

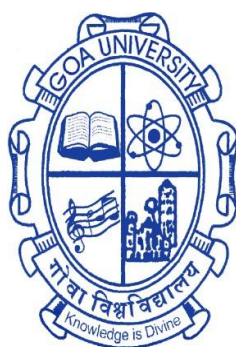
Politics of Dialects in Konkan Region

A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment for the Degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

In Political Science

In The Political Science Programme/ D. D. Kosambi School of
Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies
Goa University



By

Prachi Naik
Goa University
Goa

October 2024

DECLARATION

I, Prachi Naik hereby declare that this thesis represents work which has been carried out by me and that it has not been submitted, either in part or full, to any other University or Institution for the award of any research degree.

Place: Taleigao Plateau.

Date : 01-10-2024

Prachi Naik

CERTIFICATE

I Dr. Prakash Desai hereby certify that the above declaration of the candidate, Prachi Naik is true and the work was carried out under my supervision.

Dr. Prakash Desai
Political Science Discipline
D. D. Kosambi School of Social
Sciences and Behavioural
Studies,
Goa University

Acknowledgment

PhD is said to be the crown of academic passion. It has proven to be an adventurous odyssey for me which has given me memories to cherish throughout my life and has taught valuable lessons. Therefore, it gives me immense pleasure to thank all of those without whom this journey would not have started at first place.

Firstly, I express my heartfelt gratitude to my guide Dr. Prakash Desai for his constant support, motivation and inspiring words throughout the process of my study making possible the continuous momentum. I thank the members of Departmental Research Committee Prof. Rahul Tripathi and Dr. Alaknanda Shringare for helping me in every possible manner to complete this thesis. I thank the Dean Prof. Ganesha Somayaji, Vice-Dean (Academic) Dr. Parag Parobo and Dr. Joanna Coelho Vice-Dean (Research) of D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies for their cooperation.

I am forever grateful to Prof. Remy Dias for igniting critical enquiry in me and for showing me path of academic research. I thank my teacher and former head of Political Science Department at Government College-Quepem, Prof. Constancio Fernandes for always believing in me which has brought me this far in my academic journey. I am grateful to the principal of Government college, Quepem Prof. Joydeep Bhattacharjee for creating research environment and motivating to undertake academic research made me enroll for PhD programme at Goa University. I also thank Dr. Brijpal Singh Gahloth and late Dr. Bharati Parab for their trust in me.

The initial research idea about the topic was groomed under the mentorship of late Prof. Alito Siqueira. I will be forever indebted to him for his help. The Centre for Studies in Developing Societies (CSDS) small grant research project on Goa, an initiative of Prof. Peter deSouza has served as an initial inspiration for me to start thinking about the topic. I thank CSDS and Prof. deSouza for giving me an opportunity to work on the project. I also thank Dr. Solano da Silva for his words of encouragement.

I am grateful to Prof. Papia Sengupta (JNU), Prof. Asha Sarangi (JNU), Prof. Shefali Jha (JNU), Prof. Amir Ali (JNU) and Prof. Rajarshi Dasgupta (JNU) for enriching the study with their valuable inputs. I thank my friends at JNU Smrutirekha Sahu, Amrapali Meshram, Deepika Singh, Jyoti Raika, Rajalakshmy R.S., Archana Khupte, Pradnya Daiponde, Umesh Kumar Labana (IRS), Teena Kunjukutty for showing an unwavering faith in me.

I thank my friend and colleague Dr. Mozinha Fernandes for supporting me throughout my PhD journey. I also thank my colleagues Vasudha Sawaikar, Dr. Nalini Naik, Sneha Ghadi, Ninotchka Mendes, Sangeeta Tate, Rajavi Naik, and Ravaji Gaunkar. I am grateful to my colleague Heena Gaude for her quick help in preparing a map depicting the areas under inquiry for this research.

I thank the staff of the Central library, Panaji for helping me in gathering the sources. I thank the staff of Goa University library for their cooperation and support. I thank the office staff Mrs. Pooja Naik and Mrs. Vrinda and Mrs. Pooja Naik from the Political Science discipline for their continuous cooperation. I am thankful to all my students for providing their point of view on the topic without any hesitation.

No task is accomplished without the support of family. I owe this thesis to my parents, Savita Naik and Satyawar Naik. Nothing was possible without their encouragement, help, and support. I thank my brother Pranit Naik for inspiring me to remain determined in accomplishing my goal. I also thank my sister and brother-in-law, Sneha and Dattaprasad Mandrekar for helping me in every possible way. I thank my aunt Rohini Naik and late aunt Nikita Kakodkar for always encouraging me to pursue higher studies. My in-law's support holds a special place in my heart. I thank my mother-in-law, brother-in-law and sisters-in-law especially Reshma and Rajan Kharat for always standing by me.

My husband Dr. Nawoo Varak's support in completing this thesis is crucial. This thesis may not have seen the light of the day without his unwavering belief

in me. His critical insights into the topic have enabled me to continue my research on this topic in methodical manner, unthinkable to me given my initial thrust on the topic.

However, any errors that may mark in this thesis are solely my own. Finally, I thank God for making it possible to complete the thesis.

Dedicated

To

My Mother **SAVITA**,

My Father **SATYAWAN**

My late aunt **NIKITA (Sudha)**

&

*To all peripheral Konkani speakers who have lost their agency to the
language*

Contents

1	Introduction	1
1.1	Introduction	1
1.2	Scope and Significance of the Study.....	2
1.3	Literature Review	5
1.4	Objectives.....	12
1.5	Hypotheses	12
1.6	Limitations of the Research.....	13
1.7	Methodology.....	13
1.8	Scheme of Chapters.....	13
2	Dialectical Understanding of the languages in the Konkani	18
2.1	Introduction.....	18
2.2	Language and Ethnicity	19
2.2.1	Politics of Language Naming	21
2.3	Stammbaum/ Tree Model	25
2.4	Wellentheorie/ Wave Model	29
2.5	Ferdinand de Saussure on Stammbaum Model and Wave Mode.....	32
2.6	Eric Gans's Dialectical Methodology	35
2.7	Language and Regionality	39
2.7.1	Role of Colonial Modernity in Creating Linguistic Regionality	41
2.7.2	Linguistic Regionality in Post-independent India	43

2.7.3	Region as a Political Entity.....	44
2.8	Language-Dialect Binary in Konkani	47
2.8.1	Konkani Orientalism.....	48
2.8.1.1	Konkani Writings of Sixteenth Century...	48
2.8.1.2	Oriental Construction of Konkani.....	51
2.9	Dialectal and Dialectical Study of Konkani Language.....	58
3	Politics of Dialects in Press, Periodicals and Print	61
3.1	Introduction.....	61
3.1.1	Linguistic Ecosystem in Goa in the Nineteenth Century.....	63
3.2	Dialects in Periodicals and Magazines.....	64
3.2.1	Portuguese Language Periodicals in Goa.....	65
3.2.2	Konkani Periodicals.....	67
3.2.2.1	Emigrants and Konkani Press.....	70
3.2.2.2	Thrust Areas of Konkani Press.....	73
3.2.2.3	On Language.....	78
3.2.2.4	Discussion on Marginality in Konkani Periodicals.....	79
3.2.2.5	Novas Conquistas in Konkani Press.....	80
3.2.3	Marathi Periodicals in Goa.....	82
3.2.3.1	Marathi Press and Reforms.....	82
3.2.3.2	Gomantakiya Marathi.....	94
3.2.4	English Periodicals in Goa.....	97
3.3	Dialects in Konkani Literature.....	100

4 Nativist Politics in Post-Independent Konkan	104
4.1 Introduction.....	104
4.2 Defining Nativism.....	105
4.3 Distinction between Political Nativism and Linguistic Nativism.....	107
4.3.1 Linguistic Nativism of Noam Chomsky.....	107
4.3.2 Bhalchandra Nemade's Desivad/ Nativity.....	108
4.4 Political Nativism in Konkan.....	113
4.5 Nativist Activism.....	122
4.6 Overseas Activism of Konkani Nativity.....	126
4.7 Contemporary Nativism in Goa.....	128
5 Conclusion	131
6 Bibliography	139-163

List of Figures

1.2 Map of Konkan.....	4
1.3 Tree Model/ Stammbaum developed by August Schleicher.....	26
1.4 Wellentheorie Model.....	30

List of Tables

1.1 List of Konkani Periodicals.....	68-70
--------------------------------------	-------

Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Introduction

Konkan is a 'coast' lying between the Arabian Sea and the Western Ghats. The region of Konkan witnesses the existence of various dialects. The relationship between the dialect and an individual is an emotional one. It decides the social, political, economic, and cultural location of an individual in society. These dialects are instrumental in creating the regionalities within the region. The social, cultural, and political background of a particular dialect privileges or marginalizes its historical presence in that particular region. The standardisation of a particular language through a dominant dialect increases the vulnerabilities of the other dialects. The assertion of the historical location of various dialects leads to the democratisation of the languages. The language is an instrument of communication among various groups in the society. Theoretically, language allows various social components in society to communicate in a methodological and structural manner. It is inclusive by nature. The dialects are exclusive to a particular social group. The research topic attempts to unravel the historical intricacies of dialects that have gone unnoticed. The recognition of the historically prevalent but currently obscured dialects leads to enriching language democratisation. The conventional mode of writing in Marathi and Konkani displaces the social locations of various groups in the region.

We come across dialects that are specifically associated with dominant castes in the region. Examples of such dialects are Chitpavani Konkani, Bhati Konkani, Sashti Konkani, Antruzi Konkani, Bardezi Konkani, Kudali Konkani, Malvani Konkani, etc. The ontological understanding of these terms suggests a particular caste origin. This results in making it marginally visible invisible in the public realm. Radicalizing the binaries between the Marathi and Konkani makes the various marginal dialects invisible in the region. Dialects flourish in closed ecological settings inhabited by

different castes and communities. The Konkani region offers strong ecological diversity obstructed by various rivers, forests, and hills. Such a setting has privileged few communities claim their dialect as indigenous and local.

At the same time, the lower castes from the same region had to cross the ecological boundaries from one region to other. The migration of lower-class Hindus and Catholics during colonial and post-colonial times have marked the decay of their own dialects. The working-class migration from Goa to erstwhile Bombay is an apt example of such decay. Thus, there is a need to bridge the differences as similarities among various dialects. These similarities would form the language. The language fails to have borders. The languages, unlike dialects, make the boundaries fluid and hence inclusive. Post-independent political discourse fails to recognise the boundary-less nature of a language. Attachment of languages to the political boundaries leads to 'political language.' This study tries to decipher the meaning of 'political language'. Through the case of study of Konkani, this research emphasizes upon the need to understand the language in a linguistic sense rather than political sense. This research chooses the region of Konkani and Konkani languages as an entry point to view the languages from a linguistic perspective. As the prime objective of any language is the empowerment of its people, political understanding of language takes it away from its speakers and reduces languages to an instrument of power struggle. Emphasizing the distinction between dialectal and dialectical processes of the formation of languages would liberate languages from political biases. The dialectical understanding of dialects within the Konkani region would set aside the conventional understanding of language politics.

1.2 Significance and Scope of the study

The areas of Konkani under inquiry for this research focuses on the Konkani region specifically from Palghar to Mangalore, where Marathi, Konkani, and Kannada are the three primary languages spoken. These three languages correspond to three different states: Marathi is the official language of Maharashtra, Konkani is the official language of Goa, and Kannada is the official language of Karnataka. Though the official language act of Goa 1987 recognises Marathi as the second official language of the state (Government of Goa, 1987) the Goan identity revolves around the Konkani

language. Therefore, the association of the people of Goa with Marathi has become taboo as Marathi is considered the language of the Maharashtra state. Such a classification fixes language to a region, offering a ‘naturalness’ to a region and restricting a cross-regional inquiry of languages. In the process of association of region with language, it is overlooked that the linguistic classification on which the regional identities are based is an outcome of British colonialism based on the scholarship of orientalism. This research problematizes the colonial creation of regions based on languages.

This study also problematizes the ‘language-dialect’ binary and proposes acknowledging the horizontal link between the languages. The focus of the research is the Konkani language. It studies Marathi and Kannada in relation to Konkani. Dialects of Konkani are spread across the region of Konkan. Goa is an integral part of Konkan. The boundaries of the Konkan stretch from the coast of Gujarat to Kerala. The political boundaries of the Konkan in Kerala overlap with the Malabar region. Due to the overlap between Konkan and Malabar, the scope of this study is limited to Mangalore, which is a part of present-day Karnataka.

Therefore, the present research examines the parts of Konkan, which includes the areas of Palghar, Thane, Mumbai, Raigad, Ratnagiri, Sindhudurg (which are a part of present-day Maharashtra); the entire state of Goa; and Uttara Kannada, Udupi and Dakshina Kannada (part of present-day Karnataka). For clarity, the area under research is specified in the following map.

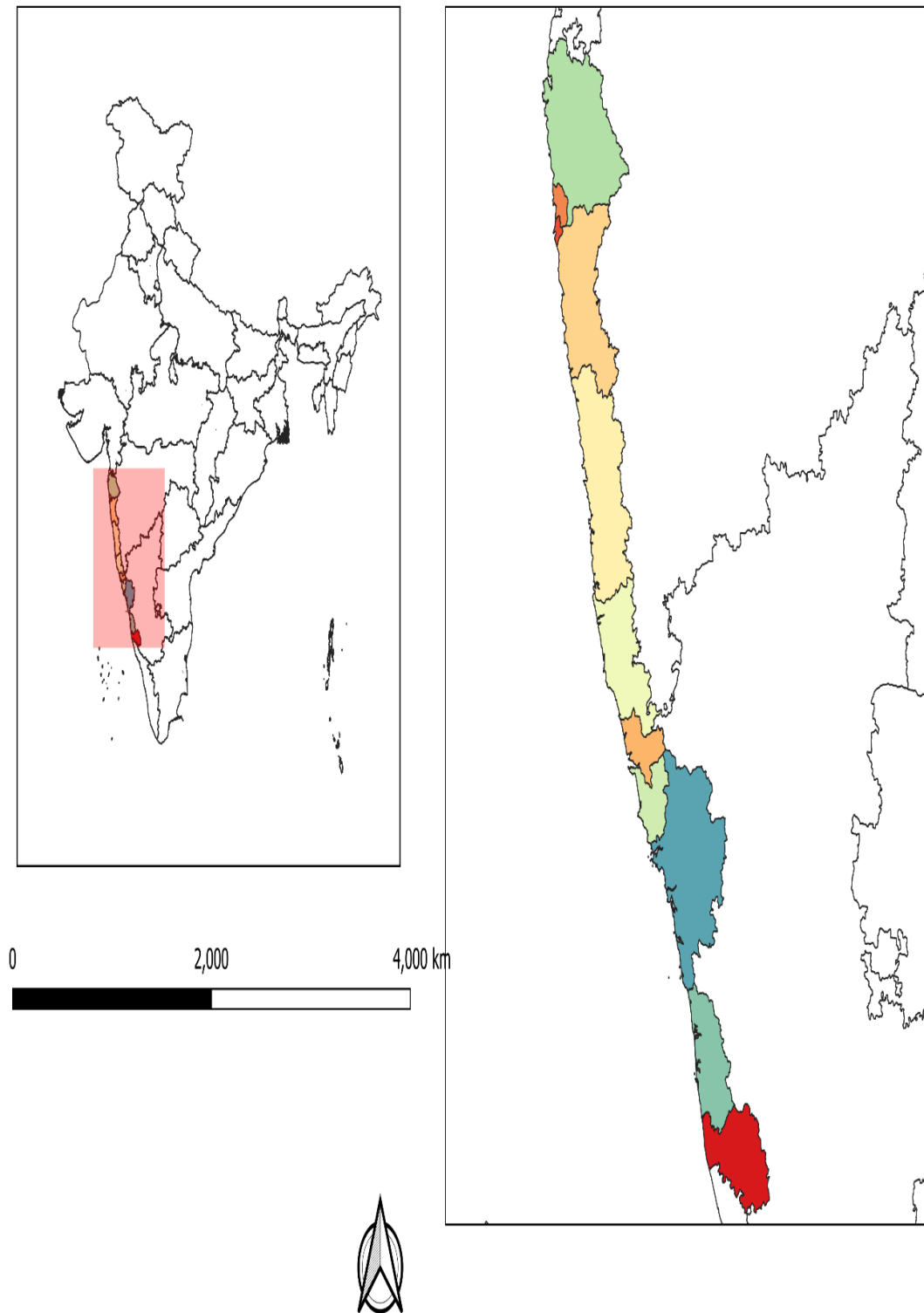


Fig 1.1: The Map of Konkan

1.3 Literature Review

In the scholarly discourse of India, the investigation of language politics relegates dialect to a subordinate status, given that dialect is commonly conceptualized as an integral component of language. The political research on language overlooks the language-dialect binary. As a result, language gets attached to ethnicity, constructing ethnic identities through the language. The approach of fixing languages with ethnicities is global. Joshua Fishman (2011) argues that in modern times, efforts towards identifying language with ethnic identity have travelled from the West to across the world (Fishman, 2011, p. 4). Thus, Fishman points out that the attachment of language to ethnicity is predominantly Eurocentric. Peter Burke (2013), in 'Nationalism and Vernaculars,' argues that only after 1800 in Europe a congruence between language, nation, and state is achieved. Before this date, the modern sense of nation is absent in the medieval world (Burke, 2013).

Anne Judge (2000) traces the process of institutionalizing the French language as the symbol of the French nation (Judge, 2000, pp. 72-75). Lars S. Vikor (2000), in the context of Northern Europe, argues that the modern nation-state used languages as a tool and symbol. Thus, the formation of 'Danish and Swedish nations led to codifying Danish and Swedish languages' (Vikor, 2000, p. 127). Carmen Fought (2006), in 'Language and Ethnicity' elucidates upon the processes leading to the construction of ethnicity through language and dialect in various communities such as African-American and Latino groups in the USA, Cajuns and Creoles in Louisiana, South African ethnic groups and Maoris in New Zealand. Fought also explores the question of race and ponders whether whiteness is ethnicity (Fought C. , 2006). Thus, the focus of research on the politics of language is on exploring the relationship between language and ethnicity.

Ethnicities have been embedded with languages. The embeddedness of languages with ethnicities has produced linguistic nationalism. Tomasz Kamusella (Kamsuella, 2017-2018) proposes the framework of 'normative isomorphism of language, nation and state' to understand the evolution of nationalism. The framework of normative isomorphism of language investigates ethnolinguistic or isomorphic nationalism. Kamusella argues that ethnolinguistic nationalism exists only in Central Europe, South East Asia, and East Asia (Kamsuella, 2017-2018, p. 352). Kamusella's work excavates

the relationship between language, ethnicity, and nationalism. It means that the construction of nationalities through languages is not a transglobal phenomenon but is limited to a few countries. Thus, few works on nationalism do not necessarily put language at the centre of nationalist discourse but emphasizes other factors responsible for constructing nationalism. For instance, Ernest Gellner (1983) in his work 'Nations and Nationalism,' offers a different perspective on nationalism by comparing the operation of nationalist discourse in agricultural and industrial society. Gellner sheds light on the peripheral role of languages in constructing nationalism. He argues that though language is an essential characteristic of nationalism, it plays a role in agricultural society. In contrast, in an industrial society, a nation is formed when a group of persons recognizes each other's mutual rights and duties (Gellner, 1983, p. 7). Nation is thus a product of modernizing factors facilitated by industrial societies rather than the ascriptive one, which is the characteristic of agricultural society. Therefore. Gellner says, 'In this hypothetical global continuum of a basically homogeneous industrial culture, differentiated by languages which are distinct only phonetically and superficially but not semantically, the age of nationalism would become a matter of the past' (Gellner, 1983, p. 118). Gellner predicts the fall of nationalist ideas in coming decades as he poses a firm belief in the homogeneity produced by industrial societies in which the cultural differences (language being one of the cultural aspects) between nations would wither away. It is important to note that in the context of language, Gellner highlights the phonetic and superficial distinction between the languages. So, it would be interesting to ask how heterogeneous languages facilitated the birth of homogeneous nationalism. Eric Hobsbawm (1990) provides an answer to this question in his work 'Nations and Nationalism'. This work carefully explores the association of language with the construction of national identity since 1780. He argues that national languages are 'semi-artificial constructs' and are 'virtually invented' (Hobsbawm, 1990, p. 54). The artificial aspects of languages need attention in the discourse of language politics. Benedict Anderson's (2006) work 'Imagined Communities' is an important contribution to the scholarly discourse that explains the birth of artificial national languages. It analyses the linguistic nationalism of Europe through the framework of 'Print Capitalism.' Anderson argues that print provided a fixity to the language by preserving its form in print. As a result, the heterogeneity of linguistic forms is avoided and the standardization of languages became possible with the arrival of print. Standardization of language established the linguistically homogeneous nationalism.

Thus, print capitalism facilitated the establishment of linguistically homogeneous nations (Anderson, 2006).

The analysis of the language politics of India is a part of this global framework of language and nationalist politics. Therefore, the language politics in India is analysed within the conceptual context of nationalism. However, due to the cultural differences between the different parts of India owing to its distinct political history, nationalism evolved in two parallel phases, one at the national level and another at the provincial level. At both these levels, the distinct languages played a dominating role in defining the nationalist discourse. At the national level, Paul Brass (2009) (1974) unearths the crafting of nationalism through Hindi and Urdu. He argues that elites, especially in North India, started using language as a primary symbol when religion lost its legitimacy in the secular framework of independent India. Thus, the congruence of two symbols, language, and religion, has been achieved to gain legitimacy to illegitimate political demands (Brass, 2009, p. 185). Nationalism, thus, he defines as 'multi-symbol congruence.' Language, religion, race, colour, etc, constitute the symbols of ethnicity. He opines that in a multiethnic society such as India, elites strive to achieve the congruence between multiple symbols of ethnicity by identifying the primary and secondary symbols in which secondary symbols revolve around the primary symbols of ethnicity (Brass, 1974). Following the partition of the country based on religion debates around Hindi and Urdu became an inherent part of the nationalism debate.

At the sub-national level, the demands for linguistic reorganisation gave rise to 'linguistic sub-nationalism'. India experienced the exigency of linguistic states with the death of Telugu language protestor and Gandhian Potti Sriramulu. Lisa Mitchell (2009) investigates the reasons motivating individuals to sacrifice their lives for the cause of their mother tongue (Mitchell, 2009). The birth of Andhra Pradesh as a region of Telugu speakers provoked the rise of other linguistic regions. Most of the studies on language politics deal with post-independent linguistic factors contributing to the linguistic states. Joseph E. Schwartzberg (2009) work is an exception as he traces the historical factors leading to the demand for linguistic states. He investigates the factors in the linguistic reorganisation of Indian states. He explains the developments contributing towards the adherence to the linguistic principle by the congress. Though it is often pointed out that Congress accepted the linguistic reorganisation of provinces in 1920, Schwartzberg points out that the developments in linguistic reorganisation begins with

the partition of Bengal in 1905 and the formation of the first Congress linguistic province in Bihar in 1908. The study provides a detailed analysis of the political factors contributing towards the creation of linguistic states in the post-independent period (Schwartzberg, 2009, p. 143). Linguistic reorganisation of states has further strengthened the subnational forces. Janaki Nair (2000) provides an interesting case of sub-nationalism in Bangalore in her article 'Language and the Right to the City'. The city's multicultural social environment and the internal struggle between the states to control the resources have contributed to the clashes between the dominant linguistic groups. In the case of Bangalore, the clash was between Kannada nationalism and Tamil nationalism over the abduction of Kannada superstar Rajkumar and keeping him hostage for nearly three months by the poacher and smuggler Veerappan. The Veerappan is closely associated with Tamil Nadu. Nair argues that this incident is dangerously misread as an 'encounter between nationalism where boundaries of states are seen as final' (Nair, 2000).

Sub-nationalist sentiments fixed languages to regions. As a result, the analysis of language politics in India centered around the ontology of the region. For instance, Sudha Pai's (2002) analysis of Urdu is limited to the state of Uttar Pradesh (Pai S. , 2002). Similarly, Veena Naregal's (2001) text 'Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere' primarily centres around Pune (Naregal, 2001). Another important work on language politics, Rochelle Pinto's (2007) 'Between Empires', is a Goa centric analysis. It discusses the role played by colonial elites in the print and politics of Goa, enabled by the economic capital crafted by Goans in Bombay. It also discusses the utilization of the spaces provided by print and periodicals by lower classes and castes from Goa in Bombay. Thus, it discusses Goa in relation to the province of Bombay (Pinto, 2007).

Linguistic sub-nationalism emboldened by the linguistic reorganisation of states resulted in a hierarchy between the languages. Constitutional provisions of languages further contribute to the linguistic hierarchy. Anvita Abbi (2009) for instance, provides a systematic critique of the VIIIth schedule. Abbi argues that, though, at the outset, it appears that the VIIIth schedule of the constitution is a mechanism to preserve India's linguistic diversity, in reality, it only protects twenty-two languages by creating binaries between major and minor languages. In this setup, most of the minor languages are grouped as a dialect of major languages. Such a move vanishes diversity

by submerging linguistic identities (Abbi, 2009, pp. 302-303). Along similar lines, Rama Kant Agnihotri (2015) argues that even in the Constituent Assembly debates on languages, the multilingual ethos of India was ignored (Agnihotri, 2015). Hany Babu M T (2017) compares the hierarchy between the languages as standard/non-standard, classical/vernacular to the chaturvarna system and calls such arrangement as the chaturvarna system of languages (Babu, 2017).

Another important issue often highlighted in the linguistic hierarchy is the primacy of the English language as compared to the vernacular. D.L. Sheth (2009) addresses this issue in an article, 'The Great Language Debate.' Sheth highlights that limited access to English education has created a great divide between the English-speaking metropolitan pan-Indian elites and vernacular-speaking regional elites. He argues that the English language provides an ascendancy to the national elites to bargain in electoral politics. Therefore, the democratization of politics required a limited role of English compared to the vernacular in deciding the social discourse (Sheth, 2009). Though Sheth highlights the limits of the English language, Rita Kothari (2013) in an article, 'Caste in Casteless Language,' strongly argues for the democratizing role played by the English language. The author contends that English is an emancipatory language in India and has given a voice to the voiceless and marginalized, such as Dalits (Kothari, 2013). Also, in a debate between English and Vernacular, it is often forgotten that, like English, vernacular languages look equally alien to the vast majority of people owing to the standardization of vernacular languages along the lines of Sanskrit. Sadhana Saxena and Kamal Mahendroo (1993) highlight the impact of standardization of languages through a case study of school children in the Hoshnagabad district of Madhya Pradesh. The case study interestingly highlights how the children in the district were not able to understand a word of textbooks prepared in the official language of the state i.e., Hindi, as the standard Hindi or sanskritized Hindi used in the school textbooks was unfamiliar to them. On the other hand, students marked tremendous progress when they were provided with textbooks prepared in their language. Therefore, the authors argue that the 'categorization of some languages as standard, and others as backward is a political construct' rather than a linguistic phenomenon (Saxena & Mahendroo, 1993, p. 268). Regarding Konkani, Afonso Botelho (2011) argues that there is a difference between the standard Konkani used in schools and the one spoken at home. Due to this difference, he argues that the majority

of students in primary schools in Goa choose English as a medium of instruction (Botelho , 2011).

In the political construction of nationalism, languages have played a major role in rewriting the past suitable for the modern idea of Eurocentric nationalism. Therefore, the role of Sanskrit in reconstructing the country's past is one of the important themes researched by scholars of language politics. Sanskrit thus enjoys the topmost position in the language hierarchy due to its ceremonial status as the language of religion. Sumathi Ramaswamy's (2009) 'Sanskrit for the Nation,' is an important resource to understand the construction of India's past through Sanskrit. Ramaswamy argues that 'nationalization of language is never a linguistic or grammatical project, but is always an ideological one' (Ramaswamy, 2009, p. 95). She discusses the processes undergone in granting the highest rank to Sanskrit by bypassing other classical languages, such as Pali, Tamil, or Persian, to represent India's past (Ramaswamy, 2009). Thus, the standardization of regional and national languages, such as Hindi, by borrowing the vocabulary from Sanskrit is a part of the nationalization project. Alok Rai (2000) highlights another important component of making a national language, i.e., Hindi, through the adoption of Nagri script. Rai goes into the historical details and excavates the construction of Hindi as a national language by borrowing the Sanskrit words through the expulsion of Urdu from it and by adopting the Nagri script as a true marker of Indian identity (Rai, 2000).

It is in this framework of nationalism that the discourse on Konkani is located. Most of the scholarly debates on Konkani centered around the politics of script. For instance, Narayan Desai (2002) highlights the historical events that led to the making of Nagari as the natural script for Konkani. He also explains the cross-regional role of Konkani-speaking caste elites from Karnataka and Kerela in choosing Nagari as a legitimate script for Konkani in Goa, though, in Kerala, these elites favored the use of Malayalam script, and in Karnataka, the Kannada script (Desai N. , 2002). Choosing the Nagari script for Konkani in Goa as an official script was a shocking move for many activists of Konkani, as Roman script was widely used at the time of the passing of the act. Since the Roman script is primarily used by Catholics in Goa, non-recognition of the Roman script produced a multifaceted impact on this community. Jason Fernandes (2020) analyses the impact of the non-recognition of the Roman script of Konkani on the citizenship experiences of lower caste Catholics (Fernandes J. , 2020). Joanna

Coelho (2014) situates the script controversy in Goa into the Gramscian framework of hegemony. She depicts the linguistic coercion and religious disharmony caused by the employment of Nagri script in public sphere of Goa (Coelho, 2014). The Nagri versus Roman script debate of Konkani is analogous to the Nagari script versus Persian script debate of Hindi. The script debate overemphasises the role of religion in analysing language politics resulting into the masking of castes. Caste serves as a powerful impetus in maintaining the linguistic hierarchy through dialects and script. The issue of religion in language politics prevents the analysis of caste from scholarly scrutiny. As a result, the language debate in India such as Hindi-Urdu debate is analysed through the theoretical framework of secularism. The focus on dialects would bring the ingrained issue of caste in language into the research scrutiny. This study attempts to bring attention to the politics of castes through an analysis of the dialects of Konkani language.

This study also discusses the language-dialect binary prevalent in Konkani. The script debate of Konkani emerged after the passing of the Official Language Act in 1987. The language act of Goa instituted the Nagari script as the official script for writing Konkani by overlooking the wide presence of Roman script Konkani literature. Before the script controversy, Konkani linguistic circles were reckoned by language-dialect debate. It has long been argued that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi. The debate between Marathi and Konkani was not simply linguistic but also ideological. Therefore, most of the works of Konkani address this debate between Marathi as a language and Konkani as its dialect. For instance, Dr. J. H. Cunha Rivara (2006) in 'A Historical Essay of Konkani Language' argues that Konkani is an independent language (da Cunha Rivara, 2006). Similarly, Gerson Da Cunha (1881) assertively argues that Konkani is an independent language (Gerson Da Cunha, 1881). In the post-independent period, in the wake of the linguistic reorganisation of states, for the establishment of the independent state of Goa, it was essential to assert the status of Konkani as a language and not a dialect. The passing of the official language act of Goa in February 1987, and subsequent granting of statehood to Goa in May 1987, is a testimony to this fact. The politics of regionality based on language utilised by the political parties in the state to gain political support (Varak & Naik, 2022). The post-independent works on Konkani primarily discuss Konkani as an independent language and not merely a dialect of Marathi. For instance, Jose Pereira (1971) provides an

overview of the Marathi-Konkani debate (Pereira, 1971). Madhavi Sardessai's (2006) work is also situated in Marathi-Konkani debate (Sardessai M. , 2006).

The existing works on Konkani depicts ideological bias and fails to exhibit the linguistic characteristics. This study contends that the status of Konkani as a language is undisputable. However, its independence should be supplemented by linguistic analysis rather than an ideology. Linguistic analysis of language goes beyond administrative region. Therefore, the scope of the present study is outside the linguistic boundaries of Konkani state, i.e., Goa, and encompasses the region of Konkan. This study provides a linguistic analysis of the language-dialect binary and redefines the term dialects and language. This study also argues that the language-dialect binary is rooted in caste. Redefining terms such as language and dialect would pave the way for democratization of language.

1.4 Objectives

1. To undertake dialectical understanding of the Konkani language.
2. To identify the role played by Press and Periodicals in the construction of standard dialect of Konkani.
3. To unearth the historical processes leading to the association of ethnicities with languages.
4. To trace the impact of the derecognition of linguistic continuum on the identities in Konkan.
5. To analyse the nuances fostered by nativism in the language.

1.5 Hypotheses

1. In Konkan, the democratisation of language is absent.
2. Dominant dialect is at the core of identity politics, not a language.
3. Problematizing language-dialect binary would pave the way for democratisation of languages.

4. Radicalizing the binaries between Marathi and Konkani invisibilise the presence of many communities of Konkan.

5. Lack of linguistic understanding of languages has resulted in the attachment of ethnicities to languages.

1.6 Limitations of Research

The limitations of this research are its geographical expanse and the languages covered. It concentrates on the coastal region from Mumbai to Mangalore and focuses on the Konkani language. Though Marathi and Kannada are two dominant languages in the Konkan region, this study revolves around Konkani. The discussion on Marathi and Kannada is carried out only in association with the Konkani language.

1.7 Methodology

This study adopts a qualitative methodology. At the core of this research is the ethnographic experiences of the researcher as the Konkani speaker. It questions the epistemes of linguistic understanding through ontology. It critically evaluates the foundational texts of the Konkani language. The study basis its arguments on content and discourse analysis of the literature on the politics of language in India. It adopts a comparative methodology to understand the evolution and development of the Konkani language.

It employs both inductive and deductive methods to evaluate the history and politics of language politics concerning the Konkani language. It uses the archives such as newspapers, periodicals, journals, etc. It has also used internet sources such as mailing lists (Goanet), social media group pages, online newspapers, internet archives, websites of Konkani organisations and online events to gather information and understand the nature of contemporary debate in the area of current research.

1.8 Scheme of Chapters

1.8.1 Chapter I: Introduction

The first chapter introduces the field of the study. It states the purpose of this research by providing an outline of the study. This study falls into the broader theme of language politics. Since language politics is a broad topic, the first chapter elucidates the current research by providing a map of the area under study. It summarizes the epistemes used to understand the relationship between language and region in political discourse. It states the significance of doing this research. This chapter reviews the literature and situates the study in a larger global and national analytical framework of language politics. Through literature review, gaps in the available literature are identified. It mentions the objectives, hypotheses, and limitations of the research. It also gives an idea of the methodology and sources used for conducting the research. This chapter provides a summary of all the chapters of the thesis.

1.8.2 Chapter II: Dialectical Understanding of Language in the Konkan

This chapter problematises the conventional approach adopted in analysing language politics. It introduces the methodological debate between two primary models of studying language evolution, i.e., the Stammbaum Model and the Wellentheorie Model, through a discussion of the works of prominent linguists such as Franz Bopp, August Schleicher, Hugo Schuchardt, and Johannes Schmidt. It discusses the methodological errors that resulted in attaching languages to ethnicities through a discussion on the work of Ferdinand de Saussure's 'A Course in General Linguistics' (1959). It analyses the true nature of languages and traces the impact of reducing language to ethnicities.

This chapter provides the theoretical understanding of the concept 'dialectical' as used in linguistics through the work of American anthropologist and linguist Eric Gans. Gans's framework aids in understanding the distinction between the two processes, 'dialectical and dialectal.' The chapter conducts a detailed discussion of dialectal and dialectical distinction. It thus explains the problematics of viewing the language as natural. Instead, it proposes to view the languages as 'construction.' Viewing languages as construction helps decipher the process involved in 'language naming'. The chapter

examines the works of Sheldon Pollock (2003), Alok Rai (2000), Sudipta Kaviraj (2003), Muzaffar Alam (2003), Paul Brass (1974), and Shamsur Rehman Faruqi (2003) in understanding the politics of language naming. It also examines the role of oriental discourse in construction of language based regionality. The chapter sets the theoretical framework to analyse the case of Konkani.

The chapter adopts the comparative approach in studying the epistemology of Konkani. It problematises the language-dialect binary of Konkani by analysing the construction of 'Konkani orientalism' through an examination of the foundational texts of Konkani authored by Father Thomas Stephens (1907), Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (2006) and Jose Gerson da Cunha (1881). It studies the evolution of Konkani through foundational methodological debate on languages i.e. Stammbaum and Wellentheorie and proposes a reassessment of the dialect-language binary of Konkani.

1.8.3 Chapter III: Politics of Dialects in Print and Periodicals

The chapter evaluates dialects written in print and periodicals produced in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The print sphere has remarkably influenced European societies. Has the introduction of print led to the creation of a vibrant political culture in Goa? Has it furthered the democratization process? What is its impact on the linguistic sphere? How has print influenced different dialects spoken in Goa? The chapter tries to find an answer to these questions through an analysis of print. It highlights the shortcomings of employing the homogeneous linguistic identity to regions based on historical empirical evidences and draws attention to understanding the linguistic landscape from a multilingual perspective.

Goa has a long history of print. The first Printing Press in Asia was established in Goa by the Portuguese in the year 1556. Unlike Europe, where the Renaissance started with the invention of print facilitating the questioning of religious dogmas, in Goa, print facilitated the expansion of religious ideas as the press was in the hands of the clergy. However, Goa's connection with the city of Bombay serves as a significant catalyst in the 'limited democratization of print.' The expansion of print is witnessed in the latter half of the 19th and throughout the 20th century. Since 'print' has a long history in Goa, the gaps in studying the present-day 'language question through dialects' can be understood by studying the past. The connection between Goa and Bombay should be viewed from the historical lens as the Bombay Presidency spans from Konkan to Sind.

In contemporary times, the boundaries of Bombay are limited to the Maharashtra state. Furthermore, there has been no significant difference between Goa and Konkan (part of the Bombay presidency). People from the Portuguese state of Goa depended upon the Bombay. The migration of people to Bombay made print accessible to the people. Several periodicals with a wide readership in Goa were published in Bombay. The chapter discusses the nature of Konkani print produced from Bombay and the issues it covered.

This chapter builds on the arguments developed in the second chapter. It argues that print and periodicals consolidated the claim of the powerful dialectal form of a community to the position of language. The task of carving out the linguistic boundaries undertaken by the orientalist was consolidated through print and periodicals in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Vernacular writers strengthened the movements of linguistic demarcation by distinguishing their language from the language spoken in the neighbouring region. This chapter explores the role of print and periodicals in constructing particular dialects as standard. The dialects used in literature are usually consolidated as dominant dialects. However, due to the absence of political will aided by religious bias in post liberation Goa, the dialects used in Konkani literature during the colonial times were sidelined. The case of Konkani is similar to Hindi. The Urdu dominated the world of letters in North India in nineteenth century. The radicalisation of binaries between Hindi and Urdu sidelined the Urdu language and Arabic script. The Hindi dialect, carefully crafted by the Benaras Hindus, acquired the position of the Hindi language in India (Rai, Hindi Nationalism, 2000). Similarly, in Konkani, the literature produced during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Roman script is sidelined in the post-colonial Goa. This chapter delineates the process of the employment of the nagri script by the Hindu upper caste as the legitimate script of Konkani. It discusses the contribution of emigrants in developing the Konkani press in colonial Goa. An explicit form of ‘Politics of Dialects’ was visible from the 20th century onwards.

This chapter also analyses Marathi periodicals produced in Goa by Hindus in new conquests. Marathi periodical such as Pragati gave voice to lower caste Hindus’ as it was founded by the progressive members of Gomantak Maratha Samaj. It discusses the evolution of Marathi as ‘Gomantakiya Marathi’ in Goa and traces the changing

narratives of the Marathi press with time. The chapter provides an outline of the English periodicals produced during the colonial times in Goa.

1.8.4 Chapter IV: Politics of Nativity in the Post-Colonial Konkani

The fourth chapter of the thesis traces the role of colonial knowledge and press, in shaping nativity in post-independent India. It examines the conceptual framework of nativity through Noam Chomsky's model of linguistic nativity. Since language has played a vital role in shaping political nativity in India, the chapter examines the concept of political nativity through linguistic nativity. The chapter also highlights the synthesis between linguistic nativity (linguistic nativity here is understood from Noam Chomsky's perspective) and political nativity in the works of Bhalchandra Nemade. Nemade has understood the boundaryless nature of language, based on which he attempts to make a case for political nativism.

The chapter discusses the unfolding of nativist politics in post-independent Konkani. It examines the attachment of languages to religion. The chapter delineates the Konkani-Marathi distinction as carved out in the press based on political nativity. The political nativity constructed through languages has shaped the nativist activism in Konkani. The chapter evaluates the role of various communities of Konkani in developing the Konkani language. It highlights that the linguistic understanding of languages is absent in crafting language-based nativity, resulting in the establishment of dialect as language. Globalisation has enabled the overseas operation of language-based nativity. The chapter draws attention to the various groups in different countries asserting Konkani nativity.

1.8.5 Chapter V: Conclusion

This chapter summarizes the thesis and analyses the essential arguments vis-à-vis hypotheses and objectives as stated in the introductory chapter. In conjunction with all four chapters, it problematizes the conventional understanding of language-dialect binary and frames it under the larger framework of language politics. It demonstrates the significance of linguistic approach to study the language politics.

Chapter 2

Dialectical Understanding of Language in the Konkani

2.1 Introduction

Language is crucial to human lives. The language faculty attributes human characteristics by enabling them to distinguish themselves from animals. The human ability to think, act, communicate, and change gets transmitted through language. The knowledge of science, culture, history, politics, economics, and all other human and natural sciences are developed and mediated through languages. Language constructs and allot meaning to human lives. It enables the progress and survival of humans. Given the importance of language for humans, objectivity should guide the study of languages. Objectivity entails an unbiased way of approaching languages. Languages in contemporary times are used for political projects. The lack of linguistic understanding of languages fosters ethnic claims, turning the languages into political instruments. As a result, languages are perceived through the complementary lenses of race, caste, religion, region, nationality, ethnicity, and other identities. Fixation of languages to these identities denies the languages an agency to play an emancipatory role. The association of ethnicity with languages reduces the scope of languages. As a result, languages become the source of discord and disagreement and get subjected to power struggles. Linguistic understanding of languages entails studying the languages from dialectal and dialectical points of view. The emphasis on the distinction between dialectal and dialectical will open the possibilities for democratisation of languages. This chapter unearths the distinction between dialectal and dialectical through a case study of the Konkani language. It traces the reasons for the attachment of languages to the claims of ethnicity. The fixation of ethnicities to regionalities occurred through the crafting of linguistic regionalities. Therefore, following section discusses the

association of languages to regionalities through a comparative perspective which acted as a prime condition for the association of ethnicities to languages.

2.2 Language Politics and Ethnicity

Ethnic claims form the basis of language politics. Thus, languages are nothing but claims of ethnicity. Reducing languages to the claims of ethnicity hides its fundamental nature. Fundamentally, languages are free from ethnic and cultural biases. The lack of attention in scholarly discourse to critically examine language-dialect distinctions fosters the claims of ethnicity over a language. This approach builds a groundwork for engendering the ‘purity-pollution’ notion in a language. It results in diglossia. American linguist Charles Fergusson (1959) introduced the concept of ‘diglossia’ to study the language situation in an area where two varieties of the same language are used (Fergusson, 1959, p. 325). Fergusson identifies a variety of languages superposed over the other, such as H (high) (Fergusson, 1959, p. 327). The H is a standard variety of language. The regional dialects he calls L (low) (Fergusson, 1959, p. 327).

Elsewhere in the world, pure-polluted notions in a language are guided by its spacial context, in which a language is spoken, i.e., whether a particular variety of a language is spoken at home or in formal settings. A language variety spoken in a formal setting is known as ‘Standard language’. A language variety spoken in informal settings like markets, homes, etc., is known as a ‘regional dialect.’ Ferguson employs the context of language use to classify standard language and regional dialects in diglossia (Fergusson, 1959, p. 325). Thus, in Fergusson’s framework, a diglossic relationship exists within the different varieties of the same language. Hence, diglossia exists between the dialects of the same language. Drawing from Fergusson’s framework of diglossia, linguists started employing diglossia between the two different languages. In Goa, Madhavi Sardessai (2006), employs the ‘diglossia’ to describe the relationship between Marathi and Konkani. The employment of diglossia to describe the language situation in Goa reduces the Konkani to a dialect of Marathi. Since diglossia exists between the dialects of the same language, employing it to describe the relationship between Konkani and Marathi downplays the status of Konkani as a language. The relationship between

Marathi and Konkani can be best described by *Wellentheorie* (a thorough discussion on *Wellentheorie* is conducted in section 2.4 of this chapter).

To describe the language situation between a high and low language, linguist Jack Fellman introduces the concept of ‘biglossia’ (Fellman, 1975, as cited in Khubchandani, 1985, p. 201). However, a language is beyond a high or low status. High and low notions should be employed to describe the language-dialect relationship. A language is always superior to dialects, as linguistically, a language results from the dialectical engagement of different dialects. Any claim of a dialect as an equivalent to language must undergo linguistic scrutiny. In India, this dialectical process of the formation of languages is overlooked. This is one of the reasons for equating ethnicity to language.

As pointed out above, the notions of purity-pollution also exist in other languages of the world. However, in different parts of the world, purity-pollution notions are guided by spacial characteristics; in India, it is guided by the caste system. By this, the speech of the upper caste and class is identified as standard language, whereas the speech of the lower caste is labelled as dialect. The emphasis on lexicography in modern times aided the purists attempts to purify the language on the basis of caste. The formation of languages is incomplete in the absence of a dialectical process. Hence, dialects are often confused with the languages. Dialects belong to the community, while language belongs to all, irrespective of their social status.

Indian languages are referred to as vernaculars. However, this study prefers to use the term Indian languages rather than ‘vernacular’ due to the unsettled academic debate between ‘classical versus vernacular’, in which vernacular is seen from an inferior lens. To rule the colonial population and to carry out the trade negotiations with the Mughals and Princely States caused a compulsion for Britishers to learn the local languages (Kumar Jha, 2018, pp. 42-43). However, the codification of local languages had already been initiated by the Christian missionaries and Evangelists (Kumar Jha, 2018, p. 43). In the context of Indian languages, the work of Christian missionaries aided the efforts of British colonial administrators to standardize the language by adopting new codification methods, such as the printing of grammar, dictionaries, and linguistic surveys. In the case of Konkani, serious attention was devoted to tracing the history of the language from antiquity.

The colonial research practices significantly influenced the category of the Indian language. It produced the hierarchical relationship between the languages through the introduction of the ‘classical-vernacular’ paradigm. It also produced linguistic identities through the distribution of languages into the language families. There is a lack of critical engagement in the research practices followed in the construction of Indian languages; rather, the category of Indian languages is seen as natural. However, the politics has shaped the independent status of language in colonial and post-colonial times. Thinking of languages as natural prevents an understanding of languages as construction. The production of colonial knowledge has shaped the linguistic discourse in India. At the core of this process lies the methodology of studying the languages by tracing its genealogy and epistemology to the common ancestry. Due to the research practices adopted during colonial times, the overarching presence of Sanskrit has made the Sanskrit de-facto culturally dominant language.

Therefore, this chapter raises academic concerns regarding the approach followed in constructing Indian languages. Does the modern approach to language construction acknowledge the dialectal variations? In the following section, attention is paid to the historical process involved in naming currently identified Indian languages, like Urdu, Hindi, Malayalam, Gujarati, and Konkani. This section, thus, dwells on the politics of naming a language and its impact on the formation of contemporary ethnic identities. This section delineates the construction of Indian languages, discussing the developments resulting in the naming of a language.

2.2.1 Politics of Language Naming

Sheldon Pollock points out,

“Names are in part warrants for making historical claims over texts and persons, what is meant by “Hindavi” (“Hindvi,” “Hindui”), “Hindustani,” “Hindi,” “Dihlavi,” “Gujri,” “Dakani,” “Rekhtah,” and “Urdu” entails determining which texts would be included in each language, how ancient and honorable each one may be, and accordingly, how rightful is each one’s claim in the present to recognition and status” (Pollock, Introduction, 2003, p. 24).

It is important to see the names of the languages in their historical context. Though in the contemporary sense, the naming of language is closely associated with ethnicity, in medieval times, the link between language and ethnicity was absent. The name of the language does not suggest its composition. For instance, Stuart McGregor points out that the Arab traveller Al-Biruni used the name ‘Hindi’, to refer to Sanskrit in the eleventh century (McGregor, 2003, p. 912). Similar confusion prevails over the term ‘Urdu.’ Before the term Urdu gained currency, it was widely referred to as Hindustani.

“Gilchrist published a grammar of the “Hindoostanee Language,” which included examples from the best poets who have composed their several works in that mixed Dialect. Though he recognizes Hindvi as the “basis or ground-work of the Hindoo stanee,” he omits to mention—or doesn’t know—that Hindvi was not a separate language but was merely an early name for the same language for which he was now prescribing the name “Hindoostanee” (Faruqi, 2003, p. 809).

The above quote reflects that naming a language is inherently a political act. The name of a language changes across a temporal span. Hindustani language was referred as Hindvi. Today, the name Hindvi is closely associated with the Hindu assertion. Once, the name Hindvi did not carry religious connotations, and the term was synonymous with the term ‘Hindustani.’ Faruqi further points out that the name ‘Hindustani’ did not work despite the Gilchrist’s insistence. John Gilchrist, a Scottish surgeon and Indologist, is known for compiling a ‘Grammar of Hindustani Language’ (Gilchrist, 1796). Since the name ‘Hindustani’ denotes Hindu as well as Muslim influence, indicating syncretism, Britishers wanted to popularise the name, which can represent exclusive Muslim influence. In this context, the emphasis was placed on the term ‘Urdu.’ To quote Faruqi,

“They found a better alternative “Urdu” was a name that did not have the faintest reverberations of a Hindu link. On the contrary, since it was a Turkish word, its Muslim connections were obvious. As we have seen, Shahjahanabad gradually came to be called *urdu-e mu^ualla*, and the language spoken there became “the language of the *urdu-e mualla*.” And xhan-e Arzu had, of course, described Persian in exactly the same terms. Now with the patronage and practice of Shah Alam II, Hindi, rather than Persian, begins to be called “the language of the ‘*urdu-e mualla*’” (Faruqi, 2003, p. 809).

The ethnic approach constitutes the contemporary understanding of languages. Therefore, it is often overlooked that the origin of two ethnically distinct languages is one. To illustrate, scholars of Hindi and Urdu point out the origin of these two languages as one. From the above instance, it is clear that the Muslim rulers such as Shah Alam II called the language in his court Hindi. Faruqi demonstrates that the earlier names for Urdu are *Hindvi*, *Dihlavi*, *Gujri*, *Dakani*, and *Rekhta* (Faruqi, 2003, p. 838). Alok Rai highlights the fact that the earlier names for Hindi are also the same, i.e., *Hindvi*, *Dihlavi*, *Gujri*, *Dakani*, *Rekhta*, and *Urdu* (Rai, 2008, p. 275). Similarly, the Malayalam was known as Tamil for many centuries (Pollock, Introduction, 2003, p. 24). These instances prove that the names of the languages in history are not permanent. Hence the association of the ethnicity to languages are not ancient but recent.

Similar confusion over name also exists with regards to Konkani. Today's Konkani is called *Canarim* or *Canari* in the work of early writers such as Father Thomas Stephens. S. Silva (1968) points out that the speech spoken by Shenvi in today's Karnataka is called '*Canarim*' and '*Kanzvi*' at the beginning of the eighteenth century. The name Konkani began to be used for the speech of Shenvi after the publication of *Konkanakhyan* in 1728 (Silva, 1968, p. 1007). Thus, the name 'Konkani' associates the speech of the upper caste with the language since the reference to the Konkani is found in *Konkanakhyan*. The etymology of Konkani is directly traced to the upper caste in the region. Few works, though, mention the link of the Konkani language to the 'Kukna' tribe, who, according to some, are the ancestors of Goan tribes, Gawada, Kunbi, and Velips; the association between the Konkani language and tribes is loosely mentioned. Also, the association of the 'Kukna' tribe with the contemporary identities of *Gawda*, *Kunbi*, and *Velip* lacks historical evidence. The Kunbi community exists throughout the Konkani coast. Thus, there exists a paucity of accounts to establish the connection of Kukna with Konkani, whereas one can find the association of Konkani to Brahmins or Shenvi and to Indo-Aryan origin. Naming a speech enables its appropriation by culturally dominant groups. The appropriation or the attachment of the languages to dominant groups occurs due to the confusion between language and dialect.

Language-dialect confusion prevails owing to the lack of scientific understanding of the evolution of languages. Languages originate and transform through the intermixing

of different dialects. It is a huge mistake to confuse languages with ethnicities. Oriental scholars and British administrators sharpened the boundaries between the languages. Unable to understand the heterogeneous dialectal speech spoken in different regions of India, Britishers tried to simplify the confusion arising out of the heterogeneity of dialects by naming the languages with informed ethnic classifications. As Pollock writes,

“The term “Gujarati,” found in “Gurjarabhasha” and related locutions, was only sporadically in use before the eighteenth century (when some Gujarati writers were still calling their language Prakrit), whereas “Rajasthani” is a nineteenth-century European coinage” (Pollock, Introduction, 2003, p. 39).

The Britisher's approach to naming the languages fostered the ethnic claims. The case of the 'Hindustani' language suggests that the Britishers employed the ethnic lens to understand the heterogeneous features of languages. 'Hindustani,' a lingua-franca spoken in North India, is also intelligible to the people of Deccan and is favoured by Gandhi and Nehru as a national language. Since the language was a mix of today's Hindi and Urdu, by the beginning of the twentieth century, the binaries between both Hindi and Urdu sharpened. As a result, the 'Hindustani' language suffered. Due to its mixed nomenclature, as a mixture of Hindu and Urdu, it failed the test of genealogical purity. Though the name Hindustani suggests a Persian influence, Muzaffar Alam argues that the word 'Hindu' in Hindustani demonstrates the Indian influence. Alam elaborates this argument by providing evidence of the translation of Sanskrit text such as '*Panchatantra*' (an animal fable), Chintamani Bhat's, '*Sukasaptati*', and '*Hathyoga*' in the Persian language, before the 15th century, which Alam argues, signifies the 'dilution of earlier Persian speech and its Indianization' (Alam, 2003, p. 149). The mixture of cultural ethos through translations is known as '*lahja I Hindustaniyan*' or '*Hindustaniyanah*'. Hindustani, thus suggested the confluence of two cultures. Shamsur Rehman Faruqi points out that the British colonizers in late eighteenth century preferred to call the language 'Hindustani over Hindvi/Hindi' (Faruqi, 2003, p. 808). Sayyid Suleiman Nadvi prefers to call Urdu as Hindustani owing to the negative influence of Urdu, due to its association with military camp (Nadvi, 1939, as cited in Faruqi, 2003, p. 808). However, the Britishers increasingly popularised Hindustani as the language of Mussalmans or Muslims by overlooking the 'lingua-

franca' characteristics of Hindustani (Faruqi, 2003, p. 808). Hindustani was a speech or language of everyday conversations rather than a literary language. The overbearing presence of Urdu in literature produced in nineteenth century caused the sharpening of the binaries between Hindi and Urdu. Modern-day attachment of ethnicity with languages needs to be clarified for these understandings. The confusion prevails due to the absence of a dialectical understanding of language. The way languages are portrayed in modern political discourse differs from their usage in the medieval period.

Thus, the existing literature points out the linkage between ethnicity and language in the Indian context (Brass, 1974), (Alam, 2003), (Faruqi, 2003) (Mitchell , 2009), (Kumar Jha, 2018). These works fail to point out the methodological orientation making the linkage of language and ethnicity possible. The following section elaborates on the linguistic methodology followed unscrupulously to classify the Indian languages. This study argues that the Stammbaum method of linguistic analysis resulted in the attachment of ethnicity to the construction of language.

2.3 Stammbaum/ Tree Model

The scholars of Indo-European languages used languages to reconstruct the mythology and religion of Aryans (Saussure, 1959, pp. 224-25). The modern use of languages to reconstruct the pre-modern world, especially in the case of Indo-European languages, influenced the close association of languages with ethnicities. (Saussure, 1959). Indian scholarly discourse on Indo-European languages employed languages to reconstruct the world of Aryans. The conception of Konkani as an Indo-European language situates its use to emphasize the Aryan migration into the present-day territories of Goa and elsewhere, establishing it as the Aryan tongue (Pereira, 1971, p. 59). A 2023 Konkani movie '*Osmiay*' penned by Eric Ozario, a Konkani writer based in Mangalore, depicts the arrival of Konkani in Goa with the onset of Aryan migration into the territory (Ozario, 2023). In academic discourse on the evolution of Indian languages, the Aryan connection is less emphasized, but it receives a notable focus in Konkani scholarly discussions. (Pereira, 1971), (Ozario, 2023). For instance, in the case of Marathi, there have been ample discussions on the language continuum. Manik Dhanpalwar explains the southern roots of Marathi by emphasizing its link to Kannada (Dhanpalwar, 2005).

However, in Konkani, while narrating the Kannada influence on southern Konkani spoken in Karnataka, the discourse on Aryan linkage of Konkani is kept intact.

The argument that the languages stem from a common source facilitated its identification with ethnic claims by tracing the common root of various languages. In the Indian context, the pioneer of Orientalism, English Orientalist William Jones, left a long impression on the use of languages in constructing ethnicity. Jones suggested a common source of various languages (Saussure, 1959, p. 2). In an address to the third-anniversary discourse to the Asiatic Society of India, delivered in 1786, Jones proposed that the Sanskrit, Latin, and Greek might have originated from a common source. This approach suggested the comparison between the languages. Franz Bopp (1899), a German linguist, systematically compared Sanskrit with German, Greek, and Latin. It culminated in the introduction of the Indo-European language family in 1818. For the first time, languages were assigned an ancestry. This inspired the philological study of languages and gave birth to the discipline of comparative philology or historical linguistic or comparative linguistics (Saussure, 1959). Subsequently, Bopp's student August Schleicher (1853) attempted to recover the common source of these languages by developing a 'family tree' visual model to trace the genealogy of the languages. The earliest form of Indo-European languages is known as proto-Indo European.



Fig. 1.2: Tree Model/Stammbaum developed by August Schleicher

Source: (Schleicher, 1853, p. 787)

The above diagram is one of the earliest representations of the family tree model or *Stammbaum model*. *Stammbaum* is a German word used to refer to the family tree. The model is developed by German linguist August Schleicher. The model describes the origin and development of the Indo-European language family. Schleicher

improved upon this in his subsequent studies and created an elaborate family tree model (Schleicher, 1861, p. 7). Bopp and Schleicher employed the analogy of the evolution of human biology to study the evolution of languages. Therefore, the biological debate of monogenesis and polygenesis is employed to study the evolution of languages. Monogenesis proposes the idea of a single proto-language from which all known languages of the world have originated. Alfredo Trombetti, an Italian linguist, is a proponent of a monogenetic basis of language (Hewes, 1977, p. 137). Trombetti attempted to construct the common origin of the languages known to humans. However, he soon realized the non-feasibility of his project owing to a lack of empirical evidence and difficulty in tracing old records.

In contrast to monogenesis, the polygenesis approach perceives human language as having multiple origins. Schleicher believes in the idea of polygenesis. While tracing the common ancestry of languages, Schleicher divides the languages into various ancestries. Thus, according to him, linguistic families such as Indo-European, Semitic, African, and- Eastern cannot be traced to one common ancestor since he found these linguistic families are inherently distinct (Maher, 1966, p. 8). It resulted in the invention of several proto-linguistic families like Proto Indo-European, Proto-Dravidian, Proto-Uralic, Proto-Japonic, etc. Discussion on Proto-language attempts to tap the genealogy of ancient, medieval, and modern languages through the Schleicher model of a tree. Polygenesis in biological research became controversial due to its potential to defend the idea of white supremacy (Lorimer, 1988, p. 406). Darwin's theory of evolution inspires evolutionary linguistics. Monogenesis is the closest version of Darwin's theory of common origin since it traces the common ancestral source of all the languages, similar to the Darwinian theory of the common origin of human races. As postulated by Schleicher, polygenesis traces the different ancestry of the languages; evolutionary notions inspire polygenesis. Therefore, as John Maher puts it, August Schleicher is an evolutionist but not a Darwinist (Maher, 1966, p. 2).

Either monogenesis or polygenesis, both conceptual frameworks fix languages to ethnicity. Thus, for instance, the idea of the Aryan race stems from the Indo-European branch of languages. Such an understanding of languages also attempts to establish the vertical relationship between the languages. The language change in this view occurs as a result of migration or splitting of groups (Saussure, 1959, p. 209). According to

the Tree or *Stammbaum* model, splitting groups from their common origin produces a number of daughter languages. In this view, the mother language is superior in form. From the mother language, daughter languages emerge. The Tree's root depicts the common origin of languages, and the branches symbolize the daughter languages. In this representation, the branches of the Tree appear distinct from each other. Stammbaum model thus refutes the probable reciprocity between the daughter languages. Non-reciprocity forms the basis of the vertical relationship between the languages. It establishes a single lineage of the languages commonly known as single parentage. Several linguists have pointed out the empirical limits of the Stammbaum model (Schmidt, 1872), (Saussure, 1959), (Boltz, 2000/2001) (Francois, 2014).

The evolution of Indian languages is seen from the Stammbaum model. These approaches consider migration as the basis of differences between the languages. Perry's approach seems to be influenced by caste purana and is dominated by migratory characteristics. He contends that the 'Brahmins entered India from Central Asia diffused themselves and their language, their religion and their Brahmanical distinctions over the plains of India' (Perry, 1853, p. 295). Perry cites a Malayalam reference from Mackenzie's collection on the story of the entry of Parashurama from the north and considers it to bear glimpses of true history. Parashurama's story here is about the reclamation of land from the Malabar coast where Kerala was created. Perry considers geologically this is possible. After the creation of Kerala, Parashurama settled Brahmins from the north of Kerala (Perry, 1853, p. 295). This story is common to all the provincial brahmins belonging to various regions on the Konkan-Malabar coast (Parobo P. , 2016).

On this basis, Indian languages are classified into two dominant language families, Aryan and Dravidian, which resulted in a reduction of languages to ethnicities. The model has reduced languages such as Hindi, Marathi, Konkani, Bengali, Punjabi, Gujarati, and Odiya as mere a subsidiary of Sanskrit. Stammbaum model also classifies Kannada, Tamil, Telugu, and Malayalam under the Dravidian language family. This perspective ignores the cross-linguistic link between the probable Aryan and Dravidian languages. The tree-like model of studying the origin of languages imposes marginality on speakers of non-classical languages. In the Indian context, all the non-Sanskrit languages are considered to be non-classical. Though the Constitution of India

recognises Tamil, Telugu, Malayalam, Kannada, and Odiya as the classical languages, this move has been seen as an outcome of political expediency rather than historicity. Therefore, the origin of languages such as Marathi, Konkani, Bengali, and Punjabi are traced to Sanskrit. This approach overlooks the possibility of linguistic change through the splitting of dialects into independent languages. The aspect of language splitting arising out of the isolation of communities is another linguistic model, Wellentheorie recognizes. The following section discusses an alternative to Stammbaum, i.e., the origin, development, and employment of Wellentheorie in detail.

2.4 Wellentheorie/ Wave Model

The first and most prominent critique of Schleicher's Stammbaum model came from two of his students, Johannes Schmidt (1872) and Hugo Schuchardt (1914). Both Schmidt and Schuchardt independently developed the critique of the Stammbaum model and concluded that the model cannot be applied to all linguistic situations. Schmidt researched Slavic languages and concluded that the question of the formation of Slavic languages could not explain the Indo-European family tree model (Schmidt, 1872). Schmidt postulates that linguistic change occurs through waves. Waves bring convergence in distinct linguistic forms (Colin, 1989, p. 107). Schuchardt highlights the limitations of the Stammbaum model through his research on Creole languages. Though Schuchardt explicitly critiqued Stammbaum model in 1914, he came to realise the shortcomings of Stammbaum even before the publication of Schmidt's magnum opus in 1872, who at the time believed in the unitary proto-Indo-European language (Rooy, 2020, p. 233). Thus, disagreements exist among the subsequent scholars regarding the inventor of Wellentheorie. Some linguists credit Schmidt, while others credit Schuchardt for inventing it (Fought, 1982, p. 424). However, both linguists deserve credit for the breakthrough model in the linguistic field for nullifying various assumptions about the origin and development of language. The central premise of Wellentheorie is that linguistic change spreads in waves. According to the theory of Wellentheorie, a linguistic change or innovation occurs in a concentric circle as shown in the following diagram.

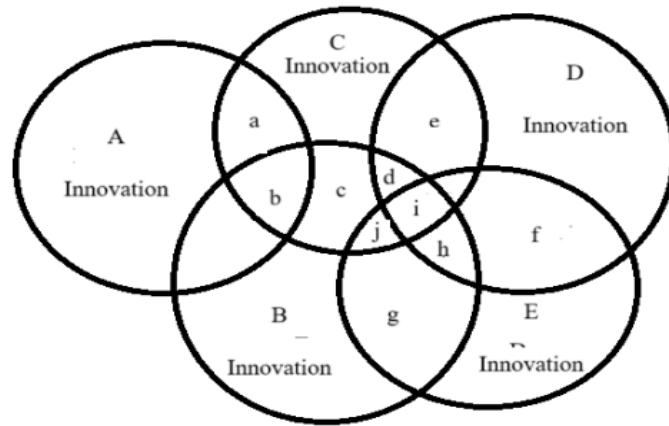


Fig 1.3: Wellentheorie Model

Source: partly inspired by the representation depicted in Anthony Fox's Linguistic Reconstruction: An Introduction to Theory and Method (Fox, 1995).

The linguistic circle refers to the innovation in language. Though circles develop independently, they reciprocate the linguistic innovations when they come in contact with parallel linguistic circles. In this way, the linguistic change spread through waves. The linguistic innovation occurs at multiple levels and spreads in concentric circles, (as depicted in the form of A, B, C, D, and E) affecting the neighbouring areas. The theory is based on the constant interaction between the languages establishing the linguistic continuum (as shown in a,b,c,d,e,f, g, h, i, and j) and minimizes the scope for maintaining the perfect differences between them. The Wellentheorie explains the reasons for the similarities between various languages. This model contrasted with the predominant model used to study the origin, development, and change in linguistic form, the Stammbaum model's depiction of the 'Tree'.

Unlike Stammbaum, where language origin is depicted in a tree-like structure, Wellentheorie depicts the language change in waves. The significance of this analogy lies in its forms. A tree possesses a perfect form with scope to locate the perfect differences between languages in its various branches. Stammbaum model thus gives an impression that the differences between languages are perfect, thereby suspending the ground for establishing the interconnection between the languages. It also creates a hierarchy between the languages by depicting the branching off of one language from another. Stammbaum explains the linguistic change occurring through conquest.

Unlike a tree, a wave is formless. It is susceptible to change. It is also open for establishing cross-links and not straight links. Stammbaum locates the unilateral origin of language. In waves, multiple origins suggest that the origin of linguistic change may exist in multiple sources. As Fought puts it, language is not an organism or a thing. It develops through an interaction between a person who brings unique speech forms and experiences to the language, mutually influencing language development. Hence, Fought argues that the Schuchardt's research is a synthesis of individualism and language mixture (Fought, 1982, p. 424). In this sense, a Wellentheorie model possesses democratic characteristics, allowing linguistic change from multiple sources. Whereas in Stammbaum model, the origin of change lies in one source. Therefore, it is mistakenly believed that all languages have borrowed from Sanskrit. It is also possible that the languages might have also borrowed from each other. Stammbaum establishes the origin of languages in Sanskrit, thereby closing the possibility of Sanskrit borrowing from other languages. For instance, Bhalchandra Nemade highlight the borrowing of retroflex ढ, ढ, ढ, ढ, ञ; in Rigveda through Dravidian languages (Nemade, 2013). Here lies the importance of waves. It shows us that borrowings from each other enrich the languages. In other words, waves emphasize the linguistic continuum.

Stammbaum locates a source of language. The Stammbaum establishes a social implication by hinting at the invention of a language by 'someone' of culturally high status. It limits the role of 'others' who lack cultural status by limiting their role to imitation of a speech of culturally dominant. This is one of the important reasons for allotting superior status to the speech of the upper castes. This assumption overlooks that language is universal and internal to human beings irrespective of their social status. Noam Chomsky has proved the innate ability of human beings to learn a language, implying that human beings are naturally capable of speaking a language on their own (Chomsky, 1986). The merit of Wellentheorie lies in its acknowledgment of many sources of language origin and change. The waves occur in circles. The linguistic circles originate independently (Francois, 2014, p. 169). Ferdinand de Saussure validates the wave model of linguistic analysis and argues that the valid description of linguistic change can best be described in the wave model of linguistic analysis rather than the Tree model (Saussure, 1959).

2.5 Ferdinand de Saussure on Stammbaum and Wellentheorie Model

The prominent critique of the Stammbaum model is Ferdinand de Saussure. According to Saussure (1959), two opposite processes: 1) Provincialism and 2) Intercourse or communication between persons always work together in linguistic phenomena. Provincialism is associated with sedentary communities. Provincialism conserves or contains the speech by restricting the linguistic community to its traditions. Containment of speech results in development of peculiarities associated with speech. Each provincial linguistic community develops its own peculiarity. On the other hand, intercourse brings unity and contains heterogeneity in linguistic forms. Provincialism makes a man sedentary, while intercourse forces men to leave. Thus, Saussure says, 'Intercourse is a unifying force that counteracts the splintering effect of provincialism' (Saussure, 1959, pp. 205–206).

By pointing out the two processes, provincialism and intercourse, Saussure brings attention to an interesting phenomenon often forgotten while politicizing the language. The language is seen from the provincial lens. As Saussure points out, the provincial lens transforms a language into a sedentary one (Saussure, 1959, p. 206). The sedentary aspect of language gives birth to the notions of purity and pollution. Linguistic innovation is an inherent aspect of any language attained through the intercourse of various dialects. In this sense, languages are nomadic. The intercourse is nomadic as it is brought by the communities constantly on the move. A language devoid of intercourse or nomadic movement is just a dialect. The preservation results in the development of peculiar dialects associated with a community (Saussure, 1959, p. 206). Inter-dialectal influence results in the production of language.

As the Wellentheorie depicts, linguistic waves start from one point and spread. Phonetic characteristics mark the source of language innovation, but its spread intermingles with geographic and interdialectal influence. Therefore, the phonetician should analyse the distinction between the source and affected zone (Saussure, 1959, p. 207). Since the affected zone results from the interaction between the time and space, mere phonetic facts are insufficient to explain the affected zone (Saussure F. d., 1959, p. 207).

The problem concerning Konkani is an attempt to preserve and alleviate dialects to the position of a language. The intercourse between the dialects of Konkani is overlooked. The different Konkani dialects are often viewed independently from one another (Katre, 1966), (Satam, 2020), (Sardessai, 2006, p. 7). *Kudali* dialect is a commonly referred dialect spoken in the southern Konkani region of Maharashtra (Satam, 2020). *Karwari* and *Manglorian* Konkani dialects spoken in Karnataka (Sardessai, 2006, p. 7). Jose Pereira sketches the literary history of Konkani by tracing the independent history of its five dialects: *Sashti*, *Karwari*, *Bardezi*, *Mangluri* or *Manglorian*, and *Antruji* (Pereira, 1971). As a result of this approach, Konkani is divided into three categories: a dialect of religion, region, and caste. Sardessai classifies Konkani dialect into two categories, social and regional dialects (Sardessai M. , 2006, pp. 7-8). She further classifies social dialects into two categories such as ‘dialect of religion’ and ‘dialect of caste’ (Sardessai M. , 2006, pp. 7-8). The strict categorization of Konkani into independent dialects points out the prevalence of provincialism in the language. The Konkani language represents the preservation of a particular dialectal form. Dialects are peculiar to the communities. From the Saussurean framework, it can be argued that the politics of dialects inherent in Konkani discourse alleviates the dialects to the status of a language without attempting an intercourse between the various dialectal forms. The administratively powerful communities succeeded to some extent in positioning their dialect as a language. The making of language is incomplete without an ‘intercourse.’

Saussure highlights the importance of linguistic intercourse by emphasizing its effect on time and space. Intercourse conducts the interaction between time and space. In a small area such as a village, it is possible to point out the differentiating effect of provincialism and intercourse (Saussure, 1959, pp. 208-209). However, in a large area, the two forces reduce into one. The intercourse brings out the linguistic solidarity in a speech variant by reducing the effect of provincialism. Therefore, the linguistic change occurs not the way the Stammbaum model projects, that is, through the splitting and the migration of linguistic groups, but through the intercourse of different dialects (Saussure, 1959, pp. 208-209). Though the wave does not rule out migration as a factor contributing to language formation, it is also essential to consider that discontinuity is not only a product of colonization or conquest but can also occur through isolation (Saussure, 1959, pp. 208-209). The conception of the Indo-European language family

in India is based on the assumption of conquest. Therefore, it is important to accentuate the linguistic change through language contact and as a result of diffusion of wave.

Critiquing the *Stammbaum* approach Saussure writes,

“Confronted with a great family of languages that had diverged enormously, they (proponent of stammbaum model of Indo-European languages), failed to realize that the differences could have resulted from something besides geographical splintering. It was easy for them-and for anyone-to imagine different languages in separate localities; in a superficial view no more was needed to explain differentiation. But they went further. They associated nationality with language, using the first to explain the second. Thus, they pictured the Slavs, Germans, Celts, etc. as so many swarms of bees from the same hive and imagined that these tribes, torn away from the original stock by migration, had carried Proto-Indo-European over as many different territories. Only much later was this mistake corrected. Not until 1877 did Johannes Schmidt open the eyes of linguists by proposing the theory of continuity or waves (*Wellentheorie*)” (Saussure F. d., 1959, p. 209).

Stammbaum model thus fails to explain the horizontal connection based on reciprocity between different languages. Such an understanding of languages fuels ethnic claims. As pointed out earlier, this approach reduces the language to the ethnicity. It creates an artificial binary between the languages. It produces a perception of language as static. Highlighting the transformative nature of languages, Saussure writes,

“No family of languages rightly belongs once and for all to a particular linguistic type. To ask the type to which a group of languages belongs is to forget that languages evolve; the implication is that there is an element of stability in evolution. How is it possible to impose limitations on an activity that has none?” (Saussure, 1959, p. 228).

The central premise of the Saussurean framework is based on the fact that languages are dynamic in nature. They are subject to change over a period of time. The element of motion constitutes the evolution of language. It is pertinent to discuss the distinction between language and dialect to rule out arbitrariness inherent in language, which is the result of Stammbaum methodology. *Wellentheorie* emphasizes the significant position of dialects in the making of language. The arbitrariness in explaining linguistic

change through the framework of Stammbaum concludes that language is an artificial construct, whereas dialects are natural. Placing the language-dialect dichotomy in a political context would liberate the language from political biases. Employing a dialectical method to understand the interaction between language and dialect would pave the way for the democratization of language. The evolution of language through Wellentheorie requires the dialectical method between the language and dialect. Dialects are distinct from a language. Dialects develop in close ecological settings. It is attached to one's caste or religion. Thus, dialect is the natural or raw form of language. Language, on the contrary, is artificial. It needs to be created by engaging various dialects in dialectical mode. Languages, therefore, need human intervention. The human intervention in the language construction is a process of standardization. All the languages undergo the process of standardization to qualify for knowledge creation and dissemination. However, the standardization of a particular language through the dominant dialect increases the vulnerability of other dialects. It results in displacing or suppressing the historical presence of other dialects. The elevation or marginalisation of a dialect is part of the politics of dialects. To understand the politics of dialects, it is vital to understand the evolution of language through dialectics. The following section discusses the evolution of languages using Eric Gans's framework of 'Linguistic Dialectic.'

2.6 Eric Gans Dialectical Methodology

Eric Gans is an anthropologist and American philosopher of language. He employs the dialectical method to explain the evolution of language. The dialectical method has been employed philosophically by Plato, Hegel, Frederick Engel, and Karl Marx. Plato uses dialectic in the discovery of truth. Hegel, Engel, and Karl Marx used the dialectical method to discover historical evolution. The art of communication or language creates history. Deciphering history is not possible in the absence of epistemological and ontological questions about the origin of humans. The human origin is analogous to the development of language. The words construed some meaning, subsequently leading to the construction of syntax and the development of linguistic form, producing further meaning.

In linguistics, Gans, in his book, 'The Origin of Language: A Formal Theory of Representation (1981)' deals with discovering the earliest linguistic form by construing the first meaning. Gans employs the dialectical method to trace the evolution of the initial or elementary linguistic form called 'Generative Anthropology.' In the absence of language, how Hominids make sense of objects surrounding them or how they represent the symbols through the signs is the basic question Gans addresses. The origin and development of languages did not happen in isolation. It takes place through interaction between individuals or groups. By using Rene Girard's mimetic theory, Gans depicts the origin of the first sign of appropriation, resulting in the construction of meaning. The creation of meaning marked the birth of language. Gans's account of the origin of language highlights the need to study languages anthropologically. The origin of language is traced in an original scene elaborated in Girard's mimetic theory. Gans explores the origin of linguistic form through the dialectic of desire, which is reflected in representation, leading toward declarative sentences. Gans account of the 'dialectic of linguistic form' shows the significance of the dialectical method in anthropologically tracing the origin of language. The use of dialectic brings the element of objectivity to the scientific study of the language. Without empirical data to decipher the initial linguistic formation, the dialectical method has proven useful in knowing the earliest traces of language evolution. For Gans, language is a 'system of representation.' For being 'able to talk is to represent the act of representation' (Gans, 1981, p. 2).

Gans proposes a hypothesis of the evolution of linguistic form from 'ostensive' to 'imperative' to 'declarative' sentences. Language evolves due to the inherent contradiction between the ostensive linguistic form producing the 'imperative' leading towards the declarative. The ostensive definition is different from the normal definition due to its verbal and non-verbal characteristics. Normal definition can be said to be purely verbal as defined in words. While ostensive definition is not only defined in words, it is understood through demonstration or visuals. An example of this could be how to define the color red. The verbal definition of red color includes a description of all the characteristics of the color red. However, an elementary learner cannot understand colour without demonstration. When a red object such as an apple or a blood is shown to an elementary learner, they come to identify and know about the red colour. This description is known as ostensive. However, there lies an inherent

contradiction in ostensive definition as the listener can derive their own meaning. A red color, therefore, can symbolize 'love' or a 'danger.' This inherent contradiction within an ostensive, Gans call 'dialectic of ostensive.' Once this internal contradiction of the ostensive is resolved in favour of shared accepted meaning by all the individuals, it passes into the next stage of dialectic. Gans calls this stage 'imperative.' In this example, a red color can denote just a color, love, or even danger. Thus, the ostensive presents the first sign to identify (signify) an object. This Ostensive culminates into 'linguistic presence.' 'Linguistic presence' is the existence of a language through signifying an object, leading to the discovery of meaning. However, ostensive is the non-action criterion. The imperative extends an action to the ostensive. Linguistic presence lies in an action. Once a particular object is identified in thoughts, for example, once the red colour is identified, what to do with the color red or what further action to be taken comprises the imperative domain. Imperative is an act of command leading to an action. In imperative, there lies two or more than two individuals. One is the speaker, and the others are hearers. If a speaker asks a hearer to search and eat a red fruit like an apple, a hearer can either listen or reject the command. So, in the domain of imperative, the contradiction is inevitable. This phenomenon Gans calls the 'dialectic of imperative' (Gans, 1981, pp. 126-127). Once the internal contradiction between the imperative is resolved, it culminates into the 'declarations.' Gans calls declarative a higher linguistic form. Declaratives lead to a new meaning. In this example, it could be the acceptance of an apple as a healthy fruit giving rise to declarative such as 'an apple a day keeps the doctor away' (Gans, 1981, pp. 169-196).

Thus, the dialectic of linguistic form construes the meaning. Creating the meaning of the words results in the evolution and development of Human history. Human history occurs without an end. The occurrence is not cyclical, as cyclical involves repeating the same pattern. Human history develops by resolving internal contradictions. Therefore, it is dialectic. The dialectic of linguistic form extends the motion to the historical process. The declarative is not an end of linguistic formation. The development of declarative is subject to further verification, and this process continues. There lies a telos in dialectic. The telos of the dialectic method is objectivity (Gans, 1981, p. 43). Dialectic explains the development of a higher form of language in an objective manner as the dialectic resolves the internal contradiction between a linguistic form. The development of language from the elementary form to the higher

form is marked by the capacity to construe the meaning. Modern knowledge systems hold certain declarative claims as definite truths. Therefore, as Gans put it,

“The study of language is in dire need of Socrates who would confound its learned practitioners by simply asking ‘what is sentence?’” (Gans, 1981, p. 87).

Language evolution occurs when it shades its untenable parts. Language changes and attains a new form when it shades its untenable parts, such as confusion over the meaning of words or the presence of uncivil, biased words. The languages thus acquire a higher form. As in dialectic, the higher form is subjected to change, so the language also changes as it attains a higher form. This process makes languages appear distinct. With time, distinctiveness becomes a characteristic of all the languages. Once distinctiveness between languages is established, it gets classified into distinct linguistic families with a claim that a language with political clout attains a 'classical' status from which all other languages originate. This claim should be seen from Gans's framework as a declarative proposition. In modern times, an attempt is made to preserve the language in its original form. The attempt to preserve the language in its original form is to forget the evolution of language through the dialectic. Dialectic is an inalienable quality of nature. Languages attain higher form through dialectic. Language survives through deformation and reformation. An attempt to preserve the language in its 'natural' form, as this happens in most classical languages, is to deny the 'naturalness' to a language as change is an inalienable characteristic of nature. All these declaratives of the linguistic form should be subjected to dialectic. A dialectical understanding of the language will free it from biases.

However, the association of languages with ethnicities is the biggest obstacle in liberating languages from ethnic biases. Stammbaum model of linguistic analysis established a close relationship between ethnicities and languages. The oriental scholars indiscriminate use of Stammbaum model furthered the ties between ethnicities and languages. Languages are used to construct the domains of ethnicity by crafting racism. The construction of Indo-Aryan ethnicity uses Sanskrit and Dravidian uses Tamil, Kannada, Telugu, and Malayalam. The formation of linguistic regions in post-independent India is an outcome of this approach followed in linguistics. Stammbaum approach constructed the strict divide between various languages, making it possible to carve out regional boundaries using languages. The following section elaborates on

the process of this interlinkage by providing a comparative study of Hindi, Urdu, Bengali, Konkani, Marathi, and Kannada.

2.7 Language and Regionality

The association of language with ethnicity forms the subtext of ‘linguistic regionalities’ in India.’ This section explores the operation of linguistic regionalities in the Konkan. Though the prime focus is on the region of Konkan and the Konkani language, this chapter compares the spoken and written Indian languages to establish the context for the analysis of the Konkani language. The process of linking language to ethnicity is not unique to the region of Konkan alone but has occurred in all the languages of India. A comparison with similar cases will help to understand the evolution of the linguistic regionalities in Konkan.

There is a need to emphasize the linguistic perspective in politics. The political analysis is devoid of linguistic analysis. Linguistic analysis pays attention to the linguistic exchange between the different languages with respect to the syntactic, phonetic, lexical, and other features (Kulkarni-Joshi, 2010-2011). The political discourse is shaped by maintaining the perfect distinction between the languages. The preservation of the uniqueness of language is an anti-scientific approach. Languages are prone to the influences from other languages. The attention to the linguistic exchange is treated as undesirable in politics as it obscures the construction of ethnic identities. The transformation in a dominant regional language of a region as a result of contact with English or any other languages from a different region, such as Hindi in the non-Hindi region or Tamil in the non-Tamil region, is perceived as a threat to the dominant regional language. The nativist politics thrives on an appeal to preserve the language in its purest form. An appeal for preserving the language in ‘pure form’ stems from identity politics. The identity politics in India employ language to craft regional identities. Hence, the politics of identity hides the cross-regional linkages between various languages known as the ‘linguistic continuum.’ The recognition of linguistic continuum could produce discursive identities, limiting the scope for the construction of ethnically linguistic identity. The political competition seeks to exploit linguistic ethnicity for power. This study enquires into the region of Konkan and Konkani language to understand the languages from a linguistic standpoint. Language, like water, cannot be tied to the region. It is important to draw an analogy between language

and water because the nature of language and water is the same. Like water, languages are also fluid.

The characteristics of language differ from dialects. Dialects are confined to communities and regions. Languages form a linkage between various dialects. Hence, languages are inclusive by nature, whereas dialects are exclusive of particular social groups. The confusion between dialect and languages fosters the misconception about the nature of the region, as it is assumed that the languages can be confined to a regional boundary. It is often overlooked that dialects are confined to a region and place, not languages. It provides an impression that a specific language is specific to a confined geographical area. The birth of linguistic states in the post-independent Indian Union allotted fixity to languages. The linguistic states hide the linguistic-geographical continuum by tying regions to languages. It overlooks the fact that the dominant languages of today share a historical link between presently identified distinct languages. Therefore, historically, one can trace the interconnection between Bangla-Oriya, Marathi-Kannada-Telugu, Marathi-Konkani-Kannada, Kannada-Telugu-Tamil, Malayalam-Tamil, Hindi-Urdu, Hindi-Rajasthani-Gujarati-Marathi-Konkani, etc.

Crafting definite boundaries between various languages is an early 19th-century construct. The separation between languages stemmed from high and low forms of speech. For instance, Sudipto Kaviraj (2003) writes that the separation of Bangla from other dialects spoken in the region as a high literary language takes place in the early 19th century. The process of establishing disassociation between languages involves carving differences between the languages on the basis of colloquial and high literary speech. In the case of Bangla, the high literary speech referred to as 'Standard Bangla'. The dialects used in everyday conversation in households, markets, etc, were specific to the region, generally divided between the eastern or the western dialects of Bangla, and were known as colloquial speech. In local Bangla usage, such dialects were referred as '*ghati*' or '*banal*' speech (Kaviraj, 2003, p. 538). In the twentieth century, the mobilization for establishing a standard variety of one form of language over another motivated linguistic movement. The claimants of the Bengali standard language denigrated the Oriya language as colloquial or low. Nivedita Mohanty (2021) explains the arrogance of Bengali intelligentsia acted as a catalyst for the emergence of Oriya nationalism. The linguistic rivalry between Bangla-Oriya led to substitution

of Oriya language with the Bengali language in schools in Oriya speaking region as Bengali marked high literary culture.

2.7.1 Role of Colonial Modernity in creating Linguistic Regionality

Early orientalists demarcated the boundaries of languages by fixing the languages to regions. This approach marks the birth of language-based regionalism in India. Erskine Perry is the most important oriental scholar who served as the chief justice of the Bombay Supreme Court and also as a member of the council for India. Perry and orientalists carved out the boundaries of languages by delineating the territorial limits of all the known languages of the time.

Before Perry, the linguistic demarcation was already provided by the orientalist scholars such as Francis Whyte Ellis (1777-1819), a British civil servant in the Madras constituency and scholar of Tamil and Sanskrit, who is the first scholar to classify the Dravidian languages as separate language family; Colin Mackenzie (1754-1821), first surveyor general of India; Christian Lassen (1800-1876) an Indologist, John Malcom (1769-1833) East India Company administrator cum historian, Francis Buchanan (1762-1829), surveyor, surgeon, and botanist; and Walter Elliot (1803-1877) British civil servant. Perry draws the linguistic boundaries by building on the existing work. Perry argues that the Bengali language territory is already defined in north, west, and east as per the Bengal presidency (Perry, 1853, pp. 297-298). Delineating the boundaries of Bengal was relatively easy for Perry, owing to the presence of the administrative region of Bengal. In the absence of a definite administrative-based linguistic region, Perry carves out the boundaries of other languages as well. For instance, with regards to Gujarati, Perry writes, ‘Gujarati is bounded by Marwari to the north of Dessa, to the north and east by the Hindi, Rangri bhasha in Rajputana and Malwa respectively and in the south with Marathi’ (Perry, 1853, p. 298). Similarly, Perry mentions that the northern limits of Marathi are in the Kolwan hills near the Portuguese settlement of Daman. From Daman in the northern Konkan, Marathi runs down the coast to the territories of Goa.

The important feature of orientalist demarcation of the linguistic boundaries is linking it to the ethnogeographical identities. Perry writes---

“The whole of India may be divided between two classes of language—the language of the intruding Arians, or Sanskritoid, in the north, and the language

of a civilized race in the south of India, represented by its most cultivated branch, the Tamil” (Perry, 1853, p. 295).

With this, Perry lists seven languages in the Indo-Aryan language family, which includes, 1) Hindi and its dialects, a) Braj Bhasha, b) Rangri bhasha, c) Punjabi, d) Multani, e) Jataki, f) Sindhi, g) Marwadi, along with, 2) Kashmiri, 3) Bengali, 4) Gujarati, 5) Marathi, 6) Konkani, and 7) Urya or Odia (Perry, 1853, p. 296). Six languages are included in the Southern language family or Turanians or Tamiloid, namely, 1) Telugu, 2) Kannada, 3) Malayalam, 4) Tamil, 5) Tulu, and 6) Gondwani (Perry, 1853, p. 296).

The categorization of languages into northern and southern families is subject to variations. This is evident from Perry’s rejection of the language categorization provided by Brahmin Pandit. Henry Thomas Colebrooke, an English orientalist, based on the information provided by Brahmin Pandit, classified the languages into Panch Gaur and Panch Dravida languages (Colebrooke, as cited in Perry, 1853, p. 291). The language family classification was used at the time of Perry’s writing. According to this classification, Marathi, Gujarati, Tamil, Carnatic (today’s Kannada), and Telugu were classified into the ‘*Panch Dravida*’ fold or southern language family. Saraswati (extinct), Kanoji, Gaur or Bengali, Maithili or Tiruhuti, Orissa or Odiya were classified into the ‘*Panch Gaur*’ or northern language family. However, Perry rejects this classification by calling it unscientific (Perry, 1853, p. 291). This indicates that the classification of languages on the basis of ethnogeographical identities is not natural but born out of oriental gaze. Grierson’s linguistic survey is the continuation of the classification provided by oriental scholars. Grierson linguistic survey provided the basis for the linguistic states in post-independent India.

The Oriental scholars used the Stammbaum model to classify the languages in India. It thus hides the cross-linguistic connection between the languages. The strict division of languages into Aryan and Dravidian folds overlooks the reciprocal relationship between the languages. This approach produced linguistic regionality in post-independent India. The following section elaborates on the politics of regionality with a focus on languages.

2.7.2 Linguistic Regionality in Post-Independent India

Under the influence of linguistic reorganisation, the category of region preceded the category of language. Thus, regional ontology acquires precedence in the analysis of language politics in India. For instance, Paul Brass situates the Hindi-Urdu debate in the context of North India (Brass, 1974). However, Hindi or Urdu cannot be confined to North India alone. Similarly, Lisa Michell investigates the stir caused by an idea of mother tongue, leading to emotive political expressions, causing the death of protestors from political agitation of fast-unto the death or self-immolation in the context of South India (Mitchell, 2009). Thus, she analyses the factors motivating individuals to give up on their lives to pursue the cause of their mother tongue. Sudha Pai examines the status of Urdu in Uttar Pradesh (Pai, 2002). The category of the region also dominates the historical investigations, suggesting the dominance of contemporary politics over history writing. Rochelle Pinto's work is set in the context of Goa and Mumbai (Pinto, 2007). Venna Naregal's work claims to study western India, but it is primarily centered around Pune (Naregal, 2001). Thus, these studies regionalise the languages and suggest that the language is at the core of identity politics. Contrary to the dominant argument, this research, through the case study of the Konkani language, argues that the dominant dialect is at the core of identity politics, not a language. Sudipto Kaviraj has explained the impact of territorialising the languages in his study of the Bengali language. He writes,

“Identifying the exact territorial boundaries of Bangla literary reception is a question for which it might be difficult to find a satisfying answer, given the state of knowledge about readerships or audiences of listeners in pre-modern Bengal. I have wondered about the lack of territoriality in premodern cultural structures, which appears so strange to modern observers because we consider such territorial grounding so utterly natural and necessary almost an ontological condition for the existence of all cultural objects” (Kaviraj, 2003, p. 11).

In the above quote, Kaviraj highlights the complexities of the pre-modern world. In the pre-modern world, the territories were in flux. Hence, Kaviraj argues that the pre-modern world lacks territoriality. The territories acquire an ontological entry point to dwell in contemporary language politics in the modern world. Modernity limits the territories to cultural boundaries defined by the colonial period. Identifying territorial boundaries with the languages is a part of colonial knowledge production. An analysis

of modern-day language politics should acknowledge the intricacies of the medieval period to understand the modern dimension of language politics. Kaviraj situates the dialectal characteristics of the Bangla language in its historical context. It suggests that the political boundaries of language are a modern invention. In the pre-modern world, the mutual intelligibility between languages forms a key aspect. Alok Rai argues that the pre-modern community was essentially an oral community, unaffected by print standardization (Rai, 2000, p. 25). History recognized the dialectal continuum between the various dialects culminated in the formation of modern languages. Thus, the past recognized fluid characteristics of languages when sharp linguistic boundaries were absent. Colonial modernity sharpened the caste and religious binaries in modern languages by crafting distinction. Territorializing the linguistic binaries overlooks the role of languages in carving out the present regional linguistic states, thus giving an impression of historicity to the region and languages.

2.7.3 Region as Political Entity

The region is commonly viewed as a 'geographical' entity. However, since the regional states in independent India are shaped by linguistic consciousness—driven by the naming of languages—it is essential to understand the region as a political category, distinct from its geographical focus. Geographical regions are natural. Often the studies on region become complex due to the episteme of 'political.' There is a tendency to equate a political region with a geographical entity, thereby seeing the political region as natural, like a geographical feature. Therefore, it is pertinent to ask if Konkan a 'geographical' region or a 'political' region? Konkan region is primarily a coastal region. The boundaries of the Konkan are stretched from the coast of Gujarat to Kerala or the west coast of India (Wilson, 1868, as cited in Nairne, 1894). The political boundaries of the Konkan in Kerala overlap with those of the Malabar region. Due to the overlap between Konkan and Malabar, the scope of this study stops at Mangalore, a part of present-day Karnataka. The region of Konkan is political in nature, as the discussion on the origin of the name Konkan received wide attention in 'Caste Puranas'. Veena Das uses the term 'Caste Puranas' to indicate the specific use of Puranas for designating the caste-based social status and to determine social structure based on caste (Das, 1987, p. 9). The seven Konkan form part of Hindu mythology and is said to find a mention in the Hindu history of Kashmir (Nairne, 1894, p. ix). According to another account, the word Konkan is derived from two Sanskrit words;

‘*kuh*’ or (earth) and ‘*konah*’ or (corner of the earth) (Da Cunha, 1991, p. 7). Gajanan Shastri Gaitonde’s edited version of *Sahyadrikhand* informs about the vivid description of the ‘origin of Konkan’ by the Lord Parshuram and the settlement of Brahmins in Konkan (Gaitonde, 1971, p. 5). Gerson da Cunha discovered *Sahyadrikhand* in 1700. Inspired by the *Sahyadrikhand*, another text, *Konkanakhyan*, written by an anonymous author said to be a GSB (Gaud Saraswat Brahmin), was published in 1721 (Parobo, 2022, p. 173). The *Konkanakhyan* is an account of the history of Dakshinatya Saraswat Brahmins (V. M. Salgaocar Foundation, 2001). Molesworth English-Marathi dictionary of 1863 lists the term *Kokanastha* as the ‘tribe of Brahmins’ (Molesworth, 1863, p. 98). The text *Konkanakhyan* and the identity of *Kokanastha* are both associated with Saraswat Brahmins and Chitpavan respectively. In scholarly literature, from the eighteenth century onwards, *Saraswats* or, more specifically, *Shenvis* are referred to as ‘Konkani Brahmins’ (Perry, 1853), (da Cunha Rivara, 2006), (Katre, 1966). The impact of the caste puranas is so significant that another account of the origin of the name Konkan as the ‘land of the *kolis*’ described as an aboriginal tribe of Western India is easily overlooked (Da Cunha, 1991, p. 7). It, therefore, gives an impression that the languages spoken in the region are directly associated with the Brahmin communities and hide the presence of other numerically dominant communities of the Konkan. Communities of the Konkan other than Brahmins include *Koli* or the fisherman community, Kunabi, Bhandari, Dhangar, Gawadas, etc. The case of Konkan indicates that the act of naming a region is a political. It results in territorializing a region where a history of culturally dominant groups becomes equivalent to the history of a region. This study on language politics acknowledges the political aspect of naming a region.

The contemporary political regions in India are a product of colonial interventions. A study of regional categories through a modern political lens can overlook the intricate process of region formation. Therefore, viewing the region in its historical context is of utmost importance. An examination based on contemporary regional linguistic states like Goa, Maharashtra, and Karnataka can obscure the true linguistic diversity and create artificial divisions between them. These linguistic divisions conceal the dialects of the lower caste groups from the linguistic discourse, paving the way for the appropriation of languages by the culturally dominant minority elites. As a result, the upper caste of the region has formed alliances across the regional boundaries of

Maharashtra, Goa, and Karnataka, demonstrating that linguistic divisions do not hinder the presence of cross-regional elites in linguistic discourse. However, it impacts the cultural and political presence of the lower caste from the region. The upper caste has shown solidarity across the regional boundaries and considers themselves as one entity. For example, a strong bond exists between the Goa, Maharashtra, and Karnataka Saraswat community.

Despite the sizeable numerical presence of *Kolis*, *Bhandaris*, and *Kunbis*, there is a lack of cross-border association between them. An exception to this is the *Dhangar* community, which has maintained close ties irrespective of regional boundaries. The inter-regional ties of Saraswat helped them to carve out a glorious history. These inter-regional ties have also maintained their linguistic continuum across modern-day regionalities, strengthening their claim over Konkani. The discussion on language-dialect binaries would make it evident whether a community's claim over languages is scientific or not. Therefore, languages should be seen from a 'fluid' perspective, a viewpoint that challenges the notion of fixed language identities and encourages a nuanced understanding. The contemporary analysis of languages is seen from genealogical perspective attaching fixity to the languages, by fixing it to language families. This approach camouflages the formation of linguistic identities.

Since the languages in India are employed to construct a political boundary, they are perceived from the lens of naturalness. Thus, the language politics in India is seen from the natural discourse. The natural discourse of region superimposes naturalness to languages. This perspective hides the fundamental nature of languages, i.e., languages as constructions. Languages fail to have a boundary. Attaching languages to carve out the political boundary allows it a political orientation. It transforms language into a 'political language'. There is also a need to evaluate the transformation of language(s) into a political language(s). In India, the use of language(s) to limit the boundaries of the state transforms a language(s) into a political language(s). The emphasis on 'political language' hides the process of the evolution and development of language(s), resulting in the languages being reduced to ethnicity. Such an approach fuels misconceptions about the process of standardization. This chapter addresses the problem of standardisation through the democratisation of languages.

The region of Konkani represents a fluid linguistic existence. It never witnessed an active demand for the formation of a linguistic state despite its shared cultural history. The possible reason for this could be the absence of a uniform language. In India, languages fuelled the ethnic claims. The linguistic reorganisation of states made the ethnic claim over languages strong. Since the language politics in India are analysed from the point of view of linguistic states, such analysis needs linguistic understanding. The use of languages for carving out separate states has shadowed the real nature of languages. The real nature of languages can be understood through the dialectical approach. This chapter, through the case study of the Konkani language, tries to unearth the linguistic characteristics of languages and thus attempt to democratize the Konkani language. The idea of democratization of languages opposes an attempt at appropriation of languages. To democratise the language, it is important to liberate it from ethnic and cultural biases.

2.8 Language-Dialect Binary in Konkani

In Konkani discourse, the Language-dialect binary has not received much attention. As pointed out earlier, dialects develop in close ecological settings. Dialects are equal to one's caste, class, and religion. The script-based analysis of Konkani limits it to religion. Though the Konkani is written in five scripts, which include Nagri, Roman, Kannada, Perso-Arabic and Malayalam, only two scripts are used in Goa—the Nagri script by Hindus and the Roman script by Catholics. However, with the recognition of the Nagri script as the official script by the Goa Language Act of 1987, Catholics have started using the Nagri script along with the Roman script. Many works have described the impact of the Official language act on Catholics (Fernandes, 2020), (Coelho, 2014), (Desai N. , 2002). Thus, the politics of the script of Konkani received scholarly attention. This study, through its focus on caste, brings the dialects of Konkani to the center of academic scrutiny. Analysis of the dialects of Konkani suggests that at the core of the 'politics of script' lies the caste. Regardless of Nagri or Roman script, the dialects of Konkani are divided on the basis of caste.

Scholarly debate on Konkani is also limited to asserting the independent position of Konkani vis-à-vis Marathi. The oriental discourse on Konkani is shaped by the Konkani-Marathi rivalry since Konkani has long been seen as a dialect of Marathi. The

claim of Marathi as language and Konkani as its dialect persists due to the adoption of the Stammbaum model by Christian missionaries and oriental scholars. Wellentheorie aids Konkani's status as an independent language. This section on the language-dialect binary in Konkani frames the Konkani-Marathi distinction from the Wellentheorie model to establish the status of Konkani as an independent language. The Konkani's claim as an independent language is framed by its proponents through Stammbaum. The oriental discourse of Konkani is described through the Stammbaum perspective. The following section analyses the evolution of Konkani as a language through the work produced by Christian missionaries and Portuguese administrators and points out the limitations of the Stammbaum in describing the case of Konkani.

2.8.1 Konkani Orientalism

Though the term Orientalism, in the contemporary sense, is associated with Edward Said's magnum opus 'Orientalism' published in 1978, the term 'Orient' was in use in Europe, with reference to Islam or Turkey (Said, 1977). Konkani orientalism here refers to the role played by oriental scholars like Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, Erskine Perry, Jose Gerson da Cunha, Robert Xavier Murphy, Sebastiao Rudolpho Dalgado, Angelus Francis Xavier Maffei and others, in establishing Konkani as an independent language. It describes the methodology these scholars employed to demonstrate the independent status of Konkani in comparison to Marathi. Since all these were oriental scholars, their attempt to study the language is termed 'Konkani Orientalism.' As discussed above, an attempt by oriental scholars to classify languages into linguistic families is influenced by the Stammbaum approach, which is the eighteenth-century construct. The Konkani writings, produced in the eighteenth century, should be analysed from different epistemic lenses. The following section presents a close analysis of the sixteenth-century Konkani writings and critically examines the approach employed in the eighteenth century by the oriental scholars in framing these writings. A close examination of these works through a different epistemic lens would illuminate the political composition of contemporary Konkani.

2.8.1.1 Konkani Writings of Sixteenth Century

Father Thomas Stephens (1549-1619) is known for his epic poem on the story of Jesus Christ, 'Christian Purana', printed in the Roman alphabet and published in 1616. Father Thomas Stephens is the first Englishman to arrive on Indian soil. He faced the threat

of religious persecution in Elizabethan England on account of his belief in Roman Catholicism. He escaped the religious persecution by leaving England for Italy, where he joined the Society of Jesus in Rome in 1578 (Dharwadker, 2003, p. 202). He later set for a Jesuit expedition to India. He arrived in Salcete, a province in Goa. He remained a lifetime member of the Society of Jesus in Salcete and carried out Jesuit work as a parish priest in different areas of Salcete province. He spent the rest of his life in Salcete except for one year, which he spent in Vasai (Mumbai) (Correia-Afonso, 1969, p. 59).

The text is originally published under the title '*Discurso Sobre a Vinda de Jesu Christo Nosso Salvador ao Mundo*' (Royson, 2019). Though Stephens describes the text as Purana, the content of the text is written in poetic form or '*ove*', a style of writing followed by the Bhakti saints. The style of writing clearly indicates that Father Stephens wrote Christian Purana for common people. Stephens also authored two more books, '*Arte de Lingoa Canarim*,' and '*Doutrina Christam em Lingoa Bramana Canarim*.' Stephen's writings have been used primarily to establish the prevalence of Konkani in the sixteenth century, though he has not used the term in any of his texts. The term 'Konkani' was not in usage at the time of Thomas Stephen. As Silva (1968), traces of the usage of the word Konkani were found after the discovery of '*Konkanakhyana*' in 1728. The *Konkanakhyana* describes the origin of the territory of Konkan. Dr. Cunha da Rivara claims that the name Konkani is derived from the territory of Konkan, where the language is commonly spoken (da Cunha Rivara, 2006, p. 5). This evidence indicates that 'Konkani' is an eighteenth-century term. Therefore, it is important to locate Father Stephens writings in their historical context to decipher the historical processes underwent in the formation of Konkani.

The Konkani consciousness in the contemporary sense is absent during the writings of Thomas Stephens. The 'linguistic-regional' consciousness contributing to the nationalist imagination, is a nineteenth and early twentieth-century phenomenon. The *Salcete*, the province where the Stephens were based, was under the rule of Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur before the Portuguese. The nature of languages in the sixteenth century differed from today. In Adil Shah's territory, a combination of the languages today referred to as Marathi, Kannada, Persian, Urdu, and Deccani were used. From the contemporary perspective, it is difficult to understand the heterogeneity of the speech prevalent in the sixteenth century since the contemporary languages are

understood through Stammbaum approach. Employment of the Wellentheorie model clears this picture. Stephens writings represent the linguistic continuum where allotting ethnicity to languages is not possible. Therefore, we can find the reference to Canarese (today's Kannada) and Marathi in Stephens's writings. While writing '*Christian Purana*', Stephens specifies that he is writing in Marathi. Fr. Stephens writes in the preface of *Christian Purana* –

“*He sarva Maratthiye bhassena lihile ahe. Hea dessinchea bhassa bhitura hy bhassa Paramesuarachea vastu niropunssi yogue aissy dissali mhannaunu, panna Sudha Maratthy madhima locassi nacalle deghunu, hea purannacha phallu bahuta zanassi suphallu hounssi, cae quele, maguilea cauesuaranchi bahuteque avaghadde utare sanddunu sampucheya cauesuaranchiye ritu pramanne anniyeque sompi Bramhannanche bhassechi utare tthai tthai missarita carunu cavitua sompe quele*” (Stephens, 1907, p. 93).

In the above paragraph, Stephens clarifies that this purana has been written in Marathi. He mixed Marathi with *Bramhannanche bhasha*, i.e., the language of Brahmins, to make the Purana easier to understand (Stephens, 1907, p. 93). Thus, Stephens felt that the Brahmanachi bhasha would act as lingua-franca to understand Christian Purana. This indicates that the views of Stephens have been influenced by Brahmins. It also suggests that the Brahmins acted as interlocutors to the Christian missionaries to understand the local culture. This is an all-India phenomenon. Brahmin scribes acted as informants to colonial administrators to know the local context, privileging their view of history in archives (Varak & Naik, 2022, p. 5).

The '*Arte de Lingoa Canarim*' is another text authored by Fr. Stephens. This text was published posthumously after the death of Fr. Stephens in 1640, with further additions from Fr. Diogo Ribeiro and other priests at the Society of Jesus. Stephens writes in waves. The term *Canarim*, indicates the heterogeneous nature of language or the Wellentheorie nature of languages. Hence, Stephen's writings cannot be fixed on either Marathi, Konkani, or Kannada identities. It is a mix of all these languages or maybe more.

It is important to note here that the writings of the sixteenth-century and early seventeenth-century writers are unswayed by orientalism. The early orientalist were primarily Indo-European scholars, immensely influenced by the authority of the

Sanskrit language. The orientalist interest in the languages spoken in India offered a regionalist identity to the languages. Orientalists overlooked the heterogeneity of speeches. They tried to carve out a separate identity and allot autonomous status to languages. The approach of allotting autonomous status to languages resulted in the attachment of ethnicity to it.

2.8.1.2 Oriental Construction of Konkani

Dr. Joaquim Heliodore da Cunha Rivara, an oriental scholar, first asserted the independent status of Konkani. Popularly known as Dr. Cunha Rivara, is Portuguese by descent and served as Chief Secretary to the Portuguese Government in Goa. He took a deep interest in the development of the Konkani language. He undertook the work on the text produced by the Jesuit scholars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. He edited Thomas Stephens 'Arte de Lingoa Canarim,' and renamed it 'Grammatica da Lingua Concani', published in 1857. The book edited by Rivara, is the second edition of the book written by Fr. Stephens. In the sixteenth century, the Jesuit priests used 'Canarim' to refer to the local language. This is evident from the work of Fr. Diogo Ribeiro, who wrote Konkani-Portuguese vocabulary in 1626 with the title, 'Vocabulario da lingua Canaria' (Rodrigues, 2018, p. I:3). In another instance, Rivara superimposes the term Konkani over Canarim. A grammar written by the sixteenth-century Portuguese Missionary, originally titled *Arte Canarina Na Lingua Do Norte* (Missionary, 1858, p. 1). Rivara renamed the book as '*Grammatica Da Lingua Concani No Dialecto do Norte*' (Missionary, 1858, p. 1).

The renaming of the text of the sixteenth-century writers as Konkani from Canarim by Rivara produced a multifaceted impact. Rivara, in this way, brought orientalism to Konkani. In the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, under the influence of the colonialism-led identification project, another linguistic identity was added. The name Canarim suggests a Kannada influence over the language. Naming Canarim as Konkani made it a perfect subject of Indo-Aryan discourse, suspending the scope to investigate Kannada influence on Konkani. Canarim, a blend of Marathi, Konkani, and Kannada, may have been a lingua franca in the old conquest.

Also, the scholarship on Konkani needs to take into consideration the geographical expanse of sixteenth and seventeenth-century Goa comprising of the contemporary areas of Tiswadi, Bardez, and Salcete (Old Conquest). So, one can locate the existence

of Canarim to present day-Old Conquests. At the time of Rivara's publication of '*Gramatica de Lingua Konkani*' in 1858, the whole territory today referred to as Goa came under the Portuguese hold. It included the new conquests of Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona in 1763-64; Bicholim, Sattari in 1781 and Pednem in 1788. Though both Stephens and Rivara compiled the Grammar of Konkani as understood by many scholars, the spatial and temporal contexts in which both writers write are different. Therefore, the unilateral compilation of work written in different centuries leads to epistemological problems.

Understanding the formation of languages and their correlated identities in historical contexts is crucial. The epistemological categories employed by the writers of different centuries, differ. As argued earlier, in the sixteenth century the epistemological category of orientalism is absent. Late eighteenth century marks the beginning of the emergence of orientalist discourse. Framing of writings of authors of the sixteenth or seventeenth century in contemporary linguistic nomenclatures superimposes political identities over language. Dr. Rivara, in his 'historical essay on the Konkani language', bases his arguments on Konkani in the larger Indian narrative of mapping the languages. His attempt to situate the Konkani into Indo-Aryan is influenced by British orientalist scholars' works such as Sir -Erskine Perry (1806-1882), Robert Xavier Murphy, and others.

Perry acknowledges that in the east, the boundaries of Marathi are not ascertained, but he mentions that the language is spoken throughout the territories of Berar and Nagpur. It shares its eastern borders with the language of the Gonds. From Nagpur, Marathi moves southwards and stops at the western boundaries of Canarese, marked by Wilks and Elliot (Perry, 1853, p. 299). Perry also mentions the boundaries of Konkani, as illustrated by Lassen on the basis of Mackenzie and Elliot. Perry cites Elliot to draw the boundaries of Konkani, which, according to Elliot, runs as far as Mangalore, a village north of Udupi. From Udupi, the Dravidian language of Tulu begins (Elliot, as cited in Perry, 1853, p. 300). Perry rejects this claim by pointing out the fluid nature of Konkani. He argues that the Konkani dialect appears to be no other than Marathi, which he says is a mix of Canarese and Marathi with a large infusion of Canarese and Tulu words (Perry, 1853, p. 300). By citing Buchanan, Perry writes that at Karwar to the south of Goa, the Konkani dialect is used (Buchanan, as cited in Perry, 1853, p.300). Buchanan also found the presence of Marathi in Karwar. Buchanan argues that the

reason for the presence of Marathi is the long rule of Bijapur (Buchanan, as cited in Perry, 1853, p.300). Perry refutes this by claiming that the language of Bijapur is Canarese and not Marathi (Buchanan, as cited in Perry, 1853, p.300). Thus, Perry rules out the rule of Bijapur sultans as the reason for the presence of Marathi in Karwar. The significant feature of the sources cited above shows the common practice adopted by the orientalist scholars to designate the boundaries of languages by assigning homogeneity to them. By doing so, they overlook the presence of multiple linguistic waves in language.

The orientalists and Indologists classify the languages on the basis of castes. Konkani is the most visible example of the attachment of Brahmanical attributes to languages. Konkani is otherwise seen as a dialect of Marathi. Only on the basis of the speech used by Shenvis, Konkani is shown as a language distinct from Marathi. Perry's remark on Konkani suggests

“Konkani being the mother tongue of many numerous classes in Bombay, — amongst others of the Shenvi Brahmins, I requested Mr. Murphy, Chief Interpreter of the Supreme Court, to examine the language for me, and I subjoin a very interesting note of his upon it” (Perry, 1853, p. 300).

The recognition of Konkani as the speech of the Shenvi Brahmins by oriental scholars, established a firm ground for attaching the Konkani with Shenvis (Perry, 1853, p. 300). Further investigation of Murphy confirms the distinctiveness of Konkani from Marathi. Consider the following quote by Murphy-

“An examination of the grammar of the Konkani proves it to be decidedly that of the Marathi language. The nouns and verbs are inflected in the same manner, with some slight modifications in the details. A general characteristic which it shares with Gujarati and Marwari, is the adoption of 0 as the masculine termination, instead of the á, used in Hindi and Marathi.....The Konkani explains some of the difficulties of the Marathi: what are anomalies or defective in the latter are sometimes found normal and complete in the former. It bears the stamp of a peculiar Brahminical influence, many Sanskrit words being in common popular use for natural objects which are not so, as far as I know, in any other part of India. These are pronounced purely by the Shenvis, but by the common Christian population, (Natives of Goa,) are corrupted. Thue the common terms for water, tree, and grass, are Sanskrit:

pronounced by the Shenvis, udak, vriksh, trin; by Native Christians udik, vukh, tan”. — A Note by Mr. Murphy” (Perry, 1853, p. 300).

Murphy's above note illuminates how the Orientalists perceive the Konkani and Marathi. Murphy and Perry consider the speech of Shenvis as the only point of distinction between the Konkani and Marathi which otherwise regarded as same. Thus, these scholars draw a distinction between Konkani and Marathi on Sanskritic lines. The presence of Sanskrit vocabulary in the Konkani speech of Shenvis and the absence of the same in Marathi serve as a criterion for the distinction between the two languages. Though they found Konkani to have a Marathi as well as Canarese influence, their focus is on tracing the presence of Sanskrit words in Konkani. The speech of the Shenvis is also influenced by Kannada speech. However, Murphy and Perry completely overlooked the influence of Kannada on the Konkani speech. The approach provided legitimacy to the Shenvis as the marker of the distinctive identity of Konkani. These scholars also distinguish between the Christian speech and the Shenvi speech in Bombay by highlighting the Shenvi speech as pure and Christian speech as corrupt. The biased approach towards the speech of Goan Christian, set in the British colonial context of Bombay, set the tone of script controversy in post-liberation Goa. The ground for establishing the Konkani as a distinct language is set in Bombay. Scholarly writings on Konkani entirely overlook this point as the Konkani is analysed by fixing it to the Portuguese territories of Goa. Rivara's claim of the Konkani as an independent language, than Marathi, is based on the Brahmanical understanding. Rivara set the claim for the independent status of Konkani on the basis of Murphy and Perry's insights. He cites both scholars in his text, 'An Historical Essay on Konkani Language' (da Cunha Rivara, 2006, p. 6).

The oriental tradition of allotting the boundaries to language continues in Rivara's work on language. The expanse of the territory of the Konkani language, in Rivara's view, stretches to the North of Goa, in the southern district of Ratnagiri, and in the South, till Udupi or up to Mangalore. On the lines of Lassen, Elliot, and Perry, Rivara considers Konkani belongs to the southern branch of the Sanskritic or northern family, uniting the northern family of language with the Southern branch (da Cunha Rivara, 2006, p. 6).

There is thus a stark difference in the writings of sixteenth and seventeenth-century scholars of Konkani. Sixteenth-century scholars name the speech as Canarese. Though

Rivara seems to acknowledge the shared relationship between the Northern and Southern families of languages, indicating the prevalence of the Wellentheorie model of linguistic analysis, eventually the 'Stammbaum model' dominates the approach of Oriental scholars. Under the influence of the Stammbaum model, languages are equated with ethnicities. The ethnolinguistic boundary between the Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages generated confusion with regard to the classification of Konkani, which possesses both Marathi and Canarese influence.

Rivara himself cites evidence for the presence of a linguistic continuum in the territory of Goa in the nineteenth century. He cites the note of Manuel Felicissimo Louzada de Araujo e Azevedo, who stayed in Goa for a brief period of ten years from 1827-1837, mentions that 'in addition to the Portuguese language, the people speak the mixture of Marathi and Kanarese, which is a local language. Hindus, in their writing, use Indo, Kanarese, or Marathi dialects and use several scripts' (da Cunha Rivara, 2006, p. 7). The writings of the sixteenth century became a source for establishing the oriental discourse, whereas Rivara's writings are both subject and object of oriental scholarship. Under the influence of orientalism, attempts towards linguistic rationalism are undertaken to establish the independent status of Konkani. In this process, the Konkani language lost its heterogeneous essence comprising of a multiplicity of dialects. This can be called the beginning of the purification drive in Konkani, resulting in the granting of legitimacy and agency to the upper caste to reform the language on sanskritic lines. The efforts towards the sanskritisation of Konkani gained momentum in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century.

On the basis of the presence of the Sanskrit words in the speech of Shenvis (for instance, Murphy's case elaborated in the above section), Konkani is considered as an Indo-Aryan language. All the later accounts about the origin of the Konkani follow Perry and Murphy's rationality. On the lines of Perry, Gerson da Cunha classifies Konkani as a Gaudian language of the North-Western group (Da Cunha, 1991, p. 5). It is important to note that da Cunha overlooks the evidence he himself cited in the journal of Bombay Asiatic Society, of Konkani to be the language of *Kolis* or '*Kolibhasha*' (Da Cunha G. J., 1900, p. 40). Konkani is also identified as the language of the old races of Bombay, which includes *Kolis*, *Bhangulis* or trumpeters, *bugbear* or *bogle*, and *Bhandaris* (Da Cunha G. J., 1900, p. 39). Da Cunha writes that the grammar of their dialect was written by a Portuguese missionary in the sixteenth

century, but published in 1658 under the title *Grammatica da Lingoa Concani dialect do Norte* (Da Cunha G. J., 1900, p. 39). Thus, the oriental scholars designate the language status to the dialect of Shenvis, while the speech of the original settlers of Bombay remains a dialect. In doing so, the linguistic continuum of the communities, especially *Bhandaris* and *Kolis* is lost. Konkani is associated with the speech of the Shenvis. Though Murphy cites the evidence from Bombay in calling Konkani as the mother tongue of Shenvis, the similar analogy is repeated in other parts of the Konkani. This might have influenced missionaries in Kanara to identify the Konkani spoken by Goan Hindus as a true speech (Maffei, 1883, p. 316). In the context of Kanara, Konkani Grammar by Father Angelus Xavier Maffei needs a thorough analysis.

Maffei published Konkani grammar in 1882, written in the Roman alphabet. In its preface, Maffei states the two purposes of writing the text. One, to help his fellow missionaries in the hope of promoting God's glory', which he describes as the primary purpose of writing the book. The other purpose of writing the book is to help the Konkani people stimulate further study of their language (Maffei, 1883, p. xiv). Christian missionaries produced a grammar of the local languages to aid the evangelization of the local population. Tracing the history of Konkani, Maffei writes that the Konkani language was formally written in Balabodh and also in Modi (Maffei, 1883, p. 1).

Purists' notions of languages are clearly visible in Maffei's writings. According to the Maffei, the presence of foreign words from Portuguese and English, Konkani in Mangalore represents a corrupt form (Maffei, 1883, p. 318). Interestingly, Maffei objects to borrowing of foreign words, Sanskrit and also Marathi into Konkani since he considers Konkani to be a language independent of Marathi (Maffei, 1883, p. 318). He appeals to use the *konkanised* words in Konkani. He argues that the borrowing of words from Marathi or Sanskrit in Konkani will destroy the language, barring those Marathi words that are in usage currently, but he prohibits further borrowing (Maffei, 1883, p. 318).

However, he seems to be liberal in prescribing foreign words only when the suitable words are not found in the language used by Konkani Hindus (Maffei, 1883, p. 318). It thus becomes clear that in Maffei's perspective, the language of Goan Hindus is truly 'Kokanised'.' According to Maffei, the adoption of Portuguese words in the speech of

Goan Christians, as compared to Hindus, has corrupted the speech of Christians (Maffei, 1883, p. 316). Maffei also recognises the caste and religious variations in Konkani and acknowledges that there is an absence of 'cultivated language common to all castes' (Maffei, 1883, p. 316).

Though the Maffei suggests not to borrow from Sanskrit, he is not anti-Sanskrit in his approach as he calls Konkani the 'niece of Sanskrit' (Maffei, 1883, p. 315). Stammbaum model immensely influences Maffei's work; a glimpse of Wellentheorie can also be located in his writings, as he points out the influence of surrounding Dravidian languages such as Tulu, Kanarese, and Malayalam on Konkani in Mangalore (Maffei, 1883, pp. 315-316). The important feature of Maffei's work is that he favors the cultivation of Konkani for all practical modern purposes and not only seek to use it for religious purposes.

The attempt to establish a close link between Konkani and Sanskrit continues in the writings of Sebastiao Rudolpho Dalgado. Dalgado attempts to purify Konkani by borrowing words from Sanskrit (Sardessai M. , 1992). A clear influence of Perry is found in Dalgado. Like Perry, Dalgado claims Konkani is closer to Sanskrit than Marathi (Sardessai M. , 1992, p. 87). An influence of da Cunha can also be located in Dalgado, as he claims the phonetic structure of Bengali speech is closer to that of Konkani speech (Da Cunha G. J., 1991, p. 7). A Brahmanical influence in the writings of the oriental scholar of Konkani, in which they consider Konkani to be the daughter of the ancient Saraswati balbhasha, is firmly based on the Stammbaum methodology (Da Cunha G. J., 1991, p. 19), (Sardessai M. , 1992, p. 87).

Stammbaum methodology privileges Sanskrit. Hence, the attempt to prove Konkani as an independent language and not merely a dialect of Marathi was sought to achieve through the Sanskritization of Konkani (Perry, 1853), (da Cunha Rivara, 2006), (Da Cunha G. J., 1991), (Maffei, 1883), (Sardessai M. , 1992). The Sanskrit language exercised a paramount influence over the early writers of Konkani. Hence, they located the origin of the language in the speech of Brahmins by overlooking the empirical presence of the communities speaking Konkani, especially *Kolis*. These writers failed to distinguish between Sanskrit and Sanskritisation. Sanskrit is a language like any other language, whereas Sanskritization denotes the attachment of Sanskrit to a dominant community. The early orientalist validated the claim of Brahmins over

Sanskrit. As a result, Sanskrit got attached to the identity of Brahmins. In Konkani, lusitanization and Sanskritization are treated as two different processes. However, this study argues that Lusitanization and Sanskritization are not different. In fact, lusitanization is heavily influenced by Sanskritization. Therefore, though Romi Konkani is a product of lusitanisation of Konkani, theoretically, it is not different from Sanskritized Konkani. For instance, heavy brahminization is identified in the bardezi variant of Romi Konkani. Hence, owing to the already present influence of Sanskritization, it became quite easy to destabilize Romi Konkani in post-liberation Goa. Latinization of Konkani and other vernacular languages takes place through Sanskritization as can be observed in Maffei's writings (Maffei, 1883, p. 195).

Stammbaum is the modern linguistic episteme. It overlooks the scientific process of language formation. Before the development and employment of modern linguistic epistemes, dialects formed a continuum, and hence, it was mutually intelligible. The Wellentheorie depicts the true process of language formation. Preservation of dialectal differentiation represents the Stammbaum methodology, and recognition of dialectal continuum represents the Wellentheorie. The following section discusses the dialectal study of the Konkani language and explores the possibilities of approaching the language through Wellentheorie.

2.9 Dialectal and Dialectical Study of Konkani Language

Two dominant approaches can be located in scholarly Konkani writings. Firstly, as explained above, tracing the history of language with an emphasis on genealogical purity, and secondly, preserving the dialectal form of the language. As pointed out, the dialects of Konkani are divided on the basis of religion, with Sashti and Bardezi exclusively attached to the Catholics, while other dialects of Konkani, such as *Kudali*, *Pedne*, *Anthruzi*, *Canaconi*, are associated with the Hindus. *Karwari* and *Mangluri*, these dialects of Konkani are spoken in Karnataka and the religion-based distinction of the dialects of Konkani in Karnataka is blur.

At the outset, though these dialects of Konkani may suggest religious and regional distinction, its ontologies prove its caste location. The regional dialects recognised as independent dialects of Konkani are associated with the dominant castes. As Gerson da Cunha argues, the arrival of the Portuguese divided Brahmins into various factions such as *Pednekars*, *Kudaldeshkar*, *Lotlikar*, *Bardeshkar*, etc (Da Cunha G. J., 1991, p.

15). The ontologies of Pedne dialect suggest its origin to the *Pednekars* subj-jati of Brahmins, *Kudali* to *Kudaldeshkar Brahmin sub-caste*, *Bardezi* to *Bardeshkar Brahmin* subcaste, and so on.

The term ‘dialectal’ denotes the preservation of a dialectal variation in a language and elevating these distinctions to the status of the dominant dialect. This has been achieved through the preparation of the grammar of dialects. The grammar of *Sashti Konkani* is prepared by Miguel Filip da Quadros, Francisco Luis Gomes, Jose Maria Dias, and Bernardo Santana Pacheco (Pereira, 1971, p. 73). The *Sashti dialect* of Konkani which is largely associated with Chardo caste (Kshatriya caste among the Goan Christians) is superseded by the *Bardezi dialect*, as the standard dialect of Konkani (Pereira, 1971, p. 75). The association of the dialect with the dominant caste aids the claim of the *Bardezi* dialect to be the standard dialect of Romi Konkani. Bruno De Souza composed the grammar of the Bardezi dialect (Sardessai M. , 1992, p. 102). Dalgado contended that the *Bardezi* dialect is preserved in its purest form and took it upon himself to undertake the task of the further Sanskritization of the dialect (Sardessai M. , 1992, p. 86). Cunha Rivara’s continuous discussion on the Bardezi dialect in the text, ‘An Historical Essay on Konkani Language’ establishes the firm ground for the dialect to be called the standard dialect of Konkani when the Konkani was predominantly written in the Romi script (da Cunha Rivara, 2006). In the post-liberation Goa, Pereira argues that Antruzi occupied the place of the standard dialect due to its purest roots (Pereira, 1971, p. 79).

Thus, the analysis of the fundamental texts on Konkani reveals the emphasis on preserving the dialectal difference of the Konkani language. Jose Pereira’s strict division of Konkani into five dialects *Sashti*, *Karwari*, *Bardezi*, *Mangluri* or *Manglorian*, and *Antruzi*, symbolizes the lack of inter-dialectal engagement (Pereira, 1971). The linguist Sumitra Mangesh Katre (1966) identifies three Hindu dialects and three Christian dialects of Konkani. He lists the following dialects of Konkani- a) Konkani spoken by Kanara or Chitrapur Saraswats, b) Konkani spoken by Gauda Saraswats c) Konkani spoken by Goan Hindus, d) Konkani spoken by Christians of Mangalore and South Kanara e) Konkani of North Kanara Christians f) Konkani spoken by Christians of Goa (Katre 1966, 1). The doctoral thesis submitted to Deccan College by P. P. Karapurkar (1968) under the supervision of linguist A. M. Ghatage titled ‘A Descriptive Analysis of *Gawadi*’ considers speech of the lower caste

‘*Gawada*’ as one of the dialects of Konkani (Karapurkar 1968). The caste remains the precursor to identifying the dialect of Konkani (Karapurkar 1968).

Dialectal study of a language emphasises upon the differences based on the dialects. The dialectal approach preserves the difference between different dialects. Among these various dialects, only one dialectal form is privileged over other dialects. The emphasis on dialects results in ethnic claims over the languages. Meanwhile, dialectical engagement of dialects results in the continuous engagement of the various dialects in forming a language. As a result, all the dialects get representation in standard language. The study of Konkani requires dialectical engagement with all the variety of dialects present in Konkani. It should go beyond the current emphasis on one dialectal form over the others. The dialectical engagement of all the dialects of Konkani will pave the way for its democratisation.

Chapter III

Politics of Dialects in Press, Periodicals and Print

3.1 Introduction

Goa is the first place in Asia to host the printing press in 1556, introduced by the Jesuit missionaries (Goa, 2023). During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the missionaries owned the printing press, which they used for printing grammar, religious hymns, and catechism for evangelization purposes. The early written texts of Konkani produced by the missionaries fall into these categories. The Portuguese colonization of Goa spans in five centuries, beginning from 1510, i.e., the sixteenth century, and ending in the twentieth century. As pointed out in the first chapter, the oriental assertion classifying languages into ethnicities did not exist in the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries. With respect to Konkani it briefly begins from the start of the eighteenth century. The previous chapter discussed Konkani print produced before the eighteenth century. The focus of this chapter is on the modern construction and employment of the Konkani language to foster the community ties achieved through print and periodicals produced in the late nineteenth and throughout the twentieth century.

As discussed in the previous chapter, languages are bound to change because of their constant contact with the variation in speech. This distinction is also visible in Konkani print. The Konkani written in *the O Goano* periodical published in Bombay and the print copies available from 1908 to 1910 and 1916 slightly differ from *the Amcho Gao* periodical published in *Nova Goa*. *Amcho Gao* published at a later date from 1929 to 1930. For instance, Mumbai is called *Mumbai* in *O Goano*, whereas in *Amcho Gao*, it is called *Bomboi*.

There exists a close relationship between the periodicals and regionalities as periodicals provide an impetus to consolidating regionalities. The landscape of Goa offers a rupture to this relationship. The crafting of a continuous stretch of territorial

regionality was impossible for Goa owing to its dependence on adjacent territory, i.e., the city of Bombay, and the emigration of Goans to the Portuguese colonies elsewhere in the world, particularly in Africa. It is the province of Bombay that provided a fillip to the democratization of the print sphere in Goa (Pinto, 2007). Thus, the world of print provides another reason for understanding Goa in relation to the British Indian territory of Bombay, thereby providing an impetus to locate Goa's linguistic case study of Konkani to be analysed in the context of Konkani. It is through global ties that an emphasis on localism emerged. This resulted in development of nativism in languages. Nativism is the subject matter of the next chapter.

Though print and periodicals serve as a crucial instrument of language standardization, in India, the impact of print and periodicals needs to be analysed through two important phases of Indian history, i.e., the pre-independent and post-independent phases. This periodising aids in understanding the unfolding of events about the Hindi and Konkani. Most of the literature in pre-independent India was produced in the Hindustani language and Urdu script. Though the transition based on script and dialect started in pre-independent India, through the development of colonial knowledge, it was institutionalised in post-independent India. The transition from Hindustani to Hindi was achieved by employing the Nagri script and Sanskritised Hindi dialect. Similarly, with regards to Konkani, literature, and periodicals in colonial times were produced in Romi script and Catholic dialect. It was replaced by the Nagri script and Antruzi dialect (a dialect of the Hindu upper caste) in post-liberation Goa. These two cases prove that the post-independent phase played a key role in institutionalising languages, and the colonial phase set the parameters of language purification.

The late eighteenth century marked the beginning of linguistic movements in India. Communities started associating with languages as a symbol of their identity. There is a need to understand the text and subtext of linguistic movements. The text of linguistic movements was language, and the dominant dialects form its subtext. The dominant dialect was either borrowed from the speech of the dominant or artificially constructed. The artificial construction of a dialect and its elevation to the status of a language is achieved through two processes: Sanskritisation and the adoption of the Nagri script. These processes formed the foundation for language standardisation. The cultural arguments presented by Oriental scholars in favor of Sanskrit and the Nagri script motivated the refinement of Hindi and Konkani along Sanskrit lines.

However, given Goa's linguistic heterogeneity, generalising the linguistic scenario around one language leaves the scope to address many intricate details. Though Konkani defines the cultural identity in Goa as the language operated amidst other dominant languages in the past, i.e., Portuguese, Marathi, and English. These languages were the language of print and periodicals and were also the medium of instruction in schools. Therefore, before discussing the nature of periodicals, it is pertinent to examine the linguistic ecosystem of Goa.

3.1.1 Linguistic Ecosystem in Goa in Nineteenth Century

Scholarship in linguistic politics prefers to employ the term diversity when it comes to the diverse languages in a region. This research prefers to use the term linguistic ecosystem rather than diversity as it argues that the term ecosystem is more scientifically accurate than diversity to describe the multiplicity of languages in a region. The term diversity zones the languages, while the ecosystem acknowledges the reciprocity associated with the linguistic exchanges. The landscape of Goa qualifies to be called as historically unique from other parts of India due to its unique history. Though the unique argument is prevalent concerning Goa's history, it is only associated with Portuguese colonialism. The least attention is paid to the phases of Goa's capture by the Portuguese and its impact on Goan society. As stated earlier, Goa was captured in phases by the Portuguese, leading to the division of Goa into Old and New Conquests. The nature of periodicals appearing in the nineteenth century and languages spoken in Goa were immensely influenced by the phases of the Portuguese capture of Goa. The Old Conquests of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were limited to the territories of *Tiswadi*, *Bardez*, and *Salcete*. Pramod Kale argues that the distinct Goan identity is shaped in the Old conquests (Kale, 1994, p. 909). The territories known as New Conquests, such as *Pernem*, *Bicholim*, and *Sattari*, under the possession of *Rajas of Sawantwadi*; and *Ponda*, *Quepem*, *Sanguem*, and *Canacona* under the control of *Rajas of Sonda* or *Sondekar's*; that amalgamated into the Portuguese territories in the eighteenth century. *Sondekar* acted as a feudal vassal to Vijayanagara, Maratha, and the Bijapur Sultanate. As a result of this diverse history, the linguistic ecosystem in old and new conquests differs. Marathi remains a native language primarily in the new conquests of Goa as these territories were under the Maratha empires in the form of *Rajas of Sawantwadi* and *Rajas of Sonda*. Marathi exercised the upper hand, especially in Northern Karnataka (Gavaskar, 2003, pp. 1113-14). Sonda village, to

which *Saundekar's* trace their origin, is a part of Northern Karnataka or *Uttara Kannada* (India, 1908, p. 82). Therefore, the Marathi press dominates the territories of new conquests. Portuguese, being the language of the imperial power, remained a dominant language in Goa in both Old and New Conquests until the end of their rule in 1961. Similarly, the economic urgency brought the people of Goa, primarily from the old conquests, into contact with the English language. The local discourse in newspapers in the second half of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the twentieth century discusses the mobility provided by the English language due to the grim economic situation in Goa (Raposo, 2008, p. 188). Portuguese opened the first state-run English language school in Goa as early as 1869 (Pinto, 2007, p. 98). This chapter contextualises the case of Konkani in this background of the linguistic ecosystem.

3.2 Dialects in Periodicals and Magazines

In language discourse, print exercises a dominant influence due to its ability to freeze language. The arrival of the printing press relegated the speech (oral tradition) to the periphery despite the critical position the speech held in Indian discourse. In the pre-modern Indian landscape, speech was a powerful medium as one witnessed the survival of various oral traditions such as devotional songs, folk stories, folk songs, folk art, etc. Print culture culminated in allotting primacy to print-over speech. The impact of the precedence of written over speech is significant as it strengthens the claim of letters over speech, written tradition over oral tradition, and archives over oral history.

The written discourse created a new concern about the choice of script, a negligible aspect in a predominantly spoken language. Thus, the role of script proves vital when language acquires a written form. The script is a linguistic aspect of a language. However, in India, like languages, scripts are reduced to ethnic connotations. For instance, Roman script with Catholicism, Nagri script with Hinduism, Persian-Arabic script with Islam, and Gurumukhi script with Sikhism. Owing to the religious-cultural significance of script in India, print and periodicals play an important role in privileging one script over the other. Thus, politics mould the choice of script, which generally is just a linguistic aspect. Print and periodicals are powerful instruments by which languages obtain their written form. Therefore, the discussion on print and politics requires attention to the choice of script.

3.2.1 Portuguese Language Periodicals in Goa

In British India, the Bengal Gazette was the first newspaper published in January 1780 in the English language (Chatterjee, 1929, p. 161). Thus, Goa might be the first territory to receive the printing press, but it is not the first to introduce the newspaper. The introduction of print in Goa is episodic. Long breaks in the ban on the printing press followed the introduction of print. Printing is banned in Goa from 1754 to 1821 (Pinto, 2007, p. 56). In 1821, with the establishment of the government printing press 'Imprensa Nacional de Goa,' the ban on printing was formally lifted. However, owing to the political turmoil caused by the nomination of Bernardo Peres da Silva as the governor of Portuguese India, the only native-born person to achieve such a position of power, the ban on the press was reimposed from 1826-1835 (Pinto, 2007, p. 123). Thus, it took until the dawn of the nineteenth century for Goans to print their first newspaper. On 17th March 1831, the first newspaper, 'O Mensageiro Bombayense', was published by Goans in Bombay (Ranganathan, 2023). It was a Portuguese newspaper that had survived for only a year. However, after this, a den of Portuguese language newspapers appeared in Bombay, such as *O Investigador Portuguez em Bombaim*, *O Proteiro da Liberdade*, etc (Ranganathan, 2023). The development of Portuguese periodicals in Bombay is set in this political background. As English and Portuguese were the languages of the colonizers in India and Goa, respectively, they became dominant languages that affected the everyday lives of people due to their presence in newspapers. The language of the newspaper gradually becomes the language of daily conversation. Thus, newspapers and periodicals are the dominant mediums of influence in society.

Questions that require attention in this context are: has the Portuguese language, being the language of the colonizer, penetrated the public sphere in Goa, the way the English dominated the public life in British India? Can one argue that the influence of the Portuguese language in Goa is equivalent to the influence of English in British India? The answers to these questions are negative as due to the factors discussed below, the Portuguese were not able to dominate the public sphere in Goa the way the British dominated the public sphere in British India. Firstly, the Portuguese language remained limited to elite sections of Goa's society. As Pinto (2007) demonstrates, the debates in the Portuguese newspaper remained limited to the elite sections of Goa's population. Both the supporters and opponents of Bernardo Peres da Silva came up with the

newsprints in Bombay. The ideas of the political liberalism sphereheaded with the establishment of constitutionalism in Portugal in 1821, deeply influenced the local elites, especially upper-caste Catholics. It did not have any impact on the marginalized sections of Goa's society. As a result, the Portuguese language only remained with the upper caste, which included both Catholics and Hindus.

On the other hand, the democratization of the printing press in British India diluted the reach of the English language, and gradually, it reached even the non-elite sections of Indian society. Since the province of Bombay immensely influenced the socio-political landscape in Goa, I will limit this chapter to the print culture in Bombay. As pointed out by Ellen E. McDonald, the press, which was initially introduced for only missionary use, became a commercial success in Bombay (McDonald, 1968, p. 598). The reason for this is the thriving of private press. The vernacular press especially went into the hands of both elite and non-elite sections in Bombay province, and an increase in the literate population created a demand for print in Bombay (McDonald, 1968). In Goa, the private press, till the end of the nineteenth century, remained in the hands of elites. The *Ultramar*, a Portuguese-language newspaper, was the first privately published newspaper in Goa, published in 1859 (Pinto, 2005, p. 882). The two important Portuguese language newspapers, '*O Ultramar*' were run by Brahmins, and '*A India Portuguesa*' was run by Chardos (Pinto, 2007, p. 46). Chardos is a section of Goa's Catholic population claiming Kshatriya status (Parobo, 2015, p. 62). The ownership of the newspaper denotes the limited access to the print sphere during the nineteenth century since it was the domain of elite negotiation. Pinto further points out that the '*O Ultramar*' provided critique of Portuguese policies, while '*A India Portuguesa*' showed their loyalty to Portuguese rule. The discourse around the support or opposition to the Portuguese is limited to the elites. The yardstick for judging the colonial rule on the ideology of liberalism is an elite-driven activity during the colonial times. Hence, it can be said that the ideology of liberalism is limited to the elite sections of Goa's society.

Limited literacy restricted the reach of the Portuguese language to the privileged; as a result, publication in the Portuguese language remained a grim business. On the other hand, the expanse of the territory of British India, the proliferation of vernacular press in Bombay influenced by English liberalism provided a space for the discussion of radical ideas. These developments made English a dominant language in British India.

The proliferation of the printing business in Bombay also made printing cheaper. Apart from Portuguese censorship on print in Goa, the availability of cheap print made Bombay a popular place for printing (Pinto, 2007, p. 128). Therefore, most of the newspapers, barring a few, were published in Bombay and not in Goa. Also, compared to the power of the British, Portugal suffered a distressing economic situation. Its dependence on British colonialism made English a sought-after language in Goa. Thus, English not only dominated vernacular languages spoken in India, but it also dominated the other European languages due to its economic clout and the strength of its colonialism. The period from the nineteenth century till the beginning of the First World War in 1914 is known as ‘Pax Britannica’, making the language of British, i.e., English, a dominant language in the world. It also dominated the Portuguese colony of Goa. Though Portuguese was a culturally dominant language in Goa since it was the language of rulers, economically, English dominated the social landscape.

Pinto also points out that the marginalized sections of Goa’s society, especially lower caste Catholics, learned English and took up jobs as cooks, butlers, and waiters in the province of Bombay (Pinto, 2007). Thus, learning Portuguese language was a luxury in Goa, while learning English was a necessity. Owing to a linguistic ecosystem most of the newspapers were either bilingual such as Portuguese-Konkani (O Goano, Amcho Gao); Portuguese-Marathi (Prachiprabha); or trilingual; Portuguese-English-Konkani.

3.2.2 Konkani Periodicals

The publication of Konkani print and periodicals inaugurated the nativist discourse in Konkani in the late eighteenth century. The Konkani periodicals represent the old conquests. Marathi dominated the political consciousness in the new conquest. Konkani is a language of the downtrodden masses. Therefore, considering Konkani as a ‘lingua brahmanica’ or language of brahmins, is to deny the agency to the toiling masses. The idea of Konkani periodicals took firm root in Bombay. During colonial times, Catholic emigrants from Goa published Konkani periodicals in Bombay. The initiatives of these emigrant to start Konkani periodicals in Bombay stem from their love towards the language. They did not receive state support or a major economic incentive out of their endeavour for publishing periodicals in Konkani language. They worked by pouring their hard-earned money into the development of language. They started Konkani periodicals in Bombay and produced many Konkani books. Language

develops political consciousness. Catholic emigrants used it to foster community ties. The script of the periodicals was Romi, written in the Catholic dialect. In a way, Catholic emigrants in Bombay filled the void of popular discourse in Konkani. Following is the list of Konkani periodicals produced during the colonial times.

Sr. No.	Periodical	Year	Language	Founded by
1.	<i>Udentenchem Sallok'</i>	1889-94	Romi Konkani	Edward Jose Bruno Desouza
2.	<i>O Concanim</i>	1893-94	Portuguese- English-Romi Konkani	Sebastião Jesus Dias
3.	<i>A Luz</i>	1892-1897	Romi Konkani- Portuguese weeklies	<i>A Luz</i> 1892-1897
4.	<i>O Bombaim Esse,</i>	1892-1897	Romi Konkani- Portuguese weeklies	<i>O Bombaim Esse,</i> 1892-1897
5.	<i>O Luo</i>	1892-1897	Romi Konkani- Portuguese weeklies	<i>O Luo</i> 1892-1897
6.	<i>Intra Jijent</i>	1892-1897	Romi Konkani- Portuguese weeklies	<i>Intra Jijent</i> 1892-1897
7.	<i>O Opinioao Nacional,</i>	1892-1897	Romi Konkani- Portuguese weeklies	<i>O Opinioao</i> <i>Nacional,</i> 1892- 1897
8.	<i>Sanjechem Noketr</i> (The Evening star)	1907	Romi Konkani	B.F. Cabral
9.	<i>O Goano</i>	1908-1910	Portuguese-Romi Konkani	

10.	<i>Amigo do Povo (People's Friend)</i>	1916	konkani	S.X.Vaz
11.	<i>Goa Mail</i>	1919	Konkani-English	Dr. Vasco da Gama and F.X. Afonso
12.	<i>Goa Times</i>	1919	Konkani-English later only english were published	
13.	In 1919, <i>Amigo do Povo</i> (1916) and <i>O Goano</i> (1916) were combined and named <i>O Amigo do Povo Goano</i>	1919	Konkani – Portuguese	
14.	<i>Ave Maria p. Goa</i>	1920	Konkani	Antonio V. De Cruz's <i>p. Goa</i>
15.	<i>Amcho Sonvsar</i> (Our World, p. Goa)	1928	konkani	J.C.F de Souza
16.	<i>Amcho Gao</i>	1930	Konkani - English-Portuguese	Luis de Menezes
17.	<i>Porjecho Adhar</i>	1932	Portuguese Konkani	Jose Baptist Vaz
18.	<i>Vauraddeeancho Ixtt</i>	1933	Romi konkani	Fr. Arsencio Fernandes and Graciano Moraes
19.	<i>Sangatti</i>	1934	konkani	F.P. Martryer
20.	<i>Gova Nova</i>	1934	Konkani-English – Portuguese	Venktesh Alvekar
21.	<i>Goencho Porzoll</i>	1982	konkani	Joao Inacio de Souza,
22.	<i>Goyche Xetkamoti</i> (Goan Farmers)		konkani	J.A. Fernandes,

23.	<i>Porjecho Awaz</i>	1953	Roman and Nagri script	B. B. Borkar
24.	<i>Goencho Sad</i> and later changed it to <i>Sot</i> .		Romi script	Felicio Cardoso

Table 1.1: The list of Konkani Periodicals

Source: Balisttor (1930, June, 12). *Amche Bassechim Potram Ani Toxinch Tichim Pustocam*. Amcho Gao &

Raposo, Peter. (2008). *Romi Konkani, hanging on a cliff*. In F. Noronha, *In Black and White: Insiders Stories About Press in Goa* (pp. 183-192). Goa: Goa Reader.

It is important to consider the nature of these periodicals by understanding the issues it addresses. This chapter analyses three Konkani newspapers, *O Goano* (1908-1910), *Goa Mail* (1919) and *Amcho Gao* (1929-1932). Analysing the periodical would help in understanding the issues raised and discussed.

3.2.2.1 Emigrants and Konkani Press

The late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Konkani Press in Bombay is the culmination of Goan Catholic emigrants' efforts from the Old Conquest of Goa to Bombay City. Francisco Pascol Fernandes was the editor of the *O Goano* periodical. The periodical was published by Furtado Printing Press, situated at Jer Mahal, Dhobitalao, Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (Goano, 1908). The company was established by two brothers, L.M. Furtado and B. X. Furtado, in 1865. They were the Goan emigrants in Bombay. Subsequently, B. X. Furtado established his own company. The advertisements published in the newspaper indicate that both the brothers collaborated in producing and distributing many items, such as indigenous medicines, brandi, musical items, and Konkani texts. *O Goano* newspaper is the culmination of their love for Konkani (Goano, 1908). The B. X. Furtado & Sons Company was auctioned in 1953 and purchased by another Goan emigrant, John Gomes. L. M. Furtado & Company, the other business venture of the Furtado brothers, was later bought by Gomes. Gomes also comes from a humble beginning. His father worked as a butler in Wadia household company's quarters in Malabar Hills (Gopi, 2021). Gomes kept the legacy of the Furtado alive by not changing the company's name after its purchase.

Today, the Furtado company, run by the successors of Gomes, is a successful venture in the music industry selling musical instruments.

The significant financial assistance for Konkani periodicals came from Goan businesses in Bombay. These businesses located at dhobitalao, Bombay, are extensively advertised in O Goano, serving as a backbone of the publication. It includes advertisements of businesses like 'Peters & Company' a manufacturer of monumental sculptors (Goano, 1908), 'Bombay Photographic Co.' of S. Hormusji, a photographer (Goano, 1908), 'Paulo Caetano Rodrigues e Souza' the seller of French hats (Goano, 1908), "Dee and Dee," wholesale and retail tea merchants (Goano, 1908), medicines sold by the pharmacies located in dhobitalao such as Hopkins iodized Sarsaparilla syrup sold by S. Brothers. These advertisements also shed light on the businesses Goan families undertook in Bombay City, apart from taking up jobs as butlers, cooks, and ayahs. It includes trade in grocery and other items such as tea, sugar, coffee, *gonnannim rice* (a local variety of rice), *chiruttam*, cigar (cigarettes), biscuits, *pormoll* (perfumes), soap, *mei* (socks), lens, towel, *europi ani goencheo khavacheo pivacheo vastu* (Portuguese and European eatables), patent *vokta* (patent medicines), *sontreo* (umbrellas) by the Goan Cooperative Society located at Dabul-Girganv Road. The society also sold fabric from Solapur and Daman as *Sholapurchim ani Damaunchim capddam* for stitching dresses for *bialanc* (women), *cheddvanc* (girls), and *burgueanc* (children). These advertisements were published in Konkani, thereby retaining the local vocabulary. Goan Drapery Stores Limited was a company established by Goans to sell goods from European markets to Goans at an affordable price (Goano, 1908). Goans also established hotels in Bombay. An advertisement in this regard was the 'Pereira's Hotel of Joao Pereira (Goano, 1908), and the St. Antonio Hotel of C.V. Rodrigues (Mail, 1932). They carried artisan and craft businesses like 'Peter John Braganza & Co., sold alters, and painted public edifices and old houses (Goano, 1908). They also opened the musical stores F. Cabral and Son Orpheus Musical stores (Goano, 1909, p. 9). Interestingly, the newspaper advertised allopathy medicines like the Kohinoor syrup of hypophosphite, priced at 12 annas per bottle for cold cough and chest diseases; sold by the V.C. Dastoor and Company, which includes Phospo heroine compound for bronchitis, syrup of phospor-muriate of quinine and sal ammoniac, and Dyspepsimol for stomach-related illness (Goano, 1908). These advertisements retained the local terms of the diseases such as

‘*Koli Khokali*’ (wolf cough), ‘*Ang suzri pidda*’ (swollen body problem), *Callizachem pida* (Heart problems), *popissache* (lung problems), *zor* (fever), etc. (Goano, 1908). The linguistic significance of this advertisement is that it documented the speech of the common masses through periodicals, apart from financially aiding the periodicals. The periodicals made Konkani a language of commerce and industry in Bombay. In the context of *O Goano* periodical, the location of Kalbadevi Road, Dhobitalao, Bombay, retains an important position as most of the advertisements of the businesses published in the periodicals are positioned at this location. In *O Goano*, it is noticed that only one advertisement by a Parsi of ‘Popular Dental Rooms’ by Dr. H. L. Batliwala, Worli Laboratory, Dadar Bombay, intended to cater to the Goan customers. These advertisements thus display the world of Goan emigrants in Bombay, of which the Konkani language formed an essential part of their personhood.

Other Konkani periodicals, ‘The Goa Times’ and ‘Goa Mail’ published in later decades published advertisements located in other areas of Bombay city along with the businesses located in Kalbadevi road such as the advertisement by the manufacturer of spectacles (The Goa Mail, 1929), ‘Tea and Coffee’ by Vishwanath & Company (The Goa Times, 1932, p. 3), Amrutnanjan depots etc. The publication of the advertisement by non-native business houses depicts the reach and commercial significance of Konkani periodicals and the economic clout exercised by the Catholic community in Bombay due to its numerical dominance. An advertisement by Dastoor & Sons deserves a mention in this regard. Dastoor & Sons were chemists and opticians selling optical wear. The advertisement mentions that the glasses are meant for ‘*Dublleanc and Modle Classichem Munxeanc*’, i.e., for the poor and middle classes (The Goa Mail, 1929, p. 5). This indicates that most of the Goan emigrants in Bombay were from the poor and middle classes.

Amcho Gao, a periodical published from *Nova Goa* or New Goa or Panaji, was in its first few issues supported by local businesses from Goa, which is reflected in the fact that the periodical carried the advertisement of local business ventures such as Allenburys Food of Drogaria Menezes and Sia from Margao, Saldanha Artist and Photography, located in Nova Goa, Scrophula medicine sold by Joaquim Antonio Rego located in Agacaum (Gao, 1929). Amcho Gao periodical attempted to publish Goa centric newsies. The periodical criticised the tendency to emigrate prevalent at that time among the Goan Catholics. To promote the love for the native land, periodical

may have decided to rely on financial support from the local businesses. Gradually, the advertisement of Goan businesses in Mumbai started appearing in *Amcho Gao*, which includes Crescent Hotel in Cavel, Mumbai, owned by Norbert F. D'Souza, Dourad Zumbo selling the church items, situated in Kalbadevi Road, Bombay (*Amcho*, 1929, p. 3). Publication of advertisement of Bombay based business of Christian community in *Amcho Gao* indicate that the financial support generated by publishing advertisement of local business were insufficient to sustain the cost of the publication of periodical. This shows the dependence on Bombay in sustaining publication.

3.2.2.2 Thrust areas of Konkani Press

The sections of the periodicals suggest its thrust areas. The *O Goano* is classified into various sections based on geo-political classification, such as *Mumbaichi Khobor* (News from Bombay), *Pordesachi Khobor* (news from foreign countries), *Goenchi Khobor* (news from Goa) and *Indiechi Khobor* (news from India). The news items in all these sections varied. In *Mumbaichi Khobor*, various newsies on politics and climate are discussed. For instance, the arrival of Lord Minto in *Bombay* or the overall climate in Bombay are published. *Mumbaichi Khobor* primarily carried newsies about the activities of Goans in Bombay. For instance, a call for the silver jubilee celebration of the establishment of *Associaciao Goana de Mutuo Auxilio Ltd.* In addition to this, it carried an update on the commemoration of the feast, an announcement of the organisation of a lecture by the Goan Union on Secondary Education by Mr. A Soares (*Goano*, 1908, p. 7) etc. *Goenchi Khobor* carried all kinds of news items from Goa. It discussed the rise in coconut prices, the construction of a new road on the 17th of June 1910, and the deplorable state of the road in Mapusa (*Goano*, 1910, p. 6). The newspaper reported the spread of bubonic plague in Panaji (*Goano*, 1908). A lecture delivered by Sr. Manuel Ferreira Viegas Junior in Lisbon on suggestions for improving the 'governance of Goa or Portuguese India' is an interesting piece of information published in this section. In this, Viegas advises the government to distribute the land under its possession among the people at low prices. He also advises the government to distribute the mountain and field among the people under the possession of Comunidade (*Goano*, 1910). A section on *Pordessachi Khobor* carried news reports worldwide, mainly information about the Christian world, such as inventions by the Franciscan priests. *Indiechi Khobor* reported news on the happenings in India, such as Lord Hastings as the new viceroy of India (*Goano*, 1910, pp. 10-11). A separate section

on Mumbai and India suggests that in the imagination of Goans, Mumbai is distinct from India. The newspaper also carried a series on health titled *bori bolaiki* (Good health), a series on how to maintain good health, and an argument that finger millet is healthier than rice (Goano, 1908, p. 4).

Letters to the editor form an essential feature of *O Goano* as it demonstrates the reach and extent of the Goan immigrants and their passion for Konkani. The newspaper carried a letter from Pune, Naini Tal as *Naini Tal Chi Khobor* (Rollen, 1909, p. 10) as well as from the parts of the world like a letter from Abu Dhabi 'Abbottabadchi Chitt' (Fernandes, 1909, p. 11). Seaman also published letters like 'A Letter by Tarvati' or 'Goa-Portuguese Seaman' working for P. & O. Company (de Souza J. A., 1910, p. 8). The Seamans were very active as several advertisements about the sea and navigation and the seamen's club appeared in the periodical (Portuguese Seamen's Club , 1909). Thus, *O Goano* represents the world of Goan emigrants and their passion for the Konkani language.

A visible change was noticed in the thrust areas of periodicals published in the 1930's. *Amcho' Gao* translated in English as 'My Village' and published between 1929 to 1932, emphasized upon the village. The editorial articles published in *Amcho Gao* focused on local issues, such as the problems and prospects of Goan comunidade (Amcho, 1933, p. 1) (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), *comunidadeinchim xetam (agricultural fields in comunidade)* (Amcho, 1930, p. 1), on emigrants (Amcho, 1930, p. 1), (Amcho, 1930, p. 1), (Amcho, 1931, p. 1), on hospitals (Amcho, 1932, p. 1) and other local issues. The 'local' in Goa needed to erase the marginality entrenched in the socio-economic dependence on British India to enable the construction of Goan pride. The editorial of the *Amcho Gao* sought to craft the greatness of 'local' by writing about notable personalities from Goa. The front page of *Amcho Gao* carried articles on Goans who made a remarkable contribution in the fields of politics, medicine, literature, religion, industry, and education. It wrote on the lives and work of Francisco Luis Gomes (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Bernardo Peres da Silva (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Dr. Marinho Azavedo (Meneses, 1933, p. 1), Goan Portuguese administrator Cristovam Pinto (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Dr. Gerson da Cunha (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Father William Robert Lyons (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Dr. Gama Pinto (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Leopoldo Gama (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Rodolfo Dalgado (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Gouveia Pinto

(Meneses, 1930, p. 1), Mariano Gracias, a goan born poet in Portugal (Meneses, 1930, p. 1), Dr. Caetani do Rosario Faria (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Dr. Silva Teles, a minister in Portuguese government (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), Dr. Sequeira Continho (Meneses, 1930, p. 1), Dr. Socrates Noronha (Meneses, 1930, p. 1), Dr. Ermelinda Gomes, Professor of escola normala (Meneses, Amcho Gao, 1930), Dr. Rodrigues dos Santos (Meneses, 1932, p. 1), Prof. A. Correa Fernandes (Meneses, 1933, p. 1). The periodical also reported the death of the prominent personalities such as passing of Vishnu Sinai Dempo (Meneses, 1929, p. 1), (Amcho Gao, 1933, p. 1). Though the periodical also reported the life events of the notable persons from British India, occasionally from 1930 onwards, such as Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru (Meneses, 1930, p. 1) (Meneses, 1930, p. 1) (Meneses, 1930, p. 1), Vallabhabhai Patel (Meneses, 1930, p. 1), Mahatma Gandhi (Meneses, 1931, p. 1), Maharaja de Kholapur (Amcho, 1932, p. 1), passing of Kasturba Gandhi or Mrs. Gandhi (Meneses, 1930, p. 1), hanging of Bhagat Singh (Meneses, 1931, p. 1), it focused on the construction of Goan pride through the notable personalities. The other section of Amcho Gao includes *Sercari Khobor* (news about the government), *Portugali Khobor* (news from Portugal), *Cholti Khobor* (current news), *Bhaili Khobor* (foreign news) and occasional news section on *Bomboi-chi Khobor*.

Similarly, 'The Goa Mail' periodical represented a shift in the local context. The construction of local went beyond the idea of Goa through the inclusion of regular columns on sub-local identities such as *Sasttichi Khobor* (Mail, 1932, p. 12) or *Ponjechi Khobor* or a news from Panaji (The Goa Mail, 1931, p. 10). *Amcho Gao* also carried a section on Sashti (Gao, 1929, p. 3). *Sasttichi Khobor* forms a regular column in these periodicals. It is intriguing to observe that the *Amcho Gao* and The Goa Mail did not carry a separate news section on Bardez, another important territory in old conquest often reported in *O Goano*.

In the issue of March 21, 1931, of 'The Goa Mail,' news about the Hindu-Muslim riot with reference to its impact on Catholics in Bombay is published (The Goa Mail, 1931, p. 10). The focus on local context clearly indicates a shift in focus from the world of the metropolitan Goan community represented in *O Goano* to the village. In the initial years of publication, *Amcho Gao* only focused on Goa; gradually, it coopted Bombay in its coverage. The change in the thrust area of the *O Goano* and *Amcho Gao* periodical may stem from the location of the periodical publication. *O Goano* was published in

Bombay, while *Amcho Gao* was published from 'Nova Goa' or New Goa or today's Panaji.

Amcho Gao represents an amalgamation of literary interests with news writing. However, it was inclined towards literary or creative writing rather than news writing. The proprietor of the periodical, Menezes, often eulogized the village (Menezes, 1929, p. 1). He consistently wrote against the migration of Goans to other metropolitan cities on moral grounds such as greed (Menezes L. d., 1929, p. 1). A story by *Dewachem Nirwon* published in various issues of *Amcho Gao* focused on issues faced in old conquests as a result of emigration, and the impact of emigration on emigrants served as a main theme of the story. The periodical published poems and prose eulogizing the village setup. Emigration serves as a critical issue of discussion in Konkani periodicals. Costa Bir highlights the causes of the grim economic situation in Goa. He argues that on account of low return, i.e., 3% on fixed deposit in Goa, people prefer to keep their money in Mumbai's bank where the return on fixed deposit is 5%. In addition to this, Goan emigrant also prefers to spend their money outside and prefer not to return to Goa, where there is no good return for their money (Bir, 1929, p. 1). A locally published journal *Amcho Gao* engendered a strong critique of emigration.

The Konkani press in Mumbai acted as a platform for defending the interests of the Goan emigrants in Mumbai. O Goano addressed the concerns of the emigrant Goan workers in Bombay. The prime focus of the newspaper was the Goan working-class community residing in Bombay, comprising of lower-caste Catholics. It facilitated the powerful assertion of the Goan working class in Bombay by dealing with propaganda intended to harm the interest of this class. To illustrate, S. M. Brown published a letter to the editor of 'Bombay Gazette' under the title '*Goanese Servants*' on March 5, 1909. In this, he accused Goan servants of being 'dirty, ignorant, rude, sloven and possessed all other obnoxious qualities. He also describes them as one who is prompt to ask for extra money for working thirty-one days instead of thirty days in a month but would not ask for a lower salary when working for twenty-eight days in the month of February, manifesting Goan servants as unworthy of trust and confidence. (Brown, 1909, p. 4). Brown also questions the Christian ethos of the servants and appeal clergymen to install the civility by giving sermons to them (Brown, 1909, p. 4). Goans residing in Bombay earnestly responded to these accusations by writing a response to the letter in a subsequent issue of *Bombay Gazette* under the pen name 'Justice' and

denied all these accusations. Justice has argued that ‘Goanese Servant as a class is a non-existent entity’ given that the Goans work primarily only as cooks in Bombay, the Goan cook being the best among all cooks of Bombay, affirms the author of the letter. Justice also writes that several Englishmen have given the certificate to Goans as intelligent, honest, law-abiding, and humble (Justice, 1909, p. 5). This response was published on March 8, 1909. Two more responses to Mr. Brown also appeared in the Bombay Gazette under the pen names ‘Truth’ and ‘H. R. B. L.’. In this regard, an advertisement asking for ‘*Goan Aia Zai*’ (babysitter) to Sir Campbell, an Englishman, needs attention (Goano, 1910, p. 11). This advertisement suggests that the services of Goan servants were preferred by Englishmen. In another article in *O Goano*, the anonymous writer discusses how a Goan can increase their respect among the traders of other communities in Bombay in an article titled, ‘*Amcho Amcam Man*’. In this article, the Goan community is described as ‘*jaat*’ which means caste in English, though the article discusses the issues faced by Goan traders in Bombay, i.e., they are discussed as a class (Goano, 1909, pp. 4-5). Debates like these demonstrate the domain of the newspaper was to address the concerns and issues faced by the Goan Catholic lower caste (working class) in Bombay.

The significant feature of the Konkani press is its emphasis on the church. Almost all the sections of the periodicals carried news on the activities of the church. For instance, *Catholic Sounsarachi Khobor* reported the news about the Church from different parts of the world, such as Canada, France, Russia, America, and Switzerland (The Goa Mail, 1931, p. 8). The IInd world war in Konkani print was discussed from the enunciation of the Church. Amcho Gao carried a first-page article titled ‘Pap Saib and Mussolini’ in which it is mentioned that Mussolini challenged the authority of God on earth. The article asserted the authority of the Pope over the political order of Mussolini (1929, p. 1). The Konkani print sought to disseminate the Christian ethos. *O Goano* published Christian doctrine in Konkani titled ‘*Christanv Dotrin Concanim Baxen*’ in sixteen parts from October 1908 to February 20, 1909. Church also seems to have taken care of the economic interests of Goans in Bombay. For instance, the English government levied a tax on tobacco and cigarettes. *O Goano* published an article against this and declared it to be a grave injustice to Goans as the export of tobacco served as an important source of income for some of the Goan families. In response to this *Saibin Piedadichi Sociedad*, Dabal, pronounced that the society would purchase

tobacco and *pan* (betel nut) from only Goans (Goano, 1910). The Christian ethos also forms the guiding principle for the journal. It periodically published articles and poems on God Jesus.

Konkani periodicals were published synchronously and engaged in parallel discussions. For instance, *O Goano* carried a discussion on Ultramar newspaper in its issue published on April 8, 1910. News on '*abkariche nove Caide Goeant*' translated as 'New Custom Rules in Goa'. The article is on the increase in taxes on liquor production and jaggery (Goano, 1910, p. 8). In this article, a mention is made about a piece of writeup published in *A India Portuguesa* by Sr. Horta e Costa, suggesting the just changes in custom law. In this article, *A India Portuguesa*' periodical is praised for helping the government by showing the required changes in appropriate arenas. A debate on modernity and tradition with respect to women also forms a vital aspect of Konkani print. Some articles stressed the need for educating women, while others argued for privileging domestic tasks over education (Rodrigues, 1932, p. 2).

3.2.2.3 On Language

Discussions on languages in Konkani periodicals form an important aspect of the linguistic ecosystem. The centrality of the discussion rests on the three languages: Konkani, Marathi, and English. A writer based in London criticised the people's preference for the English and Marathi language by ignoring their mother tongue, i.e., Konkani (Fernandes F. , 1929). Though the preference for English attracted criticism, given the economic pragmatism associated with English, the language received sympathetic attention in Konkani print. Considering the importance of English for jobs in British India, *O Goano* published an English teaching series in Konkani. Antonio Xavier De Souza, interpreter of Portuguese and English language, translator, and interpreter in the High Court at Mumbai, authored the series (De Souza , 1909, p. 12). To curb the influence of English schools, the Portuguese government issued regulations making Portuguese a compulsory language in all schools. It also passed an order that English medium schools not imparting the knowledge about Portuguese language cannot issue the passing certificates to the students (Amcho, 1929, p. 2). In this regard, Amcho Gao published an article stressing the need for English schools for emigrants (DeSouza, 1930, p. 2).

The article is titled Konkani *bhass* or *Goani Bhass* ‘dubalya lokanchi bhass’, and the author is Reginaldo D’Souza. The article stressed the need for the standardization of the Konkani language (D’Souza, 1930, p. 2). D’Souza opines that before introducing Konkani in schools and for official purposes, it needs to get a firm foundation. He appeals to the church to lay a firm foundation for the language. In the absence of a firm foundation, the introduction of language for writing purposes would turn the efforts futile (D’Souza, 1930, p. 2). This article is written in 1930, nearly after the thirty years of the introduction of Konkani press in Bombay. This view represents the lack of confidence in Konkani as a fit to become the literary language.

3.2.2.4 Discussion on Marginality in Konkani periodicals

Discussions on marginality are an important aspect of print and periodicals of the twentieth century. Unlike in India, caste forms the location of marginality; the discussion in Konkani print employed the term ‘*durbolata*’ to discuss it. For instance, *Durbolamchim Hospitalam* (Amcho Gao, 1932), *Durbolanc Pot Nam?* (didn’t marginalised have the stomach to fill?) (Amchoh Gao, 1932), Reginaldo C.D’Souza discusses the condition of marginalise people in another article title *Comunidadechim Xettam ani batcarachim battam* (Amcho Gao, 1932). Luis de Meneses, an editor of Amcho Gao wrote an article titled, ‘*Durbol lok*’. D’Souza describes Konkani as *dubal lokanchi bhass* (D’Souza, Goani Bhass, 1930). O Goano also used the term *durbol* to describe the marginality. Therefore, it is vital to understand the nature of ‘*durbolata*’. Is *durbol* a class or caste term? *Durbol* is class laden term. A discussion through the prism of *durbol* disguised the caste. An article by Senior editor of Amcho Gao M. F. Nunes puts the question of working class in an article by arguing that “*Zoxe Indiache Hindu Bramon Maranc Sozmotat, toxo Goenche Sinclole ani guirest munis xetcamteamc sozmotat*” (Nunes, 1929), translated as “the way Indian Hindus see Dalits; similarly, Goa’s rich see working class.” It can be argued that the contact with Christianity may have brought an emphasis on the discussion in class. However, an article critiquing the caste in *confraria* suggests that the caste is an important aspect of social life in twentieth-century Goa (Amcho, 1933, p. 1). The article strongly critiqued the prevalence of caste in Christianity. It further pointed out that the kokane or Hindus in British India were leaving caste, while Christians were strongly adhering to it (Amcho, 1933, p. 1). The Konkani periodicals often blamed the rich for ignoring the downtrodden. An article published in the Konkani-Portuguese newspaper *O Goano*

titled '*Goenche Bhatkar*' or 'landlords of Goa', appeared on 18th June 1909 charts out the reasons for the migration of Goans to Bombay. The writer of this article holds the landlords of Goa responsible for the migration of the Goan working class to Bombay. Nonpayment of dues to the working class by the landlords was the primary reason for the migration, according to the author (Goano, 1909). The impact of the *tiatra* (Konkani drama) '*Bhattcar*', written by Joao Augustinho Fernandes, popularly known as '*Pai tiatrist*' can be seen in this article, as the writer of the article makes a mention of it. The article has argued that the Fernandes aptly depicted the ill-treatment meted out to the people at the hands of the landlord and appealed to the landlords to learn from their mistakes from Tiatra (Goano, 1909, p. 8). In another article, Viegas critiqued the rich of Goa for their lack of concern for the Goan poor and for reaping the benefits of the government for becoming rich. The lack of services for the poor is one of the reasons for their migration (Goano, 1910). Thus, the critique of the rich was conducted from a charity perspective (Amcho Gao, Amcho Gao, 1929, p. 2). The Konkani press failed to conduct the structural critique of *durbolta* i.e. marginalisation.

3.2.2.5 Novas conquistas in Konkani press

Konkani press witnessed the division of depiction employed towards the new conquest territories of Goa. The socio-political situation in new conquests has hardly become a serious discussion in the Konkani press. The sporadic mention of new conquest is found in *O Goano*. It witnesses the reporting of casual news from the new conquest, such as the *Sanvordyachi tar* (boat) and Sanvordem train leaving the harbour and station, respectively (Sanvordem is a town in the new conquest). An important mention in this regard is the advice offered by Viegas to improve the condition of new conquests. According to the Viegas, the government should provide people with built houses. The government should also provide schools in Marathi and Portuguese for the working classes (Goano, 1910). Similarly, the press in new conquests also focused on the newsies from the new conquests areas. *Prachiprabha* a periodical published from new conquest published newsies about the Ponda municipality (a new conquest area) and ignored the news reports from the municipalities falling in old conquest (Prachiprabha, 1922, p. 2) (Prachiprabha, 1922, p. 3). This indicates a sharp division between old and new conquest maintained in press.

Novas Conquistas, or new conquests areas of Goa, were seen as a potential solution for the emigration of Goans from the old conquest to the Bombay City and the Portuguese colonies (Amcho, 1930, p. 1). The new conquest areas are discussed in the context of farming and agricultural production (Menezes L. d., 1929, p. 1) (Amcho, 1933, p. 2). The development of farming in new conquests was seen as a solution to end the economic dependence on British India. It was seen as a land of potential owing to the abundance of natural resources, but the complete neglect has resulted in low production; *Bhandvol Assa, Budh Nam?* (Menezes, 1929, p. 1). A response to this article was published by the senior editor of Amcho Gao, *Goencho Akar ani Xetcamteamcho Adar*, in the 11th April 1929 issue of Amcho Gao. The voices of ending dependence on either Portuguese government and British India served as a point of discussion in Konkani periodicals. A third part of *Goencho Akar ani Xetcamteamcho Adar*, published on 25th April 1929 issue, critiques the editor for valorising Joaquim Machado, governor-general of Portuguese India, and appeals not to be dependent upon the colonial administration or even on the British government and taking care by itself. The article makes an appeal to government to improve the agricultural production in new conquests. As a result of the appeal by the Konkani press, the Portuguese governor-general of Goa ordered the identification and report of the barren lands in new conquests areas of Sattari, Sanguem, and Canacona (Menezes, Razachi tojvit , 1929). Thus, the new conquest was seen as secondary to the old conquests. It received attention in response to managing the economic crisis in old conquests, resulting in the emigration of Goans. A similar approach towards the old conquests is also observed in the periodicals published from new conquests.

Though the periodicals depict the influence of the church, an occasional use of Sanskritised vocabulary represents an interesting feature of these periodicals. For instance, the article '*Suamia Jesu-Che Kosht*' mentions Jesus with suffix '*Swami*' (Gao, 1929, p. 1). A reference to Swami points out the significance of 'Indian' vocabulary on Christianity in Goa. Also, in an article on Joaquim Machado, a reference to the word *Trimurti* is found (Amcho, 1929, p. 1). The author writes that Machado faced three grave problems: war, pest (epidemic), and bukh (famine) during his tenure as governor-general of Goa. These three problems Machado describes as *Trimurti*. The use of such vocabulary suggests the earnest wish to situate Goa into the Indian cultural discourse.

3.2.3 Marathi periodicals in Goa

Konkani periodicals emerged within the social environment of the old conquests, while Marathi periodicals developed in the new conquests. This social environment created a linguistic divide with Konkani being associated with Christians and Marathi with Hindus in colonial Goa. In this context, the early 20th-century emphasis on the Nagri script and its adoption within the Konkani fold contributed in making Konkani a secular language. Conversely, Marathi's role as the vehicle of Hindu cultural heritage reinforced Marathi as communal language. The modern Konkani movement is grounded in this distinction, making it easier to suppress the demand for the inclusion of the Romi script. This division between Konkani and Marathi has significantly shaped the Konkani-Marathi debate in post-colonial Goa.

This section provides an analysis of *Prachiprabha* (1909-1910; 1921-1928), *Pragati* (1920-1921), *Navjivan* (1919), and *Dudhasagar* (1955-1959) to understand the narratives in the Marathi colonial press and its impact on contemporary politics. The analysis of periodicals depicts the rupture in the projection of Marathi as a communal language. It depicts the changing narratives in the Marathi press in Goa according to the changing political context. The issues addressed in the Marathi press differ in their socio-political emphasis from the Konkani press. Marathi press emphasised upon a serious discussion on women's education (*Prachiprabha*, 1909). In fact, the *Luz do Oriente* or *Prachiprabha*, a magazine launched for women published by Ramachandra Pandurang Vaidya and edited by Mrs. Saraswatibai Vaidya, put onus on women's education. It was launched under the patronage of Sonda Queen (Vaidya, 1910). The royal patronage of the journal depicts the cultural composition of the new conquest as being primarily Hindu with an emphasis on the Marathi language. Ramchandra Vaidya launched a periodical by the same name in Portuguese and Marathi. Vidyaprasar is another periodical launched by Vaidya and edited by Sitaram Kerkar.

3.2.3.1 Marathi press and reforms

A discussion on women's issues also centered around caste and Hinduism. In the 1910 issue of the journal, Saraswatibai Vaidya discusses devadasis in the background of the order of the ruler of Mysore banning the devadasis in temples. The Governor-general of Bombay declared the act of marrying a young girl to God as a criminal act (Vaidya, 1910). Vaidya is critical of the devdasi system on the grounds of moral corruption.

However, she is critical of the colonial approach of looking at Hinduism as a domain of women's oppression. Since prostitution is common to all religions, she appeals to the government to ban prostitution of all sorts and not only target the Hindus (Vaidya, 1910). Through such narratives, an attempt is made to normalise the oppression within Hinduism. Another article, '*Shtripurushamadhil nitibhed*' written by Balkrishna Sawardekar talks about women other than devadasis caught up in prostitution. He discusses women caught up have no escape (Savardekar, 1910). Discussions like this highlight the depth with which such issues are explored. An article on 'midwife training' gives information on the efforts of the members of Mandal to introduce training to Hindu women in Marathi. It is also interesting to note that Mandal emphasized the explanation about the training to be provided in Konkani. Prior to this, Christian women were taking this training in Marathi. Such initiatives indicate the dedicated efforts of the mandal for Hindus (Vidyaprassar, 1917, p. 2).

An emphasis on education is a permanent feature of the colonial Marathi press. A 1917 issue of Vidyaprassar published an advertisement of the Goa Vidyaprasarak Mandal to provide an education in Portuguese, English, and Marathi; provision of hostel and boarding facilities under the mentorship of the able professor and provision of free education for the poor (Vidyaprassar, 1917). The objectives of Mandal, as mentioned in the advertisement, include non-discrimination based on caste, race, or religion and spreading education by establishing schools, colleges, libraries, and periodicals (Prachiprabha, 1923). However, given the rigidity of the castes in society, it was difficult to maintain caste equality. M. K. Shirodkar, a student of the Almeida college from 1912 to 1916, enumerated the *brahman-brahmanettar* (brahmin and non-brahmin) distinction in the hostel. The food was served in three rows to students identified based on caste. The three rows comprised of the children from Dravida Brahman, Gauda Brahman, and Brahmanettar (lower caste). A Gawda woman was employed to clean the floor, wash utensils, and throw *patravali* after food (Patravali is a plate made of jackfruit leaves thrown after having food from it). The Gawda woman was not touching the leftover food of lower caste students as she considered herself higher in the caste hierarchy than the students castes. One Christian woman was employed to throw the leftovers. This instance illuminates deeply entrenched caste norms in society (Shirodkar, 1955). The reformatory efforts of the Mandal were similar to those of the reformers in Maharashtra. However, it is important to note that Vaidya

had been compared with Tilak and not Phule. *Swayamsevak* another periodical published from quepem by Hegde Dessai critiques Vaidya for trying to become *gomantakiya Tilak* (Vidyaprassar, 1917, p. 3). The comparison of Vaidya with Tilak and not Phule, though Vaidya, due to his contribution to education especially on women's education seems more fit to compare him with Phule, shows that the Phule's caste prevents such comparison between Phule and Vaidya. This also indicates the hidden casteism of the Marathi colonial press. Though the Marathi press-initiated reforms within Hinduism, it still operated within the framework of caste-varna hierarchy. Moreover, Vaidya's efforts invited criticism, especially from *Swayamsevak*. The rivalry between Vidyaprasarak Mandal and *Swayamsevak* turns out to be the result of personal grudges. Vidyaprassar also provided information on the opening of a Sanskrit school at the Ponda Kapileshwar temple for the children of the bhikshus and a Marathi school for the children of all castes (Vidyaprassar, 1920, p. 3). This shows that these reformers favoured the spread of Marathi education to people belonging to all castes. Caste did not receive serious attention in the Konkani colonial press. As pointed out earlier, instead of caste, discussion in the Konkani press focused on the category of 'durbol'. Nonetheless, *durbol* also comprises of lower caste and class Christians, it hides the focus on caste. Instead, the Marathi press depicted strong reformatory credentials by focusing on caste. Columns such as *Jatimatsar* thoroughly discussed the need to reform the caste structure (Prachiprabha, 1921), (Prachiprabha, 1921, p. 3).

Marathi press is used as a platform to convey the demands of Hindus to the government. Vidyaprassar published an article articulating the demands of Hindus for establishing a Hindu provincial congress. These demands include: 1) The progress of Hindus shall be the main objective of Congress, 2) the progress of Hindus in the Portuguese language, and 3) the spread of Marathi education, 4) to get permission from the pope to travel to a foreign country for studies, 5) improvement of temples, 6) farming, 7) ban on alcohol, 8) ban on the killing of cows, 9) women's education, 10) spreading awareness about the Hindu culture among Christians and Hindus, 11) attempts to gain the respect for Goa in the eyes of the outsiders (Vidyaprassar, 1920). These above demands show the framework of reforms delineated within the Hindu fold. The articulation of Hindu interests also involved crafting demands against Christians. It argued that the Hindu community in Goa have become poor, weak, and

dependent as they followed the path blindly shown by Christian leaders (Sardessai B. P., 1924, p. 4). Navjivan, another Marathi periodical, declared Goa to be the Hindubhumi (Navjivan, 1919, pp. 1-2). The Ramchandra Pundalik Kenkre published the Navjivan. It questioned the Christians of Goa for not considering themselves as Hindu. It asked, if Christians are not Hindus, then after accepting Christianity, why the varna system still continues among Christians in Goa (Navjivan, 1919, pp. 1-2).

The efforts of reformers to bring change in the Hindu community coincided with the demand for the recognition of Marathi. Sitaram Kerkar discusses the hostility of the Portuguese Government towards Marathi (Kerkar , 1925). Therefore, the Marathi protagonist opposed the Portuguese government's non-recognition of Marathi in educational reform. In 1920, the Marathi protagonist organised meetings in various parts of Goa to demand the inclusion of Marathi in the educational policy of the Portuguese Government (Vidyaprassar , 1920, p. 4). The Marathi press declared the Marathi language as the mother tongue and appealed to preserve the language as a religion (Prachiprabha, 1924). It is interesting to note that the Marathi press on one hand declared Marathi to be the mother tongue, and also accepted Portuguese to be the official language or *Rajbhasha* and stressed its spread in the new conquests (Prachiprabha, 1924). This narrative depicts the opportunistic undertones of the Marathi press as it distinguishes between the mother tongue and the official language. The focus was on nurturing the mother tongue and learning the official language. It also accepted English.

Thus, both the Konkani and Marathi press followed a pragmatic approach rather than an idealistic or ideological. The stress on English education, along with Marathi and Portuguese in the new conquest, highlights this (Kerkar, 1926, p. 2). The Marathi press also highlighted the Christians' opposition to Marathi. Benedict Gomes, a Goan Catholic, proposed to the government to close the Marathi-Portuguese schools with less than twenty students (Vidiaprassar, 1920, p. 3). The low number of students in government-run Marathi-Portuguese schools was a growing concern in the 1920s (Desai S. , 1920, p. 4). However, the number of students in privately run Marathi schools was very high (Laad, 1920, p. 4). The number of teachers catering to the growing demand of students in privately run Marathi schools is regarded as one of the reasons for declining the quality of Marathi education in Goa (Laad, 1920, p. 4).

Many Konkani periodicals were short-lived due to the small readerships. Marathi periodicals in the 1920s also faced the same concern. Concerns were raised regarding the short-lived nature of Marathi periodicals and magazines. The lack of financial support and absence of emphasis on local news, primarily related to Portuguese laws, cited as the main reasons for the brief survival of Marathi periodicals and magazines (Swabhimani , 1920, p. 3). The category of 'Hindu' in the press was not a single unified entity. The focus in the press was to refine the Hinduism of the 'ill practices' followed by lower castes. Therefore, it condemned the ritual of killing goats and buffalos prevalent among the lower caste Hindus in the rituals (Prachiprabha, 1928).

Since upper castes published these journals, their biases were sometimes visible in their choice of publishing the news. For instance, Prachiprabha runs advertisements of Konkankyan which is symbolic of caste identity in Goa (Prachiprabha, 1910). Another instance reported in Pragati is an objection to a geography book published by Goa Vidyaprasarak Mandal. The textbook mentioned the castes of Goa, including Brahman, Vaishya, Goldsmith, Shudra, Muslims, and Christians. A response to this listing was published in Pragati, where it was argued that despite the presence of genuine Marathas such as Rao, Rane, and Dessai, the Maratha caste was not mentioned separately. They argued that omitting Marathas as a distinct caste resulted in them being considered as Shudras (Chavan, 1921, p. 3). It also publicized the events of Saraswat Brahman Samaj, presided by Justice Sukhatankar. Sukhatankar gave a lecture on 'aajkalacha gomantak' in which he gave his opinion on the gomantak of the time and stressed its significance as a Hindu region. Other topics of the conference include 'Amchi Devalaye' or 'Our temples' and a discussion on the issues temples faced. Activities of devadasis in temples were seen as moral corruption. Selling alcohol near temples is considered another issue of grave importance (Prachiprabha, 1909, pp. 118-119). It also publicised the events of Saraswat Brahman Samaj presided over by Justice Sukhatankar. Issues discussed in these community conferences show the focus of the community. Although the Marathi press emerged as a platform for promoting an egalitarian society, conversely, it also focused on retaining the privileges of the upper caste.

Pragati, a periodical established and published by Gayak Samaj, also known as Gomantak Maratha Samaj or Kalawant Samaj, provided a staunch critique of the narratives propagated by the upper castes through periodicals. It criticised the

periodicals published before Pragati for neglecting the other backward classes (Ksha, 1920, p. 2). It condemned the organisations of upper castes, such as Pragatik Sangh, for propagating Brahmanical ideology and declared it as the hardcore Brahmin organisation (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). Sakharam Ramnathkar from the Kalawant Samaj was the editor of Pragati. As in Maharashtra, members of the lower castes seek emancipation through education. The main purpose of the periodical was the propagation of education among people (Pragati, 1920). The community leaders saw the potential in education for bringing progress of the community (Pragati, 1921, p. 1). The Gayak Samaj founded the 'Maratha Shikshan Prasarak Samaj' at Zambaulim, a place in qupem taluka of new conquest (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). The Gomantakiya Gayak samaj established a Marathi primary school, Shantadurga Vidyalayaat Kavale (Pragati, 1921, p. 1). It is notable that in total, fifty-four students were taking education in the school. Out of fifty-four, sixteen students belonged to the Gayak samaj. Along with education, the community members demanded strict action from the Portuguese government to ban the immoral practices of the Samaj. The community leaders considered 'singing-dancing' an immoral action that served for centuries as a main source of income for the community members. The Samaj considered singing and dancing to be the cause of the marginalisation of the community. Therefore, to deter people from practicing 'singing-dancing,' the progressive members of the Samaj advocated introducing heavy taxes on the activities of Devdasis in temples (Pragati, 1921, p. 1).

The articles published in Pragati suggest that the Saraswats were wary of the efforts of the Gayak samaj (Desai G. K., 1921, p. 4). G. K. Desai writes that the efforts by Maratha Samaj to defy the caste system terrified the Saraswat Samaj. He claimed that to weaken the anti-caste movement led by the Maratha samaj, some members of the Saraswat samaj have attempted to break the unity of the Gayak samaj. Desai appeals to the members of Maratha samaj to stay united (Desai G. K., 1921, p. 4). The author of the article was himself Maratha. Desai also asserted that there is no use in co-operating with Saraswat samaj (Desai G. K., 1921, p. 4). To liberate the lower caste groups from the domination of Saraswats and to bring the overall development of lower castes was stressed as one of the main aims of Pragati (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). It also attempted to build unity among various sub-castes of Gayak samaj by adopting strategies such as inter-dining and establishing marriage ties (Pragati, 1921). In this

regard, Pragati publicized a marriage between Ratinath Govind Nageshkar and Kushawatibai, a bride who underwent the *shesh* ritual in her childhood (Pragati, 1921, p. 1). Shesh is a practice of marrying girls from the community to God.

During this time, Hindus undoubtedly considered Marathi to be their mother tongue. The Pragati welcomed the grant of permission by the government to establish Marathi schools (Salgaonkar, 1920, p. 2). Pragati recommended the establishment of Marathi primary schools in the villages of Goa to spread education among the Bahujan castes (Pragati, 1921, p. 1). However, the periodical also advocated the study of the English language, as seen from the advertisement published for studying English (Pragati, 1920, p. 1). It opposed the exclusion of the community from society and demanded its respectable inclusion (Pragati, 1920). The community's political consciousness is visible from the publication of a column publishing translation of laws from Portuguese to Marathi (Pragati, 1920, p. 3). Pragati also recommended the study of the Portuguese language (Pragati, 1921, p. 1). Though periodicals such as Vidiaprassar, Prachiprabha argued for equality, they did not recognise the emancipatory efforts undertaken by the members of Bahujan samaj for their emancipation. Rather, it focused on the reforms sphereheaded by the upper caste's leadership. Contrary to this, Pragati gave publicity to the efforts of the other Bahujan communities in reform work. For instance, it published the work undertaken by Bhandari Samaj, such as the establishment of Bhandari Dyanaprasarak Samaj in Mumbai or the publication of the Bhandari Samaj's magazine 'Bhandari Vijay' published by Damodar Ganesh Parkar (Pragati, 1920, p. 3). Pragati provided information on the establishment of *Bhandari Hitvardhak Samajin* at Vengurla (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). Pragati published an article appealing to Bhandari Samaj to work for their progress (Bhandari, 1921). In another instance, influenced by the alcohol prohibition movement in Maharashtra, Bhandari samaj organised similar movement at Sanvordem (Pragati, मद्यपाननिषेध, 1921, p. 2). However, there was an absence of consistent efforts for reforms among Bhandaris in Goa. Pragati highlights the silence among the Goa's Bhandaris in its editorial. It appealed to the Bhandaris in Maharashtra, who were engaged in progressive attempts to develop the community and help their caste brethren in Goa (Pragati, 1921, p. 1). Pragati had a profound influence on the lower caste leaders from Maharashtra. For instance, it published an interview with the lower caste leader from Maharashtra, Raobahadur Bhaskarrao Jadhav (Pragati, 1921, p. 2). In Maharashtra, lower caste

communities initiated the emancipation of their caste brethren. Pragati appealed to the various lower caste communities in Goa to undertake the reforms on the lines of their caste brethren in Maharashtra. For instance, it appealed the Barbar community of Goa to initiate the reform efforts in their community by following the footsteps of the Barbar caste brethren from Maharashtra (Pragati, 1921, p. 2). It also welcomed the achievement of individuals other than the Gayak samaj. For instance, it congratulated the first lawyer from the Maratha-Desai community, Jivaji Shambharao Desai, for clearing the law examination (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). It also published news about the successful organisation of *the Kshatriya Maratha Parishad* at Karwar organised by Maratha educational council. The council was established in Konkan in 1907 (Pragati, 1921, p. 2). The reform movements launched in Maharashtra also influenced Goa. Parallels are often drawn between the Satyashodhak samaj's and Gayak Samaj. Pragati claimed that the way Brahmins in Maharashtra oppose the efforts of Satyashodhak Samaj. Similarly, Gayak Samaj's efforts are attacked by Saraswats in Goa (Pragati, 1921, p. 3).

It asserted that Brahmins possess a deep-rooted assumption that the lower caste by birth are low in status, and it's necessary to establish control over lower castes (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). Similarly, it emphasized that *Saraswatshahi* is strong in Goa as compared to Maharashtra (Pragati, 1921, p. 4). Pragati criticised the Saraswat-run periodicals for publishing articles showing concerns for Maratha samaj when Saraswats realised the growing caste consciousness among the members of Gayak samaj (Pragati, 1921, p. 3). It further questioned the Saraswats for not showing any concerns for Maratha Samaj previously.

The anti-caste movement in Maharashtra had a profound impact on the social fabric of Goa. Maharashtra's anti-caste struggle influenced Gayak Samaj's efforts to eradicate the caste system. Upper-caste individuals started intervening in the reform efforts to neutralise the effect of the anti-caste battle initiated by the Gayak samaj. As a result, upper-caste-run Marathi periodicals often attempted to give credit for the anti-caste reforms to upper-caste individuals. In this regard, Pragati published an article stating that instead of giving credit for reforms to upper-caste individuals such as Dr. Shirgaonkar, Dada Vaidya, Subramanyannadirth and Dr Menezes Braganza, one should give credit to the changing time. The article argued that time has changed people's perspectives, making them think about social progress (Govindraj, 1920). It

was essential to do away with reinforcing social hierarchies by crediting the upper-caste individuals for reforms that would have suppressed the emancipatory efforts initiated by lower-caste individuals and groups.

Though the *Pragati* provided a staunch critique of the caste system, it aimed to reform the Hindu religion. It thus sought the emancipation of Hindus within the fold of Hinduism. To regain a respectable position in society, it advocated discontinuing the dance practice of the women from *Kalavant Samaj* in front of the palanquin in temples (Pragati, 1920). It opposed the practice of such rituals on the basis of puranas (Pragati, 1920). At times, it published quotes from puranas opposing the caste system (Pragati, 1920, p. 3). Through puranas, it pointed out the flexibility in the varna system, which privileges actions over the arbitrariness of birth. An influence of Bhakti can be found in these writings as the author cites saint Tukaram in asserting that in the varna system, anyone can become a Brahmin, and a Brahmin can also become a vani, Shudra, or other caste based on his actions (Ek Tarun Gayak, 1921, p. 2). It also argued that such rituals are deliberately created for the malicious pleasure of privileged individuals (Pragati, 1920). The periodical also provided a critique of the other rituals prevalent among the devdasis, such as the marriage of young girls to God, the practice of devadasis as it believed that the practice of such a derogatory practice is responsible for the sufferings of the people belonging to the Samaj (Pragati, 1920). It published Goa Hindu Parishad's articles highlighting the issues Hindu samaj faced (Chashadhar, 1920, p. 2). *Pragati* appealed the Saraswats to take a lead in the emancipation of the Samaj (Pragati, 1921, pp. 2-3). The reason for this was the control of Saraswats on the temple, where the people from Gayak Samaj reside, and the municipalities in these areas were under the possession of Saraswats (Pragati, 1921, pp. 2-3). Saraswats banned Kalawantin dance performance during marriage and *munj*. *Pragati* praised this decision of Samaj. It is believed that since Saraswat Samaj has progressed, other communities would also become habitual in following the Saraswat Samaj (Pragati, 1921, p. 1).

It considered the Hindus as 'Arya' and Hindu culture as 'Arya culture' (Pragati, 1920, p. 3). The *Kalawantin* samaj were denounced by the upper castes on the moral ground for adopting 'immoral' practices as per the general perspective. The leaders of the *Kalawantin* samaj accepted this narrative and sought to change the condition of their samaj by adopting moral education. They started the '*naitik shikshan chalval*' or 'moral

education movement'. They proposed to follow the values cherished by Arya Samaj such as study of Vedas and embracing of *bhakti marg*. They also advocated purification rituals such as *upnayana Sanskar* (Pragati, 1921, p. 2). In an effort to construct the respectable history of the community, the narrative in the periodical claimed that the Kalawantis were 'Arya women' (Pragati, 1920, p. 1). An influence of the ideology of Arya Samaj is clearly visible on the reformers in Goa.

Pragati attempted to change society's perspective of Kalawantin women. In this regard, it illuminated the work undertaken by a woman from the samaj, Saraswatibai Velingkar who stayed in Mumbai. She was a famous singer who performed all over India. She opened a Marathi school in Veling (a village in Ponda) where children from all castes, i.e., from Brahmins to Gawada, benefitted. She also assured the continuation of the celebration of Dattajayanti for years at a temple in Veling by arranging the financial contribution for the same (Saubadra, 1920, p. 3). The continuous efforts of the Gayak Samaj sphereheaded a change among the women of the Samaj. At Zambaulim, where the Samaj was most active, women from Gayak samaj vowed not to participate in Shigmo, a local festival (Mrutyunjay, 1921, p. 3).

The articles published in the periodicals indicate that the reformers from samaj attempted to broaden their sphere of influence. In this regard, it published an article highlighting the impact of Bahujan's efforts to visit Pandharpur by compromising their health. It pointed out that Bahujans save money to visit Pandharpur by cutting their expenditure on food. As a result, their physical health weakens, and they become susceptible to infectious diseases when in contact with the devotees in Pandarpur. In this way, diseases, are transferred to the native places of the devotees, putting the lives of the villages at risk. Therefore, the Bahujans are advised not to compromise their health for the sake of religion (Pragati, 1920, p. 1). Thus, amidst all the upper caste-run Marathi periodicals, Pragati was the only periodical of the Bahujan classes in colonial Goa.

The Konkani press appeared 'apolitical' in their approach. It published poems and essays and generally depicted their love for Konkani and Goa through it. On the other hand, the Marathi press was highly political. Though it emphasized Hindu heritage, the press in the 1920s was not letting their rights be ignored. Hence, it focused on the political development in Portugal regarding Goa. Many articles were published on the

impact of the establishment of the republic in Goa. One of the moves by Portugal to limit the voting rights to only individuals knowing Portuguese was vehemently criticized in the Marathi press (Vidhyasevak, 1926). Vidyaprasar published a critique of the Portuguese republican government for imposing taxes on marriages and preferring Portuguese officials for government jobs in the colonies (Vidyaprasar , 1917, p. 3). The discussion on the idea of '*Rashtra*' or nation in Marathi press highlight the political nature of the periodicals.

The griming economic situation in Goa is also discussed in Marathi press (Prachiprabha, 1923, p. 2). The economic situation of Goa was a dominant theme in Konkani press as well. The Marathi press also addressed some of the stereotypes associated with Goa. For instance, it opposed the drunkard image of Goa (Prachiprabha, 1925, p. 5). The Goa's connection with Maharashtra is often seen plainly. However, the closer examination of the press shows the caste ties being consolidated through press. In 1920's the ideological ties of Goa with Maharashtra differed. The two groups, the Saraswats and Gayak Maratha Samaj demonstrated two different ideologies. Gayak samaj's strengthening of ties with Maharashtra aimed at consolidating the Bahujan Samaj ties and launching an anti-caste movement in Goa, whereas Saraswats aimed at strengthening unity among their caste brethren. Therefore, the demise of Saraswat, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar based in Poona is highlighted in the Prachiprabha mainly due to his social origin (Prachiprabha, 1925, p. 3).

By 1950's the nature of debates in Marathi periodical press changed. The emphasis on caste in the 1920's Marathi press was superseded by nationalist, language, and regional issues. The change in issues in Marathi press in Goa is instigated by the independence of India from British colonial rule. The wave of decolonisation initiated through United Nation in late forties and fifty's may also have influenced the change in political discourse in Goa. By 1950's it was predicted that the Portuguese rule over Goa would also end. With support from Maharashtra, Marathi periodicals started publishing the political revolt launched by the Indian revolutionaries to liberate Goa from Portuguese rule. A Marathi periodical, edited by B. D. Satoskar, '*Dudhasagar*' primarily focused on liberation of Goa. J. V. Kamat was an executive editor of the periodical. It reported the martyrdom of three freedom fighters; Amichand Gupta, Baburao Thorat and Nityanand Saha from British India (Dudhasagar, 1955, p. 1). Though the Marathi press in 1950's, remained in the hands of the upper castes, it co-opted the news about the

activities undertaken by communities other than Saraswats, such as, the news about the 'Naik Maratha Samajache Sneha Sammelan' (Gathering of Naik Maratha Samaj) (Dudhasagar, 1957, p. 11).

The fifty's debate in Marathi press integrates Brahmanism with state reorganisation movements. The enumeration of the epistemologies of 'Gomantak' and 'Goem' serves as an example of this process. The press juxtaposed the two terms. The debates in Marathi periodicals on the origin of the term 'Goem' and 'Gomantak' featured in Marathi periodical Dudhasagar (1956-57). Though the integration of Brahminism with state reorganisation fortified in fifty's, the process of attaching Brahmanical narrative to the names of regions formed the part of historical investigation in early decades of twenty first century. For instance, V. K. Rajwade justified the use of the term 'Gomaantak' as originated from 'Gom' + Antak = Gomaantak (गोम + अन्तक = गोमान्तक) (Valaulikar, 1930, p. 2). Valaulikar considered the word Gomaantak (गोमान्तक) as corrupt and suggested the replacing the term with Gomantak (गोमन्तक) as being pure, since the term Gomantak is of Sanskrit origin (Valaulikar, 1930, p. 2). The invention of sanskritised vocabulary for the regional terminology led to the Brahmanical appropriation of regions, thereby denying the agency to lower caste to associate with regions.

Another author G. P. Pavashe (1930), welcomed Valaulikar's attempt of establishing Gomantak as 'pure term' in article, 'Gomantak Shabdache Nirukt'. However, Pavashe offers his disagreement on Valaulikar's attempts to associate the word 'Go' found in Gomantak with only 'cows'. 'Go' is regarded as cow in Sanskrit. Therefore, any word containing syllable 'Go' means something related to 'Cow' or 'Cowherd' community. Pavashe imposes other interpretations to word 'Go' than only associating it with cow. Pavashe provides four meaning of word 'Go'. i.e. (1) Swarg (heaven): Gomantak is rich in scenic beauty therefore this place is similar to heaven, (2) Pashu (animals): Gomantak is rich in livestock therefore word 'go' which means pashu is apt for it, (3) Vagh (Vani or devotees of Saraswati): Devotees of Saraswati – Saraswat Brahmins reside in this land. By establishing their rule over 'Gomantak' they developed this region, (4) Jal (water): this place has abundant supply of water therefore it received the name 'Gomantak' (Pavashe, 1930, pp. 2-3).

By doing so, Pavashe tries to erase the influence of cows or cowherd community and attempts to relocate it in upper caste discourse. Interestingly, in another issue of the Hindu it is revealed that the above (3) interpretation of the Pavashe of Gomantak being the land of Saraswat Brahmins, is contested by the secretary of 'Pednekar Gaud Brahman Sabha', Raghunath Sitaram Dessai through a letter, for identifying the 'Gomantakiy Panchgaud Brahmins' as Saraswat (Pavashe G. P., 1930, pp. 2-3). Pavashe then attempts to justify the title 'Saraswat' to all Brahmins residing in Gomantak (Pavashe G. P., 1930, pp. 2-3). The discussion on epistemologies and etymology in periodical press on the regional names suggest attempts to impose Brahmanical identities to provinces.

It also intriguing to note that Pavashe deduces 'k' or (क) and 'mant' (मन्त) as a suffix added to 'go-mantak' from Prakrit by citing an examples of Prakrit word having suffixes as 'mant' such as 'sirimant', 'hanumant', punnamant (Pavashe, 1930, pp. 2-3). Thus, Pavashe accepts only 'Go' as Sanskrit setting the ground for the establishment of word 'Goa' in Sanskrit narrative. The 1950's witnessed a long debate in daily 'Dudhasagar' regarding regional designation 'Goa' of being Sanskrit origin. In 1950's, Anandrao Nadkarani (Nadkarni 1955) and A. R. Desai (Desai A. , 1956) attempt to maintain the sanctity of the term 'Goem' and not 'Gomantak'.

3.2.3.2 Gomantakiya Marathi

Marathi in Goa is known as '*Gomantakiya Marathi*.' In 1917, Vaikunth Pandurang Nayak, Nagesh Vasudev Sadekar, Sakharam Raya Dhume, Yashwant Vishnu Nayak, Dattatraya Dalal, Vishnu Ramchandra Nayak, Nilkanth Vitthal Dalvi organised *Gomantakiya Marathi Shikshan Sammelan* (Vidyaprassar, 1917, p. 4). All the organisers of this conference were Saraswats. In 1921, the conference was inaugurated at the hands of the principal of Saraswat Vidyalaya (Vidyaprassar, 1921). An analysis of *Pragati* also suggests that the lower caste movement in Goa prioritised the spread of education in Marathi among the downtrodden masses.

The category of Gommantakiya Marathi is seen as synonymous with Maharashtra. However, the language bears the imprint of the context in which it develops. Therefore, there is a need to see the Gomantakiya Marathi as a dialect. The dialect is generally understood in a linguistic sense. As observed in the second chapter, the dialect develops in a community setting. Marathi in Goa is closely associated with the idea of 'Hindu.'

The genesis of the attachment of Marathi to Hinduism in Goa dates back to the Portuguese colonial period. Christians discarded the claim of Hindus who considered Marathi to be their mother language. Hindus tried to seek refuge in the shadow of Marathi to protect the religion. Though Pragati tried to employ the revolutionary features of Marathi through their vibrant critique of Brahmanism, the Portuguese presence condensed their efforts, and it begins to be employed as a Hindu language. Owing to the Portuguese rule in Goa, Marathi transformed into the Hinduised language. Marathi press stressed the role of Marathi in preserving Hinduism in Goa (Dudhasagar , 1956, p. 5). In Maharashtra, Marathi revolted against the Brahmanical domination. As a result, Maharashtra preserved the democratic traits of Marathi since it is the language of all Maharashtrians, irrespective of caste. In Goa, it became a medium of Hindu assertion. Goa still retains the trait of Marathi as a medium of Hindu expression. Today, Bhats in Goa assert their mother tongue to be Marathi. This is the main reason for the Christians' disillusionment with Marathi in Goa.

The organisation of the Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan is a norm in Goa. *Dudhasagar* reported the organisation of the Eighth Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan at Malad (Dudhasagar, 1956). The B.B. Borkar was the president of the conference (Dudhasagar, 1956). The liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule served as the main theme of these conferences (Dudhasagar, 1956). The Gomantak Marathi conferences stressed the close ties of Goa with Maharashtra. The conference president, S. D. Pendse, claimed that Maharashtra would gain freedom in the true sense only when the Marathi conference would be held in free Goa (Dudhasagar, 1956). At the same time, the conference channelled its energies into the creation of '*Gomantakiya* culture' distinct from Maharashtra. The theme of the papers presented at the conference includes *Gomantakacha Chitramay Itihas* (Pictorial history of Gomantak), *Gomantakachi Bhashik ani Sahityik Madhyasthiti* (the status of Gomantak's language and literature), *Gomantakiya Sahityachya Kaksha ani Akansha'* (the sphere and aspirations of Gomantakiya literature) (Dudhasagar, 1956).

By 1960, in the backdrop of state reorganisation, a similar Konkani-Marathi debate in Sahitya Sammelan held at Lonawala became apparent. In a speech by the president of the conference, Anant Kanekar asserted that the way Kashmir is for India, Gomantak is for Maharashtra. In an article, Sitaram Kerkar, the editor of *Prachiprabha*, points out that Goans did not take much interest in spreading education in Goa since they lack

language proficiency. But he opined that Goans should take a keen interest in spreading education. Kerkar appealed Goans to establish Marathi primary schools (Kerkar, 1925, p. 4).

The nature of Gomantakiya Marathi is shaped by the Marathi-Konkani debate. Marathi Press, in the 1950's published articles on the Konkani-Marathi controversy. The approach of Marathi press towards the Konkani-Marathi controversy starkly differed from the approach in 1920's. In the 1920's, Konkani was associated with the Goan Christians (Pai, 1920, p. 2). An article in Vidyaprassara by Dattatray Venkatesh Pai published on this controversy suggests the Goan Christians claim over language (Pai, 1920, p. 2). During this time, Saraswats from across the region begin exploring the possibilities of employing the Nagri script in Konkani. In 1908, in Mangalore, Saraswats undertook the development of books in Nagri Konkani. The article claimed that after much effort, they succeeded in publishing only two books in Konkani. To know the success of these efforts, the author wrote letters to the advocate from Karwar named Dattatray Bhaskar Nadkarni. The Nadkarni replied that the efforts undertaken for Konkani have benefitted Marathi; hence, Marathi must be accepted as the mother tongue and not Konkani (Pai, 1920, p. 3). This suggests that Saraswats at large preferred Marathi over Konkani during the early twentieth century.

In 1950's, this slightly begin to change. All the articles written in favour of Konkani in Marathi press were authored by Saraswats like Chandrakant Keni, Kaka Kalelkar, Pandurang Mulgaonkar (Keni, 1961), (Mulgaonkar, 1957), (Kalelkar, 1959, p. 5). The renowned Marathi poet, B. B. Borkar, who was Saraswat by caste, defended Konkani. However, at Borkar's request, the articles he had written were not published. Marathi protagonists in Goa were also Saraswats. Gopal Apa Kamat published several articles favouring Marathi (Kamat G. A., 1956), (Kamat G. A., 1957). Kamat asks an interesting question to Saraswats about Konkani –

“कोकणीमुळे अस्मिता जागृत झाली कि अस्मिता जागृत झाल्यामुळे आम्ही कोकणीच्या मागे लागलो?” (Has Konkani created identity consciousness or identity created Konkani?) (Kamat G. A., 1957)

The above quote shows that the Konkani movement started receiving the support of Saraswats in the Marathi press. Kamat also comments on the Konkani of Christians. He claims the Konkani periodicals were meant for ‘illiterate Christians’ (Kamat G. A.,

1957, p. 6). Illiterate Christians in this context are the Christian lower castes. Kamat argues that the influence of Marathi has helped develop Hindu Konkani, whereas Christian Konkani speech is underdeveloped due to the lack of Marathi's impact on it (Kamat G. A., 1957, p. 6). Thus, the Gomantakiya Konkani was perceived in the background of Brahmanical Hindu ethos as meant to suppress the Christian imprint on Konkani. B. D. Satoskar considered Konkani, Ahirani, Khandeshi, and Varhadi the dialect of Marathi (Satoskar, 1959). However, the Marathi press advocated Nagri Konkani and not Romi.

The Marathi-Konkani debate operates in the context of a language-dialect framework. Marathi is considered the standard language, and Konkani is a spoken language. As a result of which, the Konkani protagonist claimed that the Konkani language gets secondary treatment by the Marathi protagonists from Pune and Mumbai.

3.2.4 English Periodicals in Goa

Many English prints were published in Bombay. Analysing the nature of debates in newspapers will help to understand the social and political context under which linguistic narratives occur. The colonial English newspaper formed the domain of Goan Catholics. Along with correspondence on births, engagements, and deaths of Goan Catholics, it celebrated the outstanding contribution made by Goan civil servants in Estado da India (The Goan World, 1935, pp. 48-49) (The Goan World, 1935, p. 24) (The Goan World, 1936, pp. 32-33). The status of the Goan economy, which is majorly sustained by taxpayers' money due to a lack of other sources of revenue, and ways for its improvement forms the major discussion in the English periodical of colonial times (The Goan World, 1935, pp. 16-18) (The Goan World, 1940, p. 5). A discussion on the education of Goans also forms an important part of the discussion (Aguiar, 1939, p. 17) (Raymond, 1939, p. 13) (Colaco, 1940).

Concerning women's issues, the periodical reflected their world in terms of the traditional role she needed to perform as a mother. For instance, Goan World published a regular column titled 'Mother and Child' in which women were enlightened on ways to become better mothers (The Goan World, 1940, p. 25) (The Goan World, 1940, pp. 19-20). Many titles appeared disrespectful towards women, such as 'stop annoying your child' and constraining their role as only mother and wife (The Goan World, 1940, p. 24). Though there were articles on the education of girls, they criticised the

education system for not addressing the needs of women to play a feminine role in homes. Thus, it can be said that the English periodicals lacked a reformatory trait, and rather than advocating change, they attempted to reproduce the patriarchal setup. It is important to note that not a single issue addressed the problems of Devdasi women, suggesting the scope of the periodicals was limited to the Catholics.

Since a large number of Catholics emigrated, the periodicals covered the emigration issue in detail right from its beginning. One of the articles revealed that the first generation of Goan emigration in Bombay and other territories took place among the lower classes in search of better livelihood (de Goveia-Melo, 1936, p. 13). The first generation of Goan emigrants educated their sons, especially in English, so the second generation of Goans could find employment in the colonial administration as clerks (Rodrigues L. , 1937, pp. 14-15). The periodical showed Goan life in far-off lands such as Bombay and Karachi. It reflected on their slum life, club life, social life, sea life, etc. It pointed out that Goans in Bombay are indifferent towards each other as compared to Karachi, where they are more united (The Goan World, 1937, p. 16).

The situation of World War II, especially the position of Rome (the capital of Italy), Germany, and England, was discussed (da Silva, 1936, p. 12). An interesting discussion about Goa appeared in the newspaper, where Germany attempted to purchase Goa by offering a considerable sum of money to the Portuguese government. The news reports claimed that detailed information regarding Germany's offer to Portugal was published in an American newspaper (The Goan World, 1936, p. 25) (The Goan World, 1936, pp. 1, 6-7). Due to the lack of any further evidence to support the claim, its authenticity is doubted. It may be possible that the claim may be a marketing strategy to increase the sale of newspaper. The colonial Goan English newspaper sought to unite the Goan community in Estado da India (The Goan World, 1936, p. 18). Many articles published in the magazines reflect Portuguese pride and focus on its relation with Britishers (Braganca Cunha, 1939, p. 22).

Though Christians learned English to solve the livelihood problem, assertions around Konkani among them consolidated as mother tongues. This is reflected in the occasional debates in magazines regarding the status of Konkani. An author, A. X. Soares, points out a discussion with an ecclesiastic. When asked about the absence of a chair in Konkani in Rachol seminary, ecclesiastic responded rather rudely that the

Portuguese had not come to Goa to teach people Konkani (Soares, 1924, p. 8). Soares also points out that ecclesiastics considered Konkani as an uncivilized language (Soares, 1924, p. 7). Intriguingly, Soares's defence of Konkani as a meritorious language rests on the claim that Konkani is the only vernacular language in India that majorly borrows vocabulary from Sanskrit, making it a virtuous tongue. As pointed out in the second chapter Erskine Perry, an oriental scholar, the first to claim the independent status of Konkani vis-à-vis Marathi, to whom Cunha da Rivara quotes in establishing the autonomous sphere of Konkani in his work 'An historical essay on Konkani language', establishes a close link with Sanskrit on discovering some Sanskrit vocabulary in the speech of Shenvis in Bombay. The orientalist argument regarding the close link between Sanskrit and Konkani is reiterated in all discussions on Konkani in print and periodicals in the twentieth century. This shows that Christians, though converted to Christianity, the Brahmanical purity continued to influence them, suggesting lusitanization and Sanskritisation as identical processes. To establish the Konkani as a pure Sanskrit tongue, the magazine published in two parts an article by V. P. Chavan recapitulating the arguments made by Perry and Rivara (Chavan V. P., 1924, pp. 14-15) (Chavan V. P., 1924, pp. 30-32). As seen in the colonial Konkani print section, Konkani discourse among Catholics revolves around the supremacy of Sanskrit. The discussions on Konkani methodologically stem from the Stammbaum model. As a result, the hierarchical approach dominates the linguistic discourse on Konkani, restraining the scope of democratic transformation. In emigrant territory, the Konkani language consolidated the ethnic claim of Goan Catholics.

Since the language became a part of ethnicity, any disrespect towards the language brought a serious discussion in the English newspaper. In one article, it is revealed that the Portuguese government abolished the Konkani chair instated in the colonial school of Lisbon, though the reason was not known. The article suggests that the change in policy of the government, which is now more inclined towards the imperialistic undertone, or the antipathy of Goans towards leaning Konkani in school might be the reason for the abolition of the chair (The Goan World, 1936, p. 22). Konkani scholar and orientalist Dr. Rudolfo Dalgado was the first occupant of the chair. Concerns expressed over the status of Konkani languages also form a significant part of the discussion on language. Principal of St. Aloysius high school of *Chinchinim* cites the dialectal distinction of Konkani and lack of consensus on standardisation as the

significant cause of the neglect of Konkani and the speakers of the language must strive to achieve the same (Gomes, 1936, p. 15). Due to the absence of a Wellentheorie-based understanding of the Konkani language, the discussion on Konkani remains fragmented within the various dialectal variations.

3.3 Dialects in Konkani Literature

At the beginning of the twentieth century, Christian emigrants in Bombay invested money in producing books written in Roman Konkani or Romi Konkani script. Most of the emigrants came from a humble background. As pointed out earlier, the upward mobility English offered to Christians elevated their caste identity. However, the humble background of the Christian emigrant suggests that most of those who migrated came from the lower castes. They produced a wide variety of literature, including prose, poetry, and novels in Romi Konkani. Caridade Domaciano Fernandes is a Konkani language novelist and pioneer of prose fiction writing (NT Desk, 2019). He came from a humble beginning. His wife worked as a cook. He edited Konkani-English Weekly, 'Emigrant,' published by E.C. Carvalho. The twentieth century witnessed the production of many books in Konkani Roman script. Some notable writers include Sebastiao S. de Jesus Dias, C. J. Francis, F.X. Fernandes Liberal, F.F. Ballistor. Sebastiao S. de Jesus Dias authored '*Jinn Sam Franscisco Xavierachi*' translated in English as 'Life of Saint Francis Xavier, '*Imperador Carlos Magno anim Franscheam Barai Parinchi Histor*', '*Dog Iscoliche Burgue*', '*Berthold ani techi Ojapanchi Choturai*' (Dias, 1908).

C. J. Francis wrote '*Sorgar Vechi Vatt*', '*Roza anim Generosa*', and '*Letter-Writer in English and Concanim*' (Goano, 1908). F.X. Fernandes Liberal composed *Ec Cuttumb Dekhivont* (written for moral and educative purposes for Christian families). The authors translated books from other languages like French, Portuguese, Hindi, English, etc into Konkani. F.F. Ballistor translated the stories of 'Emperor Akbar and Birbal' and transliterated them as '*Acbar Patxaia anim Birbal*' in Konkani. The Furtado Printing Press, also known as Furtado Company published most of these books. The B.X. Furtado also sold copies of 'Christanv Purann' of Padri Thomas Estevaumchem, i.e., Father Thomas Stephens. Other books published by the press include Furtado's '*Cathechismo em Comcanim*', '*Lurdische Saibinnichi Histor*', '*Padr Jose Vaz*', '*Duddvancho Samball*', Sir J. I. Camposon's book '*Dduardo & Florinda*', '*Jinsanvar*

Kontha, '*Vocabulario*' (English, Portuguese, and Konkani), '*English-Konkani Dictionary*', *Tufan Zolm and Morn*' (Goano, 1908), '*Caridade*' meaning Charity (Goano, 1908), 'Goan's Abroad and at Home by Max (Goano, 1909, p. 4). Furtados also contributed towards the enhancement of linguistic ecosystem by publishing dictionaries such as 'The English-Portuguese Dictionary' (Goano, 1908), 'Concanim-Portuguez Dictionary' of Ignacio Xavier de Souza -Rodrigues (Goano, Dictionary, 1908); vocabularies, for instance, 'Vocabulario Concanim, Portuguez, Inglez anim Francez written by C. J. Francis (Francis, 1908). P.D. Dias produced Manuals and handbooks such as Goan Barman's Guide (Goano, 1909, p. 4) (Dias P. D., 1909, p. 15). In Romi Konkani non-fiction books such as '*Boliaki ani Pidda*' (Health and Diseases), '*Bolaikechi Vatt*' (factors affecting health), '*Amcheam Ostoreanchea Niallac*, a book on women were produced (Goano, 1909, p. 2). The production of non-fiction texts represents the rich and diverse repertoire of Roman Konkani.

However, like in Nagri Konkani, in Romi Konkani the obsession with producing grammar books is also visible. This obsession with grammar forms a feature of the 1908-1910 Konkani literary world. O Goano periodical carried an advertisement on the Konkani Grammar book titled '*Concani bhaxechem laghu Veacrann*' (Goano, 1916, p. 12). The advertisement claimed that the book of grammar is first time printed in Konkani. L.M. Furtado & Company published the book. Another grammar book includes *Elementos Gramaticais da Lingua Concanim* by Jose de S Rita e Souza and published by L. M. Furtado & co (O Goano , 1930, p. 3). The overproduction of language grammar books represents the anxiety associated with the language. Anxiety stems from understanding language as impure or 'not good enough,' motivating individuals to compile grammar books to raise the status of the language. A letter from *Sawantwadi* published as *savant vaddichi chitt* by A. Fernandez welcomes the book by Dr. Dantas on '*Laghu veacrann*', as according to Fernandez, Dr. Dantas is aware of Sanskrit, and he is also a teacher in Savant Wadi English school (Fernandez, 1910, p. 10). This suggests that grammar is an important feature of the people's thought process, and the episteme of the Romi Konkani grammar is traced to Sanskrit, even by the lower castes Catholics. Sanskrit, thus, enjoyed the position of symbolic capital even in the thoughts of ordinary Catholic individuals. In the politics of dialects of Romi Konkani, a discord between the two important dialects *Sashti* and *Bardezi* is visible as Ballistor points out that most of the books in Konkani written by Sr. Sebastiao Salvador Jesus

Dias, though from Sashti wrote in Bardezi dialect (Balisttor, 1930, p. 2). Bardezi, being considered as the Brahmin dialect, supersedes the Sashti. Sashti is associated with the Chardos or Kshatriya caste among the Catholics.

With this heritage of Konkani literature, it engaged in a tussle with Marathi as the mother tongue of Goa. Across India, the linguistic movement was appropriated and consolidated by the regional elites. Paul Brass argues that the linguistic movement is essentially elite-based. In Goa and Konkani, Hindu Saraswat, the regional elites, constructed caste identity based on language. Wamanrao Valaulikar attempted to enumerate Konkani as the language of Saraswat. However, Saraswat reinvented Konkani by employing the Nagri script. Valaulikar's efforts to associate Konkani with the caste identity of Saraswat culminated in many young writers from the Saraswat community being driven towards Konkani. Saraswat's defence of Konkani in Marathi periodicals deserves to be perceived through the lens of script and dialect. Writers like Ravindra Kelekar, Chandrakant Keni, and Manoharrao Sardesai entered the Konkani literary field. These writers started writing in their dialects. They gained support from pan-India elites in the recognition of their dialect as a standard dialect of Konkani. For instance, Rammanohar Lohia wrote a preface to Manoharrao Sardesai's book, *Goya tuja mogakhatir* in which Lohia described Konkani as the sweetest language of India'. Gradually, 'Gomant Bharati' attempted to standardise Konkani (Kenil, 1961, p. 2).

Grammar books on Konkani are based on the preservation of dialectal differences. The periodical press plays a key role in preserving the dialectal difference of Konkani. The dialectical engagement of various dialects has occurred in other languages of India, such as Marathi and Kannada. The linguistic reorganisation of the state has resulted in achieving dialectal engagement in Marathi and Kannada. The movement for the unification of Kannada-speaking people under the state of Karnataka and Marathi-speaking people under Maharashtra created the need to acknowledge various dialects of these languages. During the preparation of Maharashtra *Shabdakosh*, a committee from Maharashtra visited Goa to collect proverbs, vocabulary, and folklore (Eklavya, 1959). This shows that the process of standardizing Marathi or Kannada in Maharashtra and Karnataka respectively has taken place through various dialects. On the other hand, the Konkani state of Goa is carved out from the erstwhile Portuguese colony. Goa did not have to undergo a linguistic unification movement unlike the other states of India. Hence, the standardisation of Konkani is based on a limited area. Also,

in the framework of independent India, Konkani needed to prove itself as a pure language by discarding the Portuguese and Catholic influence. It prevented the dialectal engagement of various dialects to form a language. The standard Konkani, therefore, remained as a domain of one caste. It led to the superseding of the vast work done by Christians for Konkani. The lack of Wellentheorie or scientific understanding of the language reinstates hierarchy within the Konkani language. Nativity discourse is another product of a hierarchical understanding of the language. Nativity in India is based on languages. Native understanding of the language restrains dialectal engagement in various dialectal forms. There is a need to situate the nativity fostered in Konkani within the socio-political context of independent India.

Chapter IV

Nativist Politics in Post-Colonial Konkan

4.1 Introduction

The ideas of post-coloniality and nativism offer a conceptual framework for this chapter. As seen in the previous chapters, colonial knowledge, especially the orientalist discourse, provided substance to constructing dialects and languages in colonial India. The colonial periodical press consolidated the oriental purification of language. This chapter unveils the operation of nativism and its upshot nativist politics in the Konkan region. The socio-political discourse in India unquestionably adopts 'language-dialect based' colonial binaries in the construction of nativity in the post-colonial period. One of the expressions of this process is the linguistic reorganisation of states and subsequent classification of people based on regional states such as Maharashtrians, Kannadigas, Telugu, Tamil, Malayali, Bengalis, etc. Since, the British and Portuguese orientalist adopted same methodology to construct the identitarian epistemes to acquire knowledge about the communities under their possession, the process is similar in Goa as well as other parts of Konkan. Therefore, this chapter is titled as nativist politics in post-colonial Konkan. The framework of 'post-coloniality' maintains the continuation of processes from colonial to post-colonial period. It analyses the role of nativist politics in rejuvenating the erstwhile social binaries attached to the dialects in post-colonial Konkan. The nativist politics leads to normalizing social binaries in the name of region and dialects. This chapter focuses on the evolution and development of Nativism.

4.2 Defining Nativism

The concept of nativism thrives from the word native. Oxford English dictionary refers native to a person born in a specified place (Oxford English Dictionary, 2005, p. 600). It thus attaches a consciousness based on land or territory to the self of an individual. The land is natural, whereas the territory is political. The transformation of land into territory occurs through the political idea of nativism. Through political nativism, natives claim the possession over territory. Political nativism is employed against the 'immigrant' or 'foreigner' who is perceived as a native of some other territory. In the American context, the idea of political nativism is discussed widely. 'The term was originally coined in mid-nineteenth century America to describe Americans who opposed the demographic change in what was then predominantly white, Anglo-Protestant nation' (Klienfeld & Dickas, 2020, p. 3). Norman Friedman defines nativism 'as a deep-seated antipathy towards foreign groups of various kinds' (Friedman, 1967, p. 408). Nativist activism in America grew as a reaction to the inflow of immigrants from eastern and southern Europe. Political nativism portrays immigrants as an enemy. The idea of nativism pits the 'local' or native against the 'foreigner' who is an inhabitant of some other territory.

There are various parameters of nativism, such as race, religion, culture, languages, etc. The idea of nativism also stems from the belief in the purity of religion, race, or ethnicity, by which nativists perceive an idea of the nation (Klienfeld & Dickas, 2020, p. 3). Nativism thus defines nationhood. Existing literature cites the ethnic-cultural causes of nativism. Luke Ritter (2021) enumerates the economic reasons for the nativist outbreak and argues that the economic motives contribute to the periodic rise of nativist movements. In the American context, political nativism is employed against immigrants as historically, America, due to its economic clout, attracted immigrants from other parts of the world. Linda Bosniak (1994) elaborates on this phenomenon through the conceptual lens of the 'immigration crisis' leading to the development of nativist sentiments. She identifies two main reasons for the development of nativist politics in America. One is the challenges posed by extensive diversity brought by immigration from third-world countries and its resultant cultural crisis, and the other is conflict in gaining access to limited environmental and economic resources (Bosniak, 1994, p. 440).

Nativist sentiment in contemporary India can be situated in the conceptual framework of 'immigration crises.' Growth in nativist sentiments in India erupts due to economic reasons. A prime example of this is Shivsena's nativist activism in Bombay. Mary F. Katzenstein argues that migration, which takes place in comparatively developed regions in multiethnic societies, is bound to cause nativist sentiment (Katzenstein, 1973, p. 386). Contemporary political nativism in India is driven by uneven development, concentrated in urban centers such as Bombay. Hence, the nativist political party Shiv Sena's genesis is centered in Bombay. It has been observed that language-based identity emerged when religion lost its legitimacy of identity creation under the secular fabric of independent India (Brass, 1974). Therefore, languages offer a mask to hide religious concerns under the framework of linguistic constructs. The rise of Shivsena is located in a background of cultural nationalism. Janaki Nair also analyses the clash between the Kannada and Tamil identities in Bangalore. The causal impulse, however, for these clashes is economic and not linguistic (Nair, 2000).

As argued in former chapters, the genesis of language-based nativist activism lies in colonial India, when languages were used to carve out ethnicity. Hence, Nativism in India is centered around subnational identities. Subnational identities in India are linguistic identities. Thus, there are two main differences between American nativism and Indian nativism. Firstly, American nativism is pan-national. It is employed against the other nationalities. Indian nativism is subnational. It is used by one ethnic group against another. Ethnicity in India is defined on the basis of languages. For instance, two main ethnic groups, Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, are defined on the basis of languages. Secondly, American nativity is based on a homogeneous cultural set, such as emphasis on the white race and protestant Catholicism. Linguistically, a diverse Indian setup came up with 'diverse nativism' rooted in subnational identities. Indian nativity thus appears diverse or heterogeneous from a macro or a national perspective; at a micro or regional level, it is homogeneous as the Puritan notion guides the composition of languages at a regional level. Puritan notions of languages are based on their proximity to the Sanskrit and Nagri script. Sanskrit and Nagri script are the markers of Indian nativity. The puritan notions also guide linguistic composition at a national level. Therefore, Indian nativity is also homogeneous like American nativity. It hinges on Sanskritic structures.

The politics of nativism revolves around the dominant dialects. The dialects used in literature are dominant dialects. Dialects of literature gradually capture the social sphere, subsequently establishing its social and political dominance. The dialects used in literature are used as a yardstick to judge the speech of ordinary people. Nativism entails the assertion by subnational and subregional groups in political bargaining.

4.3 Distinction Between Political Nativism and Linguistic Nativism

Political nativism is generally confused with linguistic nativism. This confusion is more prominent in the Indian context, as languages are deployed to construct identities, leading to intertwining political identities with languages. However, political nativism and linguistic nativism have two different aspects. As explained above, political nativism denotes the assertion of the cultural rights of natives. The cultural rights of natives are designed in view of the place of their habitation. Political nativism locates an individual to physical space. It attributes the territorial location to individuals and communities. Genesh Devy's usage of nativism is an apt example of the political brand of nativism (Ganguly, 1996).

It is possible to locate an individual, but how to locate a language since languages naturally depict fluid characteristics? The assertion of political nativism through the agency of language fixes language to a place or territory. This, itself, is against the natural characteristics of a language. The concerns of languages are not local but universal because the prime purpose of language is communication. Understanding of nativity through predominantly local aspects restricts the primary purpose of languages, i.e., communication.

4.3.1. Linguistic Nativism of Noam Chomsky

Noam Chomsky developed the theory of 'linguistic nativism' (Chomsky, 1986). Linguistic nativity denotes the innate ability of an individual to learn a language. According to theory, biologically, a human is capable of understanding the grammatical structure of a language. As Chomsky argues, humans are endowed with the faculty of learning a language (Chomsky, 1986).

Chomsky's theory shifts our focus of studying languages from the internal units as against the commonly held assumptions of language as external units. Linguists before Chomsky focused on the external language, which is based on the assumption that languages are external to the human self. The presence of languages such as Chinese, Japanese, German, French, etc., or in the Indian context, Hindi, Marathi, Konkani, etc., entails the use of an external language. Chomsky's 'Internal language' brings our focus to the biological faculty present in brains to learn and understand a language. His 'Theory of Generative Grammar' is the depiction of 'innate biologically determined principles' (Chomsky, 1986, p. 24). Therefore, Chomsky argues that 'acquisition of language is, then, adding to one's store of rules, or modifying this system as new data are processed (Chomsky, 1986, p. 25). Chomsky shifted our focus from external language to internal language and proved that the external language upon which the traditional study of language depends is just a byproduct of internal language (Chomsky, 1986, p. 25). Thus, Chomsky's nativity is biological. Unlike political nativity, which is located in a territory, linguistic nativity lies in the 'biological self' of an individual. Politically, this argument is revolutionary as it motivates us to analyze the concept of nativity in a wholly new terrain. Seen from this perspective, the phenomenon of the mother tongue on which the concept of political nativity is based is just a characterization of internal language. Thus, nativity lies in biology rather than in territory. Hence, linguistic nativity does not create boundaries but blurs them. The linguistic boundaries are created by political urgency.

Political nativism situates the nativity in the territory, whereas linguistic nativism locates it in an individual's biology. Linguistic nativism stands in contrast to political nativism. Since political nativism is constructed around languages in India, political nativism should be informed of the dynamics of linguistic nativism. A most prominent scholar of nativism in India is Bhalchandra Nemade. The following section analyzes Nemade's framework of nativism.

4.3.2 Bhalchandra Nemade's Desivad/ Nativity

Bhalchandra Nemade, a professor of linguistics and literary critique, has explored the concept of 'Nativity' in relation to languages. In his entire array of literature, he reinvents the concept of 'Nativity.' Nemade's concept in the Indian context is known as 'Desivad.' Nemade's understanding of 'Desi' contrasts with the one employed from

a commonsensical perspective. In commonsensical view, 'Desi' is 'rural' or 'rustic' or 'dehati' primarily associated with the 'inhabitants of villages' in opposition to 'city dwellers.' The idea of 'desi' is equated to 'being uncivilised.' Speakers of vernacular languages with little to no knowledge of English are called 'desi.' The word encompasses the feeling of inferiority. Nativism is basically employed in India from the 'American perspective.' As discussed above, in America, the term 'nativism' encompasses regional connotations. This approach of looking at nativism is 'political,' as it claims ownership over territory. Therefore, the current study calls this approach as 'Political Nativism.'

Nemade's idea of 'Desivad/ Nativity' sharply contrasts the regionalist undertone of the nativist idea. Nemade mistakenly has been reduced to Maharashtra and Marathi due to his literary contribution to Marathi. Here, we need to take into consideration a quote by Nemade. He argues, "Whenever I say Marathi, I mean Indian" (Nemade, 2013). Here, Nemade does not equate Marathi to India but understands Marathi from an Indian point of view. Thus, for Nemade, being 'Desi' means being 'Indian,' which he terms as 'Indianness.' To put it differently, for Nemade, 'Desi' entails 'Indianness.' He elaborates the essence of Indianness by delineating the literary history of India.

He provides a sharp critique of Western coloniality, which has divided 'Indianness' into multiple languages. Nemade argues that British colonisers perceived the Indian cultural scenario on the lines of Western epistemes, where a sharp distinction exists between French, English, German, Dutch, and many more languages. British colonizers divided the Indian landscape through the lens of 'multiple vernacular languages.' Thus, Indian literature contradicts the one constructed by Indologists, Sanskritists, Missionaries, and Orientalists. As Nemade puts it,

"What was perceived as Indian literature is pursuit of Indologists, Sanskritists, orientalist and missionaries. This is not an Indian (Nemade, 2013).

Nemade points out that as a result of the British colonisers approach, in Indian universities, we have separate departments of multiple languages such as Hindi, Konkani, Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada, Malayalam, Telugu, Tamil, etc. This approach sees the composition of these languages in sharp contrast to each other (Nemade, 2013). As a result, 'Indian Nativity' is compartmentalized into 'Marathi Nativity,' 'Konkani Nativity,' 'Hindi Nativity,' 'Kannada Nativity,' and so forth. This

perspective, Nemade points out, serves as a point of departure between the history and present of India (Nemade, 2013). Nemade argues that historically, the Indian landscape is characterised by ‘mutual intelligibility’ between languages (Nemade, 2013). Languages in India borrowed from each other and grew. Even Sanskrit has borrowed from other languages. For instance, retroflex ट, ठ, ड, ढ, ण; entered Rigveda through Dravidian, and not from Indo-European’ (Nemade, 2013).’

Thus, Nemade argues that mutual intelligibility is never a problem in India (Nemade, 2013). By quoting American linguist John J. Gumperz, who has pointed out the existence of the continuous chain of dialects from Sind to Assam, Nemade argues that a spectrum of dialects exists from Tamil Nadu to Afghanistan, representing the ‘geocultural Indianness’ (Nemade, 2013). Hence, he says, every twenty miles, there is intelligibility (Nemade, 2013). Nemade thus moves beyond the linguistic boundaries drawn by colonial modernity. It is important to note that Nemade stresses the presence of movement of people between the length and breadth of the Indian subcontinent and the resulting linguistic scenario shaping the socio-cultural landscape of India. As Nemade says, he uses the framework of ‘bullock cart linguistics’ developed by an Indian linguist, D. P. Pattanayak (Nemade, 2013). ‘Bullock Cart Linguistics’ points out the use of bullock carts for traveling. Indians in the past travelled on foot or by using bullock carts. Individuals and communities were never confined to any one place. They kept on moving on foot. While traveling, the intermixing of dialects has taken place, forming a chain between the various dialects. This phenomenon is known as the ‘dialectal continuum.’ The ‘dialectal continuum’ is an important feature of history.

Nemade’s nativism serves as a link between political nativism and linguistic nativism. As pointed out above, this research refers to the linguistic nativism developed by the linguist Noam Chomsky. At the core of the idea of linguistic nativity lies the Wellentheorie model of linguistic evolution. Language development and change take place through the continuum, as pointed out by Wellentheorie model. Nemade argues that the nativity lies in Indianness. Nemade’s idea of Indianness is not rooted in territory. Territory, being a political idea, stands on the notion of homogeneity. Like Chomsky, the concept of Nemade’s nativity is internal. Indianness is characterised by mutual intelligibility between the various parts of India. Nemade situates Bhakti saints like Namdev and Kabir as an example of mutual intelligibility or Indianness. He points out that the followers of Namdev and Kabir surpassed the regional boundaries

(Nemade, 2013). This is because the languages spoken in medieval India were mutually intelligible. This again signifies the quality of mutual intelligibility between various dialects spoken by the people. Indianness, in this sense, is internal, which is above differences. Political nativity, which locates Indianness in the territory, is based on 'external nativity.' Chomsky's idea of 'Linguistic Nativity' or Universal Grammar helps us to understand Nemade's concept of 'Indian Nativity.' According to Chomsky, internally, a human being is capable of understanding a language. Drawing upon Chomsky and Nemade, it can be argued that the human mind naturally does not differentiate between languages. It means that our socio-political environment compartmentalizes languages by carving out linguistic differences. It creates a block by picturizing the sharp difference between the languages, making us believe that the language is mutually not intelligible owing to its distinctions. The presence of various scripts fortifies these differences, leading to the strengthening of belief in mutual unintelligibility. This prevents us from acknowledging the dialectal continuum existing between different languages. These differences become sharper and prevent cognitive thinking when employed politically, as politically, languages are used to sharpen belief in distinct ethnicities. Hence, the picture of Indian nativity is incomplete, as there exists a predominance of regional nativity over Indian nativity.

To overcome this problem, Nemade introduces 'Supra-glossia'. Supra-glossia is a language that can be learned and understood by all. It will serve as a bridge between all languages spoken and written in India. He thinks that India needs such a language that can become the language of all literature. It is interesting to note that, according to Nemade, Sanskrit cannot become a modern 'Supra-glossia' owing to the heavy Brahmanical influence it has undergone (Nemade, 2013). At the same time, he argues that Sanskrit served as 'Supra-glossia' up to approximately the 10th century when the writers of Sanskrit came from all categories and castes. It was replaced by 'Prakrit' and, from the 12th century, by 'Persian' (Nemade, 2013). During this time, Sanskrit was distanced from the people owing to heavy brahmanisation. He says,

“As long as, Indian literature was assimilative it was assertive. Assimilative implies borrowing. Two major breaks in Indian tradition, from Sanskrit tradition to medieval and to modern. Breaks attributed to hierarchical social system. Indian literary tradition became less representative. Breaks has developed major

separation between language families and regions intensified after linguistic reorganisation” (Nemade, 2013).

Due to inability of Sanskrit to become modern ‘Supra-glossia’, there is a need to craft a new ‘Supra-glossia’ representing plurality of India. Forming Indian literature, ‘Supraglossia’ is a kind of cultural return to literary creole in the characteristic phenomenon of the linguistic history of India (Nemade, 2013). Nemade’s ‘Supraglossia’ is like a lingua franca connecting multiple languages.

To understand the Nemade’s concept of nativity, it is essential to distinguish between diversity and pluralism. The pluralism project of Harvard University aptly distinguishes between pluralism and diversity,

“Pluralism” and “diversity” are sometimes used as if they were synonymous, but diversity—splendid, colorful, and perhaps threatening—is not pluralism. Pluralism is the engagement that creates a common society from all that diversity (Eck et al., 2020).

Nemade’s ‘Supra-glossia’ is informed of the distinction between diversity and pluralism. Thus, in the name of diversity, it is impossible to preserve the languages. Preservation of languages is against its basic structure. The basic structure of language is characterised by change. In this way, Nemade’s nativity lies in ‘Indianness’ internal to the individual. External languages, on which ‘political nativity’ is crafted, act as an impediment in the way of Indian nativity. On the other hand, it results in regional nativeness.

The settled notion defines the concept of nativism in political understanding. Belongings define nativism. The denominators used to construct nativism are primarily language or territory. Nemade’s nativism is extra-territorial. It is defined by unsettled notions. For instance, modernity constructs homogeneous languages, whereas Nemade’s language comprises of polyglots. Nemade’s nativism depicts the nomadic characteristics. Nomadism entails democratic traits than sedentary. Thus, the account of Saussure, Chomsky, and Nemade suggests that ‘fluidity’ is an inalienable feature of languages. The perception of language as a ‘fixed’ aspect reproduces a sedentary language. The sedentary aspect of language ties it to the territory. The Stammbaum understanding of languages foregrounds languages into territory. The moment

language gets tied to the territory or any other fixed identity, it is reduced to a dialect as the dialects are attached to community, ethnicity, and territory. A language traverses the ethnic, religious, and territorial boundaries. Therefore, the languages are not sedentary but are in fact nomadic.

It is important to consider the regional nativeness of Konkani, its genesis, and its development. Like other vernacular languages in India, Konkani has been reduced to Konkani ethnicity. Inner dynamics characterises Konkani's ethnicity. It represents undemocratic features as its standard form fails to represent all dialects of Konkani. Therefore, it is important to analyse the identitarian episteme of Konkani, which has shaped Konkani's political nativity. What are its undercurrents? Nemade has emphasized the creation of 'Indian Supraglossia', i.e., a language that can be used as a language of Indian literature. On the lines of Nemade, this research proposes the 'Konkani Supraglossia'. It is crucial to deliberate upon the concept of 'Supraglossia' in order to initiate the democratisation of Konkani. The prime component of 'Supraglossia' is inclusivity; its inclusion in Konkani consciousness is of utmost importance in consolidating Konkani to become the language of the state. However, the Konkani nativity is devoid of linguistic nativity. Several factors contributed to the growth of Konkani's political nativity. Therefore, the following section illuminates the unfolding of Konkani's 'political nativity.'

4.4 Political Nativism in Konkan

The political nativity in India is articulated through dialects since the 'nativity' is closely associated with 'local.' The local is expressed in the dialects of the community. The need for linguistic unification, such as 'Samyukta Maharashtra' or 'United Karnataka' transformed the dialect-based movement into the language movement. The Konkan followed the replica of the pan-India model of constructing nativity by marking linguistic distinction. Political nativism is constructed on the basis of linguistic ethnicities. Political nativism in Konkan revolves around three main languages: Konkani, Marathi, and Kannada. In Maharashtra and Karnataka, Marathi and Kannada are undoubtedly accepted as a medium for emphasizing the nativity respectively.

In Goa, owing to the diverse linguistic ecosystem, the carving of the nativity on the basis of a single language went through various intricacies. Upper-caste Christians saw themselves as a product of Portuguese nativity, Hindus constructed nativity through Marathi, and lower-caste Christians through Konkani. The grim economic situation caused the emigration of Christians, especially from old conquests, to British India and other Portuguese colonies. The Christian nativity is an outcome of their emigrant status. Christian nativity emerged intensively in an emigrant location. The nativity is born out of pride. The Konkani press sought to carve out pride by emphasizing the contribution of native individuals to the emigrant location. For instance, emphasis led to the contribution of Goans in Africa, the erstwhile colony of Portuguese, in an article '*Goenkar Africant*' (Marquiz, 1929, p. 1).

The name of the periodicals such as '*O Goano*', '*Goan World*', '*Goa Times*', and many more suggest the emergence of Goan nativity in the metropolitan city of Bombay. The colonial Goan nativity stressed the territory. Everything associated with territory begins to be used to emphasise nativity. For instance, series of articles published on *Goenchi Picavol* (Amcho Gao, 1931, p. 1), *Goenche Padri* (Amcho Gao, 1931, p. 1), *Goenchi Aneenessam* (Amcho, 1933, p. 1), *Goenche Ambe* (Gao, 1933, p. 1), *Goencho undo* (Gao, 1930, p. 1), etc. Thus, the political nativity lies in the preservation of dialects. The Konkani press contributed to the construction of Goan nativity by effectively dealing with the indifference towards the land of the individuals belonging to the territory of Goa. The decline of Goan ethos, such as a decreasing love towards the homeland among the emigrant population, served as a main theme of Konkani literature of this time (Goawalla, 1929). Thus, territorial belonging, along with dialectal association, defined the essence of Goanness. The Goan nativity of Christians, however, emerged under the predominance of Portuguese nativity. The predominance of Portuguese nativity and Christian cultural ethos in defining Goanness distanced the Hindus from associating with Goan nativity crafted by Christians. Though the Christians recognised the role of Bombay in the production of journals and periodicals in Konkani (Balisttor, 1930, p. 2), it did result in the association of Goa with Maharashtra due to the perception of Bombay as a metropolitan city at that time and not exclusively as the Maharashtrian city.

Hindus in new conquests perceived the idea of Goanness as a break in the continuity of Hindu culture. Therefore, Hindus carved out nativity in the term '*Gomantak*.' Hindus

maintained that the Christians considered themselves a part of the Portuguese, whereas the Gomantakiya people saw themselves as a part of Maharashtra (Prachiprabha, 1925). It is important to note that Hindus, in new conquests, protected their nativity through the term 'Gomantak' and 'Gomantakiy'. The emphasis on Gomantak needed to be seen as a dialectal assertion rather than an assertion based on the Marathi language. The idea of Gomantak in Marathi's imagination preserved the distinct identity of Goa and restricted it from merging into the idea of Maharashtra. Initially Hindu upper-castes saw Konkani as the language of Christians. In nineteen-forty's, Hindu upper-castes started accepting Konkani in Nagri script as their mother-tongue due to the influence of Valaulikar's activism. However, they tried to erase the influence of Lusophone on the ideas of Goan and Konkani. For instance, the Marathi press witnessed the debate between the terms 'Gomantak' and 'Goem'. As seen in the previous chapter, the Marathi press tried to prove the Hinduness of the term Goa by tracing its origin to puranas and in Sanskrit texts like Suthasanhita (Desai, 1957). Upper-caste Hindus, thus started perceiving themselves as Goans by erasing the Lusophone influence on the term Goa.

Vaman Valaulikar played an important role in locating the Hindu upper caste nativity in Konkani. As pointed out in the second chapter, orientalist scholars have already identified Konkani as the language of the Saraswats. The foundation for establishing Konkani as the legitimate Hindu Saraswat language had already been laid by scholars such as Erskine Perry, Murphy, Cunha Rivara, Gerson da Cunha, and Angelus Maffei. The remaining task for Valaulikar was to enhance Konkani's status relative to Marathi. Valaulikar set out to elevate Konkani's position within the linguistic hierarchy, ensuring its prominence over Marathi. The reasons for this need emerged out of political urgency. As Narayan Desai (2002) argues Saraswats employed Konkani to claim the Brahmin status vis-à-vis the local Brahmin communities i.e. Chitpavans in Maharashtra, Shivalli Brahmins in Karnataka and Namboodripad and Tamil Brahmins in Kerala.

Since the Hindu nativity in the colonial period was under the shadow of Marathi, and Marathi was largely associated with the Chitpavans, the first task of Valaulikar was to erase it from Marathi influence. This was possible only when the claim of Konkani as a distinct language from Marathi would get a wider currency. It resulted in the

construction of distinct nativity based on the Marathi-Konkani distinction. Linguistically, owing to the linguistic continuum between the two languages, establishing the distinction between Marathi and Konkani was an unattainable endeavour. Therefore, Valaulikar invented Konkani-based ethnicity to distinguish it from Marathi. He calls Konkani speakers as 'Kokane' and Marathi speakers as 'Marathan', symbolizing not just languages but a fusion of languages and ethnicity (Valaulikar, 2003, pp. 185-193). Valaulikar identifies Gomantak Maratha samaj and other nomadic communities like Thakur, artists, and peasants as 'Marathan' (Valaulikar, 2003, p. 190). Because of this distinction, many Hindu lower caste communities were associated with Marathi identity. According to him, 'Marathan' or 'Gomantak Maratha samaj' was responsible for the moral corruption of the virtuous Kokane people as Kokane imitated the habit of drinking by becoming an audience to the cultural play performed mainly by the GMS community through *Marathi sangeet natak* (Valaulikar, 2003, p. 192). Therefore, he gave a call to *Kokane* or Konkani people to keep a distance from the Marathans (Valaulikar, 2003, p. 193). Thus, Valaulikar employs Konkani to construct the 'Konkani nativity'. However, it is also important to note that Valaulikar's construction of Konkani nativity is not limited to the Portuguese territory of Goa but encompasses ritualistic features of the Konkani region as hallmarks of the Konkani language (Valaulikar, 2003, pp. 197-207). He invents a phrase, 'trademarks of Konkani' (Valaulikar, 2003, p. 197). In narrating the 'trademarks of Konkani,' he illuminates upon certain practices unique to the territory of Konkani, such as worship of goddess Shantadurga or goddess Sateri, worship of lord Brahma, worship of lord Rawalnath, Bhutnath and worship of the distinct version of Linga (Valaulikar, 2003, pp. 187-207). Therefore, he calls these practices as trademarks of the Konkani region as significantly different from the Marathi landscape (Valaulikar, 2003, p. 216). Thus, trademarks narrated by Valaulikar are not specific to Goa alone but span across the territory of Konkani.

The assertion around the Konkani language is born during the state reorganisation in the already demarcated background of Konkani nativity. The genesis of the political acceptance of linguistic organisation goes back to the Nagpur session of the Indian National Congress when M. K. Gandhi accepted the linguistic formula of state reorganisation. The political undercurrents of state reorganisation influenced the Marathi-Konkani debate of the 1950s in the Marathi colonial press. The demand for

state reorganisation on a linguistic basis in India resulted from the battles fought between the regional elites. However, the demand for the formation of Maharashtra state was led by non-elites. As a result, it failed to impress the State Reorganisation Commission, resulting in the retainment of the state of Bombay. The colonial Marathi press in Goa gave widespread criticism of the decision of the State Reorganisation Committee (SRC) on the grounds of injustice meted out to the Marathi people (Dudhasagar, 1955, p. 1). It claimed that the SRC divided Maharashtra into four parts: One into Mumbai, second Vidharbha, third Portuguese territory of Goa, and fourth merging of Marathi areas of Karwar, Haliyal, and Supe to the Karnataka state (Dudhasagar, 1955, p. 1). The colonial Marathi press also opposed the decision of SRC to merge Karwar with Karnataka. It emphasized the Marathi origin of Karwar by arguing that Karwar is Marathi and not Kannada (Dudhasagar, 1956, p. 3). Konkani elites also tapped on the opportunity to establish the state of Konkani on the basis of a distinct Konkani identity.

It has been reported in the Marathi press that one committee of Konkani people met the SRC and demanded to create the Konkani-speaking state from Daman to Kesargod with Mumbai as its capital (Dudhasagar, 1955, p. 1). Though the demand for a separate Konkani state at that time failed, SRC accepted the distinctness of Konkani from Marathi. It resulted in reducing the percentage of Marathi speakers in Bombay. SRC recorded 43.6% of Marathi people in Maharashtra, which excluded 4% of Konkani-speaking people (Dudhasagar, 1955, p. 1). The article claimed that if Konkani and Marathi were recognised as one language, then the percentage of Marathis would have been 48% in Mumbai. This shows that the Konkani protagonist was able to influence the SRC members in acknowledging Marathi's distinctness from Konkani (Dudhasagar, 1955, p. 1). The efforts of Konkani elites to establish the Konkani as separate from Marathi continued. Valaulikar and upper caste individuals beyond the boundaries of Portuguese Goa in Mumbai had already begun the efforts to develop the Konkani movement. The Konkani Parishad was launched in 1939 by Manjunath Shanbagh in Karwar. The Konkani Bhasha Mandal in Mumbai came into existence in 1942 in Mumbai. Valaulikar, Manjunath Shanbagh were its founding members. Konkani Bhasha Mandal (Mumbai) was an outcome of the collaborative efforts of Hindu upper castes and Christians.

They undertook initiatives to provide a firm basis for the Konkani movement in Mumbai such as reorganisation of intercollegiate Konkani drama competition (Dudhasagar, 1959, p. 5). Interestingly, dramas in the competition were presented in Christian, Manglolean, and Goan Hindu dialects. One of the points stressed in the competition is that the Christian and Manglolean dialects, Goan students found difficult to understand. Kisan Kamat's drama, '*pansank pana tin*', and Uday Bhembre's '*vardakshina*' recognised as a better drama among the newcomers (Dudhasagar, 1959, p. 5). Both these dramas represent the upper-caste Hindu dialect spoken in Goa. Thus, the Konkani movement, led by the Hindu upper caste outside the boundaries of Portuguese Goa, invented nativity through dialect and not through the language. In the valedictory address of the event, V. V. Kamat asserted that the Konkani is an ancient language and Marathi, Konkani, Portuguese, and English have equally influenced the language (Dudhasagar, 1959, p. 5). B. D. Satoskar argued that Konkani is the language of *Gomantakiya* people, which was a well-accepted fact in Mumbai (Satoskar, 1959, p. 27). In a Marathi drama, *Sanshaykallol* a dialogue in Konkani, was incorporated to depict the uniqueness of Gomantakiya language (Satoskar, 1959, p. 27).

In the 1940's and 1950's, the efforts of Hindu upper castes in Mumbai, Mangalore, Karwar, and also in Kerela to establish Konkani as a distinct language were countered by their caste brethren in Goa, with a defense of Marathi. The Konkani and Marathi nativity in Goa was widely debated in the Marathi press. The Konkani nativity in the Marathi press is inspired by Vaman Valaulikar. Dudhasagar periodical published letters by G. A. Kamat and Pandurang Mulgaonkar in defense of Marathi and Konkani, respectively. These letters provide a glance at the basis of the arguments regarding Konkani and Marathi. These arguments contributed to the construction of Marathi and Konkani nativity in Goa. Pandurang Mulgaonkar's letter is written in Konkani (Dudhasagar, 1957, p. 3). Mulgaonkar, in this letter, stresses maintaining the dialectal difference in Konkani (Dudhasagar, 1957, p. 3). Mulgaonkar recognizes the diversity of regional and religious dialects of Konkani and argues for maintaining the same (Dudhasagar, 1957, p. 3). It is observed that the Stammbaum approach inspired the arguments favoring Konkani as an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi. The Mulgaonkar claimed that Konkani and Marathi were twin daughters born to Sanskrit mother (Dudhasagar, 1957, p. 3). Similar arguments were presented by other scholars of Konkani. The stress on genetic links resulted in Puritan debates over

languages. The Konkani nativity is also shaped by standardization. The proponents of Konkani claimed that the people of Poona disdained the Konkani speech as colloquial and non-standard (Madhu, 1957). They claimed that Konkani was bound to influence the Marathi, which is a written language in Goa. The Konkani movement based its emphasis on the idea of a mother tongue as it argued that one should be able to write in a language one speaks. The preservation of speech peculiarity shows the importance of the preservation of dialect. Marathi protagonist claimed the diversity of Konkani as one of the major hindrances in the recognition of Konkani as a distinct language. As Kamat argued, Konkani, spoken in the north, is different from Gomantak (Kamat, 1957). Christians would have difficulty understanding the Konkani written in the Nagari script. He also pointed out that the Konkani Parishad of 1939 passed a resolution for the adoption of the Nagari script but failed to implement it (Kamat, 1957). Kamat discarded the claim of the Konkani protagonist that owing to the distinction between spoken Konkani and written Marathi, Gomantakiya people would find it difficult to learn Marathi by arguing that a community that understood Portuguese, English and French so easily, that community would not understand Marathi is an unacceptable claim (Kamat, 1957). Since the claim over language requires the support of a majority in a democracy, an attempt was also made to acquire the support of Bahujan classes in favor of Konkani. The Bahujan population sympathized with Marathi as many Bahujan classes historically acquired upward mobility through Marathi education. It was also important to gain the support of Hindu Bahujans for Konkani in a democratic polity. Konkani protagonists such as B.B. Borkar argued that the Konkani would be beneficial in creating a literate class of Bahujan samaj (Kamat G. A., 1957). Borkar argued that a lower caste like Gawada should produce an intellectual (Kamat G. A., 1957). Kamat replied that Marathi education could also produce intellectuals among the Bahujan class.

However, the movement for a united Maharashtra did not impose Marathi as spoken in Pune as the legitimate dialect of Marathi. The idea of socialism provided a foundation for the call for *Samyukta* Maharashtra (Teltumbde , 2010, p. 11). The socialist essence of *Samyukta* Maharashtra is resonated in the slogans '*Samyukta* Maharashtra, Socialist Maharashtra (Teltumbde , 2010). United Maharashtra was a mass movement. The movement for a united Maharashtra had an influence of social reformers like Mahatma Phule and Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Teltumbde , 2010, p. 11). The

socialist influence on Marathi influenced the first chief minister of Goa, Dayanand Bandodkar, to favor Marathi as the language of the people of Goa. Thus, there is a difference in Bandodkar's advocacy of Marathi, and the Hindu upper castes individuals favor to Marathi, stemming from cultural consciousness. For instance, Laxmanrao Sardessai, an ardent supporter of Marathi, in a speech at the 'Eighth Gomantak Sahitya Sammelan' said that Gomantak needs to initiate the *Sanskritik* Renaissance' or 'Cultural renaissance' like Florence (Sardessai, 1958, p. 13). The association of the Marathi language with the upper caste Hindu nativity in Goa distanced Goan Christians from Marathi. Thus, both sides attempt to counter every claim leveled against each other.

The emphasis upon the distinction between Marathi and Konkani is an outcome of many causal factors. The first cause was the caste. In oriental discourse, Konkani begins to be recognized as the language of Saraswats by overlooking its close link with the lower caste communities, especially Kolis. As Parobo points out, Saraswats used Konkani to forge unity between the various sub-jatis of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins (GSB) (Parobo, 2016). Narayan Desai unfolds the employment of Konkani by Saraswats as the community language vis-à-vis Brahmins of Maharashtra and Karnataka (Desai N. , 2002), leading to the elites' interest in proving the independence of Konkani. The second cause for the radicalizing distinction between the Konkani and Marathi emerges from the employment of linguistic parameters during the state reorganisation movement to carve out an independent state. So, rather than a linguistic continuum, Konkani proponents emphasized the construction of distinction. Marathi protagonists, which also include Saraswats, stressed the linguistic continuum between Marathi and Konkani. It was argued that there is, in fact, no conflict between Marathi and Konkani (Vasantik Visheshank). The historical presence of linguistic continuum between Marathi and Konkani led to the incorporation of currently identified 'Konkani words' in Dyaneshwari. Konkani protagonist also argued that the Konkani is old and superior to Marathi since Konkani is Maharashtri Prakrit, from which the modern Marathi has emerged. Hence, Konkani is a colloquial form of Marathi, and Marathi is a standard form of Konkani (Vasantik Visheshank). This argument is significant from a linguistic point of view as it acknowledges the Wellentheorie model in understanding language formation. However, the puritan episteme of the argument fixes it to the Stammbaum model. The puritan influence on the Marathi-Konkani distinction stems

from the cultural influence on the Marathi language in Goa. The emphasis on linguistic continuum is framed to emphasize the cultural superiority of Marathi over Konkani as it was generally accepted that one who is strong in Marathi can also speak 'good Konkani' (Vasantik Visheshank). The phrase 'good Konkani' stems from the understanding of the cultural superiority of Hinduism. This kind of argument sidelined the Christian assertion of Konkani nativity. These debates were taking place in the context of state reorganisation, and hence, a simultaneous discussion was also on Goa's merger with Maharashtra. Marathi protagonist argued that due to the linguistic continuum between Marathi and Konkani, Goa, on its liberation, should be merged with Maharashtra. The cultural superiority of Marathi over Konkani made a strong basis for proposing Goa's merger with Maharashtra. Thus, the question of nativity needs a renewed understanding on the basis of the arguments in favour of Marathi and Konkani. In free Goa, the nativist activism shaped the Konkani and Marathi nativity.

The 'Puneri Marathi' influenced Goa's upper caste Marathi protagonist in the pre-liberation period. The phrase 'Puneri' depicts the Brahmanical influence on Marathi. As pointed out earlier, the movement for the state of Maharashtra was influenced by socialist underpinnings rather than the language purity. After the formation of Maharashtra in May 1960, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Yashwantrao Chavan, made an effort to standardise Marathi considering the dialectal variation of the language. He allotted the responsibility to standardise Marathi to the Marathi writer, Datto Vaman Potdar, leading to the creation of Akhil Bhartiya Marathi Sahitya Mahamandal. The Marathi Mahamandal is an alliance of four organisations, namely Maharashtra Sahitya Parishad of Pune, Mumbai Marathi Sahitya Sangh, Marathwada Sahitya Parishad, and Vidharbha Sahitya Sangh. The Mahamandal entrusted with task of forming the rules for Marathi orthography. Thus, the democratisation of Marathi has been acknowledged formally by the state of Maharashtra. In contrast to this, the Konkani have not witnessed an attempt to bridge the dialectal variation. The democratisation of language is an essential component of the modern nation-state. The contemporary Konkani discourse needs to incorporate the democratisation to facilitate the process of Konkani in becoming the language of the state. Given the importance languages received in independent India, the Konkani were roped into the battle of identities. The nativist activism in Konkani has significantly shaped the Konkani language in post-colonial Goa.

4.5 Nativist Activism

The upper caste Hindu nativist activism in Konkani first took place outside the Portuguese colonies of Goa. The first All India Konkani parishad organised in 1939 at Karwar, the second at Udupi in 1940, and the third at Mumbai in 1942. The third conference conceptualised the need for the Konkani association dedicated to the cause of Konkani. This idea led to the foundation of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal in 1942 in Mumbai. The Mandal was an outcome of the collaborative efforts of Christians and Hindus, that includes Vaman Valaulikar, Dr. H. O. Mascarenhas, Armand Menezes and others. The Mandal also received support from literary laureates such as B. B. Borkar and linguist S. M. Katre (Alphonso , 2007).

Adv. Madhav Shanbhaug was president of the first All India Konkani parishad. Valaulikar was one of the founding presidents of the Parishad. The Parishad adopted a resolution to promote Nagri as the legitimate script of Konkani. The adoption of Nagri as the legitimate script resolved the debate among the Hindus regarding the choice of a legitimate script. The choice of a legitimate script for Konkani has been a subject of discussion since colonial times. The upper caste Hindus discarded the Romi script adopted by the Goan Christians on the basis of difficulty in understanding the language (Pai, 1920, p. 2). There was also a discussion on the creation of a script familiar to the Konkani speech (Pai, 1920, p. 2). The influence of Nagri Pracharini Sabha established to promote the Nagri as the legitimate script for Hindi and other Indo-Aryan languages, against the upper caste Muslim assertion for Urdu script, guided the Hindu upper castes in perceiving the script issue. The Konkani Hindu upper caste attempted to align with the pan-Indian Hindu upper caste and promoted the use of the Nagri script to establish a firm ground for Hindu nativity in the post-colonial period (Desai N. , 2002). Thus, nativist activism played a crucial role in promoting the reach of the Nagri script, which came to be associated with the Hindu assertion.

The Konkani assertion of the 1940s resulted in recognizing Konkani as an independent language from Marathi. The 1950 census recorded 6.5 lakh people at all India level as Konkani speakers, and 2.5 lakh people alone in Konkani selected Konkani as their mother tongue (Dudhasagar, 1958, p. 3). Hence, the 1950 census listed Konkani and Marathi under two different heads, thereby approving the distinctness of both

languages. It is argued that Maharashtra lost the claim over the territories of Karwar, Supe, and Haliyal to Karnataka due to the radicalizing of the distinction between Konkani and Marathi, which resulted in the reduction of the percentage of Marathi speakers (Dudhasagar, 1956, p. 3).

After the liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule in 1961, deciding the status of Goa became the tumultuous issue. The merger with Maharashtra, the roots of which goes back to colonial period shaped the politics of Maharashtra Gomantak Party. The entry of Dayanand Bandodkar, on the political scene marked the entry of Hindu Bahujans in nativist activism centered around the Marathi language. Bandodkar won elections in 1963 and set to achieve the goal of Goa's merger with Maharashtra. The Congress leadership convinced Indira Gandhi government to conduct opinion poll in Goa. In opinion poll the Konkani language was an important factor but not the significant one. The debates in the Marathi periodical press and organisation of Marathi literary conferences like Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan, in which the discussion on the merger with Maharashtra was a main concern, shows that the merger sentiments were systematically built during the colonial times. Bandodkar continued the attempts already present in Goa to merge Goa with Maharashtra. Opinion poll brought into the mainstream two nativities that evolved under the Portuguese colonial rule: the Marathi nativity of the new conquests and the distinct identity based on Portuguese coloniality of the old conquests. The Saraswat had already attempted to carve out the state of Konkani speakers, failing initially but eventually succeeding. The liberation of Goa from Portuguese rule created a suitable environment for asserting the Konkani nativity in the erstwhile Portuguese colony. However, during the opinion poll, Goa's identity influenced by the Portuguese colonial rule became the basis of distinctness. Goa's distinct identity revolved around the idea of Christianity, which has evolved in old conquests (Kale, 1994, p. 911). As discussed in the previous chapter, Goa possessed a linguistically diverse ecosystem. Different sections of the Goa's population supported different languages such as Portuguese, Konkani, Marathi, and English. Owing to the diverse linguistic ecosystem, the Goa's sentiment for the homogeneous Konkani state developed gradually. Konkani received serious attention from the masses during the demand for statehood of Goa in the 1980's. The necessity for a unique language for the formation of an independent state helped in appealing to the masses to recognize the importance of the Konkani language in nurturing a distinct

identity. As discussed before, the Marathi nativity has a firm grounding in the new conquests due to the history of the Marathi language use in Goa. A violent conflict between the Konkani and Marathi erupted when the private member bill tabled by MLA Luizinho Faliero was defeated by the Pratapsingh Rane government (Rubinoff, 1992, p. 484). The defeat of the bill resulted in the formation of Konkani Porjecho Awaj (KPA), comprising of Christians and upper castes Hindu writers of Konkani (Rubinoff, 1992, p. 484).

The KPA organised meetings and demonstrations in nook and corner of Goa, asking for the people's support. Marathi Rajya Bhasha Prasthapan Samiti (MRBPS) demanded to pass the act declaring Marathi as the official language of Goa. As a result, a violent clash emerged between the two protesting groups, leading to the death of seven people (Matsukawa, 2002, p. 132). Thus, the linguistic sentiments claimed lives in Goa, like the other parts of India. This led to the passing of the Official Language Act in February 1986, declaring the Konkani in Devnagari script as the official language of the state. The Act thus initiated another battle between the Romi and Nagri Konkani enthusiasts. Romi Lipi Action Front is fighting a legal battle for the recognition of the Romi script, which is the ultimate source of expression for Goan Christians. It is interesting to note that the Official Language Act recognized the Konkani written in Nagri script in 1986, and the Sahitya Academy recognized Konkani written in Nagri script in 1975. Amidst this, the Romi script and dialect have remained as an expression of Goan Christian nativity.

Apart from Goa, Karnataka nurtured the Konkani activism. The language enjoyed generous funding from the Karnataka government for the development of the Konkani language in Kannada script. The Karnataka government established Konkani Bhasha Mandal (Karnataka) in 1974. In 1992, Karnataka Konkani Sahitya Academy came into existence. The two reasons can be cited for the active involvement of the Karnataka government for the growth of Konkani. The majority of Konkani speakers reside in Karnataka. The Konkani speakers in Karnataka come from all classes and castes of Konkan, right from the influential and wealthy groups such as Gaud Saraswat, Chitrapur Saraswat Brahmins, and Christians to the numerically dominant groups like Bhandari, Gabit, Kudubi or Kunbi, Siddi-Muslim. Navayath, Mahar, etc. The website of Karnataka Konkani Sahitya Academy lists nearly fifty-two groups of Konkani-speaking community in Karnataka (KKSA, 2024). The numerical presence of the

Konkani speaking community forms a strong basis for the enhancement of the Konkani language in Karnataka. Secondly, the Karnataka-Maharashtra border dispute may be a strong reason for supporting Konkani. As seen in the past, Karnataka supported the claim of Konkani as an independent language so as to withhold the merging of territories into Maharashtra.

Apart from state support, the efforts by private individuals and organisations, especially the overseas Catholic and upper castes, contribute to the growth of Konkani in the Kannada script. The notable efforts include the organisation of the World Konkani Convention at Mangalore in 1995, leading to the formation of the Konkani Language and Cultural Foundation. The foundation instrumentalized the establishment of the World Konkani Centre at Mangalore. Basti Vaman Shenoy contributed immensely to the foundation of the World Konkani Centre (WKC, 2024). He was known by the titles Vishwa Konkani Sardar and Vishwa Saraswat Sardar. The foundation has come up with various scholarships and other assistance for the Konkani speakers. It is actively involved in the growth and development of Konkani in Karnataka. The foundation is an outcome of Saraswat's efforts to develop Konkani.

Similarly, the efforts by the Karnataka Christians for the growth of Konkani led to the establishment of the Konkani Institute at St. Aloysius College in the year 1980. In 1992, the Konkani department was established at the college. The institute published a bi-annual research journal *Amar Konkani* (Aloysius, 2018). Unlike in Goa, the Catholic community in Karnataka has accepted the Konkani written in Devnagari script along with the Kannada script. For instance, the journal *Amar Konkani* of St. Aloysius is published in Kannada and also in the Nagri script. Since the Karnataka Christian community associates itself with the identity of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins, the adoption of the Kannada script is treated as a part of necessity. The employment of Kannada script for Konkani in Karnataka is not related to the Dravida identity. Also, the genesis of Konkani in Karnataka is traced to Father Maffei, who considered the speech of Hindus as pure and encouraged the people in Karnataka to erase the Christian influence on Konkani (Maffei, 1883). Thus, historically, the Christians in Karnataka have accepted Hindu speech as pure. These differences in cultural epistemes set distinction between the Goan Christians and Karnataka Christians. The Konkani organisation is spread across the Indian territory. Goencarancho Ekvott is an association of Goan people residing in New Delhi (Fernandes, 2022). Similarly,

Samyukta Konkani Sabha, the members of which are GSBs, is an association of Konkani people in Pune (2018).

4.6 Overseas assertion of Konkani Nativity

The politics of dialects and script anchors the Konkani's political nativity. The radicalising of binaries between the Romi and Nagri Konkani has invisibilised the contribution to the growth of Konkani by the overseas Konkani emigrants, most of whom hail from the Catholic lower caste. Overseas Catholics continue to express their nativity in Konkani. The emergence of the Konkani associations overseas is the outcome of the efforts of Goan Catholics. In the 1980's and 1990's, Goans, especially Catholics, migrated to the Gulf countries such as Abu Dhabi, Bahrain, Muscat, Dubai, Kuwait, and other territories (Peres, 2023). The migration resulted in the establishment of native organisations in the migrated territory. Of many such organisations, one of the important organisations is the Kuwait Konkani Kendra. Other such organisations include The *Kuwait Konkani Mogi*, which continues to promote Konkani in Roman script in Goa (Team Herald, 1922). *Kuwait Konkanni Mogi and Kuwait-Goa Tiatranchi Sonvstha* are other organisations established to promote the Konkani language and culture.

The Goan Christians Konkani drama format, popularly known as *Tiatr*, forms an important medium of Goan Catholic Konkani expression in Goa and overseas. Today the migration to the European countries serves as an attractive destination for Goan Catholics. They have increasingly preferred Europe over Middle Eastern countries. The emigrant population also includes *Tiatrists*. This led to the staging of *Tiatras* in various auditoriums of London city (Peres, 2023). The increasing migration of Tiatr artists to Europe, especially to London, and the increasing presence of the Tiatr-loving communities in these destinations have facilitated the staging of Tiatr in Europe (Peres, 2023). The presence of artists and audiences in these foreign destinations has made staging of Tiatr in locations like London a cost-effective activity. Another medium of Konkani expressions in overseas destinations are Radio shows. A Konkani radio show, *Konkani Uloi London Fuloi*, aired on UK airwaves and hosted by RJ Rockey Vaz, is popular among the Goan diaspora. The Vaz, along with his supporters, has also launched the Konkani Kovita Academy in Europe (O Heraldo, 2023). *Susegad Danpar*

founded in 2022, is another Konkani radio news show and YouTube channel for the Auckland-based Konkani community. Its objective is to keep the Goan diaspora informed about the events in Goa and overseas Goans. The people involved in running the channel are Reggie D'Souza, Shamir Deniz, Salus Correia, and Frankey Fernandes (O Herald , 2021). It has been witnessed that the Tiatr artist preserve their nativity by attaching the name of the village they come from. For instance, Cajeten de Sanvordem a popular Tiatr artist worked in Kuwait came from Goan town of Sanvordem. Similarly, Peter de Marces, a tiatr artist in London came from Goan village of Marcela and many others.

The emigrant Konkani catholic community also includes the Manglorean Catholics. Though the Manglorean Catholics form a significant percentage of Konkani speakers living abroad, the script difference between the Goan Catholics and Manglorean Catholics serves as an obstacle to engage in collaborative efforts for the language. Manglorean Catholics prefer the Kannada script for Konkani. For the Goan diaspora, the territorial belonging to the erstwhile Portuguese territory defines nativity followed by language, while the Konkani-speaking diaspora from other states defines their nativeness through the Konkani language. Though Konkani forms a significant aspect of their nativeness for the Goan diaspora, it is secondary to the territory. For the Konkani-speaking diaspora beyond the territorial boundaries of Goa, the language forms the primary denominator of the nativity. Though the Konkani-speaking community from outside Goa is extensively based in Mangalore, they prefer to identify themselves as the natives of Konkan. The 'Houston Konkani Catholic Association', founded in 2016, is an association of a Konkani-speaking Catholic community outside Goa. Catholic Konkani writers from Karnataka working in Dubai founded 'The Daiji Dubai Writer's Forum'. The forum is instrumental in awarding the Konkani writers who are writing in Kannada script. It also launched the online news portal daijiworld.com to host the news about the events of the Konkani world and society. Today the portal has expanded its activity of publishing the news from the coastal Konkan region and the world to Indian diaspora. The portal published news in English. It exclusively covers detailed news about the events of the Konkani community. Another voluntary organisation *Konkani Kutunb* Behrain, was formed in 2000 by the Konkani-speaking community in Behrain with the aim of promoting the Konkani language, literature, and culture (MTNN, 2015). Konkani Kutumb Germany is another such organization

bringing together the Catholic community using the Kannada script. The lack of collaboration between the Goan Catholics and Karnataka Catholics also stems from castes. Karnataka Catholics associate themselves with the identity of Gaud Saraswat Brahmins, while Goan Catholics come from all castes. This difference in castes, along with the script and territory, serve as a hindrance for forging unity among Catholics who otherwise asserts Konkani language as their mother tongue.

The settlement of the Karnataka Saraswats in US led to the establishment of Konkani organisations pivotal around the Konkani language such as North American Konkani Association (NAKA), American Konkani Association (AKA), Konkani Sabha, American Midwest Konkani Association (AMKA), Konkani Association of California (KAOCA), Boston Area Konkani Association, Konkani Samaj of Southern California, Ontario Konkani Association, Michigans Konkani Association, Konkani in Southern States, Konkani Association of Minnesota, Konkani Association of Florida, Konkani Association of Georgia (Konkani Assoociations in the USA, 2001). In the past, the print media defined nativeness. In contemporary times, community ties on the basis of language, territory, caste, or religion are fostered through digital media and through various social media platforms.

4.7 Contemporary Nativism in Goa

Contemporary nativism in Goa resonates the multilingualism deeply embedded in its culture and history. In 1990, when the Congress government announced the suspension of grants to the English medium schools, peoples protest led to the suspension of the government decision. The support to English in Goa has much more than economic basis. In a way, it has become a part of identity of a section of Goans owing to its empowering role in history and also in present. The opposition to English stems from the danger to the traditional culture embodied in vernacular languages. In 2011, Konkani and Marathi supporters protested against the decision of Congress government led by Chief Minister Digambar Kamat's announcement of the grants to the English medium schools. To oppose the alliance of Konkani-Marathi supporters, a Forum of Rights of Children to Education (FORCE) was launched. Such initiatives by civil society reflect the deep entrenched multilingual landscape of Goa.

Multilingual assertion has become an inalienable part of Goan nativity and appears in the backdrop of every parliamentary and assembly election. The 2024 parliamentary election resuscitated the old language controversy. The delegation of Romi Konkani Sonsthancho Ekvott (delegation of Romi Konkani Institutions) including former speaker Tomazinho Cardozo presented the memorandum to the Governor to accord equal status to the konkani written in Romi script immediately after the assembly results (Dainik Herald, 2022, p. 1). The convenor of Bharatiy Bhasha Suraksha Manch (BBSM) Subhash Velingkar quickly opposed this demand (Times of India, 2022). Speaker Tawadkar announced the assembly business in Konkani. Chief Minister Sawant stressed upon the use of Konkani along with English in the proceedings of the High Court of Bombay at Goa (Deccan Herald, 2022). The ruling dispensation in Maharashtra seemed to lure the Konkani section to offset BJP. The 95th Akhil Bharatiy Marathi Sahitya Sammelan at Udgir, Latur in Maharashtra invited Jnanpith awardee and ardent Konkani activist Damodar Mauzo as a chief guest. The president of Akhil Bharatiy Marathi Sahitya Sammelan Mahamandal, Koutikaro Thale Patil demanded equal official status to Marathi in Goa on the platform of the sammelan (Times of India, 2022). This has further honed the bygone narratives on language. During the inaugural of Akhil Bharatiy Konkani Parishad at Malvan, Sindhudurg, CM Sawant asserted that Konkani is not the dialect of Marathi (The Goan Network, 2022). Marathi supporters renovated the Marathi Bhavan at Porvorim which was in shabby condition after its closure in 2014 during the Parrikar government. Shivcharan Ujjain Foundation, Jalgaon, Maharashtra held the All-India Shiv Marathi Sahitya Sammelan at Ponda. The former MLA Rohidas Naik and former Shiv Sena leader Ajitsingh Rane demanded equal status to Marathi (Prudent Media, 2022). On June 17, 2022, former LoP of MGP Ramakant Khalap with Marathi Rajyabhasha Prasthapan Samiti, Gomantak Marathi Akadami, Kokan Marathi Parishad Goa, Marathi Ase Mayboli Amuchi, Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Parishad and Gomantak Marathi Bhasha Parishad staged a protest at Azad Maidan in Panaji to demand equal official status to Marathi (Dainik Herald, 2022). Contemporary nativism in Goa follows the genesis of linguistic continuum and fails to restrain itself to the assertion surrounding monolingualism.

Konkani to emerge as a language of the state should acknowledge the linguistic continuum and should attempt to build 'Konkani Supraglossia'. The hesitation in accepting the continuum would act detrimental to the interest of the language and its

speakers. In contemporary Goa, different groups working for the cause of Konkani works in isolation from each other. Social media heralded the contribution from people from various castes, creeds and religion in composing the songs, music of various genre like religious, spiritual, and romantic. Reels made by different individuals in their dialects are uploaded on social media. Its wide publicity in the form of likes and share received from Palghar to Mangalore on social media, indicates that all dialects of Konkani spoken by people belonging to different castes, religions and regions possesses an equal potential of acceptance. Only a standard Konkani resonating these variations can become the language of the state and Konkani speakers must try to achieve the same.

Chapter V

Conclusion

This study provides a framework for the dialectical understanding of the Konkani language. The existing literature on language politics extensively deals with the politicization of Konkani language. However, the analysis of Konkani language politics lacks linguistic inquiry, resulting in the politicization of the Konkani. The politicization of language has reduced the languages to regionalities by developing the ethnic connotations of languages. Therefore, this study attempted to unearth the historical processes that linked languages to ethnicities. The evolution of the Konkani language is the prime focus of the study. Hence, it critically examines the two distinct narratives in public discourse regarding the origin of Konkani. In popular discourse, it has been argued that the Konkani emerged at the bank of river Saraswati in the speech of Saraswat Brahmins, and the natural calamity, i.e., drying of the river, forced the migration of the Brahmin group southwards. The Goa's Brahmins brought it to Goa, and thus, it got mixed in the speech of local people. The second claim is that the Konkani is the speech of local tribal groups: Gawada, Kunbi, and Velip. These approaches reduce Konkani to the community, thereby consolidating the linguistic ethnicities.

Thus, the thesis discovers that at the core of the formation of linguistic ethnicities lies the methodology adopted by the colonial administrators, who were also oriental scholars, in studying the formation of languages. Early orientalists commit the mistake of overlooking the distinction between language and dialect. The orientalist approached the binaries between language and dialect from the lens of genealogical purity. The oriental scholars considered the language spoken by only Brahmins as pure (Perry, 1853) (da Cunha Rivara, 2006). The oriental scholars attempted to search for the presence of Sanskrit words in the local language. According to oriental scholars, Sanskrit words are found in the dialect of Brahmins. Therefore, orientalists considered the dialect of Brahmins to be equivalent to the language.

This approach obscures the presence of the non-Brahmin community in linguistic discourse. The notion of the absence of Sanskrit words in the dialects spoken by the non-Brahmin communities became unintelligible to the scholars of orientalism. The presence of a large number of colloquial words in the Konkani speech of non-brahmin communities made it unintelligible to the oriental scholarship. Thus, the orientalists presumed the absence of Sanskrit words in the speech of non-brahmin communities. Orientalists adopted the community-based study of languages in India. This approach proved fatal to the study of Konkani and all Indian languages, as it interrupted the historical linguistic continuum between the languages spoken in adjacent territories.

Also, the puranas like Sahyadri Khanda and Konkanakhyan became evidence for the migration of Brahmins from the north. Orientalists' overemphasis on migration as the only factor of linguistic change further attached the birth of languages in India to Brahmins. However, in attaching the languages to Brahmins, orientalists provincialized the languages by segregating Brahmin communities into different territorial zones, for instance, Bengali brahmins, Konkani brahmins, Marathi brahmins, etc. Orientalists also overlooked the movement of communities other than brahmins, resulting in the fixing of languages to the Brahmin community. The genealogical framework provides the basis for language standardization in India. Even the leaders like Mahatma Gandhi recognized linguistic mutual intelligibility. The following quote of Mahatma Gandhi on the issue of national language reflects his views on recognizing the mutual intelligibility of languages. Mahatma Gandhi wrote in Harijansevak on 12th October 1947,

“The Hindustani should be neither Sanskritised Hindi nor Persianised Urdu but a happy combination of both. It should also freely admit words wherever necessary from the different regional languages and also assimilate words from foreign languages, provided that they can mix well and easily with our national language. Thus, our national language must develop into a rich and powerful instrument capable of expressing the whole gamut of human thought and feelings. To confine oneself to Hindi or Urdu would be a crime against intelligence and the spirit of patriotism” (Gandhi, 1947).

The parameters of genealogical purity include religion, script, superimposition of grammatical codes, and identification and deletion of foreign words from languages. The emphasis on genealogical purity stems from adopting the Stammbaum model in

linguistic analysis. Therefore, this study has attempted to build a linguistic understanding of the Konkani language.

The second chapter employs the linguistic methodologies developed by Ferdinand de Saussure, Noam Chomsky, Eric Gans, Hugo Schuchardt, and Joannes Schmidt to understand the formation of the political bases of Konkani. It has employed the linguistic debate between Stammbaum and Wellentheorie in understanding contemporary language politics in India. It elaborates on the fusion of ethnicities with languages as an outcome of the Stammbaum model or Tree model of linguistic analysis. It has analysed the case of Konkani from these conflicting models and built the base for the scientific understanding of the Konkani language. The Stammbaum model divides the languages into two prime language families, i.e., Indo-Aryan and Dravidian. This approach produced a profound impact on Konkani by which Marathi and Konkani are classified into the Indo-Aryan language family and Kannada into the Dravidian language family, thereby eliminating the scope for cross-linguistic inquiry primarily between Konkani and Kannada. Therefore, though, historically, Konkani has been referred to as 'Canarese,' the classification of Konkani and Kannada into two distinct linguistic families intercepts an effort towards establishing the continuum between Konkani, Kannada, and Marathi. As a result of this classification, many communities of the Konkani lost recourse to their history. These communities include Kharvi, Bhandari, Dhangar, Gomantak Maratha Samaj and Kunbi spread across the territories of Konkani. This proves a hypothesis that radicalising the distinction between Marathi and Konkani invisibilise the presence of Konkani's historically dominant but contemporarily vulnerable communities.

The third chapter also discusses the attachment of languages vis-à-vis communities in Goa as developed in the print sphere. In the print sphere, the Portuguese and Marathi are attached to the upper caste Catholic and Hindu identity, respectively. Konkani, in the Romi script, is attached to the identity of lower-caste Catholics. The Hindu lower castes attempt at upward mobility through Marathi gets overlooked when Marathi is attached to the upper castes. The chapter highlights the assertion of Hindu lower caste through the Marathi periodical *Pragati*. In contemporary times, in the wake of regional identities, the Marathi, Konkani, and Kannada are identified with the three states; Maharashtra, Goa, and Karnataka, respectively. The use of Marathi by Hindu lower

castes for upward mobility in colonial times made the Hindu lower castes support the merger campaign (i.e. to merge Goa with Maharashtra) under the leadership of Bahujan leader Dayanand Bandodkar. The wide spread support of Bahujans to merge Goa has stereotyped them as *Marathiwadi* in contemporary Goa. However, given the historical linguistic continuum, it is natural for communities to associate with more than one linguistic identity. Therefore, Hindu Bahujans are Konkani's as well as Marathi's. The contemporary framework of linguistic regionalities prevents the communities from doing so.

As a result, the selfhood of the lower caste has suffered. In the conflict between Marathi and Konkani, the common person has become servitude, thinking they are devoid of history. The communities in Goa share a common history with other Bahujan communities of Konkan. Therefore, Konkani was first recognised as the *Kolibhasha* in Mumbai (Da Cunha G. J., *The Origin of Bombay*, 1900, p. 40). The assertion of Saraswat as caste through Konkani and the acceptance of Konkani by the orientalist as the language of Saraswat have suppressed the claim of other communities over the language. From the regionalist lens, the lower castes are reduced to the marginal status in the history. The Bhandari, therefore, are reduced to only a toddy-tapping community in Goa. However, if seen from Konkan, one can locate a rich history of the community as one engaged in military service. The radicalisation of linguistic regionalities suppresses the glorious history of lower caste communities. This proves the hypothesis that problematizing language-dialect binary paves the way for the democratisation of languages.

The language-dialect binary in Konkani results from adopting an incorrect framework, such as Stammbaum. The employment of Stammbaum raises doubts about the status of Konkani as an independent language, as Konkani has evolved through the influence of different languages like Marathi, Portuguese, English, Hindi, and Kannada. Employing the Wellentheorie model in studying the Konkani language would bring attention to language formation through the linguistic continuum. Linguistically, the language cannot be reduced to any particular community. Languages, when attached to the community, whether it is Brahmin or Bahujan, fail to uphold the characteristics of language. D. D. Kosambi has strongly argued against the owning of language in the following words,

“Language is means of communication for whole society. It develops just as does money and the concept of value. At most a class can MARK its unity by inventing special vocabulary and accent but language and money must belong to whole society. In much the same way no class can have its own currency” (Kosambi, 1962, p. 46).

According to the distinction made by the linguist Ferdinand de Saussure between provincialism and intercourse, provincialism is the characteristic of dialect, while language evolves through the intercourse of various dialects. The community-based emphasis on Konkani has limited Konkani to a dialect, as dialect belongs to the community. In contemporary times, the Konkani is claimed by the communities. Therefore, the various Konkani organisations in India and the world are community specific. The politics of Konkani is divided along community lines.

Language develops through the intermixing of various dialects. This study points out that dialect does not stem from a language as commonly understood. In fact, dialects belong to the community, and language belongs to the people. The recognition of this fact paves the way for the democratization of languages. As a result of the emphasis on the sedentary aspect or provincialism in a language, the linguistic distinction gained currency during the anti-colonial struggle. The loss of linguistic continuum initiated the purification of languages. This culminated in the strengthening of linguistic nativism in India.

The work of Jesuit missionaries had a more impact on Konkani than on any other Indian language. Jesuits invented grammar and dictionaries in Portuguese Goa for evangelization. Though the missionaries have worked to compile the dictionaries and grammar of other languages, due to the lack of support from the British colonial state, their work was not infused into the standard languages. Whereas in Goa, the work of Jesuit missionaries infused in Konkani in Goa. Elsewhere in India, the British invented grammar and dictionaries for administrative and governing purposes. The intent behind the introduction of grammar is bound to produce different results. Portuguese missionaries invented grammar books and dictionaries for fellow missionaries, whereas Britishers were for people as well as fellow Britishers. Though the British administrators and orientalist work is immensely influenced by the missionary work, the central purpose of Britishers to govern the local population through the production of knowledge about the locals receives central focus in late eighteenth, nineteenth and

early twentieth century India. British administrators undertook the colossal tasks of carrying out linguistic surveys, caste census, lexicography, and the preparation of grammar books to govern the local population. British colonial state used language for administrative purposes whereas Portuguese colonial state employed language for spiritual purposes.

This thesis discusses the enmity generated in the print between languages beginning from the late nineteenth century. In the context of Hindi, the efforts were motivated towards distancing it from the influence of Urdu. The animosity between Hindi and Urdu is based on religion. It is interesting to note that, unlike Hindi and Urdu, religion did not form the basis for the differences between Marathi and Konkani. Though Konkani is used by Christian missionaries to spread Christianity, the difference between the two languages is drawn to establish the authentic successor of Sanskrit. The Konkani protagonist claimed that Konkani represents Sanskrit in a true sense and not Marathi (Pereira, 1971, p. 25) (Chavan V. P., 1924, p. 31). Portuguese missionaries used Konkani to spread the Christian religion without distancing it from Sanskrit. The modern scholars of Konkani, such as Jose Pereira, Mariono Saldanha, Rudolpho Dalgado, and others, were also scholars of Sanskrit. The Jesuit missionaries considered Sanskrit to be the authentic originator of the languages in India. Therefore, the works of Jesuit scholars on Konkani, such as Maffei, are influenced by Sanskrit (Maffei, 1883). Hence, the frameworks of Lusitanization and Sanskritization, which are regarded as distinct, are essentially identical. In both these frameworks, the standardisation of language through Sanskrit attains primacy. Therefore, despite several efforts by Catholics the Romi script could not become the legitimate script of Konkani as philosophical origin of Lusitan Konkani also stems from Sanskrit, imposing superiority of Nagri over Romi script.

Portuguese missionaries and administrators contributed to the construction of Konkani's political nativity. However, this study has shown that rather than Portuguese missionaries, Portuguese administrators first initiated the movement towards the political nativity of Konkani. Early missionary work in Konkani, Father Stephen's 'Krista Purana' and 'Arte de lingua Canarese' are seminal texts emphasizing the dialectal continuum of Konkani. Thus, Father Stephens's work traversed the boundaries of regional nativity. Portuguese administrator J.H. Da Cunha Rivara is the first to emphasize the independence of Konkani. This has fostered linguistic nativism

in the colonial and post-colonial period. The linguistic nativism employed in India is devoid of Chomskian understanding. The fourth chapter elaborates on the failure to distinguish between political and linguistic nativism. As a result, linguistic nativism is understood as political nativism, leading to fixing languages to different regions. Though the genesis of linguistic nativism as synonymous with political nativism is traced to colonial times, the growth of print and the emphasis on linguistic regionalities fostered nativism in languages. The politics of nativism revolves around the dominant dialects. The dialects used in literature are dominant dialects. Dialects of literature gradually capture the social sphere, subsequently establishing its social and political dominance. The dialects used in literature are used as a yardstick to judge the speech of ordinary people. Thus, as framed in one of the hypotheses, the case study of Konkani shows that the politics of identity revolves around the dominant dialect and not around languages as commonly understood.

The chapter distinguishes between political nativism and linguistic nativism. Political nativism is an outcome of the colonial construction of regionalities, which hides the linkages between the various languages. This study uses the linguistic nativism developed by Noam Chomsky. Chomsky situates the nativity in the biology of individuals. Bhalchandra Nemade attempts to bridge the gap between linguistic nativity and political nativity through his concept of 'Supraglossia.' The 'Supraglossia' cherishes the linguistic continuum without reducing the language to dialect. On these lines, this study proposes creation of 'Konkani Supraglossia.' The 'Supraglossia' binds the linguistic difference. Supraglossia is the common vocabulary of language. It acknowledges the dialectal differences between the languages. It is free from the notions of purity and pollution.

The available literature on Konkani language overemphasises the role of script in dividing the Konkani speaking community. However, it overlooks the collaborative efforts of the upper castes Hindus and Catholics in acquiring constitutional recognition of the Konkani language, in the form of its inclusion in the VIIIth schedule of the Constitution, recognition of Konkani by the Sahitya Academy in 1975, and in passing of the official language act, making Konkani the official language of the state. Hence, the recognition of Konkani appears to be a secular project undertaken by both Catholics and Hindus. This study investigates the nature of the secular discourse of Konkani and analyse the script conflict through the lens of dialect. The analysis of dialects brings

attention to the ‘politics of caste’ hidden under the dialects. The argument frequently put forward in Konkani sahitya conferences is that issues such as religion and caste would divide the Konkani society. Therefore, one must avoid discussing it. However, this study has shown that language faces a danger of division when language refuses to carry the discussion on socio-political issues such as caste and religion. A linguistic understanding of the issue is therefore needed to bridge the differences and craft a roadmap for the development of Konkani.

Bibliography

Books and Journals

- Abbi, A. (2009). Vanishing Diversities and Submerging Identities. In A. Sarangi, *Language and Politics in India*. New Delhi : Oxford University Press.
- Agnihotri, R. (2015). Constituent Assembly Debates on Language. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 50(8), 47-56.
- Alam, M. (2003). *Persian in Precolonial Hindustan*. (S. Pollock , Ed.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Anderson, B. (2006). *Imagined Communities* . London Verso: Benedict Richard O Gorman Anderson .
- Atkinson, D. (2002). Toward a Sociocognitive Approach to Second Language Acquisition. *The Modern Language Journal*, 86(4), 525-545.
- Babu, H. (2017). Breaking the Chaturbarna System of Languages: The need to Overhaul the Language Policy. *Economic & Political Weekly*(23), 112-119.
- Barreto, A. A. (2001). Statehood, the English Language, and the Politics of Education in Puerto Rico. *Polity*, 34(1), 89-105.
- Bauer, T., Epstein, G. S., & Gang, I. N. (2005). Enclaves, Language, and the Location Choice of Migrants. *Journal of Population Economics*, 18(4), 649-662.
- Bergvall, V. (1999). Toward a Comprehensive Theory of Language and Gender. *Communities of Practice in Language and Gender Research*, 28(2), 273-293.
- Boltz, W. (2000/2001). Notes on Richard VanNess Simmons: Chinese Dialect Classification. *Oriens Extremus*, 183-190.
- Bopp, F. (1989). *Analytical Comparison of the Sanskrit, Greek, Latin and Teutonic Languages, Shewing the Original Identity of their Linguistic Structure*. (E. KOERNER, Ed.) Amsterdam/ Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company .
- Bosniak, L. (1944). Immigration Crisis, "Nativism" and Legitimacy. *Proceedings of the Annual Meeting (American Society of International Law)* ,, 88.
- Braganca Cunha, V. d. (1939, July). Portugal's Modern History: Revolutionary Portugal . *The Goan World*.

- Brass, P. (1974). *Language, Religion and Politics in North India*. London : Oxford University Press.
- Brass, P. (2009). Elite Interests, Popular Passions, and Social Power in the Language Politics of India. In A. Sarangi, *Language and Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bucholtz, M., & Hall, K. (2004). Theorizing Identity in Language and Sexuality Research. *Language in Society*, 33(4), 469-515.
- Burke, P. (2013). Nationalisms and Vernaculars, 1500-1800. In J. Breuilly, *Oxford Handbook of the History of Nationalism*. United Kingdom: Oxford University Press.
- Caldwell, T. (1999). "Talking Too Much English": Languages of Economy and Politics in Equiano's "The Interesting Narrative". *Early American Literature*, 34(3), 263-282.
- Chatterjee, R. (1929). Origin and Growth of Journalism among Indians. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, 161-168.
- Chomsky, N. (1986). *Knowledge and Language: Its Origin and Use*. United States of America: Praeger Publishers.
- Coelho, J. (2014). Scripting Dominance and Contestations: Linguistic Hegemony in Post-Liberation Goa . *Guru Nanak Journal of Sociology* .
- Colin, R. (1989). The Origins of Indo-European Languages. *Scientific American*, 261(4), 106-115.
- Correia-Afonso, J. (1969). *Jesuit Letters and Indian History, 1542-1773*. Bombay, New York: Oxford University Press.
- Da Cunha , G. J. (1900). The Origin of Bombay. *The Journal of the Bombay Branch of Royal Asiatic Society*, 1-368.
- da Cunha Rivara, J. H. (2006). *An Historical Essay on Konkani Language*. (T. Lobo, Ed.) Goa: V. M. Salgaocar Foundation.
- Da Cunha, G. J. (1991). *The Konkani Language and Literature*. New Delhi: Asian Educational Services.

- Das, V. (1987). *Structure and Cognition: Aspects of Hindu Caste and Rituals*. Bombay Culcutta Madras: Oxford University Press.
- Deshpande, P. (2023). *Scripts of Power: Writing, Language Practices and Cultural History in Western India*. Raniket: Permanent Black.
- Dhanpalwar, M. (2005). In Quest of the South . *Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, 143-147.
- Dharwadker, V. (2003). *Formation of Indian English Literature* . Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Erturk, N. (2008). Modernity and Its Fallen Languages: Tanpınar's "Hasret", Benjamin's Melancholy. *PMLA*, 123(1), 41-56.
- Faruqi, S. R. (2003). *A Long History of Urdu Literary Culture, Part I*. (S. Pollcok , Ed.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Fergusson, C. (1959). Diglossia. *WORD*, 325-340.
doi:<https://doi.org/10.1080/00437956.1959.11659702>
- Fernandes, J. (2020). *Citizenship in a Caste Polity* . Hyderabad: Orient Blackswan Private Limited.
- Field, T. T., Freeman, L. H., & Moorjani, A. B. (1984). Introducing The World of Language: A Linguistic Basis for Language Study. *The Modern Language Journal*, 68(3), 222-229.
- Fishman, J. (2011). Examining Contrarianism: The Success Failure Continuum in Language and Ethnic Identity Efforts. In J. Fishman, & O. Garcia, *Handbook of Language and Ethnic Identity*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Fought, C. (2006). *Language and Ethnicity*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Fought, J. (1982). The Reinvention of Hugo Schuchardt (Review Article). *Language in Society*, 11(3), Cambridge University Press.
- Fox, A. (1995). *Linguistic Reconstruction: An Introduction to Theory and Method* . New York: Oxford University Press.
- Francois, A. (2014). *Trees, Waves and Linkages: Models of Language Diversification* (1 ed.). (C. Bower, & E. Bethwyn, Eds.) Routledge.
- Friedman, N. (1967). Nativism. *Phylon*, 408-415.

- Gaitonde, S. G. (1971). *Sahyadrikhand*. Mumbai: Shree Katyayani Publication.
- Ganguly, D. (1996). *G. N. Devy: The Nativist as Post-colonial critique*. (M. Paranjape, Ed.) Delhi: Sahitya Academy.
- Gans, E. (1981). *The Origin of Language*. London: University of California Press.
- Gavaskar, M. (2003). Land, Language and Politics. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 38(12/13), 1113-1116.
- Gellner, E. (1983). *Nations and Nationalism*. New York: Cornell University Press.
- Gerson Da Cunha, J. (1881). *The Konkani Language and Literature*. Bombay Gazetteer.
- Gikandi, S. (1992). Ngũgĩ's Conversion: Writing and the Politics of Language. *Research in African Literatures*, 23(1), 131-144.
- Gilchrist, J. (1796). *A grammar, of the Hindoostanee language, or part third of volume first, of a system of Hindoostanee philology*. Calcutta: Chronicle Press.
- Hanson, D. W. (1991). Thomas Hobbes on "Discourse" in Politics. *Polity*, 24(2), 199-226.
- Herzog, A. (2009). "Monolingualism" or the Language of God: Scholem and Derrida on Hebrew and Politics. *Modern Judaism*, 29(2), 226-238.
- Hewes, G. W. (1977). A Model of Language Evolution. *Sign Language Studies*, 97-168.
- Hobsbawm, E. (1990). *Nations and Nationalism since 1780*. United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Horges, D. C. (1964). The Politics of Language and the Science of Politics. *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, 24(3), 366-374.
- India, G. o. (1908). *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. Oxford: Secretary of State for Government of India.
- Jackson, S. (2006). Sons of Which Soil? The Language and Politics of Autochthony in Eastern D.R. Congo. *African Studies Review*, 2, 95-123.
- Jenks, T. (2001). Language and Politics at the Westminster Election of 1796. *The Historical Journal*, 44(2), 419-431.

- Jinadu , A. L. (1976). Language and Politics: On the Cultural Basis of Colonialism (Langue et politique: sur les). *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 16(63/64), 603-614.
- Judge, A. (2000). France: One State, One Nation, One Language. In S. Barbour, & C. Carmichael, *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Kale, P. (1994). Goan Intellectuals and Goan Identity. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 29(16/17), 909-911.
- Kamsuella, T. (2017-2018). The Risw and Dynamics of the Normative Isomorphism of Language, Nation, and State in Europe. *Harvard Ukranian Studies*, 35(4), 351-81.
- Katre, S. M. (1966). *Formation of Konkani*. Poona: Deccan College.
- Katzenstein, M. F. (1973). Origins of Nativism: The Emergence of Shivsena in Bombay . *Asian Survey* , 386-399.
- Kaviraj, S. (2003). *Two Literary Culture Histories in Bengal*. (S. Pollock , Ed.) Berkeley and Los Angeles, California: University of California Press.
- Klienfeld, R., & Dickas, J. (2020). *Resisting the call of Nativism* . Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.
- Kosambi, D. D. (1962). *Myth and Reality* .
- Kothari, R. (2013). Caste in a Casteless Language? English as a Language of Dalit Expression. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 48(39), 60-68.
- Kulkarni-Joshi, S. (2010-2011). Language Contact and Grammatical Change. *Bulletin of the Deccan College*, 249-260.
- Kumar Jha, M. (2018). *Language Politics and Public Sphere in North India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press. doi:10.1093/oso/9780199479344.001.0001
- Laitin, D. D. (1993). The Game Theory of Language Regimes. *International Political Science Review / Revue internationale de science politique*, 14(3), 227-239.
- Lang, K. (1986). A Language Theory of Discrimination. *The Quarterly Journal of Economics*, 101(2), 363-382.

- Lorimer, D. (1988). Theoretical Racism in Late-Victorian Anthropology, 1870-1900. *Victorian Studies* , 405-430.
- Maffei, A. F. (1883). *English-Konkani Dictionary*. Mangalore: Bassel Mission Press.
- Maher, J. P. (1966). More on the History of the Comparative Method: The Tradition of Darwinism in August Schleicher's Work. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 8(3), 1-12.
- Markee, N. (2002). Language in Development: Questions of Theory, Questions of Practice. *Language in Development*, 36(3), 265-274.
- Marzluf, P. (2008). Originating Difference in Rhetorical Theory: Lord Monboddoo's Obsession with Language Origins Theory. *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, 48(4), 385-407.
- Matsukawa, K. (2002). Konkani and "Goan Identity" in Post-colonial Goa, India. *Journal for Japanese Association for South Asian Studies* , 121-144.
- McDonald, E. E. (1968). The Modernizing of Communication. *Asian Survey*, 589-606.
- McGregor, S. (2003). *The Progress of Hindi, Part I*. (S. Pollock, Ed.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- McKeon, R. (1947). Aristotle's Conception of Language and the Arts of Language (Concluded). *Classical Philology*, 42(1), 21-50.
- Missionary, P. (1858). *Grammatica da Linhua Conacani No Dialecto do Norte*. Nova Goa: Na Imprensa Nacional .
- Mitchell , L. (2009). *The Making of Mother Tongue* . Bloomington : Indiana University Press.
- Mohanty, N. (2021). *Oriya Nationalism: Quest For a United Orissa 1866-1956*. Bhubaneswar, Odisha: Ketaki Foundation Trust .
- Molesworth, J. T. (1863). *A compendium of Molesworth's Marathi and English dictionary*. (B. Padmanji, Ed.) Bombay: Education Society's Press, Byculla.
- Nair, J. (2000). Language and the Right to the City. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 35(47), 4141-46.
- Nairne, A. K. (1894). *History of Konkan*. Bombay: Government Central Press.

- Naregal, V. (2001). *Language Politics, Elites, and the Public Sphere*. New Delhi: Permanent black.
- Needham, S. (2003). "This Is Active Learning": Theories of Language, Learning, and Social Relations in the Transmission of Khmer Literacy. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 34(1), 27-49.
- Norton, B. (1997). Language, Identity, and the Ownership of English. *Language and Identity*, 31(3), 409-429.
- Pai, S. (2002). The Politics of Language: Decline of Urdu in Uttar Pradesh. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 2705-08.
- Parobo, P. D. (2015). *India's First Democratic Revolution*. Delhi: Orient BlackSwan.
- Pereira, J. (1971). A Brief History of Literary Konkani. *Mahfil*, 59-81.
- Pereira, J. (1971). *Konkani A Language: A History of Konkani-Marathi Controversy*. India: Karnatak University.
- Perry, E. (1853). On the Geographical Distribution of the principal Languages of India, and the feasibility of introducing English as a Lingua Franca. *Journal of the Royal Branch of the Bombay Asiatic Society*, 289-317.
- Pierce, B. N. (1989). Toward a Pedagogy of Possibility in the Teaching of English Internationally: People's English in South Africa. *TESOL Quarterly*, 23(3), 401-420.
- Pinto, R. (2005). A Time to Publish: Pamphlets and Politics in Colonial Goa. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 877-885.
- Pinto, R. (2007). *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Pollock, S. (2003). *Introduction*. (S. Pollock, Ed.) Berkeley, Los Angeles, London: University of California Press.
- Rai, A. (2000). *Hindi Nationalism*. New Delhi: Orient Longman Limited.
- Rai, A. (2008). Longing for Urdu. *India International Centre Quarterly*, 274-281.
- Ramaswamy, S. (2009). Sanskrit for the Nation. In A. Sarangi, *Language and Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.

- Raposo, P. (2008). Romi Konkani, hanging on a cliff. In F. Noronha, *In Black and White: Insiders Stories About Press in Goa* (pp. 183-192). Goa: Goa Reader.
- Rockhill, K. (1987). Gender, Language and the Politics of Literacy. *British Journal of Sociology of Education*, 8(2), 153-167.
- Rodrigues, L. A. (2018). *Glimpses of the Konkani Language, At the turn of Sixteenth Century*. Margao: Cinnamontea, Design and Publishing.
- Rodolfo, J. (1970). The Teaching of English to Speakers of Other Languages and/or Dialects: An Oversimplification. *TESOL Quarterly*, 4(3), 241-253.
- Roger, P. M. (1997). Taking a Perspective: Hawthorne's Concept of Language and Nineteenth-Century Language Theory. *Nineteenth-Century Literature*, 51(4), 433-454.
- Rubioff, A. (1992). Goa's Attainment of Statehood. *Asian Survey*, 471-487.
- Said, E. W. (1977). ORIENTALISM. *The Georgia Review*, 31(1), 162-206. Retrieved from <https://www.jstor.org/stable/41397448>
- Sardesai, M. (1992). *A History of Konkani Literature*. Panaji: Sahitya Academy.
- Sardesai, M. (1999). उश्णी उतरां. *Jaag*, 18.
- Sardesai, M. (2006). कोंकणी साहित्याची घटमूट बुन्याद. *Jaag*, 26-29.
- Sardesai, M. (2008). कोंकणी ईतिहास आनी भूगोल: एक मंथन. *Jaag*, 6-10.
- Satam, S. (2020). Variation and Change in the Speech Variety of Sawantwadi. *Bulletin of the Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute*, 135-146.
- Saussure, F. d. (1959). *A Course in General Linguistics*. (C. Bally, A. Sechehaye, A. Reidlinger, Eds., & B. Wade, Trans.) New York: Philosophical library.
- Saxena, S., & Mahendroo, K. (1993). Politics of Language. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 28(45), 2445-47.
- Schleicher, A. (1853). Die ersten Spaltungen des indogermanischen Urvolkes. *Monthly Journal of Science and Literature*, 786-787. Retrieved from <https://hdl.handle.net/11858/00-001M-0000-002C-41C4-8>
- Schleicher, A. (1861). *Compendium der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*. Weimar: Hermann Bohlau.

- Schmidt, J. (1872). *Die verwantschaftsverhältnisse der indogermanischen sprachen*. Weimar: H. Bohlau. Retrieved July 10, 2023, from <https://archive.org/details/discoursesdeliv00jonegoog/page/n138/mode/2up?q=greek>
- Schuchardt, H. (1914). *Die Sprache der Saramakkaneger in Surinam*. Amsterdam : Johannes Muller.
- Schwartzberg, J. (2009). Factors in the Lingusitic Reorganisation of Indian States. In A. Sarangi , *Language and Politics in India*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Sheth, D. L. (2009). Politics of Metropolitan Versus Vernacular India. In A. Sarangi, *Language and Politics in India*. New Delhi : Oxford Uniersity Press.
- Silva, S. (1968). *Konkani in Karnataka*. (R. Doddameti, P. Dessai, S. Nadimath , K. Rao , M. Seshadri, N. Rao , . . . S. Diwakar, Eds.) Bangalore: The Government of Mysore.
- Somayaji, G., & Coelho, J. (2008). Konkani and Assertive Multilingualism in Goa, India. *Loyala Journal of Social Sciences*, XXII(1), 63-78.
- Steele, M. (1993). How Philosophy of Language Informs Ethics and Politics: Richard Rorty and Contemporary Theory. *boundary 2*, 20(2), 140-172.
- Stephens , T. (1907). *The Christian Puranna of Father Thomas Stephens*. (J. Saldanha, Ed.) Mangalore: Simon Alvares ESQ.
- Teltumbde , A. (2010). Maharashtra at 50: Celebration or Shame? *Economic & Political Weekly*, 15(19), 10-11.
- V. M. Salgaocar Foundation. (2001). *KONKANAKHYAN*. (C. Keni, Ed.) Goa: V. M. Salgaocar Foundation.
- Valaulikar, W. (2003). Ain Velar. In W. Varde Valaulikar, & S. Varde Valaulikar (Ed.), *Samagra Shennai Goenbaab - Khand 1* (pp. 184-223). Borim, Ponda-Goa: Goa Konkani Academy.
- Varak , N., & Naik, P. (2022). Can Archives Decide the Traditional Elites in Goa? *Economic & Political Weekly*, 57(35).

- Varak, N., & Naik, P. (2022). Unfolding of Sixty Years of Political Process in Goa. *Economic & Political Weekly* .
- Vavrus, F. (2002). Postcoloniality and English: Exploring Language Policy and the Politics of Development in Tanzania. *Language in Development*, 36(3), 373-397.
- Vikor, L. (2000). Northern Europe: Languages as a Prime Markers of Ethnic and National Identity. In *Language and Nationalism in Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Xaxa, V. (2005). Politics of Language, Religion and Identity: Tribes in India. *Economic & Political Weekly*, 40(13), 1363-1370.

Archival Sources

- Aguiar, T. (1939, August). Of Education. *The Goan World*.
- Amcho Gao. (1929, January 1). *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho Gao. (1931, March 5). Goenche Padri. *Amcho Gao* .
- Amcho Gao. (1931, May 28). Goenchi Picavol. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho Gao. (1932, June 23). Comunidadechim Xettam ani batcarachim battam. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho Gao. (1932, April 28). Durbolamchim Hospitalam. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho Gao. (1933, June 8). Visconde de Pernem. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1929, August 8). Advertisement . *Amcho Gao* .
- Amcho, G. (1929, October 3). Inglezichim Iscolam. *Gao Amcho*.
- Amcho, G. (1929, February 1929). Joaquim Machado . *Amcho Gao* .
- Amcho, G. (1930, April 24). Amche emigrant. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1930, April 10). Comunidadeinchim xetam. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1930, July 24). Emigrantichi Choucoxi. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1930, May 8). Novas Conquistas . *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1931, January 22). Emigranticho Choucoxi. *Amcho Gao* .

- Amcho, G. (1932, April 21). Goemche Hospital . *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1932, April 28). Maharaja de Kholapur. *Amcho Gao* .
- Amcho, G. (1933, September 7). Castam Confrarinim. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1933, September 21). Goemcho Comunidade. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1933, June 22). Goenchi Anenessam. *Amcho Gao*.
- Amcho, G. (1933, September 7). Noveam Conquistanim Xetcamaisspon . *Amcho Goa*.
- Amchoh Gao. (1932, October 20). Durbolanc Pot Nam? *Amcho Gao*.
- Balistor. (1930, June 12). Amche Bassechim Potram Ani Toxinch Tichim Pustocam. *Amcho Gao*.
- Bhandari, M. (1921, September 26). *Pragati*.
- Bir, C. (1929, May 9). Novas Conquistas. *Amcho Gao* .
- Brown, S. M. (1909, March 20). Goanese Servants. *O Goano*.
- Chashadhar. (1920, November 8). Goa Hindu Parishad. *Pragati*.
- Chavan, L. H. (1921, February 28). गोव्यात मराठे नाही का? *Pragati* .
- Chavan, V. P. (1924, March). The Konkani Language. *The Goan World*, pp. 30-32.
- Chavan, V. P. (1924, March 30-32). The Konkani Language. *The Goan World*.
- Chavan, V. P. (1924, February). The Konkani Language . *The Goan World*.
- Colaco, M. F. (1940, May). Education. *The Goan World*.
- de Goveia-Melo, G. (1936, March). The Goan Emigration. *The Goa World*.
- De Souza , A. X. (1909, July 30). Gramar vo Rit. *O Goano*.
- de Souza, J. A. (1910, August 12). Goa-Portuguese Seamen. *O Goano* .
- Desai , G. K. (1921, October 24). मराठे बंधुवानो फसू नका. *Pragati*.
- Desai, A. R. (1957, January 1). गोमंतक नवे गोवेचः गोमंतक ह्या शब्दास प्राचीन आधार नाहीत . *Dudhasagar*.

- Desai, S. (1920, September 13). स्फुट विचार . *Vidiaprassar* .
- DeSouza, R. C. (1930, December 25). Inglez Iscolam Amchea Goeam Ani Educassaum Amchea Ostoreancho. *Amcho Gao*.
- Dias , P. D. (1909, December 24). The Goan Cook's Guide. *O Goano* .
- Dias, S. S. (1908, June 20). Sebastiao S. de Jesus achim Pustocam. *O Goano* .
- D'Souza, R. C. (1930, August 28). Goani Bass. *Amcho Gao*.
- D'Souza, R. C. (1930, August 21). Goani Bhass. *Amcho Gao* .
- Dudhasagar . (1956, March 16). मराठी भाषेने गोमंतकावर केलेले उपकार. *Dudhasagr*.
- Dudhasagar. (1955, August 16). पोर्तुगीज नारपशुंचा क्रौर्याला बळी पडलेल्या त्या तीन शूरवीरांना अखिल गोमंतकाचे शतशः प्रणाम . *Dudhasagr* .
- Dudhasagar. (1955, October 16). राज्यपुनरचना समितीने महाराष्ट्रावर घोर अन्याय केला . *Dudhasagar*.
- Dudhasagar. (1956, March 16). Adhiveshan Athave. *Dudhasagar* .
- Dudhasagar. (1956, April 16). Gomantak Marathi Sahitya Sammelan. *Dudhasagar* .
- Dudhasagar. (1956, December 16). Karwar Kanadi Nasun Mararathi Ahe. *Dushasagar*.
- Dudhasagar. (1956, May 8). आठवे गोमंतक मराठी साहित्य संमेलन . *Dudhasagar* .
- Dudhasagar. (1957, January 26). Naik Maratha Samajache Sneha Sammelan. *Dudhasagar* .
- Dudhasagar. (1957, April 1). आगवादच्या तुरुंगातून - कोंकणी -मराठीबाबत काही विचार. *Dudhasagar*.
- Dudhasagar. (1958, May 16). गोमंतक साहित्य संमेलनात पास झालेले ठराव. *Dudhasagar*.
- Dudhasagar. (1959, December 16). अंतर महाविद्यालयीन कोंकणी नाट्य स्पर्धा. *Dudhasagar* .
- Ek Tarun Gayak . (1921, February 21). नामधारी ब्राह्मणास विनंती. *Pragati* .
- Eklavya. (1959, April 1). आचार्य काका कालेलकरांची पुण्यभूमी गोमंतक . *Dudhasagar* .

Fernandes, F. (1929, August 8). Amcho Gao ani Amchi Bass. *Amcho Gao*.

Fernandes, J. M. (1909, August 6). Abbottabadchi Chitt. *O Goano*, p. 11.

Fernandez, A. (1910, December 12). Savant Vaddichi Chitt . *O Goano* .

Francis, C. J. (1908 , December 25). Vocabulary . *O Goano* .

Gandhi, M. (1947, October 12). What should be the qualities of national language?
Harijansevak.

Gao, A. (1929, January 1). Advertisement. *Amcho Gao*.

Gao, A. (1929, January 1). Sastichi Khobor. *Amcho Gao*, 7.

Gao, A. (1929, March 28). Suami Jejuche Kosht. *Amcho Gao*, 1.

Gao, A. (1930, October 9). Goencho Undo. *Amcho Gao* .

Gao, A. (1933, June 8). Goenche Ambe. *Amcho Gao* .

Goano, O. (1908, June 13). "O GOANO". *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, June 20). Ads. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, October 10). Advertisement. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, June 20). Caridade. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, October 10). Dee and Dee. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, June 13). Dictionary. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, September 26). English-Portuguese Dictionary. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, July 11). Goan Union Papers. *O Goano*, p. 4.

Goano, O. (1908, August 29). Goenchi Khobor. *O Goano*, p. 7.

Goano, O. (1908, December 15). Gorjechim Anim Ufegachim Pustocam. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, September 26). L. M. Furtado & Sons. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, October 10). Medicines. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, September 26). Mumboicho Khobor. *O Goano*.

Goano, O. (1908, June 20). Paulo Caetano Rodrgues e Souza. *O Goano*.

- Goano, O. (1908, June 20). Peter John Braganza & Co. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1908, June 13). Peters & Co. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1908, June 20). The Bombay Photographic Co. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1909, April 17). Advertisement. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1909, November 12). Advertisement. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1909, April 17). Advertisements. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1909, May 15). Amacho Amcam Man. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1909, June 18). Goenche Bhatkar. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1909, June 18). Goencho Bhattcar. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1910, August 12). *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1910, June 24). Abkariche Nove Caide Goeant. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1910, June 17). Aia Zai. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1910, June 17). Goenchi Khobor. *O Goano*, pp. 10-11.
- Goano, O. (1910, December 2). Indiechi Khobor. *O Goano*.
- Goano, O. (1910, June 17). Tabac Pan anim Viddieo. *O Goano*, p. 11.
- Goano, O. (1916, December 16). Grammat. *O Goano*.
- Goawalla. (1929, November 14). Goa Xar Dis-Rat Corta Rodnem chintun Onupcarponn Apleam-Putanchem. *Amcho Gao*.
- Gomes, C. A. (1936, November). Konkanim the Mother-tongue of Goans. *The Goan World*.
- Govindraj . (1920, September 13). सुधारणेचे अंतिम रहस्य. *Pragati*.
- Justice. (1909, March 20). To The Editor of the Bombay Gazette . *O Goano*.
- Kalelkar, K. (1959, August 15). गोव्याचे स्वातंत्र निराळे आणि गोवेकरांचे स्वराज्य निराळे . *Dudhasagar*.

Kamat, G. A. (1956, August 16). कोंकणीवाद्यांनी व्यवहार द्रुष्टीने विचार करावा. *Dudhsagar*

Kamat, G. A. (1957, May 16). Konkani-Marathi babat kahi Vichar . *Dudhasagar* .

Kamat, G. A. (1957, July 16). कोंकणी मराठी बाबत काही विचार. *Dudhasagar*.

Kamat, G. A. (1957, April 16). कोंकणी- मराठी बाबत काही विचार. *Dudhasagar* .

Keni, C. (1961, July 1). Katha ani Kanayo . *Dudhasagar* .

Keni, C. (1961, July 1). कथा आणि काणयो. *Dudhasagar*.

Kerkar , S. (1925, November 19). अपेक्षा की दुराग्रह. *Prachiprabha*.

Kerkar, S. (1925, August 17). Goan Hindus . *Prachiprabha*.

Kerkar, S. (1926, August 7). The need of English Education in New Conquest. *Prachiprabha*.

Ksha. (1920, December 6). हा उदयकाल नाही का? *Pragati* .

Laad, G. N. (1920, November 6). भाषा. *Vidiaprassar*.

Madhu. (1957, January 26). Letter. *Dudhasagar* .

Mail, T. G. (1932, January 4). Hotel St. Antonio. *Goa Mail*, p. 7.

Mail, T. G. (1932, February 13). Ponjechi Khobor. *The Goa Mail*.

Marquiz, L. (1929, November 7). Goencar Africant . *Amcho Gao* .

Meneses, L. d. (1929, February 4). Bernardo Peres da Silva. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, February 18). Bhandvol Assa, Budh Nam? *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, March 7). Christovam Pinto. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, September 12). Dr. Caetani do Rosario Faria. *Amcho Gao* .

Meneses, L. d. (1929, April 25). Dr. Gama Pinto. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, April 4). Dr. Gerson da Cunha. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, September 19). Dr. Silva Teles. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, April 18). Father William Robert Lyons. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, January 14). Francisco Luis Gomes. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, July 18). Goencho Comunidade. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, May 9). Leopoldo Gama. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1929, September 12). Razachi tojvit . *Amcho Gao* .

Meneses, L. d. (1929, August 8). Rodolfo Dalgado. *Amcho Gao* .

Meneses, L. d. (1929, December 26). Vishnu Sinao Dempo. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930 , July 24). Motilal Nehru . *Amcho Gao* .

Meneses, L. d. (1930, December 25). Amcho Gao. Dr. Ermelinda Gomes.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, May 22). Dr. Sequeira Continho. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, September 25). Dr. Socrates Noronha. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, April 24). Gouveia Pinto. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, October 16). Jawaharlal Nehru. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, May 8). Mariano Gracias. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, August 28). Motilal and Jawaharlal Nehru. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, June 12). Mrs. Gandhi. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1930, August 14). Vallabhabhai Patel. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1931, April 16). Bhagat Singh. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1931, February 19). Mahatma Gandhi. *Amcho Gao* .

Meneses, L. d. (1932, April 21). Dr. Rodrigues dos Santos. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1933, July 20). Dr. Marinho Azavedo. *Amcho Gao*.

Meneses, L. d. (1933, February 23). Prof. A. Correa Fernandes. *Amcho Gao* .

Menezes , L. d. (1929, August 8). Deva tum pau. *Amcho Gao* .

Menezes , L. d. (1929, March 28). Porjec Sompepan. *Amcho Gao* .

- Menezes, L. D. (1929, January 1). Amacho Gao . *Amacho Gao* .
- Mrutyunjay. (1921, April 11). Shabbas! Zambaulikar Bhaginnino Shabbas! *Pragati*.
- Mulgaonkar, P. (1957, April 1). Konkani Letter. *Dudhasagar* .
- Navjivan. (1919, January 16). Navjivan. *आमच्या वर्तमानपत्राचे प्रस्तुतकार्य व नवजीवनाचे धोरण*.
- Nunes, M. F. (1929, March 28). Goencho Akar anim Xeteanmteamcho Adar. *Amcho Gao*.
- O Goano . (1930, June 24). Elementos Gramaticais da Lingua Concanim. *O Goano*.
- Pai , D. V. (1920, September 6). कोंकणी मराठीचे झगडा . *Vidiaprassar* .
- Pai, D. V. (1920, May 30). कोंकणी मराठीचा झगडा. *Vidiaprassar* .
- Pap Saib Ani Mussolini. (1929, March 21). *Amcho Gao* .
- Pavashe, G. P. (1930, August 26). गोमंतक शब्दाचे निरुक्त . *Hindu*, pp. 2-3.
- Pavashe, G. P. (1930, October 21). र. सा. देसाई यांस उत्तर . *Hindu*, pp. 2-3.
- Portuguese Seamen's Club . (1909 , September 24). *O Goano* .
- Prachiprabha . (1921, October 5). Jatimatsar . *Prachiprabha* .
- Prachiprabha. (1909, January). Food Receipes. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1909, January 15). Streeshikshan. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1910, May). Advertisement of Konkanakhyan. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1921, November 9). Jatimatsar . *Prachiprabha* .
- Prachiprabha. (1922, February 8). Camara Muncipal de Ponda. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1922, May 3). Camara Municipal de Ponda. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1923, November 17). Prachiprabha. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1923, May 23). Prachiptabha. *Prachiprabha*.
- Prachiprabha. (1924, March 15). Prachiprabha. *Prachiprabha*.

Prachiprabha. (1924, March 22). Prachiprabha. *Prachiprabha*.

Prachiprabha. (1925, October 26). Prachiprabha. *Prachiprabha*.

Prachiprabha. (1925, August 25). Ramachandra Gopal Bhadarkar. *Prachiprabha*.

Prachiprabha. (1925, November 19). गोमंतक दारूबाज कसा नवे? *Prachiprabha*.

Prachiprabha. (1928, October 28). Prachiprabha. *Prachiprabha*.

Pragati . (1920, November 29). Bhavik Gomantak. *Pragati*.

Pragati . (1920, September 6). Importance of Education . *Pragati* .

Pragati . (1921, February 7). Congratulations. *Pragati*.

Pragati . (1921, February 28). Rao Bahadur Bhaskarrao Jadhav Yanchi Mulakhat .
Pragati .

Pragati . (1921, May 2). एवढ्यानेच कसे भागेल? *Pragati* .

Pragati . (1921, October 17). प्रगतीसाठी संपादकीय लेख. *Pragati*.

Pragati . (1921, February 21). यशस्वी क्षत्रिय मराठा परिषद. *Pragati*.

Pragati . (1921, October 17). स्फुट लेख ब्राह्मणेत्तर वर्गाचे धोरण . *Pragati*.

Pragati . (1921, February 7). हा अडथळा दूर करा. *Pragati*.

Pragati. (1920, November 8). Bhandari Dyanaprasarak Samaj. *Pragati* .

Pragati. (1920, November 1). *Pragati*. *Pragati*.

Pragati. (1920, September 27). आर्य संस्कृतीची अनावस्था. *Pragati* .

Pragati. (1920, September 27). का नाही इंग्रजी शिकत? *Pragati*.

Pragati. (1920, October 18). केवळ नृत्यांगनासाठीच . *Pragati* .

Pragati. (1920, October 11). जगाच्या पुनर्घटनेत समाजाचा समावेश . *Pragati*.

Pragati. (1920, November 8). पोतुगीज कायदेओळख . *Pragati* .

Pragati. (1920, November 8). वेश्या समाजाची उत्पत्ती आणि त्याचे जबाबदार. *Pragati*.

- Pragati. (1921, February 21). Om Bhavati Bhiksham dehi. *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, October 24). Pragati . *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, November 7). Saraswatshahi Patranchi Talmal. *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, June 13). Shantadurga Vidyalaya. *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, July 11). एक अनुकरणीय विवाह. *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, February 28). नेतिक शिक्षण चळवण. *Pragati*.
- Pragati. (1921, March 21). पतितोद्धार. *Pragati*.
- Pragati. (1921, April 11). भंडारी हितवर्धक समाज . *Pragati*.
- Pragati. (1921, October 10). मद्यपाननिषेध. *Pragati*.
- Pragati. (1921, November 14). मराठा शिक्षण प्रसारक समाज . *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, November 7). महाजनशाहीचा कावा . *Pragati* .
- Pragati. (1921, April 18). समाज सेवा. *Pragati*.
- Pragati. (1921, November 7). स्फुट लेख. *Pragati*.
- Pragati. (1921, February 7). स्फुट लेख. *Pragati*.
- Pragatik. (1920, December 6). हेच ते गोमंतकाचे खग्रास ग्रहण? *Pragati*.
- Raymond, L. (1939, August). The Education of Goans: The Alternatives. *The Goan World*.
- Rodrigues, J. M. (1932, October 20). Goemchi Chedvam Chod Xictat ani Garant Boson Naguir Bicum Martat tor Aum Muntam Coslo Faido Assa Eca Chedvan Itlem Xicoun Noco Zalear Aplem Gor Dar Sarkea Caidean Chouloun? *Amcho Gao*.
- Rodrigues, L. (1937, March). Goans Abroad . *The Goan World*.
- Rollen, L. A. (1909, August 6). Naini Tal-Chi Khobor. *O Goano*, p. 10.
- Salgaonkar, S. G. (1920, November 8). Aryasanskritichi Avantavastha. *Pragati*.

- Sardessai, B. P. (1924, August 24). Vidyaprassar. *Vidyaprassar* .
- Sardessai, L. (1958, May 1). जे फ्लोरेन्सने केले ते गोमंतकला करायचे आहे! *Dudhasagar* .
- Satoskar, B. D. (1959, August 15). बोली भाषांतील लायब्ररीस . *Dudhasagar* .
- Satoskar, B. D. (1959, Diwali Edition). रंगदेवता रघुवीर सावकर . *Dudhasagar* .
- Saubadra. (1920, December 20). Saraswatikarya. *Pragati* .
- Savardekar, B. (1910, May). Stree purushamadhil nitibhed. *Luz do Oriente, Prachiprabha*, pp. 133-135.
- Shirodkar, M. K. (1955). गेल्या पन्नास वर्षांतील सामाजिक स्तीत्यांतरे. *Dudhasagar*.
- Soares, A. X. (1924, May). The Padroado and the Propaganda. *The Goan World*, pp. 7-8.
- Swabhimani . (1920, October 4). कायदे कौन्सिलात मराठी. *Vidiaprassar*.
- The Goa Mail. (1929, November 16). Hoch Ogot Goencaranc . *The Goa Mail*.
- The Goa Mail. (1929, November 16). Kalbadebi Barion Company Clancar. *The Goa Mail*.
- The Goa Mail. (1931, January 16). Catholic Sounsarachi Khobor. *The Goa Mail*.
- The Goa Mail. (1931, January 16). Goenchi Khobor, Sasttichi Khobor . *The Goa Mail*.
- The Goa Mail. (1931, March 21). Hindu-Musalmanachi Maramari. *The Goa Mail* .
- The Goa Times. (1932, January 1932). Tuca Goroz posstoch Ghe Cha ani Coffee. *The Goa Mail*.
- The Goan Network. (2022, May 15). No need to prove Konkani is language and not a dialect: CM. *The Goan*.
- The Goan World. (1935, December). *The Goan World*, pp. 48-49.
- The Goan World. (1935, August). A Letter from Home. *The Goan World*, pp. 16-18.
- The Goan World. (1935, August). In the Goan World. *The Goan World*, p. 24.

- The Goan World. (1936, March). Abolition of Konkani Class in Lisbon . *The Goan World*, p. 22.
- The Goan World. (1936, October). Germant to Purchase Goa? . *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1936, November). Germany and Goa. *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1936, October). In the Goan World. *The Goan World*, pp. 32-33.
- The Goan World. (1936, November). Kenya Governor who saw Goa. *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1937, March). Goans in Bombay, Slum life, Club life, Social life, Goans far from Home, Sea life, Englsih life. *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1940, June). Mother & Child: Bad Mothers. *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1940, April). Mother & Child: Perfect Physique for the Kids. *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1940, Feb.). Plight of Taxpayers in Goa. *The Goan World*.
- The Goan World. (1940, September). Stop Annoying Your Child. *The Goan World*.
- Vaidya, S. (1910, July). Luz Do Oriente Prachiprabha. *Luz Do Oriente Prachiprabha*.
- Vaidya, S. (1910, July). Nrutyangana ani Muralya. *Luz do Oriente or Prachiprabha*, pp. 187-191.
- Valaulikar, W. (1930, August 26). गोमंतक शब्दाचे निरुक्त. *Hindu*, p. 2.
- Vasantik Visheshank . (n.d.). *Dudhasagar*.
- Vidhyasevak. (1926, May 28). Republic in Portugal. *Prachiprabha*.
- Vidiaprassar. (1920, September 13). मराठी विरुद्ध ख्रिश्चन. *Vidiaprassar*.
- Vidyaprassar . (1917, September 30). दुसरी प्रोविसियाल काँग्रेस अथवा गोव्याची राष्ट्रीयसभा . *Vidyaprassar*.
- Vidyaprassar . (1920, July 19). Hindu Provincial Congress. *Vidyaprassar*.
- Vidyaprassar . (1920, August 23). Vidyaprassar. *Vidyaprassar*.
- Vidyaprassar. (1917, May 24). Goa Vidhyaprasarak Mandal. *Vidyaprassar*.

Vidyaprassar. (1917, January 30). Vidyaprassar. *Vidyaprassar*.

Vidyaprassar. (1917, February 28). गोमंतकीय मराठी शिक्षण संमेलन मडगाव.
Vidyaprassar.

Vidyaprassar. (1917, September 30). सुईणी शिक्षण. *Vidyaprassar*.

Vidyaprassar. (1920, July 19). संस्कृतशाळा. *Vidyaprassar*.

Vidyaprassar. (1921, November 9). Gomantakiya Marathi Shikshak Sammelan.
Vidyaprassar.

Vidyaprassar. (1921, May 14). Saraswat Brahman Samaj Conference. *Vidyaprassar*.

PhD Theses

Botelho , A. (2011). *Language & Early Schooling in Goa*. Panaji: Directorate of
Official Language

Pereira, J. G. (2010). *Language and Public Sphere: A Sociological Study of the
Language Question in Goa since 1987*. Goa : Goa University .

Desai, N. (2002). Politics of Script. *PhD Thesis*. Goa University.

Karapurkar, P. P. (1968). *A Descriptive Analysis of Gawadi*. Savitribai Phule Pune
University, Deccan College Post Graduate and Research Institute .
Shodhganga. Retrieved January 10, 2024, from
<https://shodhganga.inflibnet.ac.in/handle/10603/154337>

Parobo, P. D. (2022). *Construction of the Bahun Samaj: Consciousness,
Contestations and Assertions from the nineteenth century to post-Liberation
Goa*. Goa University.

Sardesai, M. (2006). A Comparative Linguistic and Cultural Study of Lexical
Influences on Konkani. *PhD Thesis*. Goa University.

Internet Sources

Aloysius, S. (2018). *Institute of Konkani St Aloysius College*. Retrieved from St.
Aloysius College : <https://www.stalloysius.edu.in/academics/institute-of-konkani#:~:text=One%20of%20the%20prestigious%20institutions,in%20India%20and%20written%20in>

- Alphonso . (2007, January 25). *Konkani Bhasha Mandal Mumbai – 60 Years*. Retrieved from wordpress.com: <https://mumbainews.wordpress.com/2007/01/25/konkani-bhasha-mandal-mumbai-60-years/>
- Goa, G. o. (2023, July 24). *Government Printing Press: Government of Goa*. Retrieved from Goa Printing Press: <https://goaprintingpress.gov.in/about-e-gazettes/about-us/>
- Gopi, K. (2021, July 27). *Furtados: Mumbai's Tailors Helped Build India's Largest Retailer of Musical Instruments*. Retrieved from the better india: <https://www.thebetterindia.com/259443/mumbai-history-iconic-music-instrument-brand-store-furtados-success/>
- Government of Goa. (1987, December 15). *Goa, Daman & Diu Official Language Act. Official Gazette*. Government of Goa. Retrieved 11 17, 2020, from Directorate of Official Language: <https://dol.goa.gov.in/sites/default/files/2020-12/Official-Language-Konkani-and-Marathi.PDF>
- KKSA. (2024, March 19). *Konkani Community*. Retrieved from Karnataka Konkani Sahitya Academy: Government of Karnataka: <https://konkaniacademy.karnataka.gov.in/info-1/Konkani+Community/en>
- Konkani Assoaciations in the USA*. (2001). Retrieved December 19, 2023, from mahalaxmidev.com: <https://www.mahalaxmidev.com/associations.html>
- MTNN. (2015, October 11). *Konkani Kutum conferred on Edwin J F D Souza* . Retrieved from Mangalore Today : <https://www.mangaloretoday.com/main/Konkani-Kutam-Bahrain-Award-Conferred-on-Edwin-J-F-D-Souza.html>
- Nemade, B. (2013). *Samvatsar Lecture: Professor Bhalchandra Nemade* [Recorded by B. Nemade]. [Audio Cassette]. Delhi, Delhi, India. Retrieved from https://archive.org/details/dni.ncaa.SAK-1125-AC/SAK-1125-AC_SIDE_A.mp3
- NT Desk. (2019, October 27). *DKA remembers the father of Konkani novels. The Navhind Times*. Retrieved from

<https://www.navhindtimes.in/2019/10/27/magazines/buzz/dka-remembers-the-father-of-konkani-novels/>

Prudent Media. (2022, June 5). Marathi Sammelan Becomes a Commonplace to criticize Konkani. *Prudent*.

Ranganathan, M. (2023, March 31). *Print History: Goan Historians and Printing in Goa-The Garcias Brothers* . Retrieved from PrintWeek: <https://www.printweek.in/features/print-history-goan-historians-printing-in-go-the-gracias-brothers-57347>

Rooy, R. V. (2020). *Language of Dialect? The History of a Conceptual Pair*. Oxford: Oxford Academic.
doi:<https://academic.oup.com/book/33519/chapter/287854685>

Royson, R. A. (2019). *Kristapurana: An Introduction*. Retrieved from Sahapedia: <https://www.sahapedia.org/kristapurana-introduction>

Samyukta Konkani Sabha Pune observes grand Ugadi. (2018, March 30). Retrieved from [daijiworld.com: https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay?newsID=502379](https://www.daijiworld.com/news/newsDisplay?newsID=502379)

WKC. (2024). *Founding Of World Konkani Centre*. Retrieved from World Konkani Centre: <https://vishwakonkani.org/about-us/>

Newspapers

Dainik Herald. (2022, June 18). Marathila Hakkache Stan denyacha nirdhar. *Dainik Herald*.

Deccan Herald. (2022, April 15). Konkani Should be used to conduct proceedings at Bombay High Courts Goa Bench: CM. *Deccan Herald*.

Fernandes, A. (2022, August 2). *Promoting our Konkani language in other states*. Retrieved from The Goan Everyday: <https://www.thegoan.net/letters-to-the-editor/promoting-our-konkani-language-in-other-states/87271.html>

O Herald . (2021, February 15). *Susegad Danpar: A year of making global waves in Konkani*. Retrieved from O Herald: <https://www.heraldgoa.in/Cafe/Susegad-Danpar-A-year-of-making-global-waves-in-Konkani/171060>

O Herald. (2023, May 11). *Europe's first Konkani Poetry Academy introduced in UK*. Retrieved from O Herald: <https://www.heraldgoa.in/Cafe/Europe%E2%80%99s-first-Konkani-Poetry-Academy-introduced-in-UK/204865>

Peres, M. (2023, May 2). *Charming 'tiatr'-loving audiences in the UK and Goa*. Retrieved from Gomantak Times: <https://www.gomantaktimes.com/my-go/a/art-culture/charming-tiatr-loving-audiences-in-the-uk-and-go>

Tarun Bharat Portal. (2024, January 10). 29 ve marathi Sahitya Sammelan Canaconat. *Tarun Bharat*. Retrieved from <https://www.tarunbharat.com/29th-gomantak-marathi-literary-conference-in-kanakon/>

Team Herald. (1922, May 9). *Kuwait Konknni Mogi in Goa to promote Konkani in Roman script*. Retrieved from O Herald: <https://www.heraldgoa.in/Goa/Kuwait-Konknni-Mogi-in-Goa-to-promote-Konkani-in-Roman-script/189496>

Times of India. (2022, March 26). BBSM says no to the official Status for Romi Konkani. *Times of India*.

Times of India. (2022, April 23). In Marathi Sammelan, Mauzo upholds Konkani for Goans. *Times of India*.

Movies

Ozario, E. (Writer), Kshatriya, V. R., & Dsouza, A. C. (Directors). (2023). *Osmitay* [Motion Picture].