LANGUAGE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

(A Sociological Study of the Language Question in Goa since 1987)

by

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Certified that the suggested corrections have been incorporated.

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DECLARATION

I, Joanna G. Pereira, hereby declare that this thesis entitled "Language and the Public Sphere (A Sociological Study of the Language Question in Goa since 1987)" is the outcome of my own study undertaken under the guidance of Dr. Ganesha Somayaji, Reader and Head, Department of Sociology, Goa University. It has not previously formed the basis for the award for any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university. I have duly acknowledged all the sources used by me in the preparation of this thesis.

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CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the thesis entitled "Language and the Public Sphere (A Sociological Study of the Language Question in Goa since 1987)" is the record of the original work done by Smt. Joanna G. Pereira under my guidance and supervision. The results of the research presented in this thesis have not previously formed the basis for the award of any degree, diploma or certificate of this or any other university.

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To Rebecca Coelho, My Daughter

PREFACE AND ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The people of Goa, like the people of any other linguistic state of India, are conscious of their language Konkani as the marker of their regional and cultural identity. This has been reiterated by the fact that ever since Liberation on 19 December 1961 the political dynamics of Goa has directly or indirectly been impacted by language dynamics. The merger issue of 1960s and statehood issue of 1980s were the classic examples. Even such recent socio-political issues as opposition to mega developmental projects and demand for special constitutional status to Goa have language as the major canvas of political activities. Recognising the salience of language in Goa's civil life, I studied the social context of language ideologies for my Master's dissertation in 2003. Continuing my interest in the language and society relationship in Goa, I noticed a research potential in the sociological study of language in the public sphere since Goa attained statehood. A spurt in literary activities, episodic linguistic political mobilisations, and emotion ridden debates in the public sphere on the 'authentic' script for Konkani made me to articulate this research problem.

This thesis has been enriched by the contributions of a number of individuals. I am indebted to Dr. Ganesha Somayaji, Reader and Head, Department of Sociology, Goa University who is my research guide for accepting me as his research student. I thank him for his meticulous guidance, tolerance, and for his confidence in my abilities. I am indebted to Prof. N. Jayaram, Shri Alito Siqueira, Dr. V. Sujatha, and Dr. Manish Kumar Thakur, my teachers in the Department of Sociology who inspired me to pursue sociology as a profession. I remember with gratitude the keen interest shown in my work by Dr. Dilip Loundo, occupant of the erstwhile Brazilian Chair in the Department of Sociology.

I am indebted to all of my respondents who gave so generously and enthusiastically of their time and energy. Dr. Harishchandra Nagvenkar and Shri Naguesh Karmali even invited me to share lunch with their families. I thank Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, lecturer in Konkani at Goa University for always accommodating me and my queries. My thesis would have been incomplete without the long interactions with Adv. Uday Bhembre who enlightened me with his encyclopaedic knowledge of Konkani language movement and inspired me with his simplicity and dedication to the cause of Konkani. I gratefully acknowledge the many sessions that I had with him. I have been extremely fortunate to have had interacted with some Konkani stalwarts before they left for their heavenly abode – Prof. Manoharrai Sardessai, Shri Chandrakant Keni, Dr. Mathew Almeida, and Prof. Olivinho Gomes. During the course of my research, I visited libraries of the Tata Institute of Social Sciences, SNDT Women's University, and the Mumbai University in Mumbai and Pune University, British Council, Ferguson College, and Deccan College Pune. I thank the staff of these libraries, as well as the staff of the Goa University Library for all the assistance they rendered. Shri Eric Ozario, the Gurkar of *Kalaangan/Mandd Sobhann*, Mangalore overwhelmed me with his inimitable hospitality when I visited *Kalaangan* in June 2009. I salute his dedication to Konkani culture and language.

I gratefully acknowledge the support and confidence that my parents and sister have always had in my abilities. I thank my friend and colleague, Ms. Pournima Dhume for being the perfect sounding board during the many difficult moments and for coaxing me into meeting the various deadlines. I am indebted to my husband for all the practical support rendered, for taking care of matters concerning home so that I could focus on my research. This thesis is to my daughter - for all the love that she gives and all the sacrifices she had to make in the course of writing of this thesis.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

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INTRODUCTION

Goa was liberated from Portuguese colonial rule on 19 December 1961. Immediately after Liberation, Goa began the process of integrating with the mainland, from which it had been cut off for over four hundred and fifty years. Goa, like any other unit of the Indian Union, had to experience the process of nation building which was couched in religious, ethnic, and linguistic nuances. While in the early years of Independence, religion posed a grave threat to the making of 'India', issues pertaining to language soon became a major challenge for nation building. The centrality of language to the functioning and formation of the Union was acknowledged in the politico-administrative decision, taken in 1957, of redrawing the territorial boundaries of the Indian Union on linguistic lines. Accordingly, once liberated, Goa too had to comply with the norm of linguistic states. This development brought back into focus the key role that language has played in articulating the public sphere in Goa right from its inception during Portuguese colonial rule.

Language has continued to play an integral part in defining the socio-political landscape of post colonial Goa. This fundamentality of language in chartering the social, religious, and political history of the public sphere in Goa prompted me to research the language question at the dusk of the twentieth century and dawn of the twenty-first century. This thesis addresses the specific problem of the political dimension of language use in the public sphere of Goa. My study, located at the juncture where language, politics and society intersect, attempts to highlight the varying nuances of this interface. It has sought to understand the language question in Goa, specifically after the passing of the Official Language Act on 4 February, 1987. Ordinarily this Act should have put to rest questions pertaining to language use in Goa

where language has been dominating the political landscape ever since Liberation. Interestingly, this has not happened.

My study addresses notions of literary cultures, linguistic identities and their social and political implications by locating them in the wider context of colonial domination, print production, religious advocacy, political compulsions, and the deliberations of the various elite in the public sphere in Goa. It has examined the role that language played in the public sphere of Goa, more specifically after 1987.

POLITICS OF LANGUAGE USE

Language is primarily a medium of expression and communication. But what it expresses and communicates goes beyond simple speech. It is inundated with symbolic power. Both primordial and instrumental components such as our identity, culture, social position, and education are all manifested in language. Languages can be a unifying, mobilising and as well as a disintegrating force. If a given language in its positive role serves as a vital instrument of social, cultural, and national integration, then conversely in its negative role, it can serve as a powerful divisive tool (Prasad 1979: 9 cited in Rodrigues 2002: 43). Language can be a source of public discontent, a pawn in the tug of domestic politics.

Questions relating to language have evoked strong emotions in India as linguistic diversity is also related to ethnic diversity. Being an element of primordial loyalty, language is a potent source of ethnification. But there is nothing inherent in the nature of language, which automatically makes it the basis for political contestations. In fact, up to the 19th century, we cannot speak of a dominant language with reference to linguistic practices in India; there is the language of ritual and religion, the language of the court and elite, the language of the home and neighbourhood (Pandit 1977). This usage of different languages for varied purposes

enabled harmony with regard to language use. But mobilisations of linguistic loyalty for political purposes are implicated in the very nature of modern democratic processes (Brass 1974 and1994). As concluded by Kaviraj (1992 cited in Thakur 2002), they are an accompaniment to the arrival of modernity and the associated transition from fuzzy to enumerated communities.

The challenges thrown up by multilingualism in the context of modernity have led to various language movements in India. Following Chaklader (1990: 90) language movement may be defined as 'an organised and persistent effort of a speech community to influence the development of language, and the policy and planning of the government with regard to language'. There have been a variety of language movements in India. The various language movements in post-independence India can broadly be divided into two categories: language movements from the pan Indian perspective like the Hindi anti-Hindi agitation and language movements from the regional perspective like the struggles for linguistic states. The language movements of Goa fall under the ambit of the second perspective. These movements traverse the three stages of ideology, mobilisation, and institutionalisation as conceptualised by Rao (1979: 9). The mobilisations may take both political and cultural nuances.

For Morgan (2006: 452) effective mobilisation rests on the formation of collective identity among a targeted group. To understand a movement's success in forging such an identity, we have to consider the context that sub-national movements inhabit. Very often, the most pervasive and visible component of culture, especially where racial or physiological variation is minimum, is the linguistic practice. Morgan (2006: 454) further suggests a three- stage model for understanding mobilisations on linguistic grounds: consolidation, politicisation, and actualisation. The articulation of all these three stages takes place in what Habermas refers to as public sphere which is

a ' realm of our social life in which something approaching public opinion can be formed' (Habermas 1989). The public sphere is the 'space where arguments and reasons about the shared real world and hypothetical literary world are made and contested, given and taken, in a manner which is democratic and civil. A portion of the public sphere comes into being whenever private individuals assemble to form a public body' (cited in Orisini 2002: 11).

In this study I have not engaged in a complete borrowing of Habermas' characterisation of a European bourgeois public sphere. Chatterjee (1993, cited in Mahajan 2003: 132) insists that the meaning and significance of the public sphere in India is not the same as those that has occurred in modern Europe. This is so because qualitatively different processes have taken place in the Indian subcontinent. In this thesis, I have not applied the theory of public sphere to test the empirical reality; rather I have used the term public sphere as a sensitising concept to guide analysis. More specifically, I have incorporated this concept to articulate the significance of language dynamics in post- Liberation Goa.

While developing my ideas on the public sphere, I also encountered the problem of it's multiplicity of usage in a variety of contexts. Though Habermas is credited with the first systematic analytical use of the concept, he did not create it. The idea of a public sphere or public realm has already been present in many social theories throughout the twentieth century (Peters 2001). Habermas' views on the public sphere too have undergone modifications. His systematic efforts to reconstruct an idea of the public adequate to a heterogeneous modern society began in 1962 with the publication of the 'Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere'. In a number of texts since then, he has revisited this theme to mount a contemporary defense of the notion of Public Sphere.

I now attempt to problematise the public sphere by examining the varied and at times contradictory usages of this concept.

TOWARDS CONCEPTUAL CLARITY OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

Social scientific concepts are context specific. Mahajan (2002: 9) explains that it is by referring to the institutional and ideological practices that configure a given totality that we can understand any particular concept. She reiterates that this methodological insight is especially necessary when dealing with concepts such as public and private that have been in use for at least twenty-five centuries.

While the idea of the public and private figured prominently in the writings of Aristotle in the 4th century BC primarily in his works on *oikos* and *polis*, the modern conceptions of the same is not an extension of the perspectives that existed in pre-modern times. Since the eighteenth century, prominent thinkers like Kant, Rousseau, Hegel, Nietzsche, Tocqueville, J.S. Mill, and Tonnies began developing systematic theories on the public. The massive socio-political developments and catastrophes that Europe witnessed in the early twentieth century as well as the extraordinary social changes taking place in various parts of the world, propelled a theoretical return to the public sphere. Though a number of scholars like Raymond Williams (1971), Richard Sennet (1977), Benedict Anderson (1983), and Charles Taylor (1992) produced voluminous works on the public sphere, I will focus on the works of two scholars- Julien Freund and Jurgen Habermas- to categorise the thematic variations of the concept.

Freund's notion of a Political Public

Julien Freund (1965, 1978 cited in Sales 1991) sought to define the categories of private and public. He uses these categories as criterion to delimit the political realm

from the non-political (Sales 1991: 297). He makes a clear distinction between the political sphere and other social spheres:

> "The true political relation is public and from this standpoint other social relations are said to be private.....The private is not the individual, that is the specific relation of the individual with himself but rather all of the relations within which he is but one individual among others" (Freund 1965: 292-293).

For Freund thus the "public or the state and the individual as such rarely confront each other directly, for between them exists the private sphere which consists both of the individual's intimate relations with others and inter individual and more impersonal relations of various associations of civil society where the dialectic of the private and the public are negotiated" (Freund 1965: 309). The public sphere for Freund thus incorporates the constitution of a political unit, the need for representation and a demand for homogenisation through law (Sales 1991: 298). Thus, Freund defines public sphere in narrow political terms.

While Freund accentuates the political connotations of the public sphere, Habermas through his work underscores the varied meanings associated with the concept in the process of tracing its evolution.

Habermas and the Bourgeoisie Public Sphere

The cardinal question of how to construct a viable and legitimate democratic state in Germany in the aftermath of National Socialism and the Holocaust has been the driving concern underlying Jurgen Habermas' theoretical efforts. "The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere" offers a historical/sociological account of the emergence, transformation, and partial degeneration of the bourgeoisie public sphere. Throughout the eighteenth century, the consciousness of the emergence of a new

public was closely connected with the development of a vibrant urban culture which formed a spatial environment for the public sphere: lecture halls, parks, museums, coffee shops, and the like (Boyte 1992: 342-3). Subsequently this gave rise to the emergent infrastructure of social information like press, publishing houses, lending libraries etc. Therefore in the eighteenth century a line between state and society emerges that divided the public sphere from the private realm (Habermas 1989: 176). Because of changing conditions in production and exchange, structural changes do take place in the public sphere and Habermas' work traces those changes.

System and Lifeworld: From Bipolarity to Integration

A reading of the ideas put forth by both Habermas and Freund have one thing in common: a dichotomy between the public and the private. But this bipolarity is inadequate and does not reflect reality. Habermas seeks to bring a convergence of the two seemingly distinct spheres in his "Theory of Communicative Action". Combining two very different approaches- interpretive sociology with systems theory- Habermas proposes to conceptualise society as both system and lifeworld. The private sphere as well as public sphere is found both in the system and the lifeworld. In the system, the private sphere occupies the institutional core of the capitalist market economy, while the public sphere incorporates the state. With regard to the lifeworld, the institutional core of the private sphere is the nuclear family and that of the public sphere comprises communicative networks, including mass media. This is where the production of culture and the formation of public opinion take place.

The cultural and political public sphere interchange with the administrative system via the medium of power, and from the systemic perspective of the State, the cultural and political public spheres are seen as necessary for generating legitimation

(Habermas 1987: 319). Thus Habermas' theory of communicative action, through the dialectics of system and lifeworld, integrates the private and public sphere.

A holistic understanding of Habermas' public sphere also remains incomplete without a western Marxist political and intellectual context within which the Theory of the Public Sphere was introduced to the English speaking world. Broadly this analysis was dominated by the concepts of ideology and hegemony and was needed to explain the increasing stability of western democracies which were complicit with the system (Garnham 2007: 204). Political struggles shifted to the cultural sphere, where new social movements arose 'at the seam between the lifeworld and the system (Sales 1991)'. In this new world order, a legitimacy crisis rested not on economic exploitations but on a range of cultural dissatisfactions.

It is this new left, neo-marxist context that informed me to use Habermas' conceptualisation of the public sphere as a sensitising concept to enable me to understand the language dynamics in contemporary Goa. Habermas conceives of not one, but a multiplicity of public spheres, of which the linguistic/ language public sphere occupies a place of significance.

LANGUAGE AND THE PUBLIC SPHERE

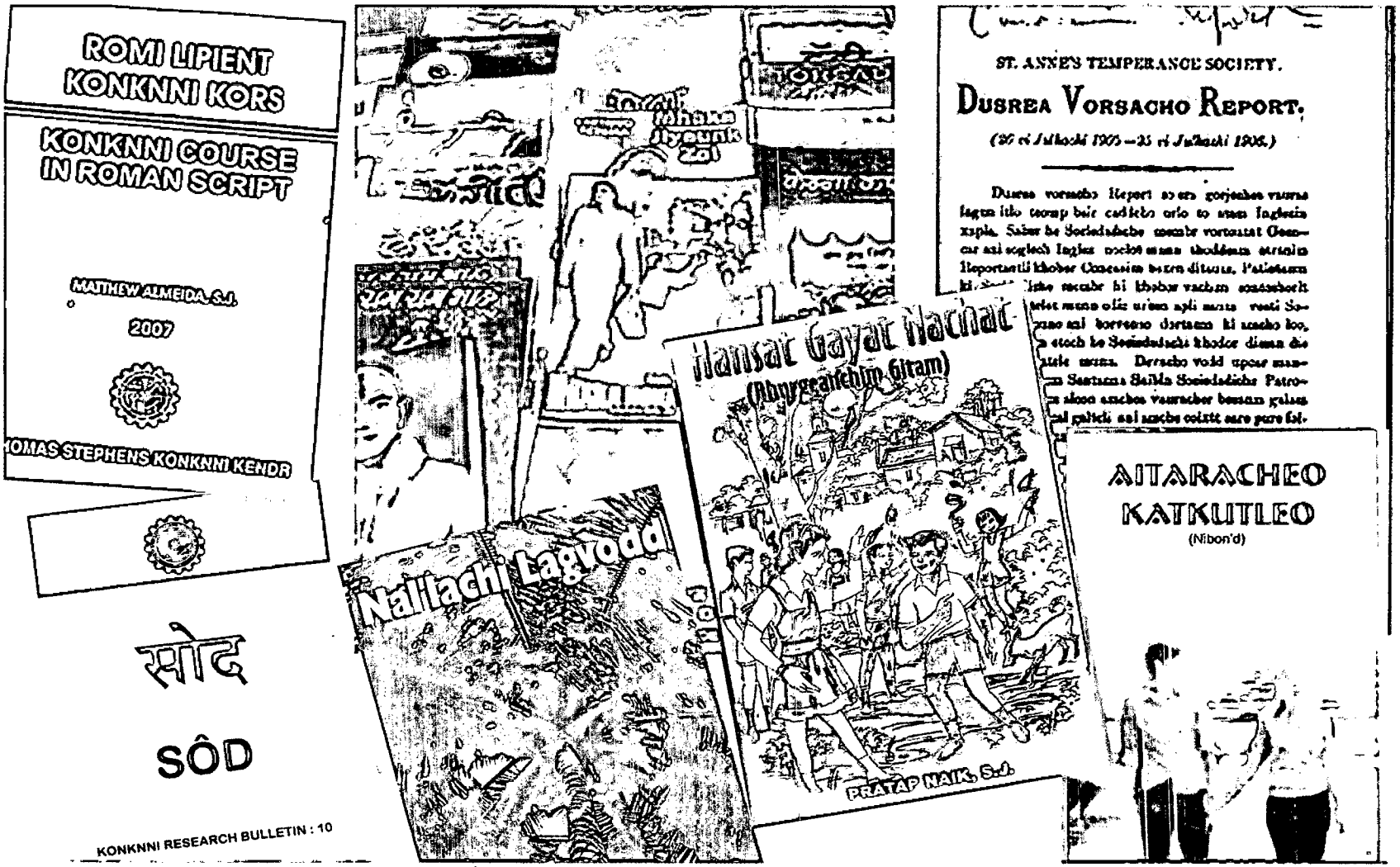
Habermas' argument is that language itself contains norms to criticise domination and oppression and a force that could ground and promote societal democratisation. Habermas has been arguing that language and communication are central features of the human lifeworld that can resist the systemic imperatives of money and power which undermine communicative structures. According to this view, language is thus integrally related to power and is the instrument of particular social interests that construct discourses, conventions, and practices, while embedding language and communication

in untruth and domination, making it an imperfect model for rationality and democracy (Kellner 1999).

Hence, rather than conceiving of one liberal or democratic public sphere, it is more productive to theorise a multiplicity of public spheres, sometimes overlapping but also conflicting. The literary sphere in India and its transformation and growth, very often mirrors more general processes of expansion, institutionalization, and consolidation in the larger public-political sphere (Orsini 2002: 8). The public and political history of Goa is intrinsically connected with language dynamics in its various *avatars*.

LANGUAGE, LITERATURE, AND NATIONALISM: THE CASE OF GOA

Works such as Jose Pereira's Literary Konkani (1992) that reconstructs literary and other uses of Konkani prior to the arrival of the Portuguese indicate that though Konkani was used in land records and for devotional purposes, it did not have steady official patronage by most rulers prior to the Portuguese. Instead Marathi, Kannada, or Persian were the official languages of different feudatories that had ruled Goa before the Portuguese, and Marathi had subsequently been adopted as the language of devotional verse among upper caste Goans. The entry of the Church set off a series of linguistic changes that aided the development of Konkani, while ensuring that it would not contribute to a common literary or linguistic medium for Goan people (Pinto 2007: 83). Most literary histories of Goa acknowledge that aside from the initial publications of the missionaries, the first few centuries of Portuguese rule had a destructive impact on the development of the Konkani language (Pereira 1973 cited in Pinto 2007: 82). In 1684, the Viceroy prohibited the use of Konkani altogether as the Inquisition [1] complained that people were clandestinely drawn back to Hindu religious practices and attributed this to


ROMI LIPIENT KONKNNI KORS
KONKNNI COURSE IN ROMAN SCRIPT
MATHEW ALMEIDA S.J.
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KONKNNI RESEARCH BULLETIN : 10
Nailachi Lagvodd
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ST. ANNE'S TEMPERANCE SOCIETY.
DUSREA VORSACHO REPORT.
AITARACHEO
KATKUTLEO
(Nibon'd)

the failure to suppress Konkani. Subsequently, printing was formally banned from AD 1754 to AD 1821 in Goa.

Linguistic politics continued to be conflicted in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries until the entry of Shri Vaman Varde Valaulikar, popularly called Shenoi Goembab on the literary scene in Goa. His entry heralded the so-called Konkani enlightenment. A large number of Hindu youth, inspired by Shri Goembab, set themselves out to serve the cause of Konkani, with the sole aim of giving the language it's 'rightful' place in Goa (Nagvenkar 2002: 24).

Post liberation Goa has been dominated by the language controversy, which has been taking new avatars every now and then. Initially the moot questions in the realm of language use were: What is the language of the people of Goa, Konkani or Marathi? Is Konkani an independent language or is it a dialect of Marathi? Should Marathi be considered an associate official language? These and other related questions are the moot questions that have been the axial problem for ideological struggle and political praxis in more ways than one. These questions have divided the people of Goa into two ideological camps: one Konkaniivada, promoting the cause of Konkani, and the other Marathivada wanting to retain the status quo and perceived superiority of Marathi. With the declaration of Konkani as the Official Language on 4 February 1987, one phase of language movements ended. Though the movement did, in some ways reach the stage of institutionalisation, language-related contestations continued. While in the 1960s, the language movement inspired political mobilisations, the language dynamics of the 2000s were more inclined towards cultural mobilisation and conscious attempt at language development. Literary figures, editors, theatre artistes, religious leaders, and lay people alike, have

contributed towards shaping the relationship between language and the public sphere in Goa.

THE OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The process of the constitution and consolidation of language ideology necessarily entails shifting configurations between language, identity, ideology, and politics. Language becomes a contested site where larger politics of identity unfolds itself (Thakur 2002: 6). The socially mobile and politically ambitious social groups see to it that hybrid, heteroglot and plural cultural resources of a given language are used to serve their political ends better. Thus when the non-linguistic uses of a language become widespread and open in a given socio-cultural milieu, they become issues and play categorical roles in the formation of the collective self-consciousness and political identity of the people of that milieu.

This study focussed on the nature and politics of language use in Goa after 1987. It examined the attempts at politicisation of Konkani language in the public sphere of Goa during this period.

The specific research objectives of this study are:

1. to trace the development of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa especially after the Official Language Act of 1987;
2. to understand how the political management of multilingualism in India has led to the consolidation of different public spheres;
3. to examine the various nuances that the language movement assumes in the public sphere in the period after 1987; and
4. to discuss the dialectical relationship among religion, language and polity in the formation of multiple public spheres in Goa

METHDOLOGY

I conceive of this study as an interpretive study. As is well known the methodology of social science is characterised by two distinct approaches: positivism and interpretivism. According to positivism, reality is constituted of phenomena which are causally linked to one another. What is real can only be demonstrated to be 'real' by reference to empirical evidence of its existence (Jayaram 1988:4). Alexander (1982: 9) opines that the positivistic persuasion has had an impoverishing effect on the sociological imagination, in both its empirical and theoretical modes. As a counter to the positivsit approach, are a range of approaches, the most common of which is the interpretive approach. At the heart of the interpretivist paradigm is the recognised necessity of attending to reflective and intersubjective nature of human experience. Sociologists like Weber, Park, Blumer and Mead as well as schools of social scientific thought such as ethnomethodology and phenomenology have benefited and contributed to the interpretive paradigm. For Weber the method of *Verstehen* is key to interpretive sociology. (Heap 2005: 177)

This research is influenced by the interpretive tradition. The crux of Weber's interpretive methodology of social science is the theory of concept formation in history. A concept for Weber is a formed image of empirical reality in the mind. The formation of individual is crucial to an understanding of *Verstehen.* In my research, I have attempted to understand the language dynamics in Goa through the conceptualisation of the 'public sphere.' Habermas' notion of public sphere is a sensitising concept whose usage has enabled me to understand the politicisation of language in post colonial Goa. In keeping with the centrality accorded to history in interpretivism, for Weber,

the main task of sociology is to provide generalisations which historians need for their explanations (1968:19-20). This emphasis on the historical component of empirical reality has guided my research as well. Though my focus of attention is the period after 1987, the different *avatars* of the language movements in Goa are like various points on the continuum of language politics. The colonial dictations of language policies are reflected in the post colonial linguistic practices and articulations in Goa. Hence, a mere description of the phenomena will not enable one to fully appreciate the varying nuances of the language polemics in Goa. It is only by placing the events in a complex of meanings and by linking the present movement with various other factors, will I be able to fully grasp the language situation in contemporary Goa.

In keeping with the pluralism advocated by interpretivism, I have made use of the case study method and the interview method to collect data. By using interview guides, I have gathered the narratives of the Konkani literary elite. These elite included writers, theatre artistes, language activists, as well as members of Konkani language associations. Hence by using the interpretive methodology, I have sought to understand the relationship between language and the public sphere in Goa after 1987.

My analysis has also been guided by critical theory. Critical theory, includes works of various critical thinkers like Bourdieu (1992), Foucault (1972, 1979), and Habermas (1979, 1985, 1987). Critical theory generally investigates the processes by which social inequality is produced and sustained, and the struggle to reduce inequality to bring about greater forms of social justice (Ricento 2006: 44). My study has incorporated key ideas from

critical theory like power, struggle, hegemony, ideology, resistance, colonisation and public sphere.

CHAPTERISATION SCHEME

In the first chapter, I have attempted to give an introduction to the research study. I have first attempted a conceptual clarification of the public sphere. I have problematised the public sphere to reiterate how I have used Habermas' ideas only as a sensitising concept to illuminate my research. After giving a brief background of the language politics being played out in Goa, I have enumerated the objectives of the study. I have also clarified the methodology used in my thesis.

India is a multilingual giant. Unlike some countries like the U.S., India is both demographically as well as functionally multilingual. The magnitude of multilingualism in India has made scholars wonder how communication happens and how social cohesion is maintained. But this linguistic diversity itself is not a problem, it is what we intend to do with this diversity that could be a problem. Considering the centrality of multilingualism in the varied sociolinguistic articulations, in Chapter Two, I have sought to delineate some aspects of this phenomenon. Keeping the theme of my thesis as an orientation, I have tried to delineate the context of multilingualism. I have undertaken an analysis of the shift from functional to contested multilingualism in India. I have also highlighted some of the major theoretical perspectives on contested or what Khubchandani (1983) refers to as assertive multilingualism in India. I have thus tried to link my review of literature on multilingualism to attempts at managing multilingualism in the public sphere.

One feature of the multilingual heritage of India has been the addition of languages rather than the reduction. A recurring factor in the emergence of new languages is the challenge to the existing socio political order by an emerging social

group that seeks a separate cultural, social and political identity and power. Situating itself in this context, in Chapter Three I have examined the relation between the changing nuances of the Konkani language and society of Goa. This phenomenon is a characteristic feature of linguistic plurality, not only in Goa, but India as a whole. In Chapter Three, I have also discussed the shift from functional linguistic plurality to contested multilingualism

The literary sphere and its transformation mirrored more general processes of expansion, institutionalisation and consolidation in the larger public-political domain (Orsini 2002: 8). The object of my study is not Konkani literature in its strict sense, but the literary sphere as a whole, especially what sociologists of language call 'institutional arrangements', i.e. the places and mechanisms of production, transmission and fruition (Orsini 2001: 7). Institutions also create actors. The institutional spaces like press, publishing houses, literary associations direct and define the activities and positions of the linguistic elite. It is a symbiotic relation as the actors also come to the institutions bringing their own diverse background, attitude and beliefs. This two way relationship is reflected in the way in which they articulate and move about in the public sphere.

In Chapter Four, I have analysed the developments in Konkani literary sphere by explicating the various genres of Konkani print media such as film, theatre and literary associations. I have also examined the life worlds of the literary elite and the language ideologues. In this chapter, I have sought to understand how the growth, development and transformation of the various components of the literary sphere have chartered the .course of Konkani language in Goa I have also tried to look at whether Konkani's attempts at dominance has led to surbordination and contestations of other language variants.

In Chapter Five, I have examined the various issues pertaining to OLA and its implementation. Beginning by asserting the importance of language for the project of nation building, I have then tried to show how language issues in administration and governance form an integral aspect of nationism. I have then briefly sketched the official languages that have dominated the public sphere in India right since ancient times. I have argued that though in the West, the notion of official language is associated with modernity and the rise of the nation state, in India it was a necessity since millennia. This is because it was a consequence of plurilingualism. Specifically focusing on Goa, I have shown how interlinkages between the State, public sphere and civil society have contributed in addressing the questions relating to the implementation of the OLA in Goa.

Chapter Six is on the script question in Goa. The Official Language Act of Goa passed in 1987 opened up a Pandora's Box. It made manifest, the latent script question in Goa. In Goa, Konkani is written in two scripts, Devnagari and Roman. As we have observed in Chapter Five, the Official Language Act (OLA) recognises only Konkani in Devnagari script as the official language of Goa. This decision has led to conflict among the latently factional Konkani community. Chapter Six has thus tried to understand the script controversy and its myriad implications. I have first delineated the language script relationship from various perspectives. Locating my analysis in the sociological perspective, I have then examined the script conflict that is being enacted in Goa. This controversy is in the danger of taking on a communal hue, as Hindus are usually associated with the Devnagari script and Catholics by and large identify with the Roman script, though of course there can be no strict categorisation. Is the script conflict in Goa, communal like the Hindi-Urdu controversy of North India? This is the primary point of analysis in this chapter. To substantiate my

arguments, I have taken into consideration both the actors and institutions that are involved in this controversy.

In Chapter Seven, I have sought to understand how, attempts at hegemony notwithstanding; there have been attempts at consolidation of the Konkani public sphere. This consolidation is a step towards institutionalisation of Konkani. Institutionalisation also carries questions of whether there is one public sphere or is there a presence of multiple public spheres.

The Konkani public sphere encompasses a variety of dimensions. It can be political sociological, historical and sociolinguistic Attempts at consolidation of the Konkani public sphere have been made in each domain. Beginning with the political sociological domain, I will enumerate the efforts undertaken in each domain to consolidate the Konkani public sphere. Issues that have been discussed in this chapter include the various fallouts of statndardisation, the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution in 1992, the developments of the Konkani cultural sphere in the Konkani diaspora and the movement to merge Konkani speaking areas of North coastal Karnataka with Goa. In this chapter I have thus focussed on various dimensions of language use.

The thesis concludes with Chapter Eight which attempts to summarise the central arguments of the previous seven chapters. This chapter seeks to capture systematically and comprehensively, the crucial arguments and significant nuances of the relationship between language and the public sphere in Goa.

NOTE

1. The Inquisition was established in Goa by King Joao III of Portugal in the sixteenth century on the recommendation of the Jesuit Francis Xavier who is today popularly revered as the patron saint of Goa. Introduced in 1546,

it was officially withdrawn in 1812.The writ of the inquisition was limited to only to those territories conquered in the first phase of Portuguese colonial rule.

Aimed at sharpening the distinction between converts and non converts, it sought to segregate the converts from the rest of the populace. Equating religion with culture, it tried to lusitanise the converts in Goa. One important tool of lusitanisation was language. Through various edicts, the inquisition discouraged the use of Konkani in Goa.

CHAPTER II

MULTILINGUALISM IN INDIA: THE CONTEXT AND THE PERSPECTIVE

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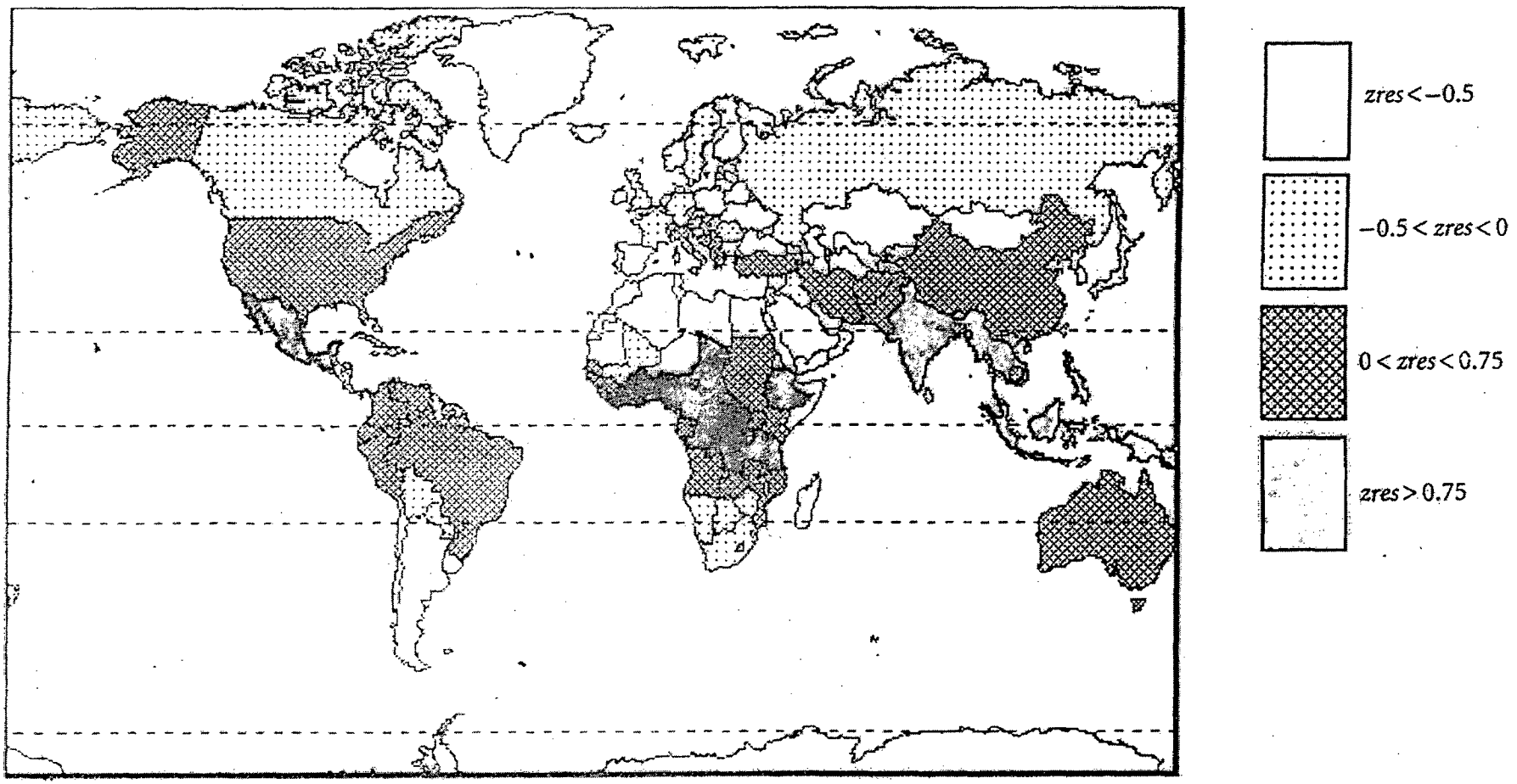
Multilingualism is a universal yet perplexing phenomenon. Harmon (2001) considers it to be the natural state of the world. Language diversity is part of the co-evolution of humans with ecological diversity (Annamalai 2004). Arising from the need to communicate across speech communities, multilingualism is a necessity for a majority in the world today. Yet there persists a linguistic myopia favouring monolingualism. The myth of monolingualism has served as a blinker in perceiving the functional role of diversity. One reason for this state of affairs is that though there are 5000 languages in about 200 nation-states, only a quarter of all states recognise more than one language (Edwards 1994: 1). It is this dialectic of the prevalence of multilingualism but the overt or covert aspiration for monolingualism that acts as the catalyst for language conflicts.

Considering the centrality of the phenomenon of multilingualism in the varied sociolinguistic articulations, in this chapter, I have sought to understand some aspects of this phenomenon. I have tried to spell out the context of multilingualism in India. I have discussed the shift from 'functional' to 'contested' multilingualism in India. I have also highlighted some of the major perspectives on 'contested' or what Khubchandani (1983) refers to as "assertive multilingualism" in India. Through the review of literature on multilingualism I have attempted to understand the processes of managing multilingualism in the public sphere.



Map of the world showing the relative language diversity of the major countries.
Note: Language diversity is calculated by regressing the logarithm of the number of languages spoken in the country against the logarithm of the area of the country, and shading each country according to the value of the standardized residual.
Source: Nettle (1998*b*), by courtesy of Academic Press.

Humankind today uses about 6,500 different, mutually unintelligible languages that belong to at least 250 identifiable large language families (Nettle 1999: 3). This staggering multilingualism is not equally distributed.

Figure one (on the next page) which maps the global distribution of language gives us a better impression of the spread and extent of language diversity. Nettle (1999) identifies certain patterns from the figure. First, language diversity tends to be greatest near the equator and decreases as one moves north or south away from it. It is also inversely related to latitude, is low in deserts and arid places, is high in environments that produce equatorial forests, and is relatively low and anomalously distributed in the 'New World'.

Thus the vast majority of the world's languages are confined to the tropics spoken mainly by people who live in rural or semi rural areas. Most have no official status and are not routinely used in a written form, on television, or on the radio. It is not surprising that most of the languages are confined to the tropics. As the world population is concentrated in the tropics, it is natural that the number of languages spoken in that area will be more. Thus, though multilingualism is a universal phenomenon, its extent and the prestige associated with various languages is not uniform.

MULTILINGUALISM: ITS EVOLUTION AND DEVELOPMENT

As the origin of any social institution is buried in antiquity, it is academically not worth debating on the exactness of the origin point. A number of scholars have attempted to trace the origin of language, but there is no agreement on its genesis. Most mythologies do not credit humans with the invention of language, but know of a language of the Gods pre-dating human language. In the Hebrew Bible, the Book of Genesis has God giving Adam the task of assigning names to all the animals and

plants he had in Eden. Apart from biblical narratives, anthropologists like Steven Pinker, Immanuel Kant and linguists like Noam Chomsky, believes that humans are born with a "language instinct:" a neural processing network that contains a universal grammar that has developed specifically for encoding and decoding human languages". Physiological abilities apart, sociolinguists believe that sound on is own has no meaning. It becomes meaningful once the community decides to accept its code. By highlighting the symbolic component of language, they tried to establish an intrinsic link between language and society.

Speculations on the nature of this relationship occupied human thought through the ages. Right from the time of the Egyptian Pharaoh Psamtik (663- 610) to the Mughal Emperor Akbar's (1542-1605) *Gang Mahal*, to the widely reported sightings of wolf-children, bear-children and other feral youngsters, scholars and lay men alike have always wondered on the origin of language. Concerned about people's preoccupation with linguistic origins, in 1866, the *Societe de Linguistique de Paris* forbade all further discussions on language origins, 'since we are all deemed to be fruitless and speculative,and wasteful of linguistic scholarship better applied elsewhere' (Edwards 1994: 16). Nevertheless, debates on the origin and evolution of language still continue.

Dixon (1997) opines that language evolution undergoes periods of rapid expansion, during which many languages evolve, intermixed with long periods of near-equilibrium, during which languages diffuse and converge, as societies interact, intermarry, fission and fuse. This interaction also gives rise to the phenomenon of multilingualism. There are two theories on the origin of language. One is the theory of monogenesis which advocates the principle of one original language and the other is the theory of polygenesis. This theory opines that several languages emerge in

different places. These two theories have occupied scholars for at least two centuries. Edwards (1994: 16) gives the example of the Danish linguist Otto Jespersen (1860-1943) who grouped common theories into five types, thus suggesting that any single factor approach is likely to be deficient.

The Growth of Multilingualism

As with the evolution of language, multilingualism too is often credited with divine origins. According to the Old Testament of the Bible, the descendents of Noah were commanded to develop new languages. In the story of the tower of Babel, the divine punishment for human temerity was the creation of a confusion of languages (Edwards 1994: 15). Krishna (1991: 1) describes the myth developed by the Angami Nagas of North East India, which tells of people constructing a tower to heaven. As they built higher and higher, God, afraid that she would not have sufficient gifts for all of them, spread confusion among them by making their languages unintelligible to one another, and the tower remained incomplete. Comparing both these myths, Krishna (1991:3) infers that while the Tower of Babel story symbolises God's wrath at human pride and acquisitiveness, the gentler God of the Naga myth uses the babel of tongues to defend herself from humankind. So while in the Biblical story, a single common language is seen as something good that has been lost because of human folly; in the Naga version, multiple languages have the value of self protection.

Apart from mythological accounts, there are scholars who attribute a more 'this worldly' cause for multilingualism. Fasold (1984: 9) delineates four different kinds of historical patterns that can lead to societal multilingualism. These patterns are migration, imperialism, federation, and border-area multilingualism. Immigrants to a nation-state carry as part of their socio-cultural baggage the language of their place of origin. This simple movement of population brings the immigrant's language

in contact with the language of the existing populations in the country-of-destination. The subtypes of imperialism are colonisation, annexation, and economic imperialism. Although relatively few people come to live in the subjugated territories, the language becomes very important in the territory (Fasold 1984: 10). Spolsky (2004) too, remarks that the larger the scale of colonisation from the homeland the more secure the conquerors' language will be in the new land. Though at times, even a small ruling group may be able to maintain their language, provided they have contact with the homeland. Often in this case, the conquered people will be forced to learn the language of the conquerors. The imperialist language is likely to be used in government and education. For instance, in colonial India English became the language of administration and preferred choice of education. In economic imperialism, the imperialist language is necessary for international commerce and finance: a foreign language will become widely used because of the economic advantage associated with it (Fasold 1984: 10).

The redrawing of territories for political reasons among different linguistic groups is another common context which gives rise to multilingual competence. Edwards (1994: 33) cites the example of Belgium, a land of French and Flemish speakers, and Switzerland, which unites the four official language group of German, French, Italian, and Romansch, as an instance of this kind of multilingualism. Federations based on arbitrary and often involuntary amalgamations, like those found in parts of Africa and Asia, also encourages multilingualism. Such amalgamations, often a result of arbitrary boundary making, also gave rise to multilingualism in border areas. The people of the Belguam district in Karnataka, located close to the Karnataka-Maharashtra border, are fluent both in Kannada and Marathi.

In addition to these four factors that Fasold credits for multilingualism, Edwards (1994: 34) adds that cultural and educational motivations also increase linguistic repertoires even if there is no desire or possibility to use the new ability in ordinary conversational ways.Whatever be the reasons attributed for its growth and development, multilingualism is today a global phenomenon.

ATTEMPTS AT ENFORCED HOMOGENITY

After World War II, language was initially dismissed as a question involving primordial loyalties, a characteristic cultural residue of pre-modern societies 'that will erode with modernisation and increased social mobility' (Lambert 1981, cited in Khubchandani 1997: 117- 118). Neustuphy (1974:43-44) cautioned that 'a high degree of arbitrary social and linguistic heterogeneity' in a region is characteristic of less developed and modernising societies, whereas 'the fast growth of functional homogeneity within a language is associated with more developed industrialised societies'. The homogenisation process which began in Europe with the Renaissance and Reformation was seen as the ideal that the Third World had to emulate in its drive towards modernisation. In keeping with the theories of Modernisation and Centre-Periphery Hypothesis that dominated the politico-economic landscape, there was no dearth of doomsayers of multilingualism. Harrison, (1960, cited in Khubchandani 1997: 118) for instance warned of the authoritarianism stemming from the divisive role of caste and language conflicts and judged the importance of English to be its unifying force. Khubchandani (1983 cited in Khubchandani 1997: 118).disagrees with this view. A strong proponent of linguistic plurality, he argues that many of the transformations sought through modernisation in these societies are externally induced rather than internally generated, unlike the classical European modernisation processes stimulated during the Renaissance and the Reformation. He cites the

example given by Madan (1980 cited in Khubchandani 1997: 118) who alleges that traditional societies (their structures, institutions, values etc.) necessarily have to go through the process of displacement as the price of modernisation. He concludes his argument by observing that 'later developments on the subcontinent indicate that particularistic loyalties of several language organisations are not necessarily inconsistent with national loyalties (*ibid* 118- 119).

Linguistic diversity is more the rule with the vast majority of present-day nation-states, and it is claimed to be of 'enormous consequence for the very maintenance of a nation- state'. It is not a mere demographic concept defined by the number of languages used by a person, or a community. It is fundamentally a socio-political entity defined by the functional relation between languages. It is not merely reached by accidental processes but is inherited and is an integral part of the nation-making philosophy and history for many (Glyn Lewis 1972: 17 cited in Pattanayak 1990: 1).

MULTILINGUALISM IN INDIA: A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW

Sharma (cited in Koul 2000: 130) notes that multilingualism in India has neither grown because of political compulsions nor due to social restructuring: Rather it is a product of close contact of language families from earliest recorded history. This interaction led to a formation of a distinct linguistic area. Chaklader (1990: 20) informs that in spite of great political upheavals, change of dynasties and mode of production, the linguistic areas as recorded in the ancient literature, have remained more or less undisturbed. He adds, "The areas of Indian languages and dialects as they are found today correspond to the ancient *janapadas*."

Multilingualism in ancient India

Chaklader (1990), attempts at giving a historical account of the Indian language situation. He says that most of the *janapadas* were based on a particular ethnic group, of which there were three hundred. Each of these had their own language. As these ethnic groups came in contact with each other, and struggled for existence, it gave rise to a variety of cultures and languages. A large number of languages and dialects were mentioned in ancient literatures like Panini's *Astadhyayi*, the inscriptions of King Asoka (third century BC) and the *Natya Sastra* of Bharata in third century AD. *Tolkappiyam*, a grammar written by Tolkappiyanar, dating back to 500 BC noted twelve regions each having a distinct dialect in Southern India (*Ibid*: 25).

The vast land with a difficult geographic terrain, the growth of population, migration, immigration and most importantly the birth and growth of religions, all aided the proliferation of multilingualism. While Pan-Indian religions like the Brahmanical religion facilitated the growth of a common language and literature, local sects like Vaishnavism, Natha Pantha etc., helped in the development of local language and literature. Pei (1964) suggests that writing was developed as an aid to religion; "in fact a majority of languages have as their earliest written document a religious text." Language diversity gave rise to script diversity. As early as the fourth century BC, at least two scripts, Brahmi and Kharosthi were in use. While the Kharosthi script was in use till the third century AD, the Brahmi script is said to have given rise to modern Indian scripts like Devanagari, Bengali-Assamese-Maithili-Newari-Oriya, the Sarada-Gurumumkhi, the Kaithi-Gujarati, the Telugu–Kannada, and the Tamil-Malayalam-Grahntha-Sinhalese (Chaklader 1990: 40). The regional form developed under the influence of the regional culture after the break up of the empire.

Thus due to a variety of reasons, multilingualism was intrinsically linked to the growth and development of culture and civilisation of the Indian subcontinent. This diversity of languages that persisted all through the ancient period continued in the medival period as well.

Multilingualism in Medieval India: The Mughal Phase

Although, because of political and religious compulsions as well as social restructuring, multilingualism continued unabated, there arose in the early period itself, the compulsion for the use of a common language, especially as an aid to religion and imperial administration. Sanskrit, as it presented itself as the most accomplished language was thus systematised and standardised out of the primary Prakrit to serve the purpose of Brahmanical religion and the imperial rule (Chaklader 1990: 51). But with the rise of Buddhism and Jainism, both of which preached in the local language, Sanskrit lost its position of pre-eminence. As these religions spread to different linguistic areas, they evolved a common language, Pali. This common language was perceived as necessary for the growth and development of the religion. Chaklader (1990: 52) informs that the rise of the great Mauryan Empire also contributed to the growth of a common language called Asocan Prakrit based on the language of the Magadhan region. But after the fall of Mauryan Empire and the subsequent decline of Buddhism, Asocan Prakrit slowly faded from the radar, with Sanskrit occupying centre stage again. After regaining its hold in the North, it finally ousted Prakrit in South India by the fourth- fifth centuries AD.

Sanskrit lost its pre-eminence with the Muhammedan invasion in the twelfth century AD. The Mughal rulers had to decide on what language to use to rule India. One Mughal text defines the different levels of Hindu language, with Sanskrit, or "akashwani" representing the divine voice, or the highest level. On the second level,

Prakrit is "apabaransha" or "patalwani," the language of animals. Finally, Braj Bhasha, the language of songs, comprises the highly varied regional dialects. "So what was going to be the language of power?" Alam (1998) asked. "Sanskrit was too high, Prakrit too low, the local dialects are too varied. Therefore Persian, the language of culture of the Mughal rulers was selected as the language of power. Persian was adopted partly for the political power of its poetics. "It also was chosen," said Alam, "because Persian had become the vehicle of catholicity, non-sectarianism and liberation. There is a major element in Persian poetry urging the reader to rise above religious lines, whether Hindu or Muslim. It is pantheistic and unitarian."

While Babar, the founder of the Mughal period in India wrote in Turkish, his son sponsored the return to Persian, which had been the language of the Court before the Mughal rule in India. Though the Mughals used Persian and at times Arabic as Court languages, Persian was the one language used in all office records, *farmans, sanads*, land-grant passes, dispatches and receipts. But Persian was never the language of the people and could not percolate down to the masses. People of different ethnic backgrounds with diverse dialects and languages comprised the Mughal Empire. They came from various parts of Western Asia and Northern India. Finding themselves in babel of tongues, they had no common medium of exchange. This linguistic difficulty led them to evolve a common language, at first in the form of a pidgin and then as a literary language (Chaklader 1990: 55). Mir Amman defined Urdu-e-mu'alla or Urdu as a mongrel mixture of the various tribes who flocked to the Delhi Bazar (Grieson 1967: 164). In idiom and speech, it was an admixture of Persian, Arabic, and Hindi, with Hindi syntax and lexicon providing the base. It gradually developed as the language of communication during the rule of Akbar. However, it was during the rule of Shah Jehan that Urdu attained the status and

recognition of a court language. The new language became the *lingua franca* of the educated classes throughout North India and extended to the Deccan, where it blossomed into a literature (O'Malley 1941: 9).

In the eighteenth century however, the Persian mixed Hindi language came to be known as Hindostani. The two languages, one Persian in the court and the other Hindostani at the market place, thus established a link among the people of different linguistic communities during the long period of Mughal rule in India.

There is another aspect of multilingualism that got well defined during this period. The regional languages throughout history were evolving into full fledged languages. The flowering of this trend took place during the Bhakti movement, when the regional languages were consciously used and developed to propagate social reforms through religious concepts. In the nineteenth century, this continuing process manifested itself in heightened linguistic consciousness which was linked with the caste class factor and its political manifestations. So language and caste boundaries coincided to a great extent.

Notwithstanding this region-language-caste interconnections, the centralised Mughal rule with common linguistic media thus created a pan-Indian culture and psychological make up which became the basis of Indian nationalism (Chaklader 1990: 56). This was further strengthened during the British rule in nineteenth century India.

Impact of British Colonialism on Multilingualism

The last foreign language to hold sway in India has been the English, which to this day continues to play a prominent role in India. There were at least fourteen to sixteen major languages spoken in the various kingdoms and princely states when the East India Company became the paramount ruler of India. The various territories were also

multi religious. Religious loyalties and linguistic loyalties sometimes went together, especially in the case of the Hindus and the Muslims in north India.

Internal dissensions and lack of any central authority that embraced the entire sub continent marked the beginning of the rule of the East India Company in India. Internal dissensions and lack of any central political power helped the Company acquire Indian territories very easily. As the British Raj became bigger and more powerful, they kept adding territories to the already existing provinces. The provinces were only administrative units, never thought of as having any homogeneous culture and language. As pointed out by Rangila *et al* (2001) "India in the eighteenth century was a land of rife with internal dissensions and devoid of any central political power. Muslim governors and Hindu chieftains vied with each other for the remnants of the Mughal Empire, while most of the population pursued their traditional occupations in relative indifference to the religious or regional origins of their rulers."

The British rulers, at the early stage of their rule, did not want to disturb the existing linguistic situation. They followed the tradition of using the Persian and Arabic languages for communication with the natives wherever such languages had been used in the Mughal Empire. They allowed for a continuation of the pre-colonial language policy in the domain of law, administration and education. As Warren Hastings, the Governor General of India held, "the British power must be an Indian power" (O'Malley 1941: 57).

The East India Company, in its initial caution to leave undamaged the traditional bases of Indian society and culture, had decided to sponsor Persian, Arabic, and Sanskrit studies as early as the 1770s. Later on, when the Company became the paramount power in India, many Indians realised that to get jobs with the new government they would have to learn English, even though Persian continued to be

used for official purposes well into the nineteenth century. The more enlightened among them, men like Rammohan Roy, saw that tremendous advantages could be gained by direct contact with the whole corpus of Western learning which English education would make possible (Hay and Quereshi 1958: 36).

In fact, Raja Rammohan Roy took the initiative of establishing the first secular college (Hindu College in Calcutta) in India devoted to English education and on his own account opened "an Anglo-Indian school for imparting free education in English to Hindoo boys" (Chaklader 1900: 71). This effort by Raja Rammohan Roy and other like minded Indians as well as Christian missionaries popularised English education among Indians. It led to the demand for the use of English in courts and in administration. In his Minutes of 1835, Lord Macaulay too strongly pleaded for English education.

The British Government, sensing the changing, atmosphere was cautious and English replaced Persian as the official language in 1837, though Persian and, to a lesser extent, Hindi were retained in some capacity at the lower levels of administration. By 1864, Hindustani was accepted as the common medium in military life for all India. However, the phrase used was Hindustani, or Urdu (camp) language. A concession to southern India was granted on the assumption that the officials serving in south India might not be required to serve in north India: "The waste of time which would be caused by every officer having to learn a new language and character, would not be compensated by any advantage that might be gained in the few cases in which Madras officers might be employed in Northern India." The common medium would be taught using the Roman character (Singh *et al*: 2000). English thus became the sole medium of education and the language of all higher professions.

The growth of the Hindi Movement. Notwithstanding the aspirational value that English claimed, it could never serve as the language of the masses and a medium of inter communication. As the national movement gained momentum, the nationalists sought to foster a common language that could unite the different linguistic communities at the grassroots level. Many of them tried to portray Hindi as the language that would unify the otherwise divergent masses. The leader of the Brahmo Samaj, Shri Keshab Chandra Sen for instance, was of the opinion that Hindi could be made the sole official language of India as it was current in almost every part of the country (Chaklader 1990: 60). Especially within the Hindi belt, the demand for Hindi as a national language began to grow. The Nagari Pracharani Sabha established in 1893 at Benaras and the Hindi Sahitya Sammelan founded by Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya and Shri Puroshottam Tandon in 1904 launched an organised movement for the adoption of Hindi in Devanagari script at the national level (Chaklader 1990: 60).

The real impetus for the Hindi movement was given by MK Gandhi. SK Chatterji (1960: 159) writes that "it was the imagination and practical sense of Mahatma Gandhi that saw in Hindi or Hindustani a great instrument for raising the political consciousness of the masses of Northern India....a bond of union and a symbol of unity of all the Indian people." On his insistence, the National Congress in its Kanpur session held in 1925 resolved that the proceedings of the All India Congress Committee and its Working Committee should be conducted as far as possible in Hindustani (Chaklader 1990: 61).

This acceptance of Hindustani did not come without a catch. There were basically two language-related issues that caught the imagination of the public sphere at that point in the nationalist struggle. One was the Hindi-Urdu controversy which

was the culmination of the long standing Hindu-Muslim antagonism. The other concerned the redrawing of provinces on the basis of the regional language.

The Hindi-Urdu conflict has occupied the thoughts of a number of researchers. Various scholars have dealt with different aspects of its chequered history. Amrit Rai (1984) in his work 'A House Divided: The Origin and Development of Hindi/ Hindavi' which deals with the history of Hindi and Urdu up to the early eighteenth century, makes two assertions pertaining to this period. The first was that, prior to the decline of the Mughal empire, a common language known as Hindi or Hindavi united many Hindus and Muslims over wide areas of North and Central India. The second noted that during this decline the nature of Hindi/ Hindavi changed by the deliberate removal of Sanskrit and Sanskrit derived words and the addition of Persian and Arabic words. In much of the nineteenth century north India, both Hindus and Muslims were familiar with Urdu, and the process of multi-symbol congruence which identified Hindus with Hindi and Muslims with Urdu had not begun in earnest (King 1994: 10). Hindi communities like the Kayasths, Kashmiri Brahmans and Khatris had particularly strong ties with Urdu. But this situation was later challenged in the later half of the century with the growth of the Hindi movement. Led by Hindu caste groups whose close association with Sanskrit and Hindi learning handicapped them in increasing competition for government service, the essence of the movement lay in efforts to differentiate Hindi from Urdu and to make Hindi a part of Hindu culture (King 1994: 10-11).

In 1837, the British Government passed a resolution which substituted the existing Persian language in the Province with the vernaculars. Accordingly the Government of North Western Provinces, Bihar and Central Provinces chose Urdu in Persian script although Hindi was the language of the common people. This move

precipitated the Hindi Urdu controversy which then took a communal turn. Gandhi tried his best to resolve this issue by bracketing Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani in the same category of languages. He suggested that the official Hindi should not be too Sanskritised nor too Persianised, but should be the language of the masses written both in Devanagari and Persian script (Chaklader 1990: 63). As I will demonstrate later, this issue took on yet another turn during the teething years of Indian Independence.

In his drive to have Hindustani replace English, Gandhi did not neglect the regional languages. Underscoring the importance of regional languages, the Provincial Congress Committees were now to be organised on a linguistic basis so that they could keep in touch with the people by using the local language (Chandra 1989: 186). This idea was taken further by the demands for linguistic states voiced by the intellectual strata of the regional bourgeoisie.

This demand put forth by the Sahitya Parishads of Karnataka, Kerala, Gujarat and the Andhra Mahasabha, though it developed in the second decade of the twentieth century, was not directed at the British, but found expression in demands of the Congress and the expectation that this would be granted with independence (Prakash 1973: 31). Under the British, it was not linguistic organisation of province but imperial considerations of administrative convenience that was the guiding principle. It was used in a manner to suit the convenience of the British administration. Prakash (1973: 31- 32) writes that this principle was grossly violated in the partition of Bengal in 1905, but was used in 1912 to divest the Bengal Presidency of Bihar and Orissa areas for political reasons. The Montague–Chelmsford Report also considered the linguistic re-organisation of states impractical.

Nevertheless, the movement for linguistic autonomy was an integral part of the freedom struggle. It was inextricably linked to the Congress-led movement for independence. The Congress first lent support to the linguistic-nationality principle by opposing the partition of Bengal. The concrete issue of linguistic reorganisation made its first official appearance in the 1917 Calcutta Congress, a result of the Andhradesa movement which began in 1913. But the Congress was strongly divided on the issue with Gandhi clearly opposing it. Later wanting to channelise the linguistic nationality sentiment of the people, Gandhi accepted the logic behind the demand for linguistic provinces. At the 1920 Nagpur Congress Session, a resolution was drawn up with a scheme for the division of India into linguistic provinces. The resolution mentioned sixteen linguistic provinces. On the eve of Independence, the Congress election manifesto of 1945- 46 committed itself to linguistic reorganisation if returned to power (Prakash 1973: 34).

Thus at the threshold of Independence, India had two language-related issues to contend with, one was the question of national language and the other pertained to the promise of linguistic states.

ASSERTIVE MULTILINGUALISM IN POST COLONIAL INDIA

India is said to be a multilingual giant (Pandit 1972), whose nerve system is multilingualism. The 1951 census, the first census carried out in Independent India listed 845 languages and dialects. A comprehensive account of the multiplicity of languages was presented in the 1961 Census which was based on the language classification of the Linguistic Survey of India (Sharma cited in Koul 2000: 130). The 1971 census however presented statistics on only 15 scheduled languages and 91 other languages. Pattanayak (1990: 9) thus alleges that multilingualism in India is contained by limiting it to a list of 105 languages/ mother tongues. Unlike

demographically multilingual countries that are functionally monolingual, India is both demographically as well as functionally multilingual. This feature of linguistic secularism is enshrined in the Constitution. Under the Fundamental Rights, Article 29a provides the right for any section of the citizens to conserve its language, script and culture. Article 30 provides the right for the linguistics minorities to establish and administer educational institutions. Annamalai (2001: 127) opines that though the Constitution talks about the conservation of language, it does not mention promotion. It is left up to the community of speakers of minority languages to sets up and run educational institutions which willget aid from the State. Nonetheless, the VIIIth amendment introduced in 1956 as Article 350A enjoins upon the State 'to provide adequate facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups.

Indian multilingualism is bifocal, that is, it exists at both mass and elite level. It also depicts features of fuzziness of language boundaries (Khubchandani 1983: cited in Annamalai 2001: 36) especially in areas of language contact. Thus communication is unimpaired in spite of the great linguistic diversity. Pattanayak (1981: 44) claims that 'if one draws a straight line between Kashmir and Kanyakumari and marks every five or ten miles, then one will find that there is no break in communication between any two consecutive points. This feature also facilitates Indian multilingualism to be complementary which refers to the tendency of the individual to use one language at home, another in the neighbourhood and still another in formal domains like education, administration etc (Sharma cited in Koul 2000: 130).

Since Independence, there has been a change in the nature of multilingualism. The implicit consensus over stratificational hierarchy of language use is giving way to

the explicit corporate provisions of legislative hierarchy like languages of the Eight Schedule, State Language, and Official Language etc. Annamalai (2001: 37) too notes that the multilingual scene in India is changing. There is change in the role of language for political control and social mobility in Independent India. While until recently English played a pervasive role and was the sole dominant language, now many languages compete for the dominant position in different levels. The minority languages seek protection from the subsequent unfavourable domination. This has changed the sociolinguistic relation between languages and has led to language conflicts. Language is a form of social, symbolic as well as cultural capital. The re-organisation of province into linguistic states has made possible the emergence of the numerically largest language in the state as the dominant language. The new relation between the various languages in a state is now more hierarchical functionally as the language used in domains like administration and education provides greater access to power and status than others. In a Foucauldian sense, knowledge of the dominant language is linked to power. The use of the dominant language in administration and education has led to the development of their corpus. The speakers of the minority language, in order not to be deprived of the perceived benefits, aspire to learn the dominant language even at the cost of their own mother tongue. At the same time, however there is also a need to keep the group's mother tongue for its separate ethnic identity and political survival in a democratic setup (Annamalai 2001: 38). This ambivalence is resolved differently by different groups that differ in their linguistic history, political aspiration and ethnic consciousness and in their relation with the majority in terms of power and population (Srivastava 1984). Annamalai (2000: 138) predicts that all these changes will lead to the emergence of a national pattern of multilingualism in place of local grassroots multilingualism.

Khubchandani attempts to capture this change in the nature of multilingualism by conceptualising what he calls a Plurality Square. He analyses a scheme of four types of pluralism under this rubric as in table 2.1:

TABLE 2.1: PLURALITY SQUARE

TYPES	HOMOGENISING	DIFFERENTIATING
ORGANIC	Melting Pot	Stratificational
STRUCTURAL	Liberal	Corporate

Source: Khubchandani, 1983

In organic pluralism, multiple identities are strengthened by a measure of fluidity in their manifestation. In a society characterised by structural pluralism, on the other hand, harmony among diverse primary groups is sought by containing their rival aspirations through safeguards provided within the parameters of equality and social justice (Gordon 1981, cited in Khubchandani 1991:). There are two major cross-currents characterising both models of pluralism, one favouring conditions of homogenisation and the other promoting the processes of differentiation. Under organic pluralism, one significant pattern is of 'melting pot pluralism' favouring homogenisation, while the other pattern is of stratificational pluralism, where differentiation of socio-cultural traits is functional and is integrated through super-consensus. Under structural pluralism, liberal pluralism is an example of favouring conditions for voluntary homogenisation, whereas diversity is subtly tempered with individual preferences and personal traits. Corporate pluralism, on the other hand, contributes to the accentuation of socio-cultural identities through mandatory safeguards for group rights.

The Indian subcontinent is characterised by organic stratificational pluralism. In this framework, India as a sociolinguistic area is not a collection of fragments,

which the State holds together, but presents a series of mosaics, in which no segment however small is considered insignificant (Khubchandani 1991).

TRANSFORMING LANGUAGE PLURALISM

In the second half of the twentieth century, language was dismissed by many as a question involving primordial loyalties. It was thought to be a cultural residue of pre-modern societies which could not contribute to the institutional development of modern political life. This type of thinking was governed by western models capturing the experiences of a socio linguistically distinct reality.

But this notion concerning the insignificance of language in determining the future course of oriental countries was soon replaced. The role of language as a marker of identity increased manifold. If anything, there was an incessant search for 'roots' the world over, a search that fostered primordial collectivism. This in turn, slowly transformed the nature of language pluralism in India. While earlier, one's language group was not generally considered as a very important criterion for sharply distinguishing oneself from others, after Independence, language was a crucial indicator of primordial loyalty.

Since Independence, language consciousness has been rapidly growing and language loyalties have been redefined by language protagonists in an attempt to respond to overt identity pressures. With the various forces unleashed by the process of modernisation, the language dynamics have been further embellished and have now acquired political significance. Language is a crucial factor in the modernisation process. It is crucial because the other institutions of society function through language and therefore it is indispensable to the modernisation process as a whole. Moreover the modernisation discourse is located in the language and is mediated by it (Annamalai 2001: 90).

Consequently, India is fast turning away from an organically "accommodating" plurilingual nation into an institutionally "assertive" multilingual nation (Khubchandani 1991: 22). Ever since colonial withdrawal, the subcontinent has been acquiring a new order of pluralism in its cultural and linguistic expression (Khubchandani 1996: 117). Grass-roots pluralism is being replaced by mandatory bilingualism (Khubchandani 1983: 75).

What has given rise to this change in the nature and form of multilingualism? There is nothing inherent in the nature of language, which automatically makes it the basis for political contestations. The socio-cultural ethos of ancient and medieval India were characterised by fuzziness and fluidity in verbal repertoire across languages. Schermerhorn (1970) describes Indian plurality which has been a defining feature of the language situation since ancient times as a 'centrifugal' device by which different groups attempt to retain and preserve their unique cultural attributes while developing common institutional participation at the national level. There existed a feeling of oneness among diverse people in different regions, traditionally known as *kshetra*, a sense of collective reality, in spite of a wide spectrum of linguistic and cultural variation. A *kshetra* was a 'cohesive and homogenous area' created by arbitrary selection of transient features such as religion, language.

In fact, as I attempted to depict, up to the nineteenth century, we cannot speak of a dominant language with reference to language practices in India; there is the language of ritual and religion, the language of the court and elite, the language of home and neighbourhood (Pandit 1977). But mobilisations of linguistic loyalty for political purposes are implicated in the very nature of modern democratic processes (Brass 1974 and 1994). They are an accompaniment to the arrival of modernity and the associated transition from fuzzy to enumerated communities (Kaviraj cited in

Thakur 2002). It is this sense of enumerated communities and its associated organs of mapping and census that gave rise to the idea of majority and minority that is so crucial for political mobilisations.

It may, however, be noted that the politicisation of language occurs with the advent of modernity. Robertson attributes the birth of a nation-state as being one of the important developments that propelled modernity. The theoretical assumptions concerning nation-state accentuated the notion of homogeneity. This homogeneity was difficult to find, even in Europe, though it was achieved in some cases like France and Italy. The compulsion to conceptualise India as a nation arose out of western colonial experience (Oommen 2004: 9). But given India's plurality, homogenisation is impractical. Strachey (1888: 5) wrote that 'there is not and never was an India...no Indian nation....no Indian people'. Supporting this view, Seeley (1883:255 cited in Oommen 2004: 23) commented: 'India is only a geographical expression like Europe or Africa. It does not mean the territory of a nation and language, but the territory of many nations and languages. India is a collective of nations existing within federal states, a conglomeration of many nations coexisting under one polity. For the Independence movement was all about establishing a new nation-state. The social reformers of the nineteenth century and the leaders of the Indian National Congress were striving to arouse a sense of common nationality in this land of great diversities and they agreed with the British that despite linguistic, religious, and racial and ethnic plurality India was a nation (Gore 2002: 99). Oommen (1994: 26-47) identifies two basic conditions for the formation of nations. The first is territory which the inhabitants identify as homeland, and the other is a language which is a common instrument of communication. The nation that wants to modernise itself should either develop its own language or adopt another developed language to absorb

and communicate modern knowledge (Oommen 2004: 64). For some other theorists, language is more important than territory for defining a nation, as it provides the most immediate link among people and helps establish well-defined boundaries. Even if the state boundaries are lost, linguistic boundaries remain. According to Karna (1999), linguistic allegiance is one of the central elements in nationality formation. After World War II, several new states were formed in Asia and Africa. 'Language was a critical issue in the national struggle of these new states, as it acted as a symbol for identity and distinction which in turn provided access to their own cultural traditions' (Karna 1999: 84).

Thus given the centrality of language to the formation of the nation-state, I have argued that language gets politicised only when this process of nation-state formation begins. Thus, though there existed in India, from time immemorial, a multitude of languages, there was an acceptance of the composite character of the Indian ethos. This pluralistic worldview that characterised India underwent radical transformation after Independence. Influenced by models practiced in the West, the Indian nation-state, attempted to streamline this linguistic heterogeneity.

This attempt to streamline heterogeneity, in keeping with the homogenisation project of the West, was a consequence of nationalism, the subjective consciousness people develop about their common history, experience and destiny. By correlating post colonial nationalism with language dynamics that occurred in post Independent India, I will attempt to underscore the significance of language in the articulation of nationalism.

UNDERSTANDING LANGUAGE MOVMENTS IN POST COLONIAL INDIA THROUGH "NEW NATIONALISMS"

Oommen (2004: 53) categorises post colonial nationalisms which he calls 'new nationalisms', into two: state-centred and state-renouncing. The language movements of post independent India can be analysed within the framework of these two types of nationalisms that are characteristic of post-colonial societies like India.

One variety of state-centred nationalism conflates state and nation and views sovereignty of state as the critical marker of nationalism; it is also state seeking (Oommen 2004: 53). Under the perceived hegemony of the internal coloniser, the 'colonised' either seeks the creation of a new sovereign state or insists on a certain level of autonomy within a federal polity.

An indigenous language, more or less acceptable to the different linguistic groups was therefore thought to be essential for nation building. Socio religious leaders such as Swami Dayanand Saraswati, literary figures like Shri Sanjib Chattopadhya and political leaders like Mahatma Gandhi pleaded for the use of Hindi/ Hindustani as the link language meant to establish unity among the different linguistic communities. Mahatma Gandhi suggested that *Swaraj* in the real sense could only be achieved by breaking "the spell that the English language exercises over us" (Chaklader 1990: 92). But after the turmoil associated with Partition, the idea of Hindustani being the link language had not many takers, the Constituent Assembly declared that Hindi in Devanagari script would become the Official Language of the Union. But decision was not without resentment. Ambedkar (cited in Harrison 1960: 282), said; "there was no Article which proved more controversial than Article 115, which deals with the Hindi question. No Article produced more opposition, more heat." Though Hindi initially faced opposition from supporters of Bengali and

Sanskrit, as there was no vital resistance, it was adopted by the Assembly on 14 September 1949. But due to practical and psychological difficulties, it could not immediately displace English. The non-Hindi speaking representatives demanded the retention of English as the only way of blocking the elevation of Hindi, which would give a clear advantage to persons proficient in that language in competition for scarce jobs in the public sector controlled by the Union Government (Brass 1990: 140). But when the Government and Hindi protagonists began demanding immediate implementation of the Constitutional provisions regarding Union Official Language and began raising slogans of 'Angrezi Hatao' and 'Hindi Chalao', the non-Hindi speaking people got alarmed. Fearing the domination of Hindi speaking people, they wanted the continuation of English. In the face of stiff and widespread resistance, the Official Language Act of 1963 was formulated. This Act allowed for the continuation of English in addition to Hindi even after January 26, 1966 for all the official purposes of the Union and in Parliament. This Act was amended in 1968 stating that the status quo would be retained until all the non-Hindi speaking states agree to the change-over. Thus, this Act and the overall compromise also contained multilingual elements. Though English has remained the dominant language of the elite communication in the country, within the linguistically reorganised states, the regional languages have become dominant in government, the courts, schools, and the media.

The second variety of state-centred new nationalism is state sponsored. Interstate rivalry is the fodder on which this variety of nationalism is fed wherein states are defined and cognized as nations, and nationalism is nurtured through the hatred towards an external and despised *other* (Oommen 2004: 56). Chauvinisms

and jingoisms are likely manifestations of this kind of nationalism. The Urdu language movement depicts some signs of language chauvinism.

One of Singh's (2000) main contention in his paper titled "Language Legitimation and Identity: The Status of Urdu and Muslims in India since Independence," is that linguistic identities constantly seek legitimation. As they work towards legitimation, other factors which are not directly connected to language, like issues of social and economic inequality, access to social and cultural opportunities and power assume greater responsibilities. Singh (*ibid.*) in his paper draws attention to how the status of Urdu has undergone a transformation as a consequence of its changing history. While earlier, Urdu represented an elite sub-culture of literary and courtly style, its status changed after Independence. The Partition deeply affected the Indian Muslims socially, economically, and psychologically. This sense of identity crisis experienced by Indian Muslims was reflected by the formulation and implementation of Urdu language policy. Because Urdu is used to reinforce Muslim social, cultural, and religious identities, it has been systematically alienated from mainstream process of education, administration and from the market. This has blocked the growth of Urdu.

Thus we have seen that as Urdu became an integral part of Muslim identity, the overall development of the language suffered, because others remain isolated from it. As tension between India and Pakistan lingers, Muslims in India become objects of suspicion and have to, time and again, prove their loyalty with every marker of their identity being put under a scanner. State sponsored nationalism hence endangers the collective rights of those minorities who share cultural characteristics of the majority of the 'enemy state' (Oommen 2004:56).

Of the two varieties of state-renouncing nationalism, one manifests in the demand for establishing coterminality between political-administrative units and cultural boundaries in multinational federal polities (Oommen 2004: 57). International equality along with preservation of cultural identity is the goal of this variety of state-renouncing nationalism. The movement for linguistic states is an example of this kind of nationalism.

The process of linguistic reorganisation of states raised fundamental questions of centre-state relations. Though on the eve of Independence, the Congress committed itself to the provision of linguistic state, Nehru fearing the divisive nature of language, said that in rearranging the provinces, the primary consideration would be security, unity, and economic prosperity of India. The Commission set up to deal with this issue considered that if ever the provinces were to be reconstituted, the emphasis should be primarily on administrative convenience and not by its own independent force. It warned that creating linguistic states would give rise to a new kind of minority problem. The Commission however accepted that a strong case for the formation of Andhra out of the Madras Presidency existed, particularly as the leadership of Tamil Nadu was acceptable to it. But it did not concede the demand immediately because the two sides could not agree on which state should take Madras city (Chandra 1999: 99).

The movement took a virulent turn when Potti Srimalu, a political leader from the Telugu speaking area of Madras died as a result of a fast for 56 days in 1952. Realising that it could no longer ignore the demand of the Andhra people, the Centre agreed to the creation of Andhra state carving out the territory from Madras in 1953. The success of the Andhra struggle encouraged other linguistic groups to pursue their own struggles. Pandit Nehru appointed in August 1953, the States Reorganisation

Commission (SRC) which published its report in 1955. The report of the Commission was largely in favour of linguistic reorganisation. 'The organising principle was not that each language would have a state, but each state would have a majority language' (cited in Annamalai 2001: 153). Following the States Reorganisation Act of 1956, the boundaries of the Southern States were redrawn in keeping with traditional linguistic regions. The bifurcation of Bombay province into the present states of Gujarat and Maharashtra followed in 1960. In 1966, Punjab was reorganised into three core units: Punjabi Suba, Haryana and Himachal Pradesh (Brass: 1990: 147). The process of the formation of linguistic states has continued since then.

The formation of linguistic states in India had for reaching implications not only for the development of regional language and literature, but also for national language planning, as it strengthened linguistics consciousness and ethno nationality on a territorial basis (Dua 1993: 295).

The second type of state-renouncing nationalism surfaces in the context of ethnification and minoritisation (Oommen 2004: 59). Ethnicity is a product of dissociation between culture and territory. Having migrated for a variety of reasons, those in the diaspora begin a search for their roots and an awareness to maintain their cultural identity, especially religion and language in their new habitat.

One of the latent consequences of the formation of linguistic states has been the status of minority language speakers in the various states. Brass (1990: 152) alleges that in contrast to the pluralist policies pursued by the government of India, many of the states have pursued discriminatory policies towards their linguistic minorities within their boundaries.

Oommen (2004: 43) argues that nation in contrast to state, prompts diversification; it is incessantly in search of roots, which are both specific and

specified. The distinction between *us* and the *other* is the hallmark of a nation. When, following the footsteps of the West, and the trend of the theories of modernisation, India set to create a nation-state, it realised that it could not use the Western model as a blueprint, as both occupy different civilisational zones. In the process of nation building, the state has to endure the new nationalisms of post independence India. Though new, this nationalism is in no way less intense than the nationalism found before Independence. The virulence and passion with which linguistic mobilisations were enacted, and the opposition they faced depict that, in some ways, for the nationalists there was no much difference between the external colonizer and the internal hegemon.

Sheth argues that the nation- state as a model of organising a sovereign polity faces many problems in ethnically plural societies. But Gore (2002: 109) is optimistic. He says that the western liberal framework of nation-state that India adopted, has offered the hope of encompassing and reconciling India's social and cultural diversity. Though the Indian experiment is far from perfect, it has not become authoritarian; democracy and its various institutions are still functional. This has led some to wonder how India with its multi diversity still exists. And what is the way forward?

Many theorists have examined different aspects of this dialectic. Language, being one of the major sources of this diversity, has also received a fair deal of attention. While some have simply documented the various language movements, many have sought to formulate praxis. The analyses drawn, strategies developed, and solutions foreseen have been based on the perspectives taken. And the perspectives for viewing this linguistic diversity are also varied.

PERSPECTIVES ON MULTILINGUALISM

Assuming India to be a consequence of anti-colonial struggle, the nationalist perspective, looks at literature that recreates the spirit and mood of the national liberation movement. One of the earliest proponents of the nationalist perspective on language was M.K Gandhi. Das Gupta (1970) in his book "Language Conflict and Developing Nations" informs that Gandhi started the *Dakshin Bharat Hindi Prachar Sabha* and *Rashtra Bhasha Prachar Sabha* in 1918 and 1936 respectively. In 1925, when the Constitution of the Indian National Congress was amended, Gandhi saw to it that the proceedings were recorded in Hindi. In various public addresses as well as in his writings in Hind Swaraj, Harijan etc, he continued to espouse the cause of Hindi. He was of the firm belief that the nascent nation-state could not really shake off the colonial shadow as long as it used the language of the colonisers. Dua (1993) in his article 'The National Language and the Ex-Colonial Language as Rivals: The Case of India,' says that the rivalry between Hindi and English presents an extremely complex but typical case of language conflict in a developing nation. It speaks of the conflict pertaining to language choice, acceptance, promotion, and development in India. This conflict is related to the relation between Hindi, the national language and English, the ex-colonial language on one hand, and Hindi and other Indian languages on the other. Influenced by Fishman's (1968) distinction between nationalism and nationism, Dua makes a perceptive distinction between national language and nationality language. While Hindi has emerged as the national language, there has also been an erosion of national consensus for Hindi partly because of the heightened language consciousness supported by the linguistic reorganisation of states and partly because of the politicisation of the intense opposition to Hindi. Though Dua's article provides insights on the dialectical relation following the interaction of the colonial, national

and regional languages, he makes a fundamental flaw in referring to Hindi as the national language. Hindi, as stated in the Constitution, is not the National language; along with English, it serves as the Official language of the Union. For Rai (2001: 120) Hindi's national status is bound to remain symbolic unless it can engineer a nation commensurate with itself. His small but perceptive work "Hindi Naitonalism" is a passionate defence of Hindi. But it is a heteroglot, hybrid language that absorbed the semantic resources of various traditions in the nineteenth century, a language variously and synonymously called Hindi, Urdu and Hindustani. He is arguing for a Hindi Gandhi saw as the only possible national language of India.

Oommen (2004) questions the validity of this nationalist perspective on certain grounds. He says that this perspective completely ignores the nature of the human agency involved; people rebel not simply against abstract notions such as colonialism, but against concrete people involved in confrontation (Oommen 2004: 87). It also abridges India's long history to a century of intense anti-imperialist struggle. He also alleges that the terms national and political, state and nation, polity, and society are used interchangeably thus creating confusion. Another difficulty with this perspective is that political consciousness, which is only one layer of human consciousness, is believed to constitute the totality.

Language has played such a defining role in determining the contours of both nationalism and the nation-state is that it is a crucial component of identity. The sociologist Goffmann believes that the 'self' is constructed entirely through discourse, making our language choices paramount to our identity construction (Ritzer: 1992). Spolsky (1999) believes language to be a central feature of human identity. When we hear someone speak, we immediately make guesses about race, class, gender, education level, age, profession, and place of origin. Language identities and the

status allotted them are never constant, they keep fluctuating. Kuipers (1998) in his book "Language, Identity, and Marginality in Indonesia: The Changing Nature of Ritual Speech on the Island of Sumba" argues that languages differentiate, change, grow, decline, and expand not because of "natural" life cycles, but because of the way that linguistic ideologies, held by interested actors and speakers and those who hold power over them, mediate between features of linguistic structure and socioeconomic relations. One of Singh's (2000) main contention in his essay titled "Language Legitimation and Identity: Status of Urdu and Muslims in India since Independence", is that language identities constantly seek legitimation. As these identities and ideologies work towards legitimation, other factors which are not directly connected to language, such as issues of social and economic inequality, access to social and cultural opportunities and power assume greater importance. Singh draws upon the above analysis when explaining the relationship between Urdu language and issues of identity and legitimation prevalent within the Muslim community since Partition.

What happens when a person has more than one identity asks Gonzalez (2001) in her work 'I am my Language: Discourses of Women and Children in the Borderlands'. Is there a neat overlay of language on identity, or do we shift our identities as we shift our language? How do multiple languages interpenetrate and reconstruct multiple identities of lay people? What identities do children construct for themselves when they use languages in particular ways?

Bayer (1990) in her article 'Language and Social Identity' cites the case of Tamil language where it has been found that if one splits the Tamil language and culture into its innumerable variants of language and cultural features based on social categories such as caste, region and religion, what emerges is that the single entity of Tamil language and culture is hierarchically structured. This hierarchy is broken into

networks of social groups. Each group is perceived as a dimension of the central Tamil entity. Instrumental, interpretative and expressive of every single social group, the identities form the overall network of every single social group within the Tamil language and culture. The individual is thus capable of holding membership indifferent group, both simultaneously and serially.

In "Decolonizing the Mind", the Kenyan writer-activist Ngugi wa Thiong'o maintains at one point: 'The choice of language and the use to which language is put is central to a people's definition of themselves in relation to their natural and social environment, indeed in relation to the entire universe.' Hussain (2007) opines that Ngugi here does not merely call attention to the choice of a particular language vis-à-vis our struggle for self-definition, but also registers his predilection for the way in which language is used, or the way in which language comes to define and determine one's place in the world. This sentiment expressed by Hussain is also found in Vatysyayan's essay on 'Language and Identity' when he asserts that language is the most powerful and effective instrument of culture because it is the most important vehicle of a sense of belonging. He argues that it is only when a commitment to language means a commitment to experience in that language, that the language can be considered an instrument of culture and identity. The essay focuses on the creative use of language and its bearing on the defense or the achievement of identity. He laments that the creative writer of the 1950s has been educated into an inability to feel. This happens because he thinks in one language and writes in another. This results in a loss of identity. Unlike the writers of an earlier generation who made demands on the inadequacies of their language and created the language they needed for what they had to say, today's writers give up on their language. Like Anzaldua (1987) who in her work "Borderlands/ La frontera: The New Mestiza" writes that 'I

am my language, because language is at the heart of who we are', Vatsyayan too feels that 'I continue to have an identity, a sense of wholeness, of confidence that I am, and that I am effective. I continue to have a language.'

This sense of ingrained identity with language is also common in works dealing with the mother tongue. Mother tongues are elevated to some anthromorphine and divine status, and are literally worshipped. Also, mother tongue becomes a rallying point for groups of people to unite and express their solidarity more as a political entity. Thus the perspective that centers on the mother tongue forms an important construct in literature dealing with the politics of language use. Ramaswamy in her book "Passions of the Tongue" (1997) asks why would love for their mother tongue lead several men in Southern India to burn themselves alive in the name of the mother tongue? Her answer is organised around the concept of love, labour and life and how these discourses transformed Tamil into an object of such passionate attachment, producing in the process one of modern India's most intense movements for linguistic revival and separatism from the mainland. In her book, she delineates the transformation of the language into a goddess, mother and maiden and explores the pious, filial and erotic aspects of Tamil devotion.

The notion of mother tongue also has a latent function by which it can be used as a means to further political goals. For example, Brass (1990) in his book "Politics of India since Independence" shows how during the Punjab movement during the 1950s and1960s, regardless of what was their actual mother tongue, in Census reports, Hindus returned that Hindi was their mother tongue, while the Sikhs demanded a Sikh State claiming Punjabi written in Gurumukhi as a Sikh language. Thus, there is fluidity of language identities and, depending on the situation, both, primordial and instrumental bases of identity are invoked.

The situation becomes even more complex when the mother tongue is a minority language. Abbi (2000) in her article 'Forgotten India Heritage Languages of Minority Communities in India' writes that the policy of listing a select few languages as scheduled and embracing a large number of languages under the umbrella of one of the scheduled languages created an arbitrary cleavage between major and minor languages. She opines that this assimilation ideology has quite understandably given rise to fears and misgivings among communities whose languages are branded as 'minor'. In her article Abbi discusses various issues related to minority languages in India. She observes that blanket generalisations cannot be made about the status of minority languages.

Singh (2000) in his essay 'Developing Minor and Minority Languages in South Asia' gives the theoretical framework for dealing with minor and minority languages. Narrowing on the Indian situation, the essay tries to explain the uneven development of language as a result of wrong priorities and discusses planning option to ensure linguistic equality. One option that he recommends is the pluralistic paradigm.

The pluralistic paradigm, which is conceptualised as dignified coexistence of the diverse cultural elements within the polity, is seen by many scholars as a way of managing India's diversity. The most important consideration behind the advocacy of the pluralist perspective, for Oommen (2004:90) is that India is a multilingual entity and so there is a need to incorporate all the elements into it without eroding their identity, dignity and self- respect (2004: 90). In his essay 'For a Cultural Renewal of India,' he asserts that language and territory are the two bases of the Indian nation-state. After identifying the context in which denial of language rights exists, he then

makes the case of language plurality as an essential component for a cultural renewal of India.

The cultural renewal of India involves the active participation of the civil society. Social movement is an important component of civil society. They occur at the seam between the life world and the system. They find articulation in the public sphere. Language movements too find expression in the public sphere. India has been inundated with a variety of language movements, both old and new. Hence voluminous literature is devoted to unraveling the political sociological perspective on language, specifically focusing on the public sphere.

The literary sphere in India and its transformation and growth, very often mirrors more general processes of expansion, institutionalisation and consolidation, in the larger public-political sphere. The importance of the language question in defining the public sphere had become apparent even before the British gained formal political command Naregal (2001), shows how the cultivation of native languages and the foundation of colonial rule went hand in hand, and how this transformed the way in which these languages were written, spoken, read and studied. Language was one of the essential concerns of Indian reformers in the nineteenth century, a basic constituent of their discourse of progress and reform. In nationalistic terms, language and literature were the means to define and communicate the agenda for progress, and were themselves metaphors for the jati/ nation: The strength of the literature showed the strength of the nation, the life of the language was the life of the nation (Orsini 2002: 5). The spread of literacy in the previous centuries led to an accumulation of socio-cultural change with the growth of urban culture, the press and commercial publishing. The "general public" these citizens spoke of was actually quite limited and consisted mainly of the bourgeoisie and the titled gentry, yet in itself,

understanding this literary sphere was the "public" and was accessible to all (*ibid*: 5). Media, publics and the critical functions they expressed was first developed around literary concerns, giving rise to a sort of "republic of letters". The public thus involved discursive and institutional spaces, a common language, a set of procedural principles, some activism, and the awareness of a public "out there".

Orsini explores this intricate link between language and the public sphere in her book, "The Hindi Public Sphere 1920-1940- Language and Literature in the Age of Nationalism". In this book, she analyses how a language became the instrument with which the contours of a new nation were traced. She maps the process by which formalised Hindi attempted at creating a regional public sphere in North India in the early twentieth century. Through her work, Orsini shows how early twentieth century discourses on language, literature, women, history and politics form the core of the Hindi culture that exists today.

While Orsini examines the relationship between Hindi and the public sphere, Naregal (2001) focuses her study on the Marathi language. Taking as its subject 'the makings and implications of colonial bilingualism', the book traces the emergence of a colonial vernacular public sphere in mid-nineteenth century Mumbai and Pune. In her book, "Language, Politics, Elites and the Public Sphere- Western India under Colonialism", Naregal looks at the relationship between linguistic hierarchies, textual practices and power in colonial western India. She looks at how local intellectuals exploited their "middling" positions through initiatives to establish newspapers and influential channels of communication. One of the central concerns of the book is the coding of "high" and "low" functions of form, what may be termed the linguistic economy of society which she describes as crucial to the making of moral and

political norms. Though rich in scholarship, Naregal's work is said to take the intelligentsia as a social given and this sometimes confuses the analysis.

Pinto (2007) in her book "Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa" discusses the development of print culture in nineteenth century Goa. She traces the growth of the Portuguese, Marathi, English, and Konkani literary spheres in Goa. Beginning with the nineteenth century, she discusses the development of print culture and its implications for larger questions of nationalism, modernity, and colonial politics. Though rich in abundant use of technical jargons drawn from a variety of sources, her book does not make an easy reading.

In this thesis, I have applied the perspective of the political sociology of language use. Power, hegemony, identity, cultural, and social capital are the dominant recurrent themes in this work. All these various forces interact in a dialectical relationship to shape the public sphere. As informed by the post-structurlist perspective, language is integrally related to power and is the instrument of particular social interests that construct discourses, conventions, and practices. Thus by using public sphere as a sensitising concept, I have sought to understand the language dynamics that have been played out in post colonial Goa.

CHANGING NATURE OF MULTILINGUALISM IN INDIA

Nation, nationalism and nationality cannot be categorically defined. The growth of nation, nationalism and nationality can be traced to the modern world. The rise of national consciousness was first seen in Europe when the countries were abandoning feudalism in favour of capitalism. Generally language, as a means of inter-dialectic communication, emerged as a crucial factor for realising such a market (Guha 1982: 3). Language was thus entrenched in the interplay of nation, nationalism, and nationality in the West. The Third World borrowed these ideas from the West.

But given the different civilisational space, nation-state formation followed its own logic in post colonial societies.

This is the primary factor for the change in the nature of multilinguaism in India. Though India was multilingual for millennia, the nature of multilingualism changed. As Khaubchandani (1991) says, India is fast turning away from an organically "accommodating" plurilingual nation to an institutionally "assertive" multilingual nation.

There have been a number of perspectives, attempting to understand this emergence and practice of assertive multilingualism and attempts at contrived homogeneity. Of the various perspectives, I find that the one dealing with the political sociology of language use would help me better understand the language dynamics of post colonial Goa. In the next chapter, I will elaborate on the consequence of multilingualism for the formation and growth of multiple public spheres in Goa.

CHAPTER III

MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTIPLE PUBLIC SPHERES: A HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

CHAPTER III

MULTILINGUALISM AND MULTIPLE PUBLIC SPHERES: A HISTORICAL AND POLITICAL SOCIOLOGICAL ACCOUNT

As observed in the previous chapter, multilingualism in India has occupied the imagination of social scientists. The magnitude of multilingualism in India has made people often wonder, not just how the nation-state has survived this far, but even how communication takes place. One feature of the multilingual heritage of India has been the addition of languages rather than the attrition. A recurring factor in the emergence of new languages is the challenge to the existing socio-political order by an emerging social group that seeks a separate cultural, social and political identity and power (Annamalai cited in Koul 2000: 3).

The socio-political status of a language is not static it is liable to change as society and polity changes. The tendency to treat languages as if they can exist in sealed compartments, unchanging and untouched by the world around them is based on the misconception that a language variety which is artificially preserved from the forces of change can survive. Evidently it does not (Krishna 1999: 4).

This chapter examines the relation between the changing nuances of the Konkani language and society in Goa. Highlighting the importance o Konkani to Goan society Dalgado (2008: 39) as way back as, in 1905 wrote "the study of the vernacular language of Goa, generally called *Concani*, is recommended for various reasons; we may consider it as a means, or we may look at it as an end in itself." The articulation and development of multilingualism in Goa follows a different pattern from that which is found in other

parts of India. While in the rest of India there has been a shift from functional to assertive or contested multilingualism, in Goa the situation was altogether different. Because of its unique socio political history, Goa has always seen interplay of language, religion and governance. In Goa, the dialectic between language and religion has ensured that the phase of contested multilingualism in the public sphere began almost five centuries ago. This chapter is a chronological elaboration of this dynamic phenomenon. Through a historical and political sociological account, I have attempted to explicate how multilingualism has given rise to multiple public spheres in Goa.

A historical exploration of any situation, especially one that has experienced colonialism, becomes fraught with contrasts and complexities. There have been various perspectives through which this historiography has been analysed. Cohen (1997) speaks of three different approaches to Indian history- the Orientalist, the Missionary and the Administrative. Goan historiography is not as well documented as Indian historiography documentay. As Coutinho (1998, cited in Trichur 2000: 638) calls it, 'there is a kind of absence' with reference to Goan historiography. Trichur (2000:638) understands absence to refer to absence of a theoretically sophisticated historical account of Goan society and its history. There are various renditions of Goan history. Most scholars on Goan historiography do not go beyond their chosen perspective. This results in a slightly blinkered view of history. The three strands of Goan historiography are the Orientalist, the perspective of Goa Dourada and that of Goa Indica.

Said (1971: 1 cited in Newman 2001:234) defines Orientalism as '...a way of coming to terms with the Orient that is based on the Orient's special place in European Western experience. It is premised upon exteriority; the Orientalist makes the Orient

speak. The Orientalist genuinely believes in the richness of the past of the Orient and therein lies his endeavour to unravel that golden past. The golden past is made available through the classical sacred texts. These texts were documented in Sanskrit. Hence the Orientalists held Sanskrit and other classical languages in great esteem. They gave to the various Indian classical languages the same respect that they gave Latin and other classical languages of Europe.

Goa *Dourada* sees Goa as a European enclave, clinging on to the image of golden Goa. In opposition to Goa *Dourada*, you have the Goa *Indica*, the nationalist response to the colonial constructions of Goa. It emphasises Indian contribution to the construction of Goan identity. This chapter is an attempt at describing the perspectives on the antiquity of Konkani, development of Konkani public sphere, and the prevalence of multiple public spheres in Goa.

GOA'S LINGUISTIC HISTORY

Language being intrinsic to territory, Konkani's history is linked to the history of the land of its speakers. The Konkani language is spoken throughout the narrow strip of land which is bounded on the north by Malvan, on the south by Karwar, on the east by the Western Ghats, and on the west by the Arabian sea (Da Cunha 1881:1).

Myth and History

The name Konkani came from a reference to the region in which the language has been spoken i.e. the Konkan. Konkan was called Aparanta in ancient times. The word Konkan is derived from Kukkana. The position of this Kukkanaes is given in Suta-Samhita (Ch. XVI 1-5) as north of Gokarna (Sardessai 2000:1). Kunkana is also believed to refer Lord Parashurama's mother Rukmini. The mythical creation of Goa is ascribed to Parashuram.

According to the Sahyadri Khanda [1]of the Skanda Purana, as Vishnu's reincarnation, Parashurama's mission was to destroy the arrogant power of the Kshatriyas. Enraged when his father was killed by a Kshatriya, Parashurama chased away most of the Kshatriyas and gifted their lands to Kashyapa, his high priest. In an effort to save the lives of the remaining Kshatriyas, Kashyapa persuaded Parashurama to leave the place. So Parashurama shot an arrow into the sea and the waters parted and land appeared. This land was Goa. The land was to have many names: Gomantaka, Gomanta, Gomanchala, Gorastra, Govarashtra, Govapuri and Revatidwipa (Couto 2004: 6).

Though historians have disputed this myth, Couto (2004: 6) writes that Parashurama's mythical arrow can be rationally explained as the journey made by gifted Aryan agriculturalists who descended from the North of India in search of fertile lands. Reclaiming the estuarine land through an intricate system of bunds and sluice gates, they created the khazan land of Goa. These khazan lands were found in Goa since 200 BC.

These Aryan agriculturists are believed to be Guada Brahmans from Tirhut, who migrated southwards when the mythical Saraswati dried up. These Brahmanas along with their agricultural skills also carried their language with them. Da Cunha (1991: 8) supports this view when he writes that "with regard to the origin of Konkani language, it seems that it is one of the Gaudian languages of the north-western group, imported into the Konkan by a colony of Brahmans from the north. Pereira (1992:8) and Gomes (2000: 19) give a slightly different account for the origin of Konkani. They opine that when the Aryans migrated southwards, they took their form of speech with them, gathering accretions and impregnations of patterns on their trek onwards, particularly of eh Sauraseni and Maharastri Prakrits (Gomes 2000: 19). In their final settlement in the

Konkan, the Proto- Austroloid or Austro- Asiatic speech of the Konkas, led to a fusion of tongues, which gave rise to a fresh amalgam, called Konkani. Thus Konkani's root is a fusion of Proto-Austroloid tongue akin to ancient Mundari and a form of speech having Vedic ancestry.

Konkani: A Victim of Disinterested Patrons?

But Pereira (1992: 8) laments that this oldest of modern tongues was not fated to reign in its own home; very early, official and religious status was accorded to the vernaculars of the more powerful adjacent territories, Karnatak and Maharashtra. Angle (1994:11) gives a chronological sequence of the various rulers that ruled Goa [2] since ancient times:

110 to 1313- Kadambas,

1314 to 1367- Mohomedans,

1367 to 1469- Vijayanagar,

1469 to 1510-Mohomedans, and

1510 to 1961- Portuguese

Unlike many other parts of India, Goa was never under a local ruler at any period in history. Each ruler thus imposed his language and script in the public sphere in Goa. Konkani suffered at the cost of the neighbouring languages which because of political patronage increased its hold over the region, especially in the areas of administration and education. When Goa was under the sway of Kannada-speaking dynasties, Kannada dominated over the local language. The Yadavas, the Bahamanis and the Sultan of Bijapur who ruled over portions of the Konkan for a time, gave Marathi official standing. The vacant places of the Konkani Brahmins, who migrated to the Vijayanagara Empire,

were taken up by the less qualified Maratha Brahmin priests. These Maratha Brahmin priests raised their own vernacular to the position of Konkani (Pereira 1992).

The system of education in pre-Portuguese Goa was largely religious in nature. When the Portuguese conquered Goa, they did not meet unlettered or illiterate masses of people, but those well versed in Sanskrit and Marathi religious literature (Souza 1977: 13; Almeida 2004: 59). The formal education which was limited to the three upper castes was provided at *pathshalas* or *parishads* by schoolmasters or *aigals* in local languages (Bothelo 2007: 45) 2. The teachers who were called *Sinai* or *Shennoy* or *Shenvi Mama* were actually Maharastrians who were employed in Goa usually as clerks. They would also teach the children of their employers as well as neighbouring children usually in the balcony of big residential houses. In course of time they opened their own informal schools, called *Shenvi mama* schools. As these teachers came from Maharastra, they taught in Marathi. Hence Marathi became the medium of instruction in schools in pre-Portuguese Goa [3].

Despite the isolation of Konkani in the political, religious and educational spheres, Konkani continued as the language of the private sphere. Until the arrival of the Portuguese, there was no objection to using Konkani for non-official and non-religious purposes. In fact, not only with regard to language, but in other spheres as well, the various rulers did not intervene in the mundane life of the people. Life in Goa revolved around the village. The central institution in the village was the system known as *gaoncaria* or *gaunvponn* in Konkani. The *gauncari* system was a unique system in which there was collective ownership of land by shareholders who divide the profits from the land. In their description of village communities in Goa, Axelrod and Fuerch (1998: 446)

write that there was an inextricable conceptual link between the production and intellectual systems of pre-Portuguese Goa. At the time of the arrival of the Portuguese, the *gauncares* held the land in common and were served by temple priests and other hereditary servants who had traditionally determined obligations and received payments in kind. Income from the land known as *nomos*, were under the control of the temple and were reserved for the servants of the temple. Regardless of who was the ruler, life in Goa continued undisturbed with its unique religious practices, rituals and beliefs and language serving as markers of Goan identity. While rulers changed from time to time, the *Gaunponn* remained, hence the attachment and fidelity to the village and their mother tongue was stronger than loyalty to the rulers and their official language of administration.

Despite not having official patronage, the language was developed by the people. It also drew on the resources of it's neighbours like Marathi and Kannada, and in turn, supplied to them from its own fund. It developed a script of its own, the *Kandvi* or *GoymKannadi*, which encompassed all speech sounds in the language, thus setting it apart from the *Halle* or Old Kannada script of the then prevailing rulers (Gomes 2000: 21). Thus on the cultural level at least, it carved for itself a separate identity. Goans adapted and assimilated the influences of their Brahminical, Buddhist, and Jain heritage as part of their identity. Gradually, it was given visibility in the public domain, at least sporadically. Konkani began appearing on inscriptions during the reign of various rulers. The most outstanding of the inscriptions is the one that is scrawled across the foot of the giant granite monolith of Bahubali, the Jain Tirthankara, the Gomateshwara, at Sravanabelagolla in the Hassan district of coastal Karnataka dated 1116-17 AD (Gomes

2000:22). Copper plate and stone inscriptions dating back to the twelfth century have also been unearthed in Konkani in *Kandvi* or *GoymKannadi* script.

The Chalukya emperor Someshwar II who collected lyrics from various Indian languages in his monumental " Abhilasatarthachintamani" mentions in the 'Manasollasa', a part of the compilation, a strain of a lyric/ song from what is apparently Konkani (Gomes 2000: 22). During that period there were also various inscriptions in Marathi which borrowing number of words, phrases and idioms in Konkani asserted the native community's tongue as being suppressed by the dominant ruler's alien rule.

Apart from copper inscriptions, Konkani was also incorporated into literature. Old Marathi classics like the *Dnyaneshwari* which is the Marathi translation of the *Bhagvad Geeta*, and the *Lila Charitra* of the Mahanubhav movement of Sri Chakradhar Swami contain a large number of Konkani words, idioms and phrases. Thus, Konkani resources were thought to be qualitatively good enough to be used for Marathi classical writings.

There are also Biblical hymns in Konkani which are probably remnants of the early days of Christianity when Apostle Bartholomew preached in Konkani in the first century of the Christian era. The evidence for some kind of Konkani poetry is furnished by the eminent Marathi poet Namdev in the fourteenth century. In a poem describing the child Krishna's pilfering of the cowgirls' clothes, he makes the cowgirls beg the naughty God for their saris in five tongues, one of them being Konkani.

In the fifteenth century, Konkani literature developed well enough to have extant prose in the form of stories from the Ramayana and Mahabharata in Konkani. The stories show that Konkani had already attained a certain literary level and also threw light on the language of Goa in the pre-Portuguese period (Sardessai 2000: 30). Krishnadas Shama, a

native of Quelossim, is believed to be the author of this prose. The public library at Braga in Portugal contains two codices of Konkani Language which are transliterated in Roman script by Jesuit scholars in the sixteenth century. It is not clear whether the stories were originally oral or written. The stories interpreted and narrated in their own distinctive style express their rootedness in Goa. For example, they include an imaginative episode of the abduction of Sri Rama himself, while a child, from his native Ayodhya and his arrival in Goa, where he meets the *gauncars* of the villages of Majorda, Utorda, Chicolna etc. and his eventual return to Ayodhya

Thus works in Konkani prose and poetry were part of the native Goan contribution to the language. The language was also written in more than one script. Though not given official recognition, Konkani did form part of the public sphere in Goa. This is because successive rulers of Goa did not impose any restrictions on the use of the language. In fact Konkani not only developed, but also had interchanges with the neighbouring languages of Marathi and Kannada. But because of the lack of a cohesive community feeling and assertiveness among Konkani speakers and the rule by outsiders, the growth and development .of the Konkani public sphere was limited.

KONKANI UNDER PORTUGUESE REGIME

As the influence of over 451 years of Portuguese rule in Goa, has been tremendous, I have focussed on this period at length. When Goa was under Mohamedan rule, Timoja, who was the commander of the Vijayanagar fleet, induced the Portuguese chieftain Afonso de Albuquerque to enter Goa on 17 February 1510 (Angle 1994: 8).

The early Portuguese: From Ignorance to Dominance

When the Portuguese set sail for India, they had a two fold aim: control of the spice trade based in South India and rescue of Christians under siege. They hoped to find the legendary Prester John and Christians who were converted by Thomas the Apostle in South India, but were now being persecuted. Though they did not find Prestor John, they did find what they saw as a thriving Eastern Christianity that was so unlike theirs. This shocked them immensely as for them Western culture was a necessary component of Christianity. But religious and cultural domination was not the apparent intentions at the outset; Gama wanted to trade and leave the population in peace (Couto 2004: 102). Albuquerque too wished to initially limit the Portuguese interaction in Goa to only trade. When he wrote to the king a month after the conquest, he described:

> '[When] the principal Gentiles whom the Turks had deprived of their lands, learnt of the destruction of Goa, they came down from the hills where they had taken refuge and sided with me .....[they] put to the sword the Moors who escaped from Goa and they left no living creature alive.'
>
> (cited in Cunha T.B.1944)

Though Albuquerque's policy was of non interference with religious practice, it did not last for long. Though living in the age of the Renaissance, the conquerors of Konkani's heartland were mediaeval minded; for them Church and State were one with interests linked (Pereira 1992: 11). Religious mission was never separate from mercantilism, and conversion from commerce. The Portuguese king functioned as the Grand Master of the Order of Christ and by a series of Papal Bulls (religious decrees) passed between 1452 and 1456 , was given authority to conquer, subdue and convert all

pagan territories (Robinson : 44). In 1518, the Franciscans wrote to the king demanding that he should forbid *yogis* of the mainland from entering Portuguese territory. Other religious leaders also disapproved of the various Hindu customs being followed. In 1526 though a charter granted recognition to local customs including the maintenance of temples, missionaries worked to convert and slowly succeeded with the poor, with the landed yielding to the coercive proselytising techniques(Couto 2004: 104). However the situation became quite rigid after 1540 in the reign of King Joao III of Portugal when the Church became linked with State. The Kings of Portugal became tireless propagators of the Catholic religion and sent officers of the Military Order of Jesus Christ across the seas to evangelise and as a result the Kings were bestowed special graces by the popes (*ibid.*: 204).

Lusitanisation was for Konkani a force at once destructive and liberative; destructive because as a channel of an intolerant westernisation, it aimed at absorbing Konkani culture into itself; liberative because it freed Konkani from the oppression of another intolerant and corrosive, but far less sophisticated culture-the Maratha (Pereira 1992:14). The history of Konkani is inextricably linked to the Marathi language, as it derives its identity in its vociferous attempts at distinguishing itself from Marathi. The Marathism is well conceptualised in the statements given by Sardessai (1916, cited in Pereira 1977: 43): He opined that Konkani developed because of foreign rule and religion.

> "It is true that Konkani is not an artificially created dialect. One supposes that the circumstances of the distance between the Deccan and the Konkan may have resulted in that the Marathi spoken in the Konkan

> varied somewhat from that of the Deccan. But it is certain that this difference could in no way be substantial or profound. And among the two forms, that of the Deccan, considered to be purer and more classical was adopted for book-keeping .....Konkani derived from the vulgar form of Old Marathi in use in the Konkan, a form which in the beginning differed but little from classical Marathi, as it was a dialect of the latter tongue."

Sardessai also opines that Konkani has always been purely colloquial and by itself lacks a literary language's resources. He also alleges that Konkani speakers are not attached to it. They are ashamed of it and hence do not produce literature in it. Sardessai's views are clearly enunciated dogma of Marathism. This ideology which had its origins in Maratha rule over Goa has persisted all through the centuries. Konkani literature as well as historiography arose, to a large extent, as a response and challenge to this ideology.

Thus with the arrival of the Portuguese policy of Lusitanisation, the public sphere in Goa saw an interplay of a variety of forces and agents: religious conversion, political expediency, the dominance of Portuguese, the counter-dominance of Marathi and attempts at Konkani perseverance and eventual resurgence.

Lusitanisation and Language: From Destruction to Development

In the first ardour of conquest, temples were demolished, all emblems of the Hindu cult were destroyed, and books written in the vernacular tongue, containing or suspected of containing idolatrous precepts and doctrines, were burnt (Cunha Rivara 2006: 16). There was even a desire to exterminate those in the population that had no desire to convert. But

the long distance that separated the Indian conquests from the metropolis and the invincible resistance naturally offered by a numerous population, among whom the principal castes had reached a very high degree of civilisation, obliged the conquerors to abstain from open violence, and to prefer indirect though not gentle means to achieve the same (*ibid*: 17). Da Cunha (1991: 26) adds ' from the very day that the Portuguese formed settlements in India until the last century, or until the comparatively liberal policy of the great minister of King D. Jose, Marquis of Pombal was happily inaugurated in India, the Portuguese government through the advice of ecclesiastical authorities, not only withheld every kind of encouragement from the study of the Konkani language and literature, or any other Indian vernacular, but promoted persecutions of all sorts.'

But, after some time, the Portuguese realised that if they wanted to gain a large number of converts, they could not ignore the local language. But the very zeal for the propagation of the Christian faith, the needs of the Government for the lands conquered, or feudatories and the necessities of commercial intercourse made evident to the conquerors the need for the knowledge of vernacular languages and for securing assistance from the natives, even in the priestly ministry itself (Cunha Rivara 1991: 22). The various councils and Goan constitutions ordered the study of the language of the land. The first Provincial Council (1567, 5th Decree First Act) states: "Since this preaching would be more fruitful, if the preacher were well versed in the language of those to whom they preach, the Council very earnestly urges the Prelates that they should have in their diocese trustworthy persons who would learn languages"(Sardessai 2000: 12).

Thus the various religious orders like the Jesuits and the Franciscans devoted themselves to the study of Konkani. The name Konkani used to denote this language is fairly recent. The Konkani language was at one time referred to as *Lingua Canarim* or *Canarin*. They may have confused it for Kanarese though Saldhana (cited in Chavan 1995: 14) affirms that Kanarese or any other Dravidian language had no hand in building up Konakni. Chavan (1995: 14-15) gives an account on the usage of *Lingua Canarin* to refer to Konkani by citing a book published in 1824 by the then Goa High Court Judge Goncalco Teixeira Pinto. In his book, Pinto writes:

> "In Goa the Portuguese arriving from Europe are called *Fringis* (Franks). Their sons who are born in India, but of pure Portuguese blood are called *Casticos*. The sons born of Portuguese fathers and Indian mothers are called *Mesticos*. The Christians born of Indian parents are called *Canarins* and the Gentiles are called *Concanos*."

So, if this be the case, Chavan concludes that the language spoken by these *Canarins* should be dubbed *Lingua Canarina*.

Da Cunha (1991: 2) in his research on Konkani language problematises this discussion on nomenclature still further. After acknowledging that the Portuguese indiscriminately used *Lingua Canarin*, or *Canarina* or *Lingua Concana* or *Concanica* or *Lingua Brahmana* or *Brahmana- Goana*, he says the word Konkani has often been the source of confusion, mistaking the dialect thus called of the Marathi with the Konkani proper. He further explains that the Marathi language has two principal dialects, the *Deshi* or the *Dakhani*, spoken in those parts of the Dakhan which lie northward or eastward of Pune, and the *Konkani* spoken throughout Northern Konkan as far as

Malvan. It was in the latter dialect also that some of the Portuguese missionaries wrote their works on Christianity and a grammar of it in the seventeenth century, but with a negligence or disregard for correct philological nomenclature, they called it *Lingua Canarin do Norte*, or the Kanarese Language of the North. So thus Da Cunha draws a difference between the dialect of Marathi spoken in Dakhani and the variety known by the name of Konkani spoken in Goa.

Whether they called it *Canarim, Brahmani, Brahmana-Canarim,* Konkani or any other name, they knew that this was the language used by Goans everyday. And this was the language that the Portuguese clergy were interested in learning. The Paulists, who were a religious order of priests, opened a school of Konkani language in Salcete. The students were cautioned to speak only in Konkani and to become familiar with Devanagari script. St. Francis Xavier had also foreseen the need of learning native languages in order to enable the Jesuits to perform with greater efficacy their activities in the East (De Souza 2005: 28). He also initiated a school for boys, attached to the College of St. Paul in Goa. Boys from all over the East were brought there for education. Fr. Lourenco Pires writing to Portugal in 1563 describes the services of these boys:

> "One is a Goan Canarim, and is already able to preach to the natives in various parishes in their own language. He also teaches the language to some of our Brothers with the help of a grammar he has composed. Some of these Brothers are already showing progress and could very soon converse with the natives in their language. He also teaches the language with the help of a grammar he has composed. Some of these Brothers are already showing progress and could very soon

converse with the natives in their language" (Documenta Indica, VI, p. 111, cited in De Souza 2005: 28).

From where did the Portuguese priests learn Konkani? Depending on the ideological camp, there were two ways of answering this question. The supporters of Marathism believe that the Jesuits made attempts to disseminate their religion through the language of the natives.

> "But they could not find any grammar that would somehow help them to learn the language. Therefore, they managed to somehow get the hang of the language in vogue among the lower class people; they roamed about preaching the message of Christ among these unlettered people.....They prepared incorrect grammars of the language prevalent among the unlettered populace."(cited in Borges 2003: 20)

Goembab counters this view. Appreciating the efforts taken in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in learning Konkani, how they identified its nooks and crevices, its ins and outs and how they used to take note of the very minute details of the language. He says:

> "The whole world knows that, even in this enlightened twentieth century, the fisher folk and Gavdas not only in Goa, but also of the entire country, do not know to read and write. This being the case, how could anyone believe that, in the sixteenth century, the Portuguese priests adopted the language of the ancestors of these very people and learnt it from them? The priests of Goa learnt their Konkani from the Brahmins

alone. Obviously because, at that time, only the Brahmins knew to read and write." (Goembab cited in Borges 2003: 20)

Couto (2004: 144) also informs that even though the first Goan priest was ordained in 1560, only patricians Brahmins were allowed to become priests, though a few Chardos were also permitted. This supports the view that the native seminarians who taught the Portuguese priests Konkani were Brahmins.

Whoever be the source of their learning, the Portuguese did cultivate the language, at least until the *Alvara* of 1684 [4], which banned the use of Konkani. Together with baptising and catechising the natives, hearing confessions of the natives and the whites was an important pastoral activity(De Souza 2005: 26).And they found that understanding the native tongue better aided the confession activity of the parishioners, sick as well as prisoners. Baptising and catechising was greatly helped by the development of literature in Konkani. This literature was primarily religious or sacred in nature.

One of the fist and the best example of this kind of Literature is the work of Fr. Thomas Stephens. Sardessai (2000: 34) salutes him as the 'Father of Christian religious literature in India'. Fr Stephens made a close study of the language and the script of the people. In his letter to his father dated 10 November 1579 he wrote:

> ".....and to Goa we came the 24th of October, there being received with passing great clarity. .....You will find hardly any piece of writing except on its leaves. Many are the languages of these places. Their pronunciation is not disagreeable, and their structure is allied to Greek and

Latin. The phrases and constructions are of a wonderful kind ("Christian Puranna" ed. J E Saldanha pp. XXXIV cited in Sardessai 2000:35)

Fr. Stephens worked in Salsette consisting of a population of 80,000 scattered over 55 villages. In his letter of 6 December 1579, he observes:

> "In this Christianity of Salcette, I found things that give lustre. This population of Margao is entirely made up of Christian Brahmins with a school largely attended by children, very intelligent and well disposed....The catechism has been done in the language of the country which the children learn by heart. They do not find themselves at a loss when a superior is invited to the Church and takes a chapter of the doctrine with its questions and answers."[Sardessai (2000:35) opines that the Catechism mentioned above must surely be the 'Doutrina Christa' published by Stephens in 1622].

Instead of preaching through an interpreter, Fr. Stephens learnt the local language Konkani and the language of literature, Marathi at the instance of the new converts who desired religious works in Christianity, similar to those found in other religions. He prepared the Christa Purana. The epic poem was written in Marathi but with a generous sprinkling of Konkani, and he used Portuguese words when he couldn't get local words to express religious concepts. Being a contemporary of Eknath (1548- 1609) he must have surely been influenced by his works, especially *Dyaneshwari*. Some scholars give slightly different opinions on the issue of the language of the Christa Purana. Historian Rajwade (cited in Sardessai 2000: 37) in his preface to *Jnaneshwari* states that Krista Purana is an example of Paishachi Konkani and that Fr. Stephens borrowed words from

Dasopant and *Janardan*, the sects of Western India. Sardessai agrees that Stephens composed his Purana by including in it words of Paishachi Konkani language.

Da Cunha (1991:29) claims that the Purana is in classical Konkani which was once spoken, but became in time confined to sacred or religious purposes.

> "The Konkani now spoken differs considerably from that used even at the present day by priests in their sermons. It appears to be an intermediate stage between the Puranic and the current language. On this ground, one may divide Konkani into two dialects into which have, from time immemorial, been spilt up the more ancient tongues, viz., hieratic and demotic, the former employed in worship, and the latter in the common speech of the people. Stephens' Konkani of the Purana is entirely hieratic."

The Purana, which was popular among the lower classes was primarily an abridged version of the New Testament of the Bible, accompanied by explanatory remarks on various sections of the Bible. The Purana was printed in Roman Script. Sardessai (2000: 38) attributes two reasons for this: Because of the non-existence of Devanagari printing technology in India at the time it was certainly easier to bring out an edition of a work in Roman rather than in Devanagari characters; secondly, the Portuguese Government was averse to the cultivation of Hindu literature because of the fear of promoting idolatry, and hence it did not favour the propagation of the sacred script of the Hindus.

Apart from the Christa Purana, Fr. Stephens also composed a booklet for daily use in Konkani entitled "Doutrina Christam". Sardessai (2000: 39) points out that it is

significant to note that while Fr.Stephens wrote his "Krista Purana" in Marathi he chose to write the Cathechism in Konkani, since the latter language alone the could touch the bulk of the neo converts. Dr Mariano Saldhanha printed a facsimile of this book in which he tried to incorporate Hindu religious terms in Christian doctrine. Gomes (2000: 27) points out that a book titled 'Doutrina Christam' composed by a Goan seminarian, Andre Vaz, a Kshatriya gaunkar of Carambolim, adjacent to the city of Goa was printed and published in 1556, the year when the first printing press was installed [5]

The arrival of the printing press gave a fillip to create more literature in the colony [6]. Christian books were then printed for the benefits of the converts and as an aid to the process of conversion. For popular instruction and guidance to missionaries Fr. Stephens composed 'Arte de Lingua Canarim', a book on Konkani grammar in the Portuguese language. It was the first grammar of any Indian language to be published.

Besides Fr. Stephens work, there appeared a series of Konkani works authored mainly by missionaries such as Padre Diogo Ribeiro, Padre D' Almeida, Padre Pascoal Dias and others.

As long as there was a need for books for the purpose of evangelisation, printing activity flourished in Goa. But in the year 1684, everything changed when the Government changed its policy towards the native languages. Till then the ecclesiastical as well as the civil powers had been mindful of the real need for the knowledge and study of the Konkani language (Rivara 2006: 40-41). Not many years earlier the Viceroy, Antonio de Mello de Castro had declared that he himself was learning the language with a view to governing his subjects well, and the royal commands were inflexible in ordering the clerics in charge of parishes to learn the vernaculars (*ibid:* 41.).

On the 27th of June, 1684, the Viceroy, Francis de Tavora, Count of Alvor passed a decree, wherein in addition to miscegenation, it was also decreed that

> " in order to put an end to all inconveniences, it would be suitable if the locals depose the use of their native language, by which many inconveniences would cease that result from their speaking the mother tongue and the Portuguese language at the same time, in order not to be understood. Besides being more convenient for the parish priests to teach Catechism and instruct in the mysteries of the faith .....The ignorance of one or the other is always harmful not only to the political handling of the State, but also to the spiritual welfare of the souls" (Moncoes do Reino, No. 49, fls. 290- 291v, Cunha Rivara, 1858, pp.255- 259, cited in De' Souza 2005:55).

As the *alvara* of 1684 is a landmark document and has been held responsible for the various evils that have befallen on Konkani since then, Mendonca (2005:42- 43) delves into the socio religious conditions of the century to decode meanings and implications of the *alvara* for the natives. He writes that since the *alvara* does not specifically mention Konkani by name, it is probable that it targeted other local languages spoken in Portuguese-controlled areas, though of course had it been implemented, it would have affected Konkani the most. It is believed that the *alvara* was never implemented in its totality. The *alvara* implied that the ousting of Konkani was necessary until perhaps such time as the locals learnt the Portuguese language for religious purposes. The principal authors responsible for the promulgation of such an order were the parish priests who were ordered to learn the vernacular and who being more

interested in their own comforts than in the interests of religion gave the viceroy to understand that it would be easier to force all the people to learn Portuguese and thus remove from the few the burden of the study of the vernacular (Cunha Rivara 2006: 42). The identity of the authors, after being secret for some time, was revealed to be the priests belonging to the Order of the Franciscans.

Mendonca (2005: 50) believes that the *alvara* was not strictly implemented. To support his case he gives the example of Fr. Alexandre Cicero, a Jesuit authority, who decreed in January 1685 that 'the Jesuit priests of Salcete, Provinces of the North and other parts, should learn the local languages as ordered by their Superior General in Rome, Fr. Joao Paulo Oliva.' It was also conveyed that without the knowledge of the local language, considerable disservice was done to the Society of Jesus and to one's own and other's souls. For this reason, and also because he did not find any penalty or sanction on anyone for speaking the local language, Mendonca (2005) concludes that the *alvara* must have become dysfunctional almost immediately. He further alleges that it is perhaps our own inadequacy in promoting the local languages finds an easy escape route in the *alvara*. Cunha Rivara gives a counter view when he writes that 'in spite of their absurdity, these Charters have not yet been revoked (1856) and it is from this date that begins the abandonment of the language and the progressive and extraordinary corruption of the same in Goa, a corruption which was already noticeable in the beginning of the last century in Goa.'

The 'corruption noticeable in the last century' that Cunha Rivara talks about refers to the changes brought about by the setting up of the Holy Inquisition in 1560 which enforced the policy of Lusitanisation. The Jesuit, Francis Xavier called for the

Inquisition in 1546 to control the 'debasement of European Christian society in Goa as he realised such conduct scandalised the converted Goans and was a bad example' (Couto 2004: 110). This institution which was finally abolished only in 1812, was implemented with varying degrees of severity depending on the monarch in power. The Inquisition in course of time came to be applicable to newly converted Christians as well as those who had not converted. Equating religion with culture, adherence to any aspect of traditional culture, including language, was forbidden, though it is debatable on how earnestly the law forbidding Konkani was enforced. The Edict of 1736 banned indigenous socio cultural and religious practices. Couto 2004:171) underlines the starkness of the situation by enumerating the following events:

1684 : Viceregal decree forbids use of Konkani in private and public

1731 : The Inquisition orders Konkani Christians to give up their native speech and to communicate only in Portuguese.

1745 : The Archbishop restricts marriage and priesthood to those who speak Portuguese exclusively.

1788 : The Archbishop orders religious instruction to be imparted only in Portuguese.

1812 : The Archbishop forbids school children from speaking in their mother tongue.

1831 : The Government establishes primary schools but excludes Konkani from the curriculum, although chairs are set up in Marathi, Kannada, Tamil and Malayalam in some institutions.

1847 : The Archbishop forbids the use of Konkani in seminaries.

1858 : An author of Konkani hymns was charged 25 percent extra by the Government printing press because the book was written in a "foreign" language.

Thus we can see that the decline of Konkani continued under the policies of the State and the Church. The only bright though brief ray of hope came when the Marquis de Pombal took over in 1759. He ordered that Konkani be taught in school with the help of dictionaries that were expurgated of any Jesuit influence. He had attempted to extend the control and responsibility of the Portuguese State through educational reforms. But his edicts were never implemented.

In this connection, Sardessai (2000: 66) states:

"Inquisition not only had a harmful effect on the development of Konkani language and literature, it also resulted in emigration of Goans to other regions, where the language was spoken. The history of Konkani created the geography of Konkani." The Inquisition, as well as other developments like the printing of Konkani books in Roman types had the manifest, and at times latent consequence, of creating a yawning gap between Hindus and Catholics in Goa. This angle is examined at length in the fifth chapter of my thesis. The divisions became even more pronounced in the nineteenth century.

THE FORMATION OF THE PUBIC SPHERE: LANGUAGE AND SYMBOLIC POWER IN THE 19th CENTURY

The Rise of Marathi and the Conflicting Public Spheres in Goa

In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese conquered the areas known as the New Conquests. It wasn't merely centuries that separated the two phases of Portuguese colonialism. Unlike the old conquests, the Portuguese did not follow an aggressive conversion policy in the areas of the new conquests[7]. The difference in topography (while

the old conquest primarily consisted of coastal areas, the new conquest is largely made up of the hilly interior) was one factor that distinguished both the conquests. The others were the nature of administration of the *communidades* (the Portuguese term for the *ganvcari* system) and the religious policy followed. Language was also a marker that separated the two conquests. Schools in the New Conquest were exempt from religious instruction, and Latin schools were reduced to one in each district (Pinto 2007: 87). The acquisition of territories that were guaranteed religious freedom presented the State with administrative problems, particularly with regard to linguistic decisions

In the areas of the new conquest, the overbearing influence of Marathi was very much present .It was so because these regions till their transfer to the Portuguese were under the domains of the Sawants of Sawntwadi or King Sunda who played a feudatory role of the Satara Crown where Marathi was spoken as well as written (Shirodkar 2002: 36). Thus the influence of Marathi grew in the nineteenth century.

The beginnings of the Konkani-Marathi controversy can be traced to an essay on Indian languages written by John Leyden in 1807. In this essay, Leyden chalks out a hierarchy of languages in which he places Konkani as a dialect of Marathi. A colleague of Leyden's, William Carey, a Sanskrit scholar spent eleven years translating the Bible into Konkani. He disagreed with Leyden. While he did not expressly refute Leyden's opinion of Konkani being a dialect of Marathi, he speaks of it as a language in its own right (Pereira 1977: 7). The views of these two scholars gave rise to two distinct ideological camps: Marathism and Konkanism. Some of the more prominent Marathists were Erskine Perry (1806-1882) and Robert Xavier Murphy (1803-1857). On Konkani's relation to Marathi, Murphy said:

"An examination of the grammar of Konkani proves it to be decidedly that of the Marathi language. The nouns and verbs are inflected in the same manner, with some modifications in the details.....Konkani bears the stamp of a peculiar Brahmanical influence and many Sanskrit words.....They are pronounced purely by Shenvis, but by the common Christian population(Natives of Goa) are corrupted"(Cited in Pereira1977: 13).

This rise of Marathi at the cost of Konkani was further consolidated by the Portuguese colonial policies. It suited the Portuguese Government to encourage this state of affairs as no other language posed as big a threat to lusophone identity than Konkani. In 1812 the Archbishop Galdino prohibited the use of Konkani in primary schools as a medium for both teaching and conversation in order to further the spread of Portuguese. But this policy was directed only towards Konkani. Though state and church policy indicated a specific preference towards Portuguese and against Konkani, the history of policies regarding Marathi and English reveals an inability to actually confront a strong campaign promoting English and Marathi.(Pinto 2007:95). The proponents of both the languages had learnt to deploy cultural and linguistic powers for different uses and with greater proficiency (*ibid:* 95)

In 1836, there was state recognition of privately run primary schools that did not instruct in Portuguese. These reforms also allowed for knowledge of French and English. The dual linguistic policy that the Portuguese were forced to acknowledge, is evident from two orders that the Portuguese government passed in two consecutive years. In 1942, the Governor General claimed that knowledge of Portuguese was an 'indispensable

element of civilisation' in Goa, as those who did not know it 'would find it difficult to enjoy their political rights in the plenitude in which other subjects of the Crown did' (Xavier 1876). In 1843, however , the state found it necessary to set up Marathi and Konkani classes in the New Conquests to facilitate accurate governance since Marathi alone was spoken by one group of people and both old and new documents were written in that language. This policy, namely the setting up of Marathi schools in the first half of the nineteenth century, was a consequence of having to dilute its thrust towards cultural assimilation, to accommodate the realities of governing new territories and the requirement for acknowledging cultural difference(Pinto 2007: 97).

The economic domination of the British colonial state over Portuguese territories forced a number of Goans to seek employment in British India. This link between Goa and the British was initiated during the Napoleonic wars when British soldiers were stationed in Goa in 1808. In the early years of the century, there were a number of emigrants to Bombay in search of employment Hence there was a demand for English medium schools and the first state run English medium school was started in 1869. Interestingly, at least in the beginning, it was not the intelligentsia and elite, but the working classes who were drawn to English- medium schools.

In 1853, Marathi types were introduced in the national press. Court verdicts relating to land rights were printed in both Portuguese and Marathi. In 1871, when all schools in the New Conquests were converted into bilingual schools teaching in both Marathi and Portuguese, the sphere of Marathi widened to become the spoken and official language of the new conquest.

From *Lingua Brahmana* to *A Lingua das-criades*: The Decline of Konkani

Apart from the early phase of the Inquisition, the only edicts against language were directed against Konkani. This is because no other language posed as much a threat to identity and loyalty to the Crown than Konkani. Konkani was that one language that united all Goans irrespective of religion, caste and ancestry. While those in power actively sought to increase the dominance and spread of Marathi and English, almost all interested groups were either indifferent or actively opposed to the development of the Konkani language. With no state backing, nor a popular campaign around the language, nor a dominant indigenous group to argue for a place for Konkani within the educational system, its speakers were excluded from those circuits of power to which Marathi, Portuguese and English were granted access (Pinto 2007: 96). In such a situation Marathi and Portuguese occupied the discursive spaces that Konkani could have had. The upper castes that moved to town for professional reasons participated entirely in Luso-Indian culture and spoke mainly in Portuguese. In their efforts to assume Western identity, Konkani became a liability that they were ashamed of. Christian families began to call Portuguese their mother tongue and speak it even at home, something which had not happened earlier.

While the Christians, especially the upper caste urban inhabitants (the rural still clung to Konkani) dissociated themselves from Konkani, the situation was even more pronounced with the Hindus. Tormented by the Inquisition and the Portuguese policies of discrimination, Hindus sought refuge in the devotional verses of the neighbouring Marathi literature. The association of a language with a religious community helped construct a Hindu identity within Goa and prepared the ground for the formation of

specifically Hindu associations (Pinto 2007: 109). The staunchest proponent of Marathi during this phase was Suriagy Anand Rao, the official translator to the Portuguese Government who vociferously blocked the development of Konkani. He believed that Konkani was a corrupt form of Marathi and that anyone who spoke this corrupt form could easily understand the pure form that was spoken in the North.

From the above discussion it appears that its status having been shunned by both Hindus and Catholics, Konkani entered a phase of decline. Once associated with prestige and called *Lingua Brahmana*, it was reduced by the nineteenth century to being the "language of servants". This has led to what Branganca calls 'denationalisation of Goans' which he elaborates in a paper as follows:

> "The obstacles set up to the cultivation of their mother tongue deprived Goans of their most natural instrument for the expression of their highest thoughts and deepest feelings, checked all spontaneity and deprived them of a literature worthy of the name. Ashamed of their uncultivated language, the educated class professes to despise it. Forced to write in a foreign language, they are bound to produce merely imitations lacking in the creative spirit .....Hence the poverty of our literary productions in Portuguese, English and Marathi reflect their effort at refinement and effects of style, but are empty of substantial thoughts. An ape-like literature lacks vitality because it has no roots in the soil where it is born." (Branganza Cunha 1944)

While some might argue that denationalisation is too harsh a term to describe the situation, could it be that shame in language led to shame in identity? This could perhaps

be the reason why the Catholics opted for a whole scale borrowing of a Luso Indian culture and the Hindus clung on to the Marathi customs and traditions.

Formation of Multiple Public Spheres

The reintroduction of the printing press in 1826 in Goa along with a struggle for constitutional monarchy in Portugal led to the transformation of the public sphere. New public institutions for intellectual improvement, public improvement and educational standardisation were set up. And public life, or at least the public life of the small Goan Catholic and Hindu elite, was saturated with print.

Though the literacy rate among Goans acted as a limitation on the popularity of publishing, the print media did grow. Since the first daily in Goa emerged in 1900, newspapers were never a disposable, easily acquired commodity, and their arrival and absorption may have been awaited and then extended across the week and until the next made its way in the hands of the purchaser (Pinto 2007: 129).

The efforts to censor and control the production of newsprint were thwarted by the existence of another print market in Bombay. Aware of this, those using alternative print market not only offered in their publications a direct counter to the colonial state, they also acted as a link connecting Goans and Portuguese to British India and other places where Goans had a closer association.

The linguistic repertoires of the nineteenth century Goans were finely stratified. Elite Catholics and many elite Hindus were literate in Portuguese and Konkani while elite Hindus were also literate in Marathi. Konkani was not employed in any official or elite public realm. This linguistic stratification coupled with an active printing press led to the emergence of multiple public spheres.

The Marathi newspapers emerged since the 1860s. Though presses for Devanagari had been acquired, it was more expensive than printing in Roman. The focus of the Marathi papers was the campaign for Marathi schools, examining the avenues for economic growth among the Hindus in Goa with those in British India. The task the Gomantak undertook for itself was threefold: to instruct and morally educate all Hindus, to defend the religion of their ancestors and to reform Hindu customs (Pinto 2007: 133).

While the Marathi public sphere was busy consolidating itself, the Konkani public was still staggering in the dark. The first time Konkani entered the public discourse was when Cunha Rivara wrote his path breaking essay 'A Historical Essay on the Konkani Language of 1857' in which he argued for State and public patronage for Konkani. At the beginning of the essay he points out "the absurdity of the affirmation that a language spoken by half a million of people had no grammar and was not even capable of being set into writing." The Secretary General of Portuguese India, he published Thomas Stephen's Grammar. His standing in the Government did not help his cause for the upliftment of Konkani. That such a high- ranking, influential Government Official could not bring about a dent in the Government's attitude towards Konkani shows the wall that the language was up against. Nevertheless Cunha Rivara pioneered the way for other Konkani stalwarts and Scholars interested in Konkani language like Gerson Da Cunha, Mariano Saldanha and Sebastaio Rudolfo Dalgado.

Proponents of Konkani in Goa did not, however match the growth of Marathi schools through private capital, nor could they draw on a supply of teachers and texts from any other region, as supporters of Marathi could (Pinto 2007: 114). In addition, the Catholic elite had to address the Goan diaspora, particularly since it was among these

groups that Konkani had begun to flourish (*ibid.*: 114) The publication of '*Udentechem Sallok*' and the novel '*Kristanv Ghorabo*' in Roman script led to the dawn of a new era in Konkani journalism and fiction. The large-scale migration of Goans since the sixteenth century gave rise to a multiplicity of dialects and scripts thus fracturing the Konkani public sphere even further. Nevertheless a beginning was made in the nineteenth century which acted as a precursor to the Konkani renaissance in the twentieth century.

THE ELABORATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

The foundations of modern Konkani literature were to a large extent laid by Vaman Raghunath Varde Valaulikar *alias* Shennoi Goembab[8]. The impact of his personality and writings is felt on writers even till this day. Taking a vow to revive the lost pride of Konkani, he devoted his entire life to explore what he believed to be the innate strength and beauty of his language. In order to make the Konkani speakers assert their identity, he had to restore to them their own language sorely neglected and constantly despised (Sardesai 2000:119). 'Konkani Bhaxechem Zoit' containing articles published in 'Hindu' and 'Bharat' weeklies from Goa and 'Navyug' and 'Vividhjnyan Vistar' from Bombay is his magnum opus that seeks to prove that Konkani is an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi. He studied different religions and wrote about them. Through the various genres of his writings, he attempted to depict Konkani's literary antiquity. While in the beginning he wrote in Roman script, he later used Devanagari script for writing Konkani.

Born in a Shenvi Brahmin family in 1878, during his youth, Shri Goembab migrated to Bombay in search of employment. And it was in Bombay that he took up the

cause of Konkani. Bombay, being part of British India and later independent India, provided the environment to nurture the cause of Konkani. Not just politically, but socially and intellectually as well, Bombay provided the ideal environs for the development of the Konkani renaissance. Due to the poor economic and educational opportunities prevalent in Goa, an increasing number of Goans began migrating to Bombay for the purpose of employment and education. There was already a sizable Goan population who had made Bombay their home since the time of Inquisition and later. The Goan emigrants often stayed in Goan hostels called *Kudds.* There was a sizeable semi-literate Goan Catholic population in Bombay working as cooks, waiters, and musicians etc. who had migrated from the Old Conquest since the nineteenth century. In the early twentieth century, educated youth, both Hindus and Catholics gravitated to Bombay for further studies and to take up white-collar professions. Hence there was an eclectic community of dynamic Goans conducive to the cause of the revival of Konkani. Under the inspiring leadership of Shri Shenoi Gembab, Goans in Bombay chalked out the early phases of the Konkani movement in the twentieth century.

The Genesis the Movement: Life Worlds and the Public Sphere

Most of today's Konkani stalwarts began their literary journey in the public sphere in Bombay. The first generation of language activists inspired by Goembab included Shri Ravindra Kelekar, Dr. ManoharRai Sardessai and Shri Uday Bhembre. Shri Ravindra Kelekar was born in 1924, in the island of Diu, then a Portuguese colony, but came to Goa for further studies. During childhood itself, he began his quest for identity. Though his elders considered themselves as Marathis, Shri Kelekar felt that they could not be Marathis as no one in Goa understood the language without learning it formally. Shri

Kelekar also has an interesting episode to narrate relating to his quest for identity. Yearning for authentic home food in Bombay, he was taken to a restaurant and served Maharastrian cuisine. But he remained dissatisfied. When he realised that Marathi cuisine was foreign to him, he then understood that Goan identity is distinct from Marathi identity.

After a prolonged struggle with himself, it dawned on Shri Kelekar that Konkani was the basis of Goan identity. So he immersed himself to the cause of Konkani. He firmly believed that political liberation was imminent, what one had to strive for was civil liberties. He assisted in the organisation of the 'First All India Konkani Conference' which was held in Karwar in 1939. He then went to Bombay and worked among Goans residing in Bombay. He found it difficult to change their minds as they were very lusitanised. So to establish a connection with them, he started a Konkani weekly paper in Roman script called *Gomant Bharati.* This paper attempted to unite all Konkanis irrespective of religion. Earlier at the age of seventeen, he also began a Konkani journal *Mirg.*

A contemporary of Kelekar, Dr. ManoharRai Sardessai also inspired by Shri Goembab was another pioneer of the Konkani movement. Born in 1925, he was exposed to both Konkani and Marathi literature right from childhood as the elders in his house wrote poems in Konkani and his father, besides founding a school, also initiated the writing of regional short stories depicting authentic Goan life in Marathi.

On finishing school, Dr Sardessai enrolled in Wellington College for Science, at Sangli in Maharashtra. It was as a hostelite in this college that he had the first experience of defending and promoting Konkani. The hostel had many Maharashtrian and

Kannadiga inmates, all of whom used to ridicule the Konkani language. Angered by this, Dr. Sardessai recalls that at one time he gave a spontaneous lecture on the merits of the Konkani language. This incident left an indelible mark on him. Around this time, he was also influenced by Shri Goembab's "Konkani Baxechom Zoit".

Subsequently Dr. Sardessai returned to Goa and along with Shri.Vishnu Naik (who had begun the Konkani movement in Dharward) brought out a handwritten magazine *Nobot* (first music that you hear in the temple). As publication was banned, they circulated the handwritten issue among friends. It struck him that though Goans knew Marathi they were hesitant to openly communicate in that language as they were afraid of making grammatical mistakes. Dr. Sardessai concluded that the very fact that Goans were conscious of grammar meant that that language was not their first language. Hence they had to develop their native language, Konkani. And achieving this became his lifelong task.

In 1942, Dr. Sardessai migrated to Bombay, where he completed his BA and MA in French. While in Bombay, he attended and became a member of Konkani Bhasha Mandal (KBM) Bombay. There was a Konkani atmosphere among Goans living in Bombay, and to promote the development of Konkani, they started a Konkani magazine, *Saad* of which Dr. Sardessai was the editor in 1952. In the same year, he got a job as a lecturer at Rupert College. Subsequently, he joined Wilson College, Bombay. In both the colleges, he initiated the formation of Konkani associations for Konkani students studying in these colleges. This paved way for the next generation of Konkani leaders. Stalwarts like Shri Uday Bhembre who was a student in Bombay,

were inspired by Shri Goembab and nurtured in these various Konkani associations started by Shri Sardessai.

Shri Bhembre was associated with the language movement since 1957. In college he was an active member of the Konkani *mandals*. Each language spoken by the students had its own mandal in the various colleges. Such Konkani *mandals* were established in fifteen colleges in Bombay. Shri Bhembre recalls that there were various other programmes like a three One-Act-Play competition. This gave an impetus to writers and directors as prior to this, 'tiatr'[9] were the only form of Konkani plays available to the people of Goa. These activities acted as an instrument of awareness for Shri Bhembre.

Shri Bhembre feels that this awareness was the need of the hour. There were a number of Goans in Bombay. Among these Goans, for at least 95 percent of the Hindus, Marathi was the language of Goa. These Hindus who mostly belonged to the older generation were pro-Marathi as there was a tradition of Marathi in Goa. They would hold meetings and rallies to put forth their views. Shri Kelekar remembers that in 1945, Goan Hindus in Maharashtra organised a Marathi conference in Bombay. Shri Purushottam Kakodkar was invited to preside over the function. In his Presidential address, Shri Kakodkar, an associate of Gandhi and a *Satyagrahi*, spoke on how Konkani unites Goans. Feeling insulted and humiliated by this praise for Konkani at a Marathi conference, the President of the conference walked out. Thus there was a situation of language conflict in Bombay wherein the older generation was pro Marathi and the younger one, especially upper caste Hindus were advocates of Konkani.

The public sphere for Konkani was further enlarged when the All India Radio, Bombay, devoted a daily half-hour slot for Konkani. This slot consisted of Konkani

news, plays, music and song. Pandit Jitendra Abhisheki, Dr. ManoharRai Sardessai, Shri Uday Bhembre, Shri Chandrakant Keni and others contributed to endeavour for the cause of Konkani. Shri Keni said that working in the AIR was an opportunity to study various kinds of Konkani literature. Shri Bhembre proudly recalls that he was the one that announced the news of Goa's Liberation on All India Radio.

Thus before Liberation, there was no Konkani movement in Goa. The movement was alive in other parts of the country, with the epicentre at Bombay. Goa's historical and political condition led to large-scale migration to different areas of South India, thus widening Konkani's geography. The torch for Konkani was carried out in these areas, before Liberation. For instance, from the time of its inception, the 'All India Konkani Conference', held its first six meets outside Goa.

Though pro-Konkani dialogues in the public sphere were banned in Goa, these discourses were very much part of the agenda of political prisoners lodged at the Aguada and Reis Magos jails. Shri Naguesh Karmali, freedom fighter and Konkanivada, gives a fascinating account of how the Konkani movement was pursued in the prisons. Apart from discussions and discourses supporting the cause of Konkani, there was also a handwritten Konkani journal that was prepared by the inmates and circulated amongst themselves [10].

But after Liberation, the primary arena of the Konkani public sphere shifted to Goa. In post-colonial Goa, language has come to play a dominant role in defining Goa's political and cultural identity.

Liberation: Shifting Perceptions, Changing Identities

In 1947, when India became independent, and began the process of nation building, the Portuguese under the dictatorship of Salazar pretended as if Goa was unaffected. But certain changes, though subtle, occurred. One, the Portuguese whose policy towards non Catholic Goans was so far exclusionist, now tried to change things[11]. Entry into Portuguese schools and public service jobs, which were so far denied to them, were now made available. Also, satyagrahis from outside Goa started entering in droves but the Portuguese Government dealt with them ferociously. A number of Goans formed a number of groups like the Goa People's Party, Azad Gomantak Dal, Goa Ashram and the Goa Liberation Council. A large number of those in the forefront of the liberation movement were Catholics, many of whom spoke Portuguese or had been educated in Portugal. But given the complexity of Goa's socio-political history, the discourses being played out in the public sphere were varied. Though most favoured Liberation, there were a number of Goans who were pro-Portuguese. 'Given the lusitanised cultural and religious perceptions, the economic advantages of Goa's duty free import policy in the 1950s, the new opportunities for education, employment, and pensions.....if many Catholics wished for a freer political atmosphere they did not necessarily burn with desire to give up their privileges and share the economic fortunes of India, which at that time, were not bright' (Newman 2001: 61)

The Portuguese policy of enticing Goans was never backed with sufficient educational facilities. While the Brahmin elite among both Hindus and Catholics learnt Portuguese, the common people learnt Marathi if they went to school at all. When the last Governor General Vassal e Silva, toured rural Goa, he was dismayed to find large

number of English-language primary schools affiliated to the Bombay Board of Education, while Portuguese primary schools were scarce (Newman 2001: 61).

When Liberation came, it was unexpected. The 'suddenness' of Operation Vijay'[12] ,that was sent to liberate Goa, left many perplexed. Some were confounded on even how to view this event: Liberation or Invasion. Fr. Athaide recalls helicopters flying over Goan villages, dropping pamphlets in Portuguese and Konkani in Roman Script, assuring the people that the Indian army had come to liberate them and not to impose its will on the people. While the spontaneous reaction of the people was happiness and relief, the attitude of the new Government and the situation in the weaning period, which lacked sensitivity, made the Goans unsure. Overnight they had to switch to not just a new administration and government, but a whole new lifestyle including language as well. As Shri Keni says, 'things were a mess'. But finally it was Nehru's observation when he visited Goa in 1962, *yeh Goa ke log bahut ajeeb ha,* and his promise of not disturbing Goa's unique character that reassured the people.

Goa's self-perception also underwent yet another change in this phase of transition. As mentioned earlier, having languished for centuries under Portuguese colonial domination, a large number of Goans migrated or were forced into exile. Migration and exile for thousands of families and more thousands of single men created and sustained a nostalgic longing for a beautiful, golden but perhaps imaginary Goa that was talked about from Kampala to Macau (Newman 2001: 57). This image was also shared by the Portuguese, many of whom genuinely fell in love with this place. Up to the time of Indian independence, the Portuguese perception of Goa reigned supreme, in which anything not in sync with lusitanised Portugal was excluded from the public gaze.

In such a perception, Goa was distinct from India and no assimilation would ever be possible. But this same policy of exclusion and discrimination drove the Hindus towards Marathi and mainland India, thus giving rise to an identity with what came to be known as Goa *Indica*. But the majority of Goans, Catholics and Hindus, remained untouched by questions of language and Westernisation. They simply lived in their traditional way, speaking Konkani, within a common socio-economic system, with similar and overlapping religious beliefs and world view (Newman 2001: 59).

These perceptions and sense of identity underwent further changes in post liberation Goa. After 451 years of Portuguese colonial domination, Goa began to experience the process of democratisation of socio-political institutions. Language has played a vital role in Goa's post-liberation socio political history. Goa's politics, intrinsically linked with language as it were, represented both primordial and instrumental identities.

Goa is usually considered as a 'cultural zone' (Singh 1992: 53 and Singh 2000: 46), for the people of Goa shared a common ethos and folklore. Notwithstanding the plural religious and caste background, the people of Goa put up a unified protest against the colonial masters. Because of the prolonged colonial rule in Goa even after the rest to the subcontinent achieved independence the image of the place and the people in Goa, for the 'other Indians' is that of a highly 'westernised cultural zone.' The people of Goa do not share this image and argue that they are as much Indians as the 'other Indians' are Indians. They consider themselves as part and parcel of the Indian civilisational flow.

Apart from the above mentioned attitudes and trends towards 'cultural universalisation', the people of Goa have been experiencing trends of 'cultural

parochialisation.' In this respect, they share the concerns being experienced by local and regional cultures of other cultural zones in India in the wake of de-colonisation. The question of parochialising concerns could emerge fully in the post-colonial condition, for until then the universalising currents were very strong. In the colonial condition, 'the other' to be encountered was the categorically defined 'alien' who is different in race and civilisational background. The democratisation process in the post-colonial condition, by providing opportunities for people to articulate and express their ideas and ideologues, has been a catalyst in concretising the parochialising concerns.

The parochialising trend in post-colonial Goa has taken a linguistic turn as it was generic of the process of State-formation in India. The issues have emerged not because of the prevalence of multiple language varieties- but because of formal and conscious attempts at parochialisation in the post-colonial context. Every major milestone that the State has encountered has been cloaked, either overtly or covertly, in the garb of language.

LINGUISTIC POTRAIT OF POST- COLONIAL GOA: PLURALITY, POLARITY AND CONTESTATION

Linguistically, Goa is located precisely on the dividing line which separates the Indo-European languages of North India from the Dravidian languages of the South (Bradnock: 1977). As already discussed, at the time of Liberation, Konkani, Marathi, Portuguese and English were the major languages of India.

After India got incorporated with the Indian Union, like any region in a state of transition, Goa underwent many changes. As mentioned earlier, under the Portuguese, Goa remained underdeveloped. After integrating with India, economic developmental

activities were initiated in Goa on a large scale. Bridges, roads, buildings etc. had to be commissioned. All this required tremendous human resources. Labour was required for construction works. As Goans generally do not like to associate themselves with manual work, labourers were got from the neighbouring states.

Also as the colonial Government did not lay much emphasis on education, qualified persons to fill the many vacant posts had to be got from outside Goa. Many Goans who had migrated to other parts of India also returned to their motherland.

One result of this large scale in-migration was that Goa became a mosaic of different languages. This fact is highlighted in the first census data on the mother tongue spoken by people residing in Goa. This information is tabulated in table 3.1

TABLE 3.1

LIST OF LANGUAGES RECORDED IN THE 1971 CENSUS OF GOA

Language	**No. of Speakers**	**Language**	**No. of Speakers**
Marathi	1,69,260	Urdu	19,205
Oriya	153	Assamese	97
Punjabi	1370	Bengali	712
Sanskrit	20	Gujarati	60687
Sindhi	254	Hindi	10701
Tamil	3,347	Kannada	16537
Telugu	4,114	Kashmiri	11
Malyalam	5,656		

Source: Gune 1979.

Konkani is not mentioned in table 3.1 as at time it was not included in the Eight Schedule of the Constitution.

Though Goa is linguistically plural, the majority of Goans speak Konkani and Marathi, though English, Hindi and Kannada are also widely spoken., Konkani and Marathi are the majority languages not only in terms of number, but also for continued contestation for cultural and political dominance. The post liberation history of Goa is thus replete with linguistic articulations in the public sphere.

POLTICAL SOCIOLOGICAL ISSUES IN THE PUBLIC SPHERE IN GOA

The primary problem facing Goa immediately after Liberation was the status of the Portuguese-medium schools. Overnight, these schools were converted into Konkani-medium schools. In order to ensure smooth functioning of these schools, text books had to be prepared in Konkani, in addition to training the teachers in Konkani. The Konkani protagonists, mainly under the banner of the KBM (which is based in Goa and had no connection with the Bombay KBM), undertook this task. At that time, Shri Ravindra Kelekar and some others, including members of Christian schools, met to discuss matters pertaining to the preparation of text books. During the course of the meeting, Shri Kelekar suggested that the Catholic schools could adopt Konkani in Romi script as it was traditionally the script used by Catholics. The priests from Loyola school strongly rejected this move as they felt that it would divide the two religious communities. They were of the opinion that as Devanagari was the natural script for Konkani, it should be the sole script to be used in schools.

The KBM also organised the first Konkani Conference in Goa under the banner of the All India Konkani Parishad in 1962. The Konkani protagonists were a minority and they were ridiculed by the Marathi majority. Dr ManoharRai Sardessai gave a fiery speech at the VII th All India Konkani Conference, which was well received and which angered the Marathivadis. From that point onwards, the Konkani movement began in earnest. The Konkani protagonists, under the banner of the KBM, travelled from village to village enlightening people about Konkani language and persuading them to write in that language.

One particular incident stands out in Dr Sardessai's mind regarding those early years. In 1962, a meeting was organised by the Marathivadis at Pharmacy College. Dr. Sardessai and some other Konkani protagonists attended the meeting. After the meeting, as Dr. Sardessai and the others were leaving the hall, one Marathivadi passed a remark that 11 mosquitoes have left the hall. Dr Sardessai retorted by composing an inspiring poem in which he clarified that those 11 mosquitoes were equivalent to the 11 talukas of Goa.

The next day itself, there was one of the largest meetings held at Azad Maidan, Panjim, organised by the Konkanivadis. It was called Ekchar Sabha and was attended by over 10,000 people. The speeches were made both in Konkani and in Marathi. Through these speeches, protagonists slowly attempted to convert the masses to Konkani. Impressed by the meeting, eminent politician Dr. Jack Sequeira invited Dr. Sardessai and Shri. Kelekar to form the 'Goencho Poksh'. Dr. Sequeira was the President and Dr Sardessai was the Secretary. This party was the forerunner to the major political party of post- Liberation India, the United Goans Party (UGP).

The story of Goa's politics reflected both primordial and instrumental identities (Newman2001: 64). Goan political parties and politicians were largely concerned with whether Goa should remain a separate entity or merge with Maharashtra. This issue took centre stage over the neglect of everything else. And in keeping with the policy of linguistic states in India, the merger non-merger issue in India was linked to the Konkani-Marathi dispute.

Formation of local Political Parties

In 1962, the Maharastravadi Gomantak Party (MGP) was formed. Shri Dayanand Bandodkar,a rich and influential businessman approached the Congress Party for a ticket but was rejected. He was then advised by the Maharashtra leadership to form the MGP in Goa. The MGP was formed June 1963. Existentially, this party denied the existence of a Goan regional culture. It echoed the Portuguese claim that Konkani was a non-language, a dialect of fishermen, toddy tappers, etc. The MGP claimed to represent the oppressed Hindu votes and attacked the Hindu Brahmin and Catholic community.

With the MGP taking an anti-Konkani, caste and religious based mergerist position, designed to wipe Goa from the cultural and political map, it is not surprising that the main opposition party was also not formed on ideological lines(Newman 2001:66). The UGP took the stand that Goa had its own identity, which was based on the independent language Konkani.

Shri Bhembre asserts that the underlying current of both these parties were religious and casteist. In the 1963 general elections, out the 28 seats allotted to Goa, MGP won 16 and UGP won 12 seats. Because the elections were primarily communal and

casteist, the Congress, which was comprised of freedom fighters did not win any seat. Though a pro mergerist party won the elections, the issue was not settled.

The Opinion Poll: The Politics of Language Use

In 1963, a Marathi newspaper, the *Rashtramat* was formed. This newspaper published in Marathi as a matter of strategy, but its focus was Konkani. It was felt that as the population, especially Hindus, read Marathi, it would be better to use the same language to promote Konkani. It actively worked to promote Konkani till the end of the Opinion Poll. Many Konkani stalwarts worked for the *Rashtramat*. Shri Kare was the editor. Shri Bhembre recalls that during the day, they would campaign for the Konkani movement and at night they would work at the paper. Most of the staff was inexperienced. He wrote a daily column *Brahmast* which became very popular. Shri Bhembre explains the need for his column:

> "Many people were writing many things. They had to be countered. Initially our tone was 'attacking'; later it was 'conciliatory and urging'. When we saw that a large number of people were genuinely confused, we evolved a change in strategy. For instance, in Usgao, when a large number of people, mostly illiterate had gathered at 11 pm at night, we realised that they were genuinely confused."

This confusion stemmed from the traditional role that Marathi had occupied in the public sphere in Goa for centuries. Hence majority of the Hindus, except for a few who mostly belonged to the Brahmin community, were pro-Marathi. Such circumstances among members of the same community sometimes led to situations wherein family members were divided on the basis of language. For example, while Shri Uday Bhembre

was a Konkani protagonist, his father, a freedom fighter, who was jailed in Portugal since Shri Bhembre was seven, was strongly embedded in Marathi culture.

The Konkani protagonists cited non-linguistic reasons for merger. They attempted to impress upon the people that if Goa remains a separate political entity then it can benefit Goans, politically, administratively and economically. They also tried to sway the minds of the Marathi supporters by capitalising on Shri Bandodkar's popularity. Their appeal to them was 'even if you think that Marathi is the language of Goa, you stand to gain if there is no merger, as then Shri Bandodkar will remain your chief minister.'

Over three days of high drama, voters had to choose between merger and non merger in an Opinion Poll. On 16 January 1967, 54 percent of the people voted to remain a union territory. With this, Goa had just passed her first language-related political milestone. Though the Opinion Poll had an impact on the Konkani cause, the purpose of the Opinion Poll was simply to decide the political status of Goa. The language-dialect debate continued. Some felt that the verdict was not final as Goa was still a Union Territory. Hence they harboured hopes that Goa could still be merged with Maharashtra. Hence the language dynamics continued to occupy centre stage in the public sphere in Goa.

To get legitimacy on this centuries old issue and in an attempt to finally put this matter to rest, the Konkani protagonists began the process of deciding the language dialect issue by approaching the Sahitya Akademi.

Sahitya Akademi Status: An End to the Language Dialect Dilemma?

The 1962 All India Konkani Parishad urged the Sahitya Akademi to recognise Konkani as an independent language. In 1963, Konkani Bhasha Praja Samaj was formed in Kerala.

The Samaj wrote to the Prime Minister and Linguistic Minorities Commission to decide the issue. Accordingly, letters were sent to the Sahitya Akademi. The Sahitya Akademi was headed by Dr. Sunithi Kumar Chaterjee. Dr Chatterjee toured the entire Konkan region. He met with the illustrious Pai family from Udipi who had migrated from Goa centuries ago. Impressed by what he saw, he said that 'a community that is so culturally advanced cannot speak a variety that is considered a dialect'.

So Sahitya Akademi constituted a committee of five experts in linguistics to study the matter. These five philologists had to also decide on Bhojpuri, Khasi and Nepali. Dr. Jack Sequeira represented Konkani. This committee unanimously agreed that Konkani was an independent philological language. Once this was done, Sahitya Akademi wrote to all the seventy nine members to enquire into their views. They also wrote to the thirteen Governments dealing with the various languages under consideration. Konkani itself concerned the Governments of four states. Out of the thirteen Governments, only the Government of Karnataka responded in favour of Konkani. Only fifteen out of the seventy nine members sent their reply. Five members were not in favour of granting independent status to any language. One interesting point to be noted is that Dr Mahalse from Maharashtra was in favour of independent recognition for Konkani.

This whole process took ten years. In 1974, the Executive Board decided that Konkani should be granted Sahitya Akademi recognition. But because Maharashtra asked the Sahitya Akademi to reconsider its decision, the issue was kept on hold for a year. Before the next general council meeting in 1975, the chairperson of the KBM, Shri Chandrakant Keni called for a meeting. At that meeting, Dr. Sardessai was requested to prepare a booklet on Konkani language and literature. Then getting the names and

addresses of all members of the General Council, the KBM posted the booklets to each member.

The fear of the KBM was what if the majority that was for Konkani kept quiet. They knew that the opposition, though a minority would be vociferous. So the organisation made eighty packets of some selected Konkani books. They went to Delhi on the eve of the meeting and lobbied hard through Dr Kashinath Mahale, especially with the Hindi group which was the largest in number. On the day of the conference, some KBM members stood at the main door and gave the packets to those they assumed to be members. They then waited in the garden for the verdict. At the meeting, Konkani was given recognition by a majority.

There was a huge hue and cry in Maharashtra. They put pressure on the Sahitya Akademi to de-recognise Konkani. One Sahitya Akademi member from Maharashtra, at a meeting, even threw the packet of books, raised his voice and said that these are the only books available in Konkani'. Angered by what they saw as his arrogant behaviour, the committee said that they had come to a decision after a lot of consideration and they could not de recognise it now.

The Sahitya Akademi was the first recognition for Konkani and it opened the door for its development. Shri Bhembre says that unlike the common assumption, the Opinion Poll did not decide anything for Konkani, it only served as a platform for the language.

He also feels that:

> "After Sahitya Akademi recognition, for us the language dialect issue had been resolved. Once Sahitya Akademi accepted Konkani as an independent language, for us the matter ended there. Even if provoked, we

did not enter into any discussion regarding the language dialect status of Konkani."

The third milestone was the passing of the Official Language Act and the granting of Statehood.

The Official Language Issue

In 1985, Luizinho Faleiro, an MLA of the Goa Congress brought a resolution for the creation of a Konkani Akademi. The Legislative Assembly accepted this resolution. This gave him the courage to submit on 19 July1985, a Private Member's Bill demanding that Konkani be made the Official Language of Goa. The Government rejected the bill without even introducing it. They also made some disparaging remarks about Konkani while doing so.

Reading about this incident Shri Babli Naik a journalist working for the Sunaparant got incensed. He approached Konkani protagonists and within ten days the *Konkani Porjecho Awaz* was formed. It had a three fold goal: to make Konkani the Official Language; to see that Goa is granted statehood and to see that Konkani is included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Marathi camp started their own organisation, the *Marathi Rashtra Bhasha Prastapan Samiti.* Noronha (cited in Dantes 1999: 47) points to some hidden issues in the Official Language conflict. He says that some sort of casteism, communalism, and chauvinism played a key role in the language protests.

After a virulent conflict, Konkani was finally made Official Language on 4 February 1987, and Goa was granted Statehood on 30 May of the same year.

With the achievement of this third milestone, for many, a number of hurdles had been overcome. But language is not static. They grow just as the imagined community that speaks it. The language dynamics that have been played out in the period after passing of the Official Language Act will be described in the subsequent chapters.

ORIENTALISM AND MULTIPLE PUBLIC SPHERES IN GOA

In this chapter, I have attempted at tracing the antiquity of Konkani and the factors that have given rise to the emergence and growth of the public sphere in Goa. The multiple language situation gives rise to the articulation of multiple public spheres, each developing according to its own logic historio-political conditions. Though there are multiple ways of analysing this plurality of public spheres, I have found that in my analysis, the Orientalist and the perspective of Goa *Indica* are most dominant. The relationship between the Occident and the Orient is one of power, knowledge and hegemony. This Orientalist thinking sums up the essence of this chapter. The dialectal relationship between religion, language and politics, have given rise to the various articulations in the multiple public spheres till 1987. How this dynamics is being played out in contemporary times is examined in the subsequent chapters.

NOTES

1. The Sahyadri Khanda of the Skanda Purana is considered to be the repository of every historical fact affecting the Konkan. The work is said to have originally been written by the brahmanas dwelling in the middle country that eventually migrated to the Konkan under the jurisdiction of Goa with the capital at Tiswadi islands.

2. Though the boundaries of Goa were flexible, Shri Shenoi Goembab writes that in the fifteen century during the Mulsim rule Dapoli, Khed, Chiplun, Malvan, Vengurla, Sangameshwar, Ratnagiri, Rajapur, Devgad, Banda, Pednem, Bardez, Bhatagram, Satari, Hemadbarshem, Salcete, chanrawadi, Nalli, Kankon, Shiveshwar and Ponda were

3. Shri Uday Bhembre contests the date of these schools. He is of the opinion that these Marathi schools began in Goa only during the later phase of Portuguese rule.

4. *Alvara* is a decree or order issued by the king, viceroy or government authority and which is valid for one year without the need for royal ratification. Cunha Rivar, Ensaio Historicio da Lingua Concani, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1858 pp. 255- 259 cited in Mendonca 2005,59.

5. Da Cunha (1991: 31) makes reference to a little book in Portuguese entitled *Tratado da doutrina Christa*, or 'Treatise of the Christian Doctrine' which, he says, is the earliest publication in India in 1557. The authorship of this booklet is attributed to St. Francis Xavier. Sardesai (2000: 15) also corroborates this view when he says that Doutrina Christa by St. Francis Xavier in the first book printed in Goa in 1557.

6. The printing press which landed quite accidentally in Goa was installed in St. Paul's College, Goa. Though types of Devanagari letters were

cast in 1577, due to the demise of the printer soon after, the idea was given up. Thus printing continued in Roman script.

7. The new conquests began with the capture of Ponda or Antruz, Sanguem and Quepem in 1763, Canacona in 1764, Bicholim or Bhatagram and Sattari in 1781.

8. Since his life experiences have been well documented, I have not delved into his life world in this chapter.

9. Tiatrs are Konkani plays, usually staged by mostly Goan Catholics speaking the Catholic dialects of Konkani

10. I have had the rare opportunity of seeing one of these journals. With beautiful hand sketches, it has articles, poems, etc in Devanagari and Roman Konkani. Karmali also explained to me on how he sneaked these journals out the prison in milk cartoons, meant to carry clothes.

11. It is not that all Hindus, suffered atrocities under the Portuguese rule. Some of them, especially the upper crust, were actually favoured by the Portuguese.

12. Nehru, hesitant to use of military force had to face international embarrassment for his decision to ultimately do so.

CHAPTER IV

MAKING OF THE LINGUISTIC AND LITERARY PUBLIC SPHERE AFTER 1987

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The concept of public sphere encompasses multiple spheres within its ambit. Of the various spheres, the literary sphere is a pre requisite to the emergence of the general public sphere. The Habermasian notion of public sphere developed in the seventeenth century Europe, when private citizens came together as a 'public' in an intermediary sphere of social institutions like the clubs, journals and periodicals' (Orsini 2002: 9). This literary sphere was a consequence of the spread of literacy in the previous centuries. This literary sphere which at first limited itself to literary issues, soon encompassed a wider democratic focus. The literary sphere, for all practical purposes, was the public sphere.

In this chapter, I have traced the growth and development of the literary sphere since the passing of the Official Language Act of Goa in 1987. The focus of my study is not Konkani literature *per se*, but the literary sphere as a whole, especially what sociologists of language call 'institutional arrangements', i.e. the places and mechanisms of production, transmission and fruition of literary activities. Though literary activities in the sense of creative writing in Konkani began only in the early twentieth century with the works of Shenoi Goembab, the volume has increased manifold since Liberation, more so since 1987. Along with the quantity, the recognition given to Konkani writers has also increased. An indicator of this is the regularity with which Konkani writers win Sahitya Akademi Awards, with Konkani writer Ravindra Kelakar even recently receiving the *Jnanpith* Award.

As I sought to understand these varied transformations and developments that have been occurring in the Konkani literary sphere, I found in Habermas' concept of

public sphere, a sensitising concept that would encompass the literary, social and political aspects of this phenomena. The public sphere is an inclusive category that encompasses various components like religious, political and literary. Habermas' notion of public sphere has its base in the literary sphere of early print. The public sphere of early print is "a space where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other and establish ongoing relations" (Coldiron 2004: 2). We can identify a public sphere of early print, an "opening" that is temporarily freer of church and court constraint, that is increasingly public, and, especially, that is made up of dynamic and interactive elements: people, places, machinery, literary, and technological practices, and poems (Coldiron 2004: 2). Habermas argued that private citizens came together as a 'public' in an intermediary sphere of social institutions like the club, journals, and periodicals.These cittizens, in the free and rational exchange of ideas formed public opinion and created a languague, as well as codes and practices to express it(Orsini 2002: 11). Habermas' conceptualisation can be extended to include not simply authors and texts, but also publishers, translators, and printers; it also covers within its ambit, the performing arts like drama and films as well. All these various elaborations make the literary sphere an engaging, deliberative and dynamic arena-a sphere of action.

Journals, schools and textbooks, literary and other volutary associations, and literary publishing were the institutions which provided the spaces for a new public minded activism. They shaped languague and literary production, and emphasised certain linguistic styles and literary tastes at the expense of others (Orsini 2002: 18). In this chapter, I have sought to understand how the growth, development, and transformation of the various components of the literary sphere have chartered the course of Konkani language in Goa. I have also tried to look at whether Konkani's

attempts at dominance have led to surbordination of other language variants and contestations.

LITERARY HISTORY AND THE ORIGINS OF LITERARY SPHERE IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Contextualising the discussion, I begin by examining the historical background of the rise of community consciousness around language. Though linguistis have traced the beginings of Konkani literature to the sixteenth century, the medieval attempts were primarily in manuscript form. As already mentioned in Chapter Three, Krishnadas Shama is credited with the oldest Konkani classics in manuscript form in the sixteenth century. Pereira (1992: 26) writes that Shama's achievement was the solid base for the transformation of Konkani prose into an elegant form in the seventeenth century. He further adds that the speakers of Konkani, under the influence of Marathi, did begin to write their langauge but its development was curbed by the arrival of the Portuguese. The Proselytisation and its implications, split the Konkanis into two groups, whose differences in belief, as stated by Pereira (1992: 27) would at least, at that time, be a bar to a common literary endeavour. Though colonial rule and proselytism iniated a split in the Konkani speakers on the basis of religion, in their own way they did overtly as well as covertly aid in the development of Konkani, especially in the early years. In 1563, the langauge's first grammar was already prepared by a native Goan. Jesuits in the latter part of the sixteenth century, contributed to the development of Konkani literature around this period. Afterwads, there was an abrupt halt to the development of Konkani literature and the patronage provided to it. This situation continued until the nineteenth century.

Like the situation in British India, language was one of the essential concerns of the Goan reformers striving for progress and reform. Literary histories of Goa too

hail the nineteenth century as a time of renewal propelled by the re-introduction of the printing press. Though Goa had the distinction of being the first territory in Asia to have in 1556 a printing press using movable types, things soon changed for the worse. The printing press, due to force of circumstances gave birth to the usage of Roman script for Konkani. Equipped with institutional patronage, grammars and vocabularies developed in the language that was now adopted by the Establishment for proselytising and by the Goan Catholics for communication, both oral and written. This situation though did not last for long. Beginning with the *Foral* of 1526, there were a number of measures adopted curtailing the usage of Konkani.

The ban on the printing press in Goa in 1754 had a detrimental impact on not only Konkani, but Portuguese and Marathi as well. This ban, which was only lifted seventy years later in 1821, hampered the literary growth of languages in Goa. Immediately after the lifting of the ban in 1821, encouraged by the revival brought about by the constitutional coup in the same year, Goans responded enthusiastically to the new opportunities made available with the reintroduction of newsprint. The *Gazeta de Goa*, a weekly journal in Portuguese, was the official newsletter introduced in 1821. The *Gazeta* not only adopted the personal invective, allusive tone, and partisanship of the pamphlet form, but also carried pamphlets as supplement to the main body of the paper (Pinto 2007: 122). The *Gazeta* was followed by the *Chronica Constitucional*, another official weekly of Goa. Apart from official newspapers, there were also at least eight papers, like the Bombay Gazete, printed in Bombay that was circulated among the Goans and Portuguese residing there. Pinto (2007: 124) informs that privately owned presses were the bane of the press in Goa from the beginning of the nineteenth century, for pamphlets were produced in Bombay and distributed in Goa. They provided an alternative to the threat of censure that prevailed in Goa.

While most of these early forms of newsprint in Goa were government owned, not all were pro-establishment. An advertisement was circulated in Goa in 1835 by a Portuguese editor Jose Valerio Cpella wherein he proposed:

> "To write a weekly paper that is to be entitled 'The Bombay Portuguese Examiner' with the view of bringing to light the crimes of the iron-government, established at Goa...which they try to disguise...by means of a News-paper, which is published there, under the direction of the notorious Jose Aniceto da Silva (Peres da Silva: 1833/ 36 cited in Pinto 2007:124).

Despite the initial enthusiasm to print, in the course of time, the public response was not very encouraging. A host of factors like the low literacy rate and the economics of production whereby it was cheaper to produce a text in Portuguese rather than in Konkani or Marathi meant that it took half a century for the first private paper, the *Ultramar* to emerge. Upper caste Brahmin and Chardos, usually Catholics were the first to own the means of print production. The early papers, until 1870, were printed largely in Portuguese. The paper had to be read out to the public, who were largely illiterate in the language. The papers contained advertisements given by chemists, goldsmiths, general merchants, bookshop owners who were largely Brahmins or traders. The newspaper was hand delivered to people living largely in urban areas of the Old Conquests.

The early literary sphere consolidated the linguistic divisions brought in by the Portuguese. Portuguese was the predominant language of print. With the acquisition of Devanagiri' types, from the end of the 1860s, Marathi papers began to emerge. These Marathi papers such as the *Govatma* and the *Gomantak* sought to promote the cause of Marathi education. They took upon themselves the task of instructing and

morally educating Hindus. There gradually developed a Hindu social sphere that centred on Marathi language, just as the Catholics were drawn towards Portuguese language and culture. Thus there arose a bifurcation equating religion and language: Hindus for Marathi and primarily Catholics for Portuguese. This is notwithstanding the fact that there was a significant number of Hindus, especially the elite, which was conversant in and even favoured Portuguese. Regardless of religious distinctions, it was largely the upper castes that were familiar with either languages, or who used the various forms of newsprint.

Marathi papers drew inspiration from the large base in British India. They tried to evolve a Hindu identity assimilating the Goan Hindu with the Pan Indian Hindu identity, which at times was nationalist. The Marathi papers portrayed a different social reality than that of the Portuguese papers. Pinto (2007:134) opines that a political consequence of the linguistic fragmentation among Goans was that the complete accommodation into nationalist movements in British India through Marathi propaganda meant that the benefits of these associations for Goans as a whole and the possibility of Catholics and Muslims being involved was diminished. There were of course some exceptions like the bilingual Bharat, which was proactive in its support of the Indian national movement.

As Pinto (2007: 155- 158) has depicted, along with newspapers, pamphlets too began to gain visibility in the print domain. She writes that 'these pamphlets not only signalled the formation of readerships within village boundaries, but also the introduction of Konkani in the pamphlet form. Even Brahmin Catholics who chose Portuguese as their language of literary expression, used to print pamphlets in Konkani. The pamphlet also subsequently saw the emergence of Sudra writers who used the pamphlet form to protest the hierarchical power structure and discuss issues

concerning their welfare. Thus pamphlets played a crucial role in the development of the early literary sphere in Goa.

Konkani's entry in the Literary Sphere

One of the consequences of the popularity of pamphlets was that Konkani reappeared in the literary domain after a long hiatus. Konkani, a language that was long relegated to being only a spoken language, a *lingua dos escriadas*, began it's revival with the publication of J. H. Cunha Rivara's seminal essay on the Konkani language in 1858. The Secretary to the Governor General, he advocated the wider use of Konkani. At that time, there were already some dictionaries, grammars and re-published texts from the sixteenth century, printed by a few Goan elite. They also published Konkani songs in predominantly Portuguese anthologies. All of these were the only forms of Konkani literature. The elite Catholic Goans suddenly felt the increasing urge to write and publish in Konkani. Alberto Figueiredo (1912: 1, cited in Pinto 2007: 224), writes in the *Almanc Literario Indo- Portuguez:*

> "In view of the pleas which I have made to various fellow-countrymen resident in the British territory, the collaboration on English and *Concanim* was not as plentiful as I had hoped. It is a mystery that all of us who love our country, have to labour for the resurgence of our mother tongue which we learn in childhood, especially in view of the efforts of our brothers in British India, who have done much in this respect."

The first Konkani newspaper was started in Goa in 1929 by Luis de Menezes, while Eduardo Jose Bruno de Souza published the first Konkani journal in Bombay, *Udeteche Salok.* Through his work, he tried to adapt the seventeenth century form of orthography as the viable form of present day prose and poetry. Sardessai (2000: 101)

calls him 'The Morning Lotus of Konkani Renaissance'. A student of Rachol Seminary, he later left it to found the *Sociedade do Santissimo Sacramento* (Society of Holy Sacrament) in Bombay. Familiar with Konkani, Portuguese and English, he authored various Konkani works like *Kristavanchi Dotornn Goyenche Bhaxen* (Christian Doctrine in the language of Goa) in 1897, *Eva ani Mori* (Eve and Mary) in 1899 and *Kristanv Ghorabo* (Christian Family) in1905. The last, *Kristanv Ghorabo*, published posthumously, gives us a glimpse into the life of Goan Catholic families. Sardessai (2000: 104) while analysing this work, says that Souza's chief aims while writing this work have been to propound the basic tenets of Christian religion and defend the cause of Konkani.

Like Eduardo Jose Bruno de Souza, there were a number of elite from among the Goan Catholic, like Monsignor Dalgado and Mariano Saldanha who began contributing to various genres in Konkani. And print was not the only avenue that they explored. Goans also experimented with the performing arts.

Konkani and the Performing Arts

At the beginning of the nineteenth century, there were primarily two forms of Konkani dramas: *Jagor* and *Khell.* Both of these were basically musicals, performed in open spaces or at street corners. *Jagors* were musicals performed throughout the night during religious festivals. The entire village community took care of all the expenses of the *Jagor.* The *Khell* refers to the performances that were carried out at different locations. The members of the *Khell* would set up their play in the porch of a house (or use a pick up, as they did later on). One person would hold a gasoline light and the entire village would come to watch the performance. The *Khells* also consisted of songs that were linked to the main story. The musical instruments normally used for the *khells* and *jagors* were the *ghumot*, bugle and the fute. Later on

the violin was also added. There were no female artistes. Male artistes would take on the roles of female characters. While in the beginning *Jagors* and *Khells* highlighted social problems and there were no controversies, unhealthy criticism, and character assassinations, slowly vulgarity crept into these performances (Fernandes 2007: 14). The elite and even the upper middle class began staying away from these performances. The Hindus would also gravitate towards Marathi drama in favour of Konkani drama. The popularity of folk forms of Konkani theatre thus was on a steady decline.

Tiatr and the Literary Sphere

At the dusk of the nineteenth century, there was a huge number of Goans residing in Bombay, for either work or education. Gradually, the *Jagor* too reached Bombay. Goans, especially the elite would be embarrassed, by what they saw to be cheap and vulgar entertainment. As a result, they stopped patronising these shows and preferred instead to frequent the dramas put up by the Italian Opera Company. In the 1890s, a Goan youth, Lucasinho Riberio working as a stagehand in the same Company, was so influenced by the Italian operas that he wrote out a script on the same lines as one of their productions. When the Company left Bombay, Ribeiro bought their old costumes and adapted one of their plays in Konkani. He along with other artistes like Jose Agostinho Mascarenhas organised themselves into a production group "The Goa Portuguese Dramatic Company". They put up the first Konkani *tiatr*, *Italian Bhurgo,* on 17 April 1892, Easter Sunday, at New Alfred Theatre in Bombay.

This production met with tremendous success. Many other *tiatr* companies sprang up putting up a number of *tiatrs*. These *tiatrs* were popularised mainly by the Goan Catholics living in Bombay. Subsequently as was the case with print, so also

performing arts too, the Konkani community was differentiated on the basis of religion. In the twentieth century, this difference got further crystallised.

THE TWENTIETH CENTURY KONKANI LITERARY SPHERE AND NATIONALISM

The twentieth century is important in the history of the formation of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa. The late nineteenth century had already ushered in the period of the early modern public sphere. It was a space for critique freed from the Church and the Court. In the earlier period, Portuguese, and to some extent Marathi, were the language of written communication in Goa. But in the nineteenth century the reintroduction of print gave rise to the emergence of Konkani in the literary sphere of print production. The twentieth century further nurtured this sphere. It is a site of hybridity between cultural systems coming out of a long and struggling embrace. This led to the formation of the idea of Konkani nation as an imagined community. (As is familiar to the students of political sociology, the notion of "imagined communities" is the contribution of Benedict Anderson). He opines that a nation is imagined when print production is in the vernacular. He argues that the main causes of nationalism and the creation of an imagined community are the reduction of privileged access to particular script languages (e.g.Latin), the movement to abolish the ideas of divine rule and monarchy, as well as the emergence of the printing press under a system of capitalsim(or 'print-capitalism'). He says that capitalist entereupreneurs published their works in the vernacular because the larger readership would increse circulation. In Goa, in the twentieth century, the v olume of Konkani books especially in Roman script, increased tremendously.

The twentieth century also heralded a radical shift in the actors participating in the literary sphere. While until the nineteenth century, it was largely the Goan

Catholic elite in addition to the missionaries and Portuguese officials who wrote in Konkani, in the twentieth century lower caste Catholics and Hindus too joined the Konkani literary sphere. The complete linguistic bifurcation between the elite and the non elite meant that work that was supposed to have literary merit was written in a language completely different from the one in which popular culture was produced. With a high tradition in Portuguese or Marathi and a low tradition in Konkani, the influence of elite tastes and criticism was diminished (Pinto 2007: 239). But while earlier, the readership was small and readers had to be convinced to buy Konkani books, with the non elite entering the Konkani literary field, the Konkani readership grew steadily. The language however was written in Roman Script and catered largely to the large Goan Catholic contingent that had migrated to various parts of British India, especially Bombay. So popular was the sway of Roman script for Konkani that even Goan Hindus, especially the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs) initially wrote in that script.

Education in Goa was imparted in Portuguese. Later on especially after the inclusion of the new conquests, seeing the refusal of the Hindus' to take to Marathi education, the Portuguese started Marathi-medium schools as well as Marathi Portuguese schools, again strengthening the language-based distinction between Hindus and Catholics in Goa. The declaration of Portugal as a Republic made it easier for Goan Hindus to get professional degrees and take up white collar jobs. These jobs were available in various parts of British India. So like the Goan Catholic counterparts, Goan Hindus too began migrating to Mumbai. Though Hindus on the whole used Marathi in the early twentieth century, a Konkani renaissance was initiated among the Hindus as well. Shri Shenoi Goembab is widely referred to as the father of the Konkani revival. He too initially wrote in Roman script though later

switched to Devanagiri'. Inspired by Shri Goembab, various others, largely Hindu GSBs took the Konkani literary field further. Shri Ravindra Kelekar, a Konkani ideologue and Gandhian for instance, discovered his identity through his readings of Shri Goembab. His search for identity took him through Gujarati, Marathi and finally Konkani. He informs that during his early years in Bombay, he wrote a play and showed the manuscript to Shri Kirloskar, a popular Marathi playwright. The feedback that he got was that the plot and presentation was good, but the dialogues should be colloquial. Shri Kelekar informed the playwright that he could not speak colloquial Marathi. Shri Kelekar subsequently realised that one could not be an expert in a language like Hindi and Portuguese by learning it. Since it was not one's mother tongue, one could not really be an expert in it. It then dawned on him that the one language that he could be proficient in was the language of his birth that is Konkani.

Shri Kelekar started a Konkani fortnightly, *Mirg* when he was in Wardha. Even when he went to Delhi for professional reasons, he continued the paper. The paper which was totally in Konkani in Devanagiri' script was meant to address and unite those Goans who were staying outside Goa. As Shri Gurunath Kelekar, another Konkani ideologue recalls, "Until the 1950s, there was poverty in Goa. It is only after 1950, that some money came because of mining. Shri Kelekar wanted to consolidate the Goan diaspora, and infuse in them a sense of nationalism." He felt that this sense of nationalism could best be inculcated through the medium of print. *Mirg* though published and distributed outside Goa, was smuggled into Goa. The chief distributor inside Goa was Shri Gurunath Kelekar. He would then distribute copies of *Mirg* to various people, on the quiet. Because of the dangers involved, this fortnightly had to close down after a few years.

Shri Ravindra Kelekar and others then took to building up the Konkani literary sphere. Shri Kelekar informs that when they started to write in 1945, there were only 10- 15 Devanagiri books and 1000 Konkani books in Roman script. He adds that the process of making Konkani a literary language began since then.

In those pre-Liberation days Goa under Salazar's (1961) leadership, censorship was rife. Every paper had to get approval from the *mamlatdar* on a daily basis, and even a hint of dissent could lead to the closure of the paper and even land the editor in jail. Even wedding invitation cards did not escape the hold of the censors. Goans still persevered in their conservation and at times even propagation of Konkani. This spirit of nationalism was not limited to Konkani newspapers alone. Pedro Correia Afonso who later on was the President of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, was the editor of the Portuguese daily '*A Vida*'. Despite many hardships, he strongly carried forward his pro-India stand through his paper. He ironically used the colonial language to propagate anti colonial sentiments. His target probably was the Portuguese speaking Goan Catholic elite.

The Konkani Literary Sphere and the Politics of Place

It was for this lack of freedom of expression that prevailed in Goa that the Konkani literary sphere, in the early twentieth century, developed outside Goa. As discussed in the previous chapter, the Goan students studying in Bombay started various college magazines in Konkani. There also organised drama competitions and other cultural festivals. All India Radio also introduced a half hour daily Konkani programme, which brought together Goan literary figures of repute on one common platform. Shri Ravindra Kelekar too started a Konkani weekly *Gomant Bharati*' in Konkani in Roman script in Bombay. Those on the committee included Shri Vasant Shri Pandurang Borkar, Shri R. K. Prabhu, and Rev. Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas. Two

thousand copies of the magazine were sold every week. This weekly mainly catered to the huge partly literate Goan Catholic diaspora. He elaborates:

> "I tried expressing the interests and sentiments of the Goan Christians. The Goan Christians had primarily two sentiments- love for Goa and love for Konkani. They were indifferent to the rest of India, with the Church being pro Salazar."

Through this publication he sought to bring about a sense of nationalism among the readers. It was not only the print media but the performing arts as well that flourished outside Goa and contributed to the formation of the community of Konkani speakers. Konkani *tiatrs* which were banned in Goa, had a huge following in Bombay. Thus Bombay became the epicentre of the development of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa.

Imagined Community or Imagined Difference? The Articulation of the Linguistic Divide

The Konkani print media flourished outside Goa and helped consolidate Konkani nationalism. Yet the linguistic divide in the community on the lines of religion persisted. While in the nineteenth century two different languages were the markers that identified the two dominant religious communities, in the twentieth century, one language itself was a divider. Two scripts of Konkani, Devanagiri and Roman, were used to demarcate Hindus and Catholics. This script-based divisions which was manifested in the late twentieth and early twenty first century, were formulated in the first half of the twentieth century.

LIBERATION AND A GEOGRAPHICAL RELOCATION OF THE KONKANI SPHERE

Liberation did not bring with it a sense of total liberation to the Konkani literary sphere. While immediately after Liberation, all the Portuguese medium schools were converted into Konkani medium schools, with text books prepared by the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, Konkani had to put up with what it saw as the hegemonic dominance of Marathi, that was aided by the ruling Maharashtravadi Gomantak Party (MGP). During the phase of the Opinion Poll, the Marathi paper *Rashtramat* was a platform to view pro Konkani sentiments.

Shri Chandrakant Keni, the former editor of *Rashtramat* informed that the birth of the *Rashtramat* can be traced to 1962, at the Gomantak Marathi Conference in Maharastra. During this meeting, which turned acrimonious, it was alleged that Konkani protagonists were traitors who were getting large amount of financial support from Karnataka (Maharashtra was already involved in a dispute with Karnataka over areas like Belguam which were largely Marathi speaking). Angered by this allegation, some Goans decided to hold what they called a 'unity week'. During this week, they invited linguistic experts, political strategists and economists to deliver lectures in Goa. As a result, a hundred wealthy people consistently supported the case of the Konkani protagonists. There was awareness that the impact of the movement was limited. The Konkani ideologues, felt a need to establish a newspaper, to convince the masses about the Konkani's cause. Based on the results of the 1963 elections, which saw sixty percent of the Hindus vote for MGP, they realised that they had to convert this particular section of the population. It was decided to start a pro Marathi paper in the language which the medium of instruction of the

Hindus-Marathi. So, with contributions from various sections of the population, *Rashtramat* was established.

During the 1960s and1970s, the perception of the Konkani literary figures on the growth of the Konkani literary sphere differed on script and consequently religious lines. With regard to literature, a majority of Konkani writers in Devanagiri script felt that their works suffered because of the Government patronage to Marathi. The Konkani writers in Roman script though saw this phase as an improvement in the output of Konkani literature in Roman script. Konkani in Roman script had various publications like *Varandechho Ixtt*, and *Don Moenhaiche Roti.*

With respect to the performing arts, as there was no ban on *tiatrs* after Liberation, in Goa, this form of entertainment really took shape in Goa. This period also saw the birth of Konkani films in Goa. The first full length Konkani film, *Mogacho Aundo* was released on 24 April 1950 at Dasharta Cinema in Mapusa. Produced under the banner of ETICA Pictures by Shri Jerry Fernandes, it was based on the book '*Mogacho Vhodd*' by Shri Deoguinho D'Mello. Shri Braganza later recalled that the shooting of the film was in progress during the days of Portuguese rule in Goa. People looked at them with great curiosity. As the market for Konkani films was small, Shri Braganza wondered if he should take it up. At that time, his guide and professor, Shri Lewis M. Ratus advised hem, " you must not think merely in terms of rupees and paise, but bear in mind that when they undertake to produce a picture in Konkani, they involve the whole Konkani- speaking community"(Viegas 2000: 12).

After Liberation, Shri Braganza started his own production company, 'Helen Productions'. Many films like *Amchem Noxib* and *Nirmonn* followed. Most of the Konkani films were produced and directed by Catholics. The stories, as is usually the

case, revolved around romance, suspense and revenge. There were a number of films that also depicted social problems. While most of the actors were from Goa, there were some who came from outside. At times, directors and technicians were also from other parts of India. But on the whole, Konkani films as a genre was in most respects, homegrown. But for all technical purposes like recording, sound mixing, dubbing etc. they had to go outside the state.

The Konkani Literary Sphere before 1987: Battling the 'Demons' of Marathi

The liberation of Goa was not only political, but also heralded the liberation of the literary sphere as well. A large number of Konkani ideologues who were based outside Goa, primarily in Bombay, for work and education, returned following Liberation. With the subsequent removal of censorship, Goans now felt free to express themselves in the language of their choice. But in Goa language had always been a complex issue. The literary sphere in Goa had a tumultuous history in which language had always been used as an instrument of domination and control. In Foucault's analysis of the relation between knowledge and power, this relationship is subtle; it is routinised to such an extent that dominance is made to feel natural. The hold that Marathi had over centuries, due to historical reasons, had been so internalised in the consciousnesses of Goan Hindus, that they had come to think of Marathi as their language of communication. The fact that nearly all religious ceremonies were conducted in Marathi and religious literature in Marathi occupied the sacred space in Goan Hindu homes further consolidated the link between language and religion. Marathi was seen as the language of the sacred domain.

In this environment, it was natural that most Goan Hindu writers, not only studied in Marathi, but also began their creative writing in that language. Most of the literary figures who wrote during this period, went to pre-Liberation Marathi medium

schools-either those set up by the Portuguese or the informal *pathshalas* that were run in the house of some rich landlord. These schools were primarily meant for upper caste youth. Though lower caste did attend, their attendance wasn't encouraged. Sahitya Akademi award winner, Shri N. Shivdas recalls that when he did his early schooling in the 1950s, he got his basic education sitting on the compound wall of the house of the landlord. He also adds that though most dalit students did not pursue an education, his uncle insisted that he attend school. There was a Konkani medium school in his village Nagueshi in Ponda taluka. Only those students who came from very poor background and those of Konkani activists, attended the school. Hence there was propaganda spread that Konkani medium schools were set up as an institution by the Brahmins to keep the lower castes suppressed.

The affiliation to Marathi language was strong among the Hindus in Goa. There was a rich Marathi atmosphere with Marathi books filling the shelves of even the village libraries. Though Konkani was used for oral communication, Marathi was the language of symbolic capital. In such a situation, nearly all the Goan Hindu writers, who began their career in the 1950s and 1960s, naturally started writing in Marathi. Nearly all of them began their writing career with Poetry. Shri Tukaram Seth, a clerk in the Department of Telecom for twenty two years and a writer of Konkani *bal geeta* (stories for children) agrees with this view when he says: 'Though I learnt Marathi, I struggled to find words in Marathi'. Shri Damodar Mauzo explains the persistence of Marathi in the consciousness of the Goan Hindus: "Right from Portuguese times, we were told to look down on our own self, and that included our languages. We were indoctrinated into having more respect for the language and culture that was in use across the border. Thus there was no support for Konkani." These literary figures soon felt that there was something missing in their writings and

their capability for expression. Reading works by literatures such as Shri Goembab and Shri Kelekar, they then realised that they could now express their imaginations aesthetically in Konkani. They switched over to Konkani as they felt that they could best express themselves in Konkani.' Shri Prakash Parienkar is a Konkani short story writer and essayist from Sattari, which earlier was a Marathi bastion He explained that he switched form Marathi to Konkani because he felt that unlike Marathi literature, Konkani literature told the common story of the Konkani speaking people. As it was spoken by all Goans, it was easier to read, write, express and find vocabulary in Konkani. The establishment of the Konkani daily *Sunaparant* also made them aware of the possibilities available with Konkani.

For some of them, this switch from Marathi to Konkani went beyond language and even religion: it included familial and community affiliations within its ambit as well. Dr. Harishchandra Nagvenkar, who switched over from Marathi to Konkani, even had stones pelted at him by his Daivadyna Brahmin community because of his affiliation for Konkani. Writer and publisher Shri Dilip Borkar, was always pro Marathi since childhood, as his brother was a staunch Marathi protagonist. He recalls that in the Marathi school that he studied in at his village, even his teacher informed him that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi. At that time he not only wrote poems and columns in Marathi newspapers, he also participated in pro Marathi morchas. It was only when he went to Panjim to pursue higher education, that he was exposed to the ideas of Goembab and made aware of the independent status of Konkani. Having then met Konkanivadis, he then became so convinced of the independent status of Konkani, that later he even started a publishing house for Konkani, by the name Bhimb Publications. With Shri Dilip Borkar, Shri Pundalik Naik, Shri Damodar

Mauzo and other literary figures actively participating in the Konkani literary sphere, Konkani then progressed to the next phase of the Konkani movement.

THE KONKANI LITERARY SPHERE SINCE 1987: CONSOLIDATION AND DIVISION

The passing of the Official Language Act in 1987 was an important landmark in the trajectory of the Konkani movement. It established Konkani's credentials as an independent language. The nationalist sentiments that were nurtured around language were consolidated in the creation of a Konkani State. This development brought in changes in the public sphere. On one hand, it saw Konkani's assertive efforts at carving out an independent niche for itself, clearly distinguishing itself from Marathi. While it consolidated itself, in the face of an external agency, this phase also saw the crystallisation of the internal divisions within the Konkani sphere that had already taken shape in the previous period. Script-based divisions have surfaced in the Konkani literary sphere.

Annamalai (2001: 154) writes that multilingualism gives rise to the emergence of the majority language as the dominant language. Dominance always implies an inherent power relationship, in which the other side of the proverbial coin is contestation. In the Konkani literary sphere after 1987, the standardised Devanagiri Konkani has emerged as the dominant language, and its dominance is being contested by writers of Konkani in Roman script.

This script -based divisions have not confined themselves to the print domain, but have permeated onto other arenas of the literary sphere as well. These divisions are in keeping with the religion based divide. In the rest of the chapter, I will explore the main arenas in which Konkani literary sphere came to be produced, transmitted and consumed.

Print and the Literary Sphere since 1987

The quantum of Konkani literature increased manifold since 1987. The base that was already laid in the years following Liberation, got further cemented in the last two decades. Writers like Shri N. Shivdas, Shri Pundalik Naik and Shri Damodar Mauzo, who had started writing during the 1970s, in the 1980s achieved sophistication in their literary endeavours.

TABLE 4.1 PUBLICATIONS IN GOA

Year	Konkani Devanagari	Konkani Roman	Marathi	Portuguese	English	Hindi	Others	Total
2008	64	18	57	1	44	1	_	185
2007	92	36	89	4	67	_	_	288
2006	97	8	50	2	74	9	_	240
2005	62	_	54	_	34	_	_	150
2004	34	_	40	_	35	_	_	109
2003	55	4	43	1	33	6	4	146
2002	_		44	1	35	7	18	135
2001	30	_	21	_	26	_	_	77
2000	25	2	23	_	25	1	_	76
1999	22	1	34	2	19	_	_	78
1998	38	2	31	_	20	_	_	91
1997	35	_	16	1	26	_	_	78
1996	29	2	31	2	28	0I	1	94
1995	115	8	84	_	58	_	_	265
1994	32	2	40	_	35	_	_	109
1993	15	_	8	_	2	_	_	25
1992	10	_	20	_	9	_	_	39
1991	29	_	34	_	37	_	_	100
1990	30	_	22	_	5	_	_	57
1989	42	1	17	1	6	_	_	67
1988	38	1	22	_	15	_	_	76
1987	17	8	10	1	16	_	_	52
1986	51	_	16	2	8	1	_	78
1985	18	_	16	1	1	_	_	36

Source: Central Library, Panjim,Goa

Because of the new-found identity of Konkani language and literature which is still in the making, Shri Pundalik Naik says that Konkani literary figures are writers as well as fighters. He explains that most writers of other languages simply write in their language. But Konkani writers have to struggle and fight for their language. Right from the beginning, this sense of struggle was inherent to the development of the Konkani literary sphere. From the days of the Konkani renaissance, when Shri Goembab, facing staunch opposition, had to carve out a separate sphere for Konkani, right through the phase of Liberation and beyond, almost all Konkani writers struggled for acceptance of their writings in Konkani. Shri Damodar Mauzo, Sahitya Akdemi winner, author of 180- 200 short stories, and scriptwriter, participated in the Opinion Poll and the Statehood issue as well. Along with other writers like Shri Pundalik Naik, Shri N. Shivdas and Shri Dilp Borkar, Shri Mauzo was part of the Executive Council of the *Konkani Porjecho Awaz* (KPA). During the Opinion Poll movement Shri N Shivdas was also a member of the J.G.P. which was a party of young artistes who put meetings, and sang songs at different places in Goa. Their aim was to create awareness among the masses that were new to democracy. Vatsyayan writes that if you struggle to develop your language, the bonds of identity with that language remains very strong. Shri Pundalik Naik, a well known short story writer, novelist, playwright as well as founder member of the KPA, commenting on this link between language and identity writes that 'The Konkani flower has bloomed in fire, so it will not fade.'

The writers write on different themes. Shri Tomazinho Cardoso, a Konkani poet, short story writer, essayist and playwright in Roman script, writes mainly on social issues.

He believes that if you have suffered in life or have had a hard time, it shows in your

writings. Most other Konkani writers wrote on social issues as well. Each one dealt mainly with the environment that they were familiar with. Shri Mauzo, for instance, has written as much about Hindus as about Catholics. He says that Catholics, as a subject attract him, as he resides in a Catholic dominated neighbourhood and also because no other Hindu Goan writer has written about them., as most authors do not like writing about subjects on which they are unaware. Shri Mauzo drew inspiration for his writings from his day to day interactions as well as by reading the works of writers like Camoes. Shri R. Kelekar says that he needs provocation to write. During the language agitation he felt an immense provocation to write.

After the passing of the Official Language Act, the Konkani literary sphere opened up to encompass a wide array of peoples and communities. Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, a faculty member in the Department of Konkani, Goa University, and a Gaud Saraswat Brahmin says that prior to the 1980s, whenever she read any Konkani book, she felt as if she was reading about her life and her community. This was because most of the writers who wrote at that time belonged to the upper caste, particularly the Saraswat community. There were a few notable exceptions like Shri Pundalik Naik and Shri N. Shivdas, who belonged to the lower castes, though Shri Pundalik Naik's marriage to an upper caste woman has cosmopolitanised his caste identity.

Since the 1980s, the influence of the literary sphere widened to include the non-elite as well as Konkani writers who came from the hinterland Sattari taluka and remote areas in Goa and beyond. Shri Prakash Parienkar, faculty member in the Department of Konkani, Goa University and originally from Sattari taluka, and Shri Mahabalsehwar Sail, a Konkani writer from Karwar in Karnataka, both have gained popularity in the last two decades. Through their writings, the Konkani literary

landscape underwent transformations. The dialectal variations, the geographical topography, the varied rituals and socio-cultural and economic customs specific to certain hitherto less represented groups and communities, all entered the Konkani literary sphere. For instance, in one of Shri Prakash Parienkar's short stories, *Chandrakor*, there is mention made of a tribal group from across the border that hunts and eats monkeys. The contemporary Konkani literary sphere thus portrays much more than the world of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins.

A look into a novel by a writer belonging to the non elite section will enable us to understand the literary landscape that is portrayed in contemporary Goa. Shri Pundalik Naik's novel *Acchev* (The Upheaval) published by Oxford University Press in 2001 has been translated into English by Smt. Vidya Pai. This novel, set in rural Goa of 1970s reproduced the landscape of rural Goa with its fields and orchards, rivers and hillocks, giving the reader a glimpse of the life of the lower classes (Couto cited in Naik 2001: ix). It deals with the changes that industrialisation brings to rural Goa. It tells the story of what happens when a mine owner from outside Goa, through the intermediary of a villager, makes Pandhari a landowner sell his land. The novel depicts the transformations that take place in the life situation of Pandhari, his wife Rukmini and their family as a result of these developments. Coming from an agricultural background, Shri Naik effectively narrates peasant life in all its variety. Thus the areas of Ponda taluka, which is part of the new conquest, and have traditionally been under the influence of Marathi, get visibility in the Konkani literary sphere.

Besides *Acchev*, there have been other novels like *Nakhlami* and *Gharbhadaan* written by Shri N. Shivdas, Shri Tukaram Seth's *Pakhlo* and Shri Chandrakant Keni's *Eklo Eksuro*. While Shri Seth's novel focuses on the illegitimate

children born from a relationship between a Goan and a Portuguese, *Nakhlami* speaks of a thirteen year old boy seduced by the spirit of a young woman. All Shri Keni's works revolve around the theme of unfulfilled desires.

I have taken Shri Mahabalsehwar Sail's novel *Kali Ganga* for discussion. Set in a Konkani speaking area in north coastal Karnataka, *Kali Ganga* is a story of two sisters living in a village on the banks of the river Kali. Kali is revered as Ganga and hence the name Kali Ganga. Having lost his wife in childbirth, the father resents the second daughter. The elder daughter, Manjul with assistance from villagers, sees to the care of the baby, Suman. Manjul is then married to an army man who lives across the river in a dilapidated mansion with his elderly tight-fisted father. Against his wishes, he is forced to leave his wife behind with his father. Manjul spends a number of unhappy years toiling and suppressed by her father-in-law. In between, her husband is court martialled and returns home an alcoholic. As time goes by and his behaviour becomes more and more wayward, he finally abandons home. Overwhelmed by depression and pregnant with her second child, she returns to her father's home. She dies of a broken heart soon after giving birth to her daughter.

Suman now has to care for her sister's children as well as a mentally unstable father. Through all this, she is supported by her childhood friend Govind. The relationship blossoms into love but there is stiff opposition. Unable to be away from her, Govind ends his life in the Kali Ganga, and once again Suman is left on her own.

The description of nature in all its moods; the references to superstitions, religious beliefs and folk practices still seen in the region; the characters portrayed with all their virtues and shortcomings, and the plot forms the four main pillar of the novel (Mauzo 2001: xii). It gives insights into how the village was founded, how religious practices and customs evolved and the role of women in a patriarchal

society. The solidarity among the villagers is akin to the mechanical solidarity described by Durkheim. There are many instances in the novel that show how the entire village acted as one close knit community and helped in raising these two motherless children. When Suman was ill as a baby, the whole village rallied around to get her to the doctor. When Manjul's husband came to see her before the wedding, again the community came forward to help.

> "In a manner of minutes the news spread to all over the entire *vaddo*. Sumitra *mavshi* and a couple of others came into the kitchen. The other women hung about in their courtyards excitedly, 'they're coming to see Manjul', they whispered."

This strong sense of mechanical solidarity left one with little sense of individuality. This same sense of solidarity kept Suman and Govind apart, and the pressure of community disapproval influenced Govind to end his life.

The significance of this novel lay in that it helped expand the Konkani public sphere in Goa to encompass it's kin in north coastal Karnataka. In this novel, Sail draws on the similarity between the life of the people in Karwar and those in Goa. Through this novel, he attempts to depict that regardless of region, all Konkani speaking people share a common culture and religious traditions and beliefs.

Women writers have also occupied centre stage in the public sphere since 1987. Smt. Meena Kakodkar, Smt. Hema Naik, and Smt. Sheela Komarpant are some of the women writers that have been popular in the Konkani literary sphere since the last two to three decades. Smt Hema Naik won a Sahitya Akademi Award for her novel *Bhogdhandya.* Women writers have specifically dealt with women's issues and high on emotion. Though Dr. Madhavi Sardessai opines that some women writers' works are aggressive, Smt. Guadalupe Dias, a Konkani poet from Nuvem, Salcete

says that women writers usually focus on the theme of love. Their writings reflect the struggles that they have undergone. She says that women writers also discuss violence that they have faced in the hands of their men folk and society at large.

Publishing and the Literary Sphere

Publishing Konkani literature is not a very profitable venture, though things are now changing. Some of the more important publications present in the literary sphere today are *Asmitai Pratisthan, Rajhauns, Konkan Times, Bhimb Publications, Om Sree Padmaja, Zaag, Anmod Prakashan*, and Queenie Publications. Most of the Konkani publishers began by self publishing their own books. One of the earliest publishing houses that is still functioning is *Zaag* Prakashan. It sought more contact with young writers, and Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, the present editor and publisher of *Zaag* informs that almost all the established writers of today, published their first work with *Zaag* Prakashan. This publishing house also began its own Monthly magazine, *Zaag*. Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, the present publisher of *Zaag* informs that it was started as there was no family magazine of standard in Goa at that time. But in 1995, Shri Sumanth Kelekar decided to stop the publication of the magazine as he was finding it very difficult to even collect membership fee. At that time, Dr. Madhavi Sardessai's uncle Shri Ravindra Kelekar requested her to take up the challenge. Dr. Sardessai today manages the entire publication on her own. She is also the publisher of the Konkani monthly, *Zaag*. Her students help her with collecting advertisements and doing other odd jobs. She informs that today she prints a limited number of copies but it has got a select readership. Usually libraries from various parts of the country like Managalore, Pune, Pondicherry and Haryana subscribe to the magazine.

Shri Dilip Borkar of *Bhimb* Publications reminisces on how he got into publishing:

"In the 1980s, most of the senior writers used to publish their own books. We were junior writers at that time so it was difficult for us to get publishers. I had written a drama based on all my struggles. Somebody told Mrs. Shashikala Kakodar (MGP leader and strong *marathivadi*) that my drama was aimed against her. So she got the government to ban my drama. I attempted to get an entry for my in the Kala Akademi Drama Competition, but the organisers, who were pro Marathi banned its entry. With the support of my friends, I then went to court protesting this ban. A year later, I won the case. This drama went on to win many awards. I then wanted to publish my drama. Certain that no publishing house would publish my book, I decided to publish my own work. That is how *Bhimb* began."

With regard to publishing too, there is a bifurcation on the basis of religion. There are different publication houses catering to Konkani books in Devanagiri and Roman script. New Age Publishers of which Fr. Freddy Da Costa was associated with also brought out a Konkani magazine in Roman script, Gulab. Shri Soter Barreto explains what made Fr. Freddy enter the domain of print. Strongly attached to the Konkani movement, Fr. Freddy desired to have a 'good Konkani magazine', just like what were available in English. He already had experience in writing *nataks, tiatrs*, musicals as well as a book inspired by the life of St. Paul called Home Life. So he thought of starting a Konkani magazine.

In January 1983, Fr. Freddy was teaching at the Saligao Seminary. One day, after giving a sermon in the village, he collected Rs. 2,300 and with that money he started a Konkani magazine in Roman script called *Gulab*. One of his concerns as editor of *Gulab* was to achieve standardisation in Konkani written in the Roman

script. At the time of his death in 2005, he was working towards achieving standardisation. Since his death, his brother Shri Fausto D'Costa has been running the magazine.

Another popular Konkani magazine in Roman script has been the Monthly magazine *Jivit.* It is published by Michael Gracias of Queenie Publications (I will discuss this publication at length in Chapter Six as its emergence and existence is a consequence of the script controversy).

The first Konkani daily to enter the literary sphere in Goa was *Sunaparant.* Started on 13 May 1987 by the Salgaonkar industrial house, *Sunaparant* published in Devanagari script, till date is the only Konkani daily in Goa. Prior to it, there was a Konkani fortnightly *Novem Goem* started by Shri Gurunath Kelekar four years after Liberation and *Varandache Ixtt* published by the Pillar Fathers and nationalistic in tone. Shri Chandrakant Keni was the first editor of *Sunaparant* (One interesting feature was that Shri Keni was the editor of both *Sunaparant* and the pro Konkani Marathi daily, *Rashtramat*). Shri Uday Bhembre, Shri Raju Naik and Shri Anand Salkar have been the successive editors of the paper. At present, Shri Anand Salkar is its editor.

Though the Konkani literary sphere has steadily been gaining ground, in the genre of newsprint, the rise has been very slow. While there are at least nearly half a dozen Marathi newspapers doing brisk business in Goa, the circulation of *Sunaparant* hasn't been very encouraging. The main reason for this is that the Goan Hindus still consider Marathi as their medium of formal communication. As they have been trained to read and write in Marathi, out of force of habit, they still use Marathi. And the Catholics prefer reading one or the other English newspaper rather than a Konkani newspaper in the not so familiar Devanagiri script. Shri Babli Naik, assistant editor of

the *Sunaparant,* is not discouraged by this state of affairs. He believes that the real readers of *Sunaparant* are the future generation- those who are now studying Konkani in Devanagiri script. And things according to him are already changing for the better. The number of contributors has increased with a number of young and new writers rapidly entering the domain of newsprint. The number of advertisements in the *Sunaparant* has also increased. But proponents of Konkani in Roman script point to the lack of circulation of *Sunaparant* to prove that the majority of Goan Hindus are not supportive of Konkani. This issue will be further discussed in Chapter Six.

Performing Arts ands the Literary Sphere in the Twentieth Century

The genre of print has enhanced the Konkani literary sphere. There have been various changes that have occurred since 1987, the more prominent being the entry of the non elite into the once primarily elite domain of print. The genre of the performing arts, especially *tiatr*, was always the domain of the non elite. Always a popular form of entertainment, it gained further popularity since 1987. There are two kinds of *tiatrs* that have always been performed in Goa: *Khell* and Commercial *tiatr. Khell tiatrs* are folk dramas performed at the village *maand* (open space in the village which is usually considered sacred), or town junction. There are no sets. The troupe arrives in a pickup and performs in the pickup itself. There are songs in the *Khell tiatr*, but unlike the commercial *tiatr,* the songs in a *Khell tiatr* are related to the script and story. In a commercial *tiatr*, on the other hand, the songs which are referred to as *Cantaram*, are unrelated to the script. They are like fillers used when needs to be a break either to change sets or to change costumes.

Jacob, popularly known as Prince Jacob is one of the most well Known *tiatrist.* Jacob got his title of prince from one of his fans. Shri Jacob was drawn to the Konkani stage since childhood. He performed as a child artiste for different troupes.


KONKANI DRAMA TIATR
R KONKANI ENTERTAINMENT PRESENTS
IPERHIT TIATR OF THIS SEASON FROM GOA
70 mm Entertainment
PRINCE JACOB
PRODUCTION PRESENTS
Zaiat Zage
(Wake Up)
Manta Music presents
SUVOM
Song & Sound
Photograph By: Pantaleao Fernandes
Tragedy King MARIO MENEZES
The Director with Continuous Superhits
Presents TIATR
GHORABEACHE VANTTE
Writ & Dir:: MARIO MENEZES
TIATR
AMBIKA FILMS
Jivit
Oxem
KONKANI TIATR
KIDD
COMEDY QUEEN JANET & FILIPE ALMEIDA
presents...
Soglim Khuxeal
WRITTEN AND DIRECTED BY: FILIPE ALMEIDA
Cast: Comedy Queen Janet, Shruti, Bushka,
Pascoal Rodrigues, Comedian Ambe, Marcus Vaz, C.D'Silva,
Kuwait
Soddun Vetana
On Fri 16th January 2009. at 3.30pm. Kuwaiti Kuwait

He still continued his association with *tiatr* when he became a full time teacher of Technical Education at Don Bosco. During that period he would attend his duties in the morning and perform in the various shows in the evening and at times even late at night. This hectic lifestyle resulted in a near accident at the institution. Taking that as a cue, he quit his job and concentrated on *tiatr* full time.

Shri Jacob established his own troupe. Currently he has twenty stage hands, musicians and actors working in his troupe. He plays the role of the writer, director and producer. There are 20- 25 days of rehearsal before the shows. Once the shows begin, things get very hectic. There are two and at times three shows a day, one in the morning, one in the afternoon and one late- night show. As actors come from distant places, Shri Jacob has made provisions for them to rest at his house. Shri Jacob informed that in thirty days his troupe performs fifty two shows. Every four months, the *tiatr* changes. The shows are performed at various auditoriums in the cities while village shows are usually held in the church courtyard or some other open space.

Shri Jacob also informs that all troupes use their own funds and that there is no government support. He laments that advertising is very expensive and all newspapers, except Herald charge exorbitant rates. Earlier, the representative of the troupe would go about in a taxi advertising the *tiatr*. Speaking into a loudspeaker appealing to the people to come and watch the *tiatr,* he would go from village to village in the taxi, throwing pamphlets detailing the same as well.

The *tiatrists* are now demanding industry status from the government. The rationale that Jacob gives for such a demand is that 'there are twenty established *tiatr* troupes. In all, there are four hundred families working for *tiatr.* This means that there are four hundred families that earn their livelihood from *tiatr.* So, he argues, "the burden of the government for finding employment for these people has reduced."

But Jacob doesn't count much on government support. "*Tiatr*", he says, "has been totally backed by the audience. Unlike Konkani *Nataks* which are ticketless, *tiatrs* are usually paid shows where people pay about Rs. 50 to Rs. 100 per ticket to watch a *tiatr.* "

As with other genres of the Konkani literary sphere, there is a clear division in audience with regard to the performing arts as well. Shri Wilson Mazarello, tiatrist and an ideologue of Konkani in Roman script articulates this distinction:

> "Our people can differentiate *tiatr* from *natok.* They will immediately say, this is not of ours, it is of the Hindus. What is that 'something' that differentiates a *tiatr* from a *natok*? Both have story, comedy, and song. Both make use of Konkani. So it is just language that is different. But if both use Konkani, then it is the script that makes the difference. *Tiatr* is written in Konkani in Roman script. When some Hindus tried to write *tiatr* in Devanagiri', our people realised that something is different; that it is like *natok.*"

Shri Mazarello is confusing dialect with script. What actually distinguishes a *tiatr* from a *natok* is the dialect rather than the script. Equating dialect with script also gives the issue a communal overtone.

Regardless of the religion-based distinctions between *tiatr* and *natok*, there are a few Hindus like Shri Premanand Lotlikar who work as *tiatrists*. Likewise there are also a few Catholics who are associated with Natoks. But these are exceptions; generally there exists a clear cut demarcation between the cast and audience of Konkani *tiatr* and Konkani *natok*.

The Department of Art and Culture of the Government of Goa strongly encourages the promotion of Goa's folk tradition. The various folkdances of Goa like

Shigmo, Dhalo and *Fugdi* as well as Folk groups promoting Catholic culture like *Xepemchem Xirnam* and *Dulpod* have got State patronage. The Government, along with Kala Akademi, organises a number of competitions and other programmes to encourage these art forms.

Government patronage has also helped boost the development of Konkani *natoks* in Goa. There are two types of Konkani *natoks*: full length dramas and one act plays. Tracing the growth and popularity of Konkani *natoks* in Goa, Shri Rajay Pawar informs that as with other genres, it was Shri Shenoi Goembab who heralded the revival of Konkani drama. He began by translating French and Portuguese drama into Konkani using local terminology. But after some time, the popularity of Konkani drama waned. Marathi consciousness was so ingrained in the mindset of Goans that they gravitated towards Marathi drama. Konkani dramas did exist as well, but they did not attract much of an audience, even though these were ticketless shows.

Shri Pawar believes that all this changed with the staging of the Drama "Shabai Shabai Bahujan Samaj" by Shri Pundalik Naik. The drama narrated the story of a simple village person called *Bholo* (simpleton). Popular in the village, through a series of events, he attains a position of power. Once he becomes powerful, he undergoes a personality change and now becomes a *kolo* (fox). The drama was meant to relate to the social situation in Goa. The pro Marathi MGP was dominant in Goa, largely due to the faith that the Bahujan Samaj reposed in the leadership of late Shri D. B. Bandodkar. Shri Naik's character of *Bholo* was meant to symbolise Shri Bandodkar. Performed in the 1980s, the drama wanted to capitalise on the loss of popularity of the MGP. Shri Naik wanted to show the people that, influenced by Shri Bandodkar, if they continue to support Marathi under the influence of Shri Bandodkar, they will be cheated. Shri Pawar believes that the people could empathise

with the drama; they found that they could relate the drama with their social situation. They now realised that Konkani drama depicted their own lives. This, Pawar believes, proved to be the turning point in the development of Konkani drama. Since then, Konkani drama has moved out of the shadow of Marathi drama to create its own audience.

The primary source of encouragement and patronage for Konkani dramas comes via the various competitions organised. The two main organisations organising such competitions are the Kala Akademi and *Sankhalp* theatre. The *Sankhalp* theatre is based in Churchorem and owned by Shri Raju Naik. Every year, this theatre company holds a Konkani drama competition and the prize distribution is held on the19 of December to commemorate the liberation of Goa. Drama troupes from different parts of Goa and beyond, participate in this drama competition. The other regular drama competition is organised by Kala Akademi. The *Sankhalp* theatre group also participates in this competition. These competitions also help the technicians and other skilled artistes develop their skills. They now experiment with stage, setting and music, mixing traditional with western music.

All these transformations have contributed to the growth and popularity of Konkani *natoks*. While earlier, Konkani drama performances were free of cost, today the situation has changed. There are two semi-professional drama troupes that work as profitable ventures. They are *Kala Chetnai* of Volvoi and *Shree Naguesh Maharuth Natyasanstha*. These troupes, which have their own transport, pay the actors, musicians and other technicians for their services. Women actors are paid more than men. Yet it is difficult to convince women to work in the culture industry on a regular basis. They usually participate only for competitions.

Apart from the various competitions, dramas are also performed on the occasion of various festivals like Ganesh Chaturthi, *Jatras,* and *Kales* (village festival) as well as gatherings organised by associations and clubs. The temple festivals which are spread over a period of a number of days have each caste group putting up drama performances on specific days. Very often, if the members of a particular caste group are unable to perform for a variety of reasons the services of a ready made troupee are solicited. This encourages the youth to perform in Konkani drama.

The themes of Konkani drama draw from everyday life, while some of them especially those put up by Shri Pundalik Naik, Shri Purnanand Chari and Shri Shridhar Kamat Bambolkar deal with social issues. For instance, Shri Naik put up a drama titled "Shrivichitrche Vichitra Zatra" which was a critique on the *jatras* celebrated in the various villages in Goa.

As with Konkani drama, so also Konkani films have entered the aesthetic realm. Though Konkani films were produced right from the 1940s, there had been a long gap when no film was produced. Things began picking up in the 1990s. Shri Rajendra Talak, a builder and theatre enthusiast made a film *Sethu* in 1994. It was screened at the Goan Film Festival held in 1996. He says that the appreciation that he received for this film, gave him the confidence to pursue in this direction. In 2005, the International Film Festival of India was organised in Goa for the first time. As there was no Konkani film, Shri Talak decided to produce and direct a film for the festival. The film he came up with was Aleesha. Revolving around the mining problem in Goa, this film was screened at the IFFI. It also won a number of awards including the first National Award for Konkani. Kum. Priyanka Bide, a Ph. D. scholar in Chemistry who performed the role of the heroine of the movie informs that she was spotted at an

elocution competition. She says that for the entire cast, the whole experience of filming was a novel one. Shri Talak made another film titled *Antarnag* the next year. This film was a bilingual one in Konkani and Marathi. For the Marathi version, the cast was different. They were known actors from the Marathi film industry and they brought a lot of professionalism into the sets. His next film *Savaarya .com* based on the issue of internet- marriages was also a bilingual. is a contemporary love story wherein a girl who is engaged to be married through an arranged alliance falls in love with an NRI through the internet. For the Marathi version of the bilingual, except for the lead pair, he had engaged Marathi film actors to act in the movie.

Shri Talak informs that he had to make his films bilingual, as the market for Konkani films is small. He is hopeful about the future of Konkani films in Goa, as with Government support, he feels that a lot more Konkani films will be produced. For all technical aspects of film making, though, he laments that one still had to go to Bombay.

Along with films, Konkani has also gained visibility on the small screen. There are a handful of Konkani channels airing various Konkani programmes like the news, programmes dealing with current affairs, and other programmes of varied interest. In early 2007, the owner of Queenie Publications has also started what he calls 'an exclusively Roman Konkani channel'. A twenty hours channel, at present, it is telecast in certain select areas of the Old Conquest.

Language Associations and the Literary Sphere

As seen in the previous discussions, the linguistic and literary sphere of Konkani has diversified since 1987. Organisational support further nurtures the growth of the literary field. An important player in the growth, development, diversification, and hierarchisation of the literary sphere were the institutional spaces in which the literature occurred. Literary associations, in particular formed autonomous institutions for public intervention; They provided local foci for propaganda and literary activities, pooled financial and human resources for campaigns and publications, and fostered interaction between the Konkani literary people (Orsini 2002: 25). Associations inspired them with a sense of purpose, a sense of public duty. In 1963, when the Government first opened Konkani medium schools, the pro Marathi MGP Government wasn't very supportive of these schools. At that time, it was the Konkani Bhasha Mandal that took upon itself the responsibility of producing textbooks in Konkani. Since 1987, there have been primarily two organisations that have played pivotal role in shaping the Konkani literary sphere.

The Goa Konkani Akademi (GKA) was established in 1987. In the years following the Opinion Poll, there was a realisation among an influential section of the population, mainly the Konkanivadis, that the very basis for the foundation of a separate Goa was linguistic. Hence, they felt, that there should be a Government organisation that strengthened the cause of Konkani. But as long as the pro- Marathi MGP Government was in power, nothing could be done. But when the Congress Government came to power, these Konkani protagonists approached the Government as they felt that it was the Government's responsibility and obligation to set up an organisation. The Government responded by setting up the GKA. At that time, there

was no opposition to the Government establishing the GKA, as it was a cultural organisation.

The GKA organises a variety of activities. It is involved in the printing of Konkani books, organising seminars and workshops for the all- round development of Konkani encompassing Konkani music, drama and dance. It is involved in the preparation of dictionaries and providing educational scholarship. The organisation gives 75 % financial assistance to first time writers. It also bears 50 % of the financial burden of established writers. It purchases hundred copies of all the books of Konkani writers and also regularly holds book exhibitions cum sales. It also supports *tiatr* performances and other forms of folk art, organising yearly *tiatr* and drama festivals of five days each.

The GKA is also active in promoting educational activities. It is involved in the making of dictionaries and also provides educational scholarship. It also conducts certificate courses in Konkani. Dr. Tanaji Harldankar, former Vice President of the Organisaton cites the strength of the organisation in its strong support from the Government. He informs that the Gomantak Marathi Akademi runs parallel to the GKA, with there being, at times even collaboration between the two language based organisations.

While the GKA was started by the Government, the Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendra (TSKK) was established by the Jesuits. Fr. Pratap Naik, Director of the institution informs that in the 1970s and 1980s, the Jesuits felt that there was a need to teach Konkani to the priests and the students. Though they could hire a teacher, the Jesuits felt that it would be better if they set up an Institute for the promotion of language and culture. In 1986, the Centre was established under the directorship of Fr. Mathew Almeida with the basic focus being on research.

Accordingly, TSKK conducts classes, established a Library, prepared course work conducts and evaluates examination etc. Though TSKK is now associated with being a promoter of Roman script, it involves itself with activities in both scripts. The Library houses books on linguistics, culture, religion as well as works of general interest.

Thus both the language associations, through its various activities contribute towards an elaboration and development of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa.

CONSOLIDATION, HIERARCHISATION, AND EXCLUSION: THE KONKANI LITERARY SPHERE SINCE 1987

In the process of consolidation since 1987, the Konkani public sphere has developed hierarchical groupings sometimes bordering to the practice of exclusion. With the concept of literary sphere, which according to Habermas forms a crucial component of the public sphere, one can comprehend the historical and contemporary value of literature and its function within the total social framework (Hohendahl and Russian 1964: 48). In this chapter, by historically tracing the growth and development of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa, I have attempted to show how this process has been reflective of the larger interrelation between language, religion and polity in Goa. For centuries, the Konkani literary sphere was dominated by the more powerful Marathi and Portuguese literary spheres. It was only since the dusk of the nineteenth century that Konkani began to carve out a separate literary identity for itself. With the attainment of Liberation and later in the year 1987, the Declaration of Konkani as the Official Language, the Konkani public sphere was expected to flourish. Though the bourgeoisie of the public sphere once promised that the public sphere would ultimately be accessible to all, it never did happen. The public sphere was modified to exclude the masses. This hierarchisation between classes and masses has been an

integral part of Goa's memory. This categorisation and hierarchisation has spilled over to encompass the language situation in Goa as well.

Newman writes that Goa's linguistic history has always been based on primordial identities of casteism, communalism, and chauvinism. As observed by Bourdieu (2006): "The struggle in the field of cultural production over the imposition of the legitimate mode of cultural production is inseparable from the struggle within the dominant class (with the opposition between 'artists' and 'bourgeois') to impose the dominant principle of domination". While prior to Liberation, the Konkani literary sphere was under the shadow of the hegemonic influence of Marathi, in the post 1987 phase, the already existing cracks in the Konkani literary sphere got further enhanced. Given this intricacy, it is no wonder that a section of the population felt excluded from what was perceived to be the hegemonic influence of the governing elite. The non governing elite in turn organised their own alternate public sphere. The history of the Konkani's literary public sphere is in a way like a cycle of Pareto's conceptualisation of Circulation of the Elite (Adams and Sydie 2002: 227). Though the protagonists of Konkani in Roman script allege domination by the Devanagari lobby, an analysis of the growth and development of the Konkani literary sphere since 1987 shows that the divisive trends were a means to maximise the benefits accrued to literary figures and theatre artistes - the literary elite. The Roman Konkani protagonists claim that they have been sidelined by the Devanagari ideologues. Though the promoters of Konkani in Roman script complain that the passing of the Official Language Act has hampered the development of Konkani literature in Roman script, an examination of the Konkani literary shows that all genres of the Konkani literary sphere have developed since the last two decades. Of course they have missed out in some areas like Sahitya Akademi awards. However, these issues can be sorted out through transliteration.

While the Konkani literary sphere on the whole that has progressed, it is the elite who experience relative deprivation.

The conflict between the two sides of the Konkani divide has latent implications. The various issues concerning the script question in Goa are dealt with in Chapter Six. Though the script imbroglio has been existing since the beginning of the last century, it has been concretised in the passing of the Official Language Act. So, before discussing the script issue in Goa, I have dealt with the Official Language Act in Goa and its implications and the issues relating to its implementation in the next chapter.

CHAPTER V

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, PUBLIC SPHERE, AND CIVIL SOCIETY

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In keeping with the linguistic basis for State formation, the declaration of the Official language became a prerequisite to conferring statehood to Goa. The Official Language Act (OLA) was passed on 4 February 1987 and accordingly, Goa became a State on 30 May 1987. But ever since then, the State has been charged with allegations of non implementation of the OLA. The common grouse is that letters to the Government written in Konkani are replied to in English or Marathi. In this chapter, I have examined the various issues pertaining to OLA and its implementation. Beginning by asserting the importance of language for the project of nation building, I have then tried to show how language issues in administration and governance form an integral aspect of nationism. I have then briefly sketched the Official languages that have dominated the public sphere in India right since ancient times. I have argued that though in the West the notion of Official language is associated with modernity and the rise of the nation-state, in India it was a necessity since millennia. This was a consequence of plurilingualism that has been part of the Indian heritage since centuries. Specifically focussing on Goa, I have shown how interlinkages between the state, public sphere and civil society have contributed in addressing the questions relating to the implementation of the OLA in Goa.

LANGUAGE AND NATION: WESTERN IMAGINATION AND EASTERN REALITY

There are very few terms in political sociological discourse today that presents more conceptual complexity and ambiguity than 'nation'. Even its very definition invokes no unanimity. At one end of the spectrum, the ethnic group is the common point of

origin for the nation (Connor 1972), while at another; it has been subscribed that a nation need not be circumscribed within a single state (Gellner 1983: 7). This conceptual variation is in part a consequence of its historical moorings. A Western import, the compulsion for conceptualising an Indian nation was largely an outcome of British colonial presence and its articulations (Oomenn 2004: 23). Originally denoting monocultural entities of Europe, the concept underwent a paradigm shift when transplanted to the Indian subcontinent. Colonial administrators like Seeley (1883: 255, cited in Oomenn 2004: 23) commented: 'India is...only a geographical expression like Europe or Africa. It does not make the territory of a nation and a language, but the territory of many nations and languages.' Questions like 'Is India a Nation?' (Habib 1975) and 'Does India Exist?' are recurrent themes in the analysis of state and society in India (Mukherji 1994: 21).

For most scholars, the concept of nation is applicable to the Indian subcontinent, albeit, in a form and structure modified from its western conception. For Oomenn (2004: 9), South Asian states like India and Pakistan are collectivities of nations coexisting within federal states. The ambiguous relationship between nation and state is not confined to the Indian situation alone. Hobsbawm (1990: 7) writes that the nation belongs to a particular and recent historical period; it is a social entity only insofar as it relates to a certain kind of modern territorial state, the 'nation-state'. Not only is its linkage to the state inevitable, it precedes nation formation. Nation building facilitates the transformation from nation-in-becoming to nation-in-being. Nationalism is an integral component of nation building. Like Hobsbawm, Fishman (1968) too distinguishes between nationality and nation. For him, 'nationalities are socio cultural units that have developed beyond primary local self-concepts, concerns

and integrative bonds.' A nation in contrast, is 'any political-territorial unit which is largely or increasingly under the control of a particular nationality.'

The role of language for nationism and nationalism

This distinction given by Fasold (1987: 3) between nationalism or the feelings that develop from and support nationalities, and nationism, i.e. the more pragmatic problems of governing gets accentuated when the role of language is considered. Language becomes an important component in the conceptualisation of nationalism and nationism, especially in post-colonial entities like India, where it forms a viable basis for nation formation. Fasold (1987: 3) shows how the requirements of nationalism and nationism can be in conflict where language is concerned. Though an integral part of nationality formation, language plays a subtle role in the process. It incorporates what Fishman (1972: 52) calls 'contrastive self-identification' and what Garvin and Mahiot (1956) call the unifying and separatist functions.' These conceptions refer to the feeling among the members of a nationality that they are united and identified with others who speak the same language and are separated from others who do not.

The role of language in nationism, on the other hand, is clearer cut. There are two arenas in which language becomes a problem for nationism: general government administration and medium of instruction (Fasold 1987: 3). While education involves transmitting knowledge to students in a language that is efficient, the process of governance requires communication both within the governing institutions and between the government and the people. For governance, usually whatever language best serves the purpose is used. Since the problems of nationism are often pragmatic, the solutions pose nationalist problems. Fasold (1987: 4) gives the example of a newly independent colony where for practical purposes, the best immediate choice for the

language of governance would be the colonial language. But this clinging on to the colonial language would affront the nationalist sensibilities of the newly independent nation-state which is in the process of asserting itself. Very often, in the face of pressing nationist purposes, the nationalist needs have to be postponed. This situation, which is commonly a feature of post-colonial societies, has consequences for the nature of multilingualism and the functional and symbolic relationship between different languages. The negotiations worked out by different post colonial nation-states depend on the cultural and linguistic histories of the region concerned.

NATIONISM AND LANGUAGE ISSUES IN INDIA

In India, language played a crucial role in the development of nationism in the early years of Independence. The Constitution reflected the multiplicity of Indian culture, including linguistic plurality. Under the Fundamental Rights, for instance, Article 29 (a) provides the right for the linguistic minorities to establish and administer educational institutions. The Constitution also specifically prescribes the language of administration, legislature and judiciary. Though the choice of some languages for use in the domains of power based on the size of their population creates a hierarchy among the Indian languages, the Constitution does not give any language symbolic superiority to symbolise the nation (Annamalai 2001: 131). By not declaring any language as the national language, the Constitution does not link nationhood to loyalty to any specific language. Annamalai (2001: 131) refers to this as the indirect Constitutional prescription of linguistic secularism for India.

While upholding linguistic secularism, it was nevertheless felt imperative to try to streamline this plurality at least for the sake of administration. The smooth functioning of the new plurilingual nation-state sought some linguistic commonality. Indian nationism involved two major language-related issues: The official language

issue and the creation of linguistic states. Both these are interrelated: the creation of linguistic states makes convenient the presence of an official language. Both implied the language of governance. The dealt with the question of language for federal government and the latter concerned the state Government.

Official Language and Federal Governance in India

With regard to federal governance, the question revolved around the national language for the new plurilingual nation-state. The colonial language, English, despite having practical advantages could not be allowed to be a contender. A strong sense of nationalism meant that one could not be really free as long as the language of the coloniser was given a place of pre eminence. Mahatma Gandhi, even prior to Independence, had been advocating for Hindustani-a kind of reconciliation between the Hindi Urdu divide. But in the aftermath of Partition, not many were willing to accommodate Urdu. Hindi was posed as the next alternative. It had more native speakers than any other Indian language and was the most widely used for inter ethnic communication. Hindi was named as the national language in the Constitution and a fifteen year deadline was set for a complete replacement of English by Hindi. But this did not happen. Vociferously opposing what they saw as aggressive attempts to impose Hindi imperialism, the anti Hindi lobby, especially from Tamil Nadu, even resorted to violent protests. A law was passed in 1967, allowing the use of both Hindi and English for all official purposes .The same situation stands till today.

Official Language and State Formation

The next issue dealt with the language to be used at the level of state administration. India was characterised by linguistic states. This did not mean that every language had a State; rather every State had an official language. The linguistic states themselves were a product of a virulent conflict. Though the Indian National Congress in the

years before independence promised the creation of linguistic states, it later backtracked as it thought that this move would hinder national security. But giving in to violent protests, the States Reorganisation Committee recommended the reorganisation of states on linguistic basis.

The creation of linguistic states then gave rise to questions of official language. The States and Union Territories were given freedom to decide their own Official language. Most chose the language of their linguistic majorities as official language, but some chose English. In this Chapter, I have demonstrated how Goa negotiated the process of selecting its official language. I have focussed on the role that Official Language plays in the promotion of nationism.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE: A CONSEQUENCE OF LINGUISTIC PLUALITY

For Bourdieu (1992: 45):

> "...an Official Language is one which, within the territorial limits of that unit, imposes itself on the whole population as the only legitimate language. It is bound up in the state both in its genesis and its social uses. It is in the process of state formation that the conditions are created for the constitution of a unified linguistic market, dominated by the official language."

Bourdieu's views could lead one to assume that official language is a by-product of the modern conception of nation state and nationism. But India has dealt with official language since millennia. The prime reason for this is that the Indian polity has always been multilingual. In such polities, questions pertaining to language use gain significance- in what language will the government operate and keep its records? What language will the court use for its proceedings? Can the mother tongue

be used for administrative purposes? Because language is a distinctive property of most ethnic communities and is at the core of ethnic identities and ethnic pride, the relative status of language can assume enormous symbolic importance in ethnically-divided societies (Esman 1992: 381).

Official Language through the Centuries

Since ancient times in Indian history, a single kingdom extended over many linguistic areas. Information on how these kingdoms dealt with administrative communication, in what language did the kings speak to their subjects, all demonstrated not simply the practical uses of a language, but also reflected the symbolic status of a language. The recognition of one language as "national" or "official" is not a mere matter of convenience or of facilitating communication; it symbolises respect for the community it represents (Esman 1992: 381). In the fourth century, the *Natya Sastra* of Sage Bharata, for the first time in recorded history, laid down rules for language use in a society. Here, language is an identity- a marker of social position (Bayer 1986, cited in Krishna 1991:45). It details the various languages that are to be used during drama performances. Depending on the role being performed the language varies, with basically a distinction being drawn between Sanskrit and Prakrit. Sanskrit was generally considered the high language and Prakrit the low one. During Ashoka's time though, the court language was Prakrit, the language which a majority people spoke. The Satavanhas used Prakrit and local script variations of Brahmi; the Cholas began with Sanskrit but soon switched to Tamil; the Cheras used the languages of the areas they ruled, Tamil or Kannada, but both in Kannada script (Krishna 1991: 46). In the Vijayanagar kingdom, Tamil and Telugu were used in their respective areas and it was necessary to learn several different scripts to join government service

(Mallikarjun: 1986, cited in Krishna 1991: 46). The Kadambas of present day Goa started by giving Prakrit official status, but soon shifted to Sanskrit.

Thus local languages were widely used in administration, although Sanskrit was retained as the language of religion and elite culture. Also, more than one language was used for conducting the administration. In medieval times, the Mughals made Persian their official language, but had to speak the local language to communicate with the people. With the arrival of the British, the pre-eminent position of Persian was appropriated by English, although Urdu continued to be used.

British Colonialism and Change in the Nature of Multilingualism

The British colonialism brought in a change in the nature of usage of official language. Earlier, it was usually the language of the masses that was the official language. Even if the official language was that of the rulers, the local languages were also incorporated for the purpose of administration. Hence plurilingualism did not create a situation of conflict over language loyalty. It was with the British that for the first time a discernable hierarchy was created with regard to language use for official purposes. Lord Macauly's minutes and the subsequent changes in the education system bifurcated the Indian subjects. The subjects were now categorised into English speaking elite, an articulate section that were incorporated in the colonial mainstream and the non English speaking masses who were excluded from the framework of colonial public life. English dominated Indian bourgeoisie thinking to such an extent that even the nationalist struggle was compelled to make use of English.

It was this dependence on English that Mahatma Gandhi protested. For him, freedom meant deliverance from the shackles of the English language, as much as social, economic, and political freedom (Gandhi 1921). He advocated the use of Hindustani as national language. As mentioned earlier in the chapter, this could not be

materialised and English along with Hindi continued as the official languages of the Union.

Official Language in Post-Independence India

The Linguistic Reorganisation of States resulted in various other languages being used in the administration. Language now became a key to statehood. With the formation of linguistic states, the recognised regional language has achieved the "exclusive territorial rights" that could guarantee their survival in their own states (Krishna 1991: 69). This has changed the nature of multilingualism in India which is characterised by the emergence of the regional language as the official language, which are then used to provide social and economic mobility through government employment and positions of political patronage (Annamalai 2001: 141). With their inclusion in the Eighth Schedule and their designation as the official language of the State, the development of these languages then flourished, especially at the lower levels of administration. Thus Punjabi, Gujarati, Tamil, Kannada, and all other official languages progressed with standardised form and improved vocabulary, thanks to their use in administration.

While all these developments were taking place, Goa was still under colonial rule. Until their last day, the Portuguese insisted on Goa being a part of Portugal. Indigenous languages, especially Konkani, did not record much development. It was only after Liberation in 1961, and specifically two decades later, that thoughts on official language began to be articulated in the public sphere in Goa.

OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN COLONIAL GOA: ECONOMIC CONCERNS AND POLITICAL EXPEDIENCY

Reconstruction of literary and other uses of Konkani prior to the arrival of the Portuguese indicate that though Konkani was used in land records and for devotional purposes, it did not have steady official patronage (Pinto 2007: 83). Instead Marathi, Kannada, or Persian was the official languages of the varying kingdoms that ruled Goa before the Portuguese rule. But through most of this time, Marathi had established itself as the language of devotional verse among upper caste Goans. When the Portuguese established their rule over these territories in Goa in 1543, Marathi retained its dominance in official spheres, but was subordinated to Portuguese as a language from which land documents would have to be translated (Pinto 2007: 83). In fact between the sixteenth and nineteenth century, Portuguese colonialism had produced a band of Marathi or Portuguese speaking Goans through which administration was carried out. With regard to the linguistic policy to be followed, the State was primarily concerned with setting the ground rules in the sphere of religion and formation of national identity. The choice of nurturing a language for administration and the development of a literary language were less consciously pursued. At the same time, the English language began gaining popularity in Goa ever since the early nineteenth century when the British posted troops in Goa during the Napoleonic wars. English was now a source capital for Goans who migrated in large numbers to British India in search o employment. Thus influenced by economic, political and literary concerns that went beyond Portuguese religious policy, English and Marathi began to increase in dominance since the nineteenth century. This dichotomous situation persisted for more than a century, right until the Liberation of Goa, and even after.

THE MAKING OF THE OFFICIAL LANGUAGE IN POST-LIBERATION GOA

The Liberation of Goa and the early years of self governance were under the shadow of the dominance of Marathi. Governed by the MGP (a party that owed its existence to the cause of Marathi in Goa) for nearly two decades, this two-pronged Marathi English hegemony continued. A change could only be initiated after the decline of the MGP in the political sphere. After the Congress won the 1979 Assembly elections, efforts to consolidate the position of Konkani began in the public sphere in Goa.

In 1985, Shri Luizinho Faleiro, brought a resolution for the creation of a Konkani Akademi. The Goa Legislative Assembly accepted this resolution. This gave him courage to submit on 19 July, 1985, a Private Member's Bill in the Legislative Assembly to make Konkani the Official Language of Goa. The Congress government in Goa (which comprised of some former MGP leaders) rejected the Bill without even introducing it. The usual practice was to at least introduce the Private Member's Bill. But, Dr. Harishchandra Nagvenkar, a Konkani protagonist informs that not only did they not introduce the Bill, they even made some disparaging remarks about Konkani while doing so. Reading about this incident, Shri Babli Naik, a news reporter, got incensed. He approached Konkani protagonists and within ten days, the *Konkani Porjecho Awaz* (KPA) was formed, on 29 July 1985. This group comprised of Konkani writers, artistes, and activists.

The *Konkani Porjecho Awaz*: The Movement for Official Language

The *Konkani Porjecho Awaz* remained a non political organisation throughout its tenure. It had a three-fold goal: to make Konkani the Official Language of Goa, to obtain Statehood to Goa, and to see that Konkani is included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. All through 1986, there were rallies held to pressurise the

government into accepting Konkani as the official language of Goa.. The agitation grew fierce and violent, especially in the Old Conquest area of Salcette, which was the bastion of Konkani (There was a Margao *bandh* for over ten days). To counter the KPA, the Marathivadis formed the *Marathi Rajya Bhasha Prastaphan Samiti* (MRBPS). This movement demanded that Marathi should be the Official language of Goa. The ruling Congress, made up as it were of a number of Marathi ideologues, was divided on this issue. The Marathi camp within the Government joined the MRBPS while the Konkani supporters in the Government used the platform of the KPA.

The then Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi, had promised the Konkani protagonists that he would see to it that Goa was given statehood after the Official language issue was settled. This was a requirement given the linguistic basis of State formation in India. Prime Minister Gandhi's concern was not the official language issue as it came under the jurisdiction of the State Government. His concern was Statehood. He felt that as long as Goa remained a Union Territory, there was a fear that it would one day be merged with Maharashtra. This possibility persisted because though the pro mergerist ideology had lost vigour since the Opinion Poll, it had not been extinguished.

As the language issue refused to settle down and when the Congress High command in Delhi realised that the ruling Congress was divided on the issue, it sent the Minister of State for Home Affairs, Shri C. Panigrahi and Party Official Shri R. L. Bhatia to Goa. Over the next few days, these officials held a series of meetings and discussions with various groups from the government, opposition as well as members of the KPA and the MRBPS. This group then prepared the draft Official Language Bill. This Bill was then presented before the Assembly where it was passed and

became a law on 4 February 1987. The notification of the Goa, Daman and Diu Official Language Act, 1987 (Act 5 of 1987) reads:

> "The Goa, Daman and Diu Official Language Act, 1987 makes Konkani in the Devanagarii script the sole official language of Goa, for all or any of the official purposes and different dates may be appointed for different official purposes. Provided that the administrator may, by a like notification, direct that in the case of Goa district the Marathi langauge and in the case of Daman and Diu, the Gujarati language, shall also be used for all or any official purpose and different dates may be appointed for different official purposes."

The protagonists of Konkani in Roman Script were upset that Devanagari script was mentioned in the Act. On the eve of the passing of the Act, around three hundred of them, led by MLA Shri Churchill Alemao *gheraoed* the office of the Herald, a local English daily, which played a prominent pro Konkani role in the agitation. But Shri Rajan Narayan, the then editor of the Herald explains that if Devanagari script had not been mentioned, the Act may not have been passed as the influential pro Marathi camp would have vehemently opposed it. Shri S. M. Borges, a member of the group 'Catholics for Devanagari,' also explains that as per the Constitution, whenever there is a situation wherein more than one script is used, the script for the official language is mentioned. He gives the example of Manipuri and Haryanvi to substantiate his point. He also argues that if both scripts are considered then it will hamper the process of implementation. He opines:

> "If different scripts are allowed, the notings will be in different scripts. Then will not the file take long time to move? It will remain pending. But, as now only Devanagari script is mentioned, at least in

another ten years, everyone who takes up government jobs will be familiar with Devanagari, and it will help the administrative purpose."

Shri Bhembre informs that he and Shri Luizinho Faleiro walked out of the Assembly to register their protest over the inclusion of Marathi in the Act. Shri Bhembre says that the Official language should refer to the spoken language of the people. He nonetheless opines that this law helped the Konkanivadis achieve three things: establish the identity of Goa as a Konkani state in the Indian Union, helped Goa attain statehood, and helped Konkani to be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

The next step after passing of the OLA was its implementation. There has been a common grouse among all sections of the people, that the OLA is not being implemented. On this count, all the opposing language camps are in agreement.

IMPEMENTATATION OF THE OLA AS INSTITUTIONALISATION OF AN IDEOLOGY

There are different experiences in India with regard to the implementation. Of these we can identify two models. One thought has been followed in Karnataka and the other in Maharashtra.

When Dr. Patnaik was the Director of the Central Institute of Indian Languages, Mysore, (CIIL) he mentioned to Shri Bhembre that at that time, Shri Devraj Uras was the Chief Minister of Karnataka in the mid 1970s. He approached Dr. Patnaik seeking his help as he wanted to implement the Official Language Act of Karnataka.

Assured of the Chief Minister's commitment (earlier a number of Governments were not serious about implementation), Dr. Patnaik asked that the State

Government officers, beginning with the lower level officers, be sent in batches to the Centre. As it was the lower level officers who took notings, it was felt that it was imperative that they be trained first. So, beginning with the lower level, officers of different grades were sent to the CIIL. Dr. Patnaik recalls that when these officers came to him, he found that all of them had had their initial education in Kannada. He told them that they had nothing more to learn, but once they went back, they were to read and translate all their work into Kannada. And so ultimately the OLA was implemented in Karnataka.

In the case of Karnataka, implementation became easier as most of the government officials had had at least their early education in Kannada. The problem arose in those states in which the basic education was in a language different from the official language. In this model, terminologies had to be prepared and everyone had to be trained in the official language. Maharashtra followed this second model, as not everyone had had their education in Marathi. Hence, terminologies had to be prepared. Rules were prepared and notification issued for the purpose of implementation. The Government of Maharastra prepared 50 terminology books for different subjects, including themes like law, administration, Local Self Government. Slowly Maharashtra began to implement the OLA even in courts.

Thus the administration communicates with the people, especially at the district and lower levels, exclusively in the regional language, and the administration functions internally to a greater extent in the regional language (Krishna 1991: 69). One reason for this is that at this level, most officials are drawn from the state itself, so no problems usually arise. But as one moves up throughout the administrative ladder, the use of English increases. An IAS officer, for instance, might not belong to the State. These officers are expected to pass an oral and written exam in the language

of their assigned states at the very beginning of their careers, and their increments are held up till the language examination is cleared (Krishna 1991: 70). But while officers in the field speak the local language, English is still predominant in the State headquarters. This has the constitutional backing of the courts. In the High Court of a State, the local language does not play a significant role. Even in matters of legislature, there has been a tendency to classify languages as high and low, with the official language used to document routine matters and English being made use of when the matter is of some importance. Krishna (1991) says that there is a much more pro-English attitude in the states than the technical problems faced by administrators.

Implementation of the official language thus is not "instant coffee". It involves more than just technical problems associated with a shift in language use for administration. It also encompasses an attitudinal shift which involves transfer of language use from private sphere to public sphere to the sphere of the state. The problem of usage of official language for the purpose of the state administration gets even more confounded when the language in question is Konkani. Apart from the historical neglect of the language, Konkani has also to negotiate the dominant presence of Marathi, another indigenous language. As we have observed earlier, the OLA itself sought to compromise between the two language camps. In such a situation, Konkani naturally has had to struggle to assert itself as the official language of Goa. With the conflicting pulls from both the English and Marathi ideological camps, the implementation of Konkani as the official language of Goa involved making Konkani the language of communication in both the political as well as public sphere. It involved the institutionalisation of the dominant Konkani ideology.

Shri Bhembre informs that the character of the OLA is different from other Acts. For instance, unlike other Acts, it is not dated. For every use the Government has to issue fresh notification for the particular purpose. Thus the implementation of the OLA has to be done in phases. So far, only two notifications have been issued: 1) If you write to the Government in Konkani, then the Government has to reply in Konkani and 2) if you write to the Government in Marathi, then you have to get your reply in Marathi. The Official Language Cell was created under the control of the General Administration Department, Secretariat to undertake the works of language development. But, Shri Bhembre alleges that the Cell, which comprised of four members, was ineffective. Shri Damodar Mauzo, Shri Uday Bhembre, Shri. Tomazinho Cardoso and Shri N. Shivdas are among some of those who were on the Advisory Committee of the Official Language Cell. Shri Mauzo complains:

> "For ten consecutive years, the Cell had not called for a single meeting. Even when it started meeting, there was no seriousness. We have made a number of recommendations, but it has not been followed upon. So we felt that attending those meetings and being associated with the Official Language Cell were simply a waste of our energies and money. Hence we resigned *en masse* from the Committee."

The Official Language Cell was upgraded into the Directorate of Official Language in the year 1997. However, a full time Director with provisions for a separate budget head was appointed only from the year 2004-05. Functioning under it is an Advisory Board under the Chairmanship of the Chief Minister/ Minister for Official Language. The Advisory Board comprises of eminent personalities in the field of literature, education and art. The Board includes members of both Devanagari

and Roman Konkani camp, as well as Marathi protagonists. Language associations belonging to all three ideologies- Devanagari Konkani, Roman Konkani and Marathi- are represented in the Board. The Director of CIIL, as well as the Chairman of the SSCE Board, are also included in the Advisory Board. The duty of the committee is to advise the Government on the proper implementation of the official language.

The Directorate sent a delegation to Mumbai to understand how the Maharashtra Government implemented the Maharashtra Official Language Act. This delegation consisted of three members-Shri Chandrakant Keni, Shri. Damodar Mauzo, and Shri. Jayant Dhume While the former two were Konkani literary figures, Shri Jayant Dhume was a government official familiar with government terminology. Despite the efforts of the delegation, no terminology book has been published as yet.

The OLA and the Court

For a number of years the development of the official language vacillated. Issues concerning official language have been used in the court on two occasions. One case involved the mining company Sesa Goa. The government, under the House Acquisition Act wanted to acquire some property of the company, and accordingly sent them a notice. The company chose to ignore the notice. When the case came before the court, Sesa Goa argued that the notice was given to them in Marathi. And as Marathi was not the Official Language of Goa, the notice stood null and void. The court countered this argument by saying that the notice for house acquisition is part of House Acquisition Act which is a Regional Act. As per the Regional Act, any language which is in use in the region can be applied. And hence the usage of Marathi was valid as it is a regional language in use in Goa. Thus for the first time the issue of official language entered the domain of the court, though the purpose was not language per se, but to evade legal action.

The second instance when the official language was discussed in the court was when the issue of employment arose. According to the OLA, knowledge of Konkani was essential for government jobs. Article 309 of the Constitution gave the State Government the power to frame their own employment rules. The Marathivadis went to court stating that Marathi should also be made essential for employment. Justice Khandeparkar ruled that under the Official Language Act, only Konkani is the Official Language.

The OLA was implemented only for the purpose of employment and that too partially, when Shri Luizinho Faleiro became the Industries Minister. But Shri Bhembre says:

> "It was a partial implementation. What was tested was knowledge of Konkani and not use of Konkani. This was done to safeguard the interest of locals and not for the development of Konkani. As per Article 309, the State Government could frame employment rules pertaining to age, educational qualifications, and language to safeguard local culture."

Towards Implementation: From Cell to Directorate

Shri N. Shivdas though is optimistic about the future implementation of the Official Language Act. With the appointment of a full time Director for the Directorate of Official Language, and with Shri Digambar Kamat as the Chief Minister, Konkani protagonists feel that a small beginning has been made with respect to implementation of the OLA. As per the suggestions made by the new Advisory Board that was reconstituted in February 2008, a number of schemes have been chalked out and activities identified. Two of the more prominent schemes are the *Rajbhas Prashikhan Evzonn* 2008, and the Scheme of publication in the Official Language 2008. The

Rajbhas Prashikshan Evzonn 2008 scheme is formulated by the Directorate to provide in–service training in Konkani to all employees of the Government undertakings, Cooperative banks, Financial Institutions, Autonomous Organisations, owned or controlled by the Government. The Directorate has visualised that under this scheme, Konkani language training is obligatory for all such employees/officers whose knowledge of Konkani is below the prescribed level. The syllabus for training has been framed and the Directorate is now in the process of eliciting interest from NGOs and Educational Institutions for conducting the training classes.

The Directorate also plans a scheme whereby unpublished manuscripts from Goan writers in the Official language will be given a maximum honorarium of Rs. one lakh for the publication of his/her manuscript. Surprisingly though, according to the Citizen's Charter brought out by the Directorate, it is mentioned "...to give boost to Official Language i.e. Konkani, Marathi and English." This perhaps reflects the ambiguity with which the OLA has been conceptualised and executed. Given Goa's linguistic history wherein Marathi always played a dominant role in matters concerning the state as well as the public sphere. English too because of its global appeal and nativisation occupies a dominant place, especially in post colonial societies. This perhaps explains why the administration is reluctant to let go of these two languages.

NEGOTIATING NATIONISM AND CONTESTING NATONALISM THROUGH THE DIRECTORATE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGES'

The ambiguity concerning which a language is to be considered as the official language governs every aspect of the functioning of the Directorate. A cursory perusal of the Citizen's Charter issued by the Directorate gives one the impression that both Konkani and Marathi are the official languages. An important activity of the

Directorate is the translation of official documents and the publication of State Acts and Rules in the official language. The translations and publications are done in both Konkani and Marathi. Both Konkani and Marathi language associations are to be bestowed with grants-in-aid. Representatives of both the language groups are members of the various committees appointed by the Directorate. Since the conflict between Devanagari and Roman script supporters of Konkani surfaced on the public sphere, the Directorate has to accommodate this group as well. So now, Dalgado Konkani Akademi (DKA), the representative association of Konkani in Roman script is also given grants by the Directorate, and its members are incorporated in various committees. The Government has probably adopted this 'please all' stance, as it is wary of the divisive potential of language. Conscious of the sensitive nature of the language negotiations in Goa, the Government and accordingly the Directorate perhaps does not want to disturb the status quo. While the Marathivadis and supporters of Konkani in Roman script approve of this stance taken by the Directorate, some supporters of the Devanagari Konkani camp are not happy. They pose the question that if Konkani in Devanagari script is the official language, then the Directorate of Official Language should work primarily for the cause and development of Konkani in Devanagari script. At the same time, there are a number of Devanagarivadis who do not see a problem in grants being given to organisations of other languages and language varieties. This in turn is reflective of the lack of rigidity demarcating one ideology from another. Many of the Devanagari Konkani protagonists do write in Marathi, and there are also writers who use both Devanagari and Roman script for writing Konkani. All these ideologies also operate in the same public sphere. Due to the intermeshing of identity-related boundaries among the members of conflicting groups, there is resilience in managing linguistic polarity.

The state, thus, through the workings of the Directorate of Official Languages, attempts at negotiating these subtle and not-so–subtle currents and cross currents pertaining to language use in the official domain. These negotiations are integral to the building of nationism. The management of the issues relating to official language involves a negotiation of different language ideologies. In addition, it also has to negotiate, the at times contradictory pulls of nationalism and nationism. In its endeavour of nation building, the nation-state endeavours to attain a complementarity between the two. The passing of the OLA in Goa, and recent attempts at its implementation, is a way of linking the practical concerns of governance with the symbolic importance that language has in nurturing ethno-cultural and primordial identities. The recent efforts of the Directorate of Official Languages, and the various schemes that have been visualised and executed, are in some ways, attempts to use in administration and governance, a language that only five decades ago was considered by many to be dialect.

Not everyone though is optimistic about the intentions and seriousness with which the state manages implementation. The Konkani protagonist especially the Devanagari vadis, are cautious about this zeal towards implementation. They feel that the state has never acted on the implementation of the OLA on its own accord. The Konkanivadis and the various language groups that they represent have had to exert sustained pressure on the state to seek the implementation. The civil society thus had an integral role to play not only in the movement for declaration of Konkani as official language, but also in its implementation.

CIVIVL SOCIETY AND STATE-SOCIETY INTERLINKAGES

Though the concept of civil society is often invoked in both academic as well popular writings, there is no consensus on its meaning. In one of its earliest *avatars*, civil society, from Aristotle to Thomas Hobbes, represented a kind of society that was identified with certain ideals like political equality or peaceful coexistence (Edwards 2005). In the decades succeeding the Enlightenment, various layers were added to its meaning. All of these focussed on the relationship between the state and society. While Hegel wanted civil society to be subordinated to the state, Marx, wanted the state, which can turn tyrannical, to be subordinated to civil society (Oomenn 2004: 145). For Touqueville, civil society is the protector of individuals from the tyrannical state, but Gramsci sees civil society as the protector of the state.

In India too, civil society focuses on the relationship between the state and civil society. It is the disenchantment with the state that has been the major reason for interest in civil society. There is a difference in the conceptualisation of civil society in the West and in developing world. This difference is due to the incapacity of the state to deliver in these poorer countries, coupled with the frequent trampling of human and democratic rights in these regions than what is present in the West (Gupta 1997:128). The best scenario that this relationship entails is when the state learns from civil society and corrects its style of functioning. This is possible because civil society is the site where most interactions between the state and society take place (Chandoke 2002: 194).

IMPLEMENTATION OF THE OLA IN GOA: A CASE OF STATE-CIVIL SOCIETY PARTNERSHIP

Issues concerning the OLA and its implementation in Goa are an example of the association between state and civil society, where civil society in its role as the 'good

society' as given by Edwards (2005) assists the state in fulfilling its duties. As the government had both Konkani and Marathi supporters it did not show much keenness either in passing the OLA (as seen earlier, one MLA was even ridiculed for bringing up the issue in the House), nor in its implementation. Shri Bhembre attributes this lack of initiative on the part of the successive governments to two reasons: division on the basis on language (first Konkani Marathi, and now Konkani Devanagari and Roman Script), and the second, the belief that English is more than capable of continuing as the official language. As opposed to the practical considerations of nationism put forth by the state, civil society comprised of the various language ideologues, and the various voluntary associations they represent, sought to give nationalistic character to the question of language use in administration. In its role as the 'public sphere', civil society becomes the arena for argument and deliberation as well as for association and institutional collaboration (Edwards 2005). By putting pressure on the state, by collaborating with it whenever needed and joining various committees set up by the Directorate, civil society through the language ideologues and voluntary associations seeks to help the state implement the OLA.

The most important institutional component of civil society comprises voluntary groups of various hues (Mohan 2004: 194). The Directorate of Official Languages is in many ways a monitoring body that relies on the language associations, namely the Goa Konkani Akademi, Gomantak Marathi Akademi and Dalgado Konkani Akademi, for implementation of its various schemes (The Goa Konkani Akademi, though a Government body established in 1987, is voluntary and part of civil society in its orientation).

THE ROLE OF OFFICIAL LANGUAGE, PUBLIC SPHERE AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN PLURILINGUAL MANAGMENT

Imagining the Indian subcontinent as a nation required some conceptual modifications in the Western import. One crucial difference in the two conceptualisations involved cultural heterogeneity. 'Project homogenisation' that characterises most Western models of nations, has not yet been successful in the Indian context. Oomenn (2004: 11) writes that the least problematic basis for the formation of democratic polity is language. Language is vital in imagining the Indian nation. One important role of language concerns general government administration. The process of governance requires communication both within the governing institutions and between the government and the people. This is where the official language moves in. The conventional view among political elite, scholars, and observers, is that the political community normally requires a common language and that anything less represents a poor and unstable compromise (Mill 1904, cited in Esman 1992: 383). Language, being a core of ethnic identity, the choice of official language has symbolic aspects in ethnically divided societies. Esman (1992: 392) even goes as far as to say, 'Unilingual where possible, multilingual only if necessary, but not necessarily multilingual.'

But in many plurilingual polities like India, diversity is not something to be ashamed of, or swept under the carpet. The Constitution of India, through its various provisions, aims at conserving this plurality. In keeping with this principle, the Indian nation-state went for linguistic states, whereby the organising principle for state formation would be language. This subsequently gave rise to the concept of official language, by which the major language of each State would be used for the purpose of official communication and administration. In keeping with this formulation, Goa had to decide its Official language as a precursor to Statehood.

The Official Language Act of Goa was passed on 4 February 1987 and Goa became the 25th State of the Indian Union on 30 May 1987. Given a variety of historical, social and political factors, Goa has had a prolonged teething problem with regard to implementation. In fact one of the main grouse of most language protagonists is that the OLA is not being implemented properly. In this chapter, I have attempted to show how the state has dealt with issues pertaining to implementation of the OLA. The civil society aids in the negotiation of the OLA. To conclude, civil society is simultaneously a goal to aim for, a means to achieve it, and a framework for engaging with each-other about ends and means (Edwards 2005). When these three 'faces' turn towards each-other and integrate their different perspectives into a mutually-supportive framework, the idea of civil society can explain a great deal about the course of politics and social change, and serve as a practical framework for organising both resistance and alternative solutions to social , economic and political problems *(ibid.)*.

CHAPTER VI

THE SCRIPT QUESTION IN GOA

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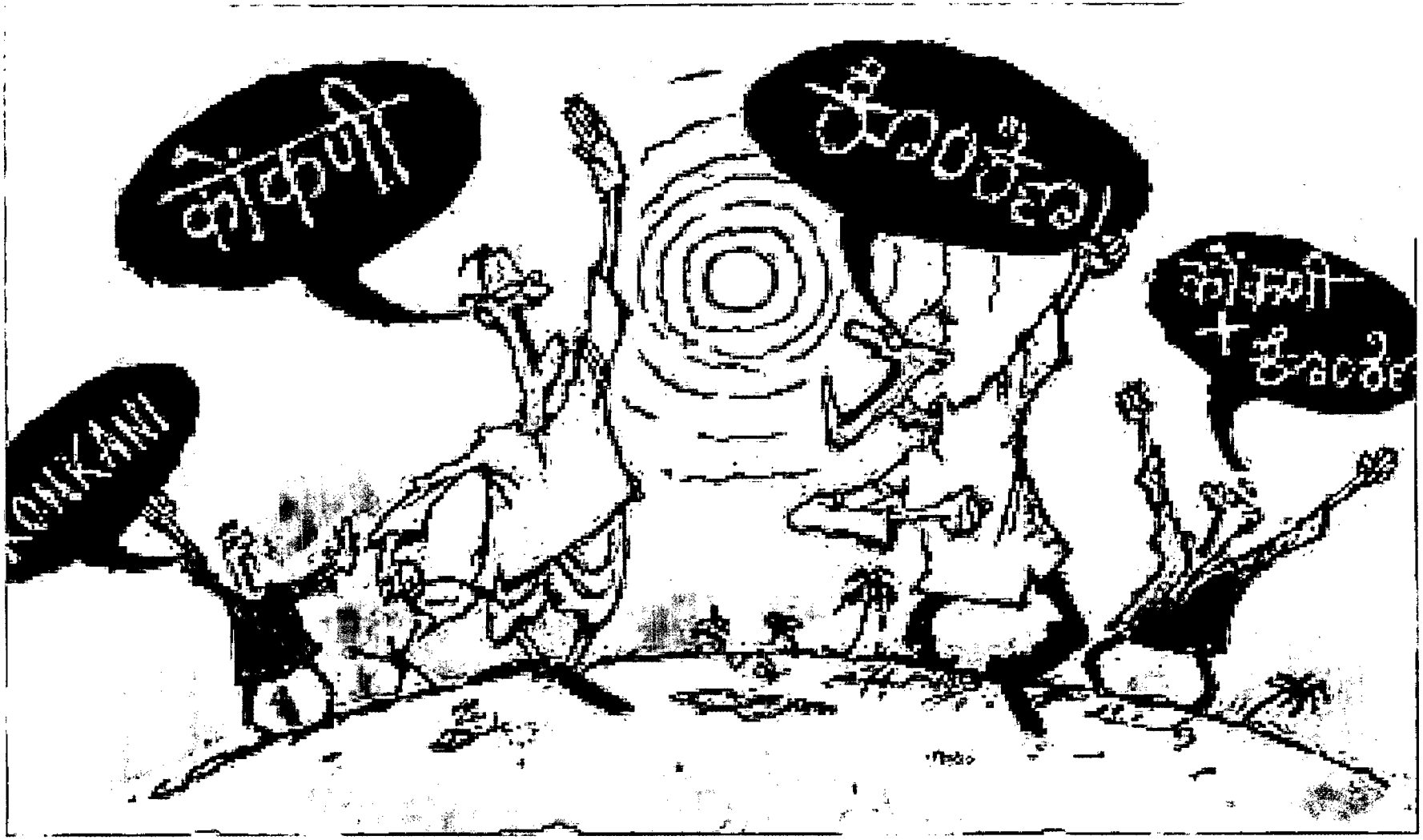
Following an intensive and virulent agitation that liberally incorporated casteist, communal, and chauvinist elements, the Official Language Act of Goa was passed in 1987. As seen in the last chapter, the Act was perceived by many as being ambiguous. Apart from all the issues pertaining to the Act as discussed in the last chapter, the Act opened up a Pandora's Box. It made manifest, the latent script question in Goa. In Goa, Konkani is written in two scripts, Devanagari and Roman. As we have observed in Chapter Five, the Official Language Act (OLA) recognises only Konkani in Devanagari script as the official language of Goa. This decision has led to conflict among the latently factional Konkani community. This chapter tries to understand the script controversy and its myriad implications. I have first delineated the language script relationship from various perspectives. Locating my analysis in the sociological perspective, I have then examined the script conflict that is being enacted in Goa. I have taken into consideration both the actors and institutions that are involved in this controversy.

THE SPEECH- SCRIPT CONTINUUM

The relationship between language and script has always been always been vexing and confusing. Today, most literate people take script as a natural and absolute component of language, a given. But there is nothing natural and absolute about script and language relationship. The script is merely a system of signs which symbolise the sounds of a language. It is a representation of language. There is no fixed one to one relationship between a language and a script. Krishna (1991: 5) writes that the worst kind of misconception is to treat scripts as language. She says that the invention of writing developed a little over 50,000 years ago. If writing exists, it is because it had a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was an intersection between the symbolic and the iconic, or what Derrida calls the shift from indicative signification to expressive signification. Writing came into being when people wanted to conserve speech to posterity. Writing preserves the transient nature of speech. As language encompasses both speech and writing, language can be denoted as icon as well as symbol. Language is symbolic as long as a person takes the relation between language and culture for granted. When a certain language is chosen by the government as the national language, it is a case of symbolic use of language. As not all people of the bounded territory associate themselves with the national language, it becomes a broad marker of their identity, a badge of the community.

As the importance of language in politics increased, language now became a source of symbolic and cultural capital. Accordingly, people have clung on even more strongly to their primordial identity. When the question of how the language was written i.e. the script enters the political arena, the iconic aspects of the language are evoked by the speakers of both the dominant as well as the suppressed variety. In this chapter, I have attempted to show how script is instrumental in the transformation from language as symbol to language as icon. I argue that by equating script with institutional ingredients like religion and caste, the Konkani speakers in Goa have invoked the iconic aspects of language in their negotiations of script politics in Goa.

"HISTORICISING" THE SCRIPT QUESTION IN GOA

The Portuguese came to India looking for Christians and spices. It was rumoured that the legendary Prestor John had spread Christianity to Goa, some centuries ago. When the Portuguese did not find the expected Christians, they set about converting the local populace into Christianity. With this agenda, they set about wiping all traces of earlier forms of worship. They destroyed temples and burnt all religious literature. As written literature during that era was predominantly religious, the Portuguese policy

of equating religion with culture led to the destruction of almost all pre-conquest literature. Hence there is no clarity on pre-Portuguese Konkani literature as there has not been evidence of any. Though most attribute this to the Portuguese anti-Semitic policy, some like Dr. Harishchandra Nagvenkar, a moderate Konkani protagonist, are not so sure. Dr. Nagvenkar says that it seems highly unlikely that all literature disappeared. If there was any Konkani literature, at least some of it should have remained. Most Konkani protagonists cite inscriptions on pillars and coins as evidence of the antiquity of Konkani in written form. Evidence of texts is controversial though there is some indication that Konkani was written in a variety of Kannada script called the Kandovi script (Kurzon 2007: 27).

Tracing the antiquity and script of Konkani is not just a contemporary concern. As far back as 1893, in the introduction to his Konkani Portuguese dictionary Dalgado deals with this question. He believed that Konkani, like other non Aryan languages, should have had a script of its own or that of an Indian alphabet. He admits that there were some books of agricultural communities written in Konkani in Kannada script. But he attributes the presence of these books to reasons of domination, commerce, and neighbourhood. In the absence of knowledge of the earlier script of Konkani, Dalgado faced this problem of the appropriate script while preparing his dictionary. Opining that an Oriental language should not be guided by a European tongue, he felt that the choice was between Kannada and Devanagari. Though the influence of Kannada on Konkani, specially its vocabulary, was strong, because of the difference in language family, the Dravidian Kannada could not be the script for the Indo-Aryan Konkani. So Dalgado felt that the script for Konkani should be Devanagari, as it is of other sister languages, with some diversity in the configuration of letters (Dalgado 2008: 10). Therefore Dalgado used the Marathi

balabhoda that differs slightly from Devanagari proper. But as the majority of Konkani speakers were not familiar with the Marathi characters in Devanagari, Dalgado had to use the Roman script as well. But in choosing Romanisation, he selected the version given by Sir William Jones as, among other reasons, he found it simpler and more in harmony with the Devanagari alphabet.

Cunha Rivara (2006: 12) defines Romanisation as the method of system in which Roman letters as adopted in European languages are used to represent words of oriental languages. The issue of Romanisation came about when after the initial phase during which the conquerors destroyed all literature, they realised the significance of language as an aid to their missionary efforts and as a means of commercial intercourse. The importance of language to the conversion process is underscored by a clause given in the deed of consent which states:

> "And if in future there should be priests, native to the country, who might be judged competent to be in charge of the chapels, these chapels ought to be given to the same, so that the local people may be satisfied, and more willingly learn from them, both because of the language as also because it was natural" (Cunha Rivara 2006: 17).

The missionaries keen on propagating in Konkani were now faced with the task of creating literature in the language and had to indulge in guesswork about the nature of the grammar and orthography of these languages. Cunha Rivara (2006: 13) writes that it was found easier to introduce Romanised words to express Konkani vocables, than for grammarians to adopt the Marathi alphabet, though the latter course would be proper and more natural.

The preference for Roman script was especially visible when it came to print. Right up to the early twentieth century, there were only a handful of Konkani books

printed in Devanagari script, most notable among them being the work by Tomas Morao, the *Barao De Combarjua* titled *Konkani Paili Potti* and published in Bombay by Aryan Tract and Book Depot in 1889. The discriminatory attitude towards Konkani in Roman script was evident when a Goan wanted to print a Konkani book in Devanagari script at the Government Printing Press. Considering the script to be foreign, the author was charged the rate which was applicable to foreign languages.

"SCRIPTING" DIVISION: HIERARCHISATION AND DOMINATION

One wonders why the Portuguese discriminated against Konkani in Devanagari script. Was it simply apathy towards the script which was essentially Indian? Was it because there was a practical problem in procuring Devanagari types? This was part of the reason but the issue surely went beyond these obvious reasons. The Portuguese, in the later phase of their rule did not discourage the use of Marathi in Devanagari script, going to the extent of not only allowing but even supporting schools teaching Marathi. There was a practical difficulty in procuring Devanagari types but in the nineteenth century this problem was taken care of. In 1853, the Presses in Goa acquired Devanagari types and Marathi newspapers began to be published. The sphere of Marathi print also became dominant as it was an important site for the creation of regional, religious and caste based identities which enabled the Goans to merge with Maharastrian identity and thus avail of job opportunities in Maharashtra.

Thus it was not simply intolerance to Devanagari that prompted the Portuguese to dissuade the use of Devanagari for Konkani. As with language, script too was used for divisive purposes. Equating religion with culture, the Portuguese through the policies of the Inquisition sought to distance the Catholics from the rest of the population. Language-at first Portuguese and later Konkani-was one such yardstick distinguishing both the communities. While the Catholic elite familiarised

themselves with Portuguese, Konkani in Roman script was adopted by the masses, many of whom were not fully literate. Hindus in turn, were drawn towards Marathi, for a variety of reasons including economic and religious, though the Hindu elite did use Portuguese to communicate with the State and the Catholic elite. Language and script were thus tools used to polarise the two communities. Both communities used Konkani for their oral communication. But when it came to literature, there was a bifurcation: while Hindus used Marathi, Catholics, especially the non elite used Konkani in Roman script. The Portuguese thus discriminated against Devanagari Konkani as it was another way of widening the yawning gap between Hindus and Catholics in Goa. They sought to make Konkani in Roman script a symbol of Catholic identity in Goa.

This strategy seemed to have been successful. The non elite Catholics in Goa made Konkani in Roman script a symbol that went beyond religion to community. Beginning at the end of the nineteenth century, there has been a steady flow of migrants from Old Conquest areas to cities in British India, where the modest salaries that they earned as manual labourers helped them keep afloat their families in economically stagnant Goa. By the end of the nineteenth century, it was estimated that at least ten per cent of the population of the Old Conquest Goa had migrated to various parts of British India and various British colonies (Pinto 2007: 227). A government report on the migrants put the figure of literate Goans to around ten per cent. These Goans had to find ways to communicate with their communities back in Goa. As a number of them had some elementary education in Konkani in Roman script in parish schools where they learnt Catechism, they carried it with them as part of their socio-cultural baggage. They now resorted to it in the absence of knowledge of the other developed languages. Shri S. M. Borges gives another reason for their

adoption of Konkani in Roman script. He says that the Catholics attended Portuguese schools, but they did not know enough Portuguese for the purpose of even writing letters. But as they were at least familiar with the Portuguese script, they used those characters to write their spoken language Konkani. They did not use the method created by the missionaries to retain the Konkani sounds. This gave rise to a spree of correspondence in Konkani in Roman script.

Very soon, the magnitude of the Goan diaspora gave rise to the formation of groups and communities in the diaspora. A new arrival to Bombay would head for the clubs set up in South Bombay for new comers from their village. These clubs or *kudds* comprised of tiny rooms with a common kitchen. As the diasporic Goan knit himself into the Goan community in Bombay, Konkani print was one of the mechanisms through which migrant Goans made their acquaintance with elements of early modernity in Bombay. Print preserved and represented elements of life in Goa without which, due to homesickness, they could not easily survive the city, and simultaneously articulated their ironic, humorous, and apparently easy assimilation into urban structures that might otherwise have appeared as insurmountably alien and difficult (Pinto 2007: 229). Newspapers, advertisements, books and novels catering to the non elite were produced on a mass scale. While on one hand, it helped create community consciousness around Konkani in Roman script, it also resulted in heightening of divisions within the larger Goan community. It led to contradictory processes of assimilation and differentiation.

THE CRYSTALLISATION OF ONE LANGUAGE TWO SCRIPTS THESIS

Within the realm of literary history, J. Da. Cunha Rivara, the Secretary to the Governor General, and elite Goans have customarily been credited for their efforts to

systematise and advocate a wider use of Konkani language, even though they did not use it themselves as a literary medium. The work done by Da Cunha in the 1850s, Braganca da Cunha in the 1880s and Dalgado in the 1890s were considered to be pioneering works following the trend set by Cunha Rivara. The Goan elite continued to conscientiously contribute to the literary production in Konkani. Alongside dictionaries, grammars and compilations of proverbs, they also printed songs in Portuguese anthologies. Of these, the work done by Eduardo Bruno de Souza, as mentioned in an earlier chapter stands out for its sustained efforts. His urge for linguistic improvement ensured that he adapted a seventeenth century form of orthography that he believed was the viable form for Konkani prose and poetry. This Marian alphabet and its inherent intricacies did not find a ready audience and his works did not find a wide audience. The fact that his works drew on the literary legacies of Camoes, Dante and had a limited religious appeal also meant that its reach was limited (Pinto 2007).

The Catholic elite and the intelligentsia preferred a purer reconstruction of the language and worked towards purging it of any 'corrupt' influences. Roman script was seen as one such anomaly that had to be done away with.

> "Those who invented these systems of romanisations, we are convinced, could not correctly read any script whatsoever, and unhesitantly modelled it according to their own fantastic method, without any proper reflection. Experience has amply demonstrated, if not the uselessness of these inventions of fantasy, at least their inefficiency. Whoever doesn't study Marathi or Concani in their present alphabet, it can be freely assumed, fundamentally doesn't

know the language" (*A Abelha de Bombaim*, November 1857, cited in Pinto 2007: 104).

Many advocated the Devanagari script. Pinto while promoting Devanagari script wrote:

> "Though a large number of books and periodicals are emerging in Bombay in the Roman script, this does not represent progress, nor the proper development of the language, and will not provide a literature which will endure" (Pinto 1915: 120, cited in Pinto 2007: 114).

These Goan Catholic elite considered Konkani in Roman script to be the domain of solely the non elite Catholic Goans who spoke a corrupted form of Konkani (Pinto 2007). The paternalism and criticism generated by the elite were answered vociferously by the emerging literate and mobile non elite. By the beginning of the 1860s, Konkani publications produced and directed at a readership quite distinct from the Goan elite emerged. Unlike the efforts undertaken by the elite, these were not produced as a response to Rivara's injunctions to revive Konkani. The earlier works of the elite towards Konkani in Devanagari script were done conscientiously and with a sense of duty worked towards contributing to the literary development of Konkani. Though they did not use the language, they worked towards building up its vocabulary. The sense of duty towards a language that they no longer used is articulated by Figueiredo (1912: 1): "It is a mystery that all of us who love our country, have to labour for the resurgence of our mother tongue which we learn in childhood, especially in view of the efforts of our brothers in British India, who have done much in this respect."

The non elite, on the other hand, had no such sense of duty and obligation. For them Konkani was simply a language of communication, a means to connect with families back in Goa, and contribute to a sense of imagined community. Unlike the texts produced by the elite that were shaped by bourgeois conceptualisations of linguistic and cultural improvements that did not have as formative an impact as others. The popular texts were ones in which dictionaries, cookbooks, hymnals and romances were held together by the relationships which bound those who had written and read them into an economic, religious and ethnic community. Bilingual and trilingual dictionaries did not signify the development of an academic interest in the language, but the entry finally of its speakers, into an economics that requires a rapid formalisation of their linguistic and literary skills (Pinto 2007: 225).

In the public sphere of the diaspora, Konkani in Roman script became an example of multi-symbol congruence, with script of the language as a primary symbol around which other symbols like religion, economics, caste, and class were drawn. Brass (1974) in his work, 'Language, Religion and Politics in North India' posits three levels of groups: an ethnic group, a community, and a nation. The first refers to a group that does not give any subjective importance to its objective distinctiveness, the second refers to an ethnic group whose members have developed an awareness of their common identity and seek to define group boundaries, and the third term refers to a community which makes political demands with a significant degree of success. Brass goes on to demonstrate how ethnic groups change into communities, and then into nationalities (King 1994: 2). The Portuguese strategy of using Konkani in Roman script as a symbol of Goan Catholic identity, in course of time, hastened the transition, in the nineteenth and early twentieth century from ethnic groups to imagined communities with a multi symbol congruence that revolved around

language. What course did this language script dichotomy take? Did it make the transition from community to nationality? Did Konkani in Roman script remain at the level of the symbolic or has it taken an iconic turn? In short, what relationship exists between language and script in post colonial Goa?

SCRIPT IN POST COLONIAL GOA: COMPARTMENTALISATION INTO HIGH AND LOW VARIETY

As seen in Chapter Four, due to a host of factors, there was a bifurcation of the linguistic realm of Goa into high language and low language, i.e. Portuguese and Marathi as high languages and Konkani as low. The differentiation of the Konkani speaking Catholic community on the basis of script, gave rise to a hierarchisation of Konkani literary sphere into high and low variety. The Devanagari script, advocated by the Goan Catholic elite in its efforts to develop the various genres of literary Konkani and its endeavour with its concern for linguistic purity, naturally gave rise to what could be referred to as high Konkani. The Konkani in Roman script favoured by the non elite locals who were familiar with the English alphabet came to be associated with popular literature but was not recognised for its literary abilities.

This distinction between the high and low varieties of Konkani which were a result of casteist formulations got further enhanced in the twentieth century with the entry of Goan Hindu upper caste on the Konkani public sphere. This movement was initiated by Shri Shenoi Goembab, who as we have already seen in previous chapters, is credited with having heralded the Konkani Renaissance with his contributions to the various genres of Konkani literature. This notion itself reflects the attitudes concerning high and low Konkani. Shri Goembab, in an effort to reinstate Konkani identity in Bombay, began contributing voluminously to its literary development. As Konkani in Roman script was more or less the norm in the public sphere in Bombay,

he started his mission by using the Roman script for writing Konkani. He later switched to the Devanagari script.

Following him, most of the early pioneers of the Konkani movement also began their involvement in the movement by contributing to Konkani in Roman script. Shri Ravindra Kelekar, who is today recognised for his patronage to Devanagari Konkani, also wrote in Konkani in the Roman script in its early years. While in Bombay, he edited a Konkani monthly in Roman script called *Gomant Bharati*. Shri Kelekar informs that he started *Gomant Bharati* so as to cater to the half literate Goan Catholics non elite who were employed in mostly blue collared jobs in Bombay. He informs that the aim of *Gomant Bharati* was to instil a sense of nationalism among the Goan Catholics who he felt were, as T. B. Cunha observed, 'denationalised'. There were also a number of journals and newspapers started in Bombay with the same purpose. For example, *Varandache Ixtt* was started in 1931 by some priests and workers of the Pillar society. In 1915 Fr. Moreno Soares began *Don Moneache Roti*. These publications were largely spiritual in nature, though *Varandache Ixtt* also sought to instil nationalistic sentiments among the diasporic Goan Catholic community in the Diaspora. There were also other publications in Bombay like *Ave Maria*, Cine Mail, Goa Mail and Goa Time that provided secular information like news, entertainment features, and advertisements. This further perpetuated the distinction into high and low variety of Konkani. The perception of the upper caste towards the insignificance of Konkani in Roman script can be discerned from this statement made by Shri Ravindra Kelekar on the Marathi claim that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi:

> "Earlier when they thought Konkani was a dialect, I could not blame them. In 1945, when we started, there were 10-15 books of

Konkani in Devanagari script and 1000 Konkani books in Roman script. The process of making Konkani a literary language began since then."

Aware of this dichotomy within the Konkani literary sphere, the First Konkani Conference held at Karwar in 1939 assembled itself under the slogan 'One language, One Script, One Literature' in order to build a homogenous Konkani society. Yet the divisions continued.

After Liberation, this fractured Konkani literary sphere had to combat the dominant literary sphere of Marathi in Goa. Immediately after Liberation, all the Portuguese medium schools were overnight converted into Konkani medium ones. The Government now had to procure books for the purpose. Sensing that the pro Marathi Government would not be too keen on providing Konkani books, the members of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal took it upon themselves to write and make arrangements for the books. In the early years after Liberation some priests in Goa established Konkani medium schools. When it came to the question of preparing text books for those schools, some Hindus thought that Christians would prefer to have their education in Roman script. So Devanagari writers like Shri Ravindra Kelekar were set to prepare Konkani text books in Roman Script. At that time, Christian priests who were also educationists like Fr. Mario Menezes, Fr. Anton Pereira, and Fr. Mendes insisted that the education of Christians should be in Devanagari. According to Fr. Athaide, a staunch Devanagarivadi, this was done because these educationist priests, inspired by Dalgado, genuinely felt that the Devanagari script was the natural script for Konkani. They also thought that a division on the basis of script would polarise the Konkani community.

Thus an entire generation of school students learnt Konkani in Devanagari script. For at least two decades since Liberation, there had been no blatant conflict over the varying scripts of Konkani. One reason could be that at the time, Konkani was trying to assert itself in face of a dominant Marathi public sphere. The two scripts of Konkani that were in use in Goa, were also in different spheres that did not often overlap-Devnagari used for education, though the elite also began using it for literature, and the Roman script was used for popular culture like novels, *tiatrs* as well as for liturgical purpose. This status quo situation continued until the struggle for the official language and the passing of the Official Language Act in 1987.

SCRIPT SINCE OLA: THREAT PERCEPTION AND POLITICAL MOBILISATION

In the run up to the Official Language Act, the question of script did come up. As seen in Chapter Five, the Konkani movement in Goa comprised largely of Catholics and upper caste Hindus. During the agitation, Shri Luizinho Faleiro, suggested that the movement should ask for Konkani in Roman script to be included for 25 years. The supporters of Konkani in Roman script were advised not to pursue this demand as this would make the case of Konkani even more difficult in the face of opposition from the Marathi lobby. So this demand was dropped. Fr. Pratap Naik, a strong supporter of Konkani in Roman script and Director of the TSKK, narrates what happened later. He said that immediately after the OLA, TSKK called a meeting of largely Catholic writers and other literary figures at Jesuit House in March 1987. The agenda of the meeting was to explain to the users of Konkani in Roman script that now that the OLA Act had been enacted, they should all adapt themselves by gaining knowledge of Devanagari script. Fr. Naik informs that it was at that meeting that he realised that there was a difference of opinion. He said that the gathering explained to

him how they felt cheated and betrayed. They said that they were bullied and were given to understand that if they do not support the side of the Devanagarivada then Marathi would be made Official Language of Goa. They also informed Fr. Naik that the Devanagari protagonists also urged them to compromise on script issue and give up Konkani in Roman script, a tradition of only a few hundreds of years as they had given up Marathi, a tradition of many more centuries. Fr Naik says that this meeting was an eye opener and he now saw that the ground reality was different from that which was portrayed to him. This incident converted him, a staunch Devanagarivadi to appreciate the arguments and grievances put forth by the supporters of Konkani in Roman script. Shri Tomazinho Cardoso, ex-speaker of the Goa Legislative Assembly, teacher and Konkani literary artiste gives another dimension to Devanagari protagonists' dissuasion of Konkani in Roman script. He alleges that the Devanagarivadis did not want to bring up the script issue as they knew that at that time, there was no foundation for Devanagari Konkani. He complains that "for the next ten to fifteen years a foundation was created for Konkani in Devanagari script. So now the Devanagarivadis want the people to switch over to Devanagari Konkani. They made use of Roman Konkani to fulfil their own agenda."

Their grievances apart, the situation remained unchanged for the next decade and a half. By the third or fourth year of the twenty first century, the script entanglement began to get articulated in the public sphere of Goa. The first language issue related to the script conflict in Goa was with the Sahitya Akademi status.

Sahitya Akademi Recognition

In 1981, the Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi announced that only Konkani written in Devanagari script would be eligible for awards. Fr. Naik informs that this was done because people kept questioning why awards were not being given

to Konkani writers of other scripts like Kannada, Roman and Malayalam. He alleges that this ruling was given at the insistence and efforts of Shri Ravindra Kelekar, Shri R. V. Pandit, and Fr. Antonio Pereira, as they wanted to limit the awards to the Devanagari camp. For Fr. Naik, this was just another instance of upper caste hegemony.

Shri Uday Bhembre, who was a key figure in the movement for getting Sahitya Akademi recognition for Konkani, gives another reason for the specific reference of Devanagari in the rulings of the Sahitya Akademi. He informs that when the Sahitya Akademi refers to language, it doesn't mention the script. The Sahitya Akademi policy is that it recognises one script per language, in keeping with its policy of 'one language one script'.

Shri Bhembre explains that the problem arises when there is a multiplicity of scripts. The Sahitya Akademi does not impose any script on the language. The matter is referred to the Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi which comprises of ten members of the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi. The script issue arose for the first time with reference to Sindhi. Sindhi is written in Devanagari and Perso Arabic script. The issue of the appropriate script for Sindhi was placed before the Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi. The members of the Advisory Board, who are from various fields and regions, suggested the Perso Arabic script and so the Sahitya Akademi accepted the Perso Arabic script for Sindhi.

After the Sahitya Akademi acceptance in the year 1976, literary and cultural activities began to be conducted in Konkani. The first award was presented to Shri Ravindra Kelekar for his work in Devanagari script. The Sahitya Akademi winners in 1979 and 1980 too had written in Devanagari script. Hence, Sahitya Akademi presumed that Devanagari script was the script for Konkani. Probably someone from

Mangalore raised the point regarding script. The Sahitya Akademi then directed this question to the Advisory Board. The Advisory Board which included Shri Antonio Pereira from Goa, Shri P. J. Saldanha from Mangalore, Shri N. Purushottam Mallya from Kerala and Fr. William D'Silva from Karnataka, met in Goa in 1981. The Board unanimously decided on Devanagari as the script for Konkani. This decision of the Advisory Board was accepted by the Executive Council of the Sahitya Akademi.

In response to a query regarding script, the Sahitya Akademi clarified that it insists on one script because of practical difficulties. The process of deciding an award involves 40 people at three levels. If more than one script is recognised then all the forty members have to be familiar with all the scripts. This becomes a problem, especially when different scripts are used in different regions. Hence for convenience, the Sahitya Akademi retains the policy of 'one language, one script'.

Sahitya Akademi awards continued to be given to Konkani writings in Devanagari script. As a consequence, only writers of Konkani in Devanagari script were eligible for awards. This created feelings of resentment among Konkani writers using other scripts, as by virtue of their script, they felt that they were shunted outside the purview of awards. The Devanagari protagonists view this as one of the main reasons for the recent protests by the lobby of the protagonists of Roman script and the demand for the change in status of the Official Language Act. The Devanagarivadis point out that Shri Cardoso, one of the leaders of the Roman Konkani camp, was an MLA and even a speaker at one time. As a leader of the Konkani *Samaj*, he could have brought up the issue when the matter was being debated in the legislature. They also point out that when Devanagari Konkani was being taught in schools, Shri Cardoso was a headmaster of a school. As a Headmaster,

if he had protested, his voice would surely have been counted. Mr. Chandrakant Keni sums up the motivations behind the Roman Konkani movement:

> "When after intense struggle Konkani was given access to swim in the open seas of the literary sphere, its interaction with cultures form the world over increased. In no time, Konkani acquired a place on the national and international literary fora. When you see your neighbour getting felicitated for doing the same work that you do, both from the Government and from the National Academy of Letters, you naturally start resenting your neighbour. And when you realise that the source of your grievance is the use of different scripts, the writer of the other script is now your adversary. You then feel that in order to protect your interest, you have to see that your script is given recognition as well. This is the script controversy today."

Shri Cardoso rejects this tendency to limit the script controversy to non availability of awards. In his view, the OLA destroyed Konkani publications in Roman script. Because of the wordings of the Act, the government funds were used to publish books in Devanagari script, while books in Roman script were not conferred the same privilege. Before the OLA, almost all the published books were in Roman script and there was a wide readership. He complains that in 15- 16 years, all this was destroyed by the OLA and the Devanagari camp.

The brewing resentment was articulated in February 2006, at the time of the 25th All India Konkani Parishad organised from 10-12 February 2006. On 10 of February 2006, prior to the inaugural function of the Parishad that was held at Kala Akademi, a protest rally was organised by Dalgado Konkani Akademi (DKA) at Azad Maidan, Panaji. The DKA had called upon all 'Romi Konkani lovers' to boycott the

Parishad which they accused to being biased towards Devanagari. The rally was supported by other allied organisations like TSKK, Calangute Kala Mogi, and the Karnataka Konkani Akademi. A large and proactive contingent of the Karnataka Konkani Akademi, was in attendance along with their President, Shri. Eric Ozario. The gathering was largely Catholic and included a number of *tiatrists*, literary figures as well as some members of the clergy. The speeches were preceded by an entertainment programme, mainly conducted by *tiatrists* as well as Shri Ulhas Buyao, a poet who was also known as Goa's *Shahir*. The thrust of the rally, which also included a signature campaign which was to be sent to the President of India, was on equating Konkani in Roman script with religion and culture and it tried to provoke the gathering into protesting OLA. Sociologically I consider this as the first instance of attempts to use language as icon.

Since then there have been concerted efforts to mobilise the users of Konkani in Roman script. One important focus has been to strengthen the hands of the Dalgado Konkani Akademi.

Efforts at Instituionalisation

Though the Dalgado Konkani Akademi (DKA) was started in 1989, it was registered only in 2005. Though the DKA started as an association to work for both scripts, in later years its goal changed to working towards enriching Konkani written in Roman script. The President of DKA, Shri Premanand Lotlikar explains how the focus of the DKA changed to Roman script. The OLA slowly led to the decline in the development of literature in Roman script. So the DKA felt that the main challenge was to create more writers in Roman script. For this purpose, the DKA has been organising various workshops on different genres of literature and on different technical aspects of writing. Apart from this, DKA has also commissioned the

publication of various books like the History of Roman Konkani and the History of the Novel in Roman Konkani.

Comprising of around three hundred members the DKA meets on the first Monday of every month. The association is now trying to attract the youth to read and write Konkani in Roman script. The government has recognised this body as being representative of a section of the population. This governmental recognition has resulted in funds and other benefits now being accessible to the DKA. Though earlier, the members had to spend money from their own pocket, the government has now given them a grant of Rs. Five lakhs. The DKA now plans on setting permanent base in Panaji.

Shri Lotlikar makes an interesting point when he says that DKA is not in favour of immediate amendments in the OLA. He explains:

> "DKA is not a political body. Though we believe that the OLA in its present form, with the introduction of one word (Devanagari) is devilish, that an entire section of the population has been unfairly treated as a consequence of this Act, we are not in favour of Konkani in Roman script being included in the Act just yet. I feel that the Devanagarivadis are right when they say that Konkani in Roman script is lacking in literature. Unlike Devanagari Konkani, we are still in the teething stage. Given this situation, I do not feel that we are ready to take on the might of the Devanagari lobby. DKA is hence presently concerned with nurturing the development of the various genres of Konkani. In course of time when we are ready, we will ask for an amendment in the Act."

This perception on the lack of quality of Konkani literature in Roman script is shared by a number of Roman Konkani protagonists. Hegemony is successful when the subordinate groups willingly consent to the values of the dominant groups and thereby surrender their own history and subjectivity. These protagonists of Konkani in the Roman script have partially succumbed to this hegemony. Though determined not to surrender their history, they have nevertheless been conditioned into thinking that their writings lack the sophistication and purity of Devanagari Konkani (though there are some staunch ideologues of Konkani in Roman script that reject this perception and feel that the Devanagari lobby cannot impose their standards on them). Hence there has been concerted attempts by some to work towards what they believe will improve the standard of Konkani literature in Roman script. A number of those involved in the print sphere of Konkani in Roman script concern themselves with the above issues. As a representative case, I have examined the work of one publication house, Queenie Publications.

Queenie Publications

The origins of Queenie Publications can be traced to the DKA and its emphasis on improving the standard of Konkani literature in Roman script. Shri Michael Gracias, the publisher was a member of the DKA. In the course of his involvement in the movement, he felt that there was a contradiction: though the protagonists of Konkani in Roman script were fighting for the cause of script, there were no recognised writers in the second generation. He opined that this was because the youth did not pay much attention to Konkani written in Roman script. He then thought that instead of merely demanding that Roman script be included in the OLA, the focus should also be on building up the literature. This motivated Shri Gracias, a businessperson from the real estate sector, to publish a Konkani monthly in Roman

script, *Jivit*. Through *Jivit*, which means life, Shri Gracias wanted to reach out and encourage the youth to contribute towards Konkani in Roman script.

During its inception, in an effort to popularise the magazine and build up a base of contributors, Shri Gracias took the magazine to various churches and met the Parish Priests. His target was the youth who contributed to the Parish Bulletin. Once he had gathered a band of writers, his next agenda was to train them. He organised workshops and seminars on story and poetry writing, and other technical nuances of the language in Roman script. He also organised a trip of the Konkani writers to Mangalore, where they interacted with the vibrant Konkani community there. He explains;

> "The youth of Goa had not only to be instilled with pride for Konkani in Roman script, but a pride for the language itself was lacking. Centuries of subjugation had indoctrinated Goans into thinking of Konkani as a language of the servants. Added to this was the derogatory attitude of not only the colonisers, but also the Konkani intelligentsia towards Konkani in Roman script. So the youth were naturally moving away from their roots in Konkani. My goal was to draw them to their roots."

Shri Gracias informs that *Jivit* sells 7000 copies a month, with 200 to 300 copies also being sold outside Goa. Encouraged by the success of *Jivit*, Queeni Publications has now entered the sphere of mass media and have started a Konkani news channel, 'V Goan'. This 24 hour channel, which is currently operating in South Goa, targets the Goan Catholics, and Shri Gracias insists that it is in Roman script. This tendency to equate script with speech arises because there are a number of phonetic variations in speech, differences in pronunciation that are a result of the way

in which Konkani is written. (As we will see in the next chapter, there is thus a recognisable distinction in spoken Konkani, based on religion and caste).

Thus the Konkani movement for Roman script has gathered momentum since the early years of the twenty first century. By attempting to make Konkani in Roman script an icon of Goan Christianity, the protagonists of this movement succeeded in political mobilisation supporting their cause. As most of the protagonists were also prominent members of the Konkani public sphere, they were able to mobilise the masses. This collective mobilisation has also impacted the political domain, with even political mobilisation being centred on the language script issue. The Bharitya Janata Party's (BJP) open support to the movement has helped in drawing the Party closer to largely non elite Goan Catholics, a section of the population that were traditionally anti BJP. At the 2007 Assembly elections, some tiatrists canvassed for a regional party, as it had on its manifesto promised to safeguard the cause of Konkani in Roman script. The government has also recently started a Tiatr Akademi, to accommodate the demands and aspirations of the tiatirsts who in turn are the backbone of the movement of Konkani in Roman script.

Thus the movement for Konkani in Roman script has fulfilled the first two levels of Rao (1979) stages i.e. ideology and mobilisaton. Concerted attempts are also being made to convert into reality the third stage of instituionalisation. Though a lot of passion has also been whipped up centred on the iconic aspect of the language, systematic efforts are also being made to enhance the literary sphere of Konkani in Roman script. The protagonists of Konkani in Devanagari script though report that they do not foresee this movement as a threat. Most of them see this dispute as a passing phase which will be wiped out with the dominance of English and Marathi.

THE SCRIPT CONFLICT: ISSUES AND CONCERNS

The script conflict has during its short duration of less than half a dozen years has thrown open a number of issues and concerns. These issues debunk notions that script is merely the dress of a language, a means of providing permanency to speech. These concerns have occupied the public sphere polarising the Konkani community. These problems have been instrumental in channelling Konkani along the symbol-icon continuum. This results in transference by which a new connection is formed between the sign and what it signifies (Brandon and Hornstein 1986: 173). The debates being articulated in the public sphere have led to the invocation of the iconicity of Konkani language. Before I discuss whether this attempt has been successful, let me lay out the various issues that the script conflict has unfurled in Goa.

The case made by many supporters of Konkani in the Roman script revolves around the antiquity of Konkani in Roman script. Protagonists of Roman Konkani argue that the Roman script for Konkani has a history of over five hundred years and to do way or discourage the script would be to do away with a centuries old literary tradition. Even Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, an advocate of Devanagari Konkani who teaches in the Department of Konkani Goa University admits that Roman Konkani has the oldest literary tradition beginning from the 16th century. So the Roman camp feels that to deny them their script is akin to denying them their history and culture. Fr. Mozinho Athaide, founder-member of the group 'Catholics for Devanagari' dismisses this claim. He says that the history of Konkani in Roman script for a Goan does not date that far back. He said that until the nineteenth century, no Goan wrote in Konkani in Roman script. The Konkani literature in Roman script was used solely as part of the missionary activities by foreigners who came to Goa

Another issue concerns notions of purity and impurity which result from commonsensical understanding of language. Most Devnagirvadis argue that Devanagari is the most natural script for Konkani. Dr. Mathew Almeida, linguist and former Director of TSKK, opines that the claim that Devanagari is the natural script does not make much sense because any script is a set of symbols, arbitrarily chosen to represent speech sounds. He says that if Devanagari script was created expressly to represent Konkani sounds, then the term 'natural script' would make much sense. There is also another problem with defining a particular script as natural. It could imply that users of other varieties are unnatural. Goan Catholics have, in many ways, an onus to prove their loyalty. This reasoning is now extended to include script. Some other Devnagirivadis like Dr. Harishchandra Nagvenkar insist that Devanagari script should be used for Konkani as Devanagari is an Indian language and an Indian language, like Konkani should have an Indian script. Fr Almeida, poses the question, why not Kannada? It is an older Indian script compared to Devanagari and it was once in general use in Goa. In fact, he opines that any linguist would choose Kannada as it best represents most Konkani sounds. In Fr. Almeida's view clinging to arguments over the antiquity and suitability of script is simply a way of asserting Saraswat hegemony.

Fr. Pratap Naik, present Director of TSKK and an ideologue of Konkani in the Roman script also accepts the prevalence of hegemonic attempts made by the Saraswats in his paper 'Konkkni Myths' (2006: 6). He gives examples of various myths pertaining to Konkani culture and language. One common misconception is that compared to the Catholics, Hindus speak pure and good Konkani; Konkani spoken and written by the Saraswats is the standard Konkani. Responding to these myths, Shri Alito Siqueira (2006: 33) recalls that as a child he always felt that

somehow his Konkani was not pure. And this is the attitude of a number of Goan Catholics, especially, the non elite, who always strove to speak the standardised Saraswat Konkani. Shri Siqueira writes that: Hegemony works precisely in this way, i.e. where the subordinate groups willingly consent to the values of the dominant groups.

One of the members of the dominant group, Shri Uday Bhembre has even come out with a roadmap that would help in bringing about uniformity with regard to scripts. Primarily arguing that a multiplicity of scripts would harm the development of Konkani, he goes on to give a blueprint on how and why it is to be maintained. The first argument made by him revolves around the fear of Marathi becoming the State language. This fear, in my opinion, has long crossed expiry date with the trend towards smaller state, and the niche that Goa has carved for itself in almost five decades of Liberation. Another argument made by Shri.Bhembe is that since two generations have already studied Devanagari and the administration already runs in Devanagari script, it would by foolhardy to incorporate changes now. Since Liberation, school students in Goa have been learning Konkani in Devanagari script as their part of their curriculum. Hence these students, of whatever religion, are now comfortable with Devanagari script. In 25 to 30 years from now, all Goans will be familiar with Devanagari script. Hence he foresees that by 2035, Goans, whether Catholic or Hindu, will have converged on one script. This argument is not readily acceptable. Shri Lotlikar, for instance gives the example of French, a language that is taught in schools as a second language. He says that though a number of Goan students learn French in schools, after some years they are unable to communicate in French. The same situation arises with Catholics who learn Devanagari Konkani. After some years they cannot communicate in that script, because it is alien to them.

Shri Bhembre's response to one of the Catholic parents who found it difficult to teach his child in Devanagari Konkani was that the problem lay with the parent himself. Shri Jason Fernandes (2006: 44), a commentator on the language issue in Goa, finds this statement highly objectionable:

> "In an instant, a Konkani speaker and reader from a Konkani tradition is rendered illiterate. This is the classical example of the inquisitional fervour of the nationalist project that Shri. Bhembre seems to represent, where the problem is never with the institution that renders large sections of the population illiterate and then pushes them into poverty, but with the people whom it penalises."

One major grouse of the writers of Konkani in Roman script is that after the OLA, awards and recognition have only benefited the writers of Konkani in Devanagari script. They are especially upset that the Sahitya Akademi recognises Devanagari script as the only script for Konkani. This, they feel, puts them outside the purview of the Sahitya Akademi. They allege that this move was done at the instigation of the Devanagari lobby and is communal and casteist. Shri Tomazinho Cardoso alleges:

> "Using the excuse that the Sahitya Akademi award is given to recognise the contribution of a person and not so much of a book, the Devanagari camp have justified the award being given to Gaud Saraswat Brahmins. The evidence of this is the fact that Pundalik Naik, despite being such an exceptional writer, got the Sahitya Akademi Award only after the list of ten Saraswat Brahmins got the awards before him. So he had to wait his turn. The panel of selectors always comprise of the same clique. If there are ten people on the panel, it will

consist of one Roman Konkani writer, one Malyalam Konkani writer, one Kannada Konkani writer and seven Devanagarivadis. So how can any decision go against Devanagari Konkani?"

As I have already explained earlier in the chapter, Shri. Bhembre points out the practical reasons that led to the Sahitya Akademi recognising Konkani in Devanagari script as the Official script for Konkani. Khubchandani offers another way out of the deadlock. He informs that the Sahitya Akademi is sensitive to the script problem. He says that the impression going around in the Sahitya Akademi is that Konkani in Roman script has no literature of substance. He suggests that to get Sahitya Akademi recognition, the Roman camp should first try to get themselves some visibility. To do this, they should first try and get their works transliterated in Devanagari and have it selected for a Sahitya Akademi award. Sahitya Akademi has provisions for transliteration. At least, two to three Konkani works in Roman script should be annually sent to Sahitya Akademi to be transliterated, or it could be done by the writers on their own. The same procedure is followed with Sindhi. Sindhi is written in Perso Arabic and Devanagari script. As the Sahitya Akademi recognises only Perso Arabic script, Sindhi works in Devanágari script are transliterated into Sindhi in Perso Arabic script. Khubchandani suggests that the writers of Konkani in Roman script can follow the same strategy. He feels that once they (writers of Roman script) win awards for their transliterated works, they will gain visibility in the literary sphere. They can then bring forth the script issue. Once the focus is on their work, the script issue will be considered, as it will then be known that they write in a script that is capable of winning awards. He also advises the Devanagari camp to encourage and actively support the transliteration of works written in Roman script. He opines that in

a plural society which has multiple layers, you cannot work on a mono level. You have to be inclusive and include differences.

Khbchandani opines that once Sahitya Akademi status is got, then government recognition will soon follow. He also feels that people in Goa should stop looking at the government for aid; rather they could try private enterprise. They should prepare and teach Roman Konkani in privately run schools. If the experiment is successful the government will incorporate it and this will enhance the cause of Konkani in Roman script.

A major issue concerning the language script impasse arises in the area of religion. In short, will the iconicity that is attempted to be linked to the script turn the movement communal?

One allegation made by people on both sides of the script divide is that the other side is attempting to communalise the issue. In the emotionally charged debate in the public sphere, both sides accuse the other of being communal. For the Roman camp, the OLA is seen as a tool to keep Goan Catholics divided. Shri Wilson Mazarello, tiatrist and former President of the DKA accuses the Devanagari camp of promoting cultural communalism. Shri Godfrey Gonsalves (2006: 30), writer of Konkani in Roman script writes:

> "Over 29.86% of the nearly 13.5 lac Christians will eventually be denied their heritage and existence with the elimination of the Roman script. Today in matters of employment it is clear that knowledge of Konkani means written in Devanagari script, thus denying Christians the opportunity of employment."

Fr. Pratap Naik opines:

> "If you want to negate a community, then you must label it. With this purpose, the Devanagari camp, said that the script and dialect of the Christians is not acceptable. Konkani is required not for livelihood, but for identity. So what is the harm if people want to maintain their identity through their own script?"

If the Devanagari camp is accused of being communal, they in turn blame the supporters of Konkani in Roman script of inciting communalism. Devanagari protagonists like Shri Tukaram Seth, Shri Suresh Borkar, and Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, brand the Roman camp of inciting communalism and trying to divide the Konkani community as well as public sphere on communal lines. Fr. Athaide articulates this view when he says:

> "to claim that just because we are Christians, we are for Konkani in Roman script is false. Who has authorised them to speak on the behalf of Christians as a whole? Floriano Vaz and other martyers (six people form the Old Conquest areas of Aggacaim were killed in police firing during the Official Language Agitation) died for Konkani. Did they specify the script? Simply because they are Christians why should they assume that the martyrs are for Roman Konkani? Is this not a kind of religious communalism?"

Fr. Jaime Couto, another representative of the group, 'Catholics for Devanagari', also informs that the Roman camp presented a memorandum to the President stating that Roman script was the script of Goan Christians. Priests who were ignorant of the issue supported them. He says that 'this is a communal agenda set by the Roman Konkani camp, this distinction between ours and theirs.'

Athaide categorically states that:

> "Neither Hindus nor Catholics have any love for Konkani. While Catholics feel that Konkani is not even fit for primary education and that it will hamper their growth, Hindus give more importance to Marathi. It is only the Hindu Saraswats who have love and pride in Konkani. Christians use Konkani only as an instrument to fight perceived threats like Marathi and the Hindus."

One reason that the Devanagari lobby advocates the use of Devanagari script and standard dialect is because they believe that it will act as a leveller. Now, people, especially Catholics, are sometimes hesitant to speak Konkani, because their speech and writing would reveal their caste. The Devanagari ideologues feel that Devanagari would have been a leveller. If all spoke the standard variety and used the same script, distinctions would be minimised.

In discussing script and communalism, it would be interesting to note the Church's views on the conflict. Members of the clergy are on both sides of the script divide. While priests like Fr. Pratap Naik and Fr. Matthew Almeida along with the institution they represent, TSKK which is a Jesuit institution, have been at the forefront of the Roman Konkani movement, others like Fr. Jaime Couto and Fr. Mozinho Athaide have formed a group 'Catholics for Devanagari' and are proactive supporters of Konkani in Devanagari script. This split among the clergy reflects a caste-based distinction with upper caste priests supporting Devanagari and the non elite promoting the cause of Konkani in Roman Script. What stand does the Church officially take in this debate? How does it negotiate the potential casteist and communal trend?

THE CHURCH AND KONKANI: NEGOTIATING 'DIFFERENCE'?

Prior to the early 1960s, the masses were conducted in Latin. The priests would then explain the sermon to the people in Konkani. Konkani in Roman script was taught to the priests for four months while they were at the seminary. Fr. Calderia, a representative of Bishop's House, Panjim informs that the only Devanagari that the priests learnt was while studying Marathi. Fr. Couto, a member of Catholics for Devanagari however insists that during the 1960s, Konkani in Devanagari script was taught to the seminarians. In 1964, by an Order passed by Vatican II, it was decided that in order to make the mass more participatory, it would be conducted in the local language of the people. In that year itself, translation of liturgical works into Konkani began in Goa. At that time, it was taken for granted that the script used would be Roman.

Though Fr. Caldeira admits that the Church's role is through worship, he opines that the Church cannot alienate itself from the society. He explains that the Church sees itself as integrating into society rather than forming any kind of ghettoisation. With this purpose, the Church has, time and again, involved itself in the issues concerning the Goan society. Language is one such area. The Church played a proactive role in the movement for making Konkani the Official Language of Goa. Though Shri Bhembre accuses the Church of aiding in the denationalisation of Goan Catholics, in reality the situation is different. The Church also conducts nearly all of its masses in Konkani. With the exception of one Sunday mass which is conducted in English, the rest of the masses, including daily masses are in Konkani. Some Parishes even insist on Konkani as the medium for the celebration of wedding masses. Almost all the classes of the Sunday Catechism (training in religious doctrine) are in Konkani. The church also publishes its official bulletin and newsletter solely in Konkani in

Roman script. Though there has been increasing demand for the introduction of English within the ambit of the Church- in masses, Catechism and literature- the Church has not given in.

Despite being strongly supportive of Konkani, the Church has not taken a stand on the script issue. The Church has also issued statements in the local newspaper clarifying that priests that take a stand on either side of the script divide, do so in their individual capacity and not as representatives of the Church. Though not willing to divulge the Church's views on the entire issue, Fr. Caldeira did concede that that the centuries old tradition of Roman script needs to be respected. At the same time, he feels that Christians need to get out their ghetto mentality. They need not be anti Devanagari, as Devanagari will give them access to other Indian languages. If there is a communal colour given to the script issue he opines, that Christians are also to blame, though he does not think that it will be communal. He does agree that the Devanagari lobby has got the support of the upper Caste Catholics. He admits that caste based distinctions are prevalent among the clergy themselves.

Fr. Mozinho Athaide, of Rachol Seminary however feels that the Church has no love for Konkani:

> "They switched to Konkani medium schools only because of the salaries of the teachers. Giving in to the demands of the parents for English schools, the Church got a lawyer from Bangalore and put up a defence in the High Court. It never took *real* interest in the development of Konkani but suffered and bore it. It never allowed Konkani to flourish. The Church is so impotent that it cannot educate its own flock. That is because the Church itself is not convinced about the benefits of Konkani."

Thus the Church has, as of now, managed to avoid taking a stand on the issue. Though in the course of my interaction with the spokesperson of the Church, I got the impression that the Church was sympathetic towards the supporters of Konkani in Roman script, it was weighed down by the powerful upper caste body that still dictate the higher echelons of the Church. For how long it will be able to maintain this ambivalent posture remains to be seen.

TOWARDS ICONICITY: WILL MULTI SYMVBOL CONGRUENCE LEAD TO NATIONALITY?

A people struggling to gain control over the behaviour of its members becomes a 'nationality', which in turn becomes a 'nation', once this control has been added to the previously existing cohesiveness and shared symbols (Deutsch 1966 cited in King 1993: 1). In the case of Bengali speakers in East Pakistan, the instances of multi symbol congruence converged to give rise to a new nation, Bangladesh. Deutsch gives various concepts to determine whether widely diverging cultural and linguistic tradition will result in the formation of one or more than one nationality or nation (ibid: 2). When the rate of social mobilisation outstrips that of assimilation, differentiation results. The protagonists of the Konkani in Roman script felt a sense of relative deprivation after the passing of the OLA. This sense of injustice and subjugation resulted in collective mobilisation in the name of Konkani in Roman script. Drawing on multi-symbol congruence of language, script and religion, the protagonists of Konkani in Roman script consciously tried to move towards iconicity of Konkani in Roman script.

The Goan Catholics Catholic community as Kurzon (2004) writes is a community in the East which is constantly looking West. Migration is a common feature of this community. English language then becomes a source of cultural capital.

Hence in their search for social mobilisation, this community is often accused of paying lip service to Konkani. The historical background along with this focus on the West, contributed to weakening the links that bind a community to the mother tongue. A number of Roman Konkanivadis themselves admit a preference for English. Thus the attempts to iconise Konkani in Roman script and to transform the subjective awareness of communities into nationalities, has remained unfulfilled. The shared socio religious history of the two communities, which until a few centuries ago, was one, also acts as a guard against communal aspirations. After my interactions with the various Devanagarivadis, I do not think that they have blatant communal intentions. They are nonetheless nationalists, who mistake similarity for unity. Any dissimilarity is seen as a potential threat to developing fissiparous tendencies, thus destabilising the goal of nation building. The movement for Roman Konkani thus in many ways is limited to the literary sphere. It, in a way symbolises Pareto's Circulation of Elites (2002: 230), wherein he says that society is always governed by a small number of men, by an elite, even when it seems to have a completely democratic organisation. The protagonists of both the camps, whatever be their castes, are elites (By elite, I mean those who have the highest indices in any sphere of activity). All of them are prominent figures in the Konkani public sphere.

The elite apart, there is nevertheless a sense of discrimination perceived by the users of Konkani in Roman script. Steps and measures should be taken to rectify this imbalance. Maybe we can take some insights from how the problem was handled in Mangalore. The fault lines of the Konkani language problem in Mangalore also revolve around script, religion and caste. Mangalore, as we will see in the next chapter, has a very proactive Konkani community. It has two centres for the development of Konkani language, one the *Kala Angann* which is a project of the

Maand Sobhan an association that swears by Konkani in the Kannada script. There is also the 'World Konkani Centre', that is the brainchild of the Devanagari protagonists. While introducing Konkani as a language in schools, the Karnataka Government, allowed the Konkani community to use a script, and consequently a dialect of their choice. This mark of diversity is to be appreciated. In a pluricultural situation, pluralism and encouragement of diversity is the least acrimonious way forward. For Khubchandani in a plurilingual situation like Goa, language should work at multi polar levels. He is optimistic of the language movement of Goa, which with its various successes can be a role model for other multilingual smaller states. In the next chapter, I have discussed the elaboration of the public sphere in the twenty first century.

CHAPTER VII

TOWARDS CONSOLIDATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE

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From its beginnings in the context of colonial hostility, the Konkani public sphere took its nascent steps in the nineteenth century. This public sphere began carving out its own space and identity, though only in the early twentieth century, especially with the efforts of Shri Shenoi Goembab, who is credited with ushering the Konkani renaissance. Since Liberation, various efforts have been made to add to the fledgling Konkani public sphere of the early decades of the twentieth century. Some crucial phases that the Konkani movement has passed include acceptance of Konkani by the Sahitya Akademi, the recognition of the independent status of Konkani and finally the declaration of the Official Language Act which declares Konkani as the Official language of Goa. For some protagonists, these events signified the end of the movement. But as we observed in the previous chapters, issues pertaining to dominance and contestations still continue. In this chapter, I have sought to understand how, attempts at hegemony notwithstanding; there have been attempts at consolidation of the Konkani public sphere. This consolidation is a step towards institutionalisation of Konkani. Institutionalisation also carries questions of whether there is one public sphere or is there a presence of multiple public spheres?

The Konkani public sphere encompasses a variety of dimensions. It includes the political sociological, historical and sociolinguistic. Attempts at consolidation of the Konkani public sphere have been made in each domain. Transformation of the public sphere is the latent consequence of such attempts. Beginning with the political sociological domain, I will enumerate the efforts undertaken in each domain to consolidate the Konkani public sphere.

INCLUSION OF KONKANI IN THE EIGHTH SCHEDULE OF THE CONSTITUTION

The Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution contains a list of scheduled languages, originally fourteen, but has since expanded to twenty two. At the time the Constitution was enacted, inclusion in this list meant that the language was entitled to representation on the Official Languages Commission, and that the language would be one of the bases that would be drawn upon to enrich Hindi, the official language of the Union. The list has since, however, acquired further significance and usage. The Government of India is now under an obligation to take measures for the development of these languages, such that they grow rapidly in richness and become effective means of communicating modern knowledge. In addition, a candidate appearing in an examination conducted by the United Public Service Commission is entitled to use any of these languages as the medium in which he answers the paper.

Shri Ravindra Kelekar recalls that the whole issue concerning inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution started when Dr. Manoharrai Sardessai had gone to France for some academic work. At that time, a delegation from All India Radio (AIR) was also in France. As Dr. Sardessai had studied at the Sorbonne, he was known there. At one programme organised at Sorbonne, he was invited to sing at the function organised by the AIR. The Director of the Indian Languages Delegation did not allow him to sing a Konkani song at the event. The reason given was that Konkani was not included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. This event made Dr. Sardessai realise that Konkanivadis should strive to get Konkani recognised in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution.

At that time, there were eight languages that were demanding inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Home Minister called an All Party Meeting

to decide the issue, i.e. the criteria by which any language is recognised by the Sahitya Akademi and is the Official language of the State or Union Territory should be included in the Eighth Schedule. According to these criteria, three languages qualified to be included in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. They were Nepali, Konkani and Manipuri.

The inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule took time because it required lobbying at a specific level. Shri Uday Bhembre narrates the events that led to the attainment of this goal. Goa Konkani Akademi had published Shri Ravindra Kelekar's 'Mahabharat' in two volumes. The Konkani protagonists decided to have the book release function in Delhi, to be released at the hands of the Prime Minister. Shri Purushottam Kakodkar was the then President of Goa Konkani Akademi. Shri. Kakodkar personally knew the Gandhi family. He fixed an appointment with the then Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi. The meeting was arranged on the lawns of the Prime Minister's house. The entire function was organised by the GKA. Three hundred Goans who were settled in Delhi were invited for the function.

The reason for wanting to hold the function on such a grand scale was because they wanted to show the world that Konkani had arrived and was capable of having such an affair. As Shri Bhembre explained, "It was to increase our visibility and make it known to the people that we were capable and the language competent to translate an epic as huge as the Mahabharata".

During his speech at the function Shri Kelekar enlightened the Prime Minister about the three demands of the KPA. He requested the Prime Minister to help them in getting their demand for inclusion in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. Shri Kakodkar too in his address urged the Prime Minister to pursue the issue. In his address, the Prime Minister sympathised with the Konkani cause and asked them to

meet Shri Narasimha Rao, the then HRD minister. Later, a delegation of GKA, comprising of Shri Purushottam Kakodkar, Shri Chandrakant Keni and Shri Vishnu Pai Panandikar, called upon the HRD minister. Being a linguist, Shri Rao had been briefed of the issue by the KPA during the Official language agitation.

Subsequently, the political situation became unstable when Shri Rajiv Gandhi was assassinated. Shri Narasimha Rao who succeeded Shri Rajiv Gandhi as the Prime Minister, requested the new Home Minister to settle the issue. The main players seeking Konkani's inclusion in the Eighth Schedule were Shri Shantaram Naik, Shri Purushottam Kakodkar and Shri Dilip Kumar Bahadur. Others like Shri Uday Bhembre and Shri Damodar Mauzo were stationed in New Delhi to handle the necessary negotiation. The issue of inclusion in the Eighth Schedule was to be raised in both houses of Parliament on the last day of the Session. The group then met the Speaker who assured them that he would influence the bill, but he could not stop discussions. The Konkanivadis were afraid that if there were to be any discussions, then the issue might be pushed to the next Parliament session. So the Konkani lobby spoke to leaders of various political parties, from the Government and the opposition. As the issue was already discussed at a previously held 'All Party Meeting', all the political leaders decided not to discuss the matter in Parliament. On the appointed day, both houses of Parliament passed the bill without any discussion.

The inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution on 20 August 1992 marked the end of phase of the consolidation of the formal Konkani public sphere. Shri Pundalik Naik says that this day which is celebrated as *rastriyamanyata dis* (day of official recognition) is a day of recognition of an

achievement:

> "It is a day of immense pride for every Goan. For, from this date on, Konkani a language, which till fifty years ago, was considered non entity, gained recognition as one of the official languages of India. I feel very proud that my language is printed on the Indian currency note."

The inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution gave a sense of buoyancy to the Konkanivadis. Shri Damodar Mauzo elucidates:

> "With this official recognition, Konkani had accomplished all the goals that it had set out for itself. The question of independent status of Konkani has also been settled. Now even if some Marathivadis raise the question of whether Konkani is a language or dialect, we do not respond. For us, with the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule, this matter has been settled once and for all. Konkani now needs no defence."

This mood of optimism notwithstanding, the Konkani movement had yet to institutionalise. The movement had to negotiate a number of challenges and issues *en route* to consolidation. Apart form the issues raised in the earlier chapters, the Konkani public sphere also had to deal with questions pertaining to standardisation and what was perceived to be the hegemonic role of English. This chapter will examine these issues at length.

IS STANDARDISATION AN ATTEMPT AT HOMONEGISING PLURALITY?

While the notion of standardisation is applied generously to various media of exchange such as money, weights and measures, it is also used in the context of language, which in a sense, is another medium of exchange. When applied to language, standardisation takes on a turn that is different and infinitely more complex. Standardisation is the necessary consequence of the existence of two or more sometimes opposing phenomena-the presence of multilingualism and the creation of a nation. As long as a language is largely confined to usage within a single linguistic area, there is no need to 'normalise' any variety. The interplay of plural languages changes the situation. But the presence of multilingualism *per se* does not necessitate the emergence of standardisation. Functional multilingualism, a feature of Indian multilingualism since millennia, does not insist on attempts at standardisation. "The various languages at a speaker's command complement one another and no single one of the languages is expected to fulfil all the functions of everyday communication (Uberoi 1976: 641). This functional multiligualism undergoes a transformation with modernisation and the emergence of nations and nation states. Bourdieu (1992: 46) succinctly captures the historical context of language standardisation when he writes:

> "So long as a language is only expected to ensure a minimum of mutual understanding in the (very rare) encounters between people from neighbouring villages or different regions, there is no question of making one usage the norm for another (despite the fact that the differences perceived may well serve as pretexts for declaring one superior to another)....Only when the making of the 'nation', an entirely abstract group based on law, creates new usages and functions

does it become indispensable to forge a standard language, impersonal and anonymous like the official uses it has to serve, and by the same token to undertake the work of normalising the products of linguistic habitus."

Standardisation is thus a consequence of the processes of nation building. Though linked with multilingual societies, its need is felt even in so-called monolingual polities. Such societies may be monolingual, but the way the language is spoken is dependent on a variety of criteria like region, class and education. The complexities associated with standardisation get more enhanced in a multilingual situation. In such polities, one among the many languages is chosen as the standard. Sanskrit, Greek and Latin are examples of such standard languages in multilingual polities. According to Milroy (2001: 16), the standard language was not seen as such because of the "inherent superiority of their grammatical structures, for their better expressiveness, or for the great poetry composed in them, but because of the fact that their speakers spread them around the world by sword or fire and imposed them on the members of subdued nations." Once acknowledged as a standard, the language continues to retain its status. The standard language is also accepted as such by other language speakers, because it is perceived as having achieved a pure and genuine status as a consequence of it having undergone the processes of standardisation much earlier.

After Independence the Indian nation-state had to grapple with language in its march towards nation building. The linguistic states of Independent India had to sort out issues pertaining to standardisation, largely for the purpose of administration and education. When Goa joined the Indian Union in 1961, it underwent the same pushes and pulls in relation to language negotiation. From its very inception, Goa the then

union territory and later state, was defined on linguistic lines. Konkani was chosen as the language of Goa, though the process was fraught with strong opposition from Marathivadis. While any language is not automatically standardised; it has under undergo a process wherein it is 'groomed' as the standard language, the situation was even more complex for Konkani. Centuries of dominance from a variety of languages like Kannada, Marathi, Portuguese and English, had stifled the growth and development of Konkani. As the language was denied official recognition, its speakers turned to other vernaculars for formal training and usage.

Given this socio cultural background and milieu, Konkani had to prove its independent status not just to its detractors but even to its users. One major hurdle was to move out of the shadows of Marathi. The dominant opinion, especially among the Hindus, was that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi. This controversy on the dialect - independent language issue was centuries old. As seen in the previous chapters, right from the seventeenth century, efforts have been made to bring out various dictionaries and vocabularies to prove the independent status of Konkani. But the Portuguese policy of suppression of the vernaculars, especially Konkani, coupled with the hegemonic influence of Marathi, especially in the domains of education and religion, resulted in the continuation of the stalemate.

Immediately after Liberation, questions concerning the independent status of Konkani were evoked once again during the phase of the Opinion Poll. Given the linguistic basis of state formation in India, the status of Konkani seemed to be a defining issue in deciding the future of Goa. Merger with Maharashtra would accede to the view that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi, while retaining Goa as an independent territory in the Indian Union, would signify Konkani's independent status. But though Goa retained its union territory status, the status quo on Konkani

continued. The primary cause for this, apart from the perception in the minds of a large majority of Hindus, that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi, was the fact that Goa was ruled by the MGP until 1979. The MGP, whose *raison de arte* was merging Goa with Maharashtra naturally promoted the cause and use of Marathi.

In such an environment, the Konkanivadis had to strive to carve a separate niche for the language. One strong issue governing the language dialect issue was the lack of standardisation of Konkani. A consequence of centuries of disuse of Konkani in domains of education and administration and for the purpose of written communication was that there was no unanimity on written Konkani. Earlier written in a number of scripts like Modi, Halle Kannada and Devanagiri, the sixteenth century saw a new script, the Roman script. The Portuguese rule not only gave Konkani a new script, but modified the language in many other ways. While Konkani earlier showed the influences of indigenous languages like Sanskrit and Marathi, with Portuguese colonialism, the language of the colonisers also exerted its influence on Konkani. Hence Konkani vocabulary now incorporated a number of Portuguese words like *messa* (table) and *janel* (window). A range of kinship terminology was also borrowed from Portuguese. This form of Konkani was primarily used by the Christian converts. A large number of Goans also migrated to various places in British India and beyond, to escape the Portuguese colonial policies of forced conversion and the Inquisition. This diaspora scattered over various regions like coastal Karnataka, coastal Kerala and Bombay. Though they retained their speech, their language Konkani, both in oral and written form was influenced by language of the region they lived in. Konkani consequently began to be written in five different scripts (Kannada, Devanagiri, Malayalam, Perso Arabic, and Roman script). There was a wide variety in vocabulary as well, as the Konkani spoken in the diaspora was influenced by the vocabulary of

the host society. Thus Konkani in the twentieth century was not a homogenous language-it was characterised by diversities. In the decades following Liberation, when efforts at standardising Konkani were initiated, the Konkanivadis had to deal with all these historical, socio-cultural and religious baggage.

The immediate need for standardisation of Konkani in Goa arose when after Liberation the Government decided to convert the erstwhile Portuguese medium schools into Konkani medium ones. As prior to this Konkani was not much used for the purpose of education, the decision of introducing Konkani medium schools gave rise to major overhauls in various aspects concerning the language. One of the first issues to be resolved revolved around the appropriate script for Konkani. Though some Konkanivadis suggested that Roman Script be used for Catholic students, Catholic educationists rejected the suggestion on grounds that it would lead to a kind of communalisation. Hence Devanagiri script was chosen as the script for Konkani. The next question concerned the variant of spoken Konkani to be considered the standard. This issue was first discussed in the public sphere in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The situation changed in the beginning of the twentieth century when concerted efforts were made by Shri Shenoi Goembab to usher in a Konkani revival. At that time, Shri Goembab himself faced the question of standardisation. In selecting the dialect for standardisation, Shri Goembab showed a preference for the *antruzi* dialect. He wrote:

> "Personally, I find the Konkani language of Ponda very sweet. Whenever I happen to land in *Antruz*, I listen to the language spoken by people from all walks of life, from the Brahmins to agriculturalists, and when I encounter dainty words and phrases, I note them down in my diary; when the opportunity comes, I use them in my writings with

great admiration and pride; I hear a sort of a song humming in that language. Like the musical chirping of a *maina*, its tone is mellifluous" (Borges 2003: 23).

Shri Goembab's works were an inspiration for a large number of future generation Konkani literary figures. When these writers began producing their own works, they were naturally influenced by the dialect that they had read. Also, as most of them came from *Antruz*, they continued to write in that language.

THE PROCESS OF STANDARDISATION

The process of standardisation which began in the early twentieth century with the work of Shri Goembab continued with increased fervour after Liberation. Shri Purushottam Kakodkar and Dr. Manoharrai Sardessai initiated the standardisation process in post liberation Goa. The recent achievements for Konkani like the OLA and inclusion in the Eighth Schedule helped spur on standardisation efforts. Standardisation involves attempts at normalisation and institutionalisation of the linguistic habitus. Bourdieu (1992) cites the dictionary as an excellent example of this labour of normalisation and codification.

> "It assembles by scholarly recording, the totality of the linguistic resources accumulated in the course of time and, in particular, and all the possible uses of the same word. The normalised language is capable of functioning outside the constraints and without the assistance of the situation, and is suitable for transmitting and decoding by any sender and receiver who may know nothing of one another (Bourdieu 1992: 48)."

Hence compilations of dictionaries were the major activities that occupied the Konkani literary sphere in its process of standardisation. While one of the earliest

Konkani-English dictionaries was brought out by Shri Gurunath Kelekar in the years following Liberation, since achievement of statehood, lexicographers like Shri Damodar Ghanekar have been active in production of dictionaries in the Konkani literary sphere. Shri Ghanekar was previously a translator of Konkani texts. While pursuing his various translations, he realised that in many aspects the standardisation and development of Konkani language was found wanting. For instance, very often during translations, they struggled for words. In the 1990s, he along with fellow translator, Shri Mukesh Thalli decided to bring out a Konkani-English dictionary. As Konkani was now entrenched as the medium of instruction at the primary school level, the demand for dictionaries also grew. In the process which leads to the construction, legitimation and imposition of an official language, the educational system plays a decisive role (Bourdieu 1992: 48). Thus the demand placed by the parents, teachers, and students, learning Konkani in schools also prompted the duo to work on the dictionary. And it was the appreciation that they received from the teaching fraternity that made them think of a second dictionary. Shri Ghanekar informs that working on a Konkani to English is tougher than working on English - Konkani dictionary. This is because words are region specific (Ghanekar gives the example of the Konkani word *sonn* which loosely translated as husk of the coconut, though there is no literal translation for it in either English or Marathi). He also took help from the elderly as he found in them a rich storehouse of Konkani words. The dictionary also attempts to accommodate the varieties of Konkani spoken in different regions of Goa and even beyond, like Karwar.

Apart from these efforts, there have also been recent attempts by Konkanivadis like Dr. Tanaji Harldankar and the faculty at the Department of Konkani, Goa University to bring out Konkani encyclopedias, *shabdhkhosh*. The

Department is also currently collaborating with the Department of Computer Science, Goa University to create a Corpora for Konkani language The GKA through its various activities has also helped the standardisation process. It has constituted a committee which prepared orthography for Konkani. The GKA now publishes books according to their standardisation rules. Though Fr. Freddy had initiated the process of standardisation of Konkani in Roman script, the GKA along with the efforts of Fr. Pratap Naik are currently working on standardisation of Konkani in Roman script. In Roma script, it is the Bardezi dialect that is considered to be most apt for standardisation.

THE POLITICS OF STANDARDISATION

The whole notion of standardisation is bound up with the functional efficiency of the language. The ultimate aim is that everyone should use and understand the language in the same way with the minimum of misunderstanding and maximum of efficiency. Some even fear that if languages were not standardised in some way or the other, then they might eventually break up into a variety of dialects that are incomprehensible. Thus on the face of it, language standardisation is a desirable endeavour, necessary for the development and adaptability of the language to the multiple uses it might be put to.

At the same time, standardisation involves some amount of politics and polilticisation. Standardisation is often the consequence of a need for uniformity that is felt by influential sections of the society. The demarcation of a variety as standard language denotes value loaded connotations of good, bad and beautiful. The standard variety is seen as the only correct and good variety of a language and all varieties are thought of as incorrect, bad, and inferior. Consequently, the standard language is often considered superior to other variants and dialects which are inferior. It was this notion

of superiority and inferiority that first plagued the standardisation of Konkani. As a dominant ideology at the time of Liberation saw Konkani as a dialect and hence inferior to Marathi, efforts at standardisation of Konkani were looked at with disdain. Dr. P P Shirodkar, a staunch Marathivadi alleges that in order to prove that Konkani is not a dialect and in their attempt to standardise it, the Konkani protagonists had to resort to distortion of Marathi words, at times even resorting to the creation of new words.

> "The language which the majority of the Konkani speakers speak is different from the language of the Konkani protagonists. Thus when the Konkanivadis claim that their Konkani is standard and Shenoi Goembab is the father of Konkani, they are only attempting to prove that they have created the language. These efforts are half baked and unsuccessful. The real motive in starting Konkani classes and other efforts was to get various grants, and get representation."

Professor Olivinho Gomes, former Professor of Konkani and staunch supporter of Konkani in the Roman script accuses this entire process of standardisation of Konkani as Marathification of Konkani.

Shri Ghanekar challenges this claim of Marathification of Konkani and the centrality that Marathi plays in the process of standardisation. He says:

> "Both Marathi and Konkani have influence of Persian. That is perhaps because of the trade relations that Goa and Maharashtra had with Persia. So what people allege as Marathi words in Konkani are actually those that have a common Persian root. Konkani words also have roots in Arabic, Portuguese and Kannada. These kinds of influences are present in every language. And it is not one way

borrowing either. The Marathi Saint Dnyaneshwar in his *magnum opus* *Dnyaneshwari* used some words that are not in use in today's Marathi but are present in the Konkani that is spoken today."

While earlier, the opposition to the standardisation of Konkani came primarily from Marathi, since the last decade, users of Konkani in other scripts also oppose the standardisation of Konkani. The acceptance of a standardised variety by an influential section of society, is followed by its diffusion geographically and socially by various means. The opponents to standardised Konkani claim that it is simply an extension of the hegemony of the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs) of Goa. They oppose what they see as the standardisation of only the *Antruzi* dialect. Shri Ravindra Kelekar admits that it is the *antruzi* dialect that is standardised, but he finds this natural. He explains:

"When Konkani in Devanagiri first entered the literary sphere, it was largely the GSBs especially from what is known as *Antruz mahal* that wrote in Konkani. They naturally used their dialect. Shenoi Goembab, the pioneer of Konkani writings in Devanagiri script, also used this variant. People were accustomed to reading works written in the *antruzi* dialect. So naturally when the process of standardisation began, it was the *antruzi* dialect that was standardised."

Dr. Madhavi Sardessai, faculty at the Department of Konkani, Goa University goes further and asserts that standardisation need not be democratic. She explains that standardisation cannot be representative; it is the impact factor that is more important. She also feels that though in the beginning it was the *antruzi* dialect of the GSBs that was standardised, over a period of time, other variants also got incorporated in the standardised variety. Dr Tanaji Haldankar's views resemble Dr. Sardessai as he

believes that he found his Konkani (i.e. the Konkani of the bahujan samaj) no different from the Konkani that was being standardised. By and large, it is the *antruzi* dialect of the GSBs that is recognised as the standard one. Shri N Shivdas, a Konkani writer from the *bahujan samaj* does not resent the strong influence of the GSBs on standardised Konkani. He opines:

> "The *antruzi* dialect was the dialect of Konkani pioneers like Shri LaxmanRao Sardessai, Shri Ravindra Kelekar, all of whom belonged to the region known as *Antruz mahal* in Ponda taluka. Naturally they wrote in a dialect that was used by them. Their readers too readily accepted this dialect and this has been developed as the standard. And this is good too. We have to compromise for the welfare of the language. For how long will we fight? We ultimately belong to one thread. Otherwise, our cultural identity will get threatened. To avoid this, we have to build a bridge of compromise."

The process of recognising and legitimising different language varieties (dialects) always comes with valuation, and valuation is never just about language. It is about people who use the language. The process of language valuation, among other things, accompanies the correction the legitimation of power, the product of social and cultural relations of sameness and difference, and the creation of cultural stereotypes about social and cultural groups (Pennycook 2001). In recent years, the divide in the Konkani camp, which is primarily based on script, is in a way, a reaction to the perceived hegemony of Hindu as well as Catholic GSBs. The issue of standardisation, as mentioned earlier, is being seen as an example of GSB hegemony. The supporters of Konkani in Roman script claim that Catholic students not only find

Devanagiri script difficult, they also feel that some of the standardised Konkani words are alien to them.

The Devanagirivadis disagree with this claim. Shri Uday Bhembre articulates the views of this camp:

> "Standardisation refers to spelling and grammar. It does not mean that we have to give the different words used. Words add to the richness of a language. Standardisation focuses on how to write the language. If there is no word for something, then we can create a new word, or borrow from other languages, including Marathi. This does not mean that Konkani has no power to express itself."

Dr. Madhavi Sardessai adds that there are no standardisation rules for vocabulary. Standardisation is mainly used for spellings and for grammatical decisions like which form of the verb is to be used. She feels that the way a word is written does not curb dialectical variation. A number of college teachers of Konkani disagree. They cite instances to show how during the evaluation of examination answer scripts, they have had to reject Konkani words used by a student because it wasn't part of the standardised Konkani. Students of non standardised variety may tend to develop an inferiority complex regarding their dialect. Writers like Shri Mahabaleshwar Sail, Konkani writer form Karwar feels that standardisation should not apply to writers, especially creative writers but should be confined to only academic purposes. Professor Khubchandhani further elucidates this point when he says: "the standardisation process aims at bringing unity for official purposes only. The aim is primarily for the purpose of education and use as official language. It should encourage diversity and variety in other spheres." Shri Damodar Mauzo opines

that if any writer feels that his/her dialect is being left out he must assert himself/herself and write in his/her dialect.

The dichotomies and ambiguities associated with the process of standardisation of Konkani is an ongoing one. It is perhaps reflective of the very nature of language standardisation. In its true sense no language can be fully standardised. For some, the only fully standardised language is a dead language. He believes that it is appropriate to speak more abstractly of standardisation as an ideology, and a standard language as an idea in the mind rather than a reality- a set of abstract norms to which actual usage may conform to a greater or lesser extent. Language standardisation fits into Weber's notion of ideal type. It is a construct, that people try to adhere to, but cannot fully incorporate. Standardisation can never be complete as any language is a living entity. It does not exist in a vacuum. It is influenced by and influences the social situation in which it evolves. Konkani then, like any other language can never be fully standardised. All the Konkanivadis agree that the standardisation of Konkani is an ongoing process that is constantly evolving. Shri Rajay Pawar, Konkani playwright, actor, director, poet, and a Konkani teacher sums up the views when he says:

> "The standardisation of Konkani is an ongoing process. No language is fully standardised. Even English, which is considered a global language, is constantly evolving and accepting words from other cultures. This universal trend will continue."

Issues pertaining to standardisation will continue to play out in the public sphere in Goa. As the Official variant gets standardised, the politics of standardisation will also continue to be played out. Some supporters of Konkani in Roman script feel

that the process of standardisation will soon be redundant because of the growing dominance of English.

THE ROLE OF ENGLISH IN THE KONKANI PUBLIC SPHERE

In international "activities", there is a pecking order of languages, with English having the sharpest beak for a variety of reasons- political, social, economic, and cultural (Phillipson 1996: 429). But this English is not the English that is spoken in the upper echelons of England. Salman Rushdie mentions that 'the English language has ceased to become the sole possession of the English some time ago." There is no way in which any movement by 'purists' to prevent this language change, or to restore a period a past period of imagined linguistic excellence, can influence the global outcome (Crystal 1997: 130). The reach and impact that English has on each country differs, depending on a number of factors. Annamalai (2004) traces the changes associated with the reach, dominance, and status of English over time. As English moved from language of the traders to language of the colonisers, the power and status associated with it grew. Vital to upward mobility, it slowly moved into public domains like education, administration and law. The image of English of having open access through education and standing apart from other native dominant languages camouflaged its class association (Annamalai 2004: 153). But it was mainly the upper echelons, the urban educated elite that used English. But the natives in the pre independence period self consciously learnt English as a foreign language; it was indeed acquired assiduously and cultivated purposively (Seth 1995: 200). The intelligentsia and nationalists strongly felt that English could never become a living language in India; Mahatma Gandhi often said that we could never really be free of the colonial yolk as long as we gave the colonisers language our language of pre eminence.

In post Independent India, the fascination with English continued. The use of English language in post colonial India reflects the nation state's capacity to accept and make a language as foreign as English so utterly her own (Khubchandani 1990: 96). One feature that facilitates the rise of English as a global language is its elasticity in adapting various foreign languages as its own. With the nativisation of English, various sections of Indian society compete with each other to appropriate English for a number of reasons. While the traditional elite do not want to lose their hold over the language, speakers of non majority languages, want to retain English to contain the dominance of the majority language speakers. The intelligentsia from the lower castes, who benefited from the government's affirmative action, want to retain English to prove their worth and merit in the open world (Anand1999: 2053). All this has changed the nature of multilingualism in India. A strong aspiration for English have made today's elite (and elite aspirants) distant from the regional language and culture, with English virtually having become their first language. The weakening of the vitality of Indian multilingualism by English gains legitimacy by virtue of the nativisation of English (Annamalai 2004: 160).

It is this aspiration for English that disturbs the Konkani protagonists. What worries them is the pro English attitude which is not limited to the elite only; the masses as well see it as a ticket to mobility. It is a source of multiple forms of capital. Shri Ravindra Kelekar says that this dependence on English will produce 'bonsai intellectuals' whose intellectual capabilities are hindered because their education is in a language that is not their own. He does not advocate the banishment of English from Indian soil. He feels that English should be cultivated only by those that would have use for it in their career. Shri Suresh Amonkar feels that among Catholics there is a

growing tendency especially among the masses that only those who do not know English speak Konkani.

Fr Calderia the representative of the Church in Goa gives the official view of the Churh regarding the use of English in Goa. He opines:

> "Today the minds of Goans are crushed with English. But you cannot have command over another language by forsaking your own. Hence today Goans speak a Konkani that is half Konkani half English. They do not know the day to day terms in Konkani. During Konkani mass, they even announce the hymn numbers in English."

From the above, it becomes very clear that the Church is interested in promoting Konkani language and culture from the sweeping influence of English. There is a lot of pressure on the Church by the laity to introduce more and more English in the religious sphere. They would like to have more English masses, Catechism classes and publication of church bulletins in English. But the Church tries to resist these demands. Almost all the masses, except one mass on Sunday, are conducted in Konkani. The priests from some parishes even forbid celebration of the Wedding Mass in English. Catechism classes are by and large conducted in Konkani. The church bulletins are also printed in Konkani in a majority of Parishes. Fr. Caldeira defends this staunch pro Konkani stand of the church:

> "The Church cannot alienate herself from society. The Church has to play the role of integrating society. Konkani is not just a language, but our whole culture and folklore can be protected under the guise of language."

But there are a large number of Konkani protagonists who are not averse to the popularity and use of English among the people in Goa. Shri Ghanekar elucidates this point when he says:

> "English has to be studied well because of the world goes on in English. Whether we like it or not, this is a fact that we have to accept. English will help us better understand the world. It will not hamper the development of Konkani. In fact, it will strengthen it. The studies of both Konkani and English should be parallel."

Shri Gurunath Kelekar also does not see the presence of English as being detrimental to the development of Konkani. He says "Goan students should be fluent in both Konkani and English. In fact, they should take the help of English to standardise Konkani."

How do we explain this pro English stand even among staunch Konkanivadis in this age of English dominance? One reason for this is the ideology of language use. English is associated with the ideology of modernity and progress and native languages with the ideology of tradition and cultural values (Annamalai 2001: 124). Such divergent ideologies lead to dichotomising the language functions into cerebral function that is performed by English that contribute to a speaker's mobility and material or rational needs and expressive functions that are performed by the native languages that contribute to their rootedness and cultural or emotional needs (Annamalai 2004: 160). Dr. Madhavi Sardessai reiterates this view when she makes a distinction between *avoiche bhas ani potache bhas* (mother's language and the language of livelihood). It is this perceived importance of English in the public domain, in the age of globalisation, which makes Konkani protagonists acknowledge its necessity and therefore encourage its use.

But not all are convinced of the inevitability of English. Shri Ravindra Kelekar thinks that this is just a passing fad. He elucidates:

> "English is passing through phases. Today it is the imperial English that is the dominator, and we follow that. English is not the international language that we think it is. Because of the domination of the imperial English, the resurrection of local languages is going on slowly. This situation will remain for another twenty to twenty five years. Every thing is a matter of time. Changes will occur in all spheres. The next PM could be non English speaking elite from the Bahujan Samaj. The days of the Nehru-inspired English elite are over. Thus English will not permanently be predominant. The middle classes are conservative and pro English. But nowadays, the elected are not from the upper or middle classes. And it is they who will determine the future."

Notwithstanding the views expressed by Shri Kelekar, the popularity and aspirational value of English can pose a challenge that could impact the development of Konkani in the public sphere of Goa. And as the reach of Globalisation widens and as the patterns of out-migration continue, the concerns associated with the perceived omnipresence of English will continue. But out migration, on its own cannot be held responsible for the decline of Konkani usage. The migrants are known to carry with them into the diaspora a huge socio- cultural baggage. Language forms an important component of this baggage, a badge of community membership in the diaspora. This phenomenon is well exemplified in the experience of the Konkani diaspora. Having migrated over two hundred years ago, the Konkani diaspora have not only clung on to

Konkani in their host society, they have even till today been making efforts to ensure its development.

THE KONKANI PUBLIC SPHERE IN THE DIASPORA

Beginning in the sixteenth century, locals began fleeing Goa in large numbers all through the Portuguese rule. In an attempt to escape both Inquisition and forcible conversion, both Hindus and Catholics left Goa and settled in various parts of British India. A large number of them migrated to Karnataka. In the diaspora, they not only retained their culture and language, but they also promoted its growth and development. In Karnataka, which is the focus of this section, there are Goan immigrants from both the communities. The Christians in coastal Karnataka, though they remained continued with their pre-conversion practices, they might have been discouraged from reverting to Hinduism because of their ritually polluted status. Most of the rulers in Karnataka were sympathetic towards them and gave the immigrants the freedom to cultivate *kulagaars*, take up employment, and continue their social, cultural and religious practices (There was an exception when Catholics were persecuted and even imprisoned for fifteen years on suspicion that they were sympathetic to the British during the reign of Tipu Sultan of Srirangapatnam).

These Goans, living in the diaspora retained and nurtured Konkani. They not only used it for their private oral and written communication, but also used it as a language of the public sphere. This becomes especially interesting when the public sphere is spatially a foreign one. Konkani enters the public sphere in Karnataka largely through the realm of culture. Horkheimer and Adorno (1976) believe that society and culture form a historical totality, such that the pursuit of freedom in society is inseparable from the pursuit of enlightenment in culture. As an application

of this argument, I have examined the role undertaken by one organisation, *Maand Sobhann.*

Shri Eric Ozario, a former banker and trade union activist, is the *Gurkaar* of Maannd Sobhann. He recalls the beginnings of the organisation to an 'All India Konkani Festival' organised by him in 1992. The organisation of this nine day festival, called *Parab* put Shri Ozario and others working with him in contact with various Konkani troupes scattered all over India Encouraged by the success of this event, another event called *Sant* was organised in 1993. Shri Ozario recalls that through the Konkani communities scattered in various parts of India actively participated in both these events, there was a lack of interest showed by the Konkani community in Goa. He laments:

> "Much before the event, I went to Goa and personally met Konkani leaders and requested them to give me the contact of various Konkani cultural groups in Goa. But for some reason, they were hesitant to do so. They had a totally lackadaisical approach. Their lack of participation in the various events disappointed the larger Konkani community. For the Konkani diaspora look up to the Konkani leaders and Konkani community in Goa. Their presence at any Konkani related event in the diaspora is highly appreciated. But somehow, the Konkani community in Goa do not respond very positively to our overtures. Perhaps they do not understand our need to preserve and present our language and culture."

Undeterred, the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, Karnataka organised in 1995, the first Vishwa Konkani Sammelan at Mangalore. Again, Shri Ozario says, that there was no much encouragement from the Konkani community in Goa. He recalls that

Shri Bhembre had criticised the Vishwa Sammelan in the Konkani daily Sunaparant at that time. Trying to explain the reason for this lack of initiative and participation of the Konkani community in Goa, Shri Ozario says:

> "Goan leaders cannot think of a Konkani community outside Goa except when it suits their interests. The Vishwa Sammelan created a Konkani gamut beyond GSBs and Goan Christians. All this time, one community had been dominating and taking the support of the other communities when it suited their convenience. It is only this community that is taking the advantages reaped in the name of Konkani. They do not want to share the spoils. They are exclusive, not inclusive. Unless these shackles are broken, Konkani will not have complete redemption."

Shri Ozario says that this kind of factionalism is not present in Karnataka. The Konkani community in Karnataka is not so distinguishable on religious lines. But the divisions in Goa are slowly spilling over to Karnataka. At the Konkani Vishwa Sammelan, the idea of having a Konkani Centre called Kalaangaan was conceived. A large number of people including NRIs donated to the cause. Kalaangan was to be a cultural centre for all genres of Konkani, including song, drama, and folk art. Though at that time, the organisers who represented different castes and religions were united, in the course of time, differences arose, and this in turn led to factionalism. The consequence was that, as of now there are two Konkani organisations in Mangalore situated half a kilometre from each other. While Kalaangan/Maannd Sobhan, under the leadership of Shri Eric Ozario and patronised by Christians and the Church, represents solely the Kannada script of Konkani, the Konkani Vishwa Sangathan, headed by Shri Basti Vaman Shenoi, is largely made up of Hindus, especially GSBs

and are promoters of Konkani in Devanagiri script. As there is a strong connection between the Konkani community in Goa and Karnataka (which Shri Ozario describes as an umbilical connection), the Konkani organisations of Kartnataka have patronage and support from the language organisations and camps in Goa. The Devanagiri lobby as well as the GKA and KBM strongly support the Vishwa Konkani Sangathan while the supporters of Konkani in Roman script have a symbiotic relationship with Shri Ozario's Kalaangan, Maandd Sobhann. Recently when Maandd Sobhann achieved Guiness Record for continuous non stop group singing, a number of groups largely from the Parishes of Goa, participated in this feat. It is interesting to note that while earlier, the lament was that the Konkani community in Goa kept a distance from the Konkani community in Karnataka, now that the Konkani community in Karnataka is getting polarised, there is a strong relationship between Konkani organisations on both sides of the border. This script politics has also entered Konkani education in schools in Karnataka. The government of Karnataka though has negotiated the issue by allowing for Konkani in either script to be taught as a language in school. Schools that cater to Konkani can choose either Devanagiri or Kannada script. But in keeping with the constitutional provisions of conserving linguistic diversity, the onus of ensuring the smooth functioning of Konkani in schools lies with the language community.

A NEW QUESTION OF MERGER

The umbilical relationship that Shri Ozario sees in the attitude of the Konkani community in Karnataka towards Goa, gets heightened in North Coastal Karnataka. Konkani speakers form the majority in places like Karwar, Joida, Haliyal and Supa. As this area is not much developed, a large number of people have migrated to Goa, Bombay, and Pune in search of employment. Shri Mahabaleshwar Sail mentions that

the people from this region have no emotional connection with Karnataka. Due to some historical accidents they are appended to Karnataka only administratively. He explains:

> "The people from this region are socio culturally akin to the people of Goa. They speak the same language, share the same culture and folk traditions, like the folk dance *Goff,* as that of Goa. If Goa were to be liberated at the time when the rest of India attained Independence, then in keeping with the principle of linguistic states, surely these regions would have been a part of Goa. Now, only because of a historical accident, the people of this region are forced to be a part of Karnataka, which has a culture and language that is alien to them. Imposing Kannada language and culture on this region is unfair; the only solution is to merge this region with Goa."

Fired by such an imagination, the Goa Rajya Ekikaran Manch movement was started on first September, 2005 to merge these areas with Goa. This movement has not received support neither from the rest of Karnataka nor Goa. The leaders of the movement have been attacked and abused by the Kannada organisations of Karnataka. Shri Sail informs that they are not even allowed to have open meetings. The Government of Goa too has not yet acknowledged this movement. Only MLA Churchill Alemao made a political statement that this region should join with Goa. The Konkani leaders in Goa are ambivalent on this issue. While the supporters of Konkani in Roman script, fearing a decrease in the Catholic population are clearly against this merger, those in the Devanagiri camp are indifferent. Shri Chandrakant Keni opines:

"Much water has flown under the bridge since Liberation. We cannot afford to be seen as being expansionist as we had opposed the expansionist moves of Maharashtra. If we want to retain Goa's identity we cannot allow this to happen as language is not the only marker of identity. They are also Indians who are living in their own country. And even if we accommodate them, then what about those Konkani communities that are living in Mysore, Mangalore and Kerala? Once started, can we put a stop to it?"

A strong supporter of the cause of this movement has been Shri Ravindra Kelekar. He strongly supports this idea of what he sees as the re-formation of the legendary *Gomanchall.* He feels that as the language and culture of the people living in the areas like Joida, Karwar Ambolim Ghat to Jog Falls is very same as that of Goa, they should join Goa. Most of the other Devanagiri protagonists, though sympathise with the movement, are not vocal and proactive in their support. Shri Sail fears that without the support of the Konkani leaders in Goa, the movement for the merger of the areas of North Coastal Karnataka into Goa will not succeed.

As of now, leaders of this movement have been trying to put forth their case in Goa. By organising workshops, and meetings, they are trying to allay the perceived fears and misconceptions of the Konkani leaders and Konkani community in Goa. They have even opened an office in Panaji in Goa to achieve this end.

CONSOLIDATION OF THE PUBLIC SPHERE OR ITS TRANSFORMATION?

Habermas, in his thesis on the public sphere traces the growth of the public sphere from its emergence with the bourgeois public sphere in the seventeenth century to its transformation in the twentieth century. What Habermas called the "bourgeois public

sphere" consisted of social spaces where individuals gathered to discuss their common public affairs and to organise against arbitrary and oppressive forms of social and public power.

The Konkani public sphere mirrored more fundamental changes taking place in the polity and economy of Goa. As Goa achieved Liberation and joined the planned development programmes initiated by the Government, it resulted in major transformations in the Goan socio cultural and economic milieu. Large scale migration, the economic development and surges made in fields such as education characterised this period of transition. All these developments have heightened the language-related articulations in the public sphere.

Habermas argues that in the late twentieth century, there has been a structural transformation of the public sphere. This is a consequence of the powers associated with the media. Though in India, the media is rapidly reaching this phase predicted by Habermas, in Goa at least, such a situation is not yet on the horizon. The public sphere in Goa is still in the process of consolidating itself.

CHAPTER VIII

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

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Ever since her inception as an integral part of the Indian Union on 19 December 1961, Goa has been involved in the process of politically integrating herself in the Indian nation-state. Issues pertaining to language have time and again posed a huge challenge to this process. Almost all the major threats to nation building have, in some way or the other, involved questions of linguistic dominance and contestations. Questions pertaining to language have been a part of the public sphere in Goa since her emergence. The public sphere has always been a site where linguistic issues have been articulated, managed and resolved. This study has been undertaken in this context of the ongoing linguistic deliberations.

It is linguistic deliberations like the one that has been witnessed in Goa that have contributed to the formulation of the public sphere *per se*. The origins of the public sphere itself in Europe can be traced to the developments in the linguistic sphere. The public sphere in England for instance was a consequence to the evolution of the sphere of early modern print. A linguistic turn is hence an integral ingredient for the formation and development of the public sphere.

Concentrating on this interlinkage between language and the public sphere, this thesis aimed at delineating the various language-related issues that have been played out in the public sphere in Goa since 1987. Though the Official Language Act (OLA) of Goa was passed on 4 February 1987, the legal decisions have not resulted in a reduction of linguistic deliberations. Centuries of suppression of the Konkani literary sphere, coupled with the dominance and preference for English has meant that there has been a reluctance to implement the OLA. Notwithstanding efforts at

institutionalisation of the Konkani public sphere, in addition to the Konkani-Marathi divide, there have movements within the Konkani public sphere itself protesting against the perceived hegemony of the Devnagari Konkani lobby. Thus language issues continue to dominate the Konkani public sphere in the twenty first century.

This study focussed on the nature and politics of language use in Goa after 1987. It examined the politicisation of Konkani language in the public sphere of Goa since 1987. The specific research questions of this study were:

1. to trace the development of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa especially after the Official Language Act of 1987;
2. to understand how the political management of multilingualism in India has led to the consolidation of different public spheres;
3. to examine the various nuances that the language movement assumes in the public sphere in the period after 1987; and
4. to discuss the dialectical relationship among religion, language, and polity in the formation of multiple public spheres in Goa.

I have addressed these objectives by using a combination of methods and techniques. I have conceived of this work as an interpretive study. While maintaining an objective social scientific approach to the language dynamics in my own society, I have nonetheless used insights from interpretive methodology in my study. On the basis of an analysis of secondary data obtained from a review of relevant literature and primary data by interviews conducted among the literary elite, I have sought to understand the political sociological dimensions of the Konkani public sphere in contemporary Goa.

The thesis began by introducing the study and specifying the objectives being pursued. Considering the centrality of multilingualism in the various socio-linguistic

articulations, Chapter Two contextualised the evolution and development of multilingualism in India. After delineating a transition from functional to contested multilingualism in Goa, I have argued that the transforming language pluralism in India occurs with the rise of the nation state and the shift from "fuzzy" to "enumerated" communities. The primary factor responsible for this change is the growth of the nation-state. The politicisation of language and the symbolic power associated with it has changed the nature of multilingualism in India. This chapter examined the various modifications in the practice of multilingualism in India today.

I then attempted codifying and interpreting the perspectives on the antiquity of Konkani, the development of Konkani public sphere, and the prevalence of multiple public spheres in Goa. Mainly there are three perspectives on analysing Goan history:-Goa Dourada, Goa Indica and the Orientalist perspective, Chapter Three is a dialogue between Orientalist perspective of Goa and that of Goa Indica. I found that the multilingualism that characterises the public sphere in Goa has followed a different trajectory from that which is found in other parts of the subcontinent. In Goa the dialectic between religion and language has ensured that the phase of contested multilingualism in the public sphere began almost five centuries ago. As unlike most other regions of India, Goa was, at least since recorded history, ruled by non local rulers. Konkani suffered at the cost of the neighbouring languages which because of political patronage increased its hold over the region, especially in the areas of administration and education. This pattern of official disinterest in Konkani saw new dimensions with the arrival of the Portuguese colonial rule. Initially rejected and later incorporated in the conversion process, the Konkani public sphere was nonetheless overshadowed by the twin hegemonic influences of Portuguese and Marathi. Thus with the arrival of the Portuguese policy of Lusitanisation, the public sphere in Goa

saw an interplay of a variety of forces and agents: religious conversion, political expediency, dominance of Portuguese, the counter-dominance of Marathi, and attempts at perseverance of Konkani and its eventual resurgence.

The foundations of modern Konkani literature were to a large extent laid by Vaman Raghunath Varde Valaulikar *alias* Shennoi Goembab, in Bombay. Bombay, which was the home of a large number of educated and semi literate Goan diaspora, provided the ideal environs for the development of the Konkani renaissance. Most of today's Konkani stalwarts began their literary journey in the public sphere in Bombay. But after Liberation, the primary arena of the Konkani public sphere shifted to Goa. After 451 years of Portuguese colonial domination, Goa began to experience the process of democratisation of socio-political institutions. Language has played a vital role in Goa's post liberation socio-political history. The parochialising trend in post-colonial Goa has taken a linguistic turn as it was generic of the process of State-formation in India. The issues have emerged not because of the prevalence of multiple language varieties-but because of formal and conscious attempts at parochialisation in the post-colonial context. Every major political transition that the State has experienced has been cloaked, either overtly or covertly, in the garb of language. With the passing of the Official Language Act on 4 February 1987 and the declaration of Statehood on 30 May, 1987, one phase of the political mobilisation of the Konkani public sphere came to an end.

Since 1987, concerted efforts have been made to hasten the institutionalisation of Konkani, though attempts at dominance and contestations continued. Though the focus of Chapter Four has been the growth and development of the literary sphere since 1987, I began by examining the historical background of the rise of community consciousness around language. Though scholars have traced the beginings of

Konkani literature to the sixteenth century, these were primarily in manuscript form. The late nineteenth century had already ushered in the period of the early modern public sphere. Unlike the earlier centuries when Portuguese, and to some extent, Marathi were the language of written communication in Goa, in the nineteenth century the reintroduction of print gave rise to the emergence of Konkani in the literary sphere of print production. The twentieth century further nurtured this sphere. It is a site of hybridity between cultural systems coming out of a long and struggling embrace. This led to the formation of the Konkani nation as an imagined community, as perceived by Anderson. This community consciousness was also strengthened by the developments occurring in the sphere of the performing arts in Konkani. Matsukawa (2002) writes that the leaders of the Konkani movement had to depend on the literary and non literary media, print and performance, in order to circulate their discourse and form the Konkani public sphere. I have thus analysed the developments taking place in these genres. These included the various *tiatrs, khells, and jagors*, which were mainly patronised by the non elite sections of the Konkani speaking public. I have concluded that though the literary sphere in the realm of print is yet to be consolidated, the non literary Konkani media has progressed unhindered. It has contributed much to the development of the Konkani public sphere.

The twentieth century heralded a radical shift in the social background of the actors participating in the literary sphere. While until the nineteenth century, it was largely the Goan Catholic elite in addition to the missionaries and Portuguese officials who wrote in Konkani, in the twentieth century lower *jati* Catholics and Hindus too joined the Konkani literary sphere. The complete linguistic bifurcation between the elite and the non elite meant that work that was supposed to have literary merit was written in a language completely different from the one in which popular culture was

produced. This gave rise to high and low language, with a high literary tradition in Portuguese or Marathi and a low tradition in Konkani, especially Konkani written in Roman script.

The liberation of Goa was not only political, but the liberation of the literary sphere as well. A large number of Konkani ideologues who were based outside Goa, primarily in Bombay for work and education, returned to Goa following the departure of the Portuguese. With the subsequent removal of censorship following Liberation, Goans now felt free to express themselves in the language of their choice. But in Goa, nothing concerning language could be that simple. In Foucault's analysis of the relation between knowledge and power, this relationship is subtle; it is routinised to such an extent that dominance is made to feel natural. The hold that Marathi had over centuries, due to historical reasons, had been so internalised in the consciousnesses of Goan Hindus, that they had come to think of Marathi as their language of communication. The fact that nearly all religious ceremonies were conducted in Marathi and religious literature in Marathi occupied the sacred space in Goan Hindu homes further consolidated the link between language and religion. Marathi was seen as Hinduism's sacred language.

Since the 1980s, the influence of the literary sphere widened to include the non- elite as well as Konkani writers who came from the hinterland Sattari taluka and remote areas in Goa and beyond. Through their writings, the Konkani literary landscape underwent transformations. The dialectal variations, the geographical topography, the varied rituals and socio-cultural and economic customs specific to certain hitherto unknown groups and communities, all entered the Konkani literary sphere. Though the Konkani literary sphere has expanded since 1987, not much progress has been recorded in the genre of newsprint. While there are at least half a

dozen Marathi newspapers in circulation in Goa, there is just one Konkani newspaper which is in Devanagari script. One reason for this is that the Goan Hindus still consider Marathi as their medium of formal communication. As they have been trained to read and write in Marathi, out of force of habit, they still use Marathi. And the Catholics prefer reading an English newspaper rather than a Konkani newspaper in the not very familiar Devanagari script.

Thus, in this chapter, by historically tracing the growth and development of the Konkani literary sphere in Goa, I have attempted to show how this process has been reflective of the larger interrelation between language, religion, and polity in Goa. With the attainment of Liberation and later the Declaration of Konkani as the Official Language, the Konkani public sphere was expected to flourish. Though the bourgeoisie of the public sphere once promised to ultimately be accessible to all, it never did happen. The public sphere was modified to exclude the masses. This hierarchisation between classes and masses has been an integral part of Goa's historical memory. This categorisation and hierarchisation has spilled over to encompass the language situation in Goa as well. The history of the Konkani's literary public sphere resembles the cycle of Pareto's conceptualisation of Circulation of the Elite (Adams and Sydie 2002: 227). Though the protagonists of Konkani in Roman script allege domination by the Devnagiri lobby, an analysis of the growth and development of the Konkani literary sphere since 1987, shows that the divisive trends were a means to maximise the benefits accrued to literary figures and theatre artistes- the literary elite.

These tendencies, considered fissiparous at times, in the Konkani literary sphere, along with the hegemonic dominance of Marathi and the aspirations and preference towards English meant that though the Official Language Act (OLA) was

passed on 4 February 1987 the State has been charged with allegations of non implementation of the OLA. Though the notion of official language is associated with the modern phenomenon of nation state governance, and nationism, I have argued in Chapter Five that in India the situation has been different. In India questions pertaining to official language have been part of the public sphere since millennia. This is because in India, official language has been associated with linguistic plurality. The independence and the acknowledgement of linguistic plurality in the Constitution changed the nature of multilingualism in India. This is characterised by the emergence of the regional languages as the official languages, which are then used to provide social and economic mobility through government employment and positions of political patronage. Thus as official language is not simply an administrative technicality but has notions of symbolic, cultural, and economic capital; its recognition and implementation is not a given: it involves some amount of negotiations.

Given this context, the implementation of the OLA is not a simple institutionalisation of an ideology. In the politically charged language situation in Goa, Konkani activists persistently complained of non-implementation of the OLA. The resolution of this issue gets even more complicated with the resurgence of the script conflict in public sphere in Goa. Issues concerning the OLA and its implementation in Goa are an example of the perfect marriage between state and civil society, where civil society in its role as the 'good society' as given by Edwards (2005) assists the State in fulfilling its duties. In its role as the 'public sphere', by putting pressure on the State, by collaborating with it whenever needed and joining various committees set up by the Directorate, civil society through the language ideologues and voluntary associations seeks to help the State implement the OLA.

The very passing of the OLA brought to the forefront questions pertaining to script divide in Konkani. The literary sphere of Konkani in Roman script which existed to some extent, especially among the lower classes of Christians was slowly confined to primarily to the religious realm. The advocates of Konkani in Roman script believe that the OLA sounded a death knell to Konkani in Roman script. They allege that the Roman script which dominated the Konkani literary sphere prior to Liberation was adversely affected by the OLA. They claim that on the grounds that the OLA only mentions the Devanagari script, grants to publishing in Roman script have been stopped. In Chapter Six, I have attempted to show how script is instrumental in the transformation from language as symbol to language as icon. By equating script with ingredients like religion and caste, the Konkani speakers in Goa have invoked the iconic aspects of language in their negotiations of the script politics in Goa.

The attempts to iconise Konkani in Roman script and to transform the subjective awareness of communities into nationalities have remained unfulfilled. A sense of relative deprivation made the protagonists of Konkani in Roman script to go for collective mobilisations on the ground of script. But I do not think that this issue will follow the Hindi Urdu trajectory and get communalised. There are many reasons for my conclusion. The shared socio religious history of the two communities, which until a few centuries ago, was one, acts as a guard against communal aspirations. Neither are the Devanagarivadis communal. As Fernandes (2006) sys, they are, at best nationalists who mistake similarity for unity. They perceive any variation as a threat to nation building. The aspirations of an increasing number of Goan Catholics towards English, also dilutes the base of the Roman Konkani camp. Reflective of Pareto's Circulation of Elites, the script controversy is largely limited to the literary

elite in the literary sphere. There is nevertheless a sense of discrimination perceived by the users of Konkani in Roman script which needs to be addressed by the State. As Kubchanadani says, 'in a pluricultural situation, pluralism and encouragement of diversity are the least acrimonious way forward.'

Chapter Seven examines attempts by various actors towards consolidation and institutionalisation of the public sphere. It specifically discusses four language-related issues that have occupied the public sphere in the twenty first century. The first issue pertained to the fulfilment of the last goal of the KPA i.e. the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution. The Eighth Schedule to the Indian Constitution contains a list of 22 scheduled languages. At the time the Constitution was enacted, inclusion in this list meant that the language was entitled to representation on the Official Languages Commission, and that the language would be one of the bases that would be drawn upon to enrich Hindi, the official language of the Union. This chapter chronicles the events and lobbying that Konkanivadis engaged in to include Konkani in that list. The inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Constitution on 20 August 1992 marked the end of phase of the consolidation of the formal Konkani public sphere. The achievement of this objective, for many marked an end to one phase of the Konkani movement. For Konkanivadis, it settled the language-dialect issue.

The process of institutionalisation of the OLA in the public sphere involved a number of challenges. One significant political sociolinguistic issue involved the process of standardisation of Konkani language. Standardisation is the necessary consequence of the existence of two apparently opposing phenomena: the presence of multilingualism and the creation of a nation. It is an attempt at homogenising plurality. Though the process of standardisation began in the early twentieth century

with the work of Shri Goembab, the immediate need for standardisation of Konkani in Goa arose when after Liberation the Government decided to convert the erstwhile Portuguese medium schools into Konkani medium ones. For a variety of reasons, the *antruzi* dialect was chosen as the official dialect for Konkani. Hence the process of standardisation of the *antruzi* dialect began on a war footing in the aftermath of Liberation. Given this socio cultural background and milieu, Konkani had to prove its independent status not just to its detractors but even to its users. It had to move out of the hegemonic shadow of Marathi in the first instance, and later, Konkani in Devanagari script. Though language standardisation is seen as a desirable endeavour necessary for the development and adaptability of the language to the multiple uses it might be put to, it involves some amount of politics and polilticisation. Standardisation is often the consequence of a need for uniformity that is felt by influential sections of the society. The standardisation of Konkani in Devanagari script is often charged on two counts: one, the marathification of Konkani and the advancing hegemony of the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins and the elite Catholic Brahmins. But the pro standardisation camp counters this allegation by arguing that standardisation can never be a democratic and representative process. These dichotomies are reflective of the very nature of language standardisation- it does not correspond to any concrete reality. Language standardisation fits Weber's notion of ideal type. It is a construct that people try to adhere to, but cannot fully incorporate. Standardisation can never be complete as any language is a living entity. It also does not exist in a vacuum. The standardisation of Konkani is thus influenced by and influences the social situation in which it evolves. Standardisation might be of essence due to the demands of uniformity laid down by governance and education. The issue though has to be empathically and sensitively handled so that a delicate balance is

maintained and variety is not stifled. The representatives of various sections of the Konkani community need to be involved in the standardisation process.

Some supporters of Konkani in Roman script feel that the process of standardisation will soon be redundant because of the growing dominance of English. In this chapter, I have also explicated the relevance of English in India and its nativisation right from pre Independence times to the contemporary. It is this aspiration for English that concerns the Konkani protagonists. What worries them is the percolation of this pro English aspiration to the masses as well. This worry of the Konkani protagonists is shared by the Church, that insist on the usage of Konkani in most o its ceremonies and quotidian activities.

But the aspiration for English continues, and the laity differs with the Church. They see English as an indispensable tool to upward mobility. A number of staunch Konkanivadis are also in keeping with this stance. English is associated with the ideology of modernity and progress and native languages with the ideology of tradition and cultural values (Annamalai 2001: 124). Dr. Madhavi Sardessai reiterates Annamalai's views when she makes a distinction between *avoiche bhas ani potache bhas* (mother's language and the language of the livelihood). It is this perceived importance of English in the public domain which makes Konkani protagonists acknowledge its necessity and encourage its use. But this fear of the hegemonic role played by English is nothing unique to the language situation in Goa. This perceived threat and dilemma is a result of the push and pull forces of pluralism and homogenisation. In this rapidly globalising world where English as an international language is seen as the instrument of upward social mobility, holding on to the regional language is considered an integral part of maintaining one's own identity.

In my understanding of the role played by language in chartering the public sphere of Goa, I have noticed that there has historically been a sense of persecution and victimisation integral to the survival and development of Konkani. This sense of persecution, inferiority, and the resultant struggle has persisted in the public sphere even after the declaration of Statehood and the passing of the OLA.

Now the players have changed. While earlier the Konkanivadis felt the hegemonic influence of Marathi, today in addition to the threat faced from Marathi and English, there is a division in the Konkani camp itself. And in this new phase of the Konkani movement, the Devanagari camp is taking the position that Marathi took in the earlier Konkani-Marathi controversy, and the advocates of Konkani in the Roman script have adapted the 'victimised and persecuted' stance of Konkani. The Devanagari camp puts forth the same allegations that the Marathivadis once levelled against Konkani for denying Roman Konkani camp their demands: the lack of standardisation, uniformity and quality of writings of Konkani in Roman script. The Roman Konkani camp seeks to counter these allegations by building up of Konkani literature in Roman script and forming associations devoted solely for its development. Like the Devanagarivadis, they too have begun their own process of standardisation.

The age of globalisation also encourages parochial tendencies. The Goan diaspora still nurture their primordial identity of language in the diaspora. A case in point is the contemporary activities by Konkani organisations in Karnataka to advance the use of Konkani of especially in the realm of education and culture. I have focussed on the Konkani cultural organisation, *Manndd Sobhann* to show the power of performance and image as an alternative to written media, in the process of the formation of a public sphere. The umbilical relationship that the Konkani community

in Karnataka has towards Goa and Konkani gets heightened in north coastal Karnataka. Konkani speakers form the majority in places like Karwar, Joida, Haliyal and Supa. Feeling a strong sense of socio cultural kinship with Goa, there has been a movement to merge these regions with Goa. While Karnataka has strongly opposed this move, the people of Goa are ambivalent on this issue. This movement is still in its fledgling stages. It needs to be seen what course it will take. Though Shri Kelekar is optimistic about the movement, given the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Konkani ideologues in Goa, I do not think that the movement will be successful. Shri Sail too opines that the movement needs the support of the Konkanivadis in Goa, in order to survive.

Questions may be raised regarding the applicability of Habermas' notion of the public sphere to analyse a socio-linguistic reality far distinct in space and time. A Foucauldian conception of the micro-politics of power and the inherent power dynamics of language itself would render such a free public space impossible. Furthermore, the concept of the public sphere was designed to explain large historical and political changes from a philosophical viewpoint; how well can it explain literary and aesthetic changes? That too, in the contemporary era of a different socio cultural reality? These doubts notwithstanding, I have used Habermas' notion of public sphere as a sensitising concept and a framework to understand the development of the multiple public spheres in Goa since 1987. I felt that using public sphere as a sensitising concept has enhanced my understanding of the language dynamics in Goa since 1987. Nevevertheless, the contradictions inherent in the concept of public sphere need to be revisited in the further examinations with reference to other empirical situations.

Another limitation concerns the focus of my study. Though the title of my thesis is on 'Language and the Public Sphere in Goa', I have attended only to the Konkani public sphere as I am familiar only with English and Konkani. I have delimited my study in this way. The transformations in various other public spheres especially the Marathi and the Portuguese in Goa may further be studied to get a full view of the public spheres in Goa.

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