŋ* "sister through father's brother", all other cousins are seen as sons / daughters of uncles and aunts.²⁴ Whereas in the case of Hindu dialects expressions for cousins of all types are composite terms, in Christian dialects these are descriptive expressions or phrases of the form -- "son of a particular aunt", "daughter of a particular uncle" etc.

See the following table:

	H - 1	C - 1
BrSo	<i>putḥyɔ</i>	<i>bawage cεdɔ / subrin</i>
BrDa	<i>putḥi / d^huwɔi</i>	<i>bawage cεdū / subrin</i>
SiSo	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>boynige cεdɔ / subrin</i>
SiDa	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>boynige cεdū / subrin</i>

	H - 2	C - 2
HuBrSo	<i>putḥyɔ</i>	<i>dεrage cεdɔ</i>
HuBrDa	<i>putḥi / d^huwɔi</i>	<i>dεrage cεdū</i>
HuSiSo	<i>b^hat^sɔ</i>	<i>nondege cεdɔ</i>
HuSiDa	<i>b^haci</i>	<i>nondege cεdū</i>

	H - 3	C - 3
WiBrSo	<i>mεwḥyalɔ cεdɔ / t^səlɔ</i>	<i>mεwḥyage cεdɔ</i>
WiBrDa	<i>mεwḥyalē cεdū / t^sḥi</i>	<i>mεwḥyage cεdū</i>
WiSiSo	<i>mewḥelɔ cεdɔ / t^səlɔ</i>	<i>mewḥege cεdɔ</i>
WiSiDa	<i>mewḥelē cεdū / t^sḥi</i>	<i>mewḥege cεdū</i>

Expressions in H-1 and H-2 are morphological whereas those in H-3 are syntactic descriptions. H-2 and H-3 are incongruent sets. They are incongruent grammatically, i.e., as far as the formation of the expression is concerned. They are not homologous also with regard to the social grammar of relatedness -- husband's *putḥyɔ / putḥi*, *b^hat^sɔ / b^haci* is also wife's *putḥyɔ / putḥi*, *b^hat^sɔ / b^haci*. But similar relations of the wife are for the

husband "son or daughter of the brother-in-law or sister-in-law". This one-sided relatedness is once again a strong reflection of the patriarchal moorings of the society that has given this terminology. In Christian dialects all these relations express themselves through almost "zero-degree" expressions that merely describe the relation.

4.4 EUROPEAN INFLUENCES ON KONKANI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY.

Konkani kinship terminology, of both Hindus and Christians, is in the main a bifurcate collateral terminology -- one in which paternal and maternal uncles and aunts are terminologically differentiated both from parents and from one another.¹²⁵ What Emile Benveniste writes in the context of the Indo-European could in general also be said of the Indo-Aryan Konkani -- '... the structure of the family implicit in the [kinship] vocabulary is that of a patriarchal society, resting on descent in the paternal line...'¹²⁶ Thus, for instance, Konkani has a name for the relation 'husband's brother's wife' or 'husband's brother's son' but no name for the relation 'wife's brother's wife' or 'wife's brother's son'.

As mentioned above, the impact of Konkani-Portuguese language contact was different on the Hindu and the Christian Konkani dialects. Evangelization brought about by the Portuguese missionaries, followed by the Inquisition introduced conspicuous changes in the societal behaviour of Konkani Christians. One of the most immediate effects of evangelization was linguistic -- both, the name and the surname of the person converted to Christianity underwent a change. The person had a new Lusitanized identity. He/she now had to practise new rituals with new names that were imported from the Portuguese language -- *bautismo* / *batism* "baptism" replaced *barsō* "naming ceremony", *kazar* replaced *lign* "marriage" etc. With importations and replacements of this kind, it was as if the meaning of a word like *lign* got narrowed down to the Hindu marriage ceremony.

This phase of cultural transformation seems to have had a remarkable impact on the kinship terminology of the Christian dialects. Some of the kinship relations too were *baptized* and the kinship domain was linguistically restructured in the process.

Although Portuguese has influenced the kinship terminology of Konkani Christians to a very large extent, *pay*, *māy*, *subrin* and *kunyad* are the only kinship terms of reference in Christian dialects that are directly borrowed from Portuguese.

Whereas "father" and "mother" are designated respectively as *bapuy* and *awāy* in the Hindu dialects, the Christian dialects use the Portuguese loans, respectively, *pay* (<*pai*) and *māy* (<*māe*). But *awāy* (*awoy*) does feature in exclamatory expressions like the following: *awoy ge muje may!* literally meaning, "Oh my mother!" or, *awoy dewa!*, literally, "Oh mother! Oh God!"

Portuguese *sobrinho* "nephew" and *sobrinha* "niece" were adapted mainly as a consonant ending *subrin*, a classificatory term. Two fundamental distinctions between relatives are ignored in this classificatory term -- that of sex (whether the designated relative is male or female) and bifurcation (the fact that relatives may be linked to Ego either through a male or a female connecting relative).²⁷

Portuguese *cunhado* "brother-in-law" was borrowed as *kunyad* and used to designate two relations -- 'sister's husband' and 'husband's sister's husband'. *kunyad* is a classificatory term that corresponds to two denotative terms -- *b^hawoji* "sister's husband" and *nəŋdawɔ* "husband's sister's husband". *kunyad* ignores the criterion of affinity that rests on the social phenomenon of marriage and treats both, a blood-relation -- sister, and a relation by marriage -- husband's sister on par.

Interestingly, the criterion of affinity is not ignored in case of *subrin* which designates the son or daughter of only the brother or sister and not of the

husband's brother or sister.

The Hindu kinship terminology shows an exactly opposite picture -- the relations -- sister's husband and husband's sister's husband are clearly distinguished. But sister's son / daughter and husband's sister's son / daughter are classified as one.

Portuguese *tio* which is semantically homologous with English 'uncle' features in the native creation *titiw* "father's brother / father's sister's husband", in other words, "an uncle from father's side." Like *kunyad* even this classificatory term ignores the distinction of affinity.

Mother's brother -- *mam* stands apart in the group of uncles in that it is the only designation of an uncle that has remained unaffected by changes in the kinship vocabulary of the Konkani Christians. This is probably an acknowledgement of the special role played by the maternal uncle *mam* in the kinship organisation of the Christian society. In a Christian marriage ceremony for example, mother's brother has a specific function to perform. This terminological realignment of uncles in the Konkani Christian society reveals two things --

- 1) Uncles from the father's side are brought together under a single name and are clearly demarcated from uncles from the mother's side.
- 2) *Mam* seems to be the only uncle from the mother's side. Mother's sister's husband is terminologically "husband of *ma san* (mother's sister)".

tio is borrowed but *tia* "aunt" is not. Father's brother's wife is *timāy* -- a kind of *māy* "mother", a mother associated with the uncle -- *titiw* "father's brother", so to say, an "uncle mother". Father's sister is either *timan* -- a *man* "sister" (see below) associated with *titiw*, or, *titin*. Mother's brother's wife is *mami* and mother's sister *ma san*. Thus all the aunts are terminologically distinct.

The term for mother's sister -- *ma san* -- is an interesting blend. The word

seems to have a Portuguese tang, but an etymological scrutiny reveals that it is unrelated to the lone Portuguese "aunt" *tia*, and that it is a definite kin of the Old Indo-Aryan *matr-ṣvāṣā* which became *maucchā* in the Middle Indo-Aryan and came to Konkani as *maw ṣi*. This *maw ṣi* appears to have entered into a relation with *man* (meaning here mother's sister) to give us *ma ṣan*. Thus *ma ṣan* has both an Indo-Aryan and a Romance flavour.

ti- in *titiw*, *timāy*, *titin* and *timan* appears to be a prefix with some kinship meaning like "father's side".²⁸ Likewise *ṣe-*, *ma-*, and *pa-* also seem to be kinship prefixes.

pay "father" and *māy* "mother" that are loan-words from Portuguese enter into the following native creations:

1. *ṣεpay* "father's father".
2. *papay* "mother's father"
3. *mapay* "mother's father"
4. *sas(u)-pay* "father-in-law"
5. *ṣεmāy* "father's mother"
6. *mamāy* "mother's mother"
7. *sas(u)-māy* "mother-in-law"
8. *timāy* "father's brother's wife".

In the Hindu dialects, *adʔ* "grand-father" and *aji* "grand-mother" are classificatory terms. These terms like their English counterparts, ignore the distinction of bifurcation. This distinction rests on the fact that a relative may be linked to Ego through either a male or a female connecting relative.²⁹ Christian dialects seem to have evolved two sets of denotative terms to designate the four grandparents.³⁰

pay and *māy* prefixed by *ṣε* - stand for father's parents and those prefixed by *ma-* and *pa-* (only in case of *pay*) stand for mother's parents. *mapay*

and *mamāy* could perhaps be seen either as *mama's* (mother's brother's) *pay* and *mama's māy*, respectively, or, as *māy's pay* and *māy's māy* respectively.

The *sas(u)* in *sas(u)-pay* and *sas(u)māy* is a descendant of Old Indo-Aryan *śvaśura* "spouse's father" and *śvaśrū* "spouse's mother."³¹ According to Irawati Karve,

'in ancient times, as reflected in Sanskrit literature, '[a]' woman referred to her husband's father and a man to his wife's father by the term *śvaśura*... In the dual form the word stood for both father-in-law and mother-in-law. The term *śvaśura* was used for brothers and cousins of the spouse's father also. In one place it is used for the grand-father of the spouse. It seems to have been used for all male relatives who belonged to the generation above that of the spouse... The terms of reference for the spouse's mother is *śvaśru*...³²'

These in turn are descendants of the Indo-European **swekuros* and **swekrus* that respectively designated the father and mother of the husband³³ *Śvaśura* and *Śvaśū* have cognates in all the modern Indo-Aryan languages.³⁴

	Spouse's Father	Spouse's Mother
Sanskrit	<i>śvaśura</i>	<i>śvaśrū</i>
Pali	<i>sasuro</i>	<i>sasśū</i>
Ardhamagadhi	<i>sasura</i>	<i>sasu</i>
Sindhi	<i>sahuro</i>	<i>sasu</i>
Punjabi	<i>sahura, sasur, sauhrā</i>	<i>sahuri, sassu, sauhri</i>
Hindi	<i>sasura</i>	<i>sās</i>
Pahari	<i>sasur</i>	<i>shashu</i>
Bihari	<i>sasur</i>	<i>sasu, sas</i>
Bengali	<i>shushur-moshay, sasur</i>	<i>shashuri, sāsuri</i>
Nepali	<i>sasuro</i>	<i>sasubajei, sasū</i>
Assami		<i>xahu</i>

Rajasthani	<i>sasur, susar, sasuro</i>	<i>sās</i>
Gujarati	<i>sasaro</i>	<i>sāsū</i>
Uriya	<i>sasura</i>	<i>sasu</i>
Marathi	<i>sāsarā</i>	<i>sāsu</i>

Christian dialects of Konkani have retained the link with the Indo European parents-in-law. *sas(u)* in these dialects is almost used as a tag to distinguish one's own parents from those of one's spouse. Hindu dialects seem to have given up the Old Indo Aryan heritage of *śvaśura; śvaśrū*. The mother-in-law in these dialects is *māy* and the father-in-law *māw*. Whereas the former could be related to the Indo-Aryan *may / mayi* meaning "mother", the latter is a borrowing from Kannada *mawa*.

Changes in the Christian kinship terminology seem to outline the patriarchal structure of the society even more clearly -- uncles from the father's side are brought together and kept distinct from those from the mother's side. Grand- parents from the two sides are also terminologically separated.

There is a certain terminological indifference in the Christian kinship vocabulary with respect to some of the uncles and aunts, the sons and daughters of most uncles and aunts, and also the generation above the grand parents. If in comparison to an analytical - descriptive expression like *paygε ∫εpay* "father's grand-father (father's father)", a morphological expression could be interpreted as implying a stronger kinship tie, then, on the basis of the present data it may be inferred that the Goan Christian kinship terminology gives indications of the disintegration of the Indian joint family³⁵ in the Goan Christian Society. This joint family is indeed a common Indo-European trait -- a version of the *Grossfamilie* as seen reflected by Emile Benveniste in the Indo-European kinship vocabulary. Benveniste defines *Grossfamilie* as a family 'with an ancestor, around whom are grouped the male descendants and their immediate families.'³⁶

As regards the influence of Portuguese on kinship terminology of the two

groups of Konkani dialects, the following remark would be in order :

If the influence of Portuguese is a salient feature of Christian kinship terms of reference, a total absence of Portuguese influence is a salient feature of Hindu kinship terms of reference.

However, kinship terms of address seem to tell a different story. As regards these, Hindu dialects appear much more open to outside influence and 'fashions' of address than the Christian dialects. The terms used for addressing one's parents, for instance, are several in Hindu dialects. These seem to change after fashions.

Examples (the first of each pair is a term for mother, and the second for father):

awo-ab (almost an archaic mode of address at present); *ba-bappa* (archaic); *ai-baba* (loanwords from Marathi?); *mā* (loanword from Hindi) - *baba*; *mama-papa* (loanwords from Portuguese); *mamma-pappa* (loanwords from English?), *mamma-dēdi* (loanwords from English via Marathi); *mamma-daḍa* (loanwords from English), etc.

In comparison with this variety, the repertoire of Christian kinship terms is quite limited - *māy-pay*; *mama-papa*, *mami-dēdi*; *mama-daḍa*.

Influence of English on Christian Kinship Terminology.

The post liberation intimacy of the Christian community with English brought about three new additions into the Konkani kinship terminology -- *ᵛᵛkᵛl*, *aṅṅi* and *kᵛdᵛᵛn*. These mainly appear in the speech of the younger generations (the age-group below 35).

ᵛᵛkᵛl and *aṅṅi* are both terms of reference and terms of address. When used as terms of reference, the "exact meaning" of *ᵛᵛkᵛl* or *anti* ("which uncle / aunt") is also usually paraphrased. This seems to be a demand of the

native culture (see below). When used as terms of address, *ᵛᵅᵏᵅ* and *ᵅᵅᵅ* are completely Indianised in that they are used for addressing any male or female who more or less belongs to one's parent's generation. Thus, one who is so addressed need not necessarily be one's kin. He/she may just be one's next-door neighbour. *ᵛᵅᵏᵅ* and *ᵅᵅᵅ* also connote the Goan Christian stereotypes.

ᵏᵅᵅᵅ is indeed a new addition to the inventory of Christian kinship terms of reference. Whereas the Portuguese terms for "cousin" -- *primo (m)* and *prima (f)* remained confined to the speech of the upper caste Christians for whom Portuguese was the first language, *ᵏᵅᵅᵅ* is gradually gaining a mass acceptance in the Christian dialects of Konkani and becoming a cover-term for a whole group of relations. As in the case of *ᵛᵅᵏᵅ* and *ᵅᵅᵅ*, *ᵏᵅᵅᵅ* too makes the speaker provide a paraphrase to specify the exact relation.

There are cultural reasons behind this need felt by a Konkani speaker to paraphrase these loans. 'Uncle' and 'aunt / aunty' are products of 'cultural changes' in Europe that led to disregarding distinctions between paternal and maternal relationships.³⁷ In Classical Greek, the terms *metros* was used for "maternal uncle (mother's brother)" and *patros* for "paternal uncle" (father's brother).³⁸ Later *theios* came to be introduced as a common term for both "father's brother" and "mother's brother". Indian cultural ethos regards the two uncles as distinct. Hence, although Konkani borrows *ᵛᵅᵏᵅ* and *ᵅᵅᵅ* from English, speakers feel the need to "explain" which uncle or aunt one is referring to.

Indo-Aryan kinship terminologies are symmetrical regarding the feature of gender. Hence when a word like *ᵏᵅᵅᵅ* that is insensitive to gender specification is accepted as a regular kinship term by Konkani speakers, an asymmetry is introduced into the system. And hence Konkani uses it along with a paraphrase.³⁹

However, *ᵏᵅᵅᵅ* is not borrowed in Konkani along with all the kinship

meanings it has in English. Whereas English ignores the criterion of generation while using 'cousin' in the sense of "cousin once (or twice) removed", i.e., one or two generations above or below Ego, Konkani applies *kad̄m* only to persons of Ego's generation.

If in the years to come *ḡkḡl*, *aṅṅi* and *kad̄m* replace the parallel existing terms, the structure of the Christian kinship terminology may change to that of the lineal type of terminology which recognises collaterality but not bifurcation.⁴⁰ This type of kinship terminology is especially characteristic of the isolated nuclear family.⁴¹ According to Murdock,

'The very isolation of the nuclear family operates as a social differential to favour separate terms for lineal and collateral relatives, and at the same time operates as a social equalizer, either through immateriality or through equivalent lack of proximity, to minimize the inherent distinction between collateral relatives through different sexes.'⁴²

4.5 **KONKANI KINSHIP TERMS OF INDO-EUROPEAN DESCENT: AN ETYMOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION:**

Most kinship terms in Konkani, especially in the Hindu Konkani dialects are of Indo-Aryan descent. While discussing Sanskrit kinship terms of reference Irawati Karve writes:

'Most of the words used in modern north-Indian languages are derived from these words. A few new words are added, a new connotation is given to some old ones and a few have dropped out in certain languages.'⁴³

What is said of the modern north-Indian languages' (modern Indo-Aryan languages of the North?) also holds true in case of Konkani.

In what follows, an attempt is made to trace the journey of most of the elementary kinship terms of reference in Konkani by juxtaposing these

alongside their cognates in the sister New Indo-Aryan (NIA) languages, and those in the Middle Indo-Aryan (MIA) and the Old Indo-Aryan (OIA). The reconstructed Proto Indo-European (PIE) form is also cited wherever possible so as to bring home the length of the journey of these Konkani words.

The data is presented in a rather simplistic manner in a linear form beginning from "roots" (the 'original' words) and ending with "shoots" (words current in the NIA languages), although in actuality one has traced the journey of the words backwards. The source used for the OIA, MIA and NIA (other than Konkani), and Dravidian kinship terms is Irawati Karve (1953).⁴⁴ The PIE forms are from Emile Benveniste (1973).

Abbreviations:

Sanskrit	:	Skt.
Pali	:	Pa.
Ardhamagadhi	:	Ar.
Sindhi	:	Sin.
Punjabi	:	Pun.
Hindi	:	Hin.
Bihari	:	Bi.
Asamiya	:	As.
Nepali	:	Ne.
Rajasthani	:	Raj.
Gujarati	:	Guj.
Uriya	:	Ur.
Marathi	:	Mar.
Konkani	:	Kon.
Pahari	:	Pa.
Bengali	:	Ben.

Tamil	:	Ta.
Telugu	:	Te.
Malayalam	:	Mal.
Kannada	:	Ka.
Tulu	:	Tu.
Gondi	:	Go.
Kolam	:	Ko.
Toda	:	To.

"Son"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>putra</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>putto</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>putta</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>puṭu</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>pūt</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>putra</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>puta</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>put</i>
		As.	:	<i>put</i>
		Ne.	:	<i>put</i>
		Raj.	:	<i>putra</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>puvo, pua, po</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>puta</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>put</i>

"daughter"

IE	:			<i>* dhugh(ə)ter</i>
OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>duhitṛ</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>dhīta, dhītika</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>dhuyā, duhiya</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>dhiü, dhiä</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>dhī, dhiahan</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>dhī, dhiya</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>dhiyari</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>dhuw</i>

"son's son"

PIE	:			<i>*nepot</i>
OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>napṛ</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>natto</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>nattua</i>
NIA	:	Pun	:	<i>nāti</i>
		Hin	:	<i>nāti</i>
		Pa.	:	<i>nāti</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>nāti</i>
		As.	:	<i>nati</i>
		Ne.	:	<i>nati</i>
		Raj	:	<i>nātī</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>natu, napta, nāti</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>nātū</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>natu</i>

"son's daughter"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>naptri</i>
MIA	:	--		
NIA	:	Hin.	:	<i>natin</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>nātinī, nātani</i>
		Nep.	:	<i>nātinī</i>
		Raj.	:	<i>nātinī</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>natuni</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>nāt</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>nat</i>

In Sanskrit the pair *napṛ, naptri/ pautri* was used for "son's son" and "son's daughter" respectively. The pair *dauhitra* and *dauhitri* was employed respectively for daughter's son and daughter's daughter respectively.⁴⁵ During the MIA. period - at least in Pali *natto* was used also for daughter's son.⁴⁶ Although a language like Hindi uses the terms *nāti* and *natin* to refer respectively to son's son and daughter's son, *natu* and *nat* in Konkani as also in many of its sister languages are classificatory terms referring to both son's and daughter's son and, son's and daughter's daughter, respectively.⁴⁷ The PIE **nepot* seems to mean both "grandson" and "nephew."⁴⁸

"great grand son"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>pra-napṛ</i>	"son's son's son"
MIA	:	-			
NIA	:	Ne.	:	<i>panāti</i>	"great grand son"
		Mar.	:	<i>paṇatu</i>	"
		Kon.	:	<i>ponṭu/pinṭu</i>	"

Although the term *pra-naptri* does not seem to occur in the texts scanned by Karve for Sanskrit kinship vocabulary, on the basis of the pairs - *napṛ : naptri* and *dauhitra : dauhitri*, one can indeed imagine a *pra-naptri* alongside *pra-napṛ*.

"great grand-daughter"

NIA	:	Ne.	:	<i>panāṭini</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>paṇati</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>poṇṭi/ pṇṭi</i>

"mother's sister"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>mātr-ṣvasā</i>
				(literally, mother's sister ⁴⁹)

MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>matucchā</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>maucchā</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>masi</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>massi</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>māsī, māusi</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>mausi</i>
		Guj.	:	<i>māsi</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>mausi</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>maushī</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>mawṣi</i>

mawṣ "mother's sister's husband" is a masculine noun derived from *mawṣi* by dropping the word-final feminine marker *-i* and adding the masculine marker-*ṣ*.

"mother's sister's husband"

NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>masar, māsaḍu</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>masar</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>mausā</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>mausa</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>mashi-moshay</i>
		Raj.	:	<i>mausā, mouso, mausoji</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>mausa</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>māusā</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>mawṣ</i>

"husband's brother"

PIE				<i>*daiwer</i>
OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>devara, devr</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>devaro</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>devaro</i>
NIA	:	Sin	:	<i>deru</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>der</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>devar</i>
		Pa.	:	<i>dewar</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>dewar</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>deur</i>
		As.	:	<i>dewar</i>
		Ne.	:	<i>dewar</i>
		Raj.	:	<i>dewar</i>
		Guj.	:	<i>der, diyar</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>devar, diara, debara</i>
		Ma.	:	<i>dīra</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>der</i>

Kinship vocabularies of most New Indo Aryan languages distinguish between the elder and the younger brother of the husband. The cognate of PIE **daiwer* in these languages refers to the husband's younger brother. The exception here is only of Marathi, Konkani, and to some extent Punjabi (in which *der* is qualified either with *wadda* "elder" or *nikka* "younger" to refer to elder or younger brother of the husband. The distinction between husband's elder and younger brother at the level of vocabulary did not exist in OIA and MIA. It was probably necessitated in the NIA by the socio-cultural customs like junior levirate.⁵⁰

"husband's sister"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>nanāndṛ</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>nanandā</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>ninan</i>
	:	Puñ.	:	<i>ninān, nand, nanān</i>
	:	Hin.	:	<i>nanand</i>
	:	Bi.	:	<i>nananda</i>
	:	Ben.	:	<i>nonana, nandā</i>
	:	As.	:	<i>nandi</i>
	:	Ne.	:	<i>nanda</i>
	:	Raj.	:	<i>nanand</i>
	:	Guj.	:	<i>nanand</i>
	:	Ur.	:	<i>nanad</i>
	:	Mar.	:	<i>naṇada, naṇanda</i>
	:	Kon.	:	<i>nəṇəṇ</i>

"brother"

PIE	:		:	<i>*bhrāter</i>
OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>bhrātṛ, bhrātā</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>bhātā</i>
	:	Ar.	:	<i>bhāu, bhāya</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>bhāī, bhāu</i>
	:	Pun.	:	<i>bhāī, bhayyā, bīr</i>
	:	Hin.	:	<i>bhāī, bīr</i>
	:	Pa.	:	<i>bhāī</i>
	:	Bi.	:	<i>bhaiya</i>
	:	Ben.	:	<i>bhāī</i>
	:	As.	:	<i>bhāī</i>

Ne.	:		<i>bhāi</i>
Ra.	:		<i>bhāi, bhayyā</i>
Guj.	:		<i>bhāī</i>
Ur.	:		<i>bhai</i>
Mar.	:		<i>bhāū</i>
Kon.	:		<i>b^haw /baw</i>

"sister"

OIA	:	Skt.	<i>bhagini</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	<i>bhagini</i>
		Ar.	<i>bhahini, bhagini</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	<i>bhen</i>
		Pun.	<i>bhain</i>
		Hin.	<i>bahan, bahin</i>
		Bi.	<i>behan, bahan</i>
		Ben.	<i>bon</i>
		As.	<i>bhani</i>
		Pa.	<i>baini, bahini</i>
		Ra.	<i>bahin, bhan</i>
		Guj.	<i>ben, bon, bena, bona, bhenī</i>
		Ur.	<i>bhauni, bahin</i>
		Mar.	<i>bahina</i>
		Kon.	<i>b^hīyn /boyn</i>

Sister and all female cousins are designated in Sanskrit as *svasr* or *bhaginī*. While *svasr* is an older word (descendant of PIE **swesor*, *bhagini* appears in Sanskrit writings of the later period.⁵¹

"brother's wife"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>bhatrjaya</i> (literatly, "brother's wife")
MIA	:	Ar.	:	<i>bhaujja, bhaujjaiya</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>bhajai</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>bharaj</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>bharaj</i>
		Pa.	:	<i>bhauji, bhaujeo</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>bhauji, bhojai</i>
		As.	:	<i>bowāri</i>
		Guj.	:	<i>bhojai</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>bhaujo</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>bhāvajaya, bhāvajai</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>bhawədʒ</i>

"husband's brother's wife"

PIE	:			<i>*yenter, *ynter-</i>
OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>yātr.</i>
MIA	:	-		
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>jā</i>
		Ben	:	<i>jā</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>jā</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>jāū</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>dʒaw</i>

"daughter's husband"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>jāmātr.</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>jāmātā</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>jāmājā</i>
NIA	:	Pun.	:	<i>jawāi</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>jamāi</i>
		Pa.	:	<i>jamāi</i>

Bi.	:		:	<i>jamai</i>
Ben.	:		:	<i>jāmāi</i>
As.	:		:	<i>zōwāi</i>
Ne.	:		:	<i>jawāi</i>
Ra.	:		:	<i>jamāī</i>
Guj.	:		:	<i>jamāī</i>
Ur.	:		:	<i>jwa(n)i, jaiñ</i>
Mar.	:		:	<i>jāvai</i>
Kon.	:		:	<i>d'āwṛy</i>

"Wife"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>bhāryā</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>bhāriya</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>bhajjā</i>
NIA	:	Guj.	:	<i>bairi</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>bhariya</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>bāyako</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>bayl</i>

bhāryā means "one who must be supported-fed and clothed."⁵²

"son's wife"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>snusā</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>sunisā, husā, sunhā</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>sunhā, hnusā</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>nuh, nuhū</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>nuhn</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>sun</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>sun</i>

"co-wife"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>sapatni</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>sapatti</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>savatti</i>
NIA	:	Pun.	:	<i>saukan</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>saut, sautin, sauk</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>shotin</i>
		Ne.	:	<i>sauta</i>
		Guj.	:	<i>sōkya</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>savata</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>s'wīt</i>

"husband"

MIA	:	Ar.	:	<i>godha</i>
NIA	:	Ur.	:	<i>ghoyta, ghaita.</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>ogo</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>goho, gho</i> ⁵³
		Kon.	:	<i>g^how</i>

The above terms for "husband" are of non-Sanskritic origin.⁵⁴ Karve writes: 'The word *Goho* is found in medieval Jain Prakrit literature and is used for a simple man, a farmer, and it is given as *Desi* (non-Sanskrit) word in the *Abhidhānrājendra*, the *Ardhamagadhi* dictionary.'⁵⁴

At least at the level of formal usage, the Christian dialects of Konkani seem

to have retained *poti* "husband" and *potin* "wife", descendants, respectively of OIA *pati* and *patni*.

pati designates "husband" in Sanskrit. According to Irawati Karve '...the frequency with which the word is used [in Sanskrit] in other contexts, to denote "authority over" or "possession of" something, seems to suggest that the word means 'master.'⁵⁵ Thus *grhapati*, *jās-pati* and *vís-pati* in Rgveda respectively mean "the master of the house", "the head of a patri-clan" and "the king (literally), the master of all."⁵⁶ 'The simple word *Pati*, writes Karve, 'indicates some type of possessive rights over a woman who is the wife.'⁵⁶

Patni is the feminine of *pati*. *Patni* does not seem to have the connotation of the master and must be translated simply as "wife."⁵⁷ However, according to Karve, there are indications that suggest that *patni* did denote a definite status in her relation with *pati*.⁵⁸ As indicated by words like *grhapatni* and *dharmapatni*, *patni* seems to have shared the household responsibilities and ritual duties of the *pati*.⁵⁸

The pair *ghṛkar* "(male) owner of the house" and *ghṛkann* "(female) owner of the house" corresponds in some regard to the Sanskrit pair *grhapati* and *grhapatni*. Irawati Karve also provides evidence of a parallel formation in Tamil - *akamutaiyan* and *āttukkārar*. These words refer to husband and literally mean "the master or possessor (*utaiān*) of the house (*akam* and *āttu*).⁵⁹ *Akamuttaia!* "wife"⁶⁰ also displays a similar semantic formation in the feminine.

"grand-father"

OIA : Skt. : *ārya*

(probably a term of address for an elder male relative by marriage.)⁶¹

āryaka

MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>ayyaka</i> "father's or mother's father"
		Ar.	:	<i>ajyaga</i> "father's father"
NIA	:	Bi.	:	<i>aja</i> "father's father"
		Ur.	:	<i>aja</i> "father's father" <i>ajja</i> "mother's father"
		Mar.	:	<i>aja</i> "father's or mother's father"
		Kon.	:	<i>ad̥ɔ</i> "father's or mother's father"
"grand-mother"				
OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>aryā</i> (probably a term of address for an elder female relative by marriage). ⁶¹
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>ayyakā</i> "father's or mother's mother" <i>ayyakānī</i> "father's mother"
		Ar.	:	<i>ajjiā</i> "father's mother"
NIA	:	Bi.	:	<i>aji</i> "father's mother"
		Ur.	:	<i>āī</i> , <i>āji</i> "father's mother" <i>āīma</i> "father's mother"
		Mar.	:	<i>ājī</i> "father's or mother's mother"
		Kon.	:	<i>aji</i> : "father's or mother's mother"

According to Karve, *ājā* and *ājī* in Marathi originally appears to have stood for mother's father and mother's mother respectively. This surmise is based on the following evidence - 1) In many a caste, father and mother are referred respectively as *mhātārā/thorlā bā* and *mhātāri āī* which means the old or older father and mother. 2) *Ajol* (< *ārya* (*ajja*)+ *kula* (*ula*) "the family of the *ārya*" signifies in Marathi a person's mother's father's house.⁶²

In present-day Marathi, as also in Konkani, the words *ājā*, *ājī* (Marathi), *ad̥ḥ, aji* (Konkani) are used for grand-parents on both sides.⁶³

"mother's brother"

OIA	:	Skt.	:	<i>māmaka, māma</i>
MIA	:	Pa.	:	<i>mātulo</i>
		Ar.	:	<i>māulaga, māula, māmmaā</i>
NIA	:	Sin.	:	<i>māmo</i>
		Pun.	:	<i>māmmā</i>
		Hin.	:	<i>māmā, māmu</i>
		Pa.	:	<i>māmā</i>
		Bi.	:	<i>mama</i>
		Ben.	:	<i>māmā</i>
		Ne.	:	<i>māmā</i>
		Ra.	:	<i>māmā</i>
		Guj.	:	<i>māmā</i>
		Ur.	:	<i>māmo</i>
		Mar.	:	<i>māmā</i>
		Kon.	:	<i>mama</i>

According to Karve, 'the terms *māmāka* and *māma* are not found either in the Vedic literature or in *Mahabharata*. They are of very frequent occurrence in the ... *Pañcatantra* where various beasts address each other as *mamaka*. It means "mother's brother" though it is used in many stories merely as a mode of address for any stranger.'⁶⁴ From this, Karve concludes that *māmāka* does not seem to be an original Sanskrit term.⁶⁴ According to Benveniste, even in the Indo-European there is no term specifically designating the maternal uncle.⁶⁵

Mama or a version of *mama* could be attested in all the four major and also other Dravidian languages:

Ta.	:	<i>māmā</i> <i>ammān'</i> (word derived from <i>ammā</i> meaning "man from the mother's (house)" ⁶⁶
Te.	:	<i>māmā</i> , <i>māmayyā</i>
Ka.	:	<i>māmā</i> , <i>sodarmāvā</i>
Mal.	:	<i>ammāman</i> , <i>ammāvan</i> .
Tu.	:	<i>māme</i>
Go.	:	<i>māmu</i> , <i>māmāl</i> , <i>māmā</i>
Ko.	:	<i>māmā</i>
To.	:	<i>mun</i> , <i>mama</i>

According to Irawati Karve, 'there is no way to know whether it [*mama*] is a Dravidian word. Both the Sanskritic and the Dravidian people may have borrowed it from some third source or it may be an original Dravidian word.'⁶⁶

Three out of the four Austro-Asiatic languages surveyed by Karve for kinship terminology also contain *mama* or its equivalent.

Mundari	:	<i>kumāng</i> , <i>kumāing</i> , <i>māmā</i>
Santali	:	<i>māmu</i> , <i>māmā</i> , <i>māmām</i>
Bondo	:	<i>māmung</i>

Karve does not comment on the kinship terminology of these languages for want of enough knowledge. But she does state that 'many words are borrowed [into these languages] from the Sanskritic [Indo Aryan] and the Dravidian languages.'⁶⁷

In this light, it appears that more research is needed to comment on the familial affiliation of *mama*. In this light, Karve's observation that 'the modern word *māmā* used all over India is derived from the word *māmaka*'⁶⁸ seems a little far-fetched. The all pervasive presence of *mama* in almost all the languages of Dravidian origin and probably at all times of the written literature seems to hint at the fact that *māmā* is originally Dravidian. The 'third source' does not at all seem to be in sight.

"(elder) brother's wife"

wiyini/w^hini/huni are cognates of Marathi *vahinī* which according to Karve is formed from Sanskrit *vadhu* and *anni* "elder brother's wife". *Anni* is a later Dravidian word formed on the analogy of Sanskrit feminine words, from the original *annā* "elder brother". *Vahinī* is thus a woman who is a *vadhu* ("bride") of the house being the elder brother's wife.⁶⁹

Konkani *bapuy* (*ba:pu* in sixteenth century Konkani manuscripts) "father" has cognates in almost all the NIA languages.

Sin. :	<i>bābo</i>
Pin. :	<i>bābal, babhā, bāp</i>
Hin. :	<i>bāpa, bābu</i>
Pa. :	<i>bābā, bājū, bābjoo</i>
Bi. :	<i>bāpa, bābuji</i>
Ben. :	<i>bābā</i>
Ne. :	<i>bābuwā, bābā</i>
Raj. :	<i>bāpū, bābū, bāp</i>
Guj. :	<i>bāpu, bāpā</i>
Ur. :	<i>bappa</i>
Mar. :	<i>bāpa</i>

According to Karve, the origin of these terms does not seem to be Sanskritic. She writes - 'they all seem to be derived from the term *Bāppā* which seems to have originated first in Rajputana and Gujarat about the seventh or eighth century A.D.'⁷⁰ Karve further adds, 'The forms *bāpa*, *bāpu*, *bābā* and *bābu* are found all over northern India and seem to have replaced the more ancient *pitā* and *pīu*.'⁷⁰

Karve also provides the following information:

Bāī or *bāyī* which are perhaps the feminine of *bāppā* or *bābū*, are used as suffixes to a woman's name and have no kinship meaning in the north, whereas in the central and southern zone, these words sometimes assume a kinship sense. In Maharashtra *Bāyā*, *Bāyo*, *Bāyadi* are pet names for girls.⁷¹

Konkani suffixes *bab* and *bay* respectively to a man's and a woman's name to give an honorific sense to the proper-noun. However, when *bab* and *bay* are used before the proper-nouns, it indicates that the person so referred is younger to the speaker/writer. *Bab/baba/babu* and *bay* also signify respectively, male and female child and are also used as pet names. A diminutive of *bay* - *Bayul* is also used as a pet name for girls though it is not quite popular today. *Babazinha* and *Bayzinha*, words derived from *baba* and *bay* by adding the Portuguese diminutive suffix *-zinha*, are also used as pet names for boys and girls in the upper caste Christian families.

Bayi, probably a loan from Marathi was also used as a pet name for girls at least during the first half of the twentieth century.

"Wife's brother, Wife's sister"

According to Irawati Karve the Marathi kinship terms *mehunā* "sister's husband, wife's brother" and *mehunī* "wife's sister" are of Sanskritic origin. The Sanskrit word *maithuna* or *maithunaka* meaning "a pair" and used for any pair of the same sex or different sexes becomes *mehunaga* "sister's husband or a male cross cousin" and *mehuniya* "female cross cousin" in the

Prakrit (Ardhamāgadhī). As observed by Karve, *mehunā* and *mehunī* have a similar usage in the Maratha and Kunbi dialects of Marathi. According to her, this usage could be interpreted as signifying "a marriage partner" - "one with whom I make a pair".⁷² In Konkani *mewṇṇ* and *mewṇi*: signify "wife's brother" and "wife's sister" respectively.

"Parents of son-in-law, daughter-in-law"

	Ms.	Fem.
Ben. :	<i>byahi</i>	<i>byan</i>
Guj. :	<i>vevāhi</i>	<i>vevan</i>
Mar. :	<i>vyāhī</i>	<i>vihina</i>
Kon. :	<i>vey</i>	<i>veṇ/yeṇ</i>

Karve thinks, *vyahi* and *vihina* are derived from the Sanskrit word *vivaha* "marriage", and mean, those connected by marriage. Thus, semantically the words are analogous to the pair *samdhī* and *samdhan* of the north.

t^sult is derived from Prakrit *culla+tao* "the younger father".⁷³ *t^sulti* is a feminine derived from *t^sult*. *Kaka* is a word of Turkish origin.⁷⁴ *Kaki* is the feminine of *kaka*

"Son"

Pa. :	<i>chela</i>
Ben. :	<i>chele</i>
Ne. :	<i>choro</i>
Ra. :	<i>choro</i>
Kon. :	<i>t^səl</i>

"daughter"

Pa. : *cheli*

Ne. : *chori*

Kon. : *t^s #i*

"Wife's sister's husband"

Sin. : *sandhu*

Pun. : *sāndhu*

Hin. : *sārhū*

Pa. : *sardharu bhai*

Bi. : *sadhu*

Ne. : *sārhū*

Raj. : *sādu*

Guj. : *sādhu-bhāi*

Mar. : *sādu, sād-bhāu*

Kon. : *saḍu*

4.6 CONCLUSION

Kinship terminologies of Hindus and Christians are considerably different. If the influence of Portuguese language is a salient feature of the Christian kinship terms of reference, its total absence is a characteristic of Hindu kinship terms of reference. Observations and findings of the present research in the area of Konkani kinship terminology is systematically reported in the concluding Chapter.

Notes and References

¹ Some of the observations on the present research on kinship were presented as a Paper in the International Conference on Universal Knowledge - 2002, jointly organised by UNDL Foundation, Geneva : Transcultural International Institute, France, and IIT Bombay. Fort Aguada-Goa, Nov. 27, 2002.

² E.L. Schusky "Kinship Terminology". The Encyclopedia of language and Linguistics. Ed. A.E. Asher. 10 Vols. (Oxford: Pergamon Press) 1848.

³ George Peter Murdock, Social Structure (New York : The Free Press, 1949)96.

⁴ Leonard Bloomfield, Language (New York : Henry Holt and Co., 1933) 444-475.

⁵ Rocky V. Miranda, "Caste, Religion and Dialect Differentiation in the Konkani Area", IJSL, 16 (1978)77-91.

⁶ Irawati Karve, Kinship Organisation in India (Pune: Deccan College, 1953).

⁷ See Murdock : 91.

⁸ Ibid:97.

⁹ Ibid:91.

¹⁰ Ibid:94.

¹¹ Ibid: 94,95.

¹² Ibid:95.

¹³ Ibid:97-99.

¹⁴ See ibid:95.

¹⁵ Ibid: 98.

¹⁶ Ibid: 99.

¹⁷ Ashok Kelkar "Marathi Kinship Terms : A Lexicographical Study." Transactions of the Linguistic Circle of Delhi 1959-60, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma Vol., (New Delhi, 1962) 1-22.

¹⁸ See Murdock : 147, 148.

¹⁹ Ibid:101.

²⁰ For details, ibid : 101-105 may be referred.

²¹ Ibid: 103.

²² See Karve : 170.

²³ Ibid:40.

²⁴ This special treatment meted out to one type of cousin -- brother / sister through father's brother is indeed an indication of the patriarchal underpinnings of Konkani family and kinship system. This will be dealt with in brief the succeeding sections.

²⁵ Murdock : 141.

²⁶ Emile Benveniste. Indo-European Language and Society (London : Faber & Faber Ltd. 1973)165.

²⁷ See Murdock : 101-103.

²⁸ Emile Benveniste in his investigations of the Indo-European kinship terminology discusses certain suffixes peculiar to this group of words. These suffixes appear in primary words which are unanalyzable. *-Ter* or *-er*, according to Benveniste, is the Indo-European suffix of kinship par excellence (Benveniste : 205-207).

²⁹ See Murdock : 104.

³⁰ Some of the informants however felt that *shEpay* and *shEmaMy* included all the four grandparents. Whereas some other felt, *ʃɛpay* and *ʃɛmāy* denoted only the father's parents. An extensive field-work is needed to clarify the picture.

³¹ See Karve : 36, 37, 90, 100, 101, 105, 147, 148.

³² Ibid :41.

³³ Benveniste :201.

³⁴ See Karve : 36; 37.

³⁵ See Karve 1953 : 10-14.

³⁶ Benveniste :165.

³⁷ Winfred P. Lehmann, Historical Linguistics, 3rd ed. (London : Routledge, 1995) 257.

³⁸ According to Benveniste Greek *metros* is coined on the model of *patros* : 211, 212.

³⁹ The expressions 'cousin-brother' and 'cousin-sister' that are a regular feature of Indian English spring from a similar cultural need to level out a genderless term with all other terms that are gendered.

⁴⁰ See Murdock :142.

⁴¹ Ibid: 156.

⁴² Ibid: 157.

⁴³ Karve : 44.

⁴⁴ The initial letter of the kinship terms is given by Karve in capitals. For the sake of uniformity in the orthography of the data, it is changed over to lower case. The rest of the orthography is kept unchanged.

⁴⁵ Karve : 49, 41.

⁴⁶ See *ibid* : 89,90.

⁴⁷ See the lists of kinship terms provided by Irawati Karve 1953, pgs: 98-107, 145-150.

⁴⁸ For details Benveniste : 188-190 may be referred.

⁴⁹ The PIE form corresponding to *svasa* is **swesor*.

⁵⁰ For details see Karve : 131-134.

⁵¹ Ibid :40.

⁵² Ibid :43.

⁵³ also *ghova*, *ibid* : 173.

⁵⁴ See *ibid*.

⁵⁵ *Ibid*:41.

⁵⁶ *Ibid*:42.

⁵⁷ *Ibid*: 42, 43.

⁵⁸ *Ibid*: 43.

⁵⁹ *Ibid* :214.

⁶⁰ *Ibid* :201.

⁶¹ *Ibid* : 36, 37, 41.

⁶² *Ibid* : 167.

⁶³ *ajjā* "father's father or mother's father" and *ajji* "father's mother or mother's mother" also occur in Kannada. Probably these are loans from Indo-Aryan sources. "Father's father" and/or "mother's father" in other Dravidian languages are -

Ta. : *tattā* , *pattā*

Te. : *tatta*

Mal. : *muttaccan*, *vali-appan* "father's father"
ammatu, *muttaccan* "mother's father"

words for "father's mother" and/or "mother's mother" in these languages are -

Ta. : *pātti*

Te. : *nannammā* "father's mother"
ammāmma "mother's mother"

Mal. : *muthassi*
ammatu "mother's mother"

Kannada also has other words for "father's father" and/or "mother's father", "father's mother" and/or "mother's mother" :

hettappā

mut-tātā "father's father"

hettammā "mother's mother"

(For details see Karve 1953:195-217).

⁶⁴ Karve :39

⁶⁵ Benveniste :204.

⁶⁶ Karve :207.

⁶⁷ Ibid :290.

⁶⁸ Ibid :207.

⁶⁹ Ibid : 164, 165.

⁷⁰ Ibid :108.

⁷¹ Ibid : 108, foot-note.

⁷² Ibid : 88-91,166.

⁷³ See Ibid :168.

⁷⁴ Ibid :109.

CHAPTER - FIVE

INFLUENCES ON KONKANI :

A TEXTUAL APPROACH

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INFLUENCES ON KONKANI : A TEXTUAL APPROACH

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is an investigation of lexical influences on literary Konkani. Since the scope of the present study is limited to Goan varieties of Konkani, literature considered is obviously that in which these varieties have found an expression. This includes Konkani literature produced outside Goa, mainly from Mumbai, during the last decades of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century.

The investigation is mainly focussed on the influence of the Portuguese language. The cultural and intimate contact of Konkani with Portuguese at different periods in time beginning from the sixteenth century is explored with the help of selective sample texts in Roman and Devanagari scripts. Abstracts, quotes and words from the sample texts are provided in the respective scripts and orthographies. Translations of the quotes and sentences are provided only when found extremely necessary. In most cases only the relevant words, usually loanwords, from these are highlighted and translated if necessary.

The contribution of some of the pioneering Konkani writers to the making of literary Konkani is also thrown in relief by examining their choice of vocabulary and also the choice of influences. The present chapter also touches upon the changing patterns of influences on Christian religious literature in Konkani.

THE POSITION IN THE SIXTEENTH AND SEVENTEENTH CENTURIES

Written Literature was apparently embarked upon in Konkani by the European missionaries in the sixteenth century. This activity received an impetus from the installation of the printing press in Goa in 1556. This was the earliest printing press in India.¹

In the history of Konkani literature, the seventeenth century was actually the century of the literary achievements of the European missionaries. Apart from bilingual vocabularies/dictionaries and grammars of Konkani written in Portuguese for aiding the fellow missionaries to learn the native language, quite a few Konkani works, mainly in prose, grounded in the Christian doctrine came to be produced by the Europeans during this century.

These latter, according to Olivinho Gomes are 'subdivided into didactic matter like the catechisms, manuals etc. and the theological and philosophical works of prose and poetry that are instinct with literary devices and engaging figurative diction so as to be considered literature.'² Some of these were translations/adaptations of the European originals while some others were written originally in Konkani. To quote José Pereira, 'the original works were as a rule larger than the translations.'³ Some of the important seventeenth century Konkani works are stated below-

1) *Doutrina Cristã* (printed posthumously in 1622) by Thomas Stephens (1549-1619). This was a catechism of the Christian Doctrine arranged in the form of a dialogue and prepared for teaching children. *Doutrina Cristã* was based on the Portuguese catechism of Fr. Marcos Jorge.⁴

2) *Declaração da Doutrina Christam* (printed posthumously in 1634) by Diogo Ribeiro (1560-1633). This was based on Cardinal Bellarmino's *Symbolum Fidei* in Latin.⁵ and was an elaborate explanation of the Christian faith for adult readers.⁶

3) *Soliloquios Divinos 'Devachim Yecangra Bolanim'* (1660) by João de Pedrosa (1615-1672). This was an adapted version of *Soliloquios Divinos* in Spanish written by Bernardino de Vilhegas.⁷

4) *Saglya Varusace Vanjel* (1667) by the Italian Jesuit Ignazio Arcamone (1615-1683). This according to José Pereira, is 'the first version in an Indian tongue of any portions of the Bible'.⁸

5) *Flos Sanctorum* (printed in Kandvi script in 1607) by Amador de Sancta Anna. This is a prose treatise in more than thousand pages on the lives of saints.⁹

6) *Sancto Antonichim Acharyam* (1655) by Antonio de Saldanha (1598-1633). This is a narrative in prose on the miracles of St. Anthony.

7) *Vonvallyancho Mollo* (1658,59) by Miguel de Almeida (1604-1683), published in five volumes. According to Manohar Rai SarDessai, it is 'a masterpiece of Konkani prose'¹⁰ José Pereira calls it Miguel de Almeida's 'prose poem', further adding that it is 'a sort of Summa Theologica in Konkani.'¹¹ According to Olivinho Gomes, 'this magnificent work deals with the fourfold garden of Heaven, Eden, the Catholic Church and the saints. It is a summary of Christian faith...'¹²

This period of the foregrounding of the written Konkani word and its proliferation in the religious/ theological writings of the European missionaries is referred by some as the 'Golden Era of Konkani Literature.'¹³ . From the information of the important products of this era, cited above, it may well be said that this 'Golden Era' coincides with the seventeenth century. Interestingly, the native Konkani writer's pen has left no literary evidence to disprove the allegation that it was almost mute all throughout the 'Golden Era'. The foreign masters mastered the native language and produced narratives in it for the consumption of the native converts.

The official attitude towards Konkani changed when the seventeenth century

was nearing its end. On June 27, 1684 'the sentence of extermination' of Konkani was issued by D.Francisco de Tavora, Count of Alvor, the then Viceroy of Goa.¹⁴ And subsequent to this, there was no literary activity in Konkani all throughout the eighteenth and most of the nineteenth century.

5.2.1 **Kannada and Perso- Arabic Influence on Konkani Texts**

The manuscripts of stories from Ramayana and Mahabharata in the Roman script preserved in the public library of Braga, Portugal, are the earliest Konkani Literature available to us today. These manuscripts appear to belong to the sixteenth century, and in most likelihood, are written manifestations of oral narrations.¹⁵

The language of these manuscripts bears no influence of Portuguese. However, it reveals both, cultural and intimate contact of Konkani with Kannada (K.), Persian (P.) and Arabic (A.).

Influence of Kannada

Examples:

1. '...ह्या कवड्याच्या तुकान तुजे मास दी.' (K.R.: 26)

तूक < K. *tu:ka* "weight"

2. '...ऐसो समेस्ता सहिन्याचो दडदडु त्या बिदितु पडला देखिलो.' (K.R.: 11)

'...राज बिधिक मखरां...' (A.P.: 52)

बिदि/बिधि < K. *bi:di* "road"

3. '...तें नगर सकट भांगाराचें.' (K.R.: 152)

भांगार < Old K. *bəṅgara* "gold"

4. '...तें सोवर्नाचीं बेतां हातीं... घेवतु, सभेक आयले.' (K.R.: 159)

'...हातीं बेतकाटी कडळु घेवतु...' (A.P.: 25)

बेत < K. *beta* "stick"

5. '...पांयदळाक मिति ना...' (K.R.: 254)

मिति < K. *mi:ti* "limit"

6. '...पोकुवानां ताठां भोनुं हाडिलीं.' (A.P.: 61)

ताठ < K. *taṭṭe* "plate"

7. '...ताका तडौ जाहालो.' (A.P.: 69)

तडौ < K. *tada* "late"

Perso-Arabic Influence:

1. '... मज्या बापा हुजिर समपुनु दिन...' (A.P.: 5)

हुजिर < A. *hud'u:r*+P. *i:* "presence"

2. '...आपुलें कागत वाचुनु...' (A.P.: 8)

कागत < A. *kaGad* "paper, document, letter"

3. '...तांकां सोन्तसु कोनुं रवना कच्या म्होणु म्हळें.' (A.P.: 17)

रवना < P. *rəwanə* "sent"

4. '...जेवणा खाणाची मुस्तायती तितुकिय त्यां रायांक दिली.' (A.P.:21)

'ऐशें रामचंद्रान बोलूनु वनिवासा वचूंक मुस्तायती जालो.' (K.R.: 119)

मुस्तायती < A. *mustaid* "ready"

These and many more loanwords from Kannada and Perso-Arabic sources appear also in the sixteenth-seventeenth century Konkani literature of the missionaries. Quite a few of these survive, even in present day Konkani. Here are some examples from *Doutrina Cristā* and *Vonvallyancho Mollo*.¹⁶

1. '...सुरियां, पेस्कात्यां, खंजिरांनि तांचि... शिसां कातरुनु...' (V.M.:231, 232)

पेस्काती < Dravidian *pi:cəkətti*-a sort of knife-

2. '...ग्रेस्तांच्या सुआर्थां ठायिं तुक, माप ना.' (V.M.:381)

तुक < K. *tu:ka* "Weight /limit"

3. ...*taca manu hurmati deūchy* (D.C.:66)

... *Behurmati quelaleaca bhagassunchē* (D.C.:167)

hurmati < P. A. *hurmət* "respect"

behurmati < P. A. *behurmət* "disrespect"

4. *Amāchī patacā bhagassi* (D.C. : 79)

...*patacāchē bhagassannē*. (D.C.: 82)

...तांचो अपराधु भगशि... (V.M.:182)

...तांकां भगसणें मागता... (V.M.:184)

< P. *bak^hʃ* (suffix) "giver; forgiver"

5. ... *pataquiāchy thori pustauanni* ... (D.C.: 84)

< P. *pusti:bani*: "help"

6. '...येकु विदेचो तमासो आमकां दाखेलो'. (A.P. : 32)

तमासो < A. *təma ʃa* "show"

7. 'तस्त हाडुनु ताचे स्त्र्येचे वा ताचे पाये धुय्ले' (A.P. : 32)

तस्त < P. *təʃt* "basin"

8. '...नगरा भाय्र बरें मैधान पळेउनु...' (A.P. : 35)

मैधान < P. *maidan* "ground"

9. '...तुवें मजी भोउ बेपर्वा केली म्होणु.' (A.P. : 47)

'...मजी बेपर्वा करुनु ही कन्या ओगिचि गेली.' (K.R. : 12)

'... ताच्या आपौण्याचो बेपर्वा करुनु...' (V.M. : 310)

बेपर्वा < P. *bepərwa (h)* "ignoring"

10. '...श्याबास रे अर्जुना...' (A.P. : 49)

श्याबास < Per. *ʃaba: ʃ* diminutive of *sədbas*, a word used for cheering someone up on having done a good deed.

11. *sacramenta gheuncheaca conni mustaity caruchy?* (D.C.: 163)

mustaity < A. *mu st̄oidi*: "preparations"

12. ... कालु, वग्नु वा समैयो सोदितले... (V.M.: 181)

वग्नु < A. *waqt* "time"

Many Perso-Arabic loanwords in the sixteenth-seventeenth century Konkani literature belong to the area of administration, trade and justice. This seems to reflect a historical reality - the hold of Persian and Arabic on the above domains in the Konkani area for a considerable period.¹⁷

1. 'sarua *hucumadara* Paramespara Bapacho yecuchi nizu putru...'

(D.C.:65)

hucumadaru < Ar. *hukm* + P. *barda:r* "ruler"

2. '...quitem sate manucheaca amacam *caido* assa?' (D.C.:102, 103)

caido < A. *qaida*: "rule, principle"

3. '...Lattiqui *gouai* deum naye.' (D.C.:127)

gouai < P. *gawa:hi*: "witness"

4. 'zem paramesparana *pharmailã*, *tẽ modũ* naye.' (D.C.:138)

'...ताच्याचि फर्माणा निमित्ति...' (V.M.:188)

< P. *farmã* "royal order"

5. 'तंव येके दिवशीं येका ब्राह्मणाच्या पुताक बारि पावली (K.R. :)

बारि < P. *bari*: "turn"

6. '...आपुल्यां लछकर्यां, पायकांक आपौनु...' (V.M.: 231)

लछकरी < P. *la fkar* "army"

7. '...आमंची आंकु वारि स्वामिणी... गुनेया वा कळका व्रैतली...' (V.M.: 296)

गुनेय < P. *guna:h* "mistake, fault; crime"

8. '...येकु ग्रेस्तु स्वर्गि रिगुंचें कार्ये जें आसा, म्हा संगिन...' (V.M.: 379)

संगिन < P. *saggi:n* "difficult"

9. '...आपुलो गुन्यांव भगसुनु मागुंच्याक ताका वेळु वा फुरसति मेळशी के ली...' (V.M.: 494)

फुरसति < A. *fursat* "scope, time"

10. '...देवाक तूं हिशेबु दिशी...' (V.M.: 284)

हिशेबु < A. *hisa:b* "accounts"

11. '...त्या दिवानिच्यां लचकच्यां लागीं मागिलें...' (V.M.: 496)

दिवानि < P. *di:wa:ni*: "court"

5.2.2 Doutrina Cristã and Vonvallyancho Mollo: Specimen Texts

Doutrina Cristã (1622) by Thomas Stephens is the first Konkani text bearing the influence of Portuguese language. *Doutrina Cristã* contains the following words from Portuguese - all of which belong to the religious domain, that of Christianity -

Nouns :

1. *Christaũ* (D.C.: 63) "Christian"
2. *Jesu Christu* (D.C.: 106) "Jesus Christ"
3. *Amē* (D.C.: 63) "Amen"
4. *fee* (D.C.: 64) "faith"
5. *Profetu* (D.C.: 65) "prophet"
6. *sacerdote* (D.C.: 65) "Father (priest)"
7. *Credo* (D.C.: 72) "creed"
8. *oracãua* (D.C.: 76) "prayer"
9. *Resurreiçãõ* (D.C.: 101) "resurrection"

10. *Pontio Pilatu* (D.C.:99) "Pontius Pilate"
11. *misteria* (D.C.: 102) "mystery"
12. *Apostolu* (D.C.: 102) "Apostle"
13. *Limbo* (D.C.: 111) "Limbo"
14. *Adaū* (D.C.:111) "Adam"
15. *Bautismo* (D.C.:159) "baptism"
16. *vigairo* (D.C.:.120) "Vicar"
17. *Bispo* (D.C.: 121) "bishop"
18. *Missu* (D.C.:140) "mass"
19. *Pascha* (D.C.: 140) "easter"
20. *Hosti* (D.C.:142) "Hosti"
21. *Calix* (D.C.: 142) "Chalice"
22. *Coresmu* (D.C.: 143) "Lent"
23. *Padri* (D.C.:144) "father (priest)"
24. *consagraçãu* (D.C.:148) "consecration"
25. *sacramentu* (D.C.:155) "sacrament"
26. *Castidade* (D.C.: 157) "punishment"
27. *Chrisma* (D.C.:159) "Holy Oil"
28. *Comunhaõ* (D.C.: 159) "communion"
29. *Confissãõ* (D.C.: 159) "Confession"
30. *Ordem* (D.C.: 159) "Order"
31. *Matrimonio* (D.C.: 159) "marriage"
32. *Purgatorio* (D.C.:113) "Purgatory"
33. *Crussu* (D.C.: 109) "Cross"

Phrases functioning as nouns:

1. *Santa Cruz* (D.C.: 67) "Holy Cross"
2. *Spiritu Santu* (D.C.: 69) "Holy Spirit"
3. *Virgē Maria* (D.C.: 86) "Virgin Mary"
4. *Santissima Trindade* (D.C.: 69) "Holy Trinity"
5. *Santa Madre Igreja* (D.C.: 97) "Holy Mother Church"
6. *Padre nosso* (D.C.: 73) "Our Father"
7. *Santissimo Sacramēto* (D.C.: 82) "Holy Sacrament"
8. *Aue Maria* (D.C.: 84) "Hail Mary"
9. *Santa Maria* (D.C.: 85) "Saint Mary"
10. *Anjo Gabrielu* (D.C.: 86) "Angel Gabriel"
11. *Santa Isabela* (D.C.: 86) "Saint Isabela"
12. *Nossa Senhora da Piedade* (D.C.: 87) "Our Lady of Piety"
13. *Nossa Senhora do Remedio* (D.C.: 87) "Our Lady of Help"
14. *Nossa Senhora de Consolacaõ* (D.C.: 87, 88) "Our Lady of Piety"
15. *Salve Regina* (D.C.: 90) "Save O Queen"
16. *Santa Igreja Catholica* (D.C.: 101) "Holy Catholic Church"
17. *Santa fee* (D.C.: 102) "Holy Faith"
18. *Seo de Abrahaõ* (D.C.: 111) "Abraham's heaven"
19. *Santo Roma (nagari)* (D.C.: 121) "Holy City of Rome"
20. *Saõ Pedru* (D.C.: 121) "St. Peter"
21. *Santo Sacramento* (D.C.: 140) "Holy Sacrament"
22. *agoa benta* (D.C.: 155) "blessed holy water"
23. *Extrema Unçaõ* (D.C.: 159) "the final sacrament"

24. *Peccado original* (D.C.: 160) "the original sin"
25. *Vertudes Theologaes* (D.C.: 165) "theological virtues"
26. *Vertudes Cardeaes* (D.C.: 165) "cardinal virtues"
27. *Quatro nouissimos* (D.C.: 165) "four ninths"
28. *Confissao geral* (D.C.: 164) "general confession"
29. *S. Migueli* (D.C.: 169) "St. Michael"
30. *S. Joao Bautistu / Baptistu* (D.C.: 169) "St. John Baptist"
31. *Sao Paulu* (D.C.: 169) "St. Paul"

Verbs: infinitive forms appearing with Konkani *k#* or *d'a* verb forms:

1. *rezar* (D.C.:94) "to pray"
2. *bautizar* (D.C.: 114) "to baptize"
3. *confessar* (D.C.: 140) "to confess"
4. *comugar* (D.C.: 146) "to take Holy Communion"
5. *consagrar* (D.C.: 146) "to consecrate"

Quotes:

1. *Christu mhannaze Raza, Profetu, anny sacerdote, aisso to, samesta Rayacho Rau, samesta Prophetā hounu srasttu Profetu, anny samesta sacerdoti passi srasttu sacerdote deqhunu, tãca Christu naua phualē.* (D.C. : 65,66)

2. *Santa Madre Igrezeche Sacramenta, sata. Pailo, Bautismo. Dussaro, Chrisma. Tissaro Comunhaõ. Choutho, Confissao. Panchauo, Extrema Vncao. Sattauro, Ordem. Satauro, Matrimonio* (D.C. : 159)

A close examination of the language of *Vonvallyancho Mollo* by Miguel de Almeida, that was published in the second half of the seventeenth century (1658-59) also reveals that at that period Portuguese words into Konkani

pertained largely to the domain of religion.

The Portuguese words from *Doutrina Cristã* given above, especially the individual noun and verb forms, could be considered the basic religious vocabulary of Christianity. Apart from these, *Vonvallyancho Mollo* has quite a few others like एवांजेलिस्तु “evangelist” (V.M.: 156), पात्रिआर्कु “patriarch” (V.M.:188) प्रेगादोर "preacher", रेलिकि “relic” (V.M.:274), तेंप्लु “temple” (V.M.: 296). मिसियस “messiah” (V.M.: 483), एपिस्तोलु "epistle (V.M.: 259), आलतारि “altar” (V.M.: 267), जेंतियु "local people" (V.M.: 281), कोर्देयरु "lamb" (V.M.: 232), सिरकुंसिसांव "circumcision" (V.M.: 238), केरुबिन्स “Cherubs” (V.M.: 325), साल्मु "Psalm" (V.M.: 332), पाद्रिन्यु “God Father” (V.M.: 334), पायशांव “Passion” (V.M.: 377), इंकिजिसांव “Inquisition” (V.M.: 470), आबादि "abbe" (V.M.: 406), एक्षकोमुन्यांव “excommunication” (V.M.: 517), एक्षकोमुंगादु "excommunicated" (V.M.: 517), सिरकुंसिदार (+कर) "circumcise" (V.M.: 238), कानोनिजार (+कर) "canonise" (V.M.: 502), आबसोलवेर (+कर) "absolve" (V.M.: 518).

All these words, no doubt, appear in Konkani texts. However, if one understands borrowing as an activity initiated by the borrower then it is indeed difficult to call the above words loans. The reason is, here we have the models themselves appearing in a foreign language (Konkani) thanks to the native/near-native speakers of the language to which they (models) belong. In other words, these words are **introduced** into Konkani by the non-native speakers of Konkani. The process of borrowing is basically a process of **taking**. The above case mainly reflects the process of **giving**.

Some of the phrases like सांतिस्सिमा त्रिदादी, सांतिस्सिमु साक्रामेंतु, पाद्र नोसु appear in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* as well (V.M. : 157, 201,198). But here there is a tendency to give the original phrase in translation, either fully or partially, or to give its paraphrase side by side.

Thus, in place of 'Santa Madre Igreja' (D.C.: 97), we have in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* पवित्रि इग्रज, आमंची माय (V.M.: 259). Likewise, there are other phrases with पवित्र like पवित्र कोमुन्यांव (V.M.: 223) “Holy Communion”, पवित्र बावतिस्सु (V.M.:

259) “Holy Baptism”, पवित्र साक्रि फिसियु (V.M.: 267) “Holy Sacrifice”, पवित्र इन्किसिसांव (V.M.: 470) “Holy Inquisition”. *Virgē Maria* (D.C.: 86) is rendered as ‘सदा आंकुवारि स्वामिणी’ (V.M.: 267). सांता सांतारूं is immediately followed by its paraphrase ‘म्हणजे देवआर्क आशिल्लये पवित्री सुवाते...’ (V.M.: 263)

Not only are the phrases translated in *Vonvallyancho Mollo*, Konkani equivalents or explanations are provided also for simple loanwords from Portuguese.

Examples : (The word in bold print is a Portuguese loanword. Its explanation is shown in italics. These changes are introduced by the researcher.)

1. ‘लिंबु म्हळल्ये अक्राळी काळोखाच्ये सुवाते...’ (V.M.: 251)
2. ‘बेलेंचि प्रेझेपि, देवबाळकाचें खोंपट...’ (V.M.: 265)
3. ‘कानोनिजार म्हणजे पवित्रु पावनु वा सदैवु करुनु.’ (V.M.: 502)
4. ‘ह्ये पिलारि अथवा खांब्यारि’ (V.M.: 390)
5. ‘केरबिन्स म्हळले... भोडुवे’ (V.M.: 325)

In this text, we also see an attempt of juxtaposing a new sign from a 'new language' (Christianity) alongside a sign belonging to the familiar Hindu linguistic ethos. Thus we have the phrases - भग्नु आपोस्तलु (V.M.: 210) from भग्नु “devotee” and आपोस्तलु “apostle”, शिसां आपोस्तलानिं (V.M.: 201) from शिसु “student, follower” and आपोस्तलु “apostle”, होमु साक्रि फिस्यु (V.M.: 262) from होम "sacrifice/oblation" साक्रि फिस्यु “sacrifice”, अश्रवचन बेसांव (V.M.: 288) from अश्रवचन “blessing” and बेसांव “blessing” पुनर्जिवित्व रेजुररेयसांव (V.M.: 240) from पुनर्जिवित्व "re-living=Resurrection", a coined word (see below) and रेजुररेयसांव ("Resurrection").

Similarly, in the following excerpt the term मोस्तेरु “monastery” is introduced in the first sentence and is replaced by आश्रमु “ashram” in the following sentence.

‘ती [दोना जुआना] व्हडां शगुणांचे देखिन, आणी पुण्यपुरूशार्था, किर्ती म्हयमेन येका मोस्तेरांतु जिली,

वा मरणा पावली. ही भगितवंचळि राजकुमरि नित्यकाल येणे प्रमाणिची भगित करी, की रात्रिचे वेळे जावळि आपुल्या आश्रम्याच्या कुडांतु निद्रेक वचो, तावळि आपुल्या हातांतु येक जेझु क्रिस्ताचें बावलें घेवुनु, अपणाक निद पड पर्येंत्र आपुल्यां डोळ्यां मुखारि धरी: येणे कर्ता रात्रिची निमाणी दृश्टि स्वामया जेझु क्रिस्तारि ठेयल्या व्रैत सर्वथा निद्रा नकरी जाय.' (V.M.: 161)

A new custom too is juxtaposed alongside a familiar old custom. For instance, it is mentioned that men **kiss** the name of Jesus (a Christian custom), but prior to that it is told that they **prostrate** before the Name (Hindu custom) - मनुश्य साश्टांग भुमिरि घालनु घेवुनु, ताची [ह्या नांवाची] उमा घेताति... (V.M.: 245)

The discourse of Christianity in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* at places has a discrete Hindu, at times, also a Sanskritic flavour (Words from the Hindu religious ethos are shown in bold print) -

1. 'हें मुगितवंतु भगताचे मुखिचें सत्यवंत शास्त्रपठन, त्ये सभेच्यां समस्तां अनुभावाथर्यानि आयकत खेविं....' (V.M.:179)
2. 'हो येदो व्हडु श्रापु... जाकोब पात्रिआकार्नि आपुल्या पुत्रा रूबेंक दिलो... मोयझे भगतान देवाचें नांव उचारनु, ताच्याचि फर्माणा निमित्ति, उसापु दिवनु... ताका भाग्यवंतु करनु दवरलो...' (V.M.: 188,189)
3. '...अनाघसिद्धा देवबापाचें तत्वादिक स्वरूप, ह्या स्वामया ठाय आमी भोवतेक पळेंवचें, वा देखुचें आसा.' (V.M.: 152)
4. '...जो अमरू हौनु वर्तता, ताणें मृत्यादिकांक जिणि देंवच्या निमित्ति पयलें आमचें मनुश्यपण घेंवचो प्रस्ताव आशिलो: आणी उपरांतें, मरणादिका मनुशान, अमरा देवा खातिर मरणाक फुडारूंची निति, वा परमार्थु.' (V.M.: 174)
5. '...जे आपुलें सुकृत धुंडाळानु, वेळेचे वेळे आपुल्या सुकृताची झडती घेताति, ते त्ये कृपे वरौनु, नित्येकाल अग्निर्कोडिच्या दृश्टा सैतानाच्यां टाळण्यांरि आड मुस्तायति हौनु आपुली राखण करिताति.' (V.M.: 223, 224)
6. 'ये मुगितवंता नांवां! तूं आत्म्याचें अमृत...' (V.M.: 246)
7. '...तुमंचे अदृडी, कनिश्टी, वा पलटु आशिलल्ये कुडितु येकु अमरू, वा अखंडितु आत्मो...' (V.M.: 255)
8. 'जावळि आमि आमंच्यां कुडिच्यां विसायांक वा आत्म्यांच्या त्रिगुणांक कट करनु, अश्टभोग संवसारिक

- सर्व सुख सांझूनु, सिरकुंसिदार जांवच्याक कश्टु पावूं, तावळि तें कार्यें संपादूं...' (V.M.: 257)
9. '...पवित्रु ग्रंथु रायांचे पुराणि इकराव्या अधेयांतु सांगूनु दिता तेणे प्रमाणिं...' (V.M.: 272)
10. '...मरिये, तुजे वरौनु संवसाराक देवकृपा लाबली, स्वर्गाक आनंद उलासु चडलो, मनुशांक देव प्रसन्न जालो...' (V.M.: 298)
11. '...जरि ताची देखि घेश्यात, तरि ताच्या पुण्यपुरूशार्था वा मुत्तित्ते भागेली जाश्यात...' (V.M.:314)
12. '...केरुबीं जो आसा, तो जाणुवायेन सर्व संपूर्णपणि भरललो येकु पावनु देवदूतु.' (V.M.:326)
13. 'इग्रजेचो श्रस्टु शिरोमणी भग्तु सां लेयांव...' (V.M.: 362)
14. '...तें कार्य बरवेपणि सिधी पांवच्याक, जाका राया लागीं उधंडि चालि आसा, ताका आपुल्या कार्या ठाय दुश्टि दी म्होणु मागतांव...' (V.M.: 273)
15. '...ताका येक महा अप्रूब पंचामृतांचें भोजन दिलें.' (V.M.: 404)
16. '...स्वामयाची माय... मजा घराडे येवच्याक... हांवें कोण पुण्य केलें? येदें व्हड भाग्य माका खंय ठांवनु आयलें?' (V.M.: 523, 524)
17. '...स्वामया देवान आधिपुरूस रचिल्या उपरांतें, ऐशें म्हळें: मनुश्यु एकलो आशिल्लो बरें न्हय... जावळि अस्त्री पुरूसु आपण्यागेरि पुत्रफळ जांवचे इछेन जिताति, तावळि देवाचो वरू तांकां लाबता...' (V.M.: 534)

Even *Doutrina Cristã* incorporates quite a few Hindu signs like *niracaru* (D.C.: 115), *Paramesparu* (D.C.: 65), *bhagta* (pg. 98), *bhagti* (D.C.: 97), *xeranna* (*yeuap*) (D.C.: 90), *sumaranna*, *chintana* (D.C.: 84), *bhazana* (D.C.: 142), *Deuacrupa* (D.C.: 82), *mugti* (D.C.: 121), *mugtipada* (D.C.:71), *suargu* (D.C.: 78), *vaiċcunthā* (D.C.: 168), *atmo* (D.C.: 118), *atmeache trigunna* (D.C.: 156), (*cuddiche*) *uissaye* (D.C.: 158), *linnatua*, *xanti* (D.C.: 157), *camu*, *crodu* (D.C.:151), *pataca* (D.C.: 111), *yemaconda* (D.C.: 112), *prachita* (D.C.: 144), *punnea* (oblique form) (D.C.: 95) *Amruta* (D.C.: 91), *upadessa* (pl.) "commandments" (D.C.: 125), *adipurussu* (D.C.: 160), *xastra* (D.C.: 63), *xastra-purussa* (D.C.: 118), *sumurti* (D.C.: 63), *sarathipanna* (D.C.: 97).

The following quotes would also serve to give a feel of the Hindu flavour of the language of *Doutrina Cristã* -

1. '... *ami oracãua caritanã amãchẽ chita mana Paramespara tthaĩ uchalitaũ, anny tache laguy crupadanã magunu amãche manichẽ sidhy pai mhannataũ.* (D.C.:76)..

2. '...*sarua uigna niu ari mhõnnu magataũ.*' (D.C.:79).

3. '...*tancho srasttu siromanny IESV Christacho vigairo zo assa, to'* (D.C.:120).

4. '...*sada saruada ziuãta uartaty... sada saruada yemacondda assaty.* (D.C.:124).

5. '... *mha pauitra IESVchẽ nãua ucharite uelle... taca manu hurmati deũchy.*' (D.C.:66).

The familiar signs form a foothold for new signs that mostly are directly borrowed from Portuguese.

Words from Hindu religious register when used in a discourse on Christianity sometimes undergo a semantic change. For instance, *Yemacondda* which has *Yama*, the Hindu deity of Death, as one of the constituent morphemes, signifies “hell” in Hinduism. In *Doutrina Cristã* it signifies “Inferno”, a specific place in the schema of four places that could be occupied by the dead person's soul - *Vãincunttha* “Heaven”, *Yemacondda* “Inferno”, *Purgatorio* “Purgatory” and *Limbo* “Limbo” (D.C.: 112,113). Of these, *Vãincunttha*, another word from the Hindu register, signifies the abode of Vishnu, which is “heaven” for the Vaishnavites. *Kailas*, the abode of Shiva signifies “heaven” for the Shaivites. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century Christian literature, only *Vãincunttha* is used synonymously with *sargu* in the sense of “heaven”.¹⁸

Both *Yemacondda* and *Vãincunttha* enter the discourse of Christianity by

surrendering the sense related respectively to *Yama* and *Vishnu*.

Hindu cultural and religious vocabulary seems to have been used as pegs for hanging the new cultural and religious concepts of Christianity.

Sometimes, from both native and non-native morphological stock, new words are coined by employing the Indo-Aryan morphological devices of word-formation -

Feebhauarthu is coined by bringing together Portuguese *Fé* and Konkani *bhauarthu* both meaning “faith”, and signifies the “Christian faith”.¹⁹

Similarly, *anubhauarthi* “non believer” seems to have been coined with the Indo-Aryan negative prefix *an* plus the Old Konkani masculine singular nominal/adjectival ending *-u* and Konkani *bhauarthi* “believer”.

Doutrina Cristã, in keeping with Christian theology, classifies sins (*patacã*) into ‘major sins - *maha patacã* and ‘minor sins’ - *upapatacam* (see D.C.:150-158) *Maha* (rather, *Maha*) *pataca* is a familiar phrase in the Hindu discourse. However, *upapataca* which rather means a “subsin” appears to be a new coinage.

Sarua hucumadaru (D.C.: 104), a translation of 'Omnipotent', appears to be a phrase, but in actuality it functions like a single word in the text. *Sarua* and *hucumadaru* always occur together and the boundary between the two is never interrupted. *Sarua hucumadary* is created by qualifying the Perso-Arabic loan *hucumadaru* (< *hukmæbardar* “one who rules” with Indo-Aryan *Sarua* “everything”. In *Poilia Komunhavancho Katecism* (“Catechism of the First Communion”) published from Panaji (Cidade-de-Goa), Goa in 1953, we find *sorv-hucumdar*, written with a hyphen. *Romi Misa Gronth*, the first Konkani translation of 'the Roman Missal' does not use *sorv-hucumdar* any more. Instead, there is *Sorvpodvedar* all throughout where *hucumdar* is replaced by *podvedar*. In the preface (*Prostavana*) to the *Misa-Gronth* word *podvi* is used in the sense of “power”²⁰

Although the word *satemanitã* “I believe”, formed by bringing together *sate*, “truth” and *manitã* “take as true/believe”, appears in one of the earliest Konkani-Portuguese vocabularies that is attributed to Diogo Ribeiro,²¹ there are reasons to doubt that the word existed in spoken Konkani in the sixteenth century.

The word “to believe” is a much needed word in the enunciation of the Christian Creed. However, Konkani like most of its sister languages does not have a single word corresponding to “believe”. In present day Konkani *k^hər Ē d^hər əp* (with subject in the nominative case) or *k^hər Ē dis əp* (with subject in the dative case) are equivalents of “believing”.

Furthermore, *sotmandtam* - the modern equivalent of *satemanitã* - appears in Christian dialects and mainly in the religious context. Hindus hardly ever use the word. It cannot be attested even in the printed versions of the sixteenth century Ramayana and Mahabharata manuscripts²², and makes its first appearance only in *Doutrina Cristã*. From this, it appears that the word was coined by fusing *sate* and *manita* and used in the Christian religious register.

The word *Christãuapanna* “Christianity” is created in *Doutrina Cristã*, with the Konkani abstract noun suffix *-panna* “ness” added to *Christãua* “Christian”, a loanword from Portuguese. *Christãuapanna* contrasts with *cōcannapanna* “Paganism; Hindu religion (?)”²³ : “...*Paramesparaca argã di, upacaru mani, quitea, tuca yemaconddichea margacho, anny cōcannapannache a andhacar antulo caddunu Christãuapanna bhitari mellasso quelo, tachea utama xastracho uzuuaddu bhogũcheaca.*’ (D.C.:124).

Vonvallyancho Mollo has another parallel creation: मर्तिरपण (V.M.: 195,233) “martyrdom” from Portuguese loan मर्तिर “martyr” and Konkani suffix - पण.

The word *Hindu* which is absent in *Doutrina Cristã* occurs at least thrice

in *Vonvallyancho Mollo*, in the company of मुसलमान “Muslims”, ज्युदेव “Jews” तुरीक “Turks”. This indeed indicates that the word denotes “followers of the Hindu religion”. However, in Diogo Ribeiro’s *Vocabulario*, *Hindu* means “people of India” and *Hindustana* “India”²⁴

The occurrences of *Hindu* in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* indicated above are preceded by both अनुभावार्थी and कोंकणे. This is in keeping with the author’s style of providing as many semantic equivalents of a word as possible in the text. But compared to *Hindu*, the words कोंकणो, कोंकणे, कोंकणपण occur more frequently in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* (V.M.: 258, 281, 467, 469, 474, 489.) On pages 474 and 489, the word is used only in the sense of pagans and appears divorced from the sense “residents of Konkan”. On page 474, the reference is to the ten year-old European martyr saint सां पायु who enunciates the Holy Christian faith before the अनुभावार्थी कोंकणे or तुरीक. On page 489, the author writes about São Pedru defying Jewish authority and giving the message of Christ, the Saviour, to अनुभावार्थी कोंकणे. Both these references to events in the history of Christianity have nothing to do with कोंकणे “residents of Konkan”. Even in present day Christian dialects of Konkani, *Kōknɛ*, is sometimes used in the sense of Hindus.

Vonvallyancho Mollo contains some more compounds mostly formed with native material to represent Christian concepts. The following compounds with देव, for example, are probably creations of the writer

1. देवबापु (Native+Native) “God=Father” (V.M.: 154).
2. देवमाय (Native+Native) “Mary=Mother of God” (V.M.: 357).
3. देवपुत्रु (Native+Native) “Christ=Son of God” (V.M.: 154).
4. देवबाळकु (Native+Native) “Baby Christ” (V.M.: 288).
5. देवतेंप्ल (Native+Foreign (Portuguese)) “synagogue” (V.M.: 262).
6. देवकोदेरु (Native+Foreign (Portuguese)) Literally, “God Lamb”, the sacrificial Lamb that also symbolizes Jesus. (V.M.: 440)

भूमिवैकुण्ठ (Native+Native) (V.M.: 414), a compound formed by joining भूमि “land” and वैकुण्ठ “Heaven”, signifies “the Garden of Eden” - भूमिवैकुण्ठ is created to contrast with वैकुण्ठ “the abode of the Almighty”.

बापस्तानिकु (Native+Native), (V.M.: 241) is coined by bringing together “father” and स्तानिकु “one who occupies the place”, and means “father like”.

5.3 NATIVE LITERATURE : A NEW BEGINNING - EDUARDO JOSÉ BRUNO DE SOUZA

The Konkani native evidently wielded the pen in his own tongue only towards the end of the nineteenth century, with the launching of *Udentechem Sallok* ("The Lotus of the East") by Eduardo José Bruno de Souza from Pune in February 1889. In the history of Konkani Press *Udentechem Sallok* is regarded as the first Konkani magazine to be published.

With the writings of Eduardo José Bruno de Souza begins the era of Konkani literature by the natives and for the natives. As pointed out by Manohar SarDessai, ‘Konkani Literature of the later half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century was to a certain extent a literature of exile.’²⁵ As regards Konkani Literature in the Roman script, it sprang from the literary needs of Goan Catholic emigrants to other parts of India, especially to Pune and Mumbai.²⁵ These had learnt basic Portuguese in the primary schools in Goa and had to learn some English to be able to work in British India.²⁵ However, they could not obtain mastery of both the languages and thus Konkani written in the Roman script remained the only true medium of their expression.²⁶

Eduardo José Bruno de Souza catered to the literary needs of this target group. He wrote the first ever novel in Konkani titled *Kristāv Ghorabo* “the Christian Family”²⁷

At the outset of the preface to the novel, Bruno de Souza states that his

novel that contains the values of religiosity, humaneness etc. may serve to relax the mind of a Christian (reader) who has done no wrong against God or another fellow being (K.G.:i). Within the text of the novel, the author emphasizes the need to reform Konkani and save it from undue influence, both lexical and grammatical, of the Portuguese language, and to develop it for the betterment of the Konkani people (K.G.:27). In fact, one of the chapters of the novel - Chapter V is titled "*Amche bhaxechi sudarṇi gorjechi*" ("It is necessary to reform our language")

Through the speech of one of the main protagonists of the novel, the Vicar, it is conveyed to the reader that there are many benefits in developing one's own language as a written language, that it facilitates the learning of other (allied) languages; books from other languages may be translated into one's language and that this would help in the education of one's own people; that language also serves to unite the people, and most of all, that the word of Lord may be properly imparted only through the language of the people (K.G.: 27).

The Vicar further expresses his fear that given the trend of the time, of Goan (Christian) emigration to Mumbai, if the emigrants have not received proper education in the Christian doctrine, they might very well lose their Christianity in the midst of Hindus, Muslims and people of other faiths (K.G.:28).

Bruno de Souza, as pointed out by Manohar SarDessai, pioneered 'a Literature partially secular in character and meant for the common man.'²⁸ However, this literature was primarily intended for mass Christian readership.

The main thrust of Bruno de Souza's linguistic reforms regarding Konkani was on orthography. He saw that the twenty-five Roman letters that were insufficient to represent the Portuguese language itself could not possibly be adequate to represent Konkani (K.G.:1). Drawing upon the innovations introduced in the Roman script by William Jones for representing the Sanskrit language, Bruno de Souza devised the 'Marian Alphabet' for Konkani. A.

Pereira informs us, that *Agnus Dei*²⁹ was written in this alphabet.³⁰ According to A.Pereira, 'it [The Marian alphabet] comes quite close to the modern method of romanization, proposed by Prof. Joaquim Antonio Fernandes and followed by the majority of Konkani writers in the Roman script.'³⁰

Bruno de Souza's language - its syntax as well as vocabulary - shows continuity with that of the seventeenth century Konkani literature.

Long sentences with two or more clauses joined by indeclinables are a regular feature of the language of most of the seventeenth century Konkani prose. To give an example,

'दाविद समग्री इजरायेलिचे प्रजेच्या चित्ता आयलो; कित्या ताणें येकाचि गोलियास म्हळल्या दैत्याचें शिर छेदूनु त्ये प्रजेक अपमाना वायली करनु येस, मान हाडिलो देखुनु...' (V.M.: 252)

Long sentences are not rare in Bruno de Souza's prose, either -

'*Sogle istudant ani profesor, ani istudantiche avoybapuy legun, odik korun Poñjeche, Janik borē dektale; kityak to xikpachya mogan xiktalo, ani taka porlē na prem vhorchē ov dusrya sōvsarantlya boryachē.*' (K.G.:91)

The 'not only... but also' type of construction that is likely to be an influence of Portuguese on Konkani, abounds in both *Vonvallyancho Mollo* and *Kristāv Ghorabo*:

'...तो लुसिफेरू सैतानुचि जालो न्हय, पण समस्तां सैतानांच्याकय विकटु... हौनु पडलो' (V.M.: 316).
'*Hāv tuka utor ditā ki nūych tuka loz zāvchi nā, bogor tuka khoshi bhogteli mhun.*' (K.G.: 24)

Bruno de Souza's language also reflects some of the choices of vocabulary manifested in the seventeenth century Konkani prose. A lot of these form part of today's 'Christian Konkani vocabulary'. A chunk of this vocabulary may be classified as Christian religious register most of which was more or

less standardized in the seventeenth century. This register survives even today thanks to the use of Konkani in the Church ever since its establishment in Goa. Examples:

1. *Sotmanū (nozo)* (K.G.:56); *Satemanitā* (D.C.:1) “believe”
2. *Onbhavarti* (K.G.:28); अनुभावार्थी (V.M.:281) used in the sense of "non Christian"
3. *bhumi voykuḥ* (K.G. : 108); भूमिवैकुण्ठ (V.M.: 328) “Paradise”
4. *kokṇo* (K.G.:8); कोंकणे (V.M. : 281) “Hindu(s)”
5. *Bhagevonti sodāch Akvari Mori* (K.G.: 42); सधा आंकुवारि स्वामिणि... सदैवि वा भाग्यवन्ति (V.M.: 276)
6. *borvē* (K.G.:9); बरव्यो (...करण्यो) (V.M.: 382)
7. *Sorukumdara (Deva)*; (K.G.:42) *Sarua hucumadara Paramespara* (D.C.: 65) ‘O Omnipotent Lord!’
8. *yemkoṇḍ* (K.G.:25), *yemacondda* (D.C.: 112) “hell”

In the preface to *Kristāv Ghorabo* (K.G.: i) and also within the text of the novel (K.G.: 27), Bruno de Souza brings it to the notice of the reader that Konkani is the daughter of Sanskrit. He writes:

‘Amchi bhas tor khaxa dhu Sanskrit bhaxechi; jiche gramati sarki sudarleli soglya sōvsarant dusri nā. Korē, amche bhaxek firīgi bhaxechi gramat nā : amche bhaxek amche bhaxechi gramat asa.’ (K.G.:27)

Through the Vicar's speech he conveys his regret to the reader that most sermons contain at least one third words borrowed from Portuguese, and that their syntax too is heavily influenced by Portuguese: *‘Ami sermā v sāgtāv tantū, bhov thore pregador kuxin korun, sumar tisro vaṅto toriy firīgi bhaxechi utrā asat, ani gramatuy sumar tech bhaxechi.’* (K.G.: 27)

Bruno de Souza seems to have keenly studied the spoken Konkani idiom and structure. This study must surely have had a bearing on his writing.

However, due to unavailability of Konkani writings of his contemporaries, it is difficult to make a statement on the structural and lexical innovations brought about by Bruno de Souza through his writing.

From the conversation of Jani and the Vicar, two of the main protagonists of *Kristāv Ghorabo*, we learn that Konkani was indeed being written those days. Jani tells the Vicar that he has heard that attempts are being made to write in Konkani (*Amchi Bhas* "our language"); that there are some printed manuals of mass in Konkani, and also that many priests write down their sermons in Konkani. At this, the vicar who is the one who attempts to reform Konkani in the novel, comments thus: 'it is true, but it is all written in Portuguese orthography, and without any understanding of the grammar of Konkani; hence it would have been better had Konkani not been written at all, as such writings as those are an hindrance to reforming Konkani.' (K.G.:27,28)

A close scrutiny of the text of *Kristāv Ghorabo* reveals that Bruno de Souza's syntax too bears a conspicuous Portuguese influence.

Examples:

1. '*Kitlē hya poros borē zayt tē, zor tor amī ti dotorn amchya bhurgyāk, amche bhaxechya borpa vorvī, xikōvk pavū zalyar.*' (K.G.:45)
2. '*...tache sarko alfiad sogle Indyek naslo; zāv Indyechyā munxā zāv Eropevā bhitor.*' (K.G.:82)
3. '*Magir tyā devcharā lagī vicharta mhunūn, tumī khūyche, tumchī navā koṇ, tumī tyā ghorant koxe pavlyat ani thūy tē kitē kortalyat, ani osolyo dusryo vostu...*' (K.G.: 130).

Bruno de Souza while attempting to reform Konkani does not seem to indulge in borrowing vocables from its **great mother** '*orist māy*', (K.G.: i). Rather, he appears to turn towards spoken Christian Konkani and absorb Portuguese loans from the spoken domain into his writing. Thus, in *Kristāv Ghorabo*

we have *abesi* (< Port. *abecedario*) “alphabet”, not *lipi* or *lekhon poddot*; *gramat* (< Port. *gramática*) “grammar”, not *vyakrann*; *disionar* (< Port *dicionario*) “dictionary”, not *kosh* (K.G.:28)

Bruno de Souza’s language stands in sharp contrast with that of the European Konkani writers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. While the European writers limit their borrowing (from Portuguese) only to the cultural vocabulary pertaining in the main to the religious domain, Bruno de Souza’s writing reveals both an expansion in the domains of the influence of Portuguese language, and also shows ‘intimate’ borrowing³¹ from Portuguese into Konkani. In fact, an intimate contact of Konkani with Portuguese could be attested for the first time only in Bruno de Souza’s writing.

In Bruno de Souza’s writings we see the effect of almost four centuries of an intimate contact of Portuguese - the ‘upper’ language or the language of the conquerers - and Konkani - the ‘lower’ language or the language of the indigenous subjects. Intimate borrowing from Portuguese seems to have had a tremendous ‘lexical effect’³² on Konkani.

Examples from *Kristāv Ghorabo*:

1. *kuzin* (< *cozinha*) “kitchen” (K.G.: 6)
kuzner (< *cozinheira*) “cook” (K.G.: 46)
2. *livr* (< *livro*) “book” (K.G.: 6)
3. *zonel* (< *janela*) “window” (K.G.: 6)
4. *suman* (< *semana*) “week” (K.G.:10)
5. *kōsiēs* (< *consciencia*) “conscience” (K.G.: 28)
6. *pergunt* (< *pergunta*) “question” (K.G.:42)
7. *repost* (< *resposta*) “answer” (K.G.: 42)
8. *dizesperad* (< *desesperado/a*) “exasperated frustrated” (K.G.: 45)

9. *kriad* (<*criada*) “maid” (K.G.: 13)
10. *inosent* (<*inocente*) “innocent” (K.G.:59)
11. *ispirēs* (<*experiencia*) “experience” (K.G.: 56)
12. *viaj* (<*viagem*) “travel” (K.G.: 53)
13. *vist* (<*vista*) “sight” (K.G.: 76)
14. *sed* (<*seda*) “silk” (K.G.: 92)
15. *perturbad* (<*perturbado/a*) “perturbed” (K.G.: 83)
16. *vīgās* (<*vingança*) “vengeance” (K.G.: 86)
17. *ismol* (<*esmola*) “alms” (K.G.: 92)
18. *aliment* (<*alimento*) “food, nourishment” (K.G.: 101)
19. *ispert* (<*esperto/a*) “clever” (K.G.:103)
20. *orr* (<*orra*) “pride” (K.G.:112)
21. *pasey* (<*passeio*) “walk” (K.G.: 5)
22. *kustar* (*zavop*) (<*custar*) “(becoming) difficult” (K.G.: 4)
23. *kabar* (*zavop*) (< *acabar*) “(getting) over” (K.G.: 2)
24. *sinal* (*korop*) (<*sinal*) “(making) sign” (K.G.: 18)
25. *lisēs* (*magap*) (<*licença*) “(asking) permission” (K.G.:18)
26. *pirder* (*korop*) (<*perder*) “lose” (K.G.: 22)
27. *tratar* (*korop*) (<*tratar*) “treat/deal with” (K.G.: 67)
28. *kōfiās* (*divop*) (<*confiança*) “take into confidence” (K.G.:103)
29. *insultar* (*korop*) (<*insultar*) “insult” (K.G.: 18)
30. *negar* (*vochop*) (<*negar*) “deny” (K.G.:108)

Also see the following expressions:

1. '*taka lisēs dilē tuka kurar korūk*' "gave him the **permission** to **cure**

you" (K.G.:12)

2. '... *maka vegī, temp pirder kori nastana apovn'* "having called me soon, without **losing any time**" (K.G.:35)

3. '... *perguntā ghalun ani tāchī repostā xikovn.* "having asked **questions** and taught their **answers**" (K.G.:42)

4. *Pāch orā poryan divertiment korcho...* "**enjoying** till five o'clock" (K.G.:61)

The use of Portuguese in the administrative, legal or academic domains also had its impact on the Konkani language. There was a free flow of a lot many domain specific - administrative, legal, academic, etc. - terms into Konkani.

Examples:

Terms from the administrative domain:

1. *governador* (<*governador*) "governor" (K.G.: 55)

2. *pirgent* (<*presidente*) "President" (K.G.: 111)

3. *rogedor* (<*regidor*) "an administrative officer" (K.G.: 19)

4. *fidalg* (<*fidalgo*) "nobleman" (K.G.: 55)

5. *ajudante-das-ordēns* (<*ajudante-das-ordēns*) "assistant" (K.G.: 69)

6. *jeneral* (<*generale*) "General" (K.G.:79)

7. *komendador* (<*comendador*) "commander" (K.G.: 93)

8. *empregad* (<*empregado*) "employee" (K.G.: 103)

9. *kamr* (<*cámara*) "Municipality" (K.G.: 53)

10. *fard* (<*farda*) "uniform" (K.G.: 56)

11. *bolet* (<*boletim*) "bulletin" (K.G.: 62)

12. *kontrat* (<*contrato*) "contract" (K.G.: 84)

13. *rekomendasāv* (<*recomendação*) “recommendation” (K.G.: 111)
14. *asinar/asinad* (<*assinar/assinature*) “to sign/signature” (K.G.: 44)
15. *despachyar/despach* (<*despachar*) “to despatch/despaching” (K.G.:44)
16. *autoridad* (<*autoridade*) “authority” (K.G.:)

Terms from the legal domain:

1. *justis* (<*justiça*) “justice” (K.G.: 97)
2. *juiz* (<*juiz*) “judge” (K.G.: 103)
3. *tribunal* (<*tribunal*) “court” (K.G.: 111)
4. *advogad* (<*advogado*) “advocate” (K.G.: 105)
5. *kirm* (<*crime*) “crime” (K.G.: 105)
6. *provar/prov* (<*provar/prova*) “to prove” (pg. 105) “proof” (K.G.: 104)
7. *kavz* (<*causa*) “case” (K.G.: 104)
8. *sentēs* (<*sentença*) “sentence (legal)” (K.G.: 112)
9. *rekriment* (<*requiremento*) “appeal” (K.G.: 104)
10. *avt* (<*auto*) “document” (K.G.:105)
11. *razāv* (<*razão*) “reason” (K.G.: 105)
12. *iskirtur* (<*escritura*) “deed” (K.G.: 105)
13. *selad fol* (<*folha selada*) “stamp paper ” (K.G.: 105)
14. *tabeliāv* (<*tableião*) “notary public” (K.G.: 105)
15. *julgament* (<*juízo*) “trial, judgement” (K.G.: 105)
16. *avdiēs* (<*audiencia*) “hearing ” (K.G.: 105)
17. *fal* (<*fala*) “speech” (K.G.: 105)

Also see the following expressions/sentences:

1. *'sentēs ... favorar zalē'*. "the judgement was in **favour**" (K.G.: 111)

2. '*sentēs kōtr zalē*' "the **judgement** was **against**" (K.G.: 112)

3.' ... *fals iskirtur korun, ek vhor, kirim adarli*'. "committed a great **crime** though a **false deed**" (K.G.: 111)

4. '*xekī julgamentak avdiēs nomyarlē, ani hya avdiēsar dotor Lapitan fal korun Paskuk defender korūk zay aslo*'. "At last, **final hearing for judgement was fixed**, and Mr. Lapit was expected to **defend** Pasku by making a **speech** during this **hearing**." (K.G.: 105)

Terms from the academic domain

lisāv (<*lição*) "lesson" (K.G.: 2)

isplikar / isplikasāv (<*explicar/explicação*) "to explain/explanation" (K.G.:2)

istudent (<*estudante*) "student" (K.G. : 2)

professor (<*professor/a*) "teacher" (K.G. : 91)

iskol (<*escola*) "school" (K.G.: 78)

ezam (<*exame*) "exam" (K.G. : 84)

feryo (<*feriados*) "holidays" (K.G.: 78)

prem (<*premio*) "prize" (K.G.: 78)

dekor (<*decorar*) "(learn) by heart" (K.G.: 93)

Many Portuguese loanwords are "names" of the cultural novelties introduced into Konkani society by the Portuguese.

Examples:

sal (<*sala*) "living room" (K.G.: 84)

kodel (< *cadeira*) "chair" (K.G.: 9)

mez (<*mesa*) "table" (K.G.: 73)

kam (<*cama*) "bed" (K.G.: 2)

almar (<*armário*) “cupboard” (K.G.: 26)

volter (<*cadeira à voltaire*) “armchair” (K.G.: 19)

basi (<*bacia*) “basin” (K.G.: 20)

vestid (<*vestido*) “frock” (K.G.: 56)

mey (<*meias*) “socks” (K.G.: 20)

chepē (<*chapeu*) “hat” (K.G.: 16)

les (<*lença*) “handkerchief” (K.G.: 92)

kazak (<*casaco*) “coat” (K.G.: 56)

piyan (<*piano*) “piano” (K.G.: 63)

rebek (<*rebeca*) “violin” (K.G.: 63)

fravt (<*flauta*) “flute” (K.G.: 63)

chikr (<*chícara*) “cup” (K.G.: 9)

pir (<*pires*) “saucer” (K.G.: 9)

kop (<*copa*) “glass” (K.G.: 26)

vidr (<*vidro*) “glass” (K.G.: 26)

kulher (<*colher*) “spoon” (K.G.: 26)

garf (<*garfo*) “fork” (K.G.: 26)

kubert (<*cobertor*) “blanket” (K.G.: 14)

tualo (<*toalho*) “towel” (K.G.: 26)

lã (<*lã*) “wool” (K.G.: 20)

retrat (<*retrato*) “portrait” (K.G.: 26)

Loanwords of this kind that are a part of cultural borrowing from Portuguese also include denominations of some of the European - Portuguese - cultural practices imported into Konkani society, and as a result represented in the Konkani language. *Kurtezi marəp* "courtesying" (K.G.:11), *saudi korop* "raising toast" (K.G.:62), *diskurs korop* "giving speech" (K.G.:62) *kumprument korop* "paying compliments" (K.G.:73) are instances of this type of borrowing.

As regards the borrowed religious vocabulary, there is a quantitative expansion of the same in Bruno de Souza's writing. Words like *fregez*, *kur*, *mirin*, *sakristāv*, *mistir*, *parokial*, *kumsodor*, *orotor*, *estesāv*, *salvasāv*, etc. make their appearance together with old loans like *aymori* "Hail Mary", *profet* "prophet", *kumsar* "confess", *komunhāv* "communion", *dotorn* "doctrine" etc.

There is also a qualitative change as regards phonetic assimilation of some of the loanwords. The assimilated forms like *dotorn* (< *doutrina*), *igorj* (< *igreja*), *kumsar* (< *confessar*), *aymori* (< *Avé Maria*) that may be called the Konkani loanwords proper, begin to make their appearance in Bruno de Souza's writing.

In *Doutrina Cristã*, Portuguese loanwords mostly appear with Portuguese spellings. Probably this was also true of the other seventeenth century Konkani texts. One may venture to make a statement that since persons who in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries introduced Portuguese words into Konkani were native or near-native speakers of Portuguese, these so called loanwords probably retained their original phonetic shape at the time of their introduction. Thus, the sixteenth and seventeenth century Konkani texts show how some of the loanwords were *introduced* into Konkani by the non-native speakers of Konkani, or by the native/near native speakers of the donor language; and the nineteenth century Konkani texts (e.x. *Kristāv Ghorabo*) reveal how these loanwords were *received* by the native speakers

of Konkani.

1. '*Rezar kabar zatoch, bapuy, put ani dhuv bhayr ravlī, gozal korun; ani avoy kuznant geli jevṇachi toyari korchyak... Sumar eka orar soglī ekṭay boslī ani susegad jevlī... Jevonṇ zatoch... bapuy vochun kamar ar porlo, ani put livr ghevn zonelar boslo.*' (pg. 6)

"When the **prayer** (*rezar*) **got over** (*kabar*), father, son and daughter remained outside talking; and the mother went to the **kitchen** (*kuzin*) for making preparations for the lunch... Around one O'clock (**hour or**), all of them sat down together and had their lunch **at ease** (*susegad*)... After lunch... father went and lied down on the **bed** (*kam*) and the son took a book (*livr*) and sat by the **window** (*zonel*)."

2. '*Ghor lanuch aslē : entrad ani sal ekuch, zantū modē redond mez, ani tache voyr amblyācho divo lambtalo : bōvtoṇī dha bara kodeli... puṇ soglyo ostu limp aslyo... Salak don kuart asle, tantlya ekant amcho Apotekari, serula banyanant, eke basent udok ghevn tonḍ dhutalo.*' (pg. 20)

"The house was quite small : **entrance** (*entrad*) and the **hall** (*sal*) were one and the same. There was a **round** (*redond*) **table** (*mez*) at the centre (of the hall). A lamp was hanging above (the table), and there were ten to twelve **chairs** (*kodeli*) around (the table). All things (in the hall) were **clean** (*limp*). There were two **rooms** (*kuart*) for the hall. In one, our **Apothecary** (*Apotekari*), dressed in **pyjamas** (*serula*) and **vest** (*banyan*), was washing his face, in a **basin** (*basi*)."

3. '*Hē aykotoch, Jani mhunṭa: Sr. Roch, maka dista Devanuch hē tuja monant ghalā; dekun, temp pirder kori nastana, Pr. Vigarachē lisēs ghevn, hya vavrak lagū ya. Tū hi abesi vhor ani tichyo kopi korun sāje har : hāv te dotornichyo kopi korun ani chiti borovn hartā. Tyo soglyo boryo korun polelya uprant ani tākā, fechar korun direksāvā ghalya*

uprant falyā koṇay lagī dharū yetat.' (pg. 48)

"Having heard this, Jani says : **Mr. (Sr.) Roch**, I feel, God himself has put this in your mind; so, without **wasting** (*pirder*) any **time** (*temp*), let us seek **permission** (*lisēs*) of **Pr. Vigar** (*Vicar*) and begin our work. Take this **alphabet** (*abesi*), make its **copies** (*kopi*) and get in the evening : I shall make **copies** (*kopi*) of the **Doctrine** (*dotorn*), and also write the letters. Having checked them all, and putting them in envelopes (**closing** *fechar*) and writing the **addresses** (*direksāvā*), they could be despatched with any one."

4. '*Kaytan bhatkaran, ravo nastana, Ponjechya Relasāvak apelasāv kelē: Mhunṭoch dotorā Alvina ani Lapitak Ponjechya soglyā juizā ani autoridadīk bhizōvche porle, jē dotor Lapitan sāgū nozo tosole uxarkayen kelē.*' (pg.110)

"Kaytan **bhatkar**, immediately made an **appeal** (*apelasāv*) to the Panjim **Court** (*Relasāv*). So Mr. (*dotor*) Alvin and Lapit had to bribe the **judges** (*juiz*) and **authorities** (*autoridad*), which Mr. (*dotor*) Lapit did very efficiently."

Bruno de Souza's writing also reveals that while his Konkani displayed lexical intimacy with Portuguese, in some regards it had also grown distant both from the Classical language (Sanskrit) and also from the sister Indo-Aryan languages:

1. In *Doutrina Cristā* one comes across *Suami* (D.C. :67), *Suamiya* (D.C.:75, oblique of *Suami*), also *Suaminny* (D.C.: 65). These words also appear in *Vonvallyancho Mollo* in much the same form (V.M. : 385: स्वामि; 386 : स्वाम्या, स्वामिणी). In *Kristāv Ghorabo* we see *Somi* (K.G.: 29), *Somya* (K.G.: 30), probably following the pattern of *dhīni* "master" : *dhīnya* *Suaminny* seems to have been replaced by *Saybin* (K.G.: 15) which is the feminine of *sayb* "master", a loanword from Arabic. Konkani translation of

the *Roman Missal*, too, has *Somi* but the oblique is *Somiya*.³³

2. *Doutrina Cristā* has *prachita* (D.C.:144) which is closer to Sanskrit *prayəṣcitə*. In *Kristāv Ghorabo*, we find *pirajit* (K.G.: 86).

Declusterization or simplification of word-initial consonant cluster is not the matter here. It is quite common in Konkani. For instance, both *tras* and *təras* “hardship”, *pray* and *piray* “age”, *krudʷ* (as in *Santakrudʷ*) and *kʰuris/kuris/furis* “cross” *krupa* and *kurpa* “divine grace” appear in the present day Konkani dialects. Likewise, *sumurti* (D.C.: 63) and *somurt* (K.G.: 21) are derived from Sanskrit *smṛti*.

According to Rocky Miranda, Proto Konkani had just the following consonant clusters in the word - initial position : *ph, bh, mh, vh, th, dh, nh, lh, jh, jvh, yh, kh* and *gh*. The second member of these cluster is invariably *h*.³⁴ Presence of clusters other than these in the initial position in Konkani words could then be attributed to borrowing.

In *pirajit*, contrast between *c* and *j* - *cit* “mind” and *jit* “victory” - seems to have been neutralized. Similarly, in *Kristāv Ghorabo* we come across *asirvozon* (K.G.: 64) which is derived from *aṣirwəcən* “blessing”. In *asirvozon*, palatal voiceless affricate [*c*] seems to have become dental voiceless affricate [*tʰ*] which further becomes dental voiced affricate [*dʰ*] *vacan* becomes, *vozon*, and in Bruno de Souza’s dialect is homophonic with the realization of the Arabic loanword *vədʷən* “weight”.

The *Romi Misa- Gronth* has remained closer to *Doutrina Crista* by adopting *prachit* and not *piracit/pirajit*.³⁵

3) Sanskrit *prələyə* “deluge” appears in *Kristāv Ghorabo* as *poryalo* (K.G.: 108). Similarly, *səntətī* “offsprings” appears as *sōsot* (oblique:*sosti*) (K.G.: 108). *mitr* (*Imirtə*) from *ista mitr/a*, a redundant compound is rendered as *montr* and we get *ist montr* (K.G.: 64)

4) Some words as they appear in *Kristāv Ghorabo* seem to be losing their

composite character. For instance, *ogun* (K.G.: 23) “vice” and *okman* “insult” (K.G.: 92) appear almost like single morpheme words on account of morphologically conditioned realization of the negative prefixes, respectively, *əw* and *əp*: *əwgun* ([*ʔwgun*]) which is derived by prefixing *əw* to *gun* is related to other parallel constructions like *əwman* (*əw+man*), *əwkəḷa* (*əw+kəḷa*), *əwnit* ([*ʔwnit*], *əw+nit*) etc. So also, *əpman* (*əp+man*) bears morphological relation with similar formations like *əpsḥmīd* ([*əpsḥmīd*] *əp+sḥmīd*), *əpkirt* ([*ʔpkirt*] *əp+kirt*).

In *ogun* and *okman* inflectional character of the word stands muffled.³⁶

Kristāv Ghorabo has both *sorvzaṇar* (Indo-Aryan *sorv* + Konkani *zaṇar*) “omniscient” (K.G.: 3) and *sorzaṇar* (K.G.: 45). Like the latter, there is also *sorborvo* (K.G.: 29) from *sor* (< *sorv*) + *borvo*. “All virtuous”

5. There are some aberrant usages in *Kristāv Ghorabo*. For instance, *bhag* “luck/destiny” which is neuter in both Konkani and Marathi is given a feminine gender : ‘.... *osoli hokol melchyak eka munxachi vhoṛ bhag*.’ “It is one’s luck that one gets such a bride.” (K.G.: 89) Perhaps, the gender of the semantically equivalent Portuguese word *sorte* was the determining factor in this gender change.

In the following construction *somadani* rather than *somadan* seems appropriate : ‘..... *tākā dhir divn somadan kelī*...’ “consoled and satisfied them ” (K.G.: 8).

somadan “satisfaction” is an abstract noun like *dukh* “unhappiness”, *sukh* “happiness”, *kaḥt* “hardships”. What is more appropriate in the above construction is the adjectival formation of *somadan* - *somadani* “satisfied”, like *duk^hi*, *suk^hi*, *kḥsti*.

STATE OF KONKANI UNTIL THE ADVENT OF PRO-NATIVE WRITERS

That Konkani of Bruno de Souza and his target readership had grown aloof from its Indo-Aryan classical predecessor as also the contemporary sister counterparts, and had moved closer to Portuguese. This is also from revealed through the following explanations of Indo-Aryan vocables provided in the conversation of Jani and Pr. Vigar, two of the main characters in the novel -

1) When Pr. Vigar uses the word *suchoyta* Jani asks him its meaning. And Pr. Vigar replies, saying, in Portuguese (*firīgi bhas*) *suchōvk* means *suggerir* or *insinuar* "to suggest" or "to insinuate" (K.G.: 29)

Further, when Jani happens to use the word *vadvivad*, Pr. Vigar asks him its meaning, and Jani replies saying, *vadvivad is disput*, or in Portuguese, (*firīgi bhas*) *polémica*. Here, *disput*, a Portuguese loanword is provided as the Konkani equivalent of *vadvivad* (K.G.: 36,37).

Another piece of conversation between Jani and Pr. Vigar is also revealing - Jani tells Pr. Vigar about his having read somewhere that the Jesuit priests have written and published 'the story of the Holy Book' in verse and that it is known as *Puran*. At this the Pr. Vigar says, 'yes, they have indeed written and published the *Puran*. But I think, it is in the Marathi language. And for sure it is not in the language in which we converse. I would rather understand the Greek language than understand this *Puran*.' (K.G.: 28)

Crista Purana which was written by Thomas Stephens in the seventeenth century at the behest of the Goans newly converted to Christianity, had, at the end of the nineteenth century grown more distant than even Greek, to Goan Christians. It may also be noted that Bruno de Souza was based in the Marathi speaking region of Maharashtra - Pune, Dabul³⁷ and had probably written *Kristāv Ghorabo* from Maharashtra.

However, there is a strong awareness in the text of the novel that knowledge

of other contemporary Indo-Aryan languages like Marathi, Gujarati, Hindi/Urdu is beneficial for bringing about 'reforms' in Konkani. For instance, Jani thinks, Pr. Vigar's association with Diog Roch would indeed benefit him in his endeavour to reform Konkani, as the latter knows Marathi - *mhorati* (K.G.: 37). Further, Pr. Vigar tells Diog Roch that he badly needs a person who knows other Indian languages so that, by looking at the way words are written in these languages, he is able to write the Konkani words correctly, as all these languages are derived from Sanskrit. At this, Diog Roch replies that he can speak some *Musolmani* (Urdu?) and Gujarati, and that he knows Marathi quite well, that he also has a grammar and a dictionary of Marathi (K.G.: 40). Later, with the help of Diog Roch, Pr. Vigar undertakes the task of understanding Konkani (*amchi bhas*). Diog Roch reads out the Marathi grammar for him and explains it in Konkani (*amchi bhas*) or Portuguese (*firīgi bhas*), and accordingly Pr. Vigar writes the grammar of Konkani (*amchi bhas*) (K.G.: 44). Further on, Pr. Vigar brings about changes in the Konkani texts on the Christian Doctrine by consulting the dictionary of Marathi and also by scrutinizing the Sanskrit and other alternatives provided therein and accordingly arriving at a desirable alternative for Konkani (K.G.:45).

Literature in the Roman script until the appearance of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes (1889-1975) on the scene displays 1) a close association of Konkani with European languages - Portuguese and English - at both, grammatical and lexical levels; 2) it also shows the grammatical and lexical repercussions of the distancing of Konkani from the classical language - Sanskrit - and the contemporary Indo-Aryan sister-languages.

The following quotes from the novels of A.V. D'Cruz - *Othmo Deucharac* (1922) and *Albert ani Janim* (1932) may serve to elucidate this point.³⁸

1. *'Ti utton ubi zata ani sogleac nodor ghalta, ani ti parkita ki ho cuart*

[room] *connem uzar* [use] *corunc nam mhunn sabar orsam, zorui tantun zaitech borem farnicher* [furniture] *assa ani heri boreo ostu, jeo khoreaninch manoutat eke vhadde culliecheam munxenc'* (O.D.:72).

2) 'Ti matari vortouli ek *sirvidor*, [servant] *punn noi ek ordinar* [ordinary] *toslem... ti mandar* [boss over] *cori team soldadanc* [soldier] *legun.'* (O.D.:71)

3) 'Tem assundi, mhuntta Albert, kiteac taca veguinc tachi *istor* [story] *aiconc zai asli : "Punn sang te cirmichi* [of crime] *contha.'* (A.J.: 115)

4) 'Hem formonn zatanam sogli *cort* [court] *thonddgar asli, ani ek alfened* [pin] *legun thoim poddledi zalear ti legun aiconc yeteli asli'* (A.J. : 301).

The syntax of the first three quotes is very much European i.e. that of the SVO languages.

In the above quotes we also find English loanwords *farnicher* "furniture", *cort* "court" incorporated into Konkani. The following excerpt from the author's preface to *Othmo Deucharac* is quite revealing:

'Hi romans suru zatananch ami dektaum ek vhaddelem *revolusaum* jem zalelem tea 1852 orsa, tednam coxe amchea Goeant ukollele te munis corunc Goem *independent*, zoxe te atam *Indieche Swarajist* uttleat ani *atecar* cortat Inglez sercarac corun ninunc [chintunc?] nozo tosem. *Satyagrah, Non-co-operation ani Civil Disobedience.'* (O.D.: 5)

Here, terminology belonging to the political domain comes from Portuguese and English. *Satyagraha* and *Swaraj* are a part of the pan-Indian vocabulary. But these happen to enter Konkani via English³⁹ *Farnicher* "furniture" and *cort* "court" in 1 and 4 above belong to the cultural domain. But a loan like *sik* "sick" in the sentence '*Thoim aum aninc sik zaunc pauchonam...*' (A.J. :303) indicates that Konkani was indeed getting intimate with English. This could be understood in the context of the diasporic nature of Konkani

literature. These *romances* were mostly written by the Goan diaspora in British India and were also published from British India, mostly from Bombay.

In Da Cruz's language we often see non-aspirates becoming aspirates and aspirates turning unaspirates. Thus there is *hangonn* (O.D.:2), *hedea* (O.D.:45), *ghelolo* (O.D.:181), *othmo* (title), *bath* (O.D.:1), *goth* (O.D.:45), instead of, respectively, *angonn*, *edea*, *gelolo*, *otmo*, *bhat*, *got*. Similarly there is *burgueanc* (O.D.:2), *gontt* (O.D.:6), *aum* (O.D.:93), *addinaca* (O.D.:171), instead of respectively *bhurgaeanc*, *ghontt*, *haum* and *haddinaca*.

Most of these words have parallel formations in the sister languages of Konkani.

Konkani	Marathi	Hindi
1. <i>angonn</i>	ॐगॐग	ॐगन
2. <i>edea</i>	<i>ewdhya</i>	--
3. <i>gelolo</i>	<i>gela</i>	<i>gaya</i>
4. <i>otmo</i>	<i>atma</i>	<i>atma</i>
5. <i>bhat</i>	<i>bhat</i>	--
6. <i>got</i>	<i>gət</i>	<i>gəti</i>

The confusion in aspiration in Da Cruz's writing in a way indicates the lack of author's exposure to the sister languages of Konkani.⁴⁰

Literature in the Roman script during the last decade of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century was primarily a literature intended for the Christian masses.⁴¹ It mainly consisted of 1) writings pertaining to the Christian doctrine - catechism, manuals, prayer books, lives of saints, etc., and 2) fiction writing in the novelistic genre. This genre was called

romans in Konkani after the Portuguese word for 'novel' (*romance*)⁴²

It is not known whether there existed any reflexive thinking pertaining to Konkani language, in the writings of any of the writers in the Roman script after Eduardo José Bruno de Souza and before Joaquim Antonio Fernandes. In fact, no critic/historian of Konkani literature has so far written anything about it.

5.5 ADVENT OF NATIVE VOICE AND VISION : SHENNOI GOEMBAB

With the entry of Vaman Raghunath Varde Valaulikar alias Shennoi Goembab (1877-1946) on the scene of Konkani language and literature, Konkani got projected as the mother-tongue of all '*kōkñē*'s. Thus *kōkñē* became consistent with its original etymological meaning. In so doing, it reverted to its original other known meaning, and once again became inclusive. It also became secular term of shared/common identity.⁴³ The meaning of *kōkñē* too got revised and expanded. Until then, in Konkani literature (by Christians and for Christians) *kōkñē* signified either "pagans" or "Hindus".

Shennoi Goembab began using *kōkñē* to mean 'Konkani speaking people' or "residents of Konkan"⁴³ irrespective of their religious or caste affiliations. This *kōkñē* became consistent with its original etymological meaning - it reverted to its original 'other' known meaning, and once again became inclusive. It also became a secular term of shared/common identity.⁴⁴

In Shennoi Goembab's writings, we get to see Konkani imbibing all the influences from its rich history of language contact and yet standing firmly on the Indo-Aryan grammatical and lexical foundation. Shennoi Goembab's Konkani displays deep kinship with the sister languages of Konkani and also sports the difference - its own identity.

As stated by R.G. Bhandarkar:

‘Sanskrit writers distinguish three elements in the Prakrit vocabulary which they call Tadbhava, Tatsama and Deśya. Such words as are derived from Sanskrit are called Tadbhava... Tatsamas are those that are the same in Sanskrit and Prakrit..., the phonetic laws of the Prakrit not necessitating a change in them, and Deśyas are such as cannot be derived from Sanskrit and must be referred to another source’⁴⁵

Shennoi Goembab’s choice of Konkani words is guided by a definite stand on these elements as regards Konkani. According to him, ‘there are very few Sanskrit *Tatsamas* in Konkani’.⁴⁶ He feels that ‘Old *Tatsamas* like the much used *udak* must be preserved. But new *Tatsamas* need not be adopted if there is no need.’⁴⁶

In his view, ‘the regional *Deshya* vocabulary of Konkani like *g^hagrɔ* < *g^həgg^həro*, *saŋgɪɖ* < *səŋghaɖi*, *simbrɔ* < *simbaɖi*, *kolti* < *kolittə*, *g^how* < *goho*, *bawli* < *baulli*, that is completely assimilated in Konkani simply cannot be given up.’⁴⁶ Shennoi Goembab further feels that ‘Konkani owes its richness, above all, to the Sanskrit *tadbhavas*.’⁴⁶ He then proceeds to give a long list of Sanskrit words and their Konkani realizations. Examples : *əhəm* > *hāw*, *cidru:pə* > *jintrup*, *maki:n* > *məgɛlɔ*, *m^həgɛlɔ*, *dewəkaryə* > *dəwkarē*, *matulani:* > *maw[ɪ]*, *ʃrawəkə* > *ʃiwrak*, *dronə* > *dɔŋɔ*, *duhita* > *d^huw*, *vrksa* > *ruk^h*, *ojəs* > *ud^zɔ*⁴⁷

Shennoi Goembab also takes cognizance of the ‘foreign *tabhavas*’ in Konkani. According to him, these too have now become indispensable to Konkani. Here he gives examples of loanwords from Kannada (*bərɔwp* “writing”, *duɖu* “money”), Portuguese (*burak^h* “hole”, *cəpē* “hat”), Arabic (*turɔ* “bouquet”, *killɔ* “fort”), Persian (*əzun* “still”, *z^hmin* “land”) and English (*tikit* “ticket”, *id^zner* “Engineer”). Shennoi Goembab feels, these loanwords have been completely accepted by and assimilated into Konkani, and,

replacing these “naturalized Konkani elements” by importations from Sanskrit is completely unwarranted.⁴⁸

However, as regards some of the foreign *tatsamas* like, for example, the Portuguese loans *pay* “father”, *māy* “mother”, *irmāo* “brother” Shennoi Goembab feels, these are not needed in Konkani, and hence may be 'sent back to Portugal', and instead our own and the much used *awāy* “mother”, *bapuy* “father” *b^haw* “brother” may be adopted.⁴⁹ ‘Keep only those loans which are really needed by the language, give up those that are not needed’ - seems to be Shennoi Goembab’s policy regarding foreign *tatsamas*.

An awareness of endeavouring to work towards Konkani that could be understood by all⁴⁹ and its standard form that would be acceptable to all⁵⁰ forms the backdrop of Shennoi Goembab’s literary production.

In Shennoi Goembab’s writings we get to see a cultivated Konkani wherein lexical choices surpass the regional and social boundaries of a particular dialect. Secondly, in his language use, we see a very creative exploitation of the morphological processes of the language for creating new words (see Chapter Six) Also, the background of the linguistic controversy regarding the nature of relationship between Konkani and Marathi seems to exert a strong influence on Shennoi Goembab’s choice of Konkani words.

According to José Pereira, it is much to the credit of Shennoi Goembab’s ‘high flood of.... writing’ that *Antruzi* - ‘the youngest of Konkani literary dialects’ - was launched into the literary history of Konkani⁵¹ Even O.J.F. Gomes seems to subscribe to this view.⁵²

Antruzi appears to have been erroneously used as a blanket term for Konkani of Shennoi Goembab and the other writers influenced by him. While the latter, who happened to belong to the same social group as Shennoi Goembab, and while some of them were indeed from Antruz - viz.

Ramchandra Shankar Naik, Ramchandra Pandurang Vaidya, Baki Borkar, Laxmanrao Sardessai, Ravindra Kelekar etc., Shennoi Goembab himself was not from Antruz, but was from Bhatagram. Moreover, he lived in Mumbai all his adult life. Likewise, yet others like Kashinath Shridhar Naik, Ramchandra Narayan Naik who were influenced by him also did not belong to Antruz. As such, they cannot be considered to have written in *Antruzi*. What they had in common with the language of 'so-called' Konkani writers from Antruz were the linguistic features associated with the social aspect of their dialects.

No doubt, in *Konknni Bhashechem Zayt* (1939) Shennoi Goembab does express his liking for the Konkani of Antruz. He writes :

‘Whenever I happen to be in Antruz, I pay close attention to the language of all its people - from Brahmins to Kulwadis (farm workers). I jot down in my travel book some of their sweet words and sentences, and, whenever there is an opportunity, proudly use these in my writing’⁵³

However, the syntactic scrutiny of Shennoi Goembab’s language would reveal that the dialect represented in his writings cannot be called Antruzi. The following quotes from his writing may be considered as specimen for scrutiny:

1. a. इंग्रजी शिकपाची तांकां (गोंयकारांक) वान्सा नासून मराठिचोच मोग लागला जाल्यार, ती भास कितलीय दुबळी आसली तरी आपणांक जाय देखून आपुण ती शिकतल्यो अशें ताणीं खुशाल म्हणचें. (K.B.Z.: 29)

b. आमी सुखी जातल्यो. सगळ्यांक सुखी करतल्यो. (K.B.Z.: 341)

It can be seen that, - *lyō*, the 1st person masculine plural ending in future tense forms (a & b above) used in the above specimen is not a regional feature of the Antruzi dialect.⁵⁴ Rather, we come across these forms in some of the dialects of Bicholim, Pernem area.

2. a. म्हाल उतरावचें एक घर⁵⁵

b. तारवां बांदचो आनी दारुगुळो दवरचो जागो⁵⁵

The forms highlighted above are genitives of the verbal base. In the Antruzi dialects we would find gerundial genitives - उतरावपाचें, बांदपाचो, दवरपाचो - in place of genitives of the verbal base. उतरावचें, बांदचो, दवरचो are morphologically closer to the forms current in the Pednem dialects - उतरावुचें, बांदुचो, दवरचो.

It needs to be especially emphasized that Shennoi Goembab's lexical choices transcend any singular dialect specification, as his usage across his writings well demonstrates. For instance, The following quotes can be examined:

1. संवसारांतल्यो हेर भासो आनी 'हिंदुकारां'ली खासा मराठी भास ह्या लक्षणाक कितलोसो पाळो दितात तो पळोव्या. तांगेले चड संवकळेचे आनी अपुर्बायेचे मराठी सरस्पतिचेंच रूप आमी बारकायेन चोव्या.⁵⁶

पळोव्या and चोव्या are synonyms and mean "see/look/observe". However, these forms are not free variants in any single dialect of Konkani. पळोव्या is usually associated with Hindu dialects and चोव्या is beyond doubt a form in Christian dialects. Shennoi Goembab's language use juxtaposes the mutually exclusive forms in a single paragraph.

2. '...तांगेल्या तोंडाची नुरा कशी कितें जाता ती चिके बारकायेन ध्यानांत घेवन...' ⁵⁷ चिके' a loan from Kannada (< *chikkædu* "small") is a typical word belonging to the Konkani dialects of South Kanara.

3. '... हिंदू लोक सदांच पोरण्या वस्तिंचे आनी पोरण्या चालिंचे जबर अभिमानी...' ⁵⁸ जबर "very", a word from Christian dialects of Konkani finds an entry into Shennoi Goembab's writing.

A closer understanding of Shennoi Goembab's views and a deeper exploration of his writing will show that Shennoi Goembab's Konkani seems to be a product of his ongoing study of and vision regarding Konkani. Infact he has categorically stated that he carried a 'noting pad' wherever he went and jotted down Konkani words and usage that caught his attention; that he made use of these words and usage in his writing.⁵⁹ This indicates that Shennoi Goembab kept his ears wide open to all varieties of Konkani. It is

possible to speculate that he might have been drawn to Antruzi dialect to a greater extent than others. But what he did in case of Antruzi, he might have done for other Konkani varieties as well.

In conclusion, it may be said that Although Shennoi Goembab's Konkani reflects certain features of his own dialect, his language use shows a conscious attempt at incorporating lexical features of other Konkani dialects. His approach was of integrating Konkani vocabulary and usage, and his practice shows a definite inclination of accomodation of words across dialects. Thus, a thorough research is needed before one can substantiate one's statement regarding the Konkani variety in Shennoi Goembab's writing.

5.6 ANOTHER VOICE OF NATIVE KONKANI : JOAQUIM ANTONIO FERNANDES

After Shennoi Goembab, it was Joaquim Antonio Fernandes (1889-1975) who applied himself to developing Konkani as a literary language.

Joaquim Antonio Fernandes was a teacher of Konkani language for about ten years, in the Diocesan seminary of Parel ever since its inception in 1936. He made a tremendous impact on Konkani writers of later generations, particularly those writing in the Roman Script⁶⁰

Fernandes firmly believed that it was necessary to cultivate written Konkani,⁶¹ and that a standardized Konkani orthography was the first step in bringing about the development of Konkani.⁶² Konkani orthography in the Roman script proposed, followed and taught by Fernandes⁶³ is regarded by scholars as the most scientific romanization of Konkani - one that is closest to Konkani phonetics.⁶⁴ This orthographic system is by and large followed by most of the present-day Konkani writers in the Roman script.

Fernandes held that a writer who is really concerned about the upliftment of a language must give a thought not just to its orthography but also to other

linguistic aspects like vocabulary, morphology and syntax⁶⁵ His own writings bear testimony to this.

The approach of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes towards Konkani, especially its vocabulary is quite similar to that of Shennoi Goembab. Both were passionate students of spoken Konkani and believed that *neez* “real/pure” Konkani vocabulary could be recovered from the speech of monolingual Konkani speakers who are uninfluenced by others languages.⁶⁶

Like Shennoi Goembab, Joaquim Antonio Fernandes too had his reservations about borrowing from Sanskrit or Marathi for enriching the vocabulary of Konkani. According to Marcellino Remedios who was a student of Fernandes at the Diocesan seminary of Parel, Fernandes felt that this tendency to borrow from Sanskrit or Marathi would rather be detrimental to the development of Konkani - the language would rather die than flourish; it would end up as a dialect of another language⁶⁷

Remedios also gives Fernandes’ views on substituting native equivalents for loanwords from Portuguese that form a part of the Christian religious vocabulary of Konkani. According to him, Fernandes was not in favour of replacing *Igorz* by *Povitr Sobha*, *Dev Ispirit Sant* by *Povitr Atmo*, as he felt, the former are now no longer foreign to Konkani and have their own meaning in the language due to their use for several centuries. As informed by Remedios, Fernandes felt, replacing these by words from Hindu religion could eclipse the original Christian meaning. Fernandes, we are told, was also in favour of maintaining words of Hebrew origin like *Alleluia*, *Hosan’na* etc. in Konkani. He felt, these words would constantly serve to remind one that Christianity arose from the Hebrew people; also, these words feature in all the European languages and one need not feel that by replacing these by others, one is bringing about development of one’s language.

This stand towards foreign loanwords in Konkani also highlights the closeness in the linguistic approaches of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes and Shennoi

Goembab.

Antonio Pereira, Konkani writer and scholar, while confessing the influence of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes on himself as also on quite a few other modern Konkani writers, informs us that Fernandes was a close friend of Shennoi Goembab, and that they both discussed linguistic matters for hours.⁶⁸ In the foreword to his book *Amcho Soddvonndar*, translation of *Jesus the Messiah* by J.M. Bover,⁶⁹ Fernandes himself writes - 'Sometime back while I was a teacher of Konkani language in the Diocesan seminary of Parel, I needed Konkani books to give to my students. But barring Valaulikar's books in the Devanagari script, I could not find others fit for the purpose.'⁷⁰

This is no doubt a statement of appreciation by Joaquim Antonio Fernandes for Valaulikar's (Shennoi Goembab's) writing. It is also a statement of his opinion about the quality of contemporary Konkani writing in the Roman script. In fact, Shennoi Goembab's influence on Joaquim Antonio Fernandes is indeed discernible, especially in his choice of the vocabulary. Here are a few examples:

1. a. '*Toch to khoro uzvadd vortolo.*' (A.S.:2)

b. 'ती एकल्याच एक खरेल्या देवाक भजताली.'⁷¹

2. a. '*Saibinnichem tustgit*' (A.S.:8)

b. 'देवाचें तुस्तगीत.'⁷²

3. a. '*Tannem aple chakornichi lhan'vikai polleli*' (A.S.:8)

b. 'विद्वान आचार्यांक हांव साप ल्हानविकायेचो, अजाण मनीच भौच नमळायेन आनी आदरान कळयतां...'⁷³

4. a. '*vankddeo - tinkddeo vatto samkeo zateleo*' (A.S. :27)

b. '...आपणें नितिच्या सामक्या मार्गान पावल घालचें.'⁷⁴

5. a. '*Jezun Aplem chomottkaranchem hem palonv Galileiantlea Kana ganvant ghalun...*' (A.S. :37)

- b. '...तांगेल्या झगड्याक पालंव लिपयेपासून लागतलें.'⁷⁵
6. a. '...Romi lipient borounchi rit... hea adim, amchea eka... Konknni potrar **khistimnim** (in instalments) porgottlea...' (K.N.:iii)
- b. '...गोंयचे आवें-भाशेसंबंधान... तीन **खिस्तीनी** बरयल्लो लेख वाचलो.'⁷⁶
7. a. 'punn, amche Bhaxent moladik **sorospot** (literature) asa mhunnum-nozo' (K.N. :iv)
- b. '...कोंकणी पुस्तकी सरस्पत हेरा भासां परस चडशी फाटल्यान ना.'⁷⁷
8. a. 'samanea - lokak **okxori** korcho proxnn chodd mhotvacho' (K.N.:vi)
- b. 'निरक्षरी लोकाक **अक्षरी** करूंक आवय-भाशेसारको हेर उपायूच ना.'⁷⁸
9. a. '...apnnak ieta ani somzota toxem borounk laglear borovp kednanch **ekrupi** zaunchem na' (K.N. : viii)
- b. 'कोंकणिच्यो जायत्यो तरा आसून ती **एकरुपी** न्हय अशें कांय जाण म्हणटात.'⁷⁹
10. a. 'to toddik thaun **chike** bhair vhorunk Tannem tankam sanglem.' (A.S.:51)
- b. '...तांगेल्या तोंडाची नुरा कशी कितें जाता ती **चिके** ध्यानांत घेवन...' ⁸⁰
11. a. 'taka **sonnsonnit** takid diun rokddoch dhaddlo' (A.S. :55)
- b. 'तांच्या गळ्यांत केन्नाच दावें घालूंक फावना म्हणपाची **सणसणीत ताकीद** ताणें राखण्यांक दिली.' ⁸¹
12. a. 'tacho **tallo** tumin kednanch aikunk na...' (F. 1952:64)
- b. 'कांय पर्वा ना, कर तूं, असो जो एक नेटाचो **ताळो** आयकूंक येता तो कोणाचो गा दुतमाम?'⁸²
13. a. 'Je **thondai-korpi** te bhagevont...' (A.S. : 72)
- b. '...चड पुर्विल्ली थंडाय करणी... देवी सांतेरी...' ⁸³

The grammatical meta-language in Fernandes' *Konknni Nad-Xastr* is very much similar to that of Shennoi Goembab. Also, the innovation of vocabulary brought about by both Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes

are quite alike in nature. This will be discussed in the following chapter.

In *Konknni Nad-Xastr* whenever a grammatical term from the Sanskritic grammatical tradition is introduced, its equivalent in English and, in a few cases, in Portuguese or colloquial Konkani is provided within brackets, or in an accompanying paraphrase. This indicates that the readership of *Konknni Nad-Xastr* was much more at home with the grammatical vocabulary in English or in Portuguese than with that in the native languages -

1. *okxor mhunche silb* - *Putugejint syllaba mhunntat tem.* (K.N.: 1)
2. *nad (avaz)* (K.N.:1)
3. *nad-xastr* (phonetics), (K.N.:1)
4. *akaran* (size) (K.N.:3)
5. *akrutai* (shape) (K.N.: 3)
6. *svorit-kuru* (circumflex) (K.N.:3)
7. *udat-kuru* (acute accent) (K.N.: 3)
8. *onudat-kuru* (grave accent) (K.N.: 3)
9. *alpviram* 'vo 'virgul' : “,” (comma) (K.N.: 4)
10. *ord-viram* : “;” (semi-colon) (K.N.: 4)
11. *purnn-viram* : “.” (full stop) (K.N.: 4)
12. *konvcham* : “()” vo “[]”, vo “ ” (brackets) (K.N.: 4)
13. *vornn-krom* (alphabetic orders) (K.N.: 5)
14. *svor* (vowel) (K.N.: 7)
15. 'jib' (tongue) (K.N.: 7)
16. *tantuncher* (vocal chords) (K.N.: 7)
17. *veanzon* (consonant) (K.N.: 8)

18. ‘*monim*’ (mutes) (*veanzonam*) (K.N.: 8)
19. “*veakronna*” (grammar) adim (K.N.: 9)
20. “*uxmim*” (sibilants) (K.N.:11)
21. *promann rup* (standard form) (K.N.:14)
22. *burxeponn* (corruption) (K.N.:15)
23. *sogllo* (full) svor (K.N.: 19)
24. *uchcharacho bhar* (stress) (K.N.: 19,20)
25. *vochon* (numbers) (K.N.: 22)
26. *ekvochon* (singular) (K.N.: 22)
27. *bhou-vochon* (plural) (K.N.: 22)
28. *vixexonnache-gunnsobdanche* - (of adjectives) (K.N.: 25)
29. *vorg* (classes), (K.N.: 25)
30. *nama* (noun), vo *sorvnama* (pronoun) *kodden*. (K.N.:25)
31. ... *sorvnamachea linga-vochona* (gender and number) *pormannem*... (K.N.:25)
32. ...*tanchea dhatuntlea* (root) “o” vo “e” *svorancho uchchar* ... (K.N.:29)
33. ... *Bhaxek adarx rup* (standard form) *diunk sodtelea boroupean* ... (K.N.:30)
34. *vibhokti* (declension) (K.N.:33)
35. *utrachem rupantor* (declension) *zata tednam*... (K.N.:35)
36. *onukroman* (respectively) (K.N.:35)
37. *kai vixex - namamnim* (proper nouns)... (K.N.:42)
38. ... *tem utor napusoklingi* (of neuter gender) (K.N.:44)

39. *kriavixexonn* (adverb) (K.N.:45)
40. ... *hea proteoiacho* (suffix) *uchchar* (K.N.:49)
41. *samanea-rup* (crude-form) (K.N.:65)
42. *kriapodam* (verbs) (K.N.:68)
43. *ordsvor* (semi-vowel) (K.N.:70)

Even when a new technical term, mostly belonging to the grammatical domain and coined in Konkani by the author or his predecessors is introduced in the text, its English equivalent is provided within brackets:

1. “,” : *he kurvek “vornn-lip-kuru’* (aphostrophe) *mhunnchi*. (K.N.: 4)
2. “-” : *He kurvek “zodd-kaddi”* (hyphen) *mhunnchi*. (K.N.: 4)
3. *doddto-viram’ : ‘:’* (colon) (K.N.: 4)
4. *toknnai-kuru “ ‘!’* (point of admiration) (K.N.: 4)
5. *vichar-kuru : “?”* (mark of interrogation) (K.N.: 4)
6. *danddi, vo lamb-kaddi : “-”* (parenthesis) (K.N.: 4)
7. “*sonkem*” (larynx) (K.N.: 7)
8. *soknollilm* (gutturals) (K.N.: 10)
9. *tallvim* (palatals) (K.N.: 10)
10. *jibli-khompilm* (linguals; cerebrals) (K.N.: 10)
11. *dantiIm* (dentals) (K.N.: 10)
12. *onttilm* (labials) (K.N.: 10)
13. *movall-udkallim-veanzonam* (liquids) (K.N.: 10)
14. ... *svoram vori, heram veanzonank zomtata, vo sullulliam* (smoothly), *zoddtat*. (K.N.: 11)
15. *hafechem* (aspirate) *veanzon* (K.N.: 11)

16. *trirupi* (triform) (K.N.: 25)
17. *dvirupi* (biform) (K.N.: 25)
18. *ekrupi* (uniform) (K.N.:25)
19. *vorzonnim* (exceptions) (K.N.:27)
20. *poddte sandi-svor* (falling diphthongs) (K.N.: 27)
21. *choddte sandi-svor* (rising diphthongs) (K.N.: 27)
22. *vell-dakoupi* (*kriavixexonn*) (adverb of time) (K.N.: 46)
23. *svat-dakoupi* (*kriavixexonn*) (adverb of place) (K.N.: 46)
24. *rit-dakoupi* (*kriavixexonn*) (adverb of manner) (K.N.: 46)
25. *don veglle ani soglle* (full) *svor* (K.N.: 49)
26. *addvad* (exceptions) (K.N.: 62.)

Such translations are not limited only to the technical terminology. See the following sentences:

1. *Ami Romint boroitanv, punn durdoivim* (unfortunately) *amchem borovp, chodd korun, xastrik ritin ghoddlele lipient zaina...* (K.N.:12))
2. *Borovp ekupi* [sic. *ekrupi?*] *naslear Bhaxek sahitik mol aschench na* (no literary value).(K.N.:12)
3. *Romi lipi az antor-raxttrik* (intentional) *zalea... tika mottvai* (brevity), *opormit vichitrponn* (infinite variety) *ani sade-sompeponn asa...*(K.N.:13)
4. *Amchi Bhas, Fransez Bhaxe-vori, ximbri Bhas...* *Tika songitkarinn* (musical) *vo kovitri* (poetic) *Bhas mhunnlear otitai* (exaggeration) *zaunchi na* (K.N.: 36)
5. ... *liknnek* (pen) *ieta toxem boroi, vachpeak somzolem mhunntokuch puro, oslem borovp sorospotiche Bhaxent* (literary language) *upkarona.* (K.N.:56)

English equivalents are also provided for many of the words given as examples for elucidating the various phonetic rules-

Examples -

satvik (truthful), *uzu* (righteous), *povitr* (holy), *kottin* (difficult) (K.N.: 28)

oxoktai (weakness), *sovkasai* (slowness), *sovostkai* (peace), *thonddai* (coolness; peace), *boddai* (legitimate pride), *kurnattkai* (malicious jealousy) (K.N.:31)

dhean (attention; mental attitude), *ginean* (intelligence), ... *veakti* (personality; personage; individuality) (K.N.:35).

obheas (study), *ponth* (sect), *gronth* (essay), *oxudh* (impure), *likhit* (scripture) (K.N.:58)

The prevailing linguistic ethos of the readership of *Konkanni Nad-Xastr* reflects in these 'translations'. The role of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes in getting his readership to sense the genius of Konkani language also gets highlighted in the process.

Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' writings do manifest the grammatical features of his own dialect.

Examples:

1. '... *zaiteam zannank tanchea Dhonia Deva-xim portun haddtolo.*' (A.S.:5)

-*xim* "near"

2. '...*hem ghoddta tea disa porian tum mono zatoloi.*' (A.S.:5)

porian "uptil" -*oi*- the second person singular future tense suffix.

3. 'To Galileiant **vecho** aslo.' (A.S.:35)

vecho "to go"

4. 'Tumi **polleteleat**.' (A.S.:36)

polleteleat "you (pl.) shall see". (-*leat* suffix)

5. 'soglo zago bhorun dar **portean** suvat urli na...' (A.S.:56)

portean "upto"

6. '**hea pasot**.' (A.S.:64) "for (because of) this"

7. 'bollixtt mun'xeak **adim poilo** bandlea bogor.' (A.S.:96)

adim poilo "first" (a concatenation of synonyms)

8. 'dadleanche melle ani bailanche melle **kuxin-kuxin** astale.' (A.S.:25)

kuxin-kuxin "separate; different"

The suffixes, indeclinables or verb forms highlighted in these sentences are a feature of Christian dialects, often, of Christian dialects of Bardes.

A part of the vocabulary in Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' writing is typically *Christian*, sometimes, also *Bardeshi*. Some of these words, especially those belonging to the religious domain seem to have been inherited from the Christian writings of the sixteenth-seventeenth centuries.

Examples:

1. 'tachi bail Elizabeth **gorbest** zali'... (A.S.:6) "his wife got **pregnant**"

2. '... Jose nanvachea dadleachi **potinn** asli'... (A.S.:6) "was the **wife** of an man called Jose."

3. 'Hem aikun Herod raza **ghaborlo**'... (A.S.:21) "Having heard this, king Herod **got scared**."

4. '... lokache **vhoddil** ...' "**elders** of the people" (A.S.:21).

5. 'Hanvem tumkam pirtume voileo gozali sanglear tumi teo

sotmaninant...' "You **don't believe** what I tell you of this world"
(A.S.:40).

6. '*Konnuch munis novea **lugttacho** kuddko gheun tacho pornnea zhogeak kopo marina...*' (A.S.:59) "No one takes a piece of **new cloth** to mend the old cassock:"

7. '*... to atthtis vorsan aple **boll'likent** renztalo.*' (A.S.:61) "For thirty-eight years he was suffering in his **illness.**"

8. '*Porduar korum naka.*' (A.S.:75) "Dont commit adultery."

9. '*Hanv **Somurt** vo Profetanchem xastr him moddun ghalunk ailam oxem somzum nakat...*' (A.S.:73) "Don't think I have come here to abolish the Law of the Prophets"

10. '*Je xant te **bhagevont** ...*' (A.S.:71) "Blessed are the peace makers."

Dialectal manifestations of the above kind are usually an integral part of any written language prior to its standardization. Despite these, the overall impression of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' language is that of a consciously cultivated Konkani. This is Konkani that transcends the social/regional dialectal specifications of the individual writers especially in its vocabulary. In this transcendence, the dialects also come closer in vocabulary. There is a mutual borrowing of vocables from one dialect into another.

Both Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes had a tremendous impact on the language of Konkani writers - both contemporary and those of posterity. Investigating into this impact could in itself be an independent topic of research.

The foundation of modern Konkani literature in the Devanagari and the Roman scripts is laid down by these two stalwarts.⁸⁴

Interestingly, although Shennoi Goembab was an advocate of the Devanagari script for Konkani, he was an inspiration also for those writing in the Roman

script. Similarly, although Joaquim Antonio Fernandes was a promoter of the Roman script for Konkani he was also an influence over Konkani writers in the Devanagari script.⁸⁵

To conclude, it can be said that, the approaches of both Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes towards Konkani are to a large extent overlapping. Both valued *studying* spoken Konkani, especially that of monolingual speakers, for recovering Konkani in its 'pure' form. Both regarded standardization as an important step towards bringing about the development of Konkani. Both had reservations about overborrowing from Sanskrit, Marathi or Portuguese for enriching the Konkani vocabulary. Also, both were averse to replacing 'naturalized' foreign loans by equivalent indigenous words. Also, both seem to firmly believe that even technical terms could be coined in such a way that they would be easily understood without having to open a dictionary.⁸⁶

As discussed above, in both Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes, the *oral* forms the base for the *written*. To a certain extent, both manifest a puristic/conservative disposition in that an oral indigenous/native Konkani word is generally preferred to an oral non-indigenous/non-native borrowed term. This native-oriented linguistic disposition still remains the 'Ideal Model' for most main stream Konkani writers in the Devanagari and the Roman scripts.

Another position, also purist and conservative, but inclined more towards the 'classical' has cast a significant influence over Konkani writers of the twentieth century. This is the influence of Msg. S.R. Dalgado, a versatile scholar of Indo-European studies, well-grounded in the tradition of comparative Philology. (Dalgado's position is discussed in more detail in the following chapter.)

Although Dalgado has no Konkani writing to his credit,⁸⁷ his two bilingual dictionaries viz., *Konkani-Portuguese Dictionary* (1893) and *Portuguese - Konkani Dictionary* (1905)⁸⁸ with elaborate introductions throwing light on the lexicographer's stand on his choice of Konkani vocables, have considerably influenced modern Konkani writers, and also Christian religious terminology in Konkani.

5.7 KONKANI IN POST-LIBERATION GOA

After the liberation of Goa on Dec. 19, 1961, Goa became the main centre of literary production in Konkani. The era of Portuguese dictatorship and censorship had ended, and that of freedom of expression and press had begun. To quote Chandrakant Keni,

'Liberation brought along with it the facilities of printing and publishing for the Konkani writer. The opponents of Konkani also kept alive the movement of suppression of Konkani. This inturn proved to be an inspiration for Konkani writers and produced literature of high quality. Those Goan writers who, until then, had written only in Marathi or Portuguese now came to be writing in Konkani. Also, those who had never ever held the pen, began writing in Konkani.'⁸⁹

The post-liberation years also saw a boom in Konkani literature in the Devanagari script. Those writers who had come to Konkani through the Konkani movement had also identified themselves with the goals and aspirations of the Movement. And, 'one literature' on the basis of 'one script' (Devanagari), was one of the goals of the Movement.

The decade and a half after the liberation was indeed a period of 'identity crisis' for Konkani. Within the context of the language-dialect controversy, Konkani was trying to assert its identity as an independent Indo-Aryan language - a sister-language of Marathi, and not its dialect. This struggle

unconsciously got expressed at the lexical level.

Out of the available range of lexemes, those that could highlight the difference between Konkani and Marathi came to be preferred in formal speech and in writing.

Examples:

I		II	
Available choices		Preferred Term	
A	B		
1. <i>suat/</i> <i>suwat</i>	<i>dʰagɔ</i>	<i>suwat</i>	"space/place"
2. <i>wan̄gda</i> <i>barabəṛ</i>	<i>borobor</i>	<i>wan̄gda</i>	"with"
3. <i>ugdas/</i> <i>udgas</i>	<i>yad</i>	<i>ugdas</i>	"memory/remembrance"
4. <i>mɔʃɔb/məʃəb</i>	<i>akaʃ</i>	<i>məʃəb</i>	"sky"
5. <i>dʰoni/dʰni</i>	<i>malik</i>	<i>dʰni</i>	"owner"
6. <i>girest</i>	<i>srim̄nt</i>	<i>girest</i>	"rich"
7. <i>sobit</i>	<i>sundəṛ</i>	<i>sobit</i>	"beautiful"
8. <i>dika</i>	<i>diʃa</i>	<i>dika</i>	"direction"
9. <i>itsa</i>	<i>iccʰa</i>	<i>itsa</i>	"wish"
10. <i>iʃtagot/iʃtag#</i>	<i>m̄ytri</i>	<i>iʃtag#</i>	"friendship"
11. <i>dekun/dekʰun</i>	<i>m̄h̄n̄un</i>	<i>dekʰun</i>	"that's why"
12. <i>dorya/d#ya</i>	<i>s̄mudr</i>	<i>dorya/d#ya</i>	"sea"
13. <i>bəlayki/bʰəlayki</i>	<i>arogyə</i>	<i>bʰəlayki</i>	"well-being"

14. <i>yewka:r</i>	<i>swagət</i>	<i>yewkar</i>	"well-come"
15. <i>utə:r/utə:r</i>	<i>ʃʱbd(ə)</i>	<i>utər</i>	word"
16. <i>mog</i>	<i>prem</i>	<i>mog</i>	"love"
17. <i>kulɛr</i>	<i>tʰəmtʰɔ</i>	<i>kulɛr</i>	"spoon"
18. <i>kadɛl</i>	<i>kʰurci</i>	<i>kədɛl</i>	"chair"

Interestingly, the preferred lexemes were more a feature of the Chistian dialects, and the sidelined ones, a feature of the Hindu dialects.⁹⁰ The latter were closer to the Marathi and Hindi equivalents. The preferred terms gave Konkani a political advantage in its conflict with Marathi. Those terms were chosen, perhaps unconsciously, that suited best the project of assertion of difference. This (unconscious?) choosing also meant a (unconscious?) suppression of the use of some of the cognate words (resembling those in Marathi) in written / formal spoken Konkani.

The above thing happened mainly in the literature of the mainstream Hindu Konkani writers who indeed had an exposure to Marathi.

The present researcher feels that one of the locations of the process of standardization of Konkani which awaits a serious investigation, would be this arena of lexical choices.

The domain-specific impact of Portuguese is quite conspicuous in some of the Konkani writings produced during the first two decades posterior to liberation. Portuguese loan words from the legal domain form an integral part of an essay like "*Gomycho Demand*" by Dattaram Sukhthankar -

‘ देमांदाचें आनी संगिताचें खूब साम्य आसा. ताकाच लागून गोंयकाराक देमांद पिशें लायना मू? सेलाद फोलीवैल्या रळे मॅताक जर आमी देमांद रागाचें तोंड मानलें तर पावला-पावलाक फारीक करचो पडटा त्या प्रेपाराक ताल मानूंक जाय. आदियार जावप हाका देमांदाचो अंतरो मानलो तर तेश्तेमुंज सगळ्यो

गजाली सांगून जे मूळ गजालीर परतो येता ती सम समजूक जाय. वीस वीस वर्सा चलपी इंव्हेतार हो देमांद विलंबीत लयीन गावपाचो आसता तर क्रिमिचो देमांद द्रुत लयींत गायल्यारूच बरो दिसता. मेनोरांचें किजिल्य हो भूप म्हळ्यार मरतकर सुरू जाता त्या इंव्हेताराक भैरवी म्हणूंक जाय.⁹¹

Intimate borrowing from Portuguese has also made a stylistic impact on Konkani literature produced during these decades. In *Gomychi Asmitai* "Goan Identity", a collection of satirical writings on Goa and Goans, the author - A.N. Mhambro - has made a beautiful use of Portuguese loanwords that form part of intimate borrowing.⁹²

Examples:

1. गोंयकार हो एक कुम्प्लिकाद "complicated" मनीस. (G.A.: 5)
2. क्रिस्तांव-मुसलमान निदान रेगुलार "regularly" इगर्जेत मशिदींत तरी वेतात. (G.A.: 16)
3. सगळे भाटकार त्या काळार बरे इश्टादान "in style" रावताले. (G.A.: 36)
4. गोंयकार हो जल्माक येतनाच किजिली "fighter" मनीस म्हण जल्माक आयिल्ल्यान जल्मभर तो किजिलां केस्तावां आनी देमांद "court cases" करीत आसता. (G.A.: 38)
5. एकाद्रो बरो पेजाद "heavy (influential)" मनीस असले सभेचो अध्यक्ष जातालो. (G.A.: 47)

Indianization of Goa at the political level led to a levelling of the colonial linguistic inheritance in case of Goa. In the post-liberation Goa, Portuguese in the Goan administrative, legal and educational domains was replaced by English. This resulted in a domain-specific borrowing from English into Konkani, and also a replacement of the earlier domain specific Portuguese loanwords by those from English.

Mhambro takes note of this change in *Gomychi Asmitai*

1. 'स्वतंत्रताये उपरांत सरकारी येप्रेगादाचो मान गेलो. आशिपरांत, येप्रेगाद, ओफिसियाल (प्रिमैर, सेगूंद, तेसैर) म्हणटकूच तांकां जो भोवमान मेळटालो तो अचकीत नाच जालो. ह्या पुर्तुगेज येप्रेगादांक गव्हर्मॅट सर्व्हट्स् (ना जाल्यार गव्हर्मॅट एम्प्लोईज) म्हणटकूच ते कच्च करून आंग काडूंक लागले.' (G.A.: 37)

"After the Liberation, the government employees lost the respect they used to get as *Aspirante, Empregado, Oficial* (I,II,III). Now overnight they all

turned into government servants or government employees. This change virtually shocked them."

2. 'सरकारी ऑफिसांनी गजाली करपाचो टायम सकाळच्या धा वरां पासून सांजच्या पांच वरांमेरेन आसता. मदीं एक वरभर ह्या लोकांक जेवणाक वचपाक मेकळीक आसता. ह्या वेळाक लंचटायम म्हणटात. सकाळ-सांज अर्दे-अर्दे वर ह्या लोकांक च्याक भायर सरूंक मेळटा. ह्या वेळाक टी टायम म्हणटात... गजालीं फाटोफाट सरकारी ऑफिसांतले लोक दुसरें एक म्हत्वाचें काम करतात तें म्हळ्यार फायली चाळपाचें. ते फायली उगडटात-धांपतात... आनी मागीर एकामेकांक ओर्दी सोडटात... जे असल्यो ओर्दी सोडटात तांकां क्लार्क म्हणटात. जे त्यो आयकतात तांकां प्युन म्हणटात. जो चडान चड वर्सां सरकाराक गाळी घालता आनी प्युनांक ओर्दी सोडटा तागेली सिनियोरिटी काउंट जाता आनी एक दीस ताका प्रमोशन मेळटा आनी तो ऑफिसर जाता.' (G.A.: 78-79)

"Presently, in the government office, the time to gossip stretches from 10 A.M. in the morning till 5 in the evening. They get an hour to go for lunch. This break is called *lunch time*. During morning, as also afternoon, the employees get half an hour for *Tea break*. Besides time spent for gossip, the government employees also do the important routine of *turning over files*. Having done this they *pass orders* to subordinates. Those that give orders are the *clerks*. And, those who get these orders are *peons*. Those who are the most vociferous critics of the government, and those who have issued orders to the peons, get their due *promotion* with the *counting of the seniority*."

Konkani literature produced from the late seventies displays the influence of English on Konkani, which is both cultural and domain specific, and intimate. Here are some illustrations from "*Marnnakatto*", a one-act play by Pundalik Naik, staged for the first time in 1979.⁹³

1. 'तूं हांगा इंटरव्ह्यू दिवपाक आयला काय आमचीं फकाणां करूंक?... इतले लोक भायर लायनींत रावल्यात तें दिसना? फुटल्या दोळे? सादे मॅनर्स नात. सर्विसो फुकट मेळटात?' (M.: 53)

"What have you come here for - to give an *interview* or to make fun of us?... Can't you see the people standing outside in a queue (*line*)? Are you

blind? You don't have basic *manners*. Do you think you get jobs (*services*) for free?"

2. 'कॉलेजच्या ऑफिसाचो काउंटर! अॅडमिशन फॉर्म भरपाक चल्याचल्यांची झुंडी...' (M.: 56)

"... *College office counter! A mad rush of boys and girls for the admission forms...*"

3. 'हे सर्विसेक ट्राय करपा फाटलें कारण कितें?' (M.: 53)

"What makes you *try* for this job (*service*)?"

4. '... डिग्रीचीं सर्टिफिकीटां जोडल्यांत तीं धुवंक घालपाक?' (M.54)

Shabai Shabai Bhowjansamaj,⁹⁴ a political satire, staged for the first time in 1981 also carries another domain specific influence of English -

1. 'कालचे मिटींगेंत तेणी सांगलां, लोकांक कितें कितें दितले म्हूण...' (S.S.B.:22)

"In yesterday's *meeting* he has promised many things to the people."

2. 'आतांचो कोलो इलेक्शनांक उबो रावता आनी पैशे खाता.' (S.S.B.:23).

"A modern *kolo* ("fox") contests *elections* and 'eats money'."

3. '...सगळ्याक पोस्टरां माल्ल्यांत.' (S.S.B :31,32)

"...*Posters* have been stuck everywhere."

4. 'एक बॅनर म्हळ्यार धा भुरग्यांक चेड्ड्यो जांव येता.' (S.S.B.:32)

"One *banner* would suffice to make *shorts* for ten boys."

5. 'भोलो मिनिस्टर जावपाकूच जाय.' (S.S.B.:39)

"Bholo must become a *minister*"

6. 'पार्टीच्या मनशांचें म्हणणें तरी कितें?' (S.S.B.:40)

"What do the *party* people feel?"

7. '...म्हाजें रेजिनेशन मागलां?... ' (S.S.B.:44)

"They have demanded my *resignation*?"

8. 'तेंची कायल मातशी तयार दवर...' (S.S.B.:44)

"Please keep their *file* ready..."

9. '...ती पक्ष बदलपाची टॅक्टीक म्हाका आजून कळूना.' (S.S.B.:47)

"I have not yet understood the *tactics* of defection."

10. 'आतां खरो शेक्रे टरी सोबलो...' (S.S.B.:50)

"Now you look a real *secretary*..."

The following sentences from *Bhurgim Mhagelim Tim*, a collection of short-stories by Domodar Mauzo, show intimate contact of Konkani with English:⁹⁵

1. 'मोटार स्टार्ट केली.'

"*Started* the car." (B.M.T.:31)

2. 'कॉलेजींत टायम वेस्ट करपा परस येन्नाच बिझनेस करप बरें न्हें?' (B.M.T.:61)

"Is it not better to start *business* right now than *waste time* in college?"

3. 'मुडच ऑफ केलो तुवें म्हजो.' (B.M.T.:79)

"You put me *off mood*."

4. 'वरभर लेट जाले आमी.' (B.M.T.:96)

"We are *late* by an hour."

5. 'कितें गो? आज फॉर्मति शें?' (B.M.T.:156)

"You are all in *form* today!"

Replacement of Portuguese loanwords by English has occurred primarily in domain specific vocabulary. These include vocabulary from the public domains of administration, education and law. This displacement of Portuguese from the public domains of power also had an effect on the private domain.

During the Portuguese regime, in most elite Christian families, especially in the Old conquest areas, Portuguese had secured the place of the First language. In the post liberation Goa, even here Portuguese gradually came to be replaced by English. This acceptance of English by the elite Christians also brought along with it a general change in Christian names and surnames - *Pedro* became *Peter*, *Miguel* became *Michael*, *Couto* -[kɔwt] became [kuto], *Teixeira* - [teʃer] became [teksera...]

This also had its impact on Konkani. This could be demonstrated from the proper nouns in the short stories by Damodar Mauzo. In *Bhurgim Mhagelim Tim* one comes across both, proper nouns that are loanwords from Portuguese, and those that are loanwords from English. Often the protagonists belonging to older generations have the former and those belonging to younger generation have the latter. Thus there are Rosaline, Diniz (pg.44); Miguel / Minglu, Roque Santan (B.M.T.: 55), and Gloria, Glen (B.M.T.: 20); Victor, Lucy: (B.M.T.: 60).

An acceptance of English in the private domains also led to a replacement of Portuguese loanwords suggestive of cultural mannerisms and practices by those from English. Thus *obrigad* has almost given way to *thēṅkyu*; *diʃkulp* is displaced by *sōri*.

However, replacement of Portuguese loanwords by English is not total. Portuguese influence on Konkani is indeed indelible and is valued by many a Konkani writer as a unique feature of the identity of Konkani. A writer like Damodar Mauzo freely incorporates the influence of both, Portuguese and English to suit the narrative ethos of the specific shortstories.

Examples:

1. 'एक कॅलक्युलेटर काडून काउंटराक आशिल्ल्या गवेतांत उडयलो' (B.M.T. : 91)

"Took a *calculator* and put it in the *drawer* (gəwɛt: Portuguese loanword)

of the *counter*."

2. 'कंपनीच्या एजंटान कोत करून दिल्ल्या दुडवांनी बोल्सां भरिल्लीं.' (B.M.T.: 91)

"The *company agent* had filled [his] *pockets (bols : Portuguese loanword)* with the money given to him."

The Konkani daily *Sunaparant* launched with a new get-up on Dec. 19, 2003, also carried a new linguistic attitude and orientation. An informal style of editorial / news writing was incorporated leading to an incorporation of Portuguese loanwords in the text of the editorials and news. The following examples are taken from the *Sunaparant* of Dec. 19, 2003. :

1. 'सलमान साल्वार?' "Is Salman **saved**?" (a news heading on pg.:1)

2. 'शिवाय हेर खूब घोस्त आसतलो.' "Besides there will be a lot more of other *fun*." (Editorial on pg.:1)

घोस्त modelled on Portuguese *gosto* "liking" has its own meaning in Konkani.

3. 'तुमकां १६ जानेवारी मेरेन पासियेंस काडचे पडटलें.' (Editorial on pg.:1)

"You will have to show patience till Jan. 16."

4. 'पूण तांचें खंय तरी एक आंग फ्राक उरलेंच.' (Editorial on pg.:4)

"But one side still remain *weak*."

5. 'एक नट म्हूण जितलो फामाद तितलोच खर बुद्धिप्रामाण्यवादी म्हूण नामना मेळयिल्लो.'

(Intro to the interview of Sriram Lagu on pg.:7)

"Famous as an actor and also as a strong rationalist." The Konkani sentence contains both *famad* "famous", a loanword from Portuguese and नामना मेळयिल्लो "famous", a native word.

Integration of Goa in the national main-stream also brought in the Pan-Indian vocabulary into Konkani. *Shabai Shabai Bhowjansamaj* reflects some of the pan-Indian political vocabulary.

1. 'तुका कु ड्डेगाळ मतदार संघात विधानसभेचें तिकीट दिल्यार कशें?' (S.S.B.:5)

"How about giving you an *Assembly* (Vidhansabha) candidature in the Kuddegal *constituency* (मतदारसंघ)?"

2. 'भौजनसमाजाक तो वैर काडटलो.' (S.S.B.:8)

"He will bring about an upliftment of the masses (भौजनसमाज)."

3. 'तुमचो शिक्को कित्याचेर मारतले?' (S.S.B.:9)

"Who will you vote" literally, "put the *stamp* on?"

4. '...अशें भोल्याचे वतीन हांव तुमकां आश्वासन दितां.' (S.S.B.:9)

"I give you (this) promise (आश्वासन) on Bholo's behalf."

5. 'आमच्या पक्षाचो हो साडेसत्तावीस कलमी जाहीरनामो आयज जन्तेखातीर आमी वाचून दाखयतां.' (S.S.B.:10)

"We are reading out for the sake of people (जन्ता) the twenty-seven and a half-point manifesto of our party (पक्ष)."

6. 'समाजांतल्या अेकूण अेक मनशाक सक्तीन अनुसूचीत जातींत घालतले.' (S.S.B.:10)

"We will get each and every person included in the scheduled castes (अनुसूचीत जाती)."

7. 'सगळ्या ग्रामपंचायतींक नगरपालीकेचो दर्जो प्राप्त करून दितकूच मागीर त्यो बरखास्त करतले.' (S.S.B.:11)

"Having raised all *grampanchayats* to the status of the municipality (नगरपालिका) thereafter they shall be dissolved (बरखास्त करतले)."

8. 'आमचो एकूच पक्ष असो जो तुमचें कल्याण करतलो...' (S.S.B.:19)

"Ours is the only party (पक्ष) that will bring about your wellbeing."

9. 'सगळे भुरगे प्रचाराक गेल्या.' (S.S.B.:21)

"All boys have gone for campaigning (प्रचार)."

10. 'लोकशाय राज्यपद्धती आशिल्ल्यान आमी खरेंच भाग्यवान!' (S.S.B.:34)

"We are really lucky to have a *democratic form of government* (लोकशाय राज्यपद् धती)."

The resolution of the language/dialect controversy with the recognition of Konkani by the National Sahitya Academi in 1975 somewhat changed the attitude of the main-stream Konkani writers towards the pan-Indian vocabulary of Sanskrit origin. To take an example, Shennoi Goembab had discarded the word साहित्य (*sahitya*) "literature" and instead adopted सरस्पत (*sirispit*).⁹⁶ Later, perhaps during the seventies, साहित्य came to be adopted,⁹⁷ साहित्य gradually became साहित्य.

After the recognition of Sahitya Akademi, Konkani was no more under the constant pressure of being different from Marathi. In fact, it could be shown that both Marathi and Hindi, as experienced sister languages have indeed aided the development of Konkani vocabulary. Also this has ushered in a new phase of 'Anxiety of Influence'. The way Konkani writers negotiate this 'anxiety' could be demonstrated from the language of Konkani journalism - that of *Sunaparant* in particular. But it is beyond the scope of the present research.

5.8

CONCLUSION

The sixteenth and seventeenth century Konkani texts bear an influence of the Portuguese language. However, it cannot be seen as a result of borrowing. It is a case of introduction of Portuguese vocabulary into Konkani by the native/near-native speakers of Portuguese. This was the era of Konkani literature produced by the foreigners for the consumption of the native converts. With Eduardo José Bruno de Souza begins the era of Konkani literature by the natives. His writings show both a Cultural and an Intimate

contact of Konkani with Portuguese. Shennoi Goembab's literature displays a cultivated Konkani in which lexical choices surpass the regional and social boundaries of a particular dialect. A similar observation could be made about the literature of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes. The approaches of Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes are quite similar. These and other findings of the research on influences on literary Konkani are reported in Chapter Seven.

Notes and References

¹ See Anant Kakba Priolkar, The Printing Press in India : Its Beginning and Early Development (Mumbai: Marathi Samshodhana Mandal, 1958).

² Olivinho J.F. Gomes, Old Konkani Language and Literature - The Portuguese Role (Chandor-Goa : Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1999) 89,90.

³ José Pereira, Literary Konkani : A Brief History (Panaji: Goa Konkani Akademi, 1992) 31.

⁴ ManoharRai SarDessai, A History of Konkani Literature (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000) 40; Pereira 1992:31; Gomes 1999:108.

⁵ SarDessai :44; Pereira 1992:31; Gomes 1999:109.

⁶ Ibid

⁷ Gomes 1999:112.

⁸ Pereira: 1992:31.

⁹ See Gomes 1999:114,115.

¹⁰ Sardessai: 58.

¹¹ Pereira 1992: 31,32.

¹² Gomes 1999:119.

¹³ See Gomes 1999:88,89.

¹⁴ For details regarding the changing official policies towards Konkani, Joaquim Heliodoro Da Cunha Rivara, "An Historical Essay on the Konkani Language." 1858. Tr. Theophilus Lobo. The Printing Press in India : Its Beginning and Early Development. Ed. Anant Kakba Priolkar. (Mumbai : Marathi Samshodhan Mandal, 1958) 141 - 236, and Gomes (1999:62-87) may be referred.

¹⁵ Sollavya Shemkddya Adlem Konknni Ramayann. Ed. Olivinho Gomes (Taleigao-Goa :Goa University, 1996); Sollavya Shemkddyamtle Konknni Mahabharat : Adi Parv. Ed. Pratap Naik (Porvorim-Goa: Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr, 1990). All Subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with abbreviations - K.R. (Konknni Ramayann) and A.P. (Adi Parv)

¹⁶ Thomas Stephens, Doutrina Cristã em Língua Concani 1622. 2nd Facsimile ed. Mariano Saldanha. Lisbon : Agência Geral das Colónias, 1945; Miguel de Almeida, Vonvallyancho Mollo Vol. III. Old Konkani Literature - The Portuguese Role. Ed. O.J.F. Gomes (Chandor-Goa : Konkani Sorospot Prakashan) 137-575. All subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the abbreviations D.C. (Doutrina Cristã) and V.M. (Vonvallyancho Mollo).

¹⁷ Taking note of Persian loanwords in Konkani, J. Gerson Da Cunha writes: 'These words refer principally to the revenue administration of the country, and are, in proportion to the other elements of the language, in considerable minority', (The Konkani Language and Literature. 1881. (New Delhi : Asian Education Services : 1991)20, 21.) Perhaps, in relation to the borrowing from the Perso-Arabic sources, that from Kannada could be shown as more intimate. But more research is needed for concluding thus.

¹⁸ This indicates that the native informants of the European missionary writers were Vaishnavites.

¹⁹ In Doutrina Cristã initially one comes across only *fee bhauarthu* (D.C.: 73, 103) written as two individual words. Towards the end of the work, the two synonymous words fuse into one word and we have *feebhauarthu* (D.C.: 167). Vonvallyancho Mollo seems to have only the latter (V.M.: 178, 456, 474, 489).

²⁰ Romi Misa-Gronth, (Old-Goa - Goa, 1981) vii.

²¹ Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarina Com Versam Portugueza (Lisbon : Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1973).

²² Sollavya Shemkddya Adlem Konknni Ramayann. Ed. Olivinho Gomes. (Taleigao-Goa : Goa University, 1996); Sollavya Shemkddyamtle Konknni Mahabharat : Adi Parv. Ed. Pratap Naik. (Porvorim-Goa: Thomas Stephens Konknni Kendr, 1990).

²³ In the Vocabulario attributed to Diogo Ribeiro *konkannapanna* is explained as "paganism or customs of the land of Konkan" and *konkanne* as "the people of Konkan" or as "pagans" (Vocabulario: 78). Even in Dalgado's Portuguese-Konkani dictionary (1905) *Komkannan* is synonymous with *anbhavarthpan* (literally, "the state of being without faith") and *murtipuja* ("idol worship") and is given as the Konkani equivalent of Portuguese *Gentilismo* "paganism" (1905: 404).

²⁴ Vocabulario:63:

²⁵ SarDessai:101.

²⁶ On September 10, 1957 Tristão de Bragança, Cunha writes, 'Goan masses... owing to their semi-literacy, depend entirely on news given in their mother tongue.' ("Goan Konkani Press." 1957 Goa's Freedom Struggle (Selected Writings of T.B. Cunha). (Bombay : Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961)508). The Goan emigrant masses in British India were not any different.

²⁷ Eduardo José Bruno De Souza, Kristāv Ghorabo (Mumbai: Typographia Mariana,) 1911. Henceforth all references to this novel in this chapter shall be indicated within brackets along with the abbreviation K.G. The speech of the wife of the Apotekari in Kristāv Ghorabo also throws light on the nature of education/literacy in the Christian masses. She says, 'I have forgotten the little bit I had learnt in *amchi bhas* "our language" (Konkani); I don't know any *firīgi bhas* "foreigner's tongue" (Portuguese), and I carry the English Manual that is given to me, to the Church only for showing the people; I can't read it properly. What am I to do?' (K.G.:33).

²⁸ SarDessai:101.

²⁹ Agnus Dei was a bilingual Konkani - Portuguese monthly published from Bombay from 1930 to 1943. (Shennoi Goembab, Yewkar Adhyakshamlem Ulowp. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1945) 83).

³⁰ A. Pereira, The Makers of Konkani Literature (Pilar-Goa : Xaverian Press, 1982)153.

³¹ See Leonardo Bloomfield Language (New York : Henry Holt & Co., 1933) 461-475.

³² Bloomfield: 1933:465.

³³ Romi Misa-Gronth : 10

³⁴ Rocky Valerie Miranda, "Synchronic and Historical Phonology of Six Konkani Dialects", (Diss. Cornell University, 1971) 81.

³⁵ Romi Misa- Gronth : 62.

³⁶ Vonvallyancho Mollo has अपमानु. (V.M.:176).

³⁷ Pereira 1982:150, 151.

³⁸ Antonio Vincente Da Cruz, Othmo Deucharac (Bombay: 1922); Albert ani Janim vo Ek Vhodda Suka Dukachi Contha (Bombay: 1932). All Subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the respective abbreviations - O.D., A.J.

³⁹ See the English *-ist* (an in loyalist, Marxist) suffix attached to Swaraj to produce Swarajist.

⁴⁰ Regarding Konkani fiction writers like João Caitano de Souza, Antonio Vicente Da Cruz and F.X. Fernandes who are said to have followed Bruno de Souza's example, (SarDessai :108) ManoharRai SarDessai writes: 'These writers, mostly emigrants returned to India; were literate and conversant with European languages'. (Ibid.) On reading the literature produced by these writers, one gets the impression that, besides this, they were also not literate and conversant with Indian languages other than Konkani.

⁴¹ A Bibliography of Konkani Literature compiled by Ravindra Kelekar (Mumbai: Gomanta Bharati Publication, 1963) offers a view of this literature through the titles of the works.

⁴² O.J.F. Gomes writes only one sentence about the romances. It reads thus : 'Although these novels are not up to the literary standard, they successfully quench the psychological and intellectual thirst of the masses' (Konknni Sorospoticho Itihas : Ek Supullo Niyall (Chander-Goa : Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1989:115). ManoharRai SarDessai reiterates this position. In 'A History of Konkani Literature.' He writes: 'though most of them [romances] do not come up to the

standard of good literature, they do fulfil a vital need of the masses to be entertained and moved' SarDessai : 108.

⁴³ See Shennoi Goenbab 1945:1-4).

⁴⁴ This meaning features as the first denotation of कोंकणी Komkaṇo in Mgr. Sebastião Rudolpho Dalgado's Konkani - Portuguese dictionary, "pagan" is given as the second meaning of the term. (*Diccionario Komkani-Portuguez - Philologico-Etymologico*. (Mumbai: Typographia do "Indu-Prakash", 1893) 111.

⁴⁵ R. G. Bhandarkar, Wilson Philological Lectures on Sanskrit and the Derived Languages. Delivered in 1877. Rept. from The Collected Works of Sir R. G. Bhandakar, Vol. (Poona: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, 1974) 120.

⁴⁶ Shennoi Goembab : 1945:67.

⁴⁷ Shennoi Goembab 1945 : 67-70.

⁴⁸ See 1945 : 70,71.

⁴⁹ Shennoi Goembab 1945:71.

⁵⁰ Ibid :62,63.

⁵¹ José Pereira 1992: 48.

⁵² See Gomes 1989:69.

⁵³ (Shennoi Goembab. Konknni Bhashechem Zait. (Mumbai: Gomantak Chapkhno, 1930) 19. All Subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the abbreviation - K.B.Z.

⁵⁴ That the subject of the verb forms is masculine does not become clear in the sentences chosen above. But it could be verified from the context in the text.

⁵⁵ Shennoi Goembab. Albukerkan Goem Kashem Jikhlem. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1955) 7.

⁵⁶ Shennoi Goembab 1930:35.

⁵⁷ Ibid:43.

⁵⁸ Shennoi Goembab 1955:3.

⁵⁹ Shennoi Goembab 1930:19.

⁶⁰ See A. Pereira, 1982:184); also Mirg, vol.I, No. 7 15th Nov. 1953, a note on Amcho Soddvonndar by the editor (Ravindra Kelekar).

⁶¹ Author's preface to Konknni Vachop : Dusrem Pustok (Mumbai: Konkani Institute of Arts and Science, 1949) I, II, may be read.

⁶² See Joaquim Antonio Fernandes Konknni Nad-Xastr Vo Romi Lipient Borounchi Rit (Mumbai: Sacred Heart Church, 1972) viii. Henceforth K.N.. Whenever the lexical content of Konknni Nad-Xastr will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (K.N.)

⁶³ Fernandes 1972.

⁶⁴ See A. Pereira 1982:184, SarDessai : 109,110.

⁶⁵ See Fernandes 1972 : xi.

⁶⁶ See Shennoi Goembab 1945: 65,66; foreword to Goychem Xetkamot (Fernandes 1976) by Fr. Marcellino Remedios. In a letter to the editor of Mirg (vol.I, No. 9, Dec. 15, 1953, pg. 5), Fernandes admires the contribution of the European missionaries to the development of Konkani. He writes, '...having carefully studied the **spoken language** the European priests had shown us the straight path...' (Emphasis added.) He strongly expresses the view that the European priests cannot be

blamed for distorting Konkani by writing it like Portuguese and English; rather, it is our own priests who are actually spoiling the language. According to Fernandes, convincing and rectifying these people who could help set right written Konkani of Christians is indeed a very difficult task. Regarding Konkani in the Christian periodicals - nine in Maharashtra (India? In the letter, Fernandes says 'here'), and three in Goa - Fernandes comments by saying, their language is like parasitic plants grown on Konkani. (Also see the editor's note on *Amcho Sodvonndar* in Mirg Vol. I, No. 7, Nov. 10, 1953) Here syntactic distortions seem to be the matter of concern.

⁶⁷ See Marcellino Remedios, "Prostavonna". Foreword. *Goychem Xetkamot*. By Joaquim Antonio Fernandes. Mumbai: Sacred Heart Church, 1976. In his preface to *Konknni Vachop : Dusrem Pustok*, Fernandes quotes Fr. Angelus F.X. Maffei wherein we find a similar view. Here Fernandes also acknowledges Maffei as his chief mentor.

⁶⁸ See A. Pereira 1982: 184.

⁶⁹ The book was originally written in Latin by Fr. J.M. Bover. It was translated into English as *Jesus the Messiah* by J. Burgers. Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' *Amcho Sodvonndar vo Charui Vanjelancho Jhelo* (Mumbai: 1952) is based on the English translation of the original in Latin (ibid:iii). Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Amcho Sodvonndar* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (A.S.)

⁷⁰ Joaquim Antonio Fernandes, "Prostavona." Preface. *Amcho Sodvonndar*. By Fernandes. (Mumbai, 1952) V.

⁷¹ Shennoi Goembab: *Gomantopanishat* Vol.I. 1933. 3rd ed. (Margao-Goa : Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1980) 31.

⁷² Shennoi Goembab: 1955:65.

⁷³ Shennoi Goembab: 1945:218.

⁷⁴ Shennoi Goembab: 1989:59.

⁷⁵ Shennoi Goembab: *Konknni Bhashechem Zait. Samagra Shennoi Goembab*, Vol. I (Panaji-Goa: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2003) 64.

⁷⁶ Shennoi Goembab: 1930:1.

⁷⁷ Shennoi Goembab: 1945:13.

⁷⁸ Ibid: 55.

⁷⁹ Ibid: 62.

⁸⁰ Shennoi Goembab: 1930:43.

⁸¹ Shennoi Goembab:1989:46.

⁸² Shennoi Goembab: 1933:125.

⁸³ Shennoi Goembab: 1945:146.

⁸⁴ While Shennoi Goembab advocated the Devanagari script for Konkani (1945: 57-61), Joaquim Antonio Fernandes believed that it was indeed possible to evolve 'standard Konkani' in and through the Roman script (1972:V,VI). He writes - 'Devanagari is a script of high quality. It is the script of Sanskrit language. Sanskrit is a language of great men - Pundits, scientists, Scholars. (It is not a language of the common people. The language is great, so also is its script. I have called it the 'super-perfect' script. All human-beings have not received the same share of knowledge. Hence, for making the common people literate would it not be better to render the imperfect in as perfect a way, and as simply as possible? This is why people from many a nation the world over have given up their own script in favour of the Roman script.' (1972:vi.)

⁸⁵ Fr. A. Pereira, a well-known Konkani writer in the Roman script, in *The Makers of Konkani*

Literature calls Shennoi Goembab the inspiration of his life (1982:180). Ravindra Kelekar, another well-known Konkani writer in the Devanagari script in his note on Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' Amcho Soddvonndar praises the author's language which he calls 'beautiful, lucid and influential.' He calls it one of the best instances of ideal Konkani and recommends the reading and study of the book to whoever is concerned about Konkani (Mirg Vol.I, No. 7, 15th Nov. 1953, pg. 6). Graciano Morais dedicates his Konkani grammar (written in Portuguese) - Gramatica Concani (Lisbon : Agencia Geral do Ultramar, 1961) to Shennoi Goembab, and Manohar SarDessai dedicates his collection of poems Zayat Zage (Goa : Gomant Bharati Prakashan, 1964) to Joaquim Antonio Fernandes.

⁸⁶ Shennoi Goembab 1945: 71,72.

⁸⁷ Perhaps with the exception of the following translation: *Primeiro Plano de Celebração Nacional do quarto centenario da partida de Vasco-da-Gama para a descobrimento da India, traduzido em Concani em characters devanagaricos e romanos, por incumbencia da comissao executiva*, (Plan of the National celebration of the 4th centenary of Vasco-da-Gama's departure for the discovery of India, translated into Konkani in Devanagari and Roman characters, at the request of the executive committee), Lisbon : Imprensa Nacional, 1897.

⁸⁸ Dalgado 1893; *Diccionario Portuguez - Konkani* (Lisboa:Imprensa Nacional, 1905).

⁸⁹ स्वातंत्र्याक लागून मुद्रण प्रकाशनाची सादनाय कोंकणी साहित्यकांक मेळ्ळीं आनी विरोधकांनी तिका ना-नपश्यात करपाची चळवळ चालू दवरिल्ल्यान कोंकणी प्रतिभेक आगळीच धार आयली. जाणीं ते मेरेन मराठी वा पुर्तुगेज भाशेंतच साहित्य निर्मिल्लें, ते कोंकणींत बरोवंक लागले आनी जाणीं केन्नाच पेन हातांत धरूंक नासलें, ताणी कोंकणींत बरोवंक सुरवात केली. Chandrakant Keni, "Teen Daskam - E k Dhamvto Niyall". Preface Teen Daskam (Venchik Konknni Sahityachem Sankalan) 1961-90) Ed. by Keni. (Vasco-da-Gama- Goa: 1993) 13.

⁹⁰ The present investigator had passed the list of words in column I to atleast fifty Hindu students of the Department Konkani, Goa University, with a question - 'which option do you prefer in speech, and which in writing?' Most replies tallied with the observation made above.

⁹¹ Dattaram. Sukhthankar, Manni Punav. (Mumbai : Vivek Prakashan, 1977) 9.

⁹² A. N. Mhambro, Goemchi Asmitai. 1978. 2nd ed. (Priol-Goa : Jaag Prakashan, 1995). All subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the abbreviation - G.A.

⁹³ Pundalik Naik, "Marnnkatto". Chowrang. 1982. 2nd ed. (Volvoi-Goa : Apurbai Prakashan, 1991) 43-69. All subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the abbreviation-M.

⁹⁴ Pundalik Naik, Shabai Shabai Bowjansamaj (Volvoi-Goa: Apurbai Prakashan, 1986. All subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the abbreviation - S.S.B.

⁹⁵ Damodar Mauzo, Bhurgim Mhagelim Tim (Margao: Asmitai Pratishtan, 2001 All Subsequent quotations from these texts shall be indicated within brackets in the body of the text of the Chapter along with the abbreviation- B.M.T.

⁹⁶ See Shennoi Goembab, 1945:11

⁹⁷ Gurudas Pai had even started सोबीत साहित्य प्रकाशन for publishing Konkani books.



CHAPTER - SIX

NATIVISTIC APPROACH TO

KONKANI LEXICON:

A COMPARATIVE CASE-STUDY

CHAPTER SIX

NATIVISTIC APPROACH TO KONKANI LEXICON :

A COMPARATIVE CASE-STUDY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This Chapter is basically a case-study of the Konkani scholars' orientation towards the Konkani language, and of the circumstantial contexts that influenced their respective choices and views regarding Konkani lexicon and usage. The scholars so discussed are Mgr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes. Of these, since Shennoi Goembab has been the pioneer of the modern Konkani Movement, his contribution has been crucial to the resurrection of Konkani as an independent language. Hence, his work and views are discussed in detail. To throw his pioneering grammatical oeuvre in Konkani language in relief, and to highlight the importance of his choices, his work has been discussed with a pioneering grammarian in Marathi - Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar. It is felt that comparing the two stalwarts in two parallel but not identical situations will help to uncover the significance of Shennoi Goembab's contribution as also to analyze his choices more objectively.

Mgr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, being the first native lexicographer of Konkani well grounded in the Indian linguistic and grammatical tradition, has made his imprint on literary Konkani by influencing several writers. So also, Joaquim Antonio Fernandes with his nativistic approach resembling that of Shennoi Goembab has been instrumental in shaping modern literary Konkani. The contributions of these two scholars are discussed taking a comparative perspective.

SHENNOI GOEMBAB'S LINGUISTIC ORIENTATION

In the history of Konkani language and literature, Shennoi Goembab has been the pioneering visionary who articulated in and through his writings, the basic concept of the Konkani identity bindings the entire speech community into an organic whole. Moreover, he projected it as an advanced level of sociocultural integration as compared to the affiliations of region, religion or caste.¹ Shennoi Goembab's Konkani project and his encompassing vision are epitomised in the following exhortative statement steeped in the democratic and nationalistic ethos of his time. He declares unequivocally, 'Let us make *Gawde* pundits (scholars) and let us all become pundits. Together let us enjoy the total self-rule of Konkani.'²

Likewise, in the invocation seeking divine blessings for the ambitious project, he evokes as much the blessings of the native Goddess Santeri -- the peaceful Hindu patron deity of Konkani revered from ancient times by Hindus of all castes -- as of Virgin Mary, the Holy Mother of Lord Jesus Christ revered by all (Konkani) Christians -- 'Bless us O Santeri! Bless us O Virgin Mary!'³

Shennoi Goembab saw the Konkani language as a means of emancipation of the whole of Konkani people. However, in a diglossic Konkani speech community, the masses - *Gawde* - were deprived of access to knowledge, as the means of the production of knowledge - languages - as well as the end-product -- literature -- were monopoly of the classes - *pundits*. Only by endeavouring to make the language of the masses - Konkani - the means of production of knowledge, could the masses be empowered and be led into the world of *pundits* - the world of knowledge. More significantly, this language was not at all foreign to the classes. Rather, it was the bond between the masses and the classes -- both Hindu and Christian. In Shennoi Goembab's view, therefore, knowledge could be democratized only in and through Konkani. Likewise, the fragmented Konkani speech community could be emancipated from an intellectual and emotional slavery only in and

through Konkani.⁴ Thus Konkani for Shenvoi Goembab was 'a step in the direction of social equality.'⁵

Shenvoi Goembab endeavoured to achieve this goal through his lucid prose in chaste Konkani focussing on diverse subjects such as grammar, history, philosophy, biology, physics etc. hitherto not discussed in Konkani language. He also dwelt on issues of concern and relevance to the development of Konkani. In fact, his prose can be seen as the epitome of the potential of Konkani, its rich array of words capable of handling almost any subject.

Shenvoi Goembab was an advocate of simple and easy Konkani. He was a strong critic of the elitist prose in the sister-languages of Konkani like Bengali, Hindi, Marathi and Gujarati that borrowed unnecessarily from Sanskrit. He viewed this indiscriminate borrowing as a formidable obstacle in the dissemination and proliferation of knowledge across all strata of the society.⁶ He wrote, 'Language should be well within the easy reach of all speakers and listeners, writers and readers. It is not enough if a few pundits understand. Even a *gawdi* clad in loin cloth must feel that the Konkani language belongs to him.'⁷

Thus, detesting the possible bifurcation of Konkani into 'High' and 'Low' i.e. into an opaque *Punditi Konkani* of higher prestige and a transparent *Gawdi Konkani* of lower prestige, Shenvoi Goembab dreamt of and struggled to cultivate one single Konkani that would belong to both *gawdi* and pundits alike. He wrote: 'Let us strive to develop Konkani in such a way that all its people from lower to higher strata shall understand it with ease. Konkani should not get divided into a higher and a lower language (variety), a *Punditi* and a *Gawdi* language (variety).'⁸

In the play *Mogachem Lagn*, an adapted version of Molière's *Le Médecin Malgré Lui*, Shenvoi Goembab mocks at the preference of his own class-fellows for high sounding Sanskritized language. Babgo, the main character in the play asks Bombab to choose between a bombastic Sanskritized

Konkani expression and a rather simple and easily understandable expression both meaning "went from Asnora to Bicholim and having bought fish from there went to Sanquelim."⁹ And Bombab replies, 'even a deaf person would show his preference for the first (Sanskritized) version.'

Babgo is a woodcutter, an illiterate man from the masses who feigns to be an Ayurvedic medical practitioner. Bombab belongs to the elite, and like most members of his class has an awe and a liking for both, the '*High*' language(s) (Sanskrit, Marathi), and the '*High*' in language (Sanskritized Konkani). Paradoxically, considerations of intelligibility give way here to considerations of the supposed beauty or richness of the 'High'. Babgo is a smart operator who exploits the vulnerability and ignorance of the elite to his own advantage. *Mogachem Lagn* was first published in 1913, and on several occasions it was staged before an audience who largely shared with Bombab the sentiments of a "beautiful/good" language. A smart man from the masses explodes this elitist myth of "good" language, which in fact defeats the primary function of language - communication. It is language that is not a language in that, it cannot get across and yet, is adored, highly respected.¹⁰

A close scrutiny of Shennoi Goembab's writings - his approach towards language as manifested in the choice of words - will serve to show how he set up a trend for simple and easy Konkani thereby steering the development of literary Konkani away from elitist pedantry which was otherwise prevalent in the literary Indo-Aryan languages of the time.

In what follows an attempt is made to examine -

(i) Shennoi Goembab's treatment of grammar - a highly technical subject in Konkani. To throw Shennoi Goembab's contribution to Konkani in relief, his choices of grammatical terminology are also compared with those of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar who had the reputation of being the 'Panini of Marathi' among his contemporaries.¹¹

(ii) Shennoi Goembab's endeavour of enriching and strengthening of the Konkani language through his innovations in Konkani vocabulary spanning various fields and topics. Even here a contrastive comparison is drawn between Shennoi Goembab's choices and those of another Konkani stalwart Mgr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, an influential indigenous lexicographer of Konkani who was also enlightened about the need to resurrect Konkani from neglect and oblivion. Further, a parallel is drawn between the lexical orientation of Shennoi Goembab and that of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes since the latter was also conscious of requirements of the language as Shennoi Goembab had been. The writings of both these pioneers were influential in distinct ways. In fact, both Shennoi Goembab and Fernandes were instrumental in building linguistic bridges over the chasm separating the two 'Konkanies' - Hindu and Christian.

6.2.1 Shennoi Goembab's contribution to the Grammatical Metalanguage of Konkani

During the span of three centuries i.e. from 1640 - the year which saw the publishing of the first Konkani grammar (*Arte da Lingoa Canarim* by Thomas Stephens) - to 1940 - the year in which Shennoi Goembab's *Konknni Nadshastr* was published - we have quite a few significant published grammatical works on Konkani.¹²

However, before the advent of Shennoi Goembab on the scene of Konkani grammar, Konkani had merely been a silent object of grammatical inquiry. Grammars of Konkani or grammatical treatises on the language were written in European languages (Portuguese, Latin, English), and were primarily targeted either at European learners / scholars, or indigenous scholars well-versed in the European tongues. Grammars of Konkani were modelled on those of the modern European languages. These latter were in turn patterned after those of the classical European languages - Greek and Latin.¹³

Grammatical metalanguage was readily available for these grammarians of Konkani. They did not have to invent it.

Shennoi Goembab was the first one to discuss issues of Konkani grammar in and through Konkani. His books - *Konknni Nadshastr* "Konkani Phonetics" (1940), *Bhurgyālem Vyakrann*, "A Children's Grammar" (1941), and the posthumously published *Konknnichi Vyakranni Bandawal* "the Grammatical Structure of Konkani" (1949) are very significant interventions with regard to the development of the grammatical meta-language of Konkani.¹⁴ In these works, we see for the first time, Konkani discussing itself grammatically. Also, herein for the first time a meta-language belonging to the indigenous - Sanskritic - grammatical tradition is employed for discussing Konkani.

The genius of Shennoi Goembab surfaces in the discretion shown by him in the adoption of Sanskrit terminology. The key grammatical terms like *swər* "vowel", *wyənjan* "consonant", *əkʃər* "syllable", *liŋg* "gender", *wəcən* "number", *wibʰəkti* "case", *kaḷ* "tense", *nam* "noun", *sərwənam* "pronoun", *kriyapəd* "verb", *wiʃeʃəŋ* "adjective", *kriyawiwəʃəŋ* "adverb", *əwyəy* "indeclinable" etc. are directly borrowed from Sanskrit but adapted to Konkani phonetics. Others, especially the subclassifications of the key terms are rendered into simple Konkani. Such a disposition very much complies with Shennoi Goembab's attitude towards borrowing from the classical source made explicit in *Yewkar Adhyakshamlem Ulowp* (1945):

'Just because Sanskrit is our grandmother... we need not rob her every now and then. Let us first check whether the coconut palms in our own orchard are in fruition. If we fail to discover even a single tender coconut there, then we may invade the orchards of our grandmother. But our own orchards are productive... If we still adopt Sanskrit words, let us dress them up in our soft Konkani baby garments.'¹⁵

Accordingly, the word *swər* "vowel" is borrowed directly, but it features

clad in the soft attire of Konkani pronunciation - *swɪr* in singular and *swəɾ* in plural. The words *rhəswə* “short” and *di:rgħə* “long” are borrowed, but kept within brackets. Instead, the commonly used adjectives *motwɔ* “short” and *lāmb* “long” are used in the description of vowels (K.N.: 1) Similarly, Sanskrit loans describing consonants with reference to places of articulation are bracketed, and the corresponding Konkani descriptions that are easy to understand are provided and given privilege/preference in the discussion *ōt^hyɔ uccar* for Sanskrit ओष्ठ्य (*oṣṭ^hyə*) “bilabial” (1940 : 1); *dātyɔ uccar* for Sanskrit दंतोष्ठ्य (*dəntoṣṭ^hyə*) “labio-dental” (1940:7); *dāt-k^hōpyɔ/dāt-talwɔ uccar* for Sanskrit दंत-तालव्य (*dəntə-taləvyə*) “dento-palatal” (1940:3); *talwɔ/k^hōpyɔ uccar* for Sanskrit (taləvyə) “palatal” (1940:4); *mat^hyɔ uccar* for Sanskrit मूर्धन्य (*muṣṭ^hṇyə*) “retroflex” (1940:5) The word वचन (*wəcən*) is retained, so also is एकवचन (*ekwəcən*).¹⁶ But द्वि (*dwi*) in द्विवचन (*dwiwəcən*) “dual number” and बहु (*bahu*) in बहुवचन (*bahuwəcən*) “plural number” are translated respectively as *dɔg* and *bhow*, and we get *dɔgwəcən* and *bhowwəcən* in Konkani (1949 : 19). Same is the case with the eight Sanskrit cases - विभक्ति (*wib^həkti*). Instead of प्रथमा (*prəthəma*), द्वितीया (*dwiti:ya*), तृतीया (*triti:ya*), चतुर्थी (*caturt^hi:*), पंचमी (*pəncəmi:*), षष्ठी (*ṣṣṭ^hi:*), सप्तमी (*səptəmi:*) and संबोधन (*səmbod^hən*), we have *pɪyli wib^hɪkti*, *dusri wib^hɪkti*, *tisri wib^hɪkti*, *t^howt^hi wib^hɪkti*, *pāt^hwi wib^hɪkti*, *sɪtwi wib^hɪkti*, *satwi wib^hɪkti*, *at^hwi/ulɔ wib^hɪkti*, (K.B.V.: 31, 34, 37, 39, 45, 52, 63, 67).

The Konkani terms are only translations of the Sanskrit ordinal nomenclature of cases. The term पुरुष (*puruṣə*) “grammatical person” is adapted as *purus*. But the three persons viz. प्रथम पुरुष (*prəthəmə puruṣə*) “first person”, द्वितीय पुरुष (*dwiti:yə puruṣə*) “second person” and तृतीय/अन्य पुरुष (*triti:yə/ənya puruṣə*) “third person” are rendered respectively as *pɪylɔ purus*, *dusɔ purus*, and *tisɔ purus* (K.V.B.:76,77,83). सकर्मक (*səkərməkə*) “transitive” is rendered as *kɪrmi*, and अकर्मक (*əkərməkə*) “intransitive” as *akɪrmi*

(K.V.B.: 86). प्रत्यय (*pratyay*) “suffix” is translated as *kus* which is a word from common parlance meaning “a small bit/a spec” (K.V.B. : 31). The word *pratyay*(*ə*) is not used even once in *Konknnichi Vyakranni Bandawal*.

At first glance these appear to be minor changes. But in effect, these very decisions have determined much of the choice of later Konkani grammarians, and thus, to a certain extent, have given a unique flavour to Konkani grammatical terminology.

6.2.2 Terminologies of Shennoi Goembab and Tarkhadkar : A Comparison

The impact of Shennoi Goembab’s choices pertaining to grammatical terminology on later grammarians could be highlighted in comparison with those of the first native grammarians in the sister languages of Konkani. An attempt is made herein to selectively compare terminological choices of Shennoi Goembab with those of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar who pioneered the modern era of Marathi grammar, and according to scholars, influenced several generations of Marathi grammarians.¹⁷

The first edition of Dadoba’s grammar - महाराष्ट्र भाषेचें व्याकरण - was published in 1836. The second, thoroughly revised and enlarged edition, was published in 1850. Later editions until the sixth were reprints of the second edition. Dadoba revised his grammar for the last time in 1879. This was its seventh edition. The following editions were merely reprints of the seventh edition. The present inquiry has made use of the eighth edition printed in 1885.

Dadoba’s grammatical intervention needs to be seen within the context of the system of education, initiated by the British. This system necessitated the ‘natives’ to study (in) their language.¹⁸ Dadoba was himself a product and a part of this system. The first edition of महाराष्ट्र भाषेचें व्याकरण (1839) was prepared by Dadoba when he was an assistant teacher in the Elphinston Institution in Mumbai.¹⁹ Marathi was used in the educational domain, and

grammars of Marathi were needed by the system. Dadoba responded to this need and was supported by the institutional structure.

Shennoi Goembab's grammatical intervention had no institutional backing whatsoever. At the request of Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag, *Karyadarshi* of the first session of the Konkani Parishad (Karwar, 1939), he had prepared a Konkani primer - *Konknni Pailem Pustak*.²⁰ Seven years later its second edition was published wherein Konkani writers are informed by the publisher thus: 'our schools have now resolved to impart education in the mother-tongue.'²¹ However, we do not know whether *Konknni Pailem Pustak* was ever used in any of the schools as a text-book.

Konknni Nadshatr (1940) was a teacher's manual for *Konknni Pailem Pustak* (1940). The first part of *Bhurgyālem Vyakrānn*, (1941) was prepared in the form of a dialogue between a teacher and his students.²² This too was probably not used as a text-book in any of the schools. There are grounds to conclude this way as this part deals only with the phonetic aspect of the language and the noun. The second part dealing with the other parts of speech like adjective, verb or adverb never saw the light of the day. *Konknnichi Vyakranni Bandawal*, posthumously published in 1949, was actually a (grammatical) case for Konkani. It highlighted the structural differences between Konkani and Marathi. It was indeed a part of the Konkani polemic.

According to scholars, Dadoba's grammar²³ bears a definite influence of the English grammatical tradition.²⁴ That Dadoba was not knowledgeable in Sanskrit was, according to Arjunwadkar, a *positive* point that freed his grammar from the undue influence of the classical language. Arjunwadkar informs us that Sanskrit influence was a salient feature of the grammar, co-authored by three Pundits, which was in circulation before the publication of Dadoba's grammar.

However, the grammatical metalanguage of Dadoba's grammar has a different

story to tell. See the comparison given below between grammatical terms used by Dadoba and those by Shennoi Goembab -

Dadoba and Shennoi Goembab - a comparison of Grammatical terms

Dadoba	Goembab	
1. ऋस्व (M.B.V.:3)	मोटवे स्वर ऋस्व (within brackets) (K.N.:1)	“short vowels”
2. दीर्घ (M.B.V.:3)	लांब स्वर दीर्घ (within brackets) (K.N.:1)	“long vowels”
3. संयुक्त स्वर (M.B.V.:4)	संदी स्वर/सांदैल्ले स्वर (K.N.:4)	“diphthongs”
4. अनुनासिक (वर्ण) (M.B.V.:4)	नाखयो (उच्चार) (K.N.:18)	“nasal”
5. ओष्ठ्य (वर्ण) (M.B.V.:13)	ओठयो उच्चार ओष्ठ्य (within brackets) (K.N.:23)	“bilabial”
6. दंतौष्ठ्य (वर्ण) (M.B.V.:13)	दांत-ओठयो (उच्चार) दंतौष्ठ्य (within brackets) (K.N.:23)	“labio-dental”
7. दंततालव्य (वर्ण) (M.B.V.:13)	दांत-खोंपयो/दांत-ताळवो (उच्चार)(K.N.:20)	“dento-palatal”
8. तालव्य (वर्ण) (M.B.V.:13)	खोंपयो/ताळवो (उच्चार) (K.N.:21)	“palatal”

9.	मूध्दन्य (वर्ण) (M.B.V.:13)	माथ यो उच्चार मूध्दन्य (within brackets) (K.N.:22)	“retroflex”
10.	सामान्य नाम (M.B.V.:24)	जात-नाम (K.N.:21)	“common noun”
11.	भाववाचक नाम (M.B.V.:26)	भाव-नाम (K.N.:60)	“abstract noun”
12.	एकवचन (M.B.V.:40)	एकवचन (K.N.:19)	“singular”
13.	द्विवचन (M.B.V.:41)	दोगवचन (K.V.B.:19)	“dual”
14.	अनेकवचन/बहुवचन (M.B.V.:40)	भौवचन (K.V.B.:19)	“plural”
15.	प्रथमा (M.B.V.:62)	पैली विभक्ती (K.V.B.:31)	“first case”
16.	द्वितीया (M.B.V.:62)	दुसरी विभक्ती (K.V.B.:31)	“second case”
17.	तृतीया (M.B.V.:62)	तिसरी विभक्ती (K.V.B.:39)	“third case”
18.	चतुर्थी (M.B.V.:62)	चौथी विभक्ती (K.V.B.:34)	“fourth case”
19.	पंचमी (M.B.V.:62)	पांचवी विभक्ती (K.V.B.:45)	“fifth case”

20.	षष्ठी (M.B.V.:62)	सटवी विभक्ती (K.V.B.:52)	"sixth case"
21.	सप्तमी (M.B.V.:62)	सातवी विभक्ती (K.V.B.:67)	"seventh case"
22.	संबोधन (M.B.V.:62)	आठवी/उलो विभक्ती (K.V.B.:67)	"eighth case" (vocative)
23.	संख्याविशेषण (M.B.V.:141)	आंकविशेषण (K.V.B.:191)	"numeral adjective"
24.	संख्यापूरक/क्र मवाचक विशेषण (M.B.V.:146)	पांवड्या विशेषण (K.V.B.:191)	
25.	संख्यावृत्तिवाचक (विशेषण) (M.B.V.:146)	पेट विशेषण (K.V.B.:192)	
26.	संख्यांशवाचक (विशेषण) (M.B.V.:146)	अपूर्ण आंक विशेषण (K.V.B.:192)	
27.	पुरुषवाचक (सर्वनाम) (M.B.V.:116)	पुरुष सर्वनाम (K.V.B.:192)	"personal pronoun"
28.	दर्शक (सर्वनाम) (M.B.V.:116)	दाखोवपी सर्वनाम (K.V.B.:192)	"demonstrative pronoun"
29.	प्रश्नार्थक (सर्वनाम) (M.B.V.:116)	प्रस्नी सर्वनाम (K.V.B.:192)	"interogative pronoun"
30.	सकर्मक (क्रि यापद) (M.B.V.:156)	कर्मी क्रि यापद (K.V.B.:193)	"transitive"

31.	अकर्मक (क्रि यापद)	अकर्मो क्रि यापद	“intransitive”
	(M.B.V.:156)	(K.V.B.:193)	
32.	अनुकरणवाचक धातु	अणकारी धातू	“onomatopoeic verb”
	(M.B.V.:155)	(K.V.B.:166)	

The above comparison reveals that although, as pointed out by scholars of Marathi grammar that, Dadoba was quite influenced by the English grammatical tradition, his core grammatical vocabulary was directly borrowed from Sanskrit. This is interesting since Dadoba is said to be 'not knowledgeable in Sanskrit.'

On the other hand, Shennoi Goembab was knowledgeable in Sanskrit and he also borrowed the core grammatical terms from Sanskrit. But he limits the direct borrowing to the unavoidable minimum. Quite a few of the direct loanwords from Sanskrit appear only within brackets. Shennoi Goembab seems to carefully avoid using these in the course of his explanations. Coinages with वाचक such as भाववाचक, क्रमवाचक, संख्यावृत्तिवाचक, संख्यांशवाचक, पुरुषवाचक, अनुकरणवाचक are meticulously avoided. Perhaps Shennoi Goembab saw वाचक essentially as a 'coconut from the grand-mother's property'. Also, भाववाचक नाम or पुरुषवाचक सर्वनाम could very well be understood simply as भाव-नाम and पुरुष सर्वनाम. Use of the term वाचक would both violate the principle of economy and also render the term more opaque. In a similar vein, संख्यापूरक विशेषण and संख्यावृत्तिवाचक विशेषण are translated by Shennoi Goembab lucidly as पावंड्या विशेषण and पेट विशेषण, respectively. प्रश्नार्थक सर्वनाम is rendered as प्रस्नी सर्वनाम thereby creating a new adjective प्रस्नी "interrogative" from the noun प्रस्न "question".

The choices of vocabulary of both these pioneers of the grammatical traditions in each of the indigenous languages seem to have determined to a considerable extent the choices of the later generations of grammarians of the respective languages. The grammatical metalanguage of मराठीचे व्याकरण by Leela Govilkar (1993) which is a critical review of the Marathi grammatical tradition, is not much different from that in Dadoba's grammar written a

century and a half ago.²⁵

Thus one may say, if the present day Marathi grammarians do not feel the need to steer their grammatical metalanguage away from the influence of Sanskrit, it is because, right from the beginning Marathi, like most others Indo-Aryan languages, was comfortable with directly borrowing the grammatical terms available in the classical language.

The beginnings of grammar in Konkani were made in a different way. Konkani felt the need to be different from Sanskrit.

Assertion of this difference was crucial for the assertion of the identity of Konkani. Shennoi Goembab's language consistently projected this difference.

The impact of Shennoi Goembab's choices on the later grammarians was tremendous.

6.2.3 Impact of Shennoi Goembab's Choices on Later Grammarians

Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' *Konknni Nad-Xastr* could be taken as an example.²⁶ The title *Konknni Nad-Xastr* is itself similar to Shennoi Goembab's *Konknni Nadshastr*. If Fernandes' *Konknni Nad-Xastr* is subtitled *Romi Lipient Borouchi Rit*, Shennoi Goembab's *Konknni Nadshastr* could be subtitled *Devnagari Lipient Borouchi Rit*. Even structurally, the text of Fernandes' *Nad-Xastr* is very close to that of Shennoi Goembab's *Nadshastr*. So also is the choice of its grammatical metalanguage

A major chunk of the technical vocabulary in *Konknni Nad-Xastr* is taken from Shennoi Goembab. Joaquim Antonio Fernandes does acknowledge this in one place - While explaining the characteristics of the Devanagari script to the reader, Joaquim Antonio Fernandes provides a list of the vowel signs in the script along with their names. viz. - *Kano, Davi topi, Uzvi topi, Davo Komb, Uzvo Komb, Gori, Matra, Don matra, Kanomatra, Kano don-matra*. Then, within brackets he informs the reader that these Konkani

names are given by Shennoi Goembab, the well-known (*kirtivont*) Konkani writer and linguist -- *bhas-xastri* (K.N.X.: 6,7).

Also see the following terms :

1. *pāi-moddi kuru* “,” - a diacritical mark in the Devanagari script” (K.N.X.:8;K.N.:1)
2. *zōddgiram* “joint letters” (K.N.X.:9; K.N.:4)
3. *tallvim* (*veanzonam*) “palatals” (K.N.X.:10; K.N.:22)
4. *onttiīm* (*veanzonam*) “labials” (K.N.X.:10; K.N.:23)
5. *nibôr Khompo* “hard palate” (K.N.X.:10; K.N.:21)
6. *ugtto / dhampito svor* “open/ close vowel” (K.N.X.:20; K.N.:13)
7. *nakio uchchar* “nasalization” (K.N.X.: 41; K.N.:18)
8. *addvad* “exception” (K.N.X.: 65; K.N.:6)
9. *vell-dakoupi* (*kriavixexonn*) “Adverb of time” (K.N.X.: 46; K.V.B.:)

The definitions of the terms ‘vowel’ and ‘consonant’ in *Konknni Nad-Xastr* also reveal an influence of Shennoi Goembab on Joaquim Antonio Fernandes.

1. '*Heam gatramnim matui oddchonastanam tonddan nizachoch sogllo ani meklo zo bhor nad zata taka 'svor' mhunntat...*' (K.N.X.:7 Emphasis added.)

'कांय नाद तोंडान निजाचेच मेकळे आनी सगळे जातात. तांकां स्वर (सूर) म्हणटात.' (K.N.:1)

2. '*Kāi`and tonddan nizachech orde-kure zatat. Mōttvo svôr uchcharunk, jitlo vèll lagta tachea ordan vèll oslo êk ordokuro nad uchcharunk lagta; hea ordeakurea nadak veanzon (consoant) mhunntat.*' (Fernandes 1972:8)

'कांय नाद तोंडान निजाचेच अर्दुकडे जातात. मोटवो स्वर उच्चारूंक जितलो वेळ लागता ताच्या अर्दान वेळ हो अर्दकुटो नाद उच्चारूंक लागता. ह्या नादाक व्यंजन म्हणटात.' (K.N.:1)

A Contemporary Konkani grammarian, Suresh Borkar also follows Shennoi

Goembab in the choice of the grammatical terms pertaining to number, case and person.²⁷ Quite a few other grammatical terms in Borkar's grammar also show an influence of Shennoi Goembab.

Examples:

1. आडांगी क्रियापद "exceptional verbs" (literally "naughty" verbs)

(K.V.B. : ; K.V. : 32).

2. अणकारी धातू "onomatopoeic verb"

(K.V.B. :166 ; K.V. : 36).

3. उमाळी अव्यय "interjection"

(K.V.B. :194 ; K.V.: 144).

4. हयकारी/न्हयकारी (वाक्य) "affirmative/negative (sentence)"

(K.V.B. :193,194; K.V.: 144).

5. उलयतें / मोनें / ओडटें अ "a that speaks / silent/prolonged"

(K.N. :3,8 ; K.V.: 170).

6. धांपिल्लो / उकतो उच्चार "close/open vowels"

K.N. :11; K.V.: 175).

But Borkar also reverses Shennoi Goembab's choices in some regards, and shows preference for Sanskrit loanwords. For example, his descriptions of consonants with reference to the places of articulation are in keeping with the Sanskrit terms (K.V.:184). "Transitive" and "intransitive" are rendered by Borkar respectively as *səkərmək* and *əkərmək* (K.V.:5), and not as *kīrmi* and *akīrmi* as in Shennoi Goembab. The words *kus* is retained only for the purpose of explaining the word *prətyəy* (K.V.:81)

6.2.4 Other Lexical Innovations of Shennoi Goembab

As a crusader of the Konkani cause, Shennoi Goembab, to quote Manohar SarDessai, 'had not merely to forge weapons but extract the very material from which those weapons were made.'²⁸ While writing in Konkani on various subjects and themes, technical or otherwise. Shennoi Goembab enriched the language with his lexical innovations. The beauty of his innovations lies in their lucidity. Even the words coined by him seem to have always existed in Konkani. Here are some examples:

1. आवय-भास "mother-tongue". While most modern Indo-Aryan languages have adopted मातृभाषा for "mother-tongue", thanks to Shennoi Goembab's aversion to the 'minting of Sanskrit words'²⁹ Konkani sports its simple and lucid आवय-भास³⁰. The term दुद-भास,³¹ literally "milk-language" also appears in Shennoi Goembab's writings in the sense of "mother-tongue". This is perhaps an indication that during Shennoi Goembab's time an expression for "mother-tongue" was not readily available in Konkani and that *awty-bhas* was as much an innovation as *dud-bhas*.

2. उतरावळ³² "vocabulary", perhaps a translation of शब्दावली. The word appears in the grammatical glossary given at the end of *Konknichi Vyakranni Bandawal*.

3. उजवाडावपी³³ "publisher", a translation of प्रकाशक.

4. दर्या लुटार³⁴ "pirate".

5. बावल्यां-भक्ती (K.B.Z. :22), बावल्यां-पुजा,³⁵ translations of मूर्ति-पूजा "idol worship".

6. धर्मकोल्ल "religious fanaticism" धर्मकोल्ली (G.G.V. :40) "religious fanatic".

7. तुस्तगीत (A.G.K.J. :65) "eulogy", a translation of स्तोत्र.

8. उलोप (K.B.Z. :37) "lecture". Where Marathi would use व्याख्यान, a simple term from colloquial Konkani is chosen here for a formal lecture. This is

very much like the English word "talk"

9. (यमराजाले) मानाय³⁶ "Lord Yama's 'doot's". *Manay* means labourer. The term is extended to denote Yama's 'doots' who are not merely his messengers but also those who actually implement his orders.

10. आयतें (S.B.:272), a term from kitchen meaning a ground mixture of grated coconut and spices for preparing curry, is used metaphorically to denote the capacity of a nebula for giving birth to the multitude of stars.

11. सरस्पत³⁷ "literature" - the Konkani *Tadbhava* of सरस्वती denoting the goddess of learning is used in the sense of literature. The term "literature" is avoided.

12. धाको (G.G.V.: 87) "decade", *Dhako* used in common parlance to indicate "ten of cards" is used as a measure of years. The word goes well with शेंकडो customarily used both in the sense of "hundred" and "century"³⁸. The word चौथो "fourth" is also used by Shennoi Goembab in the sense of "quarter of a century" (G.G.V. : 56). Although the term *शेंकडो* is used today in both the above senses, *d^hakɔ* and *t^howt^ho* are no longer used in the sense of measures of years. दसक a Konkani version of Sanskrit दशक is adapted to convey "decade".

13. हाडप "importing", धाडप "exporting" (G.G.V. :152). The words in common parlance meaning "bringing" and "sending" are used in the technical sense of "importing" and "exporting" respectively. "Import" and "export" is also translated as येतो आनी वेतो वेपार literally meaning "incoming and outgoing trade" in one of the articles of Shennoi Goembab (K.B.Z.: 41).

14. आवय-घातकेपण, देस-घातकेपण literally meaning "betrayal of the mother" and "betrayal of the nation" (K.B.Z.: 23) are translations of मातृ-द्रोह and देश-द्रोह, respectively.

A major area apart from grammar to which Shennoi Goembab has contributed technical terms, is the field of history and politics. Here are a few examples:

1. Different types of historical writings/engravings- होंव्यां-बरप "cave engraving" (G.G.V.:27); तांब्या-पटो "copper plate engraving" (G.G.V.:98), a translation of ताम्र-पत्र; पाशाणा-बरप "stone-engraving" (G.G.V.:106), a translation of शिला-लेख ; शासनपटो "edict" (G.G.V.:33).

2. Different types of treaties - एकचाराचें लिखीत "treaty of unity" (A.G.K.J.:10); इश्टागतिकें लिखीत "friendship treaty" (A.G.K.J.:11); थंडायेचें लिखीत "peace treaty" (A.G.K.J.: 48). 'Treaty' is translated as *likhit*.

3. Various positions in the defence system - गुमानीत खबरेकार "spy" (A.G.K.J.:34) राखणकार शिपायक "guard" (A.G.K.J.:8); पांय शिपायक "foot soldier" (A.G.K.J.:6); घोडेसुंवार "cavalry man/mounted soldier" (A.G.K.J.:6), an adaptation of Marathi घोडेस्वार; धोणवांकार "archers" (A.G.K.J.:6); सरशीं रावपी राखणकार "bodyguard" literally, "a guard by one's side" (A.G.K. J.:4).

Shennoi Goembab has also provided Konkani equivalents of some terms from pure sciences. Here are a few examples.

1. रुखावळ "plant kingdom" (S.B.:280)
2. जिवावळ "animal kingdom" (S.B: 280)
3. प्राणवाय "oxygen" (S.B:279)
4. उदकावाय "hydrogen" (S.B:279)
5. खारवाय "nitrogen" (S.B:279)
6. जडसाणेची ओड, literally "attraction of weight" meaning "gravitational pull" (S.B:271)
7. गर्भ-कणी "nucleus" (S.B:270)
8. वीज-कणी "electron" (S.B-270)
9. गिरो "planet" (S.B:275)
10. गिरकुलो "planetoid, asteriod" (S.B:275)
11. सुर्यावळ "solar system" (S.B:276)

12. गिरावळ "planetary system" (S.B:276)

6.3 **DALGADO'S CLASSICIST ORIENTATION : AN INVESTIGATION**

The discussion on nativistic approach to Konkani lexicon would be incomplete without making a reference to another Konkani stalwart -- Mgr. Sebastião Rudolpho Dalgado. Like Shennoi Goembab in the twentieth century, this scholar in the nineteenth century was concerned about Konkani language and her lexical capabilities. As the first native lexicographer of Konkani, and as a scholar of Comparative Philology, Dalgado had studied the influence of Portuguese on Konkani and had also discovered the loss lusitanisation of vocabulary had caused to Konkani. His choices and views as a lexicographer are comparable to Shennoi Goembab's lexical choices and views about Konkani.

Dalgado was pained by the 'condition of decadence and lack of organisation' in Konkani.³⁹ He strongly felt that it needed to be restored 'not at random and at the whims and caprices of individuals but methodically and scientifically.'⁴⁰

Dalgado resented the fact that Konkani, daughter of a noble mother (Sanskrit) was 'left in rags by her own denaturalized sons'.⁴¹ He reminds the reader that the selected portion of the vocables that constitute the substratum of the most cultured members of the Aryan family is received by Konkani not by way of loans or as alms, but as the legitimate share inherited from the mother.⁴¹

6.3.1 **Dalgado's Konkani-Portuguese Dictionary : A Study**

In his Konkani-Portuguese Dictionary (1893), Dalgado takes upon himself the task of recomposing 'a disorganised language with its elements in part forgotten, in part disfigured and mutilated', and thus 'lead it again to its pristine state of perfection.'⁴² He does this by investigating into the roots of Konkani words i.e. by adopting an etymological perspective. Etymology,

for Dalgado, is much more than just 'a subject of erudition', rather, it is 'the only rational and effective means for a methodological restoration of the language.'⁴² This perspective sensitizes Dalgado's ears to distinguish between *gaḍo*, *goḍo*, *ghaḍo* and *ghoḍo*; *garo* and *goro*, *âṁgâcho* and *hâṁgâcho*, *bâta* and *bhâta*, *âḍa* and *hâḍa*, *vaḍa* and *vhada* or *hoḍa*.⁴³

Dalgado had observed that one tenth or even more of conversational Konkani consisted of Portuguese loanwords or those derived from Portuguese. To omit all these loanwords from the dictionary would amount to suppressing a vast repertoire used by the people. Including all loanwords in the dictionary would also give a distorted - denaturalized picture of the language, for many of the loanwords were not necessary for the language; they either reflected speakers' ignorance of the mother-tongue or simply reflected their desire to show off.

Dalgado adopts the middle path as a way out of this dilemma. He selects only those loanwords as head-words in his dictionary 1) that were in use in one or more languages of the Orient; 2) that were completely naturalized in the language that even their origins were muffled up; 3) those that were preferred in use as compared to their vernacular counterparts.

These objective principles guide Dalgado's choice of the head-words. However, although Dalgado does not suppress the Portuguese influence on Konkani lexicon, his main objective in both the dictionaries is setting right the abuse of lusitanism and restoring Konkani to its original genius.

Restoration of the genius of Konkani takes the form of Sanskritization in case of Dalgado. Konkani is seen as a daughter of Sanskrit. Purity and perfection of Konkani is perceived in its state of nearness to the origin i.e. in Sanskritization. Accordingly, in both the dictionaries Dalgado adopts the norm of choosing that vocable which comes closest to its origin. Thus, *udaka* "water" which is very close to the Sanskrit vocable, is preferred and *udika* is given as its corruption. *dara* "door" is preferred to *dera* because there is

dwâra in the 'mother language'. *akamâna* "affront" and *seguņa* "virtue" are seen as 'aberrations' of *apamâna* and *suguja*; *askata* "weak" and *sakata* "strength" are viewed as 'barbarisms' respectively of *asakata* and *sakti*.⁴⁴

The project of restoration of Konkani makes Dalgado examine the 'treasure of (Konkani) words' contained in the sixteenth - seventeenth century literature of the Christian missionaries,⁴⁴ *Crista Purana* by Thomas Stephens and *Jardim dos Pastores (Vonvallyancho Mollo)* by Miguel de Almeida, in particular.⁴⁵ The abused 'oriental genius'⁴⁶ of Konkani is sought to be partially restored by extracting *Tadbhava* Konkani words from these antique pieces of literature and presenting these in the dictionary for the benefit of the nineteenth century user. In a foot-note Dalgado comments: 'In the modern books almost nothing eluded me, may it be catechism, prayer book or manual, may it be vocabulary, history or fable.'

Dalgado also recovers from these texts words belonging to 'Brahminical religion' that are freely employed to designate concepts from Christianity.⁴⁷ In Dalgado's dictionary, head-words that are loans from Portuguese are marked with a cross-like sign (†) given on the left of the head-word. Words that come from other sources like Marathi, Gujarati, Hindustani, Kannada, Malayalam, Tamil, Persian and Arabic do not carry any mark. Only at the end of the entry appears the initial letter(s) representing the respective source languages.

The entries of Portuguese loanwords in the Dictionary often carry Dalgado's opinions and suggestions regarding use of the loanword. These could be classified in three groups:

1. A strong suggestion - *Lusitanismo desnecessario* "unwanted lusitanism", followed by *Diremos* "let us say", or *Diremos melhor* "better said", or *Dir-se-ha melhor* "will be better said", or *Diremos em seu lugar* "let us say in its place", or *Deva-se-dizer* "must be said."

2. Just a *Diremos melhor* or *Dir-se-ha melhor*, *Deva-se-dizer* or *Diz-se-tambem* "is also said".

3. A mild *Pode-se dizer (em seu lugar)* "may be said (in its place)."

Dalgado's orientation towards Konkani vocabulary and his well-weighed opinions with regard to its usage is revealed in these comments.

Many of the loanwords that are still in use, according to Dalgado, are 'unwanted lusitanisms' which could be avoided by adopting any of the options suggested.

Examples:⁴⁸

1. आल्कूज्ञ *âlkûjña*, "surname" *âḍanâmva, châltemnâmva, upanâmva, kulanâmva; paika - 42*
2. इस्कोल *iskola*, "school" *pâḥasâḷa, vidyâsâḷa, vidyâlaya, sâḷa - 48*
3. ओर्द *orda*, "order" *âjnâ, anujnâ, śâsana, hukûma, sanada, nema, pharamâṇa, pharamâvaṇa, pharamâvaṇî; mâmḍapa, mâmḍâvaḷa, krama, vyavasthâ, ghaḍavaṇa, ghaḍaṇa, rachaṇî, vâsana, bamdobasta; varga, varṇa, paravaḍa - 72*
4. कबार करंक *kabâarakarumka*, "finish" *saraumka, âṭâpumka, âtapumka, sampaumka, sampâtumka, hâraumka - 79*
5. कांतार *kâmtâra*, "song" *gaṇemî, gâyaṇa, gâṇa, gîta, gâyatirî*

6. कालोर *kâlorā*, "heat" *ushṇa, ubâḷa, ūba, garamî, kharâya, trâsa, tâpa, dhaga, umeda - 97*
7. गोस्त *gosta*, "liking" *rûcha, svâda, soi, âvada, khuṣî - 147*
8. पिकारकरुंक *pikârkarumîka*,
"incite" *kumisa lâvumîka, tomchumîka, khâvumîka - 298*
9. पिर्देरजावुंक *pirderajâvumîka*,
"die" *nasumîka, amitarumîka, harapomîka, khavaḷumîka, buḍumîka, modomîka, sâmidomîka, âpa nâsumîka, goḍâka vachumîka - 300*
10. पुरुमेंत *purumemta*, "provisions" *bejamî, anna, varava, âhâra; puravaṇa, purâva - 304*
11. मूज्ग *mûjga*, "music" *vâjapa, samîgita, susvaravidyâ, gamdharvavidyâ; gâya-kagaṇa - 394*
12. सावूद *sâvûda*, "health" *bhalâya, bhalâyakî, pranâma - 499*

Entries of the following loanwords bear a comment from the second group-

1. कापोत *kapota* "a protective
cover against rain " *pasoḍî; ghomgaḍî, kaphaṇi - 93*
2. कुस्तार *kustâra* "cost" *kharcha, vecha, kharchavecha; dagda, - kashṭa bhogomîka - 107*
3. गुरुलेत *gurguleta* "an earthen
pot for water " *kujo, pânabâmîda - 143*
4. तेम *tema* "stubbornness" *saḷa, mastî, aṭa, haṭha, abhimâna-212*
5. दिरेत *direta* "right" *adhikâra, dâvo, ilâkho, hakha; nîta, nîtisâstra - 228*

6. मदेर madera "wood"	<i>lâmkûḍa, rukhâḍa, mopa</i> - 372
7. मुल्त multa "fine"	<i>damḍa, khamḍa, khamḍant</i> - 393
8. साक sâka "sack"	<i>potem, bokasem, chîla</i> - 492
9. सुमान sumâna "week"	<i>saptaka, sâtavaḍo, sâtoḷem</i> - 505

The following loanwords, according to Dalgado, 'may be avoided' -

1. इस्काद iskâda "stair case"	<i>śiḍî, sopaṇa</i> - 48
2. एलेयसांव eleyasâmvā "election"	<i>vimchaṇî, vimchapa</i> - 69
3. कानवेत kânaveta "knife"	<i>châku, piśakâtî</i> - 92
4. कुलेर kulera "spoon"	<i>chamasa, chîpa, chipata, kâmsulem, davalî, davalô</i> - 106.
5. कोप kopa "glass"	<i>surâpatra, surâbhâmḍa, pivaṇapâtra, pâtra, kâmsô</i> - 113
6. गर्वात garvâta "neck-tie"	<i>gaḷobamḍa</i> - 134
7. गवेत gaveta "drawer"	<i>khaṇa</i> - 134
8. चावी chāvî "key"	<i>kilî, tâlî</i> -163
9. जनेल janela "window"	<i>khiḍakî</i> - 175
10. दोस dosa "sweet"	<i>miṭâyā, goḍasem</i> - 241
11. पगार pagâra "payment"	<i>phârikapaṇa, pratiphala, majurî, musâro</i> - 275
12. पदेर padera "baker"	<i>umḍekâra</i> - 279
13. पेट्रोल petrola "petrol"	<i>bhûmitela</i> - 308
14. साल sâla "hall"	<i>vasaro</i> - 498

Dalgado does not even spare loanwords that are a part of the religious and cultural vocabulary associated with Christianity

Examples :

"Unwanted Lusitanisms"

1. इफेर्न impherna "hell" *yamakam̐ḍa, agnikam̐ḍa, pātāḷa, naraka - 47*
2. साल्वासांव sālvasāmiva "salvation" *târaṇa, uddhâraṇa, mukti, vâṭâvaṇî - 499*
3. काजार kâjâra "wedding" *lagna, varâḍa/ varhâḍa, vivâha, vavara - 88*
4. इर्माव irmâmiva "brother" *bhâva, bam̐dha/bham̐dhu, bam̐dhabhâva, bhâvabam̐dha, dharmabam̐dhu, sadharma - 47*
5. पाय pâyâ "father" *bâpa, bâpuya, pitâ, tâtâ, dâdâ, âpâ, guru - 293*

"Better said"

1. कुमगार kumagâra "take the Holy Communion" *sâheba ghevum̐ka - 105*
2. पुरसांव purasâmiva "procession" *dim̐ḍî, jâtrâ, savârî - 303*
3. माल्दिसांव mâldisâmiva "curse" *sâpa, śirâpa, śaputha, biramata - 386*
4. सेर्माव sermâmiva "sermon" *upadeśa, dharmapadeśa - 509*
5. दोत dota "dowry" *kanyâdhana, strîdhana, strîdâya, am̐dana - 240*
6. तीव tîva "uncle" *bâpulo, mâma, kâkâ - 209*

In *Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages*, Dalgado seems to take a very favourable view of Portuguese influence on the languages of Asia. He writes :

'The influence which the Portuguese language exercised in the past and even to this day exercises over a large part of Asia, more than any other factor, establishes the great value of the civilizing role of Portugal, so wholly singular and without a parallel.'⁴⁹

However, the attitude expressed in both his dictionaries seems to tell a different story. Here he seems pained by the excessive importations from Portuguese that have almost eroded the oriental genius of Konkani. At the same time, he also confronts the limited fund of Konkani vocabulary.

In his introductions to both the Dictionaries, Dalgado admits that in order to make up for the lack in Konkani he had to introduce neologisms, particularly in the field of scientific and literary terminologies, by borrowing from Sanskrit. Dalgado feels, he is completely justified in filling the gaps in Konkani lexicon by leaning on to Sanskrit. According to him, this is a common practice in all Indian languages, no matter which language family they belong to. What Greek is to the languages of Europe, Dalgado opines, Sanskrit is to the Indian languages.⁴⁹

The neologisms (*Palavra Nova*) in Dalgado's Konkani - Portuguese Dictionary mainly belong to the technical domains of the various sciences. A part of it is grammatical terminology belonging to the Sanskrit grammatical tradition - Examples: नाम *nâma* "noun" - 260, सर्वनाम *sarvanâma* "pronoun" - 488, विशेषण *viśeṣhaṇa* "adjective" - 450, क्रियापद *kriyâpada* "verb" - 115, विभक्ति *vibhakti* "declension" - 448, कारक *kâraka* "case" - 95, कंठस्थान *kaṁṭhasthâna* "velum" - 75, कंठद्वारपाल *kaṁṭhadvârapâla* "epiglottis" - 75, दंत्य *danṭya* "dental" - 220, अनुनासिक *anunâsika* "nasal" - 11, विशेषनाम *viśeṣhanâma* "proper noun" - 450, संबंधीसर्वनाम *saṁbandhî-sarvanâma* "relative pronoun" - 481, अतीतकाल *atîtakâla* "preterite" - 7, अद्यतनभूत *adyatanabhûta* "imperfect" - 8, अतिशयार्थवाचक

atiśayârthavâchaka "superlative" - 7.

For the nineteenth century users of Dalgado's Konkani - Portuguese Dictionary, all the above terms rooted in the native grammatical tradition were new.

Some of Dalgado's neologisms are names of various disciplines/sciences/ fields of study.

Examples :

1. अर्थतत्त्वशास्त्र arthatattvaśâstra "Metaphysics" - 19.
2. अव्यक्तगणित avyaktagaṇita "Algebra" - 21.
3. आकाशगमनविद्या âkâśagamanavidyâ "Aeronautics" - 27.
4. आत्मतत्त्वविद्या âtmatattvavidyâ "Psychology" -35.
5. कालगणनविद्या kâlaganaṇavidya "Chronology" - 96.
6. कीटविद्या kîṭavidyâ "Entomology" - 101.
7. गृहशिल्पविद्या gṛihasîlpavidyâ "Architecture" - 144.
8. नाणकविद्या nâṇakavidyâ "Numismatics" - 259.
9. पदार्थशास्त्र padârthaśâstra "Physics" - 279.
10. पक्षिविद्या pakshividyâ "Ornithology" - 286.
11. भूरचनाशास्त्र bhûrachanaśâstra "Geology" - 365.
12. वनस्पतिविद्या vanaspatividyâ "Botany" - 431.
13. शिलालेखनविद्या śilâlêkhanavidyâ "Lithography" - 465.
14. संख्यापरिमाणविद्या saṁkhyaparimâṇavidyâ "Mathematics" - 474.

Some more neologisms:

1. अग्निक्रीडा	agnikrīḍa	"fire works" - 3.
2. अर्धशीर्ष	ardhaśīrsha	"migraine" - 19.
3. एकपत्नीव्रत	ekapatnīvrata	"monogamy" - 66.
4. ग्रंथरक्षगार	gramtharakshagâra	"archive" - 147.
5. दफ्तरखाणो	daphtarakhâṇo	"archive" - 221.
6. ग्रामगुरु	grâmaguru	"vicar" - 147.
7. चहादानी	chahâdânî	"tea pot" - 161.
8. जनसंगप्रिय	janasam̄gapriya	"sociable" - 175.
9. दीपस्थंभ	dīpastambha	"light house" - 229.
10. देहात्मवाद	dehâtmavâda	"materialism" - 239.
11. धनाधिकारी	dhanâdhikârî	"heir" - 243.
12. नूतनशब्दाश्रय	nûtanaśabdâśraya	"neologism" - 273.
13. पाषाणीकरण	pâshâṇīkaraṇa	"petrification" - 297.
14. पुण्योदक	puṇyodaka	"holy water" - 303.

According to Mathew Almeida, Dalgado's contribution to Konkani lexicography is unparalleled; no other dictionary compiled earlier is a match to the rich information provided in Dalgado's Dictionaries - words, their grammatical information, meaning, etymology and usage.⁵⁰

Commenting that Dalgado's dictionaries have more depth than Maffei's, Almeida writes, 'Maffei himself had learnt and was learning the language [Konkani], and he had compiled the dictionaries for others like him who wanted to learn the language.'⁵⁰

Dalgado was a native speaker of Konkani, and had compiled the dictionaries

for the use of the native speakers of Konkani.

Furthermore, Dalgado was firmly grounded on the native linguistic tradition, both classical -Sanskritic, and modern, that included the other allied languages. His dictionaries are an effort to bring his readers (users of the dictionaries) who had strayed away from the native tradition, back home.

Dalgado's quest for the origin and the original often takes his ideal Konkani very near to Marathi. For instance, we have मउ maû "soft" - 368, not मोव mow; महार mahâra-378 "mahar", not म्हार mhâr; महिनो mahino-379 "month", not म्हयनो mhayno; बहीण bahîṇa-338 "sister", not भयण bhayṇ; भाउ bhâû - 358 "brother", not भाव bhâw; लहान lahâna- 420 "small", not ल्हान lhan; वाढ vâdha-438 "growth" not वाड vâḍ; साहेब sâheba - 500 "lord", not सायब sâyb; तन्हा tahrâ-541 "manner", not तरा tarâ.

6.3.2 Dalgado and Shennoi Goembab: A Comparison

Dalgado was relating to Konkani speakers who felt closer to Greek than to Marathi.⁵¹ Hence they needed to be reminded that Konkani is first and foremost an Indo-Aryan language. Thus, assertion of Konkani's similarity with Marathi and Sanskrit becomes a necessity for Dalgado.

Shennoi Goembab's milieu was entirely different. He was relating to Konkani speakers who were emotionally closer to Marathi and Sanskrit than to Konkani. Hence for bringing them to Konkani, Shennoi Goembab had to project the difference of Konkani from Marathi and Sanskrit.

Both Shennoi Goembab and Dalgado valued the *Tadbhava* element in Konkani lexicon. However, they mainly differ in their attitude towards borrowing from the Classical source.

Whereas "area" for Dalgado is गर्भो or अभ्यंतर⁵² for Shennoi Goembab it is भुंय-माप (G.G.V:1). "Suffix" for Dalgado is प्रत्यय or उतराक्षर (1905:767), for Shennoi Goembab it is कूस (K.V.B.:31,79). Dalgado does not hesitate to accept

शिलालेख (1893:465) "stone-engraving" from Sankrit; Shennoi Goembab renders it as पाशाणा बरप (1928:106). "Godfather" for Dalgado is *dharmbâp* or *dharmapitâ* (1905:584), Shennoi Goembab brings it even closer to the Konkani tongue by rendering it as धर्मा-बापूय. Dalgado gives *janmabhâshâ* "birth-language" as an equivalent of "mother-tongue" (1905:495), Shennoi Goembab makes it आवय-भास. 'Vocabulary' for Dalgado is *śabdakoś* or *śabdasaṁgraha* (1905:853), for Shennoi Goembab it is उतरावळ.

Dalgado has influenced several generations of Konkani writers. His influence could be shown even on Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes. For example, अकमेकी सर्वनाम (*ekmeki sərwanam*) "reciprocal pronoun" (K.V.B.:192) appears to have been formed with the help of the option provided by Dalgado - एकमेकी *ekameki* "reciprocity, mutuality" (1893:67) A *tadbhava* of Dalgado's option. गुणशब्द *guṇāśabda* (1893:142) "adjective" is used by Joaquim Antonio Fernandes in *Konknni Nad-Xastr - gunnsobd* (K.N.X.:25) Fernandes also uses Dalgado's वर्जणें *varjaṇem* "abandonment; exclusion, rejection; omission; exception; prohibition" (1893:432) in the sense of (grammatical) exception (K.N.X.:27)

Some of Shennoi Goembab's innovations also appear to be loan translations of Dalgado's options:

1. धर्मकोल्ल *dhərməkoll* (G.G.V.:40)

< धर्मखूळ *dharmakhûḷa* (1893:244)

2. धर्मा-बापूय < धर्मबाप *dharmbâp* or धर्मपिता *dharmapitâ*

A reading of the '*Romi Missal*' that uses words like *somorponn* "offering, surrender", *onont* "eternal, infinite", *nivas* "abode, residence", *sonvskar* "sacred rite", *vorzunk* "abandon, prohibit", *svagot* "welcome", *norok* "hell", gives the impression that Dalgado's Sanskritized terminology also seems to have influenced the present-day Christian religious vocabulary.⁵³

SOME OBSERVATIONS ON SHENNOI GOEMBAB'S LEXICAL INNOVATIONS

Shennoi Goembab's innovations of vocabulary are of three types:

1. Innovations brought about through translation. i.e. 'loan translations'. These are of two kinds - (i) word-to-word or literal translations of the borrowed terms, and (ii) free translations or adaptations of the borrowed terms. For instance, *awfy bhas* is a literal translation of *matrə-b^ha fa*, again a literal translation of 'mother-tongue', but *dud-bhas* literally "milk-language" is its free translation in which milk represents mother (an instance of metonymy).

2. Innovations that are basically innovations of usage. Familiar words are put to a new (unfamiliar) use. There is a new usage of an old word. Meanings of words are extended beyond their denotations (primary meanings). New shades of meaning, often technical, are introduced for old words. *Kus*, for instance, is used in the sense of "suffix", *koll*, basically meaning "fad" is used in the sense of fanaticism as in *dhərməkoll* "religious fanaticism".

3. Innovations based on an exploitation of the morphological processes of word formation in Konkani. To take an instance, Konkani contains words like *भुतावळ* (*b^hutawīḷ*), *पिलावळ* (*pilawīḷ*) that are formed with the suffix - *wīḷ* meaning "collectivity of". *B^hutawīḷ* is "a collectivity of spirits", and *pilawīḷ* "offsprings". Shennoi Goembab has created *चुकावळ* (*t^sukawīḷ*), "errata", i.e. "list of errors" (1930:4), *संक्षेपावळ* (*saṅgshēpawīḷ*), "list of abbreviations" (1930:8), *आधारावळ* (*adharawīḷ*) "list of references" (1949:195), *जुंवावळ* (*d^zūwawīḷ*) "archipelago" (1930:1), *गिरावळ* (*girawīḷ*) "planetary system" (1933B:276) *सुर्यावळ* (*suryawīḷ*) "solar system" (1933B:276).

Joaquim Antonio Fernandes treads a similar path. The phrase "intoxicating drink" is translated as *lagrem pivonn*⁵⁴ and functions like a compound. Parallel to *ugtto/dhampto* (svor) (K.N.:20), *lipto* "hidden" is created (K.N.: 8) which is *मोनो* *mono* "mute" in Shennoi Goembab's usage (K.N.:3). Like

tallvim "palatals" *dantiġm* "dentals" *onttiġm* "labials" (K.N.X.:10), Fernandes also creates *soknolliġm* "gutturals" *jibli-khompiġm* "linguals/cerebrals", *movall-udkallim* "liquids" (K.N.X.:10) from the available stock of Konkani morphemes. In a similar way, Konkani equivalents are created for the names of the diacritical marks: *vornn-lip-kuru* "aphostrophe"; *zodd-kaddi* "hyphen"; *doddo-viram* "colon"; *toknnai-kuru* "point of admiration"; *vichar-kuru* "mark of interrogation"; *danddi/lamb-kaddi* "parenthesis" (K.N.X.:4)

New words like *koddkar* (A.S.:55) "leper", *arkar* "one having paralysis" are created by adding *-kar*, a very productive morphological process in Konkani, to the nouns signifying the respective illnesses - *kodd* "leprosy" and *ar* "paralysis". Similarly, *bolaivont* "healthy" (A.S.: 59) is created as an opposite of *vaittakar* "ill person" (A.S.: 59) by adding the word formation suffix *-vont* - to *bolai* "health".

6.5

CONCLUSION

This Chapter was basically a case study of Shennoi Goembab's linguistic orientation in comparison with those of Mgr. Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes.

It was observed that both Shennoi Goembab and Dalgado were similar in their approach towards the *Tadbhavas* in Konkani, they differed in their orientation towards the new Sanskrit *Tatsamas*. The approach of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes towards Konkani vocabulary is quite similar to that of Shennoi Goembab. Dalgado has been a great influence on Konkani writers of several generations including Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes. This influence is quite conspicuous on the language of the Konkani translation of '*Roman Missal*'.

These and other findings on the topic of this Chapter are reported in a little more detail in the next Chapter.

Notes and References

1. Joshua A. Fishman, Language and Nationalism : Two Integrative Essays. 1972. (Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1975 Rpt.) 3.
- 2 'आमी गावड्यांक पंडीत करुंया आनी सगळेच पंडीत जावंया. आमी सगळे जाण कोंकणी भाशेचें पूर्ण स्वराज्य भोगुंया.' Shenoï Goembab, Yewkar Adhyakshamlem Ulowp. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1945) 71.
- 3 'ॐ सांतैरी पाव ! ॐ आंकवार मोरये पाव!' (Shenoï Goembab 1945 : 146).
- 4 See ibid : 144-146.
- 5 Manohar Rai SarDessai, A History of Konkani Literature. (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000)113.
- 6 Shenoï Goembab 1945 : 64-66.
- 7 'भास अुलैतल्याक आनी आयकतल्याक, बरैतल्याक आनी वाचतल्याक सगळ्यांक सारकी रोखडी समजूक जाय. थोड्याशा पंडितांक समजली म्हण जायना. कास्टी न्हेशिल्ल्या गावड्याक लेगीत ती समजूक जाय. ताका लेगीत, दिसूंक जाय कि कोंकणी भास आपणाली.' Ibid: 66.
- 8 'कोंकणी भास आमी अशे तरेन फुलोवंया कि सकैल्या पांवड्या साकून वैल्या पांवड्या मेरेन उलोवपांत तशी बरोवपांत ती सगळ्यांक सारकी समजूक जाय. वैली भास आनी सकैली भास अशे तिचे वांटे जावंक जायनात'. Ibid : 71.
9. 'अगा, 'आसनवाटिकेसून दीपक न्येक गेलो आनी थेंची जलशाक घेवन सुवर्णकाच्या रथार बसून स्त्रंखळापुराक गेलो' अशें म्हळ्यार बरें दिसता कि, 'असुनोडसून दिवचले गेलो आनी थेंचें नुस्तें घेवन सोनक्याची गाडी करून सांकळे गेलो अशें म्हळ्यार बरें दिसता?' Shenoï Goembab, Mogachem Lagn. 1913. 3rd ed. (Margao-Goa : Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1980) 50.
10. Ibid: 48-50.
11. Krishna S. Arjunwadkar, Marathi Vyakrannacha Itihas. (Mumbai : Mumbai Vishvavidyalaya, Pune, Dnyanamudra. 1992) 45.
12. For details of these grammatical works José Pereira, Literary Konkani : A Brief History. 2nd ed. (Panaji : Goa Konkani Akademi, 1992); SarDessai 2000, may be referred.
13. Pereira 1992 : 10.
14. Shenoï Goembab, Bhurgyālem Vyakrann. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1940); Konknni Nadshastra. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1940); Konknnichi Vyakranni Bandawall. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1949). Henceforth whenever the lexical content of Konknni Nadshastra and Konknnichi Vyakranni Bandawall will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets respectively as (K.N.), (K.V.B.).
15. 'संस्कृत ही आमगेली आजी खरी... परंत तितले खातीर आमी आमगेले आजयेक मेळत तेन्ना नागोवंया नाका. आमी आदीं आमगेल्या भाटांत माडांक नाल्ल आसात कि नात ते पळोवंया; आनी थें अेक सुकिल्लो बोंडोय दिसलो ना जाल्यार, मागीर आजयेच्या भाटांतल्या माडांचेर चडुंया. परंत आमगेलीं भाटां पिकाळ आसात... आमी संस्कृत उतरां लागीं केलीं जाल्यार तांकां मोव-शें कोंकणी आंगलें-तोपरें घालून मोवाळ करुंया.' Shenoï Goembab, 1945:66.
16. Even here we see an adaptation. Konkani *wəcən* is consonant-ending, unlike the Sanskrit *wəcənə* that ends in ə.
17. Arjunwadkar 1992 : 69.
18. For more information ibid :41-81, may be referred.
19. Ibid : 45.

²⁰ *Konknni Mullavem Pustak* : 45.(Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1940).

²¹ Kashinath Shridhar Naik, Preface. *Konknni Mullavem Pustak*. By Shennoi Goembab. 2nd ed. (Mumbai: Gomantak Chapkhano, 1947). Inside Cover 1.

²² We are informed by Arjunwadkar that the first unpublished draft of Dadoba's grammar was also in the form of a dialogue between teacher and students (Arjunwadkar 1992:30).

²³ Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar, *Maharashtra Bhashechem Vyakrann*. 1836. 7th ed. 1885. Rept. (Mumbai : Mazgaon Printing Press, 1879). Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Maharashtra Bhashechem Vyakrann* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (M.B.V.)

²⁴ Arjunwadkar 1992 : 74; Leela Govilkar, *Marathiche Vyakrann*. (Pune: Mehta Publishing House, 1993) 2.

²⁵ Ibid. This book is one of the standard text/reference books at the graduation and post-graduation levels in the Departments of Marathi in the country.

²⁶ Joaquim Antonio Fernandes, *Konknni Nad-Xastr vo Romi Lipient Borounchi Rit*. (Mumbai: Sacred Heart Church, 1972). Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Konknni Nad-Xastr* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as. (K.N.X.)

²⁷ Borkar, Suresh. *Konknni Vyakrann* (Margao-Goa : Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1989) 65,81,8. Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Konknni Vyakrann* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (K.V.).

²⁸ SarDessai:112.

²⁹ Shennoi Goembab 1945 :71.

³⁰ *Konknni Bhashechem Zait* (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1930)1. Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Konknni Bhashechem Zait* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (K.B.Z.).

³¹ Shennoi Goembab, *Goemkaranchi Goeambhayli Vasnnuk*. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1928)9. Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Goemkaranchi Goeambhayli Vasnnuk* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (G.G.V.).

³² Shennoi Goembab 1949:191.

³³ See the title page of any book by Shennoi Goembab.

³⁴ *Albukerkan Goem Kashem Jikhlem*. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano, 1955)22. Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Albukerkan Goem Kashem Jikhlem* will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (A.G.K.J.).

³⁵ *Gomantopanishat-* (Sownsar Butti) Vol. II. (Mumbai : Gomantak Chapkhano,1933)234. Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Gomantopanishat-* Vol. II. will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (S.B.).

³⁶ *Gomantopanishat-* Vol. I. 1933. 2nd. ed. (Margao-Goa :Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 1989)84. Henceforth whenever the lexical content of *Gomantopanishat-* Vol. I. will be discussed in the present chapter, it will be referred in the main text within brackets as (G.).

³⁷ Shennoi Goembab 1945:11.

³⁸ This word is entered in Dalgado's dictionary - Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, Diccionario Komkani-Portuguez - Philologico-Etymologico. (Mumbai: Typographia do "Indu-Prakash", 1893) 468.

³⁹ Sebastião Rodolpho Dalgado, Introduction. Diccionario Komkani-Portuguez - Philologico-Etymologico. By Dalgado. (Mumbai: Typographia do "Indu-Prakash", 1893) XXV.

⁴⁰ Ibid: XXVI.

⁴¹ Ibid: XXII.

⁴² Ibid:XXI.

⁴³ Ibid: Foot note on pg. XXI.

⁴⁴ See Ibid:XV.

⁴⁵ Ibid:XVI.

⁴⁶ Ibid:XV.

⁴⁷ Ibid:XVI.

⁴⁸ In the examples only the headword and the options are given. Meaning of the headword is provided in English. Page number is indicated in parenthesis.

⁴⁹ Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado. Introduction. Portuguese Vocables in Asiatic Languages. Tr. of Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiaticas (abragendo cerca de cinquenta idiomas). By Dalgado. Lisbon: the Academy of Sciences, 1913. Tr. by Anthony Xavier Soares. 1936, (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1988 Rpt) XXXI.

⁵⁰ Matthew Almeida, "Bhasvidnyani Dalgad Ani Konknni:" Sod: Konkani Research Bulletin 7 (2004): 23.

⁵¹ See Eduardo José Bruno De Souza, Kristão Ghorabo (Mumbai: Typographia Mariana, 1911)28.

⁵² Sebastião Rudolpho Dalgado, Diccionario Portuguez - Komkani (Lisboa:Imprensa Nacional, 1905) 73. Henceforth, all references to the content of this Dictionary shall be indicated in the main text within brackets.

⁵³ See Romi Misa-Grônth, Old-Goa - Goa, 1981.

⁵⁴ Joaquim Antonio Fernandes, Amcho Soddvonndar (Mumbai, 1952) 5. Henceforth, all references to the lexical content of this book shall be indicated in the main text within brackets and against the abbreviation A.S.



CHAPTER - SEVEN

CONCLUSION

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CONCLUSION

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The present research was undertaken to investigate the influences on Konkani lexicon as evidenced in the spoken and written domains of its use. It involved :

- 1) an attempt at understanding the socio-cultural and political determinants of the process of borrowing with regard to Konkani at different places and different times, and on different social groups and individuals;
- 2) an attempt at providing a systematic classification of effects of the process of influence - loans and other creations - based on linguistic principles;
- 3) a study of the effects of influences on the kinship terminologies of Hindus and Christians;
- 4) an inquiry into the influences on literary Konkani;
- 5) a study of the impact making approaches of the main pioneers of Konkani literature towards borrowing.

Theoretical insights of Charles Ferguson, Joshua Fishman, Leonard Bloomfield, Einar Haugen, George Peter Murdock and Irawati Karve, in particular, form the basis of this study.

Observations and findings of the present research are reported below in a systematic manner, as in the scheme of chapterization.

7.2 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS VIS-À-VIS DIGLOSSIA AND THE EMERGENCE OF KONKANI LITERATURE:

Above concerns made one delve into diglossia in Konkani speech community, and also to adopt a comparative perspective.

From the literary contribution of Thomas Stephens it is inferred that Marathi occupied a place of privilege in the Goan linguistic scenario at the time of the early missionary literary intervention.

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 community. Use of Portuguese among Christians was promoted by institutions of the State and the Church.

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.

Shennoi Goembab's intervention was basically a subversion of the established linguistic ethos of the elitist Hindu linguistic culture to which he belonged. 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.

Shennoi Goembab's subversion cannot be seen merely as a 'Hindu' subversion. Through propagation of the new cultural identity based on language, he sought to unite all Konkani subcultures that were almost always the 'lower' side in diglossic situations.

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.

The present-day Goan linguistic scenario, in a way still remains diglossic in which 'High' language is English, and 'Low' languages Marathi and Konkani.

Arguments of Konkani scholars in support of the claim of the existence of Konkani Literature in the pre-Portuguese era are not convincing, nor are those of the scholars denying the existence of Konkani literature in this period any more so, in the absence of clinching evidence.

A comparative investigation into the literary histories of modern Indian languages also leads one to doubt the claims of the origin of Konkani literature in prose. As such, systematic and well-directed research in this area is necessary.

On the basis of a close stylistic scrutiny of the Devanagari edited versions of parts of the sixteenth century Konkani manuscripts of the stories from Ramayana and Mahabharata, it could be inferred that these manuscripts belong to the discourse of orality and form a part of the home-work of the sixteenth century European missionaries.

7.3 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS VIS-À-VIS CLASSIFICATION OF KONKANI LOANS

Applying Haugen's schema of classification of loans, Konkani loans are analyzed as 1. Loanwords, 2. Loanblends, and 3. Loanshifts.

On the basis of the synchronic and diachronic research on aspiration in Konkani, and a scrutiny of the seventeenth century Konkani literature, it is concluded that /f/ in present day Konkani is an effect of copious borrowing from Portuguese - Portuguese loanwords with /f/ eventually led to a replacement of the native /ph/ in Konkani phonological system by foreign /f/.

An expansion in the domains of use of Konkani has led to increasing borrowing from the more developed sister languages by way of loanblends and loan-shifts. With the help of selected Konkani writings from academic literary criticism, it is shown that there is a proliferation of 'easy' blends that merely involve a substitution of the *-ta* suffix in Marathi/Hindi abstract nouns by the parallel *-tai* suffix in Konkani. Sometimes, an indiscriminate usage of the 'converted' *-tai* ending nouns is seen to be eclipsing the available lexical alternatives in the language thereby demonstrating at times an undue influence of Marathi and Hindi on academic Konkani.

Loan translations have played a very significant role in the development of Konkani language. It is observed that many of these have emanated from individual creative writers and have diffused later in the spoken language. It is also observed that many loan translations pertaining to domain specific words have only remained within the confines of the (formal) written domain. Exclusion of Konkani from these domains is seen to be the main reason behind the non-use of these loan translations.

Contact of Konkani with Portuguese and English has also given rise to hybrid creations that involve fusing of a linguistic element from these languages with another from the native, or another foreign source.

An analysis of the Konkani redundant compound, and its comparison with that in Hindi reveals that in the Konkani redundant construction there is a stronger assimilation of the non-native noun. For the native Konkani speaker, the redundant compounds are not much different from the parallel echo-constructions.

On the basis of a grammatical scrutiny of the pairs of synonyms in *Vonvallyancho Mollo*, it is shown that these cannot be termed redundant compounds even though they are sometimes written as single words. Rather, this concatenation of synonyms is a feature of the author's ornate style.

OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS VIS-À-VIS INFLUENCES ON HINDU AND CHRISTIAN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGIES

The Kinship terminologies of Hindus and Christians are remarkably different.

Both the dialect groups contain more elementary terms than composite terms and descriptive expressions. However, the Hindu dialect group contains more composite terms than descriptive expressions. These terms denote various parallel and cross cousins. As against this, the Christian dialects seem to abound in descriptive expressions. These denote not only tertiary but also some secondary kinship relations.

The kinship domain of the lexicon of Hindu dialects encompasses a very large kinship area.

Hindu dialects seem confused regarding the terms for father's sister's husband. In Christian dialects the classificatory term *titiw* applies both to father's brother and father's sister's husband. However, father's sister and father's brother's wife are treated differently in these dialects.

In Hindu dialects, *b^haw* is a classificatory term for "brother" and all male cousins. Similarly, *b^hη* is a classificatory term for "sister" and all female cousins. This seems to be a part of the general inheritance of an Old Indo-Aryan linguistic / cultural feature. In Christian dialects, with the possible exception of the pair *bapol-baw* "brother through father's brother" and *bapol-boyn* "sister through father's brother", all other cousins are seen as sons / daughters of uncles and aunts.

The social grammar of relatedness expects a Hindu wife to treat her husband's *put^hiyɔ / put^hij*, *b^hat^sɔ / b^haci* as also her own *put^hiyɔ / put^hij*; *b^hat^sɔ / b^haci*. But similar relations of the wife are for the husband "son/daughter of the brother-in-law/ sister-in-law". This one-sided relatedness is a strong reflection of the patriarchal moorings of the society that has given rise to

this terminology. In the Christian dialects all these relations express themselves through almost "zero-degree" expressions that merely describe the relation.

Konkani kinship terminology, of both Hindus and Christians is in the main a bifurcate collateral terminology.

Although Portuguese has influenced the kinship terminology of Konkani Christians to a large extent, *pay*, *māy*, *subrin* and *kunyad* are the only kinship terms of reference in Christian dialects that are directly borrowed from Portuguese.

Kunyad ignores the criterion of affinity that rests on the social phenomenon of marriage, and treats a blood-relation - sister, and a relation by marriage - husband's sister-on par.

Interestingly, the criterion of affinity is not ignored in case of *subrin* which designates the son or daughter of only the brother or sister and not of husband's brother or sister. The Hindu kinship terminology shows an exactly opposite picture -- sister's husband and husband's sister's husband are clearly distinguished. But sister's son / daughter and husband's sister's son / daughter are classified as one.

In Christian kinship terminology mother's brother - the *mam* is the only uncle that is recognised from the mother's side. This is the only designation of an uncle that has remained unaffected by changes in the Christian kinship terminology. All uncles from the father's side are brought together under a single name.

tio "uncle" is borrowed from Portuguese but *tia* "aunt" is not borrowed. All aunts are terminologically distinct.

The term for mother's sister - *ma ſan* is a blend of the Indo-Aryan *maw ſi* and Romance (Portuguese) *man*.

In the Hindu dialects, *adʼɔ* "grand-father" and *aji* "grand-mother" are classificatory terms. These terms ignore the distinction of bifurcation.

OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS VIS-À-VIS INFLUENCES ON LITERARY KONKANI

Language of the sixteenth century manuscripts of stories from Ramayana and Mahabharata bears no influence of the Portuguese language. It reveals a cultural and intimate contact of Konkani with Kannada, Persian and Arabic.

Doutrina Cristã (1622) by Thomas Stephens is the first Konkani text bearing the influence of Portuguese language. Portuguese words in *Doutrina Cristã* all belong to the domain of Christianity.

An examination of the language of *Vonvallyancho Mollo* (1658-59) by Miguel de Almeida also reveals that at that period, Portuguese words into Konkani belonged mainly to the domain of religion.

Portuguese influence on the sixteenth and seventeenth century Konkani texts cannot really be seen as an effect of the process of borrowing. Instead, it is a case of introduction of Portuguese vocabulary into Konkani by the native/near-native speakers of Portuguese.

Both *Doutrina Cristã* and *Vonvallyancho Mollo* use Hindu cultural and religious vocabulary as pegs for hanging the new cultural and religious concepts of Christianity. Words from the Hindu religious register when used in a discourse on Christianity sometimes undergo semantic changes. At times, from both, native and non-native morphological stock, new words are coined by employing the Indo-Aryan morphological devices of word formation.

The sixteenth and the seventeenth century was the era of Konkani literature produced by foreigners for the consumption of the native converts. Towards the end of the nineteenth century with the writings of Eduardo José Bruno de Souza begins the era of Konkani literature by the natives and for the natives.

Bruno de Souza's literature was primarily intended for mass Christian readership. His reforms regarding Konkani were mainly focussed on

orthography, and did not much concern the domains of syntax and vocabulary.

In Bruno de Souza's writings we get to see a consolidated effect of almost four centuries of an intimate contact of Portuguese with Konkani. As regards cultural vocabulary there is a quantitative expansion both in the number of domains and the number of loans.

Bruno de Souza's writing also reveals that while his Konkani displayed lexical intimacy with Portuguese, in some regards it had grown distant both from the Classical language (Sanskrit) and also from the sister Indo-Aryan languages.

A scrutiny of the language of two representative texts of A.V. Da Cruz, one of the successors of Bruno de Souza, reveals that Konkani had got increasingly intimate with Portuguese, and in case of non-resident writers like this one, also with English at both grammatical and lexical levels. It was also getting distanced from the native classical language and the contemporary sister languages.

With Shennoi Goembab's intervention Konkani got projected as the mother-tongue of all $k\bar{c}k\eta\mathcal{E}$, and the meaning of $k\bar{c}k\eta\mathcal{E}$ got revised and expanded. The term which had become 'culture specific,' religious, and so exclusionist, was now restored to its original etymological nuance/shade of meaning and was given a wider, secular denotation.

Shennoi Goembab's literature displays a cultivated Konkani in which lexical choices surpass the regional and social boundaries of a particular dialect.

The morphological scrutiny of Shennoi Goembab's language reveals that the dialect represented in his writings cannot be called Antruzi. He belonged to Bhatagram (present Bicholim) and was based in Mumbai, most of his life. Moreover his lexical choices consciously transcend any singular dialect specification. Although Shennoi Goembab's Konkani reflects certain features of his own dialect,

his language use shows a conscious attempt at incorporating lexical features of other Konkani dialects.

The approach of Joaquim Antonio Fernandes towards Konkani, especially its vocabulary is quite similar to that of Shennoi Goembab.

Shennoi Goembab's influence on Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' choice of vocabulary could be attested.

Joaquim Antonio Fernandes' writings manifest the grammatical features of his own dialect. Despite these Fernandes' Konkani transcends the specifications of his own dialect, especially in the vocabulary.

The 'identity crisis' of Konkani vis-à-vis Marathi found an expression at the level of lexical choice. Out of the available range of lexical choices, those terms were chosen that suited best the project of assertion of difference. The process of standardization of Konkani needs to be located in this arena of lexical choices.

The post-liberation language shift from Portuguese to English in certain domains led to a language internal shift from Portuguese loans to those from English.

Intimate borrowing from Portuguese has made a stylistic impact on Konkani literature. The Konkani daily *Sunaparant* displays a new attitude towards Portuguese loans that are a part of intimate borrowing.

7.6 OBSERVATIONS AND FINDINGS VIS-À-VIS LEXICAL ORIENTATIONS OF MSG. DALGADO, SHENNOI GOEMBAB AND JOAQUIM ANTONIO FERNANDES.

A close scrutiny of Shennoi Goembab's writings - his approach towards language as manifested in the choice of words - serves to show how he set up a trend for simple and easy Konkani thereby steering the development of

literary Konkani away from Brahminical pedantry which was otherwise prevalent in the literary Indo-Aryan languages of the time.

Before the advent of Shennoi Goembab on the scene of Konkani grammar, Konkani had merely been a silent object of grammatical inquiry. Shennoi Goembab was the first one to discuss issues of Konkani grammar in and through Konkani. The genius of Shennoi Goembab surfaces in the discretion shown by him in the adoption of Sanskrit terminology. These decisions in turn have determined much of the choice of later Konkani grammarians and thus to a certain extent have given a unique flavour to Konkani grammatical terminology.

A comparison of Shennoi Goembab's grammatical meta-language with that of Dadoba Pandurang Tarkhadkar reveals that while Tarkhadkar borrows his core grammatical terminology freely and directly from Sanskrit, Shennoi Goembab limits the direct borrowings to the unavoidable minimum. The socio-cultural and political determinants and contexts of borrowing were different in the two cases. Tarkhadkar was comfortable with directly borrowing the grammatical terms from the classical source as he was operating within a conflict-free context.

Within the context of a situation of conflict with Marathi, Shennoi Goembab was driven to projecting the difference of Konkani. This implied taking Konkani as much away from Sanskrit as possible.

With the help of a scrutiny of *Konknni Nad-Xaxtr* by Joaquim Antonio Fernandes, and *Konknni Vyakrann* by Suresh Borkar it is shown that the impact of Shennoi Goembab's choice of the grammatical meta-language on later Konkani grammarians was tremendous.

Shennoi Goembab's innovations of vocabulary are of three types:

1. Innovations brought about through translation.
2. Innovations that are basically innovations of usage.

3. Innovations based on an exploitation of the morphological processes of word formation in Konkani.

The Cultural context of Dalgado's lexical orientation is much different from that of Shennoi Goembab. In his Konkani - Portuguese Dictionary Dalgado undertakes to mend the abuse of overborrowing from Portuguese and restore Konkani back to its oriental genius. This project takes the form of Sanskritization even in the field of Christian religious vocabulary.

Dalgado's quest for the origin and the original often takes his ideal Konkani very near to Marathi.

Both Shennoi Goembab and Dalgado were similar in their approach towards the *Tadbhava* element in Konkani lexicon. They mainly differed in their attitude towards borrowing from the classical source. This difference in attitudes is brought about by the different socio-cultural milieus of the two pioneers.

Dalgado has influenced several generations of Konkani writers. His influence could be shown even on Shennoi Goembab and Joaquim Antonio Fernandes.

In every case drawing of definite conclusion has not been possible. However, this need not be a limitation of the study in view of

- 1) the limited systematic and scientific work available for reference,
- 2) minimal documentation of the relevant data.
- 3) the length of the period considered - almost five centuries under observation.

Any shortcoming in the present work will only open a challenge to future Konkani scholars, a positive sign, as it throws light on potential areas for research. It is hoped that students of linguistics will accept this challenge.

Appendix to Chapter 2

'Our Father' and 'Hail Mary' from *Doutrina Cristã* (1622) and *Avoi-Bapaink Sangati : Jezuche Ollkhichem Mullavem Pustok* (1999), that are both catechisms for children

"Amachea Bapa"

Amachea Bapa
Tu suarguī assassi.
Tuzē nāua thòra zaū.
Tuzē Ràze Amacā yeū.
Tuzy qhossy zaissy
Vaīcunttha zata,
Taissichi
Saunssarantu zaū.
Amācho
Dissapaddato
Gràssu
Azi amacā di
Anny
Amachim
Patacā
Bhagassi
Zaisse ami
Amachèri
Chucalaleāca
Bhagassitaū.
Anny
Amacā
Ttallannie
Paddū diū naca.
Panna zē cāi
Amāchèri
Vaitta vigna
Yeta,
Tē niuàri
Amē JESUS.

"Amchea Bapa"

Amchea Bapa Sorginchea,
Tujem Nanv povitr zaum,
Tujem raj amkam ieum,
Tuji khuxi sorgar zata
toxi sonvsarant zaum.
Amcho dispott'tto giras az amkam di ,
ani ami amcher chukleleank bhogxitanv,
toxem amchim patkam bhogos
ani amkam tallnnent poddunk dium naka
Punn vaittantlim amkam nivar. Amen.

Avoi-Bapaink Sangati... : 6

Doutrina Crista : 73-75.

"Namò Mariè"

*Namò Mariè
Crupa bharity,
Suami
Tuze tthai assa.
Striyā bhitari
Tu sadàiui,
Anny
Sadaiuà phalla
Tuzie cussichē
JESUS.
Santa Mariè
Paramesparache
Mate,
Amā papiyā
Qhatira
Mināti cari
Atā
Anny
Amāchea
Marannacaladde.
Amē JESUS.*

Doutrina Cristã: 85, 86.

"Noman Marie"

*Noman Marie, kurpen bhorlele,
Sorvespor tuje thaim asa,
ostoream modem tum sudoiv,
ani sudoiv tuzo Put Jezu.*

*Bhagevont Marie, Devache Maie,
amam papiam khatir, vinonti kor
atam ani amchea mornnachea vellar. Amen.*

Avoi-Bapaink Sangati... : 7.

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