A BRIEF HISTORY OF LITERARY KONKANI

Author(s): José Pereira

Source: *Mahfil*, Summer - Fall 1972, Vol. 8, No. 2/3 (Summer - Fall 1972), pp. 59-83

Published by: Asian Studies Center, Michigan State University

Stable URL: https://www.jstor.org/stable/40874509

José Pereira

A BRIEF HISTORY OF LITERARY KONKANI

With suggestions about the formation of a standard language

I. THE BACKGROUND OF KONKANI'S LITERARY EVOLUTION

The history of Konkani is obviously linked with that of its speakers, but not everything that befell them has an equal bearing on the evolution of their language. We shall here try to highlight those events whose impact we feel made Konkani what it is today.

The general history of the Konkan, which comprises these events and others, can be outlined briefly. The territory was occupied first by tribal clans, which still survive as village communities or *gaumponns*. It was then absorbed into the unified empire of the Mauryas, after whose downfall ever-changing dynasties ruled it, until its conquest by the Muslims. For a brief period there was a tussle between the latter and the Hindu empire of Vijayanagar; at this stage the Portuguese annexed the most important of the Konkan's provinces, Goa. The others, after various vicissitudes, fell to the British. In due course, the two European sovereignties were extinguished, but the Konkan still is, as it has long been, linguistically one, stretching from Vijayadurg to Hosdurg.

The most outstanding events in this historical flux we take to be the following twenty-five:

(1) *The Entry of the Aryans into the Konkan.*

This is perhaps the most significant background event in Konkani's history. Into a non-Aryan country came the Sarasvat brahmins and the *chadd'ddi* (the Punjabi *caḍḍas* ?) bearing with them a Northern Indian speech. In their trek southwards, they took over some of the Nagari Prakrit of Western India and more of the Maharashtri of the Northern Deccan -- ancient India's song-language. By the eighth century they were already in the Konkan. The amalgam of the Prakrits had, two centuries afterwards, given rise to Konkani.

(2) *The Establishment of Kannada and Marathi as the Official and Religious Languages.*

But this oldest of Modern Indo-Aryan tongues was not fated to reign in its own home; very early, official and religious status was accorded to the vernaculars of the more powerful adjacent territories, Karnatak and Maharastra. At the time the northern emigrants arrived in the Konkan, the prestige and

power of Kannada extended over the land between the Godavari and the Kaveri, the great rock temples of the Deccan and the Konkan having inscriptions in it. The latter region was for a long time afterwards under the sway of Kannada-speaking dynasties, and Konkani has felt the force of its Dravidian neighbor's dominion.

To the north, in Maharashtra, the rule of Kannada was overthrown by the Yadavas speaking the nascent Marathi. They, in turn, were subdued by monarchs such as the Bahmanis and the Bijapur sultans, who used Persian as their official tongue. The Yadavas ruled over portions of the Konkan for a time, and after them the Bahmanis; both gave Marathi official standing. This continued under the sultans of Bijapur, whose enemies, the Vijayanagar emperors, offered high posts to Konkani brahmins in their civil service. Their vacant places in the Konkan's temples were taken by the less qualified Maratha brahmin priests, who raised their own vernacular to the position of Konkani Hinduism's sacred speech.

(3) *The Evolution of Konkani Song.*

While officialdom repudiated Konkani, the people cherished it. Their tongue, a true daughter of Maharashtri, had music in her blood; in this blood was lit the flame that still glows in Konkani song.

(4) *The Establishment of the Catholic Church in the Konkan* (after 1510).

In the history of religions, there often comes a moment when young and vital speeches assert themselves against rigid and hieratic ones. By the sixteenth century the modern Indo-Aryan languages were assured of their victory against despotic Sanskrit. Among them was Marathi, who made use of her emancipation to clamp down also a narrow tyranny of her own on her older sister, Konkani. Only sheer vitality sustained the latter, so unprotected by the factors of a large number of speakers, extensive territory and official support -- all of which, liberally gifted to Marathi, went to boost her arrogance. At this stage, on the soil of the Konkan, was established a religion whose Founder had enjoined His followers to preach the Gospel to every creature. Like the disciples of the Buddha and Mahavira, those of Christ had made it a cardinal principle to teach the people religion in the latter's own speech, and Christianity rendered Konkani the service that Buddhism and Jainism had many other now flourishing Indian tongues.

(5) *The Founding of Konkani Schools for Missionaries* (c. 1565 and after).

Unlike the first Buddhist and Jain missionaries, the first Christian ones in the Konkan were not native speakers of the tongues they preached in; hence, schools were set up for them -- in Old Goa (c.1565), Tson-nn (Chorao) (c.1565), Raitur (Rachol) (1576) and Mapxem (Mapuça). The missionaries' sacred language was Latin, which had a clearly articulated and defined grammar. In the sixteenth century, the inchoate grammars of the tongues of Latin Europe were being patterned on those of their classical predecessor; the same model was followed in the analysis of Konkani.

(6) *The Setting up of the Printing Press in Goa (1556) and the Adoption of the Roman Script.*

Besides bringing with them some of the West's dynamism, the missionaries brought some of its contrivances, such as the printing press, which enabled Konkani to have the privilege of possessing the first texts printed in any Indian tongue. But the advantages of the press were offset by two handicaps: the exiguousness of the reading public (which only comprised missionary clerics) and the adoption of Roman script, which, by ultimately rendering Devanagari unfamiliar to its former adepts, put works in Sanskrit and the derived languages out of bounds to them, thus sequestering Konkani from its parent and sister tongues.

(7) *The Establishment of Portuguese as the Official Language in Goa.*

Portuguese was the tongue of the conquerors; thus the business of State was conducted in it and the new script for Konkani, Roman (which is that of Portuguese), brought the literature of the latter tongue to the speakers of the Indian one. With this, the Goan Konkanis began to look more to Portuguese than to Sanskrit for learned and complex terms, and thus, the impoverishment of the native substance of their language began.

(8) *The Inquisition (1560) and the First Southern Migration* (from 1561).

Though living in the age of the Renaissance, the conquerors of Konkani's heartland were medieval-minded; for them Church and State were one, with interests linked. Unbelievers and heretics were felt to be inimical not only to the ecclesiastical but also to the temporal power. Most Hindus, faced with the choice of conversion or the loss of their homes, opted for the latter. The personal misfortune of thousands was in some way beneficial to Konkani. It extended the language's domain southwards (probably at the expense of Tulu, thus beginning the four-century communion of the speakers of these two languages), and it also helped to keep its standard form alive to this day. But the harm the Inquisition did overbalanced the good. The emotional cleavage between the two main Konkani communities today is to be owed to it alone.

(9) *The Suppression of Konkani* (1684).

The Church's ecumenical interests were increasingly absorbed by the State's more nationalistic ones; keeping the Christians faithful to the Crown meant isolating them culturally from the surrounding unbelievers, and language is one of the principal factors of culture. Also, at the end of the seventeenth century, Portuguese scholarship was deteriorating, and with it, interest in Konkani. The law banned the use of the mother tongue and commanded the Goans to speak Portuguese only. The order was disobeyed; but the one literary norm broke up and the five dialects came to the fore.

(10) *Famines and Maratha Raids and the Second Southern Migration.*

The end of the sixteenth century saw Tisvarh, Saxtty, and Barhdes depopulated and Christianized. But Konkani philoprogenitiveness soon augmented the number of the faithful, who were called upon to expiate the injustice done to their Hindu ancestors, by famines (1553, 1570, 1682), epidemics (1635), and frequent Maratha plundering incursions (1683, 1729, etc.). To escape these disasters, large numbers fled south, especially in the eighteenth century (1710, 1712, 1729), taking with them the Konkani as it had then evolved from the standard speech of the sixteenth century. The chief city which this exodus impinged on was Mangalore.

(11) *Tippu and the Seringapatam Captivity* (1784-1799).

As in Goa, the Christians multiplied and flourished in the Kanaras, which had by then come under the Muslim sultans of Karnatak -- the first of whom was Hyder Ali. The Christians, who secretly sided with Hyder's English enemies, were suspect, and Hyder's son Tippu resolved to either Islamize or destroy them. In 1784, he had them herded into captivity in his capital, Seringapatam; there they remained till 1799. This trauma, while it shattered the Kanara Christians' older tradition, toughened their nerve for the creative response they achieved on their liberation.

(12) *The Protestant Missions and the Program of Bible Translation.*

While the Christians of the old Apostolic Church were undergoing their ordeal, the missionaries of the newer reformist bodies were busy making converts. An important sect were the Baptists, and their greatest missionary in India, William Carey (1761-1834)-- one of the most outstanding of British orientalists-- undertook to translate the Bible into Indian tongues. To prepare himself for this task, he learned many of them himself, and he published grammars and dictionaries for a few. But the work was too vast for any one man; so Carey first rendered the scriptures from the originals into Sanskrit, Hindustani and Bengali; he then engaged pandits from India's various linguistic provinces to turn any of these versions into their own tongues. As Carey had learned enough of the languages to be able to judge their written style, he revised the pandits' drafts and gave their prose its final shape.

(13) *The Italian Carmelites.*

Protestant missionary enterprise in India coincided with a change in the Catholic Church's proselytizing policy. From the advent of the Portuguese, the Catholic missions had been under the patronage (*padroado*) of the State. But close linkage to a particular, and now declining, European power began to harm the Christian cause; so the Church wished to promote her own missions, and for this end founded the *De Propaganda Fide* -- which came into inevitable conflict with the *padroado*. Some of the Propaganda's most ardent protagonists were the Italian Carmelites who, from the seventeenth century (especially after 1717), were established in Bombay, Karwar, Kerala and other places.

(14) *Church Quarrels* (1837-1886).

After Tippu's death the Propaganda- *padroado* conflict erupted savagely over matters of jurisdiction, especially in Bombay and in the Konkan to the

south of Goa; in the latter area, it divided villages and families from each other, and finally antagonized the Christians of Goa (Goans) from those of the Kanaras (Mangaloreans).

(15) *Elections in Goa* (from 1822).

One reason why the Church wished to disassociate herself from Portugal was the rise of anticlerical ideas there. These caused an upheaval in both the mother country and its Indian colonies. In the first decade of the nineteenth century, French revolutionary ideas, which had filtered through earlier, gained a definite foothold, fomenting the rise of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy in 1820. This led to the acceptance of elections of parliamentary candidates and the voicing of greater outspoken opinion against the government. An important province of the Portuguese monarchy, Goa had the right to choose its own candidates. Its people, who hitherto had been discouraged from saying what they thought of their government, now often did so in a way which the authorities considered rebellious. They also learned to compose political songs.

(16) *Introduction to Dancing in Goa* (late 1830s or early 1840s).

Under the monarchy, the Christians of Goa gradually adopted much of their conquerors' culture, but lived apart from them, thus preserving many of their older habits of living. The change of atmosphere brought about by the constitutional monarchy encouraged more contact between the rulers and the ruled, causing a further Lusitanization in the Goans' dress, etiquette and speech habits, and more important, converting them to social dancing. The Goans soon mastered the minuet, contredanse, waltz, and other dance forms, and dance music had a revolutionary impact on their songs.

(17) *Cunha Rivara and Valaulikar's Crusades.*

Among those engaged in furthering the Goan-Portuguese *rapprochement* and in pacifying the Propaganda-*padroado* conflict was Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara (1800-1879), a scholar of Portuguese history in the East. Arriving in India in 1855 (where he remained till 1877), he was appalled by Konkani's prostration in Goa, and laid the foundations of its revival by writing about its history (1858) and attempting to establish Konkani schools (1859). His efforts had at first little effect among the Christians and almost none among the Hindus (whom the Inquisition had driven into the arms of Marathi). Some time after Cunha Rivara's exertions had barely borne fruit among the Christians, Vaman Varde Valaulikar (1877-1946), inspired by the great historian's example, set himself to restore Konkani's dignity among the Hindus, surpassing his predecessor in extent of learning in Konkani, thoroughness and missionary ardor. With Valaulikar began the Modern Hindu Konkani Movement.

(18) *The Great Emigration to Bombay and the North.*

As we saw, the Konkanis have a long tradition of emigration; first, into the Konkan from the North, due to various happenings in the Indo-Gangetic plain; then to the South, because of Portuguese persecution. In more modern times, they flocked in great numbers to British India, due to the rise of British power, the pressure on the land at home and the prosperity deriving from India's pacification by British arms.

All throughout the nineteenth century, the Anglo-Saxons had cast envious eyes on Goa. In the second half of this span they attempted to constrict it economically. Before about 1860, the Portuguese colony used to supply salt, copra, etc., to the lands round Belgaum and Dharwar; after that, the British started importing these goods, especially salt, more cheaply from the South. Goan trade was ruined; population was growing unchecked; the American Civil War had blessed Bombay with a cotton boom; then Goans, in multitudes, emigrated northwards, first in sailing boats and later in steamships (found in Goa from 1870) and the railway (built there in 1886). Places like Belgaum and Poona were among the first towns to attract emigrants; later most numbers converged (as they still do) on Bombay; after that colonies began to mushroom in Karachi and the ports around the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea. Most of these places were more evolved industrially than Goa, and the Goan province which supplied most of the emigrants was Barhdes. But the Goans were not the only Konkanis susceptible to Bombay's charm; those of the Kanaras came under its spell too, but were swept off their feet only in the first decades of the twentieth century.

(19) *The Development of Indian Journalism* (after 1818).

Committed more to trade than to imperial expansion for its own sake, the British did not, in the beginning, try to impose their own cultural modes, including their language, on their Indian subjects. They fostered the local languages and instituted schools in them. For some time virtually fallow, the Indian tongues began to sprout out again, and one of the signs of the new vigor was journalism, which the authorities encouraged. The first Indian paper was published in Bengali in 1818; the first Marathi one appeared thirteen years afterwards. In Goa, however, the tradition of despising Konkani, Portuguese lack of interest and curiosity about anything "native," and general indifference (which Rivara tried so hard to fight), led to Konkani's languescence. The emigrants in British India, on the other hand, saw how journalism in Indian tongues flourished there and were encouraged to start papers in their own speech.

(20) *The Italian Jesuits.*

In the Kanaras, the Christians were recovering from the nightmare of Tippu's captivity and the Propaganda-*Padroado* wrangle. Intelligent and eager to learn, the Mangalorean Christians, from the time of their arrival in the Kanaras, had had no educational activity among them worth the name. This was supplied by the Italian Jesuits, who landed in Mangalore on the last day of 1878. The college they established there, St. Aloysius, turned out some of the most educated Southern Konkanis.

(21) *The Struggle for Freedom.*

Western education, with its ideas of sovereign state and national freedom, had been implanted in Goa long before it had been elsewhere in India; hence, it could be expected to bear fruit there earlier. Revolts there were many, but the first concerted effort to create an independent Goa was launched by what is called the "Conspiracy of the Pintos" (1787). In the last decades of the nineteenth century, when the election fever was at its fiercest, the party of Bishop António Francisco Álvares (1837-1923) tried to get Goa made a state within Portugal. Though the first clear statement of the need for India *as a nation* to be free (with the cultural reasons for it) seems to have

been put forward by a Konkani, Francisco Luís Gomes (in his letter to Lamartine of 5 January 1861), none of the Goan upheavals were intended to embrace all India. This latter task was chiefly Gandhi's mission. What happened in the subcontinent naturally affected Goa, and the fight for Independence on the latter's soil really started when the Portuguese arrested Lohia in 1946. Indian Independence attained, attempts were made at annexing Goa peacefully; they failed; the Indian army then moved in and ended Portuguese dominion in 1961.

(22) *The Konkan State.*

The first corollary of Indian Independence was the institutional preservation of the country's composite identity. This called for the official recognition and support of the land's tongues, best served by organizing linguistic territories as states. Even before Independence, in the Konkan as in other parts of India, ideas were moving in the direction of linguistic states. The notion of the geographical and cultural uniqueness of the Konkan was propounded by Valaulikar; but the first person to enunciate the idea of a Konkan State as a *sāgarī pranth* or maritime province, was the great Madhav Manjunath Shanbag (1887-1950). This concept was elaborated by Kakasaheb Kalelkar (b. 1885), but was first presented in cogent intellectual terms by George Mark Moraes (b. 1905), whose arguments were reinforced by the fervent rhetoric of Bhaskar Anand Saletore (1900-1963), supported by a careful study of the language's antiquity.

(23) *The Konkani Bhasha Mandal* (1939).

Before the Konkan State could be set up, a language like Konkani, buffetted by so many adverse winds, needed an institutional haven to repair itself. This could best be achieved by its organized study; here again Shanbag provided the institution, by founding the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, whose first meeting was held in Karwar in 1939. To it must be compared other organizations for the promotion of Konkani, such as the Konkani Sahitya Samiti (founded 1944), the Konkan Cultural Association (1965) of Bombay, and the Konkani Prachar Sabha of Cochin.

(24) *The Konkani Section, All India Radio* (1952)

Publishing in a language without an accepted standard and afflicted with a variety of dialects and scripts is not profitable; both dialect and script inhibit communication between different groups of speakers of a language, dialect partially and script totally. Hence, in contrast to successfully standardized tongues (such as English), the spoken work is more generally intelligible than the written. Consequently, a medium of diffusion based on sound will more effectively unify than one which employs print; that is, the radio rather than the press. The Konkani Section of the All India Radio was, for purposes of propaganda, started by the Government of India in 1952, on the recommendation of people like P. M. Lad, H. O. Mascarenhas, Baki Borkar, and Kaka Kalelkar.

(25) *The Growth of Indian Language Schools.*

But a cultured tongue must be intelligible in writing to all its educated speakers. For quite some time now, endeavors have been made to give Konkani a uniform script. Only when it had one, it was realized, could all Konkani children, learning a common alphabet, grow up to read any work in their tongue.

Uniformity of script and standardization of language were also tasks before Indian language schools in the nineteenth century. These schools were being set up by the British in their territory at about the same time as the Portuguese were ostracizing Konkani in theirs. In 1812, Archbishop S. Galdino banned Konkani in Goan educational institutions; in 1815, the Native Education Society was founded in Bombay and three schools were opened in that town. Eight years afterwards, the first Commission for Public Instruction recognized the importance of fostering Indian vernaculars, seven years before Konkani was strictly banished from Goan state schools. In 1854, the great scholar John Wilson asserted that Indians should be taught in their own languages, at which time there were already several schools using them as media of instruction.

Five years later, Cunha Rivara, who had come to India in 1885 and been impressed by the British attitude towards the local tongues, wrote his *Instruções* for Konkani schools; no one heeded them, and Rivara was stoutly opposed by the wily Marathist Suriagy Anand Rao. In 1869, Konkani was peremptorily debarred from Goan schools, and three years after, mixed Portuguese and Marathi schools were started. In 1880, a Government commission favored Konkani primary instruction, but Suriagy Rao saw to it that nothing was done. In the commission was the Marathi scholar Thomas Mourao, the Barao de Combarjua (1842-1904), who wrote the first Konkani primer, and tried hard to get Konkani children taught their own tongue; so did the poet Fernando Leal (1846-1910). Both had no success. In 1916, the Primeiro Congresso Provincial approved elementary education in Konkani, but that was all it did. In Bombay, however, some schools were founded for adult emigrants. In 1932, Salazar's coming into power revived Portuguese chauvinism and the old insistence on Lusitanian speech to the exclusion of any Indian one. Goan Hindu preference for Marathi did not help matters. Nothing could be done before liberation, after which the first official Konkani schools came into existence in 1962.

II. THE ERA OF UNIFIED KONKANI

The history of literary Konkani is that of a language under duress, with at least two common factors discernible during its unfolding. First, the recurring need to render the tongue amenable to cultivated expression in each epoch; to put it conversely, the absence of a *creative and cumulative stereotyping*. In flourishing languages, succeeding generations take over their predecessors' coined terms, expanded roots, multiplied derivations and variety of phrases, and build upon them. All this gives the pioneers' inheritors a rich, but relatively inelastic, medium of expression which in a large measure is stereotyped. But Konkani's oft-imposed trammels have inhibited a continuous growth; the riches gleaned by previous writers' efforts have not fecundated the work of following ones, who have had to write in their language as if it had

never been written in before. One is always coming across assertions that a particular writer is Konkani's first.

The second discernable factor is in the just barely conscious awareness of the tradition itself, as when a succeeding age keeps the ideas and spirit of a former one while unaware of the sources or, as when an isolated writer encountering Konkani works of former times is inspired to write, but in a different manner altogether, making no use of the earlier models. The beginning of the end of this state of affairs is Valaulikar.

(1) *Konkani in Kanarese and Marathi Works.*

We shall now see how the events we outlined above have had a bearing on the development of the literary language. The primal event in Konkani's history, the coming of the Aryans, was not responsible for any literature, but the next one, the establishment of Kannada and Marathi, was. In the eleventh century, when the Karnatak's vernacular held sway in the Konkan, the region's young Aryan speech had grown full-fledged. This is when Kannada's speakers first seem to have noticed it, the kings Chavundaraja and Gangaraja being perhaps the earliest ones to do so in their inscriptions near the colossal monolith of Bahubali at Shravana Belgola. There the word *karaviyalem*, "caused to be made", said to be Marathi, has both the Marathi (*-vi-*) and the Konkani (*-ya-*) causative affixes. Another royal witness to our language's existence seems to have been the Chalukya Someshvara III, one of the earliest students of popular literature and song in the Indian vernaculars, who, in the same century, quoted a couplet in his *manasollasa* in what he said was Maharashtri. But the apparently incontrovertible *ka* dative in the poem's first line make us nearly sure that it is Konkani, Maharashtri's first-born.

The foisting of Marathi's dominance also occurred quite early, and most of the inscriptions found in the Konkan are in that vernacular. The Konkanisms that sprout in some of these epigraphs make us aware of a language that will not let itself be ignored; an example is the Verem inscription of 1348. From that age on, in the poems and official records composed by the Marathi writers of the Konkan, texts intended to be evenly of pure Ghat vernacular texture are found to be unavoidably encrusted with the terms and constructions of the musical tongue of the lowlands.

But the most startling evidence for the existence of some kind of Konkani poetry is furnished by the Marathas themselves, by one among the most eminent of them, the poet Namdev, in the fourteenth century. This devotional bard, describing the child Krishna's stealing of the cowgirls' clothes, makes the five of them beg the naughty god for their saris in five different languages, one of them Konkani.

(2) *The Mahabharata and Ramayana Tales.*

The Konkani poets had made the popular devotional works of the Maratha brahmins their own (event 2), and had taken to writing in the hillmen's tongue. But as in later ages, many literate Konkanis could not understand the upland lingo; so translations had to be prepared for them; both these and the originals were written in the Kannada script. At least one MS in the Kannada characters of Vijayanagar has come down to us, with the Marathi text and interlinear Konkani translation. With the adoption of Roman (event 6),

the missionaries transliterated some of these works into their own script. It is in Roman that the oldest known Konkani classic, the extensive *Tales of the Mahabharata and Ramayana*, is preserved in a codex in the Public Library at Braga in Portugal. The book is supposedly a translation of the Marathi original of the Konkani poet Kruxnnadas Xama of the sixteenth century. The rich and elaborate prose of the *Tales* suggests that it is the work of Xama himself. A study of its style makes it plain that Konkani had been earlier used for literature, though not for long, while (to compare it with the style of priestly writers who built on it) an analysis of later prose reveals a medium rendered consummately supple and elegant.

All this seems to indicate that, under Marathi's aegis, the Konkanis had made a beginning at writing in their own tongue. The literature so far produced could not be vast, considering the scantiness of the numbers of the Konkanis in those days, but it would doubtless have evolved and grown in size had the Portuguese not arrived. The conversions that were made (event 4) split the Konkanis into two groups, whose differences in belief would, for the moment at least, be a bar to a common literary endeavor. The Inquisition sowed bitterness (event 8) which artfulness could render rancorous, making cooperation seem not worthwhile. With numbers and collective energy rendered even less potent by division, the two Konkani bodies could less and less be expected to cultivate their own tongue and more and more to look to foreign literatures for cultural nourishment -- unless, of course, a vital bond of unity could be found.

(3) *Grammars, Vocabularies, and Linguistics.*

Konkani song's development (event 3) was then going on, being also noticed by Namdev, but it was not to have any effect on the language's literary growth yet. But the establishment of the Catholic Church (event 4), the founding of Konkani schools (event 5), the setting up of the printing press (event 6) and the establishment of Portuguese (event 7) were to be of crucial importance.

Of the agents of Catholicism's diffusion, the Jesuits were the most important, and the powerhouse of their activities, characteristically called the Seminary of the Holy Faith, later St. Paul's, was founded in 1542. By 1563, a Goan lay brother, the "Grammarian of St. Paul's," had already prepared the language's first grammar, which was preceeded by a like work in Portuguese by only about twenty-seven years. In the south, the linguistic genius Henrique Henriques (c.1520-1600), who had done pioneering work in Tamil, wrote a Konkani grammar, largely ready by 1567, only by conversing with two Konkani natives in the Dravidian South. The language's standard form was fixed by Thomas Stephens (1549-1617) between 1568 and 1617. After this work the grammar's elaboration commenced; earlier researches were improved and augmented by João de S. Matias and consummated in Gaspar de S. Miguel's monumental *Arte de Lingoa Canarim*, ready by 1635, the second part of which exhaustively treats and definitively formulates Standard Konkani's syntax. In the latter year, the Franciscan Cristovam de Jesus wrote a grammar that seems to be based on the great work of Gaspar, who is perhaps Konkani's greatest scholar.

A whole host of minor Konkani grammars was produced at this time, but no Marathi ones were, though the missionaries knew the latter language and wrote their verses in it. However, Konkani's grammar can be better understood by comparing it with that of Marathi and vice versa; this is precisely what the Italian Jesuit Ignazio Arcamone (1615-1683) did in his work *Janua Indica*. At the end of the century a grammar, now lost, was composed by the Tson-nn brahmin Simão Álvares; and over half a century afterwards, when the Standard Konkani norm had disintegrated, the Czech Jesuit Karel Prikryl (1718-1785) wrote a resumé in Latin of Stephens's authoritative work and named it *Principia Linguae Brahmanicae*.

Vocabulary was studied together with grammar. The first person to make a list of Konkani words appears to have been Garcia de Orta (1530-1572), who mentioned Konkani botanical terms in his *Coloquios dos Simples e Drogas*. But the first scholars to catalogue Konkani words systematically were a number of Jesuits living in the province of Saxtty (Salcete) in the last years of the sixteenth century, who noted their findings in two volumes, which we may call the *Racholenses*. Stephens's pupil, Diogo Ribeiro (1560-1633), who had amplified his master's grammar, also augmented the *Racholenses* with a vast number of idiomatic expressions in his two-volume *Vocabulario da Lingoa Canarym* (1626). The Jesuit Antônio de Saldanha (1598-1683) continued the organization of Konkani vocabulary, which was probably brought to perfection by his co-religionist Miguel de Almeida (1610-1683), who based his own colossal work on Benedito Pereira, S. J.'s vast *Prosodia in Vocabularium Trilingue* (1634), a collection of 50,000 words. Two dictionaries preserved in the Archivum Romanum Societatis Jesu (Rome) and the Biblioteca Nacional (Lisbon), which we may respectively call the *Lexicon Romanum* and the *Lexicon Lisbonense*, are probably MSS of Saldanha's and Almeida's works. The Franciscans also contributed to Konkani lexicography, some of their outstanding men being Manuel Banha and the great Gaspar, whose work, characteristically, was copious, in two volumes, but now lost.

A brief resumé of these researches seems to have been the vocabulary of Simão Álvares, aided by his father, Lourenco, and completed in 1695. In the eighteenth century, Prikryl's colleague Diogo de Amaral wrote the last Standard Konkani dictionary, the *Prosodia della Lingua Canarina*. All these works cannot be traced.

These philological investigations suggested ideas which were to become basic in the later science of comparative linguistics. Filippo Sassetti (1540-1588) had shown how alike some Sanskrit and Italian words are. In 1583, Stephens intuited the fundamental notion of the science when he declared that Konkani and Marathi were related to Latin and Greek. Some decades afterwards, Arcamone remarked on the similarity of Konkani and Latin syntax. The methodology of a comparative study of languages was worked out by the French Jesuit Coeurdoux in 1767, several years before William Jones stumbled upon it independently (in 1786) and got the sole credit of the discovery for himself. Two years before this, also independently, the Spanish Jesuit Lorenzo Hervas y Panduro (1735-1809) elaborated a theory of comparative linguistics, making large use of Konkani material, in his *Idea dell'Universo* (1784). We must not overlook the small comparative vocabularies like J. F. Fritz's *Sprachmeister* (1748) and the Danish scholar Ivar Abel's (c.1720-1788) *Symphona Symphonum* (1782), which may have been of assistance to Panduro. We must also remember that comparative linguistics owes much to the grammar of Prikryl; reading it (in 1791) made the Czech

philologist Josef Dubrovsky (1753-1829) aware of Sanskrit, and inspired the study of linguistics in Czechoslovakia, bringing about the revival of its decaying tongue.

(4) *Prose Works.*

Besides a catechism or two, of which no trace remains, the first prose work in Christian Konkani seems to be the *Upoxamu* (c. 1548 ?), or "Instructions to a Convert." Later, many translations followed, for the translation of the classics of a more cultivated languages suggests itself as the obvious means for developing less evolved tongues in vocabulary, variety of phrase, and subtlety of expression. As in many other things, Stephens was an important pioneer; he prepared a version of Marcos Jorge's catechism, producing what is surely Standard Konkani prose's sourcebook. Diogo Ribeiro felicitously rendered Bellarmine's catechism; so did the Franciscan João de S. Matias. A co-friar, Amador de Santana, turned Ribadeneyra's *Flos Sanctorum* into Konkani in 1612. The Jesuit João de Pedrosa (1615-1672) is the author of a superb rendition of Bernardino de Villegas's *Soliloquios Divinos*, the *Devachim Yecangra Bolannim* (1660). In Arcamone's *Sagalle Varussanche Vangel* (1667), the Konkani "Gospels for the Whole Year," we have the first version in an Indian tongue of any portions of the Bible.

The subjects of the above works were, as will be seen, saints' lives, meditations, and catechisms. The latter was the most popular sort of book, and other men who contributed to it were the friars Manuel Baptista and Manuel do Lado. Still other literary types in vogue (whether translations or originals) were polemical tracts refuting "Gentile" errors (one writer of which was Manuel de S. Matias), handbooks for parish priests and for bringing up children, confessionaries and sermons, the last of which were the most fully literary in scope. An author who tried his hand at all the types, literary and philological, was Gaspar de S. Miguel.

The original works were, as a rule, larger than the translations. Chief among the original writers are António de Saldanha, who excelled in saints' lives, meditations and pastors' handbooks; Gaspar de S. Miguel, who was master of everything, but of whose work all but the grammatical portion is lost. But by far the most monumental creation of the age was Miguel de Almeida's prose poem, the "*Onvalleancho Mallo*," a sort of *Summa Theologica* in Konkani, where abstract theological concepts are expressed in vivid poetic language; hence the work is aptly titled the "*garden of shepherds.*" In it scholastic precision, an opulent philosophical vocabulary, Ciceronic periods and the imagery of Spanish Baroque rhetoric make themselves at home in the Konkan's musical tongue.

(5) *The Beginnings of Poetry.*

In 1604, some musicians from Morhgoum went to Navele (Navelim) to sing Konkani hymns at the dedication of the church there. This is the first mention we have traced of such hymns on the Standard Konkani epoch. Gaspar de S. Miguel is also supposed to have written a long Konkani poem on the Passion, but as the work is lost, it is impossible to be sure what the language of the original was.

Although two centuries of analytical and creative endeavor of a restrained splendor produced much, just a fraction of it managed to get into print. Most of it was set down only in MS. Of both printed and MS material much has perished or is still not traced. Not a little of what has survived is in European libraries and thus, beyond the reach of the average student of Konkani. Even in libraries in the Konkan, few of the printed classics are found -- a situation which promises to improve through the devoted efforts of men like Mariano Saldanha and Anant Kakba Priolkar. One still cannot get even a vaguely consistent picture of literary growth of the language in this epoch, as indeed in any other, unless one is an impassioned scholar with the leisure and the means to travel. We must await the day when the Konkani classics will be found on every public library's shelves.

III. THE ERA OF THE FIVE DIALECTS

In 1684, a year after Arcamone and Miguel de Almeida were dead, the language they had devotedly cultivated was suppressed (event 9). For as long as the Jesuits were in Goa (up to 1761), they ignored the law, which nonetheless proved fatal to Konkani's unity. By 1725, as Bishop Inácio de Santa Teresa tells us, speakers of various provinces in the Konkan could not understand each other easily. Of the many dialects prevalent in that region, five were to become literary media, in order of evolution: Saxtti, Karwari (the Hindu speech of the Kanaras), Barhdexi, Manglluri (Christian Southern Konkani) and Antruzi.

Standard Konkani excels these later forms in wealth of word and phrase and preserves unblemished the old spirit of Konkanness. It has a propensity for the lyric and the mystical, which was not fully brought to fruition. At the same time, it is marvellously amenable to the discipline of prose and linguistic formulation, which capacities were amply exploited. The five dialects are no more than its partial avatars. They bring out what is implicit in it and continue production along the lines of what their forerunner accomplished. In doing this they are at their best; they are sometimes not equally so when trying to add new dimensions to the old achievement, as in critical, historical, and scientific writing.

The breaking up of the literary unity of the language was obviously a disaster, but the division of the standard tongue's gifts among its five descendants led to a fruitful specialization. We may, in the long run, find that this was beneficial to the growth of the language. To assess the peculiar contribution of each to Konkani's common heritage: Saxtti first evolved the old standard tongue's flair for poetry and for lyrically evoked devotional feeling, especially as suffused with pathos; it also first explored the emotions of love and courtship, also as colored by sadness. Karwari, more than others, preserves the integral spirit of the old Konkan. Barhdexi continued its ancestor's subtle and detailed linguistic analysis, and brought in journalism, the novel and the theater. Manglluri made further advances in the lyrical, and created poetic drama. Antruzi extended the frontiers of Konkani poetry to their widest so far, introduced critical writing, and gave intellectual form and justification to the sense of Konkanness.

(1) *Saxtti.*

In the last decades of the seventeenth century, in the days of the Jesuit Francisco de Sousa (1649-1712), the missionaries, who had learned their Konkani from books, found it hard to understand the Saxttykars. The bookish Konkani was the old Standard, and the speech of Saxtty was probably on the way to making the wholesale use of elision that it does today. Still, the Jesuits continued writing grammars and dictionaries of the older speech, as witnessed by the work of Prikryl and Amaral.

But the fathers did not teach Konkani as a subject to the Goans, but things like music, which their pupils learnt so well that the renditions by some of them of Carissimi's oratorios in the church of Bom Jesus made a friar from the Baroque papal court feel he was in Rome. Thus was the polyphonic music of Italy grafted on to the Indian trunk of Konkani folk music, which had then been evolving for six centuries (event 3). Konkani song's opportunities for conceiving and bearing art forms were supplied by the need for hymns in the mother tongue, and by the nineteenth century there was a considerable corpus in existence. The characteristics of traditional Konkani poetry appear in them for the first time: melancholy and a simultaneous obsession with heavenly bodies. We know the names of not more than five hymnographers: Father Joaquim de Miranda of Santana (died 1783), author of the longest Konkani hymn, the "*Riglo Jesu Molleantum*"; ("Jesus entered the garden"); Dona Barreto of Morhgoum (fl. 1820s), authoress of the "*Papianchi Xeratinni*" ("sinner's patroness"); considered by some to be the masterpiece of Konkani hymnology; Father Pascoal Baylon Dias of Kormonne (fl. nineteenth century), probable author of "*S. Francisco Xaviera*," one of the most popular of Goan hymns (possibly set to music by Raimundo Barreto of Lotlle, who flourished in the second half of the same century); and the Mando writer Carlos Trindade Dias (c. 1854-1890) of Dovol-le, author of "*S. Jose Bogta Bagivonta.*"

In the 1840s, as the era of the hymns was passing its peak, the Goans began avidly to take to social dancing (event 16), the rhythm of its foot movements compelling them to change that of their music, as is seen in some of the hymns themselves. Before this tremendous event, the *ovi* verse form (three-and-a-half lines) was in general use in religious and profane songs. The elections (event 15) made the people politics-conscious; the urge to have songs to dance to impelled the Goans to create a song-dance form of their own, the Mando, which truly is India's *ballo nobile*; one of its earliest samples is a political song, "*Luizinh*" (1854). When the Mando first came into existence (c.1840), it was a stanza of four lines, but, probably around 1880, settled for four lines and a chorus as its standard. In this form the Mando's most outstanding composers wrote their best work. By the 1920s, the classical period was nearly over. Decline fast set in, deepened by the shock of the emigration north (event 18), whose effects were felt late in Saxtty, the home of the Mando.

Of the early composers, the most important are Ligório da Costa (1851-1919) of Kurhtore and Carlos Trindade Dias. Their younger contemporaries were Arnaldo de Menezes (1863-1917), Gizelino Rebelo (1875-1931) and Torquato de Figureiredo (1876-1948) - the Three Great Ones of the classical Mando. Arnaldo is the most catholic and versatile of them all, Gizelino usually the deepest, the Torquato, not infrequently, the most sublime. Other important

composers were Eduardo de Menezes and Milagres Silva of Lotlle, Frederico de Melo of Rai, Pascoal Noronha (1872-1936) of Morhgoum and Sebastiao Costa-Fernandes (1875-1937) of Kurhtore. An important Saxttykar poet, though he wrote mostly in Portuguese and only one poem in Konkani, is Adeodato Barreto (1905-1937) of Lotlle.

Saxtti in some ways is nearest to Standard Konkani; it is the only dialect whose evolution is linked unbrokenly with that of its predecessor, and it retains some of its forms and preserves the old Konkanness alongside the Latinity of the new civilization. But in many more ways it is the remotest from the standard speech. Grammatically, it has in several respects innovated more than its co-dialects. It has no penchant for prose; it is not easily capable of grammatical definition; that is, it demands more linguistic expertise than those who set themselves to be its codifiers had at their command. As a result, its use of elision still awaits formulation.

As to prose, it has little besides the slender production of Pascoal Dias, who also deformed Konkani's syntax, patterning it after that of Portuguese. Grammatical work on it is more considerable. Inspired by Cunha Rivara's rhetoric, five grammarians set out to chart Saxtti's linguistic contours - Miguel Filipe de Quadros (1794-1871), Francisco Luis Gomes (1829-1869), Bernardo Santana Pacheco (mid-nineteenth century), José Maria Dias (fl. 1869) and Francisco Xavier Araujo (1878-1949). By the time the latter grammarian wrote, Saxtti had been superseded by Barhdexi, and Araujo's language is impregnated with the latter dialect's forms.

(2) *Karwari*.

Old Standard Konkani can very well be called the speech of the *xennais* of Kut-tthall (Cortalim) in Saxtty. Some of them, and others of the same province, under pressure from the Inquisition (event 8), migrated to the Kanaras and Kerala. The speech of the stay-at-home *xennais* of Saxtty, as we saw, changed a great deal from the standard, but not so that of the emigrant *xennais*, which is still substantially what the one literary tongue of the old Konkan was.

By the third quarter of the seventeenth century, some of the Konkanis had settled in Kerala; among them were three medical men who helped the Dutch bontanist Henricus Van Rheede (c.1637-1691) to write the first monumental work on Indian plants. They gave him a testimonial in Konkani attesting the authenticity of his book's contents; it is the first Southern Konkani document known to us.

Most of the emigrants, however, remained in the Kanaras. While their kinsmen in Kerala seemed to have forgotten Marathi, the Konkanis of Kerala had not, or at least not their devotional poets, whose hymns were mainly in the Deccani hillmen's speech. There is also a belief that they wrote a few *bhaktī* songs in Konkani, but we have yet been unable to trace any. Some of the famous *kavīs* were Santa Appaya, Raghavadasa, Jogavva, and Avaddi, all originally from Kut-tthal, who flourished in the last decades of the seventeenth century under the Ikkeri princelings, chief of whom was Basappa Nayaka I, ruler from 1696 to 1714. Whatever the exiguousness of the *santas'* Konkani poetry, there seems to have been a fair amount of Konkani prose in the shape of translations of the *Bhagavata* and *Linga Puranas*, and of the Epics (all of which are surely contemporaneous with

the *Tales* of the Braga Codex), as well as original works like the *Virabhadracheritra* and the *Parasuramacheritra*. Temples appear to have had their own Konkani *sthāla purānas*, and even the pirates had their Konkani histories. None of these books are traceable today; we know of them only from the testimony of the scholar John Leyden (1775-1811), the man who started the Marathi-Konkani controversy.

The time when Leyden came to know of these works was that of a great ferment in modern Indian prose, fomented by William Carey's program of Bible translation (event 12). Two Konkani pandits of the Kanaras, whose names we cannot find, prepared the draft of the *Dharmalem Pustak* ("book of faith"), or the *Devalim Sagallim Utram*, comprising the New Testament and the Pentateuch. Their style was examined and finalized by Carey himself, who is said to have spent nearly a decade on the work, giving us the most monumental prose text in the speech of the Kanaras.

Carey's Christian zeal was paralleled by the devotional fervor of the Hindu *bhaktas* of the Southern Konkan, who revived the old *santas'* tradition of composing mystical songs. Chief among the new devotees were Santa Nayakasvami, Narayana Tirtha (c.1820-c.1900), the two *svāmis* of Chitrapur, Pandurangashrama (1847-1915) and Anandashrama (1902-1966); and the three great *bhaktas*, Sahajananda (1850-1911), Naddghar Shantibhai (1850-1902) and Shivaramashramasvami (mid-nineteenth to mid-twentieth century). Except for the Chitrapur *svāmīs*, who wrote Konkani prose, these devotees composed poems in the same tongue. Others who did so were Narahari Kavi and Bhavanibhai Padukone, of this century. But a corpus of Hindu devotional songs in any modern Indian tongue is incomplete without a translation of the Hindu "Song of Songs," the *Gīta*; this classic was rendered into Konkani by Bande Naryannu Kamti (1872-1918), Mangesh Ramkrishna Teling (1859-1949), Bollantur Krishna Prabhu (1882-1965), Sheshgiri Keshav Prabhu and Svami Prabhavananda. A *samaślokī* has been prepared by the journalist and writer of devotional songs, B. V. Balliga (b.1918).

While the Hindu revival was taking root, the Jesuits arrived in Mangalore (event 20), and founded St. Aloysius's. The work on Konkani of one of them, Maffei, inspired speakers of Karwari to take up the study of their language seriously, and to try and make it a vehicle of instruction. Narayan Achari of Udyavar wrote the first Karwari primer, and his linguistic researches were followed up by Hatyangadi Narayan Rao (1863-1921), compiler of a Konkani etymological dictionary (1917) and M. M. Shanbag, founder of the Konkan State (in idea) and the Konkani Bhasha Mandal (in reality), who wrote two primers. But all these investigations were cast into shade by Sumitra Mangesh Katre's stupendous *The Formation of Konkani* (1942), which was inspired by Jules Bloch's (1880-1953) classic treatise on Marathi, and which is the most scientific analysis of Konkani to date. Recently, the Konkani Sahitya Samiti has been at the task of standardizing the language.

The pupils of the Jesuits were infected by the new enthusiasm, and they began to urge their writers to make use of Konkani. Among them surely was Amembal Subbarao Pai; the first to answer his call was the devotional writer and dramatist Bollantur Krishna Prabhu, who wrote the *Chandrahasanattaka* (1912), the *Prahladacharitranattaka* and several *bhaktī* poems. His example was followed by Kumblle Narsium Nayaku, author of the *Savitrinattaka* (1912). The bug of emigration bit the Kanara Konkanis only in the early years of this century (event 18), but by the 1920s their flourishing Chitrapur

Sarasvat community was already settled well enough in Bombay to want a common cultural life. Its best expression was felt to be drama; after an unsuccessful start with English and Marathi, their playwrights settled for Konkani. The "doyen of Konkani dramatists" in that city, Dongerkeri Umanath Rao (b.1898) had started writing dramas quite early in life; among them was *Vajrakuttkam* ("diamond earrings", 1914), staged in Gamdevi, Bombay, in 1934. He was the author of several pieces for the stage and for the radio, but serious work on Konkani drama was not taken up before Baindur Devrayu (1910-b.1910) appeared on the scene. To lend sophistication to the Konkani theater he drew upon the resources of more evolved literatures, and borrowed his plots from Molière, Goldsmith and Wilde, though using his own characters and dialogue. Other dramatists are Surkund Annaji Rao (b.1916), composer of the first Konkani *yakxagānas* (a type of folk play) and the chief, if not the only, poetic dramatist in Karwari, Kalyanpur Narahari Bhatt (b.1912), Mudur Prabhakaru (b.1918), the prolific and vivacious Mitrabai Kabad (b.1898), Talgeri Venkatrao and V. B. Shanbag (or "Vembaxa").

Of poetry, Karwari has far less. The first "profane" poet is Xrinivas Prabhu, the cousin of Narayana Tirtha and author of a marriage song (*xobhane*). In modern times we have the famous Kannada poet laureate, Manjeshvar Govind Pai (1882-1963), who occasionally wrote in Konkani, Shantaram Kamat (b.1891) and the humorous and imaginative Dinkar Desai (b.1909), also an important writer in Kannada.

These poets, like most modern Konkani ones as a rule, published their poems in periodicals, and some of them are journalists. Karwari journalism began with the *Sarasvat*, founded about 1923 in Mangalore by V. S. Kuddva, and revived around 1941, its most illustrious contributor being Manjeshvar Govind Pai. Some other journals were *Navyug* ("new age," Karwar, 1940), *Uzvarh* ("light," Karwar, 1947), *Konkan Kinara* ("Konkan coast," Kumta, 1950), and *Sarvodaya* (Karwar). But these journals were never very popular, and Karwari writers often had to make use of Goan and Manglluri papers. Sometimes collections of choice prose pieces were printed, such as the *Vounllam* ("wild berry"), made up of some of the contributions to the important MS magazine *Avai* ("mother").

(3) *Barhdexi*.

Saxtti and Karwari form the Southern group of Konkani literary dialects. The three remaining ones, which belong to the Northern group, owe their rise to Cunha Rivara's crusade (event 17). Barhdexi, further, derived special nourishment from the great migration north (event 18). In 1858, the year of the publication of Rivara's epoch-making essay on Konkani, the grammarian Bernardino Santana Pacheco had no knowledge of Barhdexi. Eleven years afterwards, Aniceto Maria de Sousa brought out a dictionary using Konkani forms "common in Barhdes" (1869).

Early written Barhdexi has the impress of the still dominant Saxtti, as in Inácio Xavier de Sousa Rodrigues's (d. 1907) *Diccionario Concanim-Portuguez* (1888). Gradually, more authentic Barhdexi forms began to predominate. It was José Gerson da Cunha (1844-1900) who set out to give the rising dialect a grammar around 1881, but his work remained unfinished. Not until 1892 was the first Barhdexi grammar published, in serial form and

incomplete, by the great Eduardo de Sousa (1837?-1905) in his journal *Udentechem Sallok* ("lotus of the East"). The raising of Barhdexi to the status of a standard speech -- its lack of tradition and literature notwithstanding -- was achieved by the greatest Konkani scholar on Konkani, Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalgado (1855-1922), who used its forms in his *Diccionario Konkani-Portuguez* (1893) and *Diccionario Portuguez-Konkani* (1905) and in a detailed grammar which remains unpublished because of Goan dilatoriness and intrigue.

Momentum in the elaboration of grammar was gained by Dalgado's efforts, and was intensified by D. F. Dantas, author of the first Konkani grammar on Konkani (1910), Canon José de Santa Rita e Sousa (1863-1940), Vicente João Janin Rangel (1858-1949), Mariano Saldanha (b.1878), Father Graciano Morais (b.1904), Father Crescencio Francisco Monteiro (b.1902) and Joaquim António Fernandes (b.1889). As to lexicology, the contributions of Alex Dias were ready in 1889, of Aleixo Caetano José Francisco (died 1916) in 1892, and of Casimiro Cristóvao de Nazaré (1830-1928) before 1917. Dalgado's dictionaries were found to be too learned and his vocabulary too Sanskritized; so popular ones like those of the pre-Dalgado era continued to be printed, as for example the dictionaries of J. C. F. de Sousa and A. D. Lobo (1929), and some by the firm B. X. Furtado of Bombay (1930 and 1931). The most popular of these vocabularies was undoubtedly the *Manual de Tres Mil Vocabularios*, in a sort of Barhdexified Saxtti, of Sebastião Salvador de Jesus Dias (1863?-1900).

Linked with the endeavor of studying Konkani were those of teaching it; hence, the drive for Konkani schools resulted (event 25). Primers and text books in Barhdexi are great in number, and most important among their writers were the Barao de Combarjua, Sebastião Teotónio de Sousa (fl. 1892-1896), F. X. Fernandes-Liberal (fl. 1899-1905), J. M. Pinto (fl. 1904-1923), Michael A. Fernandes (fl. 1930-1933), Aleixo Martinho Júlio de Melo (1876-1942, fl. 1934-1940), António Vicente da Cruz (fl. 1936) Assunçao da Silva (b.1922) and Joaquim António Fernandes (fl. 1947).

More important than its linguistic contribution to Konkani is Barhdexi's journalism (the language's first paper, the *Udentechem Sallok* being in that dialect), which has three main phases. The first was initiated by Eduardo de Sousa's periodical (1889-1894). Of this time none of the papers survive, though at least twelve were started. The second phase was inaugurated by *Rotti* ("bread," 1914), perhaps the most influential and harmful of Konkani journals. It provided brightly written essays on a large variety of subjects, and was in fact a kind of *Readers' Digest*. It was also insidious, as it popularized the deformed ecclesiastical syntax created by Pascoal Dias. The man who made this journal was Father Ludovico Pereira (1881-1936), and his example inspired many editors to launch new ventures. The number of the periodicals of the *Rotti* era is legion, the most important of the surviving ones being the *Ave Maria* (1919), *The Goa Mail* (1919) *The Goa Times* (1930), the *Vauraddeancho Ixtt* ("the workers' friend," 1933) and the *Udentechem Neketr* ("star of the East," 1946). Konkani writing cannot be said to be better for their existence. The third phase, in which the standard speech of the Goan Christians veers towards Antruzi and tries to be more authentically Konkani, was begun by the daring Felício Cardoso in his *Sot* (1963).

We turn next to poetry, which is not Barhdexi's forte, though the dialect made a remarkably successful start with Eduardo de Sousa's epic *Eva ani Mori* ("Eve and Mary," 1899), imspired by Dante, Camoes and the Goan hymns. Most Barhdexi verse after Sousa is doggeral published in newspapers. But some of the writers with genuine poetic talent are João Caetano Francisco de Sousa (died 1930), who also wrote copious prose, João Luís Carvalho (fl. 1909-1939) and Bernardo Evaristo Mendes (b.1920).

Another branch of literature where Barhdexi made a promising beginning is drama. The Konkani *teatr* was founded in 1892 by Lucas Ribeiro, who gained experience in his job working with the Italian Opera Company (1890), with the help of Caetano Fernandes and João Agostinho Fernandes (1871-1947) of Rai. The latter writer was prolific, being the author of at least thirty dramas, remarkable rather for fertility in ideas than artistry of workmanship. Though after him the *teatr* gained in popularity, Fernandes' style and ideas were not bettered.

Equally popular and esthetically unsuccessful was that most extensively read portion of Konkani writing, the Barhdexi novel. Here again there was a not insignificant start, in the novels of F. X. Fernandes-Liberal (fl. 1889-1928), Sebastião Salvador de Jesus Dias, Aleixo Caetano José Francisco (fl. 1892-1908), J. C. F. Sousa, Eduardo de Sousa, Francisco Pascoal Fernandes (1863-1927), Lourencinho Dantas e Sousa (fl. 1902-1913), and J. J. A. B. Brito (fl. 1903-1915). New impetus was provided by António Vicente da Cruz (1885-1959); with him the Barhdexi novel became sentimental and melodramatic to a degree, and, if anything, less carefully written. Cruz is perhaps the most famous of Barhdexi writers, and symbolizes most of the dialect's faults. Novelists of the post-Cruz phase are P. A. Colaço, J. M. Pinto (fl. 1904-1931), J. J. Campos (fl. 1905-1931), J. L. Carvalho (fl. 1909-1929), F. F. Cabral (fl. 1910-1938), F. X. Fernandes Douglas (fl. after 1915), the self-made and talented José Lamartine Lobo (1889-1927), the productive hack Caridade Damasceno Fernandes (flourished 1931-1948), C. S. Guerreiro Dias (fl. 1932-1936), Taumaturgo Sousa (b.1911) and Elliott de Elly (b.1931). Felício Cardoso (b.1932) began as a writer of novelettes in Barhdexi fashion, but went over to journalism, coloring his language with Antruzi forms and turns of phrase. While some of the above writers, like the grammarian D. F. Dantas, wrote historical tales, their most popular themes were love, adventure, saints' lives, and the war between the classes, nearly all tinged with an all too obvious desire to sermonize and edify.

(4) *Manglluri*.

Though many Saxttykars settled in North Kanara, the main Christian speech of the Southern Konkan is principally eighteenth century Barhdexi, which was more successful where its Goan sister had failed. Its links with Standard Konkani are slender, and its rise, after the captivity of 1784-1799 (event 11), was due chiefly to the encouragement of foreigners. Like Barhdexi, Manglluri entered Konkani's literary salon chaperoned by grammar. The first study of the speech of the Kanara Christians is owed to the Italian Carmelite Francesco Saverio Pescetti, or di Santa Anna (1771-1844), who took the Saxtti-originated speech of North Kanara as his model, and also compiled one of the most carefully composed of Konkani dictionaries. In 1838, Pescetti ordained a few priests, among them Pio Noronha (1810-1883), the first grammarian of what is now standard Manglluri. He was inspired to do this when he saw Cunha Rivara's edition of Stephens's grammar, and wrote his own elaborate work first in Portuguese (1858) for Rivara to publish (which he did not) and later in

English (1875) -- an extensive tract of 553 folios -- for the Sanskritist Arthur Coke Burnell (who also did not print it).

When the Jesuits arrived in Mangalore (event 20), Noronha presided at the meeting which welcomed them; there he met Angelo Francesco Saverio Maffei (1844-1899), and must have communicated some of his enthusiasm for Konkani to the young Italian scholar. It was really from Maffei, who wrote the first published grammars and dictionary of Manglluri, that the impetus for the literary movement in that dialect came. So well did the Jesuit do his linguistic work that the Mangllurkars, unlike their Barhdexi brethren, felt no need for fresh grammars, but the desired elaboration of the vocabulary was undertaken by Manglluri's most productive writer, Father Francis Silvester Menezes (b.1894).

As in the other dialects of the Northern group, Manglluri's mainstay was journalism, the dialect's first periodical (1912) being started twenty-three years after the Barhdexi pioneer by Manglluri's greatest writer Luis Mascarenhas (1887-1961) -- who significantly called it the *Konkani Dirvem* ("Konkani substance"). Supposedly because of clerical intrigue, the paper stopped publication, but its work was continued by the more successful *Raknno* (1938). In the 1940s, the center of Manglluri writing shifted to Bombay; the journals founded there, such as *Painnari* ("traveller"), gave a great fillip to competent writing in the dialect. But attempts at setting up more sophisticated magazines like the *Konkann Daiz* ("Konkoni heritage," 1958, now extinct) met with little response. *Mitr* ("friend," 1953) of Mangalore also helped to make several writers. Its editor, J. S. Alvares, was so successful in his editing that he was led to found another paper, *Jhelo* ("garland," 1956).

These journals offered their pages to emerging Manglluri poets. Luis Mascarenhas -- who influenced the poets of his dialect more than did any poet of the other dialects his own fellow-speakers -- published most of his poetry in the *Dirvem*; but in 1948, he printed his masterpiece, *Abrauncheṁ Yajnadan* ("Abraham's sacrifice") in book form. This work is considered by most Manglluri critics to be the masterpiece of Konkani writing. The poets Mascarenhas inspired are Father Louis P. Botelho (b.1892), Felix Paul Noronha (b.1916), the master poet and craftsman Father Anthony John D'Souza or "Moridas" (b.1922), one of the most sophisticated of Konkani poets, Charles Francis D'Costa (b.1931), fecund in ideas, and John Baptist Moraes (b.1933), imaginative artist, expert versifier, dramatist and historian of Manglluri -- disciples of which any poet would be proud.

More popular, but less successful as literature, is Manglluri fiction, which contains some of Konkani's bulkiest novels. Important authors are Eulalia Alvares (b.1916), Joachim Santan Alvares, Vincent John Peter Saldanha and Apollinaris Thomas Lobo. Of equal bulk is the devotional literature, with little more than piety to commend it. Most Manglluri authors are deeply religious; however, when they professedly set out to edify, their writing begins to lose quality. Some of the more important devotional writers are the Italian Jesuit Polese, translator of the *Imitatio Christi* (1894), Silvester Menezes, Monsignor Raymond Mascarenhas (1875-1960), Father Gregory Coelho (died 1918), Basil Rosario (died 1945), Miguel Colaço and Ligorio Vaz. Many of these men wrote with no literary pretensions, but only with the idea of supplying good reading to those devout people who could not read English.

(5) *Antruzi.*

We now come to the youngest of Konkani's literary dialects, which, like others of the Northern group, has tenuous links with Standard Konkani. Like Saxtti, Antruzi entered Konkani's literary history not through a grammarian's efforts -- though Ramchandr Rhikaji Gunjikar (1843-1901) took notice of its linguistic structure in his *Sarasvati Mandala* (1884) before anything of importance was written in it -- but because of a poet's happy spontaneity. Kruxnnabhatt Bandkar (1876-1945), like any pious Konkani Hindu with literary pretensions, wrote a lot of dull devotional verse in Marathi (published), but unlike many, a fair amount of sprightly and exuberant poetry in Konkani (unpublished). But it was with his junior by a year that the high flood of Antruzi writing rose. This was Varde Valaulikar, who, converted to Konkani at the turn of the century by one of Cunha Rivara's followers, the Barao de Combarjua, set himself to vindicate Konkani's wrongs. At the outset of his career, when he had not heard of its literature, he wrote poems and plays to compensate for the lack. But his real mission, he felt, was to reawaken the common Konkani consciousness of the Hindus and the Christians, which transcended the religous and cultural modes both groups had acquired since the days when they had formed one community. This made him give particular attention to history, religion, grammar and linguistic controversy. In history, he showed how much Konkani culture had retained of the Vedic heritage; how Goa had been a center of Maurya administration; how the Rashtradutas were of Konkani origin; and how the Goan emigrants' predicament in Bombay could only be solved by faithfulness to their Konkani values.

Dealing with religion, he demonstrated how Konkani Hinduism was of a separate cast from the Maratha, and which, because of its Konkanness, shared emotional attitudes with the equally unmistakable Konkani Christianity. He also created the *mystique* of the Konkani language, on whose honor he could tolerate not the slightest stain. The Konkan and Maharashtra were distinct; their languages were equally so; this he established, to the discomfiture of his Marathist opponents, with methods of attack sometimes as unscrupulous as those which the latter had grown accustomed to using. He also studied his beloved speech's linguistic structure, writing the first complete Antruzi grammar in Konkani. No one was more conscious than he of the need for primary instruction in the mother tongue, so he left us some elementary textbooks too.

This effort, which in a lifetime removed from Konkani the disabilities that might have taken some generations of scholars to remedy, was for two decades conducted almost single-handed. After that period, he was fortunate enough to acquire two brilliant disciples, both Naiks -- Kaxinath Xridhar, "Bayabhau" (b.1899), and Ramchondr Xenkor, "Acharya" (1893-1960). Brought up to believe that Konkani could not be written in, Bayabhau was astounded to find that it had long been, when he came across an old catechism with samples of old prose and a few Goan hymns. In his youth he had a job as a printer; this later helped him to set up his own press, which made the diffusion of Valaulikar's works possible. He also founded a journal, the *Navem Goim*, ("new Goa"), where young Konkani authors could prove their talent; but above all, he was the first Antruzi poet of the *Saddvonn* ("liberation"), Konkani writing liberated from its old sense of thraldom by Valaulikar's militant efforts. Bayabhau's lyrical gifts were complemented by

the Acharya's, the "Konkani Molière's", more dramatic ones. Very impressive was the latter's work on a Konkani dictionary, which he hoped would become the standard lexicon of the language; he died before his task was accomplished.

By the 1940s, Valaulikar and the Naiks began to find support from the younger writers such as Vasant Karo; but what hitherto had been no more than the light breath of inspiration became a gust after Lohia's entry into Goa (event 21). Of the young men who participated in the agitation was Ravindra Kellekar (b.1925), who continued the *Navem Goim's* work in his *Mirg*, as did Baki Borkar (b.1910) in his *Prajetso Avaz* ("peoples' voice," also 1953). Kellekar was a convert to Gandhism, and produced a body of Konkani literature on that philosophy; he was also an educationalist and an ardent worker in the cause of Konkani schools.

Standard Konkani had been a language of superb prose, but this quality was rarely excelled by the new dialects. Saxtti was mainly poetical; Karwari had not much prose after the Serampore Bible; Barhdexi had an abundance of it, but nearly all bad; Manglluri had been more successful, but it was left to Antruzi to fill this lacuna satisfactorily. Valaulikar's prose was rich in vocabulary, if not carefully worked in its style; his contemporary Ramchondr Panddurong Vaidya (1859-1947) contributed some excellent Konkani prose pieces to his own Marathi journal *Prachi Prabha* ("Eastern light," 1905-1915). But prose writing became really accomplished with the work of Ramchandr Narayan Naik (b.1901). Equally competent was the prose of the short stories of Laxmanrao Sardessai (b.1904), the well-known writer of the genre in Marathi (but more at home in Portuguese), who took to writing in Konkani seriously only after the Konkani Section of the All India Radio had been started (event 24). In addition to the journals of Kellekar and Borkar, *Triveni* (1962) of Chandrakant Kenni (b.1934), the *Konknni* and the *Vidya* ("learning"), the revived *Navem Goim, Sallik* ("lotus") and *Parmall* ("fragrance") helped to exercise the long atrophied muscles of good Konkani prose.

An innovation of Antruzi's in Konkani was a kind of critical and historical prose; the pioneer was, of course, Valaulikar. His historical work was continued by some of the above writers, but chiefly by Ramchandr Narayan Naik and Vasudev Kamti Vagh (died 1965). Valaulikar had also written the first Antruzi dramas, in which he was surpassed by Acharya Naik. The work of these forerunners was continued with uneven success by Krishna Moyo, Punddi Danddo, Vasant Karo, Raghuvir Neurekar, Kisan Kamat, Vixvanath Sanzgiri, Uday Bhembro (b.1939), Xenkor Bhanddari, Zuvarkar and Avdut Hegrho Desai.

Most of these genres had been first worked on by Valaulikar. But he did not excel in poetry, which is precisely Antruzi's chief adornment. Very little happened after Bandkar and Bayabhau, until that dramatic moment in Konkani's history when Baki Borkar, to whom Konkani folklore had revealed its language's wealth, decided to write in his mother tongue, and published his collected poems as *Painzonnam* ("anklets," 1960). This was considered shocking behavior in a man who was virtually Marathi's poet laureate. The unimpeachable respectability that Konkani poetry had now acquired was incentive for further creation, and some of the poets of the "new wave" were R. V. Pandit (b.1917), rich in ideas and bold in expression, Vaman Sardessai, "Abhijit" (b.1923), whose work is often an amalgam of sweetness and power, Subas Dalal (b.1940), a creator of *stotras* in Konkani, Panddurang Bhangi (b.1923), and Manohar Sardessai (b.1925), the poet of Konkanism, unrivalled for wealth of imagery, artless profundity of thought and vividness of expression, with whose crowning as the "prince of

Konkani poets" (*Kavirāj*) on 2 January 1966, *Soddvonn* was regally vindicated (see page 85 for article by Sardessai). Konkani's long smoldering fire had now sprung into flame.

This in brief is the literary history of Konkani, of a language not favored by history, of its stubborn refusal to accept what to so many sophisticated people seems its obvious fate -- extinction. As noticed earlier, there was never in it, as in more favored tongues, a consciousness of previous cumulative accomplishment, at least not in so far as the literature of the language as a whole is concerned. We have sought to make it possible to remedy this in the present essay, and have tried to convey to the reader the wonder we felt at first viewing the panorama of Konkani's total creative endeavor.

IV. THE RE-ESTABLISHMENT OF THE UNIFIED TONGUE

Konkani is one of the few pleasant-sounding modern Indian tongues; it is not far below most others in standards of literary excellence (considering especially the not very great moment of nearly all of them in world literature). It surpasses not a few of their number in phonetic, verbal and inflexional riches and nearly all in the ability to survive under duress. On the other hand, its small number of speakers, their financial poverty, the nearness of powerful neighbors not zealous for its survival, imperil the language's existence. With the added disadvantage of a plurality of literary dialects, its chances of continuance in a world where media of expression grow increasingly uniform are slim. But Konkani must not die. Therefore, it needs a common standard.

This cannot be any one dialect imposed on the speakers of the others (admitting that there is an authority with the power to do that), for the speakers of our dialects are attached to their own, or will become so subsequent to the imposition, as the near-enforcement of the not-universally-loved-and-admired Hindi has only led to a deepening patriotism for local languages. It cannot be a standard set up by a body of scholars; the very arbitrariness of what they lay down will make every self-respecting man feel bound to violate it. It cannot be a norm gradually evolved by time, as we are pressed for time, and Konkani must survive.

What then is it to be? Severe indeed are the demands for a Standard Konkani: it must be intelligible to the language's speakers; it must be capable of exciting emotional attachment in the users of each dialect more than any other besides their own; it must finally possess antiquity and some literary prestige.

The only kind of Konkani which has these prerequisites is the Old Standard (*Porni Prammann*), which is unique in that the modern forms of the language share both its ancestry and its substance. In other words, while they all originate from it, each also preserves fragments of the Standard's linguistic structure which the others have lost. One can thus picture it as a mosaic, most of whose tesserae have been incorporated into the newer patterns of Konkani's modern varieties, but which can be disengaged and re-set into the one old design.

In consequence, as regards its intelligibility, not only can the speakers of Konkani's other species follow it, but it is what they have in common, and thus probably easier for each modern speaker to comprehend than any other dialect besides his own. This is specially true of the *Pramann's* written form, for its mode of notation in Devanagari is fixed, and not capable of the eccentric variation found, for instance, within and between Karwari and Antruzi. As to its power of eliciting attachment, a person is normally more partial to his own dialect than to any other, but can equally cherish a form of speech with which his own shares substance and ancestry, and through it, come to care for the sister-dialects. The common parent of them all is the *Porni Pramann*, which is accordingly unapproachable in antiquity. It is also preeminent in that part of literary prestige which derives from great age; and the younger dialects have not yet surpassed it in excellence. The former lapse of the memory of the greatness of Standard Konkani can be ascribed to the disasters of history. But we have now no excuse for failing to see that the language's capacities and wealth were first fathomed in the old unified tongue, which event will for ever remain unaltered.

The *Pramann's* splendid unity thus vindicates Konkani's right to flourish as a literary tongue. But not everything in it can be restored, as it possesses features which all Konkani dialects have together descarded. Our rule, then, will be to conserve what is living in it and cut out what has decayed. In more exact terms, the formation of a New Standard Konkani (*Navi Pramann*) will need (a) the avoidance of all that the modern dialects have *jointly* abandoned in the *Porni Pramann*; (b) the retention of all that which they have *jointly* retained; and (c) the use of discretion in those things that some have retained and others discarded.

This holds true of grammar; there is then the problem of the vocabulary. Konkani has lost many of the words connoting concepts found in the make-up of civilized languages; and people seek to supply this deficiency by borrowing words from Sanskrit (without phonetic modification) or from English or Portuguese. But the way out seems to be there, ready-made: to revive the vocabulary of old Standard Konkani, which retains a larger percentage of phonetically assimilated Sanskrit words than do any of the officially recognized modern Indo-Aryan languages. As for the terms expressing the ideas of the industrial world, we can watch what is happening to the more fortunate Indian languages and make use of their solutions.

Restoring the old norm will not be easy; it is the height of naiveté to assume that we can unify a language without encountering difficulties. We envisage two complementary ones: the need for money, and for concentrated effort. We shall require both to revise the old norm, publish a standard grammar in it and to reprint and render usable the old vocabularies and literary texts. Konkani's condition and character all seem to point to the futurity of a rapid evolution, once the initial hurdles are surmounted; and the most arduous of them is the acceptance and mastery of one script (Devanagari) in the Konkan. As most Devanagari texts are in Antruzi, we shall have to make use of this dialect as a provisional norm until the script is rendered familiar and the *Navi Pramann* texts have been got ready.

What is the condition and character of Konkani that make one sure of its future development? To begin with, its infrustrable will to live. It also possesses a standard form of speech (which awaits acceptance), rich, stable and flexible; this form increases the intelligibility of the dialects among themselves, and its unifying force prevents their drifting further apart. At the same time, the vitality of these dialects ensures that of the standard language; they put at the disposal of the literary norm the living idioms colored with the Konkan's rich diversity; they also turn over to it the modes of esthetic expression that have brought to fruition in a specialized manner the *Pramann's* own potential, after its unity disintegrated. All this vitality will infuse new blood into the New Standard, and will be there to rejuvenate it each time its veins are about to harden through uniformity and stereotyping. We can, thus, with vision and imagination, turn the harmful events of Konkani's history into factors for its good.