

Reconstructing Social History of Goa: A Study of Konknni Proverbs

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DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation entitled, "**Reconstructing Social History of Goa - A Study of Konknni Proverbs**" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, at the Goa University under the Supervision of Prof. Nagendra Rao and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will not be responsible for the correctness of observations/experimental or other findings given in the Dissertation.

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COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the Dissertation, "**Reconstructing Social History of Goa - A Study of Konknni Proverbs**" is a bonafide work carried out by Ms. Eden Fernandes under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in the Discipline of History at the D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

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Preface

While pursuing my master's degree in history at Goa University, we were required to present a dissertation as part of the degree's research requirement. I therefore made the decision to focus my research on Konknni proverbs within the framework of Konknni literature. Reconstructing Goa's social history through proverbs is the focus of the study "**Reconstructing Social History of Goa- a Study of Konknni Proverbs.**"

I went to a number of Libraries, including the Goa University Library on Taleigao Plateau, the Xavier Centre of Historical Research in Porvorim, and the Krishnadas Shama Goa State Central Library in Panaji, Department of Archives, Panaji and Dalgado Konknni Akademi in Panaji, in order to have access to the primary and secondary sources that were identified in order to complete the study.

I am very thankful for the opportunity given, that has greatly helped me to understand Goan Society through a different lens.

Acknowledgements

“If the only prayer you said was ‘Thank You’ that would be enough.” — Meister Eckhart

I owe a debt of gratitude to everyone who assisted me in finishing my Internship. I owe you everyone for all the warmth and blessings that I have received. To begin with, I would like to extend my profound thanks to the Almighty God for supporting me throughout every stage of my coursework and for enabling me to successfully complete my Dissertation.

I want to express my gratitude to my parents for their amazing assistance and steadfast support. They were the ones that reached me initially to provide me with all the study materials I required. I can never forget how much they have helped me. I am grateful for your assistance with my Dissertation.

With much appreciation, I would like to thank my guide, Prof. Nagendra Rao, Assistant Professor of History, D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University, for his continuous support, critical observations, as well as necessary mentorship. My academic development and research endeavours have been greatly influenced by your advice.

I would like to take this opportunity to convey my greatest thanks to the hardworking staff members at the Central Library and the Goa University Library for all of their guidance, study materials and readiness to lend a hand to facilitate my study.

My appreciation also goes out to all the staff of the Archives and its Library, whose expertise and assistance were invaluable in helping me locate historical books and the primary sources that were vital to my dissertation.

I wish to express my appreciation to the staff at the Xavier Centre of Historical Research for their time and efforts in providing me with information on the several ways the institute operates. I am grateful to Arti Fernandes, the institute's librarian, for granting my request, answering all of my questions with such patience, and sharing her expertise. I want to express

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I also want to express my thankfulness to the Dalgado Konknni Akademi staff members for their unwavering encouragement and help during my Dissertation. The members were really supportive and gave me the details that I needed right away.

Also I wish to thank all the faculty members of Goa University. Your motivation and encouragement was much needed. I wish to express my hearty thanks to the Dean, Vice Dean and Prof. Joanna Coelho.

Last but not least, to my dear friends who have supported me during this process. In order to finish the Dissertation, their assistance was crucial.

All of these individuals co-operated to come up with this study. To everyone who has assisted me in completing my Dissertation, I sincerely appreciate you. I truly acknowledge how much each of you has contributed to the progression of my research experience.

Glossary

Bhatkar- Landlord

Bahmon- Brahmin

Chardo- Catholic Kshtriya

Chamar- Shoemaker

Mahar- Goldsmith

Mhundkar- Tenant

Gaonkar- Original Settlers of the Village Community

Sudir- Shudra Caste of Catholics

Abstract

The Goan society is examined from a different angle in my dissertation, "**Reconstructing Social History of Goa - A Study of Konknni Proverbs.**" Our perspective on our society has changed as a result of the research. Because the study is grounded in Konknni literature, it addresses the various stages that the Konknni language underwent. Through proverbs that have been passed down to us throughout the decades, it also covers the wit and wisdom of the populace. The proverbs also help us in keeping the old age traditions and customs of the Goans society alive.

The Konknni Proverbs not only help us understand the traditions and customs of the Goan society but also gives us a sense of belonging to our own land. By studying proverbs one can know how truly rich is the Goan culture. The proverbs that we use till date are the legacy that has been left to us by our ancestors. The Konknni spoken without any punch and the one spoken using proverbs are soothing to the ears, as they have a melodious rhyme. This study's main focus is comprehending proverbs and trying to reconstruct history through these proverbs.

Keywords- Mahar, Bhaman, Chamar, Bhatkar, Mhundkar, Ganvcar

Chapter 1

Introduction-Historical Background of the Goan Society and the Rise of Konkani Language and Literature

Our ancestors established themselves and brought civilization to this fortunate land known as Goa centuries ago. It had to have been in its original ecosystem, with its own flora and fauna, shallow sections with swamps, plains, hills, plateaus, and water covering the remainder, making it unfit for human habitation. Large expanses of soft mud (chikol), submerged under the seas during high tides, and would have been visible during low tides¹.

Spoken on the short strip of land that is bordered by the Arabian Sea on the west, the Western Ghats on the east, Karwêr on the south, and Malvâq on the north is the Konknni language. Although the number of speakers of this language may be approximated to be around 1.5 million, this estimate must be regarded as merely an approximation due to the lack of a reliable census. The geographical limits of a cultural region are what define Konkani, although thousands of its native speakers have relocated and are still speaking their mother tongue, therefore the geographic dispersion of Konknni extends beyond these lines².

Sometime in the thirteenth century, fragments of poetry first occur, hinting at the existence of Konkani literature. To stand out in more extensive anthologies of Indian literature, the language bursts into more audacious kinds of poetry. From then on, it ventures out later on into the form of prose works, among the first of its kind in modern Indo-Aryan languages. It lacks the support of many more powerful and widespread languages that are backed by their rulers, thus in order to survive, it embraces any script that is readily available³.

The Kandvi script, which is similar to but distinct from the Kannada of its former rulers, is the earliest in which it has been discovered written. It also employs the Devanagari script, which comes from its Sanskritic ancestry. Events such as the entrance of Portuguese missionaries and the first printing press establishment in the Indian Subcontinent in the city of Goa in 1556, which introduced Roman script into this bizarre language⁴.

¹ Visitacao Monteiro, *Goan Village Communities* (Panji:Ed's, 2018), 1.

² Da Cunha Gerson J, *The Konkani Language and Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1881), 1.

³ Gomes Olivinho, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script-A Brief History* (Panaji: Dalgado Konknni Akademi, 2010), 9.

⁴ Gomes, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script-A Brief History*, 12.

The language of Konkani has suffered greatly during the Portuguese era. Portuguese became the official language of the people thanks to the Portuguese. The Portuguese missionaries themselves translated grammar into the native tongues when they first arrived. On the other hand, during the Goa Inquisition, the Goan people were forced to learn Portuguese. Many people have dedicated their life to furthering the Konknni language; one well-known person who has done this is Rudolf Dalgado. This study attempts to comprehend how history is recreated through the use of Dalgado's proverbs. Additionally, the study will provide insight into the past of Konkani literature in Goa. The ways in which the Portuguese handled the Konkani language, the significance of the Konkani proverbs as historical sources, and the utilisation of the Konkani proverbs as a cohesive historical source.

1.1 Area of the Research Work:

Konknni Proverbs that has shaped the Goan Society.

1.2 Hypothesis

The proverbs help in understanding Goan society, its traditions and customs as well as its cultural trends.

1.3 Research Questions

- 1) How can proverbs searve as a window to peak into the Goan Society?
- 2) What is the relevance of proverbs in Goan Society.

1.4 Objectives

The study has objectives such as:

- 1) To determine the part that communities played in the struggle for the Konknni language during the Portuguese Era.
- 2) To study the literary history of Konknni
- 3) To study the anti-colonial fight that motivated individual's language to support Goan language.
- 4) To compile broad proverbial writing.
- 5) To study Goa's Economic history through proverbs.

- 6) To study Goa's caste system through proverbs.
- 7) To study Social life of the Goans.
- 8) To examine Konknni Proverbs as a source of history.

1.5 Literature Review

When conducting any form of research or study, sources are crucial. Regardless of whether they are primary or secondary, they provide the study legitimacy and authenticity. The social history of Goa has been partially and erratically reconstructed despite the researcher's discovery of a large number of secondary sources. The literature review provides a broad overview of the numerous studies that have addressed the main research-related issues. Below is a summary of some of the books that the researcher has used to help close the gap between the past and the present.

Florilegio De Provérbios Concanis Traduzidos, Explicados, Comentados & Comparados Com Os De Linguas Asiaticas E Europeias by Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado contains numerous Konknni proverbs on a range of subjects, including agriculture, love, friendship, castes and a lot more. His writings would form the foundation of Konknni literature and demonstrate the depth and authenticity of Goan culture, which is only tangentially portrayed in his proverbs.

Alfred Braganza's *The Discovery of Goa* is a comprehensive analysis of the history and culture of the Goan people. This mystical carpet will take you on an enthralling journey past Goa's breathtaking scenery, as well as past temples, seminaries, and other notable locations. It will also bring back memories of the rich traditions, customs, and folklore of the area. Reading the book gives you the sensation of being at a private party since it is an honest account. Furthermore, he continues, saying that "Konknni proverbs are a source of human thought," much like dazzling pearls extracted from the sea of literature. They serve the real barometer of civilisation & culture. They are reflections of the best practices, the people's traditions, customs, habits and way - Mendes, Cunha, Rivera authors like of life. He also mentions and more who have gathered these proverbs in their collections.. He also peeks into the subject of Goans and the Portuguese language⁵.

⁵ Alfred Braganza, *The Discovery of Goa* (Bombay: Brooks Publications, 1964), 1-5.

The Konknni Proverbs by VP Chavan. Dr. Chavan is well-known for his research in Konknni language. He says that the people's proverbs are quite valuable tool for comprehending their way thinking. He goes on to say that, there have always been proverbs in existence. The proverbs have held strong hold humans for ages, influencing, people of all faiths and persuasions, from the Vedas to the sacred books of Cistianity and Muslims. He speaks about how the proverbs came into being. They can also develop from riddles and be condensed into essence of a well-known narrative. He highly speaks of Konknni proverbs that they are highly impressive. He in his book also tells us about families who moved to Travancore and settled there, but the dialect these families have still kept the dialect of Konknni alive among them which was used hundreds of years ago. He also gives an insight into the communities of higher calibre that they too had proverbs for them and also goes on to say that Konknni dialect had been in existence even before Marathi came into being and he gives details in the book⁶.

People of India: Goa by KS Singh is a fantastic account of the Goan village communities from antiquity on. The establishment of villages the construction of successive embankments on slopes for the purposes of safeguarding and irrigating arable land and the organisational structure of the village officials have been well documented. Similar to other, the Goan villages he says, is a universe into itself with distinct wards of people who work as salt-men washer men, goldsmiths, coppersmiths potters and labourers, Chambhar, Mahars etc. He presents an account of the village community. The author also speaks of the dark time when the oppression prevailed, but this increased the Goan's feeling of identity and enhanced their cultural traditions. According to the author, Konknni was recently elevated from the position of a dialect to a language. Konknni and been adopted as the primary language of the majority of Goan community. The state language status has been granted to konknni written in Devnagri. Only Catholics use Roman Script to write Konknni. Another feature of this book is that they had undertaken the antopometric Survey of Goa as part of People of India project, and the relevant data has now been made public for the first time in this volume⁷.

⁶ VP Chavan, *The Konknni Proverbs* (New-Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1923), 2-10.

⁷ KS Singh, *People of India:Goa* (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt Ltd, 1993), 1-7.

Konkani: A Language, a History of the Konkani Marathi Controversy by Jose Pereira fits in well with the periodic sequence of linguistically interesting publications. The author Konkani A Language, Dr. a José Pereira, is graduate in Sanskrit and has specialized in Ancient Indian Culture. He knows a large number of languages both Indian and European and spent several years in Portugal and England doing research and among other things, collecting valuable manuscript related to Konknni. He says that it is a fashion nowadays to use language in fact, anything else for the purpose of politics. Historical survey of the controversy relating to the status of Konknni as a linguistic fact and to establishing on the evidence of available information, character of speech as independent thought allied language. In this and controversy both Konknni speakers others have been engaged⁸.

Goan Society in Transition: A Study in Social Change by Bento Graciano D'Souza focuses on analysis of the political, economic educational religious and social structures that characterised pre- Portuguese Goan society. This book is a singular example of to how a society transforms when exposed a different culture in the context of India. The value System that was part of the traditional Goan society has also been written in this book. The book also looks at the new. Mechanisms that the Portuguese monarchs implemented and how they affected the conventional systems and how those impacts contributed to modernizing the Goan society. The fundamental contradictions that resulted from the restrictions that characterised Portuguese rule shown side by side. Along with how it led to 2 significant phenomena: the emigration of Goans to the industrial- commercial hubs of former British India and East Africa as well as the use of nationalism as a tool to end colonial rule and establish freedom. This book comes to the conclusions that while the Goan society under Portuguese rule underwent qualitative alteration it did not completely displace the traditional society as or reinvent itself as a fully functional modern society. It manipulated an odd fusion of conventional and modem systems.

Translation, Script and Orality: Becoming a Language of State by Rochelle Pinto documents conversations regarding the transcription and translation of Konkani, which in the end influenced the language's development towards nationalist or state-seeking forms. Although the book is structured around modern linguistic states such as Goa, Pinto argues that the focus should be on linguistic traits that deviate from the nationalist literary standard. This book is

⁸Jose Pereira, *Konkani: A Language, a History of the Konkani Marathi Controversy* (Dharwar:Karnataka University, 1971), 12-18.

structured as a long essay with interspersed passages from introductions and prefaces to translated and transcribed materials. The historically significant passages demonstrate the evolution of concepts around transcription and translation over time, and how what was formerly considered a dialect has come to stand for the cultural superiority that is necessary for nationalist discourse.

Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu by A. B. de Bragança Pereira translated by Maria Aurora Couto, is a crucial work for understanding different communities, their castes, and their vocations. It talks about the Goan comunidade system. It provides details about the state's location and topography. It provides information about the various religions that the people of Goa practice⁹.

Village Goa: A Study of Goan Social Structure and Change by Olivinho Gomes is a perfect illustration of village studies applied to the state of Goa. This book began as the author's doctoral thesis and was eventually turned into a book in which, despite being a sociology researcher, he depicted the various facets of the Goan village. In order to comprehend the social and cultural life of the hamlet, the author uses the village of Chandor as a case study. The settlement of Chandor has seen the dominion of other dynasties in addition to the Portuguese¹⁰.

Konkani Literature in Roman Script-A Brief History by Olivinho Gomes. This book serves as his final addition to the Konknni language. Sadly, he was not around to witness the publication of this book due to his untimely death. However, the Konknni language, especially the Konknni written in Roman script, continues to benefit from his dedication and effort, as demonstrated by this book. This book provides information on Roman script and the flourishing of Roman Konknni throughout the Portuguese era. Additionally, the Golden Age of Missionaries and the Dark Age of the Konknni Language are discussed. In addition, the book examines the creation of the Dalgado Konknni Akademi and the Modern Konknni Movement.

⁹ AB de Bragança Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa, Daman and Diu* (New-Delhi: Penguin Books India, 2008)

¹⁰ Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa : a Study of Goan Social Structure and Change* (New Delhi: S Chand, 1987)

A History of Konkani Literature by Manohar Rai Sardessai. 'A History of Konkani Literature' explores the development of Konkani literature and language from prehistoric times to the present. It also investigates the influences of other languages and the history of the Konkani language. It provides insightful details about the pioneers, including Fr. Miguel De Almeida, Fr. Diogo Ribeiro, Fr. Thomas Stephens, Fr. Antonio de Saldanha, Krishnadas Shama and Fr. Angelo Maffei. The printing press and its operations are mentioned. It discusses the oppressive actions taken against the Konkani language and the fight it had to fight just to survive. It draws attention to the work that Shenoy Goembab and Eduardo Bruno de Souza did to establish the groundwork for contemporary Konkani literature. It includes praise for their writings as well as live pen portraits of writers like Bakibab Borkar and Laxman Rao Sardessai. It contains specific chapters on Konkani literature in the states of Karnataka and Kerala in addition to providing a broad overview of Konkani literature in Devanagari, Kannada, Roman, and Malayalam scripts. It follows the development of several literary forms such as poetry, novels, short stories, and essays and offers succinct information on Konkani journalism, children's literature, folklore, and folk theatre¹¹.

Goa Concepts and Misconcepts by Prabhakar.S.Angle, clarifies some misconceptions held by Westerners regarding Goan culture and the state of Goa. In his writing, he also provides a brief overview of some of the individuals who have made significant contributions to the devnagari Konknni literacy over the years. He hasn't done much writing in Roman script or Konkani literature, but he has a book where all the people who have worked so hard to develop Konkani language are acknowledged¹².

Mirror to Goa: Identity and The Written Word in a Small Society by Donna J. Young. The book, from an American perspective, looks at how the understanding of Goan scholars and fiction writers shapes their opinions on identity. Novels, plays, short stories, essays, and pamphlets expose a great deal of information about Goan life, especially in regards to social status, racial issues, and political matters. Within this book is a review of related literature. To give a complete picture of Goan issues, it also looks at websites, message boards, periodicals,

¹¹ Manohar Rai Sardessai, *A History of Konkani Literature from 1500-1996* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 2000)

¹² Prabhakar Angle, *Goa Concepts and Misconcepts*, (Bombay: The Goa Hindu Association, 1994).

and interviews. The book looks at how Goan literature captures the shifts in Goan identity that have taken place since the 1960s. The first section gives a brief history of Goa and explains how the area changed from being a Portuguese colony to an Indian state. The second segment discusses the language argument and the reasons language is an essential part of Goan identity. The final section discusses the effects of the Goan emigration. The conclusion discusses the necessity for Goans to forge their identity as the state becomes more and more well-liked as a European vacation spot. Read this book if you're interested in Indian literature, history, cultural studies, or any of those subjects¹³.

The Konkani Language and Literature by J. Gerson Da Cunha, A thorough examination of Konkani, a language predominantly spoken along India's western coast, can be found in Gerson Da Cunha's book "The Konkani Language and Literature." Tracing the historical evolution, cultural relevance, and linguistic features of Konkani, the book explores the rich literary legacy of the language. Da Cunha sheds light on the many influences such as native customs, Portuguese colonisation, and contemporary styles that have moulded Konkani literature over the ages. He elucidates the distinct literary contributions of Konkani writers and their importance in the preservation and propagation of the language through examinations of important works and authors. For academics, students, and anybody else curious about the literary and linguistic legacy of Konkani, the book is an invaluable resource¹⁴.

Goan Village Communities by Visitacao Boaventura Monteiro. In order to show how self-rule and governance supported village life in Goa's "Village Communities," the author has painted an unbiased portrait of the communities. In addition, the author has done a comprehensive analysis of the system's different components. He spoke in plain English so that the general public could understand him. Aside from that, the author also discussed how

the Ganvkari system was initially established in Goa and how common usage and practices were carried down from generation to generation, giving the state its unique character from the rest of India. Monteiro has disclosed how, free from state regulations, the Ganvkari institution was meeting the basic needs of the village community under the shared village development. To be very correct, the focus of this book is on the content of the Village Communities. The

¹³ Donna J. Youung, *Mirror to Goa*, (Panaji: Goa 1556, 2009).

¹⁴ Da Cunha Gerson J, *The Konkani Language and Literature* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1881).

author has devoted a lot of attention to elucidating how these communities came to be based on their land, agriculture and system of government¹⁵.

Goa: A Social History 1640-1750 by Sheela Srinivasan. In her work "Goa: A Social History," Sheela Srinivasan provides a thoughtful analysis of the complex past and diverse present of Goa. The book explores the pre-colonial history of Goa, following its customs and cultural legacy. The Portuguese colonisation era is then examined, along with its long-lasting impacts on Goan culture, including social institutions, language, and religion. In her analysis of Goa's post-colonial period, Srinivasan also emphasises the difficulties and changes the area has faced as a result of freedom and globalisation. The book discusses topics like immigration, economic growth, tourism, and the challenges of defining one's identity in a multicultural and ever-changing society. Srinivasan uses a variety of sources, such as academic studies, historical documents, and firsthand accounts, to paint a comprehensive and perceptive picture of Goa's social history throughout the book. "Goa: A Social History" provides readers with an extensive and captivating examination of this intriguing province, encompassing its historical foundations as well as its contemporary intricacies.

Goa: A Daughters Story by Maria Aurora Couto. Maria Aurora Couto's book "Goa: A Daughter's Story" explores the author's personal journey and her strong bond with her native Goa. Couto creates a picture of Goa's colourful culture, its people, and the complex fabric of life there through evocative storytelling. In the memoir, Couto delves into her observations on her family's past, spanning several generations, and examines how it connects to the broader tale of Goan society. She describes her Goan upbringing, highlighting the values, practices, and traditions that influenced her identity.

Furthermore, Couto sheds light on Goa's stormy past, including the end of Portuguese colonial control and its incorporation into independent India. Her portrayal of the noticeable changes in politics and culture during this time offers a firsthand account of Goa's ascent to modernity. Readers will not only be captivated by the compelling story of one woman's life in this book, but they will also acquire a deeper appreciation for the historical significance and rich

¹⁵ Visitacao Monteiro, *Goan Village Communities* (Panji:Ed's, 2018).

cultural legacy of Goa. Couto's autobiography is both a moving ode to her heritage and a proof of the resilient spirit of Goa and its people.

Goa: A Social History by P.D. Xavier gives a thorough overview of the social dynamics and historical development of the Goa region, which is located on India's western coast. Aspects of Goan civilization are examined by Xavier, who traces the society's history from prehistoric times to the present. The book explores Goa's rich cultural past, taking into account influences from the Portuguese, Hindus, and other colonial powers. Xavier looks at the ways in which these cultural influences have moulded the Goan people's identity, traditions, and rituals over the ages. Moreover, Xavier investigates how colonization—especially Portuguese rule—affected Goan society. He examines the ways in which Portuguese colonisation affected the region's social structures, administration, language, and religion. Xavier also talks on the post-colonial era of Goa, covering its incorporation into an independent India and the ensuing socioeconomic transformations. He looks at things like tourism, economic development, migration, and political dynamics, giving us a better understanding of the opportunities and problems that modern Goan society faces¹⁶.

Traditional Occupations of Goa by Pantaleao Fernandes offers a thorough examination of the several traditional means of subsistence and jobs that have defined the Goan region over time. The book explores the historical foundations of various professions and charts their development from antiquity to the present. Fernandes looks at a lot of different traditional occupations, like farming, fishing, weaving, ceramics, toddy tapping, and other handicrafts. Fernandes also examines the socioeconomic relevance of these jobs in Goan society, emphasising how they shape communities and maintain livelihoods over generations. He talks about the knowledge, abilities, and methods specific to each profession as well as the social and cultural customs that have been carried down through the ages¹⁷. All things considered, "Traditional Occupations of Goa" provides readers with a thorough picture of the wide variety of jobs that have defined Goan society and illuminated the region's rich cultural legacy and economic customs.

¹⁶ P.D Xavier, *Goa: A Social History 1510-1640*, (Panaji-Goa: Rajhauns Vitaran, 2010)

¹⁷ Pantelao Fernandes, *Traditional Occupations of Goa*. (Salcete: The World Publications, 2015).

Socio-Cultural Background of the Gowda Saraswat Brahmin Community as Reflected in the Konkani Proverbs by Suneeta Bai explores the diverse range of sociocultural elements woven throughout the Gowda Saraswat Brahmin community's Konkani proverbs. In-depth analysis of these proverbs as linguistic artefacts reflecting the values, beliefs, customs, and social norms common to this particular society is provided by Bai's work. In addition to providing insights into many facets of everyday life, interpersonal interactions, societal structures, gender roles, and religious rituals among the Gowda Saraswat Brahmins, the book explores how Konkani proverbs function as a repository of cultural information. Bai delves into the meanings and intricacies of these proverbs by analysing the language, symbolism, and metaphors used to reveal the socio-cultural environment of the community¹⁸.

Overall this book, gives readers an intriguing overview of the Gowda Saraswat Brahmin community's sociocultural world via the prism of its language history, including insightful information about the community's identity, customs and values.

1.6 Methodology and Expected Outcome:

The sources will be evaluated in relation to Konknni literature, with the goal of understanding them better. In order to validate the data in these sources primary and secondary sources will be consulted. Secondary sources make up the study's main sources.

Various institutions have been the source of information for the fulfilment of the study. The institutions such as the Krishnadas Shama State Central Library, Panaji, The Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Porvorim, Goa University Library and Dalgado Konknni Akademi.

1.7 Scheme of Chapters

Chapter 1- Historical Background of Goan Society and the Rise of Konknni Language and Literature.

¹⁸ Suneeta Bai, *Socio-Cultural Background of Gowda Saraswat Brahmin Community as Reflected in Konkani Proverbs*, (Kerala: Sukrtindra Oriental Research Institute, 2012).

Chapter 2- Dalgado as a Konknni Scholar

Chapter 3- Konknni Proverbs as a Source of History and Other Proverbial Writings

Chapter 4- Understanding Goa's Economy through Konknni Proverbs

Chapter 5- Understanding Goa's Caste System through Konknni Proverbs

Chapter 6- Understanding Goa's Social Life through Konknni Proverbs

1.8 Relevance of the Study

There is no research conducted in area of study. By undertaking this thorough research of the subject, the current study makes an effort to close this gap. The communities, History of Konknni-Marathi controversy, and the most crucially Dalgado's contributions to the Konknni language will all be studied. The research will aid in comprehending Konknni proverbs.

Chapter 2

Dalgado a Konknni Scholar

2.1 Early Life

Descending from a well-known Brahmin family that, for many years, enjoyed privilege and distinction in the area where in Assagão, Goa in 1855, Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado was born. Having been consecrated as a priest in 1881, he showed a priestly vocation from a young age and enrolled in the College of Ecclesiastical Studies of Rachol in Salcette, Goa, where he studied Latin, English and French, before gaining recognition for his linguistic contributions to the fields of Indo-Portuguese creoles, Asian Portuguese, Konknni, and Sanskrit, where he is still a must-read today. He went soon after for Rome, where he studied for a doctorate at the University of Santo Apolinário in Canon Law and Roman law. Prior to that, he had earned a degree in Theology, where he studied Greek and Hebrew. Because of his academic excellence and distinction, Pope Leo XIII made him an Honorary Chaplain and bestowed the title "Monsignor" on him on October 11, 1884, when he was 29 years old.

The Pope suggested that the current Monsignor Dalgado return to India because he wanted to see the condition of the Indian clergy improved. After travelling from Rome to Lisbon, he was designated a missionary of the Portuguese Crown in India on November 19, 1884, per an edict from the government. In April 1885, he travelled back to the subcontinent and took up a variety of teaching and ecclesiastical roles in various parts of the subcontinent (Ceylon, Calcutta. This allowed him to interact with people from diverse backgrounds and languages and to gather information that would help him in his future work.¹⁹

After penning multiple sermons and homilies in the Indo-Portuguese dialect of this island, which were published in the Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Ceylon (1900), he was named Vicar-General of Ceylon on March 19, 1886. Dalgado returned to Goa, where he now had authority over Sinhalese and Malay, after the Portuguese mission in Ceylon was abolished on January 2, 1887, as a result of an agreement between the Holy See and the Portuguese sovereign. He was Vicar-General in Calcutta, Bengal, from May 1887 to April 1890, during which time he acquired knowledge of Bengali and Hindustani. He studied Marathi and Sanskrit while living

¹⁹ Adolfo Loureiro, "Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado", *Dictionary of Portuguese Language Orientalists*, <https://orientalistasdelinguaportuguesa.wordpress.com/sebastiao-rodolfo-dalgado/>.

in Savantvadi, India, between 1890 and 1893, alongside his older brother, surgeon Dr. Gelasio D. Dalgado. During this time, he began to see the parallels between Sanskrit and Konknni, the language of his own region, which motivated him to look into the lexicon and structure of the vernacular from a scientific standpoint. He became the Vicar Forane of Honavar in 1893 and remained in that role until 1895, when he studied Tamil and Kannada.

He was appointed to fill the Sanskrit chair in the Higher Literature Course after Guilherme de Vasconcelos Abreu passed away in 1907. He subsequently held the post of Sanskrit professor at the University of Lisbon. Despite having to have both of his legs amputated due to a significant health issue between 1911 and 1915, the Faculty allowed him to continue teaching from home. He began teaching Sanskrit Language and Literature in 1908 and continued to do so at the Curso Superior de Letras and the newly established Faculdade de Letras in Lisbon. He was a member of the Lisbon Academy of Sciences and a professor at the University of Lisbon's Faculty of Arts. Some of his most notable works are as follows: Kokani-Portuguese-Konknni Dictionaries (1893–1905), Indo-Portuguese Dialect of Goa (1900–1906), and Luso-Asian Glossary (1919). He died on April 4, 1922.

A linguist of the highest calibre, Dalgado is mostly unknown to the people of Goa because the majority of his works are in Portuguese and are likely only found in the archives in Goa and Lisbon. His passion for studying every language he came into contact with was driven by his desire to connect with people who shared his beliefs through language. Unknown to most people is the fact that he studied Sanskrit and made it known throughout the world. It should be mentioned that someone who is proficient in challenging languages like Latin and Sanskrit is aware of the foundations of all languages. Through this form of communication, he was nominated as a Professor of Curso Superior de Letras in Portugal for a number of his literary works.

It was him who established the first Konknni Portuguese dictionary and provided the Konknni language instructions to become a mainstream language. There isn't a linguist as outstanding as this one these days; thanks to his efforts, Konknni now has a chair in Lisbon and the distinction of being an international standard.

Even Nandakumar Kamat, praised Dalgado's contributions, pointing out that there were a few others, such as Francisco Luis Gomes and Cunha de Riveira, who achieved international recognition as notable Goans in their respective disciplines. Then there is Fr. Antonio Pereira, who states that Dalgado is credited with 2000 Konknni proverbs. He said that the 380 villages

in Goa made it simple to spread the Roman lipi, and that the year-long festivities known as "Konknni uloi, Konknni boroï" might serve as a model for including all Goans.²⁰

2.2 Notable Works

His Dicionario Komkañi-Portuguez was born out of this research in 1893. Two years before to his death, he began working on a Konknni grammar, which he never completed and whose manuscript was given to the Public Library of Nova-Goa, which is now the Central Library of Panjim. The Lisbon authorities were impressed by the Komkañi-Portuguez Dicionario and hired him in 1895 to prepare the Konknni Portuguese Dictionary, which was eventually published in 1905. Dalgado returned to Lisbon to oversee the book's printing, and that year he was elected as a member of the Geography Society. The next year, he was given an appointment as a member of the Coimbra Institute. Dalgado was chosen as the Pope's Domestic Prelate in 1905. Nevertheless, the Lisbon Government released him from his missionary duties in the East, and he devoted his time almost entirely to studying Sanskrit and Philology while simultaneously picking up knowledge of German, Arabic, and Persian.

A job that had never been tried on this magnitude before, Dalgado's linguistic research showed the places of contact and Portuguese influence on the principal languages of the Indian subcontinent, and of these on European languages. Although the Luso-Asiatic Glossary is his most significant work, the Vocabulario was the one that made him very well-known among European orientalists.

Among these works other contributions include, Glossário Luso-Asiático 1919-21, Rudimentos de lingua sânscrita 1920, Florilegio de Provérbios Convanis 1922, the book contains a collection of proverbs from Konknni, along with comparisons to proverbs from various Asian and European languages. The proverbs' explanations, translations, and comments are also included in the book. Proverbs are on a range of subjects, including agriculture, love, friendship, castes and a lot more. This work of his will serve the basis of the Konknni literature and how rich and authentic was the Goan culture which has been very minutely depicted in his proverbs. Articles in the Boletins of Academia das Ciências, Estudos Sobre os Crioulos Indo-Portugueses 1998, include A Konknni-English Dictionary. For individuals wishing to learn or

²⁰ Godfrey Gonsalves, Msgr. Sebastiao Rudolfo Dalgado Award 2005, "The Mail Archive", May 8, 2005, <https://www.mail-archive.com/goanet@goanet.org/msg25931.html>.

comprehend Konknni, it is an invaluable resource. Translating Konknni terms into English with Dalgado's dictionary helps people comprehend Konknni culture and overcome language barriers. It has a large vocabulary covering many facets of culture, daily life, and other topics. Dalgado's dictionary is well known for being accurate and has proven to be a very useful tool for Konknni language enthusiasts, researchers, and language learners. It demonstrates Dalgado's commitment to protecting and advancing Konknni language.

In areas where Portuguese colonisation occurred, like Goa, Daman, Diu, Macau, and other places, native languages blended with Portuguese to create creoles. These creoles are distinct from other dialects because they incorporate aspects of Portuguese along with influences from other regional and native languages. Numerous academics have devoted their lives to studying and recording these languages, which has improved our knowledge of the linguistic diversity and history of these areas. Significant contributions to the study of Indo-Portuguese creoles have also been made by Dalgado. His study encompasses historical, cultural, and linguistic analysis of these creole languages. The research conducted by Dalgado has yielded significant insights into the linguistic peculiarities of Indo-Portuguese creoles, offering light on their formation and evolution.

2.3 Dalgado's Contribution to Konknni Language and Literature

Konknni must flourish if Goa's identity is to endure, and for Konknni to flourish, people must be able to read, write, and speak the language. People must publish Konknni books for this to happen, D'Souza stated adding, "We must unite to promote Konknni".

At the Dalgado Konknni Akademi annual awards ceremony on March 23 at Institute Menezes Braganza, Panaji, D'Souza spoke to the Konknni-speaking audience.

Dalgados mother tongue was Konknni, yet despite this, he wrote very little in the language and made a significant contribution to its preservation. Konknni language is extremely important. It's an essential component of cultural identity in addition to being a communication tool. Konknni helps individuals stay connected to their heritage, customs, and origins. It gives individuals the freedom to convey their ideas, feelings, and narratives in a style of their own. We make sure that future generations can embrace their cultural heritage and feel strongly connected by protecting and promoting Konknni. Furthermore, linguistic variety is a lovely thing that makes the world a richer place. Konknni represents our cultural identity and legacy

and is more than just a language. It facilitates our relationship with our ancestors' customs, tales, and traditions. We preserve and transmit our culture to the next generation by speaking Konknni. It's a means for us to communicate our ideas, sentiments, and feelings in a language that is particular to ourselves. Additionally essential to the preservation of our literature and history is konknni.

Since the Konknni language is an integral part of who we are, we should preserve it. It's comparable to a priceless cultural asset that we must preserve and transmit to coming generations. We guarantee the survival of our customs, tales, and values by maintaining Konknni. Additionally, it helps us to keep a strong feeling of identity and community. Furthermore, the diversity of languages enriches our environment and is a beautiful thing.

The Konknni language functions akin to a thread, interlacing our rich cultural heritage. We maintain our distinct traditions, folklore, and rituals by preserving Konknni. It supports our continued strong ties to our forefathers and roots. In our community, speaking Konknni also promotes a feeling of cohesion and belonging. We may also share our experiences and tales with others and express ourselves authentically thanks to it. Maintaining Konknni helps to ensure that our language thrives and changes, preserving our legacy for future generations.

The Konknni language has benefited greatly from the work of Rudolf Dalgado. He was instrumental in creating a common orthography for the language and standardising the Konknni script. Both Dalgado's grammar books and his Konknni-English dictionary have been crucial in maintaining and advancing the language. His writings have been a useful resource for Konknni learners and researchers, and they have contributed to the recognition of Konknni as a language. Contributions by Dalgado have had a lasting impression on Konknni literature and language.

Dalgado wrote more than just dictionaries and grammar. He also wrote a great deal about traditional Konknni literature, songs, and folklore. His study and recording of oral Konknni traditions have been extremely helpful in maintaining the language's cultural legacy. Konknni is now recognised as a unique language with a rich literary and cultural heritage because to Dalgado's efforts. In addition to his literary and linguistic contributions, Dalgado was instrumental in advancing Konknni as an educational language. He pushed for the creation of Konknni textbooks and educational resources and promoted the use of Konknni in classrooms. By establishing Konknni as a language of teaching, Dalgado made it possible for next

generations to acquire and value their mother tongue. The Konknni community is still shaped and inspired by his unwavering commitment to the language and culture of Konknni.

Along with his literary and linguistic contributions, Dalgado worked hard to advance Konknni as a spoken language. He promoted the use of Konknni in social interactions and formal settings, which has strengthened and preserved the language within the Konknni community. The language of Konknni and its speakers have been profoundly impacted by Dalgado's love for the language and his commitment to its preservation, and for this reason, he also compiled proverbs that are connected to the Goan traditions and customs.

His efforts led to the recognition of Konknni as a unique language with a significant literary and cultural heritage. Through his efforts, Dalgado contributed to promote and preserve Konknni for future generations. We are very grateful to him for his commitment to Konknni language. In order to further improve our knowledge and enjoyment of Konknni grammar and vocabulary, Dalgado also wrote a number of books and articles on the subject. The growth and preservation of Konknni have been profoundly impacted by his commitment and intellectual work.

Dalgado lived in Lisbon in 1916, during the period of the language war between Konknni and Marathi. Disregarding the protracted quasi-continuous literary legacy of Konkani, which may be seen in passing in the chapters before this one, a fruitful but pointless debate about its separate existence as a language in and of itself broke out in the field of linguistics. It revolved around the naive and unfounded claim that Konkani was little more than a Marathi dialect with no literary ambitions and certainly no written legacy to brag about²¹.

The contemporary Konkani movement originated from a disagreement that started with a very impromptu comment made by a shallow Englishman named John Leyden (1775-1811) in his purportedly investigative study on various Indian languages. Despite his limited knowledge of Konkani, which was limited to the dialect spoken in the modern Konkani region of Maharashtra, he inadvertently mentioned that since Marathi ruled over a larger area than Konkani, the latter's language was undoubtedly a dialect of the former²². Finally the Government passed the bill to lift Konknni to the status of Official Language of Goa. After tiring efforts of many.

He examined the grammatical and linguistic characteristics of Konkani and highlighted how they differed from Marathi in essays he wrote for Panjim-Goa's O Heraldo newspaper, in his

²¹ Olivinho Gomes, *Konknni Literature in Roman Script*, (Panaji: Dalgado Konknni Akademi, 2010), 169-170.

²² Gomes, *Konknni Literature in Roman Script*, 172.

extensive dictionaries, and in a diachronic Konkani grammar, 1922 published in Portuguese. This demonstrates his deep affection for the language.

Posthumously, in 1922, he was recognised as a member of the Academy of Sciences of Lisbon, which received the 300 documents that make up the Monsignor Dalgado Fund. Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, along with Shenoι Goembab and Joaquim Heliodoró da Cunha Rivara, is widely regarded as a trailblazer in the defence of the Konknni language. Lisbon rewarded him with a place named after him, which is located in the parish of São Domingos de Benfica and spans a large area. To celebrate Monsignor Sebastiao Rodolfo Delgado's 100th birthday, the postal department of the Estado da Índia, Correios do Estado da Índia, released a postage stamp with one real denomination in 1955. The stamp came with a postcard with his picture.

Because of his Goan ancestry and his education in Portugal, Rudolf Dalgado was exposed to a variety of cultures and languages during his early years. The diverse environment he came from greatly influenced his artistic expression and viewpoints. The events of this period had a significant impact on Dalgado's subsequent writings.

2.4 Dalgado Konknni Akademi

In honour of Sebastião Rodolfo Dalgado, the academy was founded in 1988. The Dalgado Konkani Akademi was quite active from 1988 until 1992. The president was Freddy J. da Costa, the secretary was Tomazinho Cardozo, and the treasurer was Prabhakar Tendulkar. Konknni Orthography in Roman Script, a book issued by Dalgado Konkani Akademi during this time, was meant to help writers comprehend the fundamentals and guidelines of writing Konknni in Roman script. The second president was Tomazinho Cardozo, while the secretaries and treasurers were Prabhakar Tendulkar and Jose Salvador Fernandes. From 2008 to 2017, Premanand A. Lotlikar served as the president of Dalgado Konkani Akademi for three terms in a row, each lasting three years, and Vincy Quadros served as secretary starting in 2014. There have been demands for the Goan government to formally recognise the Dalgado Konkani Akademi and to end its discrimination against Romi Konknni.

An institution devoted to the advancement of Konknni literature and language is the Dalgado Konkani Akademi. In addition to publishing Konknni literature and promoting Konknni writers and artists, the Akademi organises literary events. It is essential to the development of Konknni literature and language within the Konknni-speaking community.

It helps Konknni writers, poets, and artists in their creative pursuits by giving them a stage on which to present their works. In addition, the Akademi hosts cultural events, lectures, and workshops to promote Konknni usage and appreciation. They have contributed to the expansion of Konknni literature by publishing a large number of books, periodicals, and journals in the language. The Dalgado Konknni Akademi was established in 1988 in Panjim, the state capital of Goa, with the goal of promoting the use of the Konknni language in the Latin alphabet (the Konknni Romi lipi). Sebastiao Rudolfo Dalgado Award was also established by the Dalgado Konknni Akademi and will be given out each year for initiatives that advance Konknni language study and usage. Dalgado Literary Award (Dalgado Sahityik Puroskar), Dalgado Roman Konknni Service Award, also known as Romi Konknni Seva Puroskar, Dalgado Cultural Award or Dalgado Sonskrutik Puroskar, Dalgado Awardee of the Dalgado Youth (Tornatto Puroskar).²³

2.5 Schemes Offered by the Akademi

Dalgado Konknni Akademi has been steadily and unceasingly striving for the development of Konknni in Roman script for over twenty years. It goes without saying that Konknni in the Roman script has improved and added to all genres of literature, including one-act dramas, novels, plays with one act, songs, stories, and poetry. In the process, it has been successful in proving that this is a language that is clear, uncomplicated, and straightforward to learn. It is appropriate to credit the innumerable sacrifices made by Konknni language disciples for this kind of success.

This akademi proposes specific plans in order to advance their work and create advancements in the Konknni language, a few of which are mentioned here²⁴.

1) Kombri Yevzonn: The scheme suggests that the Dalgado Konknni will provide financial assistance to aspiring authors, novelists, musicians, and other writers in order to publish their work. So, this approach is readily accessible to those who are willing.

²³ Directorate of Official Language, “Dalgado Konkani Akademi”, Government of Goa, last updated January 24, 2024, <https://dol.goa.gov.in/grantsinaidtodalgadokonkaniakademi#block-mainnavigation>.

²⁴ “Yeuzonno ani Puroskar”, (Panaji: Dalgado Konknni Akademi, 2019), 1-7.

2) Sod-vaur Yevzonn: This programme is intended for aspiring young researchers who want to focus on Romi Konknni literature, culture, and other affiliated fields. Via this programme, the individual will receive different forms of assistance as well as cash support.

3) Bhurgeanchem Sahitya Yeuzonn: This initiative is for anyone who want to publish or translate child-friendly books into Konknni. The Akademi is able to provide assistance.

4) Onkar Yeuzonn: Several literary works are published in several languages all over the world. Therefore, in order to make these books available to Konknni readers, the Akademi requests that people translate other literary works that might be crucial to Konknni readers.

5) Pikavoll Yeuzonn: Although numerous Romi Konknni writers have produced excellent works in Konknni, they have regrettably faded from popularity over time. The scheme refers to authors who refrain from publishing because they lack the necessary financial support; as a result, the Akademi provides these authors with the appropriate level of assistance.

2.6 Publications by the Dalgado Konknni Akademi

The Akademi also brings out publications and give an opportunity to young writers to pulish their works and bring forth to the audience.

A few of the publications are listed below:

1) *Panam* by Pri.Siomon Rico Fernandes was published in the year 2009 by the Akademi.

2) *Murmure* a Poetry book by Pri.Pratap Naik published in the year 2009.

3) *Jivit Moron* a novel by Erasmo J. Countinho in 2021.

4) *Chinki* a story book by Rajashree B. Karapukar 2021.

5) *Hanv Ghovachi Bail* by Antony Menezes in the year 2022.

6) *Khellom-ia Nachom-ia* a collection of poetry's by Vincy Quardros in 2022.

7) *Luizin Mai* a novel by Effifanio Valadares in 2023.

8) *Kantto, Kapaz Jaki* novels by Willy Goes

The Konknni language and its cultural legacy have been nurtured and preserved in large part by the Dalgado Konknni Akademi.

Chapter 3

Konknni Proverbs as a Source of History and Other Proverbial Writings

3.1 The Origin of Proverbs

The Proverb's origins have not been thoroughly researched, according to the opening line of Archer Taylor's influential book published in 1931. Taylor is considered the leading authority on worldwide paremiology of the 20th century. Bartlett Jere Whiting wrote a priceless essay titled "*The Origin of the Proverb*" in the same year that he did, stating that much more research is necessary to fully comprehend the complex nuances of proverb origins. Proverbs are not made by the folk, but by a person, as both paremiologists concur while providing a wealth of knowledge on this fascinating topic. The proverb is widely believed to represent common sense and simplicity, yet in reality, it is difficult to define and quite complex. This is one of its greatest contradictions. While most individuals can provide a long list of proverbs, very few can define proverbs precisely. The greatest definition of a proverb was provided by British statesman Lord John Russell in 1823, "One man's wit is all men's wisdom". This definition has since been known as "the wit of one and the wisdom of many".²⁵

Put differently, each proverb originates from a single person whose acute observation is acknowledged and passed down as a portion of proverbial knowledge by people from diverse backgrounds. Naturally, most proverbs have lost their individual coiner and countless cultural, ethnographic, folkloristic, historical, linguistic, and literary analyses of the beginnings, propagation, purpose, and interpretation of specific proverbs seldom identify the exact individual who first spoke the proverbial wisdom. Consequently, a thorough analysis of the old adage 'Big fish eat little fish' was able to link the proverb to an allusion in the didactic poem 'Works and Days' written by the Greek author Hesiod in the eighth century B.C. From there, it evolved through translations and variants until it became widely accepted in most European languages and beyond with essentially the same wording. However, based on a widely seen phenomenon in nature, the initial mention in Greek does not truly identify the author of this

²⁵ Taylor Archer, *The Proverb* (Cambridge, Mass: Harvard University Press, 1931), 68.

very evident insight. It is most certain that the adage was originally communicated orally, and the person who first spoke this brief pearl of wisdom will never be identified.²⁶

As Wolfgang Mieder's book *Proverbs Are Never Out of Season* makes clear, proverbs are still being generated today and have a clear place in modern society.

The ancient wisdom literature that made its way into the Bible and other religious writings is the main source of common proverbs in Europe.²⁷ The Bible, being one of the texts that is translated into many languages and cultures, has had a remarkable impact on the dissemination of proverbs, some of which predate the Bible, around the world. The fact that these proverbs are now so well ingrained in the languages of Europe, native speakers frequently have no idea that they are quoting biblical wisdom when they use them. Nonetheless, the following biblical proverbs have been borrowed verbatim into other languages outside of merely European ones: As you sow, so will you reap (Galatians 6:7-8), He who digs a pit for another, will fall into it himself (Proverbs 26:27), You see the mote in another's eye but fail to see the beam in your own (Matthew 7:3), He that will not work, shall not eat (2 Thessalonians 3:10) etc.

3.2 The Konknni Proverbs

Proverbs can occasionally be, essential moral guidelines that have upheld lofty standards prior to masses. Conversely, popular proverbs can have highly harmful effects due to their widespread acceptance. Proverbs serve as the cornerstone of political and moral philosophy among Orientals. They have a unique ability to instil in the minds of the general public the essentials of morality and upstanding behaviour. We have proverbs from the beginning of time. Proverbs have a strange influence over people who follow various religions and ideologies, ranging from the Vedas to the sacred texts of Christians and Muslims. In actuality, these sayings date back to the early eras of human civilizations and cultures. The literary relics of Egypt and Babylonia contain references to them. Proverbs were known even among the savages of ancient times. In fact, it wouldn't be incorrect to believe that the proverbs have had some success in

²⁶ Mieder, Wolfgang, "Think Outside the Box: Origin, Nature, and Meaning of Modern Anglo-American Proverbs," *Proverbium* 29, no. 1 (2012): 137-196, <https://hrcak.srce.hr/278412>.

²⁷ Westermann, Claus, *Roots of Wisdom: The Oldest Proverbs of Israel and Other Peoples*, (United States: Presbyterian Publishing Corporation, 1995).

shaping the diverse personalities of various countries. The Sarangadhar Paddhati, a 14th-century Sanskrit book, is composed of 6,000 lines selected from 264 different authors.²⁸

The Konkani proverbs are striking in addition to being abundant in metaphorical expressions. They contain paradox and hyperbole, much like the English proverb "No answer is also an answer." The distinctive shape and hue of our Konkani proverbs contribute to their widespread renowned and powerful impact. The proverbs become reliable witnesses of the social, religious, and even political values of the peoples who employ them because of their direct impact on the masses. Upon closely examining the Konkani proverbs, one notices that However, these proverbs demonstrate that they were written during a period when the nation was not very advanced in terms of civility and polite discourse. Konkani proverbs employ every portion of the human body to emphasise a point.

Numerous Konkani proverbs use critical or warning language directed towards the foreign overlords. Teotónio R. De Souza's essay, *"The Portuguese in the Goan Folklor"*, explores the origins of a few well-known Konkani proverbs. "Sorop mhoncho nhoi dakhlo, firngi mhoncho nhoi aplo" (none dare say that a Portuguese is one of us" or "that a snake is small), "Chodd firngi bhas, haddank urta mas" (too many Portuguese talks leave the flesh on the bones), "Faz favor, kottent dhunvor" (Too many speeches, smoke in the coconut shell) and many other.²⁹

Many Konkani proverbs are humorous; without humour, they would not have survived in the user's lexicon. They are highly remarkable in addition to being abundant in certain figures of speech. Konkani author Pundalik Naik claims that after the Grimm brothers' publications on German folktales, interest in folklore and literature grew globally.³⁰ As a result, books like Hitopadesh, Kathasaritsagar, and Panchtantra were published in India. Eleven Interest in folklife, culture, and knowledge also led to research and compilation. Since Konkani has been spoken for a significant portion of history, gathering sayings and proverbs in the language has proven to be quite challenging. Proverbs are something that people must remember from memory, sometimes even from their subconscious. According to Chavan, the biggest damage to the life-history of the Konkani language was caused by economic factors.

²⁸ Chavan , V.P, *The Konkani Proverbs*, (New-Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1923), 1-2.

²⁹ Alito Siqueira, José Lourenço, "From the Outside In, And Vice Versa".

³⁰ Pundalik Naik, *Mhannichea Adharan Konkani Samajache Abhyas Zanvche*, in Manohar Pai Dhungat, *Konkani Mhani Sagar*, (Phonda: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2003), 3-5

It is true that women have made a significant contribution to the study of Konkani paremiology. Dr. L. Suneeta Bai's latest, well-researched paper, *Socio-Cultural Background of the Gowda Saraswat Brahmin Community as Reflected in the Konkani Proverbs*, delves into the proverbs of Konkani culture.³¹ Her comprehensive research on Konkani proverbs has included English and Malayalam translations whenever feasible, highlighting for readers the common values held by Konkani people. However, one must take Suneeta Bai's assertion that Gowda Saraswat Brahmins (GSBs) are the authors of Konkani proverbs with a grain of salt.

Santha Sukhtankar has made a significant contribution to the field of paremiology with her book *Konkani Mhaniyo*, which is a veritable gold mine of Konkani proverbs.³² The *Mahanni Fattli Kanni* by Kamladevi Rao Deshpande helps readers comprehend folktales, fables, and the scientific information included in Konkani proverbs.³³ Without a doubt, women have made a tremendous contribution to the study of Konkani proverbs. It is important to note that many Konkani proverbs are also regarding women and suggest that patriarchal society did not value them highly. Women's struggles have been preserved for future generations in the shape of insightful proverbs.

3.3 Some Konknni Proverbs by VP Chavan

- 1) “Ang udkan nitol, mann sotan nitol” which means, the truth purifies the mind in the same way that water purifies the body.
- 2) “Ang bhizailebhagar nuste dharu nai” meaning, fish cannot be caught unless you go into the water.
- 3) “Appun appeak Dev Somestank” Man looks to himself while God looks to all. Everybody for himself while the God is for us all.
- 4) “Melle bhagar sarg disana” means, Heaven is unattainable unless we pass away. We are unable to experience the ultimate happiness unless we put up some effort.
- 5) “Udkachea balar sungat uddta” means, The prawn has the backing of water, thus it leaps high. A man who is wealthy rejects other people.

³¹ L. Suneeta Bai, *Socio-Cultural Background of the Gowda Saraswat Brahmin Community as Reflected in the Konkani Proverbs*, (Kerala: Sukrtindra Oriental Research Institute, 2013).

³² Sukhtankar, Santha Srikant, *Konkani Mhaniyo*, (Goa, 1995).

³³ Dhungat, Manohar Pai, *Konkani Mhani Sagar*, (Phonda: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2003), 6-20

- 6) “Umtea kallshear udak” means, Tossing water into a pot that has been turned upside down. Teaching or giving advise to a man who is not open to receiving it is pointless.
- 7) “Uloink kallna zalear tond dhapchem” which means, Keep your mouth shut if you are unable to speak. Don't try to appear wise when you are actually stupid. When one is unable to communicate, silence is wonderful.
- 8) “Kapni karun var vicharta” meaning, why inquire the day following shaving? Orthodox Hindus believe that certain days of the week and lunar months are designated for shaving. It serves no purpose to ask questions after the fact about the best time to accomplish a task.
- 9) “Kuddo magta ek dhollo, Devan taka donn dile” means When the blind man asks God for one eye, he receives two. Occasionally, our wishes are granted in ways we never imagined.
- 10) “Valli fal, vallik jad?” meaning, the fruit that hangs from a vine is not considered heavy by the spiders. No matter how impoverished he may be, he does not view his kids as a burden in any manner.³⁴

3.4 Hindi proverbs

Over 500 million people speak Hindi, which is the official language of India. Sanskrit, one of the ancient languages, is the origin of Hindi. Hindi is the third most spoken language worldwide in terms of speakers. People all around the nation speak and utilise Hindi. Devanagri is the script used for Hindi. A proverb is a quick, to-the-point remark that is believed to represent a universal truth. It's known as or Kahawat in Hindi.

The following are a few of the most well-known Hindi proverbs and their meanings:

- 1) “Bandar kya jaane adark ka swaad”-What does a monkey know of the taste of ginger? Means, Lack of understanding prevents appreciation.
- 2) “Door ke dhol suhavane lagte hain” At a distance, the drums have a deeper tone. Meaning, It's common for us to prefer the things we lack.
- 4) Ek aur ek gyarah hote hain" One plus one equals eleven. It means, Strength comes from oneness.³⁵

³⁴ Chavan , V.P, *The Konkani Proverbs*, (New-Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1923),10,12,17,19,25,76.

³⁵ Sidhu, Brahmaleen K., Arjan Singh, and Vishal Goyal. "Identification of proverbs in Hindi text corpus and their translation into Punjabi." *Journal of Computer Science and Engineering* 2, no. 1 (2010): 32-37.

- 5) “Apni chal mein chal” means Walk in your own path.
- 6) Boond boond se ghada bharati hai - The pot fills up little by little (consistency is essential).
- 7) “Jaisi karni vaisi bharni” meaning "As you sow, so shall you reap is a proverb that means "you get what you give."
- 8) “Zubaan sambhal rakhni chahiye, gussa na karna neki ka sabab ban jaaye” meaning, One should restrain their tongue (avoid speaking in anger) as anger can sometimes serve as motivation for good.
- 9) “Bhains ke age been bajana” means Playing the flute for a buffalo, wasting effort on someone who won't appreciate it.
- 10) “Saap se bada dushman nahin” meaning A snake is the greatest of all enemies (Beware of hidden hazards).

Different social truths and beliefs are conveyed by proverbs. "Kaha raja bhoj, Kaha gangu teli" (Comparison with the great, like a King, is not proper) highlights the tendency in civilizations to make unflattering comparisons between others and the mighty, or to interpret this adage to mean that the poor cannot rule as kings. Another adage, “Jaisi sangat, waisi rangat”, however, speaks volumes about associations and their significance in life. It states, association change behaviour and advise the average person to start being wary of varied relationships in life.³⁶

Proverbs in Hindi are a rich tapestry that has been passed down orally for many years. These proverbs frequently come from historical incidents, folklore, ancient texts, and local wisdom. They serve as a means of deepening ordinary talks as well as imparting moral lessons.

Thus, proverbs can be understood as the collective wisdom of a community, representing its beliefs, notions, and experiences about power dynamics, social norms, behaviour, etc. Additionally, it reflects the social consciousness of communities, ethnic groups, and society. Proverbs in Hindi have a distinct linguistic charm that makes them interesting and unforgettable. Rhetorically pleasing and rhythmic, several of these proverbs include alliteration and rhyme. In addition to adding to these proverbs' poetic beauty, their use of vivid imagery and metaphors makes difficult concepts more approachable and understandable.

³⁶ Sumedh Khandare, Hindi Proverbs: A reflection of social mind in North, “*Readers Blog by Times of India*”, July 23, 2019. <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/readersblog/sumedh/hindi-proverbs-a-reflection-of-social-mind-in-north-4730/>

The value of values like honesty, kindness, humility, and perseverance is often emphasised in Hindi proverbs. For example, the well-known saying *Satyameva Jayate* means "Truth alone prevails." This emphasises how important being truthful is to living a moral life. These proverbs provide unique insights into India's social and cultural fabric. They frequently highlight the functions and dynamics of families, the value of communities, and the necessity of showing respect for senior citizens. "*Aadmi ko bas do roop, pitaa ka beta aur pati ka doosra*" is one example of the proverbial saying that highlights the various roles that men have in life. Hindi proverbs also highlight the humour and wit that are part of Indian culture. These amusing proverbs frequently diffuse awkward situations and make people grin. "*Jaise ko taisa*," which translates to "As you sow, so shall you reap," is one such well-known proverb. It subtly suggests that people can suffer the consequences of their decisions.

Proverbs are essential for maintaining a culture's traditional knowledge and wisdom. Proverbs provide as a bridge to the past as cultures modernise and change, preserving the core of long-standing traditions and beliefs. They serve as a reminder of one's origins and the principles that shaped their forebears. Numerous proverbs from Hindi culture are applicable to all cultures. They provide perspectives that cut over regional and cultural divides. According to the saying "*Apne muh miyan mitthi*" which means "Your mouth utters sweet words only when you eat soil", It illustrates the universal lesson that one's words and deeds should line up. Because they highlight the linguistic complexities and subtleties of the Hindi language, Hindi proverbs are a great tool for language learners.

Furthermore, examining these proverbs offers students insightful cultural information and a more comprehensive comprehension of Indian culture. Thus, let's set out on a mission to unlock the meaning of Hindi proverbs and enjoy the depth of Indian culture while learning how these brief sayings can improve our lives and motivate us to become better versions of ourselves. The essence of these proverbs touches the very spirit of humanity, and as we navigate through the maze of words and meanings, we will discover that they are universal in nature. Hindi proverbs are evidence of India's deep cultural legacy and enduring wisdom that have been handed down through the ages. These proverbs have the power to influence people's attitudes and behaviours, not just by providing moral lessons but also by providing insights into human

behaviour. By preserving and sharing these pearls of wisdom, we contribute to the collective wisdom of humanity and preserve the core of our cultural identity.³⁷

3.5 English Proverbs

The origins and sources of English proverbs are quite varied and are influenced by the oddities of the language's historical dynamics, the distinctiveness of British culture nationally, and the outcomes of its interactions with other cultures worldwide. It is often known that literature, the Holy Scripture, and folklore are the primary sources of English proverbs. Nonetheless, several significant inquiries are still unanswered: The languages that proverbs were taken from, the books that functioned as the proverbs' original sources, the writers who contributed numerous proverbs to the English language, as well as the functional, stylistic, and genre diversity of proverbial literary sources, etc. It is still difficult to discern between etymological and functional methods when trying to figure out where proverbs come from.³⁸

Compared to the paremiological resources of other languages, English paremiology has historically remained relatively closed to outside influences. French and classical languages are the original sources of four of the five borrowed proverbs. The greatest active influence of these languages on English was begun in antiquity and nearly finished by the end of the Middle English era. In early modern England, common people's collected ethical values were reflected in proverbial wisdom. It was a common embellishment to written and spoken English, permeating the expression and narrative of communication. In varying social contexts, different people and tribes applied proverbial wisdom in different ways.³⁹

The proverb played a crucial role in the ways of thinking and speaking that typified England in the 16th and 17th century⁴⁰. It is reasonable to argue that this was the peak of proverbial expression in European intellectual life. Like many modern cultures, English society was highly dependent on oral traditions and tolerated a broad range of nonstandard vernacular forms. The number of proverbs and proverbial expressions in common usage in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century England was far higher than it is today. They articulate the "common sense" that defines a people; they uphold the values that are most important to them; and they

³⁷ Mala Chandrashekar, Hindi Proverbs: Wisdom Wrapped in Simplicity, 'Culture and Heritage', May 20, 2023. <https://cultureandheritage.org/2023/05/unlocking-the-wisdom-of-hindi-proverbs-a-journey-into-timeless-sayings.html>

³⁸ Eugene E. Ivanov and Julia A. Petrushevskaya, "Etymology of English Proverbs," *Journal of Siberian Federal University Humanities & Social Sciences*, Vol.5 (2015): 864, 870.

³⁹ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 112.

⁴⁰ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 113.

conserve the knowledge that they find most beneficial. Proverbs offer a vivid insight into the structure of mental categories and the ways that verbal forms can move between the spoken and textual realms for individuals who are interested in the changing link between oral and literate modes of cognition and communication. But two significant developments at the beginning of the sixteenth century significantly raised the prominence of both the church and the school as channels for dispensing fabled wisdom⁴¹.

3.6 Some English Proverbs

1) A bad workman always blames his tools.

This saying is applied when someone assigns the fault for their subpar performance to the state of their tools or other outside influences.

2) A bird in hand is worth two in the bush.

It is preferable to have something in hand with certainty than to merely have more chances of getting more things.

3) Absence makes heart grow fonder.

We yearn for our loved ones' company more than usual when we're apart from them.

4) A cat has nine lives.

Cats may endure situations that look lethal.

5) Action speaks louder than words.

Actions speak louder than words about a person's character since it's easy to make plans and then follow through on them.

6) A diamond with a flaw is better than a common stone that is perfect.

A normal opportunity that appears to be ideal is not as good as a rare and precious opportunity that comes with some complications.

7) A drowning man will clutch a straw.

A man in drowning will hold onto a straw.

⁴¹ Adam Fox, *Oral and Literate Culture in England 1500-1700*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2000), 116.

When faced with a challenging circumstance, a person will seize every chance to escape it.

8) A jack of all trades is master of none.

A "jack of all trades" who possesses a rudimentary understanding of multiple subjects is not a master in any of them.

9) A lean agreement is better than a fat lawsuit.

In conflicts, it's preferable to reach a compromise and accept a portion of the possible resolution rather than waging a costly, protracted legal battle with little assurance of success.

10) Be slow in choosing, but slower in changing⁴².

Make thoughtful decisions about things or people, but once you make a choice, stick with it.

A line that contains a fundamental truth, sounds like a proverb, has all the language and stylistic elements of a proverb, and seems wise can be written by anyone. However, there is a fundamental issue with such an invention—an issue that has been present in all proverbs ever written! Even while the text comes quite near to what we consider to be a proverb, it still lacks several necessary components. A proverb needs to have some social value. Stated differently, it must be included into standard written and spoken discourse and manifest in a minimum amount of consistency and dissemination.

When considering how proverbs have been created over the ages, it is important to keep in mind that it may have taken a proverb years, decades, or even centuries to gain acceptance and become a certain currency or custom. In the current era of computers and the internet, someone might impromptu say something along the lines of a proverb that, in a matter of seconds, literally spreads across a nation or even the world. The adage "proverbs are always in style" is still relevant today, and researching the origins of contemporary proverbs is just as fascinating as attempting to piece together the potential beginnings of an old proverb⁴³.

⁴² Anil Yadav, "200+ Common Proverbs in English" Lemon Grad, accessed 13 March 2024, <https://lemongrad.com/proverbs-with-meanings-and-examples/>.

⁴³ Wolfgang Mieder, *Proverbs: A Handbook* (London: Greenwood Press, 2004), 9.

Chapter 4

Understanding Goa's Economy through Konknni Proverbs

The development of agriculture was a significant turning point towards a more orderly and safe way of life. The farmer is not defined by the land he farms, but rather by the labour he puts in. Farmers work for longer than the sun sets. They work till the task is completed. In order for agriculture to be sustainable, growers must be able to earn a fair and respectable livelihood. In our system, the farmer is the sole man who purchases goods at retail and sells them at wholesale. He usually covers the freight charges on both ends.

The farm teaches us the true meaning of life, even as we want to impart this knowledge to our kids. Farming is a way of life, not simply a profession. The word agriculture comes from the Greek words "Agri," which means field or soil, and "culture," which implies tending. In a nation's process of economic development, the agriculture production is crucial. It has already significantly boosted the economic well-being of industrialised nations, and its contribution to the economic growth of developing nations cannot be understated⁴⁴. Goa's limits give her a special ecological status. Natural resources have always been abundant and a blessing to us. Since rice and fish are the main staples of the Goan diet, paddy production takes centre stage in Goan agriculture. In addition to paddy, we also grow jowar, bajra, ragi, maize and legumes. Ample amounts of cash crops are also cultivated, including coconut and cashew nut. Almost two thirds of Goans were employed mostly in agriculture at the time of the state's freedom. The two growing seasons for paddy are rabi or vaingan and kharif⁴⁵.

The farmers who work the land bear witness to the history of the land and its produce. A farmer is a magician who turns dirt into money. Shaking hands with nature is a must for farmers.

There are numerous proverbs in Dalgado's compilation of Konknni Proverbs about Goa's agriculture and economy. A few of which are here under:

⁴⁴ Shanti Maria Fonseca, Farming: A Way of Life, "O Herald," July 7, 2018.
<https://www.heralddgoa.in/Edit/Opinions/Farming-a-way-of-life/133002>.

⁴⁵ Shanti Maria Fonseca, Farming: A Way of Life, "O Herald," July 7, 2018.
<https://www.heralddgoa.in/Edit/Opinions/Farming-a-way-of-life/133002>.

4.1 Proverbs on Agriculture

*Pavsan kuslelem hoy, pun vatan suklelem noy*⁴⁶

It's preferable to dry out in the sun than to rot in the wet. Drastic rain is better than none at all.

This Konknni proverb speaks about the farmer's dejected state is evident when he sows the field but, as a result of the drought, it becomes ruined and he loses all of the year's hard work. Rainfall has a significant impact on crop productivity and yields in India, as well as the nation's food supplies.

*Vampta tasem pikta*⁴⁷

As you sow you shall reap.

Kelalem khata, vomplelem lunta

You eat what you prepared, you reap what you sowed.

*Akheichem hadlem verik, ganntichem ghalem bharik*⁴⁸.

In the end of the land was brought in auction and the capital was used to fill the due amount.

The only people in the the village with the ability to place a bid on cultivable land was the Gaonkars. The Gaonkars enjoyed particular rights within the community during harvest, festivals, settlement roofing, and other events because they were descended from the initial settlers' families⁴⁹.

Undoubtedly, the Goan system of comunidades dates back at least a millennium, if not centuries. The earliest proof of its existence is seen in an inscription from 1054 A.D, which dates to Jayakeshi, the Kadamba king of Goa⁵⁰.

The agricultural method of this local community existed before the Portuguese arrived in Goa. Recognising the benefits of the system the Goan people had created, the Portuguese codified their customs and usages and granted them the legal status of *Foral de Usos e*

⁴⁶ Sabastioa Rudolf Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 8.

⁴⁷ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 8.

⁴⁹ Trichur Raghuraman, "Politics of Goan Historiography," *Lusotopie* (2000): 639.

⁵⁰ B.S. Shastri, "Land-Holdings under the Comunidades of Goa : An Historical Perspective". *Proceedings of the Indian History Congress* 49, (1988): 412-414, doi: 44148424.

Costumes dos Gancares e Lavradores desta Ilha de Goa e Outras Annexas an Ella, also known as Foral de Afonso Mexia, in 1526 (AD)⁵¹.

Since Goa was well-known for its agricultural output even before the Portuguese arrived, the kings of other South Indian states have requested its farmers to advance their fields. As a result, Goan farmers are advancing agriculture in places like Kerala, Mysore, and Mangalore. Goa's farming techniques, together with those of the *Dantto* and the *Latth*, were regarded as the most sophisticated at the time. In the lack of electricity pumps, the *Latth* was a uniquely Goan invention for extracting water for irrigation from the ponds.

Goa's economy was based on farming. In Goa, there weren't many industries. Goans were forced to rely solely on their own labour and were not eligible for government assistance. The most profitable agriculture method was the village community system. Following the payment of all village government costs, the remaining funds were given to the Ganvkars as *zonn* and the shareholders as dividends⁵².

4.2 Proverbs on Bhatkars and Mhundkars

*Razanv Bhatkarachem, kiteak upkarta Munkaryachem?*⁵³

The reason is the landlord who takes advantage of what the settler says. It also implies that who will listen to the Mhundkar, the bhatkar has the final say in the decisions made.

Bhatkarak ek Bhat, Munkaryak Xember Bhatam

The Landlord has one plot of land and the tenant has a hundred. The tenant can leave and go to any other land and stay. He need not stay on the same piece of land.

*Bhatkara paras Munkarachem*⁵⁴.

Tenant's display is more impressive than landlord's display. When a Mhundkar boasts about himself this proverb is used.

The word 'Mhundkar' comes from the Konkani language, and it refers to a person in Goa who lives in a home constructed on a landlord's land and is responsible for keeping an eye on and guarding the landlord's belongings. The Mhundkar receives land from the Bhatkar or

⁵¹Visitacao .Monteiro, *Goan Village Communities* (Panji:Ed's, 2018), 59.

⁵² Monteiro, *Goan Village Communities*, 61.

⁵³ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 17.

⁵⁴ Dalgado *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 17.

permission to erect a dwelling on his land. In any scenario, the landlord would lend the Mhundkar a set sum of money in cash or in kind, known as the "Mund," without charging interest, in exchange for allowing them to live on his land. The individual who accepted it came to be referred to as "Mhundkar" after this term "Mund."

A Mhundkar's privilege to reside on a Bhatkar's land was limited to keeping an eye on it. In addition, he and his family were required to assist the Bhatkar with both household and agricultural tasks. The Mhundkar received nominal pay from the Bhatkar in exchange for their efforts. Either cash or in-kind payment was made for the wages⁵⁵.

To assist the worker in establishing a new family business in a location distinct from their ancestral one, the Gaonkars gave the worker a certain amount in cash or in kind. This amount amounted to an interest-free loan. It was a fixed capital that was referred to as 'Maddalu' in the early Kannada language and later became known as 'Mundd' in Konknni. The idea that the original Mhundkars were Dravidian natives is further supported by the fact that the Mhundkarial language has a number of additional Kannada vocabularies.

They established Christian Bhatkars, who designated primarily Christians as their Mhundkars. The Mhundkar system not only developed but also got distinct treatment under the Portuguese rule. The Portuguese's belief in slavery and feudal hierarchy led the Bhatkars to treat the Mhundkars like slaves as well. Some Bhatkars made their Mhundkars perform even gratuitous work, and those Mhundkars who disobeyed them were made to vacate their land. The Mhundkars were never given any consideration by the Portuguese.

When Goa, Daman, and Diu was under Portuguese administration, they developed a strange system called Mhundkarism⁵⁶, which has been practiced in Goa for about a century. In the study of the Mhundkari system, two parties known as Bhatkar and Mhundkar in the local community are involved. Their connection is to be regulated with an eye towards the modern socio-economic principles that lead to providing every person with a respectable place in this world. The Bhatkar, also known as a landlord, proprietor, or feudal lord in English, is a person who typically owns land, including gardens and coconut trees.

⁵⁵ Saldanha C.F., *A Short History of Goa* (Bombay:Anglo- Lusitano, 1995),12.

⁵⁶ Saldanha C.F., *A Short History of Goa* (Bombay:Anglo- Lusitano, 1995),12.

The Mhundkars had a special relationship with the landowners. In return for their labour and a portion of the produce grown on the land, they were allowed to cultivate and reside there. The details of the oral agreement between the landowner and the Mhundkar differed depending on the parties involved. As long as they performed their duties and gave the landlord their agreed-upon part of the harvest, the Mhundkar had the natural right to inhabit and cultivate the land. As a result, the Mhundkar system ingrained itself firmly in Goan culture and significantly influenced the development of the agrarian economy⁵⁷.

The owner of landed property is known as a Bhatkar. The word comes from the Konkani word 'bhatt,' which means 'coconut grove.' It does, however, apply to owners of other landed properties as well as those who own coconut groves. A person who lives in a designated residence on someone else's landed property primarily to tend to the land or keep watch over it is known as a Mhundkar or royt. The house was either erected on his own dime or at the landowner's expense; the latter may have contributed funds or materials (a mudd subsidy) to the building and setup⁵⁸.

Mhundkars are also those who pay landowners a sum that may not be land revenue or rent for the landed property they live on, the adjacent fields they are allowed to cultivate, or the usufruct thereof. The decree dated August 24, 1901, which governs the legal relationships between Bhatkars and Mhundkars, provides such a concept. The Mhundkar is not obligated to stay on the parcel of land that has been assigned to him; he may leave by providing the Bhatkar with three months' notice via the sub district administrator in question. He simply has a claim to the materials used to build his home; he has no ownership interest in the land it is situated on. Additionally, he is not the owner of the plot of land known as bhattulem/porsum that the Bhatkar gave him to cultivate vegetables on for free or for a small price. Before looking for work elsewhere, the Mhundkar has to make him accessible for manual labour when the Bhatkar wants him and is in charge of watching over the land⁵⁹. Mhundkars are guarded by the Bhatkar. In addition to mediating any issues that may emerge between them, he supports them throughout difficult times and during illness. He may remove the Mhundkars from his land by

⁵⁷ Apoorva Kaushal Prabhudesai, "The Mhundkar System in Goa: Historical Land Tenure and Legislative Developments", *International Journal of Law Management & Humanities* 6, no.4 (2023): 214-215.

⁵⁸ Rajan Narayan, Yesterday's Goa -- comunidades, landlords, Desais and inheritance, "Goa Net", July 19, 2008. <http://lists.societymusictheory.org/pipermail/goanet-news-goanet.org/2008-July/008629.html>.

⁵⁹ A.B. de Braganca Pereira, *Ethnography of Goa Daman and Diu*, trans. Maria Aurora Couto (Haryana: Penguin Books India, 2008), 334.

notifying the district administrator of the notice issued to the Mhundkar six months in advance. The Mhundkar's residence is included in the assessment of the landed property in which it is located, increasing its value and collected income even though it is not considered urban property for taxation reasons⁶⁰.

The relationship between a Bhatkar and a Mhundkar is clearly visible, as the proverbs demonstrate. This relationship dates back ages on Goan soil. A Mhundkar is indispensable to a Bhatkar. Since the Mhundkar used to live in and take care of his bhat, he was absolutely essential to the Bhatkar.

The Mhundkar was a traditional kind of land tenancy in Goa that was widely used by the locals during Portuguese colonial control. Tenant farmers were given permission to reside and work on landlord-owned property in the sixteenth century in return for labour and a portion of the harvest. It significantly influenced the development of Goa's agrarian economy by giving landless farmers a means of subsistence and guaranteeing landlords steady labour. The Mhundkar system had a number of legislative changes over time, including the addition of safety nets and legal protections⁶¹.

The Goan Foral acknowledged the political importance of a local myth that supported the Gaunkars' dominance over the land in Ilhas and included it in the document. The legend was given the temporal values of historicity and legend, as well as antiquity and timelessness, by being included in a written record that would be applicable to the all of Goa⁶².

The Gaunkars auctioned the right to cultivate and distributed a portion of the earnings as payment to the Gaunkaria members after paying a specified tax, or foro, to the state and allocating the proceeds to people who carried out various tasks for the community. These people belonged to groups known as vangods, which were hereditarily set patrilineages of families in each vangod. Aside from the financial advantages, belonging to the Gaunkaria, or

⁶⁰ Rajan Narayan, Yesterday's Goa -- comunidades, landlords, Desais and inheritance, "Goa Net", July 19, 2008. <http://lists.societymusictheory.org/pipermail/goanet-news-goanet.org/2008-July/008629.html>.

⁶¹ Heraldgoa.in, "GOA's MHUNDKARS: A Prolonged Fight For Protecting Their Land & Identity", O Herald, April 10, 2024. <https://www.heraldgoa.in/Review/GOA%E2%80%99s-MHUNDKARS-A-prolonged-fight-for-protecting-their-land-identity/213172#:~:text=In%20Goa%2C%20the%20Mhundkar%20was,share%20of%20the%20agricultural%20produce.>

⁶² Rochelle Pinto, "The Foral in the History of the Comunidades of Goa", *Journal of World History* 29, No. 2 (June 2018): 187.

gaunkari as it is known in modern Konkani, was a significant indicator of the standing of the participating households in the village⁶³.

During the nineteenth century, the gaunkaria's age had become significant as a cultural characteristic. Because orientalist historiography gave places like India a position in global history, antiquity and its remnants were given special treatment. It was observed that the idea of an old Indian village, a comparable universalized concept originating from the Roman Empire and generalised as a natural and primordial form of settled society, resonated with the modern Indian village⁶⁴.

Because early societies were agrarian, these local governing bodies were primarily responsible for protecting fishing ponds, streams, and reclaimed land known as Khazans from inundation by salinized tidal waters. They also maintained an elaborate system of embankments (bunds) to further enhance land quality. Since the institutions' income depended on the fish, horticultural, and agricultural products of the lands and water bodies they supervised and had a communal claim over, they had a clear motivation to preserve these public works. In addition to creating a productive way to manage the common lands, the Gaunkari system created a sophisticated, environmentally friendly agricultural system that made use of both fertile and barren areas, maximising benefits to the populace.

An unprecedented achievement in Indian agricultural history, Goa's agricultural history began with our forefathers' reclamation of large areas of soft mud (Chikol) through bunding of alluvial lands and their regulation on high and low tides through sluice gates. The Goans got their staple food from these reclaimed areas, known as "Khazan Lands."⁶⁵

In the Gaunkari System, agricultural practices and methods were modified to take into account the soil, amount of rainfall, solar radiation, and other natural factors. This process, known as "gott" and roughly translated as "photoperiodism," meaning, the reaction to alterations in daylength which allows plants to become accustomed to changes in the seasons in their environment.

⁶³ Rochelle Pinto, "The Foral in the History of the Comunidades of Goa", *Journal of World History* 29, No. 2 (June 2018):190.

⁶⁴ Rochelle Pinto, "The Foral in the History of the Comunidades of Goa", *Journal of World History* 29, No. 2 (June 2018): 191.

⁶⁵ Monteiro, *Goan Village Communities*, 59, 60.

In order to ensure that the system was ecologically sound and sustainable, framing devices were thoughtfully and meticulously designed to fit different soil types. They also showed a healthy respect for animals and the environment.

The Gaunkari/Comunidades system was largely superseded by the Panchayat, which was designated as the new political and social structure with authority from the Indian Constitution and the federal government, when Goa, a territory under Portuguese rule since 1510, became a part of the Indian Union in 1961. The Panchayat's inability to afford to maintain the intricate agricultural system is a significant drawback of this new administration. Since funds are transmitted to higher levels of government, unlike the Gaunkari system, it does not experience any direct incentive for its preservation. Second, the Panchayat has no limits on land sales or conversions, in contrast to the Gaunkari system where these activities were strictly prohibited.

The ecosystem, farmers' means of subsistence, and the agricultural economy have all suffered greatly as a result. The environment has severely degraded as a result of land conversions—both legal and illegal—for large-scale development projects with no consideration for sustainability. The loss of hundreds of years' worth of accumulated knowledge in agricultural methods, as well as the rich legacy of our predecessors' skills, crafts, and environmental awareness, are less well-known but just as tragic.

The Goa state government now has strict supervision over how the comunidades operate, which advocates of the comunidade movement claim gives them little room to function as self-governing entities⁶⁶.

*Manay padlyar xethkar paleta, pun xethkar padlyar kon paleta?*⁶⁷

The master tends to the worker in the event of his fall, but who looks after the master in the event of his fall?

In the olden days the Bhatkar or the landlord used to care for his worker or the Mundkar. But now there is indifference between the two. The Bhatkar has turned into a Mhundkar and the Mhundkar had turned into Bhatkar.

⁶⁶ Rahul Goswami, "The Konkan Packaging Company of Goa", *Economic and Political Weekly* 43, no.6 (Feb 2008): 10-12, doi: 40277093.

⁶⁷ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 16.

4.3 Proverbs on Trade

*Manay bail vaytale zalyar, xetkar kiteak zay?*⁶⁸

Goa's trade was particularly carried out with the Ghats regions and along the route the main service consisted of unharnessing and saddling oxen and buffaloes. They used to take the Goan salt and dry fish which was traded in the Ghats. This activity was carried alone by the owner itself and the servant was not needed.

*Girvoddeche redde Vhorun Porra vikunk*⁶⁹.

Taking the buffaloes from Guirim and selling them at Parra.

Guirim and Parra are neighbouring villages. Parra is known for having buffaloes and hence if the buffaloes are taken to Parra to be sold than it will sell at a cheaper rate⁷⁰.

4.4 Proverbs on Master and Servants

*Dhanyan sangallem tcakrak, tcakrak sangallem sunyak, sunyan sangallem xim'tek*⁷¹.

The master told the servant, servant told the dog and the dog told its tail.

The characters involved in this proverb kept on ordering one another, but in the end could not do what was needed.

*Sangleli chakri, dilolo muxaro*⁷².

Serve and get your salary.

*Aplem na thoim ganv padd, duddu na thoim xhar padd*⁷³.

The city where I have no resources is a deserted city, and the hamlet where I have nothing to invest is a deserted land.

⁶⁸ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 16.

⁶⁹ Antonio Pereira, S.J, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, (Panaji: Gulab Publications, 1985), 78.

⁷⁰ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 78.

⁷¹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 17.

⁷² Antonio Pereira, S.J, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, (Panaji: Gulab Publications, 1985), 19.

⁷³ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 9.

4.5 Proverbs on Rich and Poor

*Bhikarachea uxea ponda polli aslear, bhikareak nid poddta?*⁷⁴

Will a beggar go to sleep if there's cake under his pillow?

The beggar dreams of big things. Similarly, we at times think big that would bring us a good fortune.

*Ami girestham ponn matheak na tel*⁷⁵.

We are rich but we have no oil to put on our head. What is shown outside is not what is concealed inside.

*Bhikareak chori kiteak zai?*⁷⁶

The beggar wants to exhibit, but why?

Although pride and poverty are unmatched, they coexist.

*Bikechem khata, vatter denkor kaddhta*⁷⁷.

While travelling, he groans and begs for food and burps on the way.

The beggar also should humble himself.

A similar proverb, *Ambil jevta ponn mixiank tel laun bhonvta*, He eats nachenim-gruel yet wears butter-moistened moustaches.

*Put bhikareacho, chal savkarachi*⁷⁸.

Son of a beggar behaves as though a rich man.

The beggar should act like a beggar.

*Dublleanchi morum-noei bail, giresthicho morum-noei ghov*⁷⁹.

It is wrong for a wealthy woman's spouse and a poor man's wife to pass away.

⁷⁴ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 9.

⁷⁵ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 27.

⁷⁶ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 27.

⁷⁷ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 27.

⁷⁸ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 29.

⁷⁹ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 45.

This proverb is used in context to tell that if the husband of a rich lady dies then there will be no one to care for the property. This shows that the Goan society was a patriarchal society. Also if the poor lady dies no one will be left to care for the husband.

*Dublleachi bail desachi*⁸⁰.

The poor man's wife is an asset of the people.

The poor man's wife goes in search of work from one place to another and hence she becomes the care taker of the people. She does this for handsome money.

*Dubblo soten oglo*⁸¹

Poor people are more independently wealthy.

The poor does not have to worry about tomorrow, where as a rich man has to look forward to the next day. The poor man lives on a daily basis.

*Asa domeddi, marta kamddi, na domeddi korta chomddi*⁸².

You kill a bird if you have money, and you live a shrunken life if you don't.

When one spends without looking back, this proverb is said to such a person.

*Chodd duddu tankam chodd husko*⁸³

More the money, more the worry.

*Dam kori kam*⁸⁴.

Money makes work. Without working one does not get money.

*Duddvavinnem sonsar nhoi, lojevinnem monis nhoi*⁸⁵

No world without money, no human without shame. If you have no money no one takes you into consideration.

*Duddu asot taka sogott sovai, na taka sogott mharog*⁸⁶.

⁸⁰ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 45.

⁸¹ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 64.

⁸² Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 66.

⁸³ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 66.

⁸⁴ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 66.

⁸⁵ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 66.

⁸⁶ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 66.

Everything is inexpensive for those with money, and expensive for those without.

Proverbs are essential for imparting to us the ageless knowledge that our forefathers left behind. We may learn about Goa's economy and the methods by which people earned money to survive through these proverbs.

Chapter 5

Understanding Goa's Caste System through Konknni Proverbs

Goan society prior to Portuguese colonisation was mostly Hindu, including few of Muslims. The caste system served as this society's main institution. The social frame of Hinduism was the main obstacle to any social transformation. Social division, a hierarchical social structure, and prohibitions on social interactions and eating were all brought about by the caste system. There were ascriptive religious, social, and economic perks and disadvantages for every caste and sub-caste. It was not acceptable to violate caste-related traditions and usages⁸⁷.

Goa has a lengthy history of politics, religion, and castes all its own. The vibrant processions of the caste-based confrarias are still preserved by Christianity, and the percentage of the lower castes in the hierarchy is still very small. Goa owes its political inclusion to the *Bhausization* of politics, which led by D Bhandarkar very early in Indian politics, if it is not the land-owning dominant castes that have been involved in politics since Liberation. His emphasis on women's and rural development planning paved the way for the bhaujan samaj of Goa to flourish quickly. Vatican II brought about significant changes in the Church that aimed to align the Church with the political demands of decolonization, coinciding with the political liberation of Goa⁸⁸.

In the Book *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* by Dalgado, has a section of proverbs on Caste. Hence we will understand the caste system of Goa through these proverbs.

*Zati Sangdi Riti, Khani Sangdi Mati*⁸⁹.

Caste tells about rituals, a grain of sand tells about the type of soil.

Rituals and customs are strictly adhered to and differ based on the caste.

⁸⁷ D'Souza Bento Graciano, *Goan Society In Transition: A Study in Social Change*, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd, 1975), 241.

⁸⁸ Rajan Narayan, "Corruption and Caste in Goa", *Goan Observer*, Jan 6, 2017.
<https://www.goanobserver.in/2016/12/31/corruption-caste-go/>.

⁸⁹ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 37.

5.1 Shedding Light on different Castes in Goa

a) Brahmins

The word Brahmana denotes God, one who knows God, one who is knowledgeable about God, one who is knowledgeable about the Vedas, an intellectual, a priest, a teacher, a professor, a member of the Brahmin caste and a respected individual. The customs, culture, and religion of Brahmins are unique, and they adhere to particular values and customs. This religion is also known as Vedic religion or Sanatana (old) Dharma. The majority of practicing Brahmins uphold the following principles: God is one, but has many names and forms to chant and worship due to our varied perceptions, cultures, and languages; a Brahmin works for the welfare of the entire society; acceptance of the Vedas with reverence; recognition of the fact that the means or ways to salvation and realisation of the truth are diverse; and so on. Brahmins engage in several daily activities like as non-violence, yoga, vegetarianism, sandhyavandana (prayers to Gayatri and the Sun God), and prayer to *Ishtadaiva or Ilavelpu* (personal God). For a Brahmin, everything in their everyday lives is ritualistic. The Practices of the Brahmins include marriage, ritual conception and marriage consummation, childbirth rituals, naming ceremonies, first feeding ceremonies, the child's first tonsure, *Upanayana* (the sacred-thread ceremony - initiation into vedic learning and ritual), ritual baths and cremation rituals (shraaddha). For a practicing Brahmin, each of these rites holds great significance⁹⁰.

Barso (naming ceremony of the child): A child's eleventh day after birth is celebrated with a barso. It is known as barso homa if it is performed with homa (holy fire or havan). On this day, children get their ears pierced, are given names, and are cradled.

Chaula: The chaula ceremony, which marks a child's first haircut, is held when a child is two years old and takes place before his third year.

Tread Ceremony: the male child's *upanayanam*, called *munji* in Konknni, is conducted when he becomes eight years old. The child's left shoulder is where the jannuvey, or sacred thread, is placed during this rite. On that day, he officially joins his caste and is given the name *dwija*

⁹⁰ Jyoti G Nayak, "A Study on Culture of Goud Saraswat Brahmins - Special Reference on Uttar Kannada District," *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017): 34-35, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2454-7654.0301004>.

(twice-born). The boy was once taken to a gurukula to study the Vedas and other ancient time. As brahmacharya, the boy was supposed to follow strict discipline throughout this time. He was supposed to live a celibate life, accept alms, eat only certain vegetarian saatvic food, and exhibit extreme austerity in both his actions and attitude. Every year, during the Sutta Punav festival, which takes place during the Hindu month of Shravan and under various conditions like Suthige, the thread is replaced. A GSB munji's principal rites include Gayitri Upadesha, Danda Dharana, Udada Murthu, Matrubhojan, Yajnopavita Dharana, Brahmachari Agnikaryam, and Devatha Prarthana⁹¹.

Funerals: All GSBs are cremated in accordance with Vedic rites, usually on the same day of the individual's death. The death rites include a 13-day period of mourning. The deceased's ashes are immersed in the sea or at a convergence of two rivers (sangam). Like any other Hindus, they prefer their remains to be immersed in the rivers Ganges, Godavari or Kaveri. The family observes honle, a 12-day period during which a family member abstains from attending temples or family celebrations⁹².

Festivals: Almost all Hindu holidays are observed by GSDs, who also adhere to the Hindu lunar calendar, known as Panchang in Konkani, which specifies the days on which fasts and holidays are to be kept.

b) Chardos or Catholic Kshatriyas

Some people claimed that the word "chaddos" was a distortion of the words "Kshatriyas," "Chatri," or "Chetre." Nevertheless, there was no sign of the Chaddo caste or the Kshatriya caste among the Hindus in Goa. Prof. Moraes concurs with Shri Varde Valaulekar's assertion that the Rashtrakutas, the Shilaharas' overlords, were Chaddos from Lottli in Salsete since they identified as the boon lords of Lottli, or Sattalapura-Varadhisvarnam⁹³.

The Chaddos of Goa did not belong to any sub-caste. Nonetheless, the Sudras were divided into smaller castes. These were called Vani (tradesman), Kharvi (fisherman), Gavdi (labourer),

⁹¹ Alexander Henn, "Hindu Traditions in Goa," *Encyclopedia of Hinduism* 1 (2009): 252.

⁹² Jyoti G Nayak, "A Study on Culture of Goud Saraswat Brahmins - Special Reference on Uttar Kannada District," *International Journal of History and Cultural Studies* 3, no. 1 (2017): 36-39, doi: <http://dx.doi.org/10.20431/2454-7654.0301004>.

⁹³ D'Souza Bento Graciano, *Goan Society In Transition: A Study in Social Change*, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd, 1975), 242.

Chamar (shoemaker), Barber (barber), Mahar (mat-plaiter), etc., and were connected to their original activities. Each of these sub-castes' status schemes was followed, though not too negatively. The vast majority of people no longer worked in their respective fields⁹⁴.

c) Catholic Gauda

The Gaudas, also called Christian Gaudas or Catholic Gaudas, are primarily found in the Goan talukas of Salcete and Bardez. The Portuguese have converted the Gauda (Hindus) to Christianity. They don't have any synonyms or subgroups. They claim to have lived in Goa for thousands of years⁹⁵.

Rice is a main dish among the Catholic Gaudas. They consume steak and pork and are not vegetarians. Pulses are rarely consumed, although fish is frequently eaten. There is a lot of usage of coconut and it is used in practically all cuisine dishes⁹⁶.

The Catholic Gauda visit every Hindu temple in an attempt to obtain divine graces. In order to protect the foetus, Catholic Gauda women sleep during the eclipse period, just like pregnant Hindu women, particularly Hindu Gauda women. In 1928, a small number of Catholic Gaudas returned back to Hinduism. We refer to them as Nav-Hindus. The earlier converted Christians hold the Catholic Gaudas in low regard⁹⁷.

d) Catholic Mahar

Four centuries ago, many Catholic Mahar were converted to Christianity. There are three main groups of Catholics in Goa: Catholic Sudras, Catholic Chardos (converted Kshatriyas and members of other parallel castes), and Catholic Brahmans⁹⁸. Catholic Mahars are not permitted to marry Hindu Mahars, but they are permitted to marry any other Catholic. While there are clear differences and divides within the Catholic community in Goa, everyone claims that any Catholic can marry any other Catholic⁹⁹.

⁹⁴ D'Souza Bento Graciano, *Goan Society In Transition*, 243.

⁹⁵ K.S. Singh, *People of India: Goa*, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt.Ltd, 1993), 23.

⁹⁶ Singh, *People of India: Goa*, 23.

⁹⁷ Singh, *People of India: Goa*, 27.

⁹⁸ Singh, *People of India: Goa*, 42.

⁹⁹ Singh, *People of India: Goa*, 43.

e) Chambar

Hadi and Chamar are other names for the Chambhar people. The name Chambhar comes from the name of Charmakara, a leather worker. They are also known as Chamgar and Mochi in various parts of India. In Goa, the Chambhar are categorised as a Scheduled Caste. They are not distinguishable from one another by their distinctive attire. They utilise the Devnagari script and speak Konkani and Marathi. Regarding the origin of the Chambhar, there are numerous perspectives. Some claim that a guy from the fishing community fathered a sweeper lady, or Chandal, who gave birth to the Chambhar¹⁰⁰.

Kat Mevlyar, Zat Mevlya?

If we get the colour of the skin do we get the caste?

Kat Meli, pun Zat Meli Nay

The skin may get dirty, but the caste is not dirty.

It is difficult to comprehend the castes, sub-castes, and inner groupings that make up Goan society within the Hindu fold. The divides in the past were made according to customary occupation. However, throughout time, it evolved to become dependent on being born into a specific family. As soon as it attached, it never stopped¹⁰¹. People are not born with their willingness in the caste. It is not a choice given to individuals. The last of all castes was the Sudhras. Who's primary duty was to serve the people above them

Because of their patrilineal ancestry from their former caste ties, the converted Hindus maintained a variant of their caste status. New Catholic castes were created out of the newly converted people. The Christian caste of Bamonns (Konkani: Brahmins) included all Brahmin sub-castes (Goud Saraswat Brahmins, Padyes, Daivadnyas), goldsmiths, and even some wealthy merchants. The Vaishya Vani and Kshatriya converts were combined to form the Chardos (Kshatriyas) caste, while the Vaishyas who chose not to become Chardos formed the Gaudos caste. All the lower caste converts, along with the erstwhile Dalit and adivasi

¹⁰⁰ Singh, *People of India: Goa*, 29.

¹⁰¹ Alexander Reisenbichler, Gaikwad John, "Caste in Goa: Glimpses of Transition from Caste to Class", *Iranian Journal of Educational Sociology* 6, no.3 (September 2023): 10.

communities, were merged into a single group called Sudirs. In Goan Catholicism, the Bamonns and Chardos have long been considered the upper castes¹⁰².

The Brahmin is described as having a flawless, golden complexion and being dreaded. His expression is enigmatic as he looks like the Emperor with unwavering confidence through his veiled, motionless eyes. Being the only member of the court authorised to turn against the monarch, he possesses the physique of a warrior. To put it succinctly, he is perfect and superior, much like the mythological Brahman. Due to their caste, all Brahmins—good and bad—now enjoy a little more privilege in popular culture¹⁰³.

*Bamnak dili Vasri, tantun dogham Pasri*¹⁰⁴.

The Brahman was given a small compartment, but took up the whole space. The Brahman wants to take all the possessions. This shows the domination of the Brahmins and the subordination of Non-Brahmins, specially the lower castes.

*Bhotto bhotto, apleo vatto*¹⁰⁵.

The Brahman minds his own ways.

This proverb shows the selfishness of the Brahmin priest. He does not care about others.

*Bhamnacho Bhurgo ani Undracho Pilo khaym tari karit Bilkuto*¹⁰⁶.

The Brahman's child and the rat's little one are up to some mischief. It implies to Brahman's son as well that they are very smart and sharp and can cause inconvenience anywhere.

*Bhamnachem had, Bra Ganv Pad*¹⁰⁷.

Bring the Brahman's Daughter and 12 villages will be ruined.

The Brahman's daughter may harm many and ruin your home.

¹⁰² Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa : a Study of Goan Social Structure and Change* (New Delhi: S Chand, 1987), 79.

¹⁰³ Priyadarshini Ohol, "The Cunning Casteism of 'The Brahmin' by Ravi Shankar Etteth", *The Reader*, may 13, 2018. <https://thereader.in/the-cunning-casteism-of-the-brahmin-by-ravi-shankar-etteth-ed025b45c36c>.

¹⁰⁴ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 38.

¹⁰⁵ Antonio Pereira, S.J., *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, (Panaji: Gulab Publications, 1985), 7.

¹⁰⁶ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 38.

¹⁰⁷ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 38.

*Bhamnak Bhud fhude, Chardyak Fatti*¹⁰⁸.

The judgement of the Brahman is forward and that of a Chardo is backward.

*Bhukelelea Bamnak ani jevlelea Sudrak chalavche naye*¹⁰⁹.

Do not mess with a Hungry Brahman and a Sudra who is full.

*Bamnachi budh koplant, charddeanchi budh donprant*¹¹⁰.

The Brahmins brain in his head, and the Chardos in his knees. Which means that the Brahmins were brighter and active than the Chardos.

*Deva dhorman, bhott khata*¹¹¹.

The priest eats in the name of God.

When people give collections to the Church or the temples the Priest gets the advantage of the offerings. Hence the proverb.

Dhazannani Kavlo Khalo, Khaynasleyak Bhair Ghalo.

10 people ate the Crow, and the one who did not eat it was thrown out.

*Chamarachi dixtti paianr*¹¹².

The eyes of the shoemaker are on the feet.

The shoemaker is always looking out if anybody needs a new pair of shoes or sandals.

*Chamarachea Devak Ketranchi Puza*¹¹³.

To the God's of Chamar, worship of Sandals. It may mean that the work is very important to each one of them.

¹⁰⁸ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 38.

¹⁰⁹ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 39.

¹¹⁰ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 34.

¹¹¹ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 49.

¹¹² Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 9.

¹¹³ Dalgado Sabastioa Rudolf, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 39.

*Prodhanachem prodhanak, mharichem mharik*¹¹⁴.

The Chief Minister is minding his own business and the wife of the mahar is busy with hers. This proverb implies to those who are busy in doing their own work and not indulging in others business.

*Kharveak Gorvam, kapreak tarvam*¹¹⁵.

The fisherman cannot take care of the cattle nor the nergo can navigate ships. Each one of us is designed to do our own work.

*Choriechem marik veta*¹¹⁶.

The stolen things go to the mahar's wife. This proverb means that the things of theft do not remain with oneself, it goes to the unexpected person. It's similar to "ill gotten, is ill spent."

*Sonara voir zhorekar*¹¹⁷.

In stealing the gold dust washer is superior than the goldsmith.

*Sonaran Kann Toplaer Dhukana*¹¹⁸.

You are painless if the goldsmith pierces your ear. Typical in Marathi. The goldsmith typically makes the piercing in the ear to place the rings or studs. Individuals undergoing the procedure exhibit no symptoms of discomfort.

*Mhara porim zoddchem, raia porim moddchem*¹¹⁹.

Toil like a mahar and spend like a king. The Mahars toil day and night earns a living. The more you work the more money you get. And later on you can spend like a king with holding yourself back.

*Kumbharak na dhodd, ani moddvollak na nitol*¹²⁰.

The potter has no pot without a crack and the washer has no clean clothes.

¹¹⁴ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 11.

¹¹⁵ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 22.

¹¹⁶ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 39.

¹¹⁷ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 40.

¹¹⁸ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 186.

¹¹⁹ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 229.

¹²⁰ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 232.

*Sonar mhunta zalem, zalem, moddvoll mhunta olem olem*¹²¹.

The goldsmith says it is ready, ready and the washer says it is still wet.

The goldsmith delivers his products on time while the washerman delays by saying that the clothes are still wet.

In Goa, the caste system was similar to the concept of family nobility throughout the rest of India, with members of one caste holding a position of prominence in the social order based on blood nobility. The Christian caste of Bamonn or Brahmin was believed to include all castes, or rather sub-castes or jatis, such as Saraswats, Karades, Chitpavans, Padhyes, etc. among the various segments of the Goan population, especially the goldsmiths and some merchants. This was likely the case based on the surnames of members of communes that were allegedly all Brahmin. The noble and warrior classes made up the majority of the Kshatriyas, also referred to as Chaddho in the local dialect. A portion of them worked as traders, referred to as Chatims—a term for professionals used by Brahmins as well. Over time, the caste term "Chaddho" became less and less common. Later, the term "Maratha" came to be preferred by the Hindus of this caste in Goa who did not accept Christianity. The Christian caste of Chaddho included the Marathas and Vanis.

Men belonging to the Vaishya-Vani caste who were unable to integrate as Christian Bamonn or Chaddho are known as Gauddo in Bardez Taluka, Goa, among Christians, and among the Hindu caste remnants in the current Canacona taluka, among others. Among Christians, the gaudido caste is regarded as one of the three upper castes. Many Vaishya-Vanis are thought to have relocated to Sindhudurg, a nearby district in Maharashtra. Their forefathers' departure from Goa during the conversion craze is where their descendants may trace their origins. The Gauddo Christian caste is the Christian equivalent of the Hindu Vani. The goldsmiths of Goa are referred to as "Shetti" and identify as "Daivednya Brahmins." They were assigned to the lowest caste of Christians known as Sudirs or Sudras. Being called 'Panchal' or the artisan group of castes, they were excluded from the caste that was considered superior.

The Goan indigenous population, referred to as the "Gavddi," belongs to a higher caste. The

¹²¹ Pereira, *Konknni Oparinchem Bhanddar*, 233.

Gavdi aboriginal's Christian convert was referred to as Kunbi. Compared to other Goan talukas, Salcete has the highest concentration of Kunbis.

During the period of the Portuguese missionaries' conversions, untouchables such as the Chambars and the "Mahara" were also won over to Christianity. In Chandor Village, these can be found. Later on, among Christians, Chambars united with the Sudras. The two Hindu castes in Goa with the highest status are the Bamonn and the Chaddho. Even after conversion, they persisted in associating their caste with the Christian names and surnames. The two well-known villages near the former city of Goa, Divar Island and Carambolim villages—the first home of the Bamonn and the second home of the Chaddho—saw the first mass baptisms or conversions to Christianity¹²².

The two upper classes accounted for most of the overall number of village communes that were converted to Christianity. It is appropriate for the priests serving the Goan community to be drawn from the Bamonn and Chaddho. In certain instances, the Christian name appears next to the traditional Hindu name; in other instances, it appears next to the person's father's name in the original Hindu language, if the father is a Hindu. All the high castes of Bamonn and Chaddho have surnames like Poi, Kamat or Vamotim, Desai Kudav, Naik, Prabhu or Porbu, and so on. The two main opposing classes among the Goan people are the Christian Bahmonns and the Chaddhos¹²³.

The persistence of the caste system among Christians in Goa is ascribed to the widespread conversions of entire villages to Christianity, which repainted the entire village's religious landscape without uprooting its long-standing, caste-based social structure. Old usages, practices, and traditions were carried over, including a variety of superstitions, particularly those pertaining to the caste system. The Portuguese destroyed all artefacts associated with the ancient faith, including literary works that historians claim were written in Konkani and were mostly of a religious or socio-religious nature, out of concern that their covert conversion to Hinduism might relapse.

¹²² Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa : a Study of Goan Social Structure and Change* (New Delhi: S Chand, 1987), 85.

¹²³ Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa : a Study of Goan Social Structure and Change*, 88.

Catholics maintained the caste system in order to promote the spread of Christianity. The social order did not collapse as a result of conversions, and the long-term success of Christianization required the noble example of the elites¹²⁴.

Following conversion, the social hierarchy in the area was preserved. Catholics are classified as Charodos (Kshatriya), Sudir (Shudra), and Bhamon (Bhata Prabhus, Padhyes, and other Hindus who subsequently in the late nineteenth century established the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins caste, and maybe even Vanis). There isn't a Catholic Vani (Vaishya). They were all Portuguese and had formerly been Christians, yet even the Portuguese distinguished between people of colour. The white Portuguese were classified as castiços (whites born in India) and reinois (from the Kingdom, or the metropole). Additionally, there were mestiços (people of mixed race), also known as Luso-descendentes (Eurasians who formed a significant elite until at least the middle of the 1800s), and the native Catholic Goans, who made up a secondary elite¹²⁵.

¹²⁴ Porobo, *India's First Democratic Revolution*, 8.

¹²⁵ Rochelle Pinto, *Between Empires: Print and Politics in Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2007), 20.

Chapter 6

Understanding Goa's Social Life through Konknni Proverbs

Portuguese and Indian cultures have been blended to create Goan society. The lengthy Portuguese occupation had a profound impact on the culture and most Portuguese customs are still present in Goan society today. Goan residents frequently take part in each other's festivities and are incredibly accepting of different religions. Numerous festivals are observed by them, including Carnival, Shigmo, Christmas, Ganesh Chaturti, Diwali, Eid and New Year's¹²⁶.

Life in Goa is relaxed even for the locals. The naturally amiable Goan character and the easily adjustable Goan traditions and customs are primarily responsible for the relaxed attitude and uncomplicated lifestyle. The region has seen several civilizations come and go, and as a result, the traditions and practices have occasionally changed to reflect their ideologies. As a result, Goan customs and festivals are now more adaptable. Even with the strict regulations in the state, people are lenient towards customs¹²⁷. The Goan tradition is strongly rooted in musical and dance traditions. The most well-liked dance styles in Goa are the ancient dances called Dhalo and Fugdi, which are exclusively performed by women. Certain dances are unique to the event or celebration they are performed at. Women do a lantern dance at the Shigmo festival, while the Dhangar ceremony takes place when on the Hindu holiday of Navaratri.

In harmony, individuals from different cultures coexist in Goa. Everyone involved participates in one other's celebrations despite their differing religious beliefs. Consequently, the Goan people are distinct. Within the compilation of Dalgado's Proverbs, we discover the diversity of several customs and cultures.

*Dasrya bhayr paus nay, ani Xigmya bhayr gim nay*¹²⁸.

It is not monsoon after Dasro nor summer after Shigmo.

Hindus commemorate two festivals in honour of the goddess Kali: Dasró, which is held in the lunar month of Áxvina (September–October)¹²⁹. Dassera is celebrated on the 10th day of the bright Ashwin month as the culmination of Navratri. The preceding nine nights of Navratri

¹²⁶ Goa Holiday Homes, "People of Goa," <https://www.goaholidayhomes.com/information/people-of-go.html>.

¹²⁷ Marquis Hotels, "Goan Customs," Marquis Hotels, <https://marquishotels.in/>.

¹²⁸ Sabastioa Rudolf Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis* (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 8.

¹²⁹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 8.

celebration are highlighted by dancing, reciting, and executing other rituals. The mythological tale describes the Goddess Durga as an eight-handed avatar of Goddess Parvati who rode a tiger and battled the demon named Mahishasur nonstop till killing him on the tenth day and Shigmó, which is held in the month of Phalguna (February–March), and has similarities to our carnival¹³⁰. One of Goa's public holidays is Holi, sometimes referred to as Shihirotsav. The district celebrates two different kinds of Shigmo festivals: Vodlo Shigma, which is a festival of larger significance, and Dhakto Shigmo, which is a celebration of lesser relevance. It is commonly noticed that while all social groups come together to celebrate Vodlo Shigmo, farmers, the working class, and the rural populace commemorate Dhakto Shigmo¹³¹.

*Apyla Vartyak Divunchem ani Khaltyachem Hadchem*¹³².

One should give one's daughter in marriage to one who is superior, and bring one to one who is inferior.

Hindu marriages, which conform more to this standard, are arranged by parents or other adults and occur before puberty. A married daughter of a higher social level is treated better than she would be at home. In a family structured around patriarchy, the daughter of a lower social class becomes more submissive and meek.

*Kansarachi vatli nay, partun divum nazo*¹³³.

It is not a tin plate, it cannot be returned.

In Indo-Portuguese, brass dishes called 'batega' are typically used by Christians and are regularly combined with ash. One is swapped out for a fresh one when it cracks or seems to be defective. The groom's family asserts that you cannot do the same with the bride, therefore you must exercise extreme caution and thoughtfulness in making your decision.

*Hoklek kon vakhantalo hoklechi avay nay zalyar?*¹³⁴

Who will guide the bride if not her mother?

¹³⁰ Directorate of Art and Culture, "Dussera: the festival of rites and rituals,"

<https://www.artandculture.goa.gov.in/en/the-dussera-festival-of-rites-and-rituals>.

¹³¹ K.S Singh, *People of India: Goa*, (Bombay: Popular Prakashan Pvt. Ltd, 1993), 263.

¹³² Sebastiao Rudolf Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, (Coimbra: Imprensa Da Universidade, 1922), 32.

¹³³ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 33.

¹³⁴ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 33.

New brides are conveyed by this proverb. The bride's mother comes to her aid since she feels alone and needs time to get used to her new home after moving in with her husband's family.

*Vadhlalem chedum modlalya gharak*¹³⁵.

The grown-up daughter goes to a ruined house.

The daughter's parents find a partner; it is considered a huge disgrace among Hindus if they don't do so before the girl reaches puberty, at which point she becomes unmarried and must devote herself to serving a pagoda because she is unable to be at home. They look for any groom, but he must always come from the same caste in order to prevent this scenario. Even if the marriageable age is greater, Christians still partially adhere to this tradition¹³⁶.

The Dharmasastras prescribe regulations for endogamy and exogamy that govern Hindu marriages in an effort to restrict the selection of partners. It is mandated by the endogamic law that marriages only occur between individuals belonging to the same 'varna.' In line with the intersection of the sastras, a person is deserving of public recognition and excellent offspring if he focuses his love towards a member of the same caste (varna)¹³⁷.

*Eka lagnak bara vignam*¹³⁸.

For a wedding, one has to go through 12 obstacles.

Finding your daughter a decent husband is a difficult undertaking because there are many demands and barriers, especially among Christians. Due to the actual or seeming disregard for a number of customs and traditions, which Goans hold in high regard, there are also a lot of disputes that occur at weddings between the families of the bride and groom as well as between neighbours and relatives. This proverb is equivalent to the one we find in English, 'Marry, marry sounds good, but tastes bad.'

¹³⁵ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 33.

¹³⁶ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 33

¹³⁷ Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa : a Study of Goan Social Structure and Change* (New Delhi: S Chand, 1987), 122.

¹³⁸ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 34.

*Eka chedvak kazar karunk bara zutim zharaunk zay*¹³⁹.

To marry a daughter one needs to spend twelve pairs of espadrilles.

Espadrills are canvas shoes that cost a lot of money since they are leather-bound. The costs of getting married can occasionally exceed one's means, thus one must consider them before getting married. The adage seems to be saying that one must spend a lot of money in order to be married.

*Kasar zata mhanasar natctalo khaym, kazar zallya phara radtalo khaym*¹⁴⁰.

They say he was happy when he was not yet married and cried as soon as he was married. This proverb can be seen used in Canara.

*Dotik bhulun kazar zalo, bayletco tcakar zalo*¹⁴¹.

Whoever is fascinated by the dowry becomes a slave to the woman.

The Portuguese word 'dote,' which has been adopted, indicates that it is in popular use with Christians, who place a high value on dowries. Hindus and Gentiles offer their daughters presents and a trousseau that is expensive and varied, but they do not technically endow their daughters or constitute their heirs. The dowry is very prominent till date in the Gaon catholic society.

Avyantli madki geli, kutubantlem chedum yelem.

Just as a pot comes out of the oven, so does a married daughter leave her family.

According to this adage, the daughter of the home gets married off as soon as she reaches marriageable age.

*Mhatarpanar kazar, pejek adhar*¹⁴².

Wedding at old age, help with the chicken soup.

¹³⁹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 34.

¹⁴⁰ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 34.

¹⁴¹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 35.

¹⁴² Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 35.

The old man who gets married will have many illnesses and will have to eat chicken soup, which is the diet of the sick in India, highly recommended by Garcia da Orta and Dellon¹⁴³.

Kazar bhudvara, bhudvant na ghara?

Wedding on Wednesday, will there be no counselor at home? There is no circumspect person at home to prevent the wedding from taking place on Wednesday. It is said, by analogy, when an unwise act is carried out at home without consulting the boss, who is considered an experienced and prudent person¹⁴⁴.

Similar proverb is found in Marathi, which goes, 'o noivo nao tem juizo, casa-se na quarta-feira' which translates to, if the groom has no sense he gets married on a Wednesday.

*Setembrachya padyak ani matvache hovlek bhiyevunchem*¹⁴⁵.

One should be afraid of the September bull and the companions who are in the ramada.

Weddings are typically celebrated in a gorgeous shed next to the home, called a "ramada" in Indo-Portuguese, with considerable fanfare and extravagance. The women known as escorts, who make up the bride and groom's procession, sing hymns, carry out rituals, and place a high value on themselves. It's likely that only Christians are familiar with this adage and that it's used literally¹⁴⁶.

*Ragar phugar zali, xekim Moydya kazar zali*¹⁴⁷.

She got upset, grumbled and finally got married in Moira.

Even though there have been and still are highly educated people living in the parish of Moir, one of the most industrialised in Bards, it is widely believed to be home to poor people, similar to Lourinh in Portugal¹⁴⁸.

*Paus ani vat, kazar zatat.*¹⁴⁹

¹⁴³ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 35.

¹⁴⁴ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 36.

¹⁴⁵ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 203.

¹⁴⁶ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 203

¹⁴⁷ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 36.

¹⁴⁸ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 36.

¹⁴⁹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 36.

The rain and the sun marry each other.

It is said when it rains and there is sun; figuratively applies when heterogeneous elements are brought together. This proverb is the direct link to intercaste marriages. The frame outside of which one must wed is related to the exogamic rule. Through the millennia, the three names "gotra," "pravara," and "sapinda" that are employed in relation to exogamy have experienced numerous additions, modifications, and revisions. For the sake of marriage, the following relationships were forbidden: partners from the same "gotra," the daughter or son of the father's brother, the sister or son of the mother, and, of course, the sister and brother¹⁵⁰. Hindus had a custom of bringing in the daughter of the maternal uncle to marry one of the eligible bachelors living in her uncle's home. This custom is gradually disappearing. Marriage is not prohibited by one's location, although, with the one exception indicated above, the caste and linguistic group of the prospective spouses have typically been of similar nature.

Within the many caste groups in the Christian community marriage is considered sacred. Similar to how a Chaddho (Kshatriya) marries among Chaddhes, a Bamonn (Brahmin) gets married to among Bamonn, if not in this community, then in a different one in which they may be found. In a similar manner, the many occupational divisions among the Sudir castes are formed on the basis of their trade or calling of the traditional kind. However, there have recently been changes in this field. There are examples of intercaste marriages between Bamonn boys and Chaddho girls, or between Chaddho boys and Bamonn girls, notwithstanding the continued practice of endogamy in caste matters. Though previously each of these categories was endogamous in practice, the Sudir group of castes has been exhibiting a tendency to do away with strict occupational endogamy, with washermen marrying tailors, bakers marrying toddy-tappers, carpenters marrying bakers and so on¹⁵¹.

*Devlant rigunk vahan kadhunk zay*¹⁵².

One must take off the shoes while entering the temple.

Footwear is considered unworthy of the sacred place.

*Gharant divo tar; devlant divo, adim potobha, magir Vithobha*¹⁵³.

¹⁵⁰ Olivinho Gomes, *Village Goa : a Study of Goan Social Structure and Change* (New Delhi: S Chand, 1987), 123.

¹⁵¹ Gomes, *Village Goa*, 123.

¹⁵² Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 85.

¹⁵³ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 85.

If there is a lamp at home, is there a lamp in the temple, firstly Mrs. Belly and then Vithala.
Filling the stomach is more important than praising the God.

*Satven Baraylam te kon kadhit?*¹⁵⁴

Who can erase what is written by Satti?

Concão's Hindus believe that the goddess Durga, also known as Sathi or Sățui, inscribes the child's destiny—which is unavoidably fulfilled—on his forehead on the evening of the sixth day following his birth. The traditional belief held by many Christians is that everyone's destiny is inscribed on their forehead. Brahma's writings are infallible¹⁵⁵.

*Ganv karta phest pirjentichem nanv*¹⁵⁶.

The parish celebrates the feast, but the president takes the honour.

It is exclusively for Christians. The whole of the village contributes for the parish feast, but the president takes the name and fame. With the status comes power and prestige.

*Phesta phude sandman khelim*¹⁵⁷.

Consider the consequences before the issue ever occurs.

Like bread, sanganá is a cake that is baked under the steam of boiling water between two pans using rice flour fermented with sura or raw vegetable flour. It is consumed on celebratory occasions.

*Alxi uthlo, xim'ro xinklo, kamatco gondhal zalo*¹⁵⁸.

The lazy man got up, the crazy man sneezed, and the work got messed up.

Sneezing is a bad omen among Hindus. The clueless person has little inclination to sneeze, and the lazy person works with little desire and diligence.

¹⁵⁴ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 94.

¹⁵⁵ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 94.

¹⁵⁶ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 178.

¹⁵⁷ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 249.

¹⁵⁸ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 251.

*Bangde ghetalo ardhtangache ani sevto uday mhuntalo dedtangatco*¹⁵⁹.

I would buy mackerel in half loincloths and want the fisher lady to throw a mullet in loincloths. It is customary in Goa to add a small portion to large objects purchased, especially fish. A simpleton bought some Indian mackerel, which are like horse mackerel and worth little, and demanded as an advantage a mullet, which is much more expensive.

*Puranantlim vayangim Puranant*¹⁶⁰.

Purana eggplants are for Puranas itself.

Puranas are legendary books of Hinduism. In these books, the use of eggplants is prohibited, but Hindus who currently eat them justify themselves by saying that those eggplants were different from the current ones, and therefore the prohibition is not extended to them.

*Xigmo sarlo, kautam urlim*¹⁶¹.

The cause passed but its bad effect persisted.

The proverb is used metaphorically, when it is about some joyful act which had left bad consequences. It is similar to, 'the clouds pass, but the rain remains'.

*Ghelalim sermanvache axen, to zalo phirangi bhaxen*¹⁶².

On the occasion of significant celebrations, sermons are delivered in Portuguese in Goa, a language that many individuals cannot comprehend.

In 1684, the Portugues passed the dreaded edict to outlaw the use of the local language Konknni, which was to be substituted with Portuguese within a period of three years. They pushed those who converted to change their names, attire, dietary habits, conduct, and even language¹⁶³.

¹⁵⁹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 256.

¹⁶⁰ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 291.

¹⁶¹ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 301.

¹⁶² Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 87.

¹⁶³ Uday Bhembre, "Glorifying Colonialism: Ignorance of History or Slavish Loyalty?," *The Times Of India*, Jan 17, 2011, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/city/goa/glorifying-colonialism-ignorance-of-history-or-slavish-loyalty/articleshow/7300554.cms>.

*Sarap mhantço nay dakhlo, ani phirangi mhuntça nay aplo*¹⁶⁴.

Don't say that the snake is small and that the European is “mine”.

This proverb is said in context of the Portuguese that they were harsh on the Goan people.

*Phirangyachya payam melalo hay, pun kandyachya sangata jiyelalo nay*¹⁶⁵.

It is better to die at the feet of the Portuguese than to live in the company of the Canarins.

*Phirangyachem kam, navyak va mayak*¹⁶⁶.

The Portuguese's work is either in the time of novelty or in May. This means that the Portuguese save their business until the last minute. May is the last month of summer, and the monsoon begins in full force in June, and it is in that month that at least repairs and provisions must be made, if not have been done before.

*Te phirangi mele, te unde kabar zale*¹⁶⁷.

Those Portuguese folks perished, and the bread ran out. The bread was always better when the Portuguese were better. Its usage in reference to past is very metaphorical.

¹⁶⁴ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 246.

¹⁶⁵ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 246.

¹⁶⁶ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 246.

¹⁶⁷ Dalgado, *Florilgio de Proverbios Concanis*, 246.

Conclusion

When trying to piece together Goa's past, Konknni proverbs can be a huge help. They have pearls of knowledge, cultural insights, and customs to impart that might illuminate the past. By Investigating these few Konknni proverbs we can learn that it provide us with insights about Goa's daily routine, social systems, and traditional principles. Proverbs pertaining to commerce, farming, religion, or intercommunal connections can reveal details about Goa's past social structure, economics, and religious convictions. Historians can create a more comprehensive picture of the customs, historical background, and social conventions that have moulded Goa across time by examining these proverbs.

Proverbs provide additional insight into the evolution of caste systems by illuminating attitudes about advancement in society, professional duties, and relationships between different castes. Proverbs emphasising the value of respecting one's caste boundaries or preserving social distance between various castes, for instance, shed light on the inflexible social structure and constraints that characterised earlier caste systems. Proverbs that emphasise the merits of particular castes or occupations also reflect societal attitudes and preconceptions about various caste groupings.

Goans extensively use these adages in their daily lives. They have been handed down through the ages, providing direction, humour, and cultural understanding in a range of circumstances. Proverbs are frequently used in Goan culture to relate experiences, impart moral lessons, and explain difficult concepts in an approachable and straightforward way. They were used in conversations, narratives, and even the process of making decisions. Proverbs support social cohesion, cultural legacy preservation, and a feeling of identity and continuity within the wider society. Goans celebrate their rich cultural past and use the collective knowledge of their ancestors to handle life's joys and challenges through implementing proverbs into every day interactions.

Ancient people were able to convey complicated ideas in a clear and powerful way by utilising proverbs, which helped the younger members of society comprehend and draw lessons from the lessons of their ancestors. Proverbs have historically been employed to strengthen ties within communities, foster social cohesiveness, and safeguard cultural identities. Because proverbs are shaped by the particular experiences, beliefs, and values of each society, they differ throughout places and eras. Proverbs in various locales are a reflection of the unique difficulties, social structures, and conditions found there. Proverbs regarding farming and the

natural world, for instance, might be found in agricultural society, but proverbs about the sea and navigation might be found in marine communities. Proverbs are also influenced by historical periods because language, technology, and social conventions change with time. While modern proverbs may speak to current issues and trends, proverbs from antiquity may concentrate on customs and beliefs. Considering these differences, proverbs have a common function of guiding behaviour and dispensing wisdom, demonstrating the depth and diversity of human culture over various locations and historical periods.

Proverbs are fun to discuss and recite because they are frequently clever, funny, or poetic. They improve the overall experience of language and communication by bringing richness and profundity to social interactions, storytelling, and interactions. This reveals the intelligence and discernment of our ancestors.

The collective knowledge and life lessons of the Konknni-speaking people are embodied in proverbs. They provide perceptions into conventional wisdom, social mores, moral principles, and useful guidance on a range of life topics. The centuries-old knowledge has been revealed by this study in ways that are inexplicable.

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