



FADING PHRASES: DAMAN  
AND DIU INDO-PORTUGUESE  
COMMUNITY



# **Fading Phrases: Daman and Diu Indo- Portuguese Community**

---

**DISCOVER INDIA PROGRAM**

**2018**

**November 2018**

## Certificate

This is to certify that the work incorporated in this report entitled “.....” submitted by the undersigned Research Team was carried out under my mentorship. Such material as has been obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged.

Sr. No	NAME OF THE STUDENT	DESIGNATION	SIGNATURE
1	Aayush Agarwal	Group Leader	
2	Devika Panicker	Writer	
3	Divyameenakshi Thiagarajan	Writer	
4	Jahnvi Makharia	Logistics In-charge	
5	Jai Verma	Logistics In-charge/Writer	
6	Jayanth Deshmukh	Writer	
7	Kartik Pande	Photographer/Videographer	
8	Mehak Kangralkar	Photographer/Videographer	
9	Pooja Nagaraj	Photographer/Videographer	
10	Pragya Sood	Writer/Creative Head	
11	Rashida Husaini	Writer/Creative Head	
12	Sanjana Joshi	Creative Head	
13	Sindhu Chatakonda	Creative Head	
14	Swagata Das	Creative Head	
15	Trishala Mohanty	Writer	

**Mentor: Prof. Rupak Das**

**Name:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**

**Mentor: Prof. Smitana Saikia**

**Name:**

**Signature:**

**Date:**

# Contents

Certificate .....	i
Acknowledgements .....	v
Abstract .....	vii
List of Figures.....	<b>Error! Bookmark not defined.</b>
Chapter 1: Introduction .....	1
1.1 Research Setting .....	2
1.1.1 History of Daman and Diu.....	2
1.1.2 Economy and migration. ....	4
1.2 Research Question .....	6
1.2.1 Rationale behind research question. ....	6
1.3 Research Objectives .....	7
1.4 Methodology .....	8
1.4.1 Rationale behind research tools. ....	9
Chapter 2: Literature Review .....	11
2.1 Pre-Colonial Era .....	11
2.2 Colonial Era .....	12
2.2.1 Religion during colonial era.....	13
2.2.2 Creole formation and its relation with Portuguese.....	14
2.3 Post-Colonial Era.....	15
2.3.1 Political influence on language.....	16
2.3.2 Linguistic rights.....	18
2.3.3 Education policy. ....	20
2.3.4 Issues affecting marginal languages. ....	21
2.3.5 Religious influence at present. ....	21
2.3.6 Migration. ....	22
2.4 Gaps in Literature and Conclusion .....	23
Chapter 3: The Portuguese Community, Language, and Identity .....	25
3.1 Dynamics within the Portuguese Language .....	25

<b>3.2 Theory of Identity and the Indo-Portuguese Community</b> .....	28
<b>3.3 Social Identity Theory and the Indo-Portuguese Community</b> .....	30
<b>3.4 Portuguese vs. the Local Dialects</b> .....	30
<b>3.5 Conclusion</b> .....	33
<b>Chapter 4: Religion and Identity: Role of the Church</b> .....	35
<b>4.1 Settlement pattern and its link to religion</b> .....	36
<b>4.2 Community Harmony and the Church</b> .....	38
<b>4.3 The Church and the Portuguese Language</b> .....	40
<b>4.4 The Pilar Fathers and their Relation with the Community</b> .....	41
<b>4.5 Younger Generation and the Portuguese Culture</b> .....	42
<b>4.5 Church Mass in Daman and Diu</b> .....	44
<b>4.6 Conclusion</b> .....	46
<b>Chapter 5: Effect of Migration on the Indo-Portuguese Language</b> .....	48
<b>5.1 The Process of Obtaining a Portuguese Passport</b> .....	51
<b>5.2 Economic Influences</b> .....	53
<b>5.3 Social Influences</b> .....	57
<b>5.4 Concerns regarding Migration</b> .....	59
<b>5.5 Conclusion</b> .....	60
<b>Chapter 6: Formal and Informal Learning: Language of Instruction</b> .....	62
<b>6.1 Education and the Role of Portuguese</b> .....	62
<b>6.2 Drawing parallels from other nations</b> .....	65
<b>6.3 Informal Education, Portuguese and the Younger Generation</b> .....	67
<b>6.4 Conclusion</b> .....	68
<b>Chapter 7: Conclusion and Analysis</b> .....	70
<b>7.1 Findings and Utility of Research</b> .....	72
<b>7.2 Limitations and Scope for Further Research</b> .....	73
<b>References</b> .....	71
<b>Glossary</b> .....	78

### List of Images/Illustrations

Sr. No.	Title
1	Gujarati woman walking through the Portuguese-devoid fish market
2	Diu Museum; formerly St. Thomas Church
3	Nirmala Mata High School, Diu

### List of Figures

Sr. No.	Title
1	Figure 1: Hierarchical Status of Indian Languages and Dialects
2	Figure 2: Chart showing Portuguese and its dialects
3	Figure 3: Graph showing the number of migrants from Daman and Diu every year.

### List of Tables

Sr. No.	Title
1	Table 1: List of Articles enumerating the powers and rights of linguistic minorities
2	Table 2: Share of Various Industries in Daman and Diu's GDP

### List of Vignettes

Sr. No.	Title
1	Vignette 1: Portuguese Identity of Diu
2	Vignette 2: 1961: Gujarati Replaced Portuguese in High Schools
3	Vignette 3: The Bombing of Daman
4	Vignette 4: The Controversy of Birth Certificates
5	Vignette 5: Mobilising Students during Liberation
6	Vignette 6: The Young Portuguese Poet of Daman

<b>Sr. No.</b>	<b>Title</b>
1	Map showing settlement around Bom Jesus Church and the Chapel of Our Lady of Rosario
2	Map showing the two churches and museum in Diu



## **Acknowledgements**

Over the course of this nine-day journey, our team gained an immense amount of exposure. There are innumerable individuals who cooperated with us, supported and helped us in our research, and are the reason that this report was successfully written. We would like to take this opportunity to thank every one of these people for their valuable contributions and support.

We would like to extend our gratitude to FLAME University, Vice Chancellor, Dr. Dishan Kamdar, Dean, Dr. Santosh Kudtarkar and the DIP collegium, for giving us such an excellent platform for research work. We sincerely thank our Faculty Mentors, Professor Rupak Das and Dr. Smitana Saikia, for their wise counsel and direction during the course of our research. We would also like to express our gratitude to Dr. Anup Tripathi and Dr. Russell Valentino, as well as our research scholar, Neha Madappa, for providing us theoretical guidance.

We are particularly thankful to the Indo-Portuguese community of Daman and Diu; in particular, Mr. Danesh Deshmukh, Mrs. Helena Alvarez, Mr. Albert Alvarez, Mr. Noel Gama, Father Adrian D'Souza, Mr. Gabriel Guedes, Mr. Tertullian D'Costa, and Ms. Balbina Remedios for cooperating with us and providing us with the necessary information required for the completion of this report. Furthermore, we would like to thank the Deputy Collector of Daman, Smt. Charmie Parekh, and the Collector of Diu, Shri Hemant Kumar, for providing resources and information about the Portuguese community which has helped to substantiate our research. Lastly, we would like to thank Mr. Sagar and the FLAME staff for their support and for our travel provisions.

## **Abstract**

Language forms an integral part of an individual's identity. Asha Sarangi and Paul Brass are two prominent writers whose work revolves around the role of languages in political and social identities, especially in the Indian context. Sarangi (2009) speaks about state formation on linguistic parameters, and the role of official recognition in preserving languages. Brass (2009) speaks about the link between loss of language and loss of cultural identity. Daman and Diu were cases in point of regions where language and identity, along with religion, had intersected to create a complex dynamic of social hierarchy, inequalities, and a diminishing community.

In this report, we look at the change within the Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese community with respect to their language. We have reviewed the works of various authors on the same topic and have highlighted the gaps in their literature. In order to try to bridge these gaps in literature, our team consisting of 15 students was split between the two locations: Daman and Diu. Using in-depth semi-structured interviews of the people residing in Daman and Diu, we attempted to identify the factors causing the decline of Indo-Portuguese creole and the effect of this decline on the identity of the Indo-Portuguese community.

Through our findings from on-field research, we have identified that there are three possible factors affecting the usage of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese, namely: religion (how the language is being used within the Catholic Church and inadvertently, the people congregating within the church), education (implementation of the Three Language Formula), and migration (relating to the large numbers of the Indo-Portuguese speaking population that are migrating to Europe). The report concludes by tying in the propositions in existing literature with the data collected through interviews in Daman and Diu.



## Chapter 1: Introduction

The importance of language exceeds its social function of communication. It promotes a sense of belonging to the community and is an essential part of an individual's identity and culture. Particularly in independent India, language has been politically significant because territorial boundaries of the country's states as well as government job opportunities have been determined by linguistic parameters and demands (Sarangi, 2009).

When a language is marginalised, an individual's sense of self is at stake. As Paul Brass has observed, "loss of a language results in the loss of the sense of centrality of one's person in a world of communication" (2009). The Indo-Portuguese creoles of Daman and Diu are an example of this. Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese creoles (hereafter, creole) are languages which came into being as a result of contact and mixing of local languages with Portuguese in the colonial period. As observed by scholars on the topic, there is a decline in the number of speakers of this language (Cardoso, 2006b).

From existing literature on the importance of languages and with regards to Daman and Diu in particular, we identified some of the main factors that have led to the decline in number of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese speakers. These factors are:

1. Changes in the activities conducted in the churches,
2. Migration of creole speakers outside Daman and Diu, and
3. Implementation of government policies after the end of the colonial era.

In the second chapter, we analyse these factors and their effects as discussed in pre-existing literature, through a chronological timeline of the history of the Union territory.

In a nation where language is an important marker of political and social identities, it is relevant to examine why certain languages are in decline and how this change in turn affects the



identity of the speakers. This research has explored the causes for the decline of the creole and its impact on the Indo-Portuguese identity. Before delving into the research question and findings in detail, we will shed some light on the geography and historical background of Daman and Diu.

## **1.1 Research Setting**

Located on the western coast of India, the union territory of Daman and Diu collectively scales one hundred and twelve square kilometres, and shelters a population of 242,911 as per the 2011 Census, predominantly comprising of Hindus as well as Muslim and Christian minorities (Wanmali & Lodrick, 2018). Daman is a waterfront on the southern coast of the state of Gujarat, and is situated 100 miles north of Mumbai, and Diu is an island off the southern coast of Gujarat's Kathiawar Peninsula, 40 miles southeast of Veraval (Wanmali & Lodrick, 2018). Though the largest towns of Daman and Diu are commercial centres, the major occupations are agriculture and fishing (Wanmali & Lodrick, 2018).

**1.1.1 History of Daman and Diu.** Daman was under the control of a large number of Hindu kings and chieftains for approximately eight centuries. This was followed by the advent of Mahmud Shah Begada, Sultan of Gujarat, who conquered Fort Parnera on the river Par and the Port of Daman in 1465. Later, Daman was acquired by the Portuguese from the Shah of Gujarat (U.T. Administration of Daman and Diu, 2016).

In 1535, the Portuguese Governor Nuno da Cunha led an expedition for the capture of Diu, but was defeated by Sultan Bahadur Shah. Bahadur Shah signed a treaty with the Governor, who agreed to assist the former in defending his kingdom from Humayun and the Portuguese army. In return, the Portuguese were granted permission to build a fortress at Diu and a site was provided for this purpose in the harbour itself. Diu was ultimately conquered by the Portuguese in 1546 (U.T. Administration of Daman and Diu, 2016).



Though both Daman and Diu have been ruled by Hindu and Muslim rulers, we have chosen to focus primarily upon the history of the cities from the point of Portuguese colonization. The advent of the Portuguese colonists was accompanied by the introduction of Christianity. Subsequently, the Portuguese language was introduced in Daman and Diu, and it led to the formation of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese creole.

European rule in Daman and Diu started during the sixteenth century and lasted till the twentieth century. Previously, Portuguese trade was carried out in the town of Cambay, but the waters of the Gulf of Cambay were rough and big ships could not easily access the port. Diu had calmer waters and Portuguese ships could safely land on the port and transport goods to Cambay via smaller boats. Diu offered a strong potential for commercial growth and hence attracted the attention of the Portuguese. This was followed by Portuguese colonization of Daman and Diu. Eventually, Diu replaced Cambay as the centre of trade so that traders could avoid the overhead cost of transporting goods (Cardoso, 2009).

Indo-Portuguese creole was a by-product of colonization and economic expansion. The Portuguese language arrived in India in the 15<sup>th</sup> century through trade. As it came into contact with the local languages, it gave rise to a string of new creoles in different regions. The Daman creole, which falls under Gauro-Portuguese, is a descendant of the Norteiro creole which was originally spoken by the Norteiros on the coast from Chaul, Bassein, Bombay, Daman and Diu (Cardoso, 2006a). Its creation is connected to the long period of Portuguese colonisation of the two cities. Interaction between local Diuese culture and Portuguese culture took place from 1554 onwards when the Portuguese were able to get full control of the island. Though the presence of the Portuguese in the region was documented from 1535, Cardoso (2009) remarks that nativization<sup>1</sup> of the language did not occur before 1554.

---

<sup>1</sup> Nativization refers to the action, process or policy of making something native. In the case of linguistics, it is defined as the process of adapting a loan word (from a non-native language) into the phonetic structure of the native language (Nativization, n.d.)



Though the British rule in the Indian subcontinent ended in 1947, Daman and Diu remained under Portuguese colonial rule until 1961, because there remained long-standing tension between India and Portugal over the question of the Portuguese territories in India, namely Goa, Daman and Diu (Keesing's Record of World Events, 1962). There are two possible explanations for the exit of Portuguese colonists from Daman and Diu. As commercial gains from the port in Daman and Diu declined owing to fierce competition from other ports, the presence of Portuguese settlers diminished (Cardoso, 2009). More importantly, the Portuguese forces were severely outnumbered against the Indian Armed Forces, during Operation *Vijay* (victory), where they were mobilised by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, in 1961, to remove the colonisers from the Indian subcontinent by force, if necessary (Keesing's Record of World Events, 1962).

On March 14, 1962, the Lok Sabha unanimously declared Goa, Daman and Diu as part of the Indian Union and the responsibility of the territories' administration was given to the Central Government, and the ex-Portuguese territories were collectively made a union territory (Keesing's Record of World Events, 1962). Thus, Portuguese colonial rule in Daman and Diu came to an end after four centuries and with their departure the number of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese creole speakers began to decline.

**1.1.2 Economy and migration.** According to the union territory administration of Daman and Diu, 68% of the district population's main occupation is fishing and agriculture, while the remaining population work in non-agrarian professions (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011).

The language used for official work<sup>2</sup> in and around Daman and Diu are English, Gujarati and Hindi. In addition to this, English is used by the people associated in business and hospitality

---

<sup>2</sup> The languages prescribed by the Three Language Formula are different from those used as official languages in Daman and Diu. The Three Language Formula prescribes Hindi, English and Gujarati specifically for educational institutions.



trade (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011). After the end of the colonial rule, the Catholic community has been facing difficulties in finding employment (De Souza, 2012). Even though the inauguration of an industrialization belt in Daman has caused an increase in the number of blue-collar jobs in the area, these employment opportunities do not appeal to the Catholics. This is because they have traditionally occupied administrative jobs due to their high social standing as Portuguese speakers were the ruling class at the time (De Souza, 2012). Cardoso (2006a) has established a link between Portuguese speakers and economic affluence, as most of the higher level jobs required higher level of education and fluency in Standard Portuguese (hereafter, Portuguese) Since their traditionally-held jobs are being occupied by officials from other cities, they are facing problems in finding white-collar employment (De Souza, 2012).

The Census of India (2001) also highlights the number of people migrating from Daman and Diu. The migration rate of the population from 1991 to 2001 is 44.1 per 100 residents, which is the highest migration rate in India. According to *The Hindu*, the United Kingdom Office for National Statistics states that over 28,000 Indians have migrated to the UK on a Portuguese passport. However, as per Portuguese media, the numbers could be higher and could include people from Goa, Diu and Daman (Rahman, 2018). The primary reasons for migration over the last decade have been recorded as being for employment opportunities, business, education and marriage (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India, 2001b).

Such a decline in the number of speakers is not confined to Indian regional languages but is frequently made at both elite and intermediate social levels throughout the world (Sarangi, 2009). Hence, the decline of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese poses a risk to the identity of an individual and the community at large.



## 1.2 Research Question

Through our analysis of secondary literature with focus on the importance of language and identity in Indian politics, and more specifically the Indo-Portuguese creole of Daman and Diu, the following research question was formulated:

“What are the factors causing the decline of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese creole, and how is this decline affecting the identity of the Indo-Portuguese community?”

**1.2.1 Rationale behind research question.** There were different ways in which the language was being promulgated when the Portuguese were present. The linguistic identity of the Indo-Portuguese community encompasses several aspects of the social institutions in Daman and Diu. This section focuses on highlighting and explaining why this research is necessary in terms of understanding the links between linguistic identities and institutions.

Firstly, language is an important marker for religious identification (Brass, 2009). With the advent of Portuguese rule in Daman and Diu, Christianity was introduced into the region as well. Portuguese has been described as “the language of the Christians” (Cardoso, 2009). Therefore, the introduction of the religion was followed by the subsequent usage of Portuguese in the region by the colonists. Further, the language was spread because of introduction of Christian missionary activities. Traders and Christian converts who came in contact with the language of the colonizers also played an important role in the proliferation of creole (Cardoso, 2009) in Daman and Diu. Most of the earliest churches in Diu were built as early as 1536, where sermons and hymns were conducted in Diu creole (Cardoso, 2006b).

Secondly, language played a role with respect to employment acceptance or discrimination within the workplace (Sarangi, 2009). According to Singh (2002), Christians and consequently, those who spoke Portuguese, enjoyed higher social positions than those who did not. They were given higher administrative (white collar) jobs (Singh, 2002). This acted as an





incentive for the natives to learn the language. Presently, in Diu, the language is spoken by Christians and non-Christians alike in high administrative posts (Cardoso, 2006a).

Thirdly, the language was propagated by maintaining marriage alliances within the Catholic community (Cardoso, 2013). Their descendants were taught Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese (Cardoso, 2009). Ethno-cultural and linguistic diversity of the local Catholic community still exists in Daman and Diu. Most marriage alliances were arranged within this community because this population is considered as a suitable marriage pool by local Catholic Christians, which helps to sustain the community's existing linguistic heritage (Cardoso, 2009).

Since the creoles have historically been an important marker of identity for the Indo-Portuguese community, it is pertinent to understand what has caused its decline in post-colonial context and how that has in turn affected their identity. With this aim, we now turn to the research objectives.

### **1.3 Research Objectives**

To effectively answer the research question and address the gaps in literature, we segregated the objectives of our study as follows:

Part 1: Investigating the decline in Daman and Diu creole

1. To investigate whether decline of creole is dependent on changing attitudes of generations pre- and post- 1961 as well as the current generation.
2. To assess the impact of language policies and exercise of linguistic rights on the Daman and Diu society.

Part 2: Investigating the impact of the above on the Indo-Portuguese community's identity



1. To understand the effect of migration on the use of language and how it has been influenced by improved employment opportunities for Portuguese descendants.
2. To understand how the decline in language is affecting other cultural aspects of the Portuguese community's identity. These include music, marriage rituals, festivals, Church-going patterns, Church rituals, and so on.
3. To understand how the Portuguese/creole dynamic has changed over time, with a focus on the generational difference.

## 1.4 Methodology

The aim of this research was to delve into the factors that have historically or presently contributed to the observed decline in the number of speakers of the Daman and Diu Portuguese creole. The study of a language is not limited to a single domain – it encapsulates several key factors from the spheres of politics, economics, culture and lifestyle of the Indo-Portuguese community. Patterns and trends were identified during pre-field research through extensive study of newspaper articles, books and periodicals. We focussed on a society and its interaction with a language in a real world setting to provide a comprehensive description of the phenomenon. Hence, the research method that was employed in our project is qualitative in nature. A mix of descriptive and explanatory study was used to understand the impact of various social, political and economic factors with significant emphasis on the historical timeline of the Union territory.

The method of selecting interviewees that we employed throughout this research was non-probability sampling, and samples were obtained through a mix of convenience<sup>3</sup> and snowballing<sup>4</sup> techniques. The team used snowballing method with the assistance of Mr. Danesh Deshmukh and Mrs. Helena Alvarez. They were the initial interviewees in Daman and Diu respectively. They enabled us to reach key members of the Indo-Portuguese community who

---

<sup>3</sup> A type of nonprobability sampling where members of the target population that meet certain practical criteria, such as easy accessibility, or availability at a given time are included for the purpose of the study (Etikan, Musa & Alkassim, 2016).

<sup>4</sup> Non-probability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances (Sharma, 2017, p. 752).



then connected us with more people in the community. We decided to approach those members based on physical proximity.

Data on population was collected through the Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner to ascertain whether there has been an increase or decrease in the population of the region. This was necessary because our research revolved primarily around the number of creole speakers. The reason for using these, as opposed to probability sampling techniques, was that the constraints of time and geography along with the high migration rate rendered it difficult to interview and collect data on an accurate representative sample of Daman and Diu.

Based on analysis of secondary data, an initial list of interviewees who speak creole was prepared. The respondents that we interviewed included church priests, government officials, authors, historians, artists, educators, hotel owners, and people who have emigrated using the provision of the Portuguese red passport<sup>5</sup>, among others. While our primary focus was on the Indo-Portuguese Catholic community, responses from non-Christian speakers of the creole were taken due to their importance in understanding the extent of association of religion and the creole.

The study employed in-depth semi-structured interviews. This method was used because the research attempted to understand the shift in the practice of culture and usage of language (Portuguese and the creoles). Additionally, it helped to analyse their perspective on the relevance of the factors that were identified as contributing to the decline.

**1.4.1 Rationale behind research tools.** By definition, structured interviews provide scope for collecting factual data such as age, employment and the like, while unstructured interviews allow for longer conversational questions and exhaustive probing (Halperin & Heath,

---

<sup>5</sup> These interviews were conducted through Skype.



2012). The use of semi-structured interviews enabled us to combine features of both structured as well as unstructured interview methods in order to maximise the information gathered from the Indo-Portuguese community. The interviews included open ended questions as well as follow-up questions as these allowed the interviewees to share their opinions and attitudes (Halperin & Heath, 2012).



## **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

This section of our report summarizes and reviews the existing body of literature on the Indo-Portuguese creoles of Daman and Diu. In order to provide a clear and defined picture of the topic, this chapter situates the existing literature in a historical timeline of Daman and Diu through colonial contact and post-independence period with respect to the main factors contributing to the decline. These factors include migration, religion, and the Three Language Formula. For this purpose, we have referred to several writers and scholars to gain insight into past research on the subject.

Writers such as Asha Sarangi (2009), Paul Brass (2009) and Anvita Abbi (2009) have provided information on the interplay of language and identity in politics, especially in the Indian context, as well as how and why linguistic identities are threatened, while scholars such as Hugo Cardoso and Joseph Clements have provided vital information regarding how linguistic identities are influenced by social factors in Daman and Diu's context. However, to understand how Indo-Portuguese came into being, a look into the political setting of Daman and Diu before the Portuguese colonization is necessary.

### **2.1 Pre-Colonial Era**

Before the advent of Portuguese rule, Daman and Diu were port cities that held considerable strategic importance. The two cities have since been grouped together due to their being two contiguous port cities which were both under Portuguese rule. The history of Daman and Diu as separate cities before Portuguese rule however, varies greatly. Diu was a part of the Sultanate of Gujarat until it was granted to the Portuguese in 1535 (Inalcik & Faroqhi, 1997). Before 1535, the Portuguese had made numerous attempts to capture Diu. The first instance was in 1509 during the Battle of Diu between the Portuguese and the Sultan of Gujarat. The Portuguese were defeated and their siege on the port city was unsuccessful. The Portuguese mounted another siege in 1531, but invariably failed (Inalcik & Faroqhi, 1997). The European



nation finally adopted a diplomatic route and was eventually given dominion over Diu in 1535 by Bahadur Shah, the Sultan of Gujarat, in return for their assistance in a cold war between the Mughal Empire and the Sultanate of Gujarat.

The Portuguese took over Diu in 1535 and Daman in 1559, and the colonization of the regions lasted for over 400 years. During this time, though the Portuguese impacted the territories in a variety of ways, our primary focus in the following sections will be on the impact of the Portuguese with respect to the Indo-Portuguese language in the region.

## **2.2 Colonial Era**

“Christianity in European colonies is a product of the process of colonization itself. Missionaries were employed extensively by the colonizers in order to ‘infiltrate’ the local inhabitants and exploit their resources” (Maboyi, 2015). Portugal, one of the pioneers of the discovery of new territories, was granted permission by the Pope to evangelize these territories and set up Christian congregations (Shullai, 2017). The purpose of the Portuguese was, therefore, twofold – to exploit trade and commerce and to spread Catholicism. Daman and Diu thus became a part of the Portuguese colonial empire not only in terms of politics, the military and trade relations, but also with respect to religion.

The Portuguese Christian missionaries aimed to spread their ‘superior’ culture and politics by introducing a new religion to the Indians. The primary medium for the dissemination of this culture was the Portuguese language, as language is a primary carrier of culture. Culture was accompanied by the entire body of values by which the Portuguese identified themselves. The relationship of a language with the individual and community identity was used as the primary tool to convey the thoughts, beliefs and customs of the colonizers to the colonized. Subsequently, conquered societies often adopted – in complex ways – the cultural and linguistic sovereignty that they were subjected to by the colonizers (Shakib, 2011). The Portuguese



language and community of Daman and Diu is a surviving example of the effect of colonization and Catholicization on a society.

**2.2.1 Religion during colonial era.** Catholic Christianity was introduced to the primarily Hindu inhabitants of Diu after it was conquered. The first churches in Diu were consecrated as early as 1536 (Cardoso, 2006a). The Church performed its duties with Portuguese as its medium. Portuguese hence formed a major part of the religious identity of the Diu Catholics. This is also because children and teenagers of Hindu or Muslim faith had little to no exposure to the language. Any exposure they received was by means of either having a government job, receiving education in the language, or through emigration to Portugal (Cardoso, 2009). However, they did not have the same level of expertise or fluency as Christian children who were taught to speak the language from a young age. The creole also plays a role of a connection to the Portuguese past of the Christian community. The language continues to survive through hymns and folktales shared during Mass.

Along a similar course of history, Catholic Christianity brought with it a new language into Daman after its annexation by the Portuguese. Since colonization was accompanied by the establishment of Churches and the phenomenon of conversion of the locals to Christianity with Portuguese as the medium, a link between Portuguese and Christianity emerged, and this link led to Portuguese being termed “the language of the Christians” (Cardoso, 2009).



**2.2.2 Creole formation and its relation with Portuguese.** Creole is defined as “a mother tongue formed from the contact of a European language (especially English, French, Spanish, or Portuguese) with local languages” (Creole, n.d.). According to Bakker and Daval-Markussen (2014), the documentation of creoles began in the 18th century. However, the study of creoles as a subdivision of linguistics began in the late 19th century where the circumstances under which creoles developed were studied with great interest. It was found that creoles usually developed when speakers of various languages were brought together under adverse circumstances (Bakker & Daval-Markussen, 2014). These “adverse circumstances” included colonisation, expansionism, plantation economies and similar forms of economic expansions.

According to the theory of substrate and superstrate languages, regions where creoles are formed have existing substrate languages whose speakers make up a majority of the population, but these speakers do not have a common tongue. Keith Whinnom (as cited in Jourdan & Tuite, 2003) stated that creoles can only exist in regions with multilingual communities. A new language is introduced within the region, whose speakers are relatively small but are economically and politically more powerful, and this becomes a superstrate. This creates a need for a common tongue or *lingua franca* to allow communication between the substrate and superstrate speakers, as well as to permit communication among the speakers of the substrate languages (Jourdan & Tuite, 2003). In the case of Daman and Diu, with the advent of Portuguese rule, Portuguese became the superstrate language. This superstrate, in combination with substrates such as Gujarati, Urdu and Hindi which were spoken in the region, caused the formation of the Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese creoles.

Furthermore, Christians living in Daman are proficient in Daman creole as well as Gujarati. The two languages have co-existed since the introduction of Portuguese in the area (Clements, 1991). Hence it is expected that Gujarati has had an unmistakable influence on the creole. This is evident in the current vocabulary and structure of Daman Indo-Portuguese. Clements has provided an example in his paper, stating:





...one finds an unmistakable Gujarati influence on the creole, most of it concentrated in vocabulary items, although some structural influence is also evident (e.g. postpositions such as *junt* in *minh junt* 'near me' or *tras* in *el tras* 'behind him' where Portuguese has exclusively prepositions). (Clements, 1991, p. 638)

In current times, while the number of Daman and Diu creole speakers seem to be in decline, it has been observed that the number of people who speak Portuguese has not followed suit. Cardoso (2009) has mentioned that while there are few differences in organization between the languages, the speakers of the languages are aware of the differences and are able to tell them apart. The native speakers use many terms in order to distinguish between Portuguese and Daman and Diu Portuguese. They often refer to Daman and Diu Portuguese as 'broken Portuguese', 'twisted tongue', 'ragged tongue' and 'cheap Portuguese' (Cardoso, 2009).

This clearly brings to light how speakers of the creoles view Portuguese as a more prestigious language than their own. The negative connotation attached to the creoles could possibly be due to Portuguese being held as the norm. Portuguese was preferred over Daman and Diu creoles in a lot of domains, including that of administrative jobs as well as the bureaucracy during colonial times (Cardoso, 2006b). This preference is further strengthened in independent India due to the opportunity of migrating to Portugal, as Portuguese then represents more economic and social opportunities.

### **2.3 Post-Colonial Era**

Following the colonization and Catholicization of Daman and Diu society, Portuguese and Indo-Portuguese emerged, churches were established, and the society transformed from being composed primarily of Hindus to having the 'new religion' integrated into it. After the Portuguese were forced out of Daman and Diu, and the two regions were incorporated into the Union of India, various institutional changes came into effect that impacted the Portuguese community and their language. The following sections will identify and highlight these changes,



specifically the political influence of the surrounding states and the Union's policies, the linguistic rights that were awarded to minorities by the Constitution, and the education policies' fundamental transformation of the educational institutions of Daman and Diu, and in turn, of the language.

**2.3.1 Political influence on language.** According to the Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India (2013), India is home to five distinct language families – the Indo-Aryan languages, the Dravidian languages, the Austric family, the Tibeto-Burman family and other languages that cannot fit into the previous four categories – which include 1,891 mother tongues<sup>6</sup> spoken by over a billion people (Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, 2001a). The authors of the Indian Constitution were aware of the multiplicity of languages in India (Abbi, 2009). The cognizance of this fact gave birth to the Eighth Schedule and it was eventually decided that the subcontinent would be reorganized based on dominant regional languages (Constitution of India, 1950, Schedule I). The framers of the Constitution also devoted four chapters under part XVII (Articles 343 to 351) to chart the official languages at the Union, state and judicial levels. Abbi (2009) asserts that the development and inclusion of official languages in the Eighth Schedule were not based on any ideology but rather on praxis and number of speakers.

The policy of selecting a few languages and providing them with “official” recognition under the Eighth Schedule has created a haphazard cleavage between major and minor languages (Abbi, 2009). There are large groups of Indians who speak unlisted languages as they belong to minority communities. This has resulted in the loss of identity for many languages and their speakers, as language is one of the principal factors that define an individual. Abbi (2009) gives the example of the Jaintia hill community, stating that those community members who speak the traditional language felt that they were inferior to Khasi speakers as their independent identity was not guaranteed in government documents. Many were seen hiding their identities as Jaintias because the community was rebuked and shamed by Khasi speakers. This was because the

---

<sup>6</sup> 1635 rationalized mother tongues, 234 identifiable mother tongues and 22 major languages



government considered Jaintia speakers as a community conversing in a Khasi dialect, without recognizing their traditional language.

To explain the power hierarchy and individual status associated with language, Abbi (2009) formed a pyramid scheme. The most important language in terms of socioeconomic status is English, though it is not included in the Eighth Schedule (Constitution of India, 1950, Schedule VIII). The second most prestigious language is Sanskrit, followed by the rest of the scheduled languages and their 65 dialects. These are followed by 100 non-scheduled languages which precede their 149 varieties. The lowest level of the hierarchy consists of languages which have less than 10,000 speakers. These languages remain unrecognized by the government, either because the languages are on the verge of extinction due to demographic factors such as seclusion from mainland as seen with the case of Bo, a dead language which was spoken in Andaman (Lawson, 2010), or linguistically as the speakers shift to a more widely spoken language (Abbi, 2009).

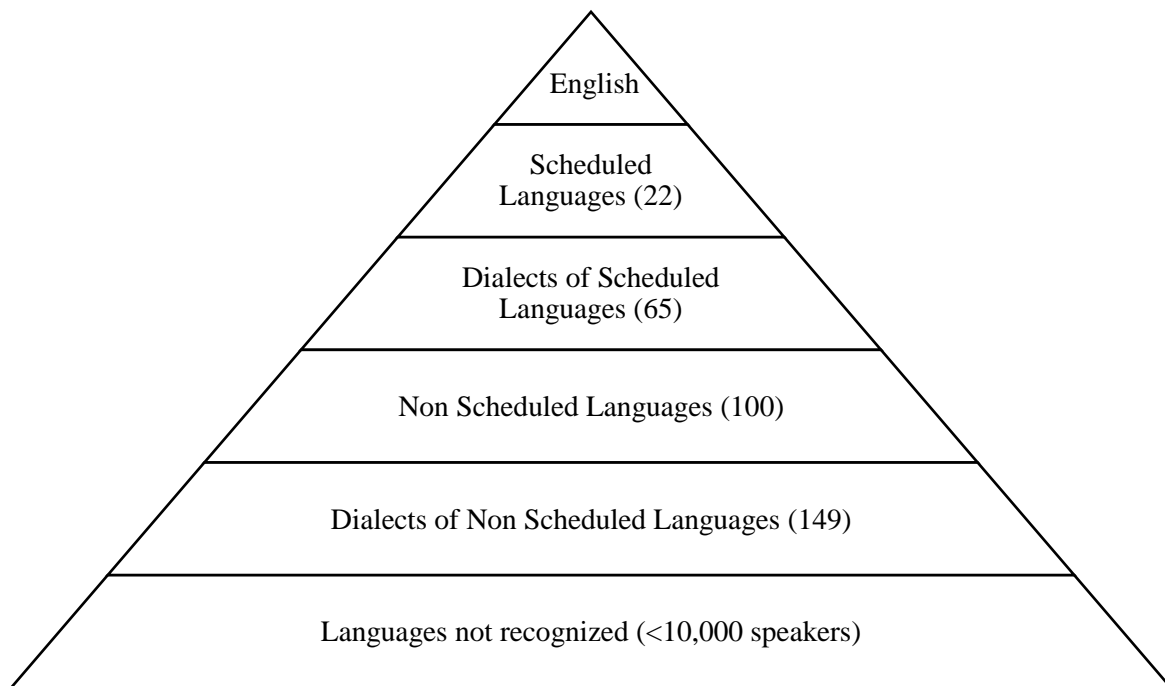


Figure 1: Hierarchical Status of Indian Languages and Dialects (Abbi, 2009, p. 304)



The hierarchical figure implies two major challenges. First, the minority languages depicted in the last three stages of the pyramid which are not included in the Eighth Schedule will be forced to maintain their mother tongue within the domain of their homes. Second, the language and the community would be under tremendous pressure from peer groups and members of the society to move towards a dominant regional language to ensure that inter-community communication is effective. This process is already seen in the Church where the sermons have moved from creole to English (Cardoso, 2006a).

Drawing parallels from the above claims, even though foreign languages are not recognized under the 8th schedule, it becomes evident that the identity of Daman and Diu Portuguese speakers could be threatened by languages such as Portuguese, English and Gujarati. The official language policy for Goa, Daman and Diu (passed in 1987) states that the official language of the then combined Union territory would be Konkani, and “in case of the Goa District the Marathi language, and in the case of Daman and Diu Districts, the Gujarati language, shall also be used for all or any of the official purposes” (Official Language Act, 1987). The Act also states the continued usage of English for all or any of the official purposes, and holds no mention of the Daman Indo-Portuguese or Diu Indo-Portuguese creoles. This lack of official governmental recognition for Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese could be a potential reason for the observed decline in the usage of these creoles.

**2.3.2 Linguistic rights.** The Constitution of India guarantees certain rights to linguistic minorities. Some of the important Articles are mentioned in the table below.

Article Number	Brief Explanation
29	Any section of the citizens having a distinct language, script or culture of its own shall have the rights to conserve the same.
30	Linguistic minorities can establish and administer educational institutions of



	their choice
350	Any language used in the Union or the State can be used to submit any grievances
350A	Every state and local authority should provide facilities for instruction in the mother tongue at the primary stage of education to children belonging to linguistic minority groups
350B	There shall be a Special Officer for linguistic minorities to be appointed by the President. The Special Officer would investigate all matters relating to the rights provided to linguistic minorities under the Constitution

Table 1: List of Articles enumerating the powers and rights of linguistic minorities (Constitution of India, 1950)

According to Sarangi (2009), the Indian Constitution has only three Articles that protect the linguistic minorities (Articles 20, 30 and 350). There have been linguistic movements that have resulted in recognition of languages. Sarangi (2009) provides the examples of Dogri, Maithili and Santhali linguistic identities that received official recognition from the government after sustained political, cultural and social agitation. These examples prove the fact that only if there is a sustained effort by the Daman and Diu Portuguese community to assert their political and linguistic identity, will preservation of the language be possible.

While Sarangi (2009) provides examples of the linguistic rights being asserted by certain communities, scholars such as Abbi (2009) believe that these Articles are words on paper and are seldom implemented. Abbi (2009) states that the members of linguistic minorities do not wish to educate their children in their mother tongue and minor languages are not used to file grievances because the community members are apprehensive of not being understood by the government. She also states that this could influence any linguistic movement by minority communities. Understanding this dynamic between minority groups and languages, in this case the Portuguese



community and Daman and Diu creole, the disparity between Portuguese and the creole could be understood in detail. Through our on-field research, we aim to shed light on this dynamic.

**2.3.3 Education policy.** To compensate for the patterns of discrimination perpetrated by the Eighth Schedule wittingly or unwittingly, the government presented a Three Language Formula. This policy allows state governments to adopt minor languages for diverse range of educational activities (Abbi, 2009). This formula, enunciated in the National Policy Resolution of 1968, essentially recommends that three languages must be taught at the school level:

1. English
2. Hindi
3. Regional language or any other modern Indian language (Meganathan, 2011)

The Three Language Formula attempts to account for multiplicity of linguistic identities. However, the formula fails to account for various minor languages and their learning either as a subject or medium for education (Abbi, 2009). The formula only considers regional languages under the Eighth Schedule. This means that Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese, being creoles or dialects, are not included in the recommended Three Language Formula in schools of the union territory. Instead of the creole, the regional language incorporated is Gujarati. This could have led to the decrease seen in the number of creole speakers, especially when comparing the older generation, who were taught in Portuguese medium schools, versus the younger generation, because the creole is not taught at institutions of primary or higher learning (Tombat, 1995; De Souza, 2012) and any scope for learning the mother tongue outside the domain of their homes is non-existent.



**2.3.4 Issues affecting marginal languages.** The dilemma in multilingual societies such as those found in India is that elites tend to promote a particular dialect due to the status the language holds. These elites who work towards expanding their linguistic identity eventually cause the displacement of minor languages and sometimes overarch other dialects (Brass, 2009). Abbi (2009) supports Brass' claim by providing the example of Hindi. According to the Census (2011), Hindi subsumes over 47 languages under its umbrella. This congregation of languages under the banner of Hindi has resulted in the emergence of labels such as 'dialects', 'minor languages' or 'secondary languages'. Languages such as Haryanvi and Bhojpuri which fall under this banner are highly dissimilar. In the process, their individualistic identities have been misunderstood and overshadowed as variations of Hindi by the government.

The Three Language Formula has led to two types of submerging of identities:

1. At the state level where speakers of a language try to identify themselves with the dominant regional language and confine their mother tongue strictly to their homes, and
2. At the home level, parents discourage children from using their mother tongue as they fear discrimination by the dominant language as observed in the case of Jaintia communities (Abbi, 2009).

**2.3.5 Religious influence at present.** The effect of Christianity has had a demographic impact on the language. Currently, most, if not all, speakers of creole are Indo-Portuguese Catholics. Conversations in creole are restricted to households, specifically Catholic households. Two reasons contribute to this phenomenon. First, members of the Catholic community are not widely spread in the region, but are concentrated in a single area (De Souza, 2012). Second, younger generations of Catholics prefer interacting in Portuguese and mainstream languages such as English and Gujarati due to the utility and prestige attached to them. Despite these factors, the Catholics of Daman and Diu form a closely-knit community and keep their language alive through a variety of ways. For instance, in order to keep their language alive, the Catholics hold their weekly Mass as well as say their prayers in the language (De Souza, 2012).



To examine the link Christianity has with these creoles, parallels can be drawn between Korlai Indo-Portuguese and Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese. Korlai is a coastal town in India which has its very own strain of Indo-Portuguese. The similarity between Korlai and Daman and Diu is that both were under the control of the Portuguese and both adopted Catholicism. However, there are distinct differences in the propagation of the creole between Korlai and Daman, Diu.

Religious diversity can potentially affect the number of speakers in the region. One of the reasons for the sustained presence of Indo-Portuguese in Korlai is that the community in Korlai is religiously homogeneous. Cardoso (2006b) asserts that the entire village is Catholic. In cities such as Cochin, Cannanore, and Bassein, a multitude of religions existed at the same time. Today, Korlai – along with Daman and Diu – is the only region in India where Indo-Portuguese still exists. However, the number of speakers in Daman and Diu is decreasing which can possibly be attributed to the religious heterogeneity in Daman and Diu.

**2.3.6 Migration.** A section of the Damanese and Diuese population is given access to a provision of applying for a Portuguese passport by the Portuguese government which allows them to migrate to Portugal (Cardoso, 2009). Cardoso, in his study of Diu Indo-Portuguese, mentions that the people who can provide evidence of their families being residents of the place at the time of Portuguese colonisation (before 1961) are entitled to Portuguese passports (2009). This availability of an alternative to the unfavourable economic and linguistic situation the Catholics now face in Daman and Diu is an extremely attractive opportunity to most.

The Indo-Portuguese community in Daman and Diu has seen its language fall out of prominence due to certain language policies in post-colonial India and has faced a lack of job opportunities. This has led to mass migration of Indians holding Portuguese passports, especially those who are proficient in creole or Portuguese, or both (Rahman, 2018). In other words, the





people who are most likely to migrate are also those who are most likely to speak the Indo-Portuguese language. This relation directly reduces the number of creole speakers in Daman and Diu. Furthermore, the people who do remain will be pressurized into learning more widely spoken languages like English, Hindi or Gujarati in order to communicate effectively. This is gradually causing the usage of the language to decline over time.

De Souza (2012) further explains that the “mass exodus” of people from Daman to Europe was aided by the availability of Portuguese passports which gave the people easy access to other parts of Europe. These people migrate to Europe, especially England in search of better job opportunities (De Souza, 2012). Migration appears to be one of the primary factors that has caused the decline of the language. Migration is not an isolated cause, but is caused by the interplay of all the factors discussed previously in the case of Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese.

## **2.4 Gaps in Literature and Conclusion**

Having studied the available literature regarding Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese creoles, we observed common unaddressed issues in these texts. First, none of the literature draws parallels between the decline observed in the language and its relation to identity. The linking of language with identity of the speakers should be a basic premise for any effort towards documentation of a language in a cultural and social sphere. The language and the identity of the Portuguese community intersect in various spheres such as marriage rituals, Church practices, folktales, hymns, music, festivals, and so on. However, currently existing literature has not identified any links between the decline of the language and an impact on the aforementioned markers of identity.

Second, there is little emphasis on the social forces and institution and their effect on the language. The relation of an individual with their community and their language is superficially mentioned and thus, in-depth analysis is required.



Third, existing literature fails to focus on how government policies at both the state level and national level – such as the Three Language Formula and the documentation of the Scheduled and Non-scheduled languages – have had a detrimental impact on the vitality of creole.

While the existing literature on the Daman and Diu creoles is detailed and elaborate in certain aspects, it is not completely exhaustive. Absence of extensive documentation creates the opportunity of primary research with less repetition and scope of new findings. Primary data such as verbal accounts from native speakers of the creole as well as creating written records with assistance from native users would serve to improve the recognition of this creole.



### Chapter 3: The Portuguese Community, Language, and Identity

According to the Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language (1997, p. 335), language divergence occurs where there is geographic separation, due to the living experience of people in different geographic regions being dissimilar. This divergence has manifested itself in the contrasting dialect of Portuguese being spoken in Diu when compared to that in Daman. The dynamic between Portuguese and its two dialects in question, the Daman and the Diu versions, is visualized in the following figure.

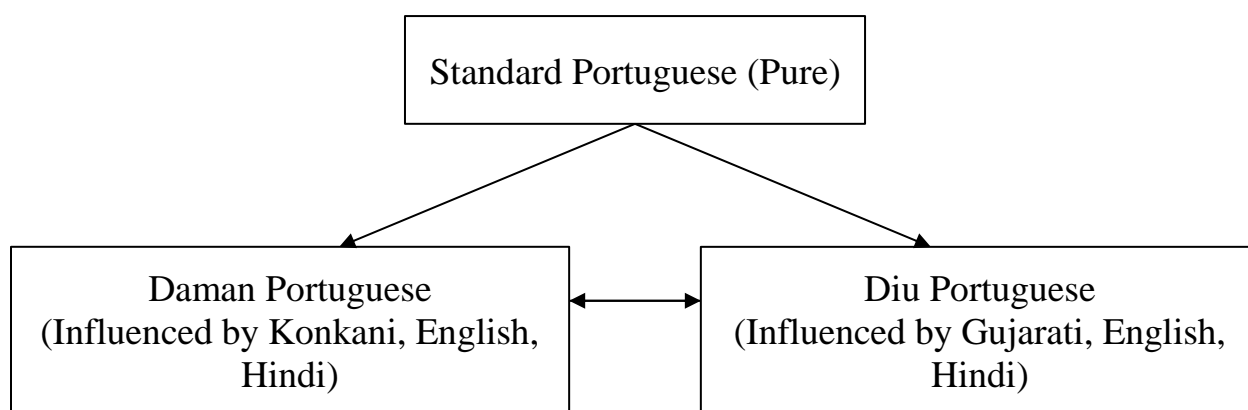


Figure 2: Chart showing Portuguese and its dialects

#### 3.1 Dynamics within the Portuguese Language

Standard Portuguese is the “pure” form of Portuguese which holds more prestige over its creoles, and has proper, defined speech, grammar, and script. Daman Indo-Portuguese and Diu Indo-Portuguese are dialects, also referred to as the “rough” forms of Portuguese by the respondents (H. Alvarez, personal communication, October 1, 2018), having imperfect grammar and speech, and a heavy influence of local languages. Language contact is thus the primary factor of differentiation between the two dialects.

Upon discussing the Indo-Portuguese creole spoken in Diu, the interviewees in Daman were of the opinion that Diu Indo-Portuguese was inferior to Daman Indo-Portuguese. Father



Adrian D’Souza of Bom Jesus Church in Daman said, “It is not a correct language. Not a fully-fledged language. It is a broken language” (Fr. A. D’Souza, personal communication, October 5, 2018).

The respondents in Daman expressed not a dislike but a firm difference between Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese. The following quote from Daman resident Mrs. Silvana Pereira conveys the same,

“Diu is completely different to Daman in the way they speak. They have a different accent. They will drag to the last font... They will stress on the suffix... these Diu people, they speak more rapidly. In good Portuguese, we speak more, what do you say, slow. [It is] Well-pronounced. Emphasizing on the last letter. While the mixed Portuguese no, they delete the last ‘o’, ‘ay’ whatever (sic)” (S. Pereira, personal communication, October 2, 2018).

While she did not explicitly state it, one could infer that the language spoken in Daman is considered ‘good Portuguese’ as mentioned previously. It is less likely that she is comparing the Diu Indo-Portuguese creole to the Daman Indo-Portuguese creole as her last statement distinguishes between ‘good Portuguese’ and ‘mixed Portuguese’ in Daman.

A common hierarchy was established through interviews in Daman that ranked Goan Portuguese at the top. This is because Goan Portuguese comes closest to the form of Portuguese spoken in Portugal. It was followed by Daman Indo-Portuguese, Diu Indo-Portuguese and finally, the Portuguese spoken in Silvassa and other Portuguese territories.

The Indo-Portuguese community of Diu responded in the opposite manner, assigning a higher status to the Diu creole as opposed to the Daman creole. Respondents in Diu believe that ‘rough’ Portuguese is formed due to the lack of education. Mrs. Helena establishes the following relation between education and language – when the education of people is poor, an unrefined



language is spoken, whereas more education (she gives the example of an educated doctor) will be accompanied by refined speech (H. Alvarez, personal communication, October 1, 2018).

When Mrs. Helena's information, which is similar to that of the other respondents in Diu, is analysed while keeping in mind the Diu Portuguese community's perception of the Daman Portuguese community, we realize that Diu believes that Daman is less educated than

### **The Portuguese Identity of Diu**

Helena Alvarez's house was characteristically Catholic. The living room was adorned with a huge framed portrait of Christ, and the walls were covered with photographs that traced her family's heritage as Portuguese residents of Diu. Helena herself was an extremely hospitable, welcoming individual, whom all our respondents in Diu considered the most informed regarding Portuguese culture. She explained the dynamic between Portuguese and its dialects in great detail; correlating 'rough' Portuguese with lower educational levels. Helena held significant nostalgia for her experiences as a Portuguese descendent in Diu, from Liberation (1961) to the present. She attributed the continued presence of her community in Diu to God. According to her, her faith and her community's faith in their religion was the sole reason that their identity was still alive.

#### *Vignette 1*

themselves. Diu respondents claim that Diu Portuguese is the most refined out of all the 'rough' Portuguese dialects in India, including those of Daman, Goa, and Silvassa. Diu Indo-Portuguese regard their spoken language as the dialect least influenced by local languages, while that of Daman, Goa, and Silvassa as most influenced. Diu respondents also claim that the Daman Indo-Portuguese community is not aware of how rough their Portuguese actually is (Mrs. Helena, personal communication, November 1, 2018).

These in-group and out-group differences that the Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese communities highlighted through their responses indicate the existence of the 'self' and the 'other'. The following sections attempt to connect Fredrik Barth (1998) and Henri Tajfel's and John Turner's (1979) theories of identity with the communities' recurring creation of the 'other'.



Image 1: Gujarati woman walking through the Portuguese-devoid fish market

Source: Discover India Program, 2018

### 3.2 Theory of Identity and the Indo-Portuguese Community

In-group dynamics and perceived hierarchies in terms of education levels and purity of language are key identity differentiators for the Portuguese community in India. By creating segregations between the ‘other’ and their own community, the Portuguese people of Diu and Daman attempt to safeguard their identities. Social anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1998) investigated the interactions between social groups that gives rise to ethnic identities, and consequently propounded the following theory:

...categorical ethnic distinctions do not depend on an absence of mobility, contact and information, but do *entail social processes of exclusion and incorporation whereby discrete categories are maintained* despite changing participation and membership in the course of individual life histories. (Barth, 1998, emphasis added)

The Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese communities exemplify Barth’s (1998) theory by reinforcing differences between themselves and the Gujarati community, their Diu or Daman



### **1961: Gujarati Replaced Portuguese in Schools**

Mrs. Goensa is one of the co-owners of *Heranca Goensa*, the only functional Portuguese guest house in Diu. Her house was overflowing with remnants from the Portuguese past. Mrs. Goensa had lived in Diu since her birth, and had also received her primary education on the island. When she was in fourth standard, in 1961, Diu was liberated from Portuguese rule and fell under the Indian government's control. With the liberation came the removal of Portuguese from her school's curriculum. In its stead, Gujarati began to be taught. Mrs. Goensa proceeded to leave that school, for she did not want to learn Gujarati.

#### *Vignette 2*

counterparts respectively, and on a few occasions, Indians in general. The following is an instance of an identity demarcation between the Diu Indo-Portuguese and the local Gujaratis:

Most of the sellers in this fish-market are Gujarati. You will barely find one or two Portuguese people here. The Portuguese were always more educated [than the Gujaratis], and did not participate in jobs like fishing. (Anonymous, personal communication, October 2, 2018)

By generalizing the Gujaratis as less-educated when compared to the Portuguese, and by classifying certain occupations as predominantly Gujarati or Portuguese, the respondent maintains the discrete categories that differentiate them from other groups, hence manifesting Barth's (1998) theory. Furthermore, these differentiations are not exclusive to out-groups; the Diu Indo-Portuguese community further consolidates their identity by categorizing themselves different from the Daman Indo-Portuguese community, a category that differentiates people within the same Portuguese community that they identify as. Another respondent from Diu, while talking about their Daman counterparts, said, "The Diu-Indo Portuguese language is the most refined out of the Daman, Goa, and Silvassa dialects. They [the latter three] have spoilt the Portuguese language" (H. Alvarez, personal communication, November 1, 2018).



### **3.3 Social Identity Theory and the Indo-Portuguese Community**

In terms of identity, the Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese communities further exemplify Tajfel and Turner's (1978) social identity theory. One of the theory's key assumptions holds that individuals "strive for a positive self-concept"; alternatively, individuals are innately motivated to achieve positive distinctiveness (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). This assumption is reflected in the Diu Indo-Portuguese community's behaviour during instances where they consider other groups as less-educated, blue-collar job workers, or as speakers of an unrefined version of their language due to their level of education. This behaviour, according to Tajfel and Turner (1979), is a type of self-enhancing strategy that creates an individual's social identity.

The main purpose for such behaviour is the struggle for distinctiveness to overcome social competition in the form of one of the Indo-Portuguese communities overshadowing the other, as Goa does to Daman and Diu. The Diu Portuguese have numerous competitors, which include but are not limited to the Daman Portuguese and the local Gujaratis. In order to prove their positive self over that of the Daman Portuguese, Diu employs such in-group segregative behaviour, alternatively termed "in-group favouritism" (Tajfel & Turner, 1979). The "positive self", a term used by Tajfel and Turner, is an indicator of one group's favourability over another. Furthermore, in-group favouritism is said to occur based on a basis that is common to the entire group, which, in this case, would be their respective usage of Portuguese. In sum, the Daman and Diu Portuguese communities are social groups that demonstrate both Barth (1998) and Tajfel and Turner's (1979) theories of identity in their lived experiences.

### **3.4 Portuguese vs. the Local Dialects**

There are different types of Daman Indo-Portuguese present within the city itself. Mrs. Silvana Pereira elaborated on this in her interview, "Even the Portuguese, there are two types. I wouldn't say two, there are three types. It's Portuguese, but what we speak at home is a little more polished. Then there is one part in Moti Daman, it's called Badrapur that is *kaccha* Portuguese. And Nani Daman is having a different way of speaking (S. Pereira, personal communication, October 2, 2018)."





This demonstrates the phenomenon of language change, which refers to the changes in languages over time. Studying the change in language can indicate the nature of the language (R. Hickey, 2001). In the case of Daman, the Indo-Portuguese creole has come about after Portuguese came into contact with the regional languages spoken in Daman at the time of colonisation. The influence of imperfect learning is also evident in the case of Daman Indo-Portuguese. Imperfect learning is the creation of a dialect of a minority language which can have an impact on the majority usage (The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Languages, 1997).

An interview with retired Portuguese teacher in Daman, Mr. Gabriel Guedes, revealed that Daman Indo-Portuguese can be misidentified to be Portuguese. He said that even the Christian population could often be under the misconception that they speak Portuguese when in reality, they spoke the creole. This was confirmed through a conversation with Ms. Walnissa. She was a part of the younger generation, and worked with Father Adrian at the Our Lady of Rosary Chapel, Daman. During the conversation, she mentioned that types of Portuguese did not exist and that she herself spoke Portuguese. Furthermore, according to Mr. Gabriel Guedes,

Yes. Actually, the Indo Portuguese dialect is spoken by the Catholic people who are here in the centre area of this, our Catholic church. But, in the villages, they speak Gujarati, in the market they speak Gujarati and though we don't speak pure Gujarati, even then we try to manage our life, with the Gujarati language... our youth is not interested to learn the Portuguese language, they are very happy that they know the Indo Portuguese dialect of Daman... But there is a big difference, vast difference between the dialect and the Portuguese and therefore this young generation, if I speak proper Portuguese, they will not understand. (G. Guedes, personal communication, October 1, 2018)

Portuguese is currently used in some churches during weekly mass. Some Christian families speak Portuguese too, as told by Mrs. Silvana, who speaks Portuguese at home. However, it has been observed that Daman Indo-Portuguese has more prevalence and that Portuguese seems to be in decline, which contradicts the findings in the existing literature.



Portuguese is associated with higher social standing. Mrs. Maria da Graca, a member of the Daman Catholic who works for the preservation of Portuguese culture said, “During the Portuguese rule Portuguese was widely spoken and was respected by the community. Indo-Portuguese was used amongst the traders and natives... (M. da Graca, personal communication, October 2, 2018).” This shows the power Portuguese held at the time of Portuguese colonisation. As told by Mr. Noel Gama, the creole was spoken by the “servant class” while Portuguese was spoken by those of “higher class”. He said, “I’ve got friends from Badrapur. I will feel embarrassed to speak that [Badrapur] Portuguese (N. Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018).”

A similar feeling was expressed by Father Adrian, whose brother-in-law speaks Portuguese. “Standard Portuguese is less spoken amongst people here. Now, when they [people] go to Portugal, I don’t know how they converse... I feel shy when to speak with my brother-in-law (sic). Though, I can speak Portuguese. They say yours is Daman Portuguese... Yes [they look down upon Daman Indo-Portuguese]. It is not the correct Portuguese (Fr. A. D’Souza, personal communication, October 5, 2018).”

Despite this, Daman Indo-Portuguese creole is more prevalent than Portuguese in Daman. One factor for this is for ease of communication. There are members of the Hindu and Muslim population of Daman who can either understand or speak Daman Indo-Portuguese creole. So, when Portuguese speakers have to interact with people from outside their community, they choose to communicate in Daman Indo-Portuguese.

The interviews of Mrs. Toral Pradhan, Mr. Nazim Pradhan and Mrs. Silvana Pereira regarding the interactions between the Portuguese community and non-Portuguese communities in Daman brought up important points. Their interviews were conducted in Mr. and Mrs. Pradhan’s house. Mrs. Silvana arrived while we were interviewing Mrs. Pradhan.



Mrs. Pradhan is not a native of Daman. She is a Hindu who was born in Mumbai, but moved to Daman at the age of ten. She married Mr. Pradhan, who was a non-Portuguese native of Daman. She speaks Gujarati and has little knowledge about Portuguese. When asked about the Portuguese community speaking Gujarati, she said, “the Gujarati that they speak does not have any gender, it does not have any tenses and it does not have any grammar. But they speak Gujarati. You know and then the pronunciation is close to Portuguese. That's how they speak (T. Pradhan, personal communication, October 2, 2018).”

It seemed to be a friendly joke, as Mrs. Silvana, who sat on the side waiting for her interview, also laughed. However, after we had concluded Mrs. Silvana’s interview, Mr. Pradhan commented on how little he had known about the Portuguese language prior to witnessing the interview, despite growing up with Catholic friends who spoke Portuguese.

Mrs. Silvana spoke about the differences in the types of Indo-Portuguese and the interactions between the Portuguese community and the other communities in Daman. She gave examples of the different ways Portuguese was spoken and how it compared to Portuguese. This is another example of language contact in Daman which led to the creation of Daman Indo-Portuguese creole.

### **3.5 Conclusion**

The main conclusions drawn from the information collected regarding the Portuguese dialects of Daman and Diu are multifold. Firstly, various differences between the Portuguese and Gujarati communities regarding language have been highlighted. Along with these out-group differences, the respective Portuguese communities of Daman and Diu drew in-group distinctions, based on language and education levels, between the two cities. Secondly, the Portuguese respondents underscored the various differences between Portuguese and the dialects that Indo-Portuguese community speaks. These dialects are contact languages, or creoles, which



are influenced by local languages including Gujarati, Konkani, and Hindi. Thirdly, it was found that while the prevalence of the Portuguese dialects in the two cities is on the decline, the use of verbal Portuguese faces a relatively steeper decline. The factors which contribute to this disparity in relative decline, including the lack of social institutions to support the languages, the community's migration to Europe, and the educational policies implemented by the Government of India, which will be discussed in the following chapter.



## Chapter 4: Religion and Identity: Role of the Church

In his work titled *Sociolinguistics. A Sociological Critique*, Glyn Williams (1992) links “the human capacity to create and transmit culture” to “a more generalized capacity to cope with environment”. In this context, he positions religion at the forefront of transmitting culture and the only possible method to do this is through communication via language (Williams, 1992, p. 53). Darquennes and Vandebussche (2011, p.5) agree with Williams and believe that religion and language are “anthropological constants in the evolution of mankind”.

In a narrow sense, religious language can be considered as a language that is consistently used with religion or within the religious domain of language use (Samarin, 1987, p.85). Keeping this in mind, Fasold (1987, pp. 77-78) states that a religious language is “especially reserved for religious activities and used for very little else, except perhaps as school subjects or literary and scholarly languages”. Apart from focusing on the propagation of a language through religious practices, a ‘religious language’ can be used outside of the religious discourse community and can be used to support non-religious causes such as protection of cultural identity, customs and norms.

Humans are active receivers and creators of culture. They are shaped and conditioned to respond and react to ethnic and identity challenges, create new identities and interact and comprehend new religions (Pereira, 2000). People move along the borders of framework often breaking them and creating new ones whilst carrying the remnants of the past and search for a sense of meaning and relatedness.

The Indo-Portuguese community in Daman and Diu are a prime example of the above statements. For practicing Catholics, the main mode of expression of faith is praying at the Church. Through our observations and conversation with residents in Daman, the team inferred that the use of Portuguese in a Church setting has created a sense of unity and belonging for the



Catholics which keeps them rooted to their Portuguese past while living in India. The Church has been acting as a means of strengthening identity by having the services in Portuguese and socializing with other Catholics who speak Daman and Diu Indo Portuguese, after the Mass as well as during social events such as feasts and marriages. A similar trend has been observed in Pereira's (2000) study of the Portuguese community in Durban.

#### 4.1 Settlement pattern and its link to religion



Map 1: Map showing settlement around Bom Jesus Church and the Chapel of Our Lady of Rosario<sup>7</sup> (Google Earth, November 22).

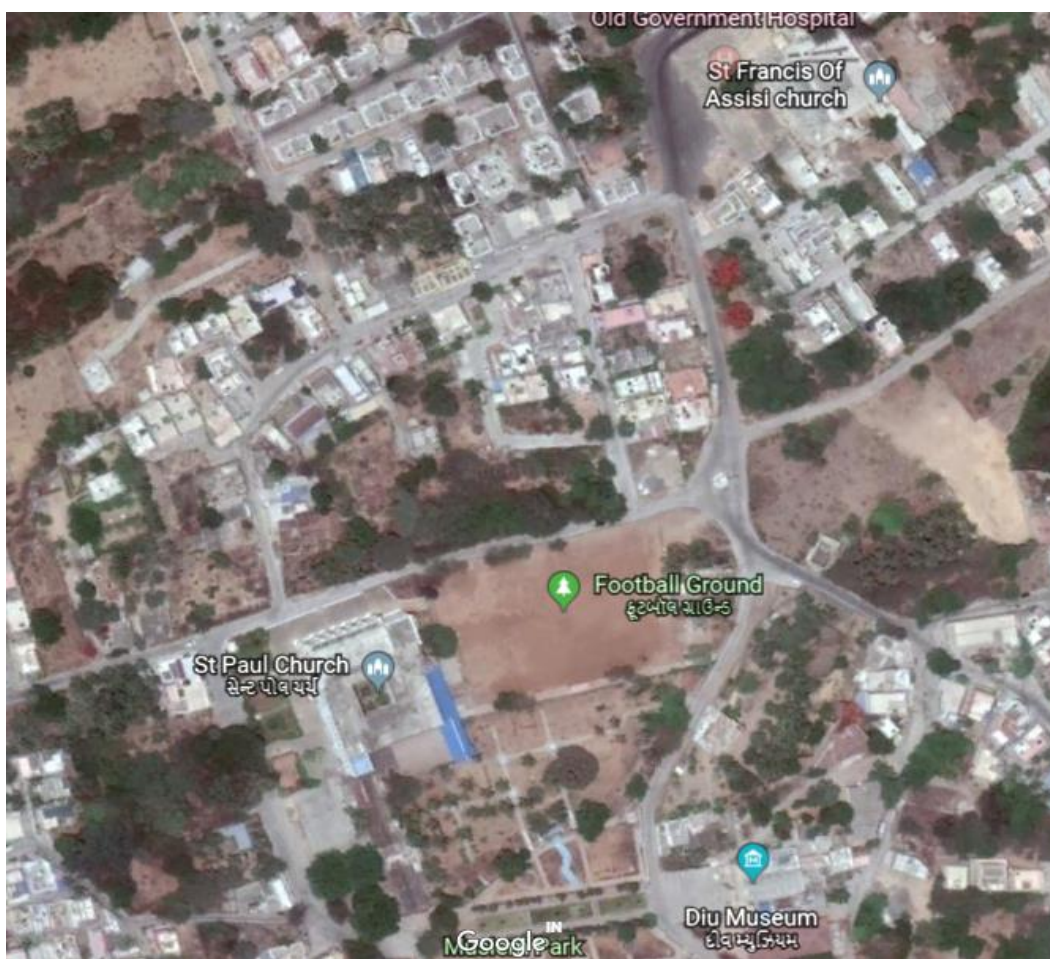
The location of the Churches in the region has played a role in settlement patterns and identity formation. In Fort Daman, the settlement pattern observed is poly-focal which was

---

<sup>7</sup> “The houses built on either sides of the road are short, hence they are covered by trees positioned near the footpath”



centred around the Bom Jesus Church and the Chapel of Our Lady of Rosario. The team infers that a possible reason for this type of settlement is that the proximity to the Church makes it easy for senior citizens to access the Church. Father Reduzindo also augmented this claim when the team met him for the evening mass. This factor was not addressed by either Cardoso (2006a) or Clements (1991) in their work. The proximity to the Church has also played a significant role in the number of times people visit the Church. Through informal interactions, our team was able to gather that most people who visit the Church live in opposite or adjacent streets. Furthermore, in Moti Daman, through our transit walk, the team observed that the further one moves from Our Lady of Remedios Church, the number of Christian houses decreased while the number of Hindu houses increased. The settlement pattern observed here, however, was linear.



Map 2: Map showing the two churches and museum in Diu (Google Earth, November 22).



The team visited three churches in Diu. The first of these was Saint Paul's Church, also known as the Church of Immaculate Conception, which holds historical and religious significance. Built in 1601, Saint Paul's Church has the maximum number of churchgoers in Diu. Here, an evening mass is conducted every day of the week. Second, Saint Francis of Assisi Church was built in the year 1593. Later, the church was converted to a hospital in 1832. It was replaced by a new hospital in the same place. Third, Saint Thomas Church which was built in 1598, but has now been converted to a museum owing to the significant reduction in the number of people visiting this church. Nonetheless, this church houses carved woods, old statues, stone inscriptions and other artefacts that are of historical importance. All three churches are present within close proximity to one another. The reason for this proximity is because the Catholic community was concentrated in the same geographical area. Similar to Daman, the pattern in settlement is poly focal in nature. All three churches are under the jurisdiction of the Parish Priest, Father Andrew, and his assistant, Father Remedios. The Pastor of churches in Diu also act as the Headmaster of Nirmala Mata School. Nirmala Mata School is a private school in Diu. He looks after the curriculum and extra-curricular activities of the school.

## **4.2 Community Harmony and the Church**

The Church has also taken proactive measures to ensure intra-community harmony. Migration due to the availability of Red Passport consequently led to the younger generation migrating to Europe. This meant that Daman had large numbers of senior citizens who receive money from their children. Father Adrian D'Souza states that there are over 600 senior citizens living in Fort Daman. The Church carries out house-to-house survey and organizes monthly meetings where they play tambola and celebrate birthday together (Fr. A. D'Souza, personal communication, October 5, 2018). The Church also holds an annual event at the end of May where Catholics revel and dance. Hemenengildo Lopes recites poems and the children dance. The reason the event is conducted during the summer is to ensure that the children do not get bored and have some fun (H. Lopes, personal communication, October 2, 2018).





During our fieldwork, the Catholics were celebrating Novena, a traditional praying that mirror the first followers of Christ (Premier, 2016).<sup>8</sup> Different Churches hold the Novena at different times. The Chapel of Our Lady of Rosario holds it during October while the Bom Jesus Church holds it in January (Walnissa, personal communication, September 30, 2018).

The Novena at The Chapel of Our Lady of Rosario had invited a head priest from Goa for the Sunday feast. It involved Catholics coming together for a morning Portuguese Mass where they would sing Portuguese hymns. Celebrations in Daman were not sporadic. Father Pravin indicated that that every church in Daman holds a monthly festival where thematic sermons are delivered. The sermons last for 15 minutes with themes revolving around unity, love and family. Such functions and events become pivotal points for the assertion and celebration of not just the Catholic identity, but also celebrate their Portuguese culture and ancestry (Fr P. Gavit, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

### **The Bombing of Daman**

The bombing of the city of Daman by the Indian military not only affected the Governance of the Portuguese but also the general mass. One of the victims was four and a half year old Noel who like any other day had gone to the church for the evening mass but on hearing the bombings had decided to stay back. The Arabic style designed platform on which the church stood high and mighty was now in grave danger. They were sure that after the attack on various parts of Small Daman, the church was next. Suddenly, Noel saw a bunch of soldiers rushing towards the church. At first, he thought they were the Indian military coming to attack them but later on realized that they were Portuguese. They had white bedsheets with huge red crosses on them that they laid in front of the building in order to protect the Church. Fortunately, the Indian Military did not attack the building. Years later, Noel still had that day fresh in mind and could still feel the same thumping heart beats every time he heard a bombing. He was one of the many innocent children who had experienced warfare.

#### *Vignette 3*

---

<sup>8</sup> A crucial parallel can be drawn between the novena in Daman and the Dominican Republic as they are important festivals in both and were introduced during the Portuguese era (Brown, 1999).



The team in Diu had the opportunity to witness the celebration of Novena. As we watched, the feast was formally commenced within Saint Paul's Church. Our interviewees also described routines they follow and ceremonies they observe on the occasion of Novena. The Novenas that was being celebrated is for the Our Lady of Rosary feast. Roman Church festivals are celebrated in the churches. Catholic Roman Church has a calendar wherein different feasts are celebrated throughout the year. Different seasons are celebrated and the festivals honour saints. The month of October is the month of Mother Mary, which is traditionally called the Month of Rose. From 1<sup>st</sup> October to 31<sup>st</sup> October, the feast is celebrated in its entirety. Hence, the Roman Catholic festivities that are celebrated in Europe are also followed in Diu. (Fr. Remedios, personal communication, October 3, 2018)

### **4.3 The Church and the Portuguese Language**

The process of learning Portuguese for Mass has been an arduous task for the priests. During an informal talk with Father Angelino Vaz, the head priest at Our Lady of Remedios, he stated that never in his life did he think he would have to learn Portuguese and now that he is learning it, he finds pronouncing certain words difficult. This view was also shared by Father Pravin Gavit who is learning Portuguese from Mr. D'Costa (personal communication, October 3, 2018). He has now resorted to innovative methods to learn Portuguese. He states that he listens to an audio file of the Bible in Portuguese to improve his pronunciation. Throughout our fieldwork, our initial findings were in line with Cardoso's. However, what was interesting to note is that though Portuguese is on a decline in Daman, it thrives through the Church as a medium of communication.

Since there has been a reduction in the number of Portuguese speaking people visiting the churches in Diu, the language of communication has shifted from Portuguese to English. English, is one of the official languages in India. It is understood widely and hence, is used as a language of communication within the churches. This shift serves the purpose of inclusion of migrants and people who do not speak Portuguese, within the congregation of church goes. It provides for the betterment of the faithful attendees of the church, who are not discouraged by



any language barrier while attending mass. Neither do those members who understand and are able to speak in Portuguese, consider this change to be a hindrance because they understand that this arrangement is more convenient for other non-Portuguese speakers. However, the hymns are conducted in Portuguese language because it allows for the preservation of Portuguese culture in some form (Fr. Remedios, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

The church in Diu has its own choir group. They practice hymns, most of which are Portuguese hymns, for Sunday masses and feasts. If the choir decides to learn new hymns, those hymns are practiced along with the congregation. The custom of allowing solo singers has decreased, but the choir group continues to thrive. Even though, traditionally, the older members of the community are a part of the choir, they are accompanied by their children and grandchildren. The presence of the younger population of the community is important because after their elders, they would be a part of the choir and will carry on this tradition (Fr. Remedios, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

#### **4.4 The Pilar Fathers and their Relation with the Community**

The pastor of the churches in Diu, Father Andrew and his assistant, Father Remedios, belong to a society based in Goa called Saint Francis Xavier, also known as the Pilar Fathers in Goa. The circulation of Fathers depends upon this institution. If need be, Fathers are transferred in case of an emergency. But, under usual conditions they are transferred after a period of three to five years. Father Remedios' transfer had been a regular transfer. Having completed his term as pastor of the churches in Diu for a period of three years, his duration of stay has been extended for another three years. The reason for this extension is because Nirmala Mata School requires his guidance which has proved to be very beneficial for the students (Fr. Remedios, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

There is a strong sense of in-group feeling among the Portuguese speakers in Daman. Catholics who regularly converse in Daman Indo-Portuguese tend to be closely knit as a



community. Since the priests from the Pilar Society are not fluent in Portuguese, it leaves them with no option but to preach in English (Fr. P. Gavit, personal communication, October 3, 2018). This linguistic disparity has led to instances where the priests have been seen as an out-group. Hermenengildo Lopes stated that priests often visited him to learn pronunciation (personal communication, October 2, 2018). Another one of our respondents, Mr. Noel Gama, states:

I'm against nuns and priests because of the culture – they say mass but, do you know that most of the priests nowadays, they come to Daman and they learn Portuguese. They learn Portuguese, and (sic) my mother can't [understand their Portuguese] - because they can't pronounce [properly]... the[ir] syllables have got accents. In English, accents is (sic) different from Portuguese (personal communication, October 4, 2018).

#### **4.5 Younger Generation and the Portuguese Culture**

The effect of Portuguese on the identity of younger generation has shown a significant difference from that of the elder generation. Through our interaction with the younger generation the team found that they were fluent in Portuguese. However, when questioned which form of Portuguese they conversed in, they were uncertain. Mr D'Costa clarifies this stance by saying that children converse in Daman creole as it is their mother tongue and attend private classes to learn Portuguese. However, the intent for learning Portuguese is purely religious. He states “That [private lesson] is mainly for reading and speaking and to take part in service at Church” (personal communication, October 1, 2018).

There has been a mixed view on the interests of the younger generation. According to Mr. Gabriel Guedes (personal communication, October 1, 2018), a retired Portuguese professor and local guide, the younger generation seems uninterested in the Portuguese culture. He was a part of a centre that taught Portuguese to the younger generation. However, the centre was closed down due to lack of students and funds. When the question was posed to Mr. Noel Gama (personal communication, October 4, 2018), he stated that there is often a disconnect between the older generation and the younger generation leading to a misleading perception. Nonetheless



the “dilution” of identity can only be prevented if the younger generation line themselves with their Portuguese culture and heritage so that they can “identify with the older generation and bond with their peers through common ethnic knowledge” (Pereira, 2000, p. 146).

An observation made by our group while attending the Mass in Saint Paul’s Church in Diu was that the people congregating within the churches were middle-aged or were older members of the community, accompanied by toddlers. Our observation, when discussed with the younger generation of the community, was confirmed as being true. There is a disconnect between the younger generation and their Portuguese heritage. Even though, they are able to understand Portuguese, they are unable to speak the language. An important question posed to the younger generation, was whether their parents and grandparents have attempted to impart their knowledge of the Portuguese culture onto them and/or urged them to learn Portuguese language. Ryan Britto’s reply to this question was straight forward when he said that he does not have any desire to learn Portuguese. He further added that he does not feel that he is a part of the Portuguese community. This statement helps to answer our research question, that there is a divide between the younger and older generations with respect to the connection they feel to their Portuguese heritage. The younger members are forced to attend Sunday Mass even though they are unwilling (R. Britto, personal communication, October 5, 2018).

The reason for their disinterest can be attributed to the relegation of Portuguese language within private spheres. It is only spoken with Catholic friends, who know the language and with family members at home. Within Nirmala Mata School, where all of our younger generation interviewees received education, there is no encouragement of the usage of any language other than English for communication on campus. (R. Britto, personal communication, October 3, 2018)

In Daman, the Portuguese culture is celebrated on a greater scale and the attendees are also greater in number, as opposed to Diu, where there has been a drastic decline in the number of people attending celebrations. The younger members of the community say that because a



majority of them has been migrating to Europe, there is not much initiative taken by anyone to plan the festivals at a grand scale in Diu. This discourages the younger generation from organising such celebrations. However, they go on to say that they would participate in the celebrations taking place in United Kingdom when they migrate for education and/or occupation (R. Britto, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

#### **4.5 Church Mass in Daman and Diu**

The frequency of Mass held in Portuguese and English is also dependent on settlement patterns in Daman. Through our interview we understood that Portuguese Mass was held twice a day; once in the morning and once in the evening, whereas there were two Masses held in English on Sunday at 8 a.m. and 7 p.m. in Our Lady of the Remedios (T. D’Costa, personal communication, October 1, 2018). However, the Bom Jesus Church in Fort Daman held Portuguese Mass on the first Sunday of every month while English Mass was held every day. The team’s findings suggest that a plausible reason for this phenomenon is the settlement patterns. Moti Daman housed more senior citizens who were proficient in Portuguese while Fort Daman did not. Another reason, according to Father Pravin (Fr. P. Gavit, personal communication, October 3, 2018), was that the older generation are dying out and the younger generation seem to prefer Mass in English. This disparity led to a ‘tailored’ Mass to suit the language needs of the region and the eventual cessation of Portuguese Mass in Our Lady of the Sea.

There has been an overall drop in the number of Catholics visiting the churches. An estimated 60 people attend the daily Mass while a greater number attend the Sunday Mass. Catholics turn up in great numbers for marriages and funerals as the community is close-knit. As part of other Church activities, a Sunday school is held with one hour of Bible study (Fr P. Gavit, personal communication, October 3, 2018).



Image 2: Diu Museum; formerly St. Thomas Church

Source: Discover India Program, 2018



## 4.6 Conclusion

One of the questions which arise while reading this section is whether a language truly belongs to a particular religion. Cardoso in his writings mention that Portuguese, in the context of settlers, is the language of the Christians. However, during the team's interview with Mr. D'Costa, he claimed that there is no other language that was available during the time of colonization in Daman. He states, "There was no option for us to have our services and Mass in any other language. So we continued as during Portuguese time [in India] the services and Mass were in Portuguese we continued that till today" (T. D'Costa, personal communication, October 1, 2018).

Another important question to consider is the younger generation's opinions on religion and Portuguese. Though the interviews had mixed claims, it seems that the older generation want the younger generations to take a more proactive stance to assert their identity (G. Guedes, personal communication, October 1, 2018). Our team discovered that walls of an old convent were going to be broken to widen the road towards the sea. The residents in Fort Daman seemed to find the idea ridiculous since the roads are hardly used and the government is breaking walls that are centuries old. The young Catholics have not mobilized or requested any action from the government (C. Parekh, personal communication, October 4, 2018). The Church is working on its own to preserve books from the Portuguese era. Father Pravin (personal communication, October 3, 2018) states, "We do have records from the time of the Portuguese colonisation. They are in poor condition. The books are falling apart. We are doing our best to get them scanned and stored digitally because the next generation does not have much interest to preserve it."

Another reason that the culture is in decline can be ascribed to the lack of effort taken to preserve the culture of the region. Culture provides a sense of pride to its upholders. However, we did not find anyone in the community or even the government, actively endorsing the culture of the Portuguese community. The churches and historical monuments are not being looked after and have been allowed to run-down. Since the history of the region is not being kept alive, there





is an effect on tourism which might have flourished if there was more to see in the region. (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018).

However, Father Remedios disagrees with this point of view. He says that even though he has not personally witnessed restoration of the churches or monuments in Diu, efforts for their preservation have been underway. The government has helped to maintain the churches and other smaller places of worship which possess crosses or signs of the Catholic faith. Within Diu Municipal Corporation as well, there have been some traditions of Masses being celebrated in the offices and feasts being conducted. However, owing to renovation, there has not been any celebration this year. Father Remedios strongly advocates that the government has a desire to help preserve Portuguese culture (Fr. Remedios, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

The churches in Daman and Diu have been important mediums for sustenance of Portuguese culture. However, there has been a significant reduction in the number of people visiting those churches. The factors owing to this decline can be attributed to the following reasons. Firstly, there is lesser connect of the younger generation towards the Portuguese culture in general, and the Portuguese language in particular. Secondly, according to some of our interviewees, there has been negligence in maintenance of the churches. Lastly, relocation of the community members who are in search of better employment and education opportunities is in process. The last factor will be discussed further in the next section of the report.



## Chapter 5: Effect of Migration on the Indo-Portuguese Language

Oxford Dictionary defines migration as “Movement of people to a new area or country in order to find work or better living conditions”. The migration taking place in Daman and Diu adheres to this definition. The Indo-Portuguese community of Daman and Diu portrays out-migration to Europe as they are able to obtain a Portuguese passport from the Portuguese government after proving that their ancestors lived in Daman or Diu before 1961 (Cardoso, 2009).

The Census of India data (2001) shows that Daman and Diu have an extraordinarily high rate of migration, i.e. 44.1 per 100 people. The reason this figure is unusually high is due to the fact that there is a lot of immigration into Daman by Gujaratis, especially due to the availability of industrial jobs in the region. Smt. Charmie Parekh, Collector of Daman, claims,

So what you would see is that the locals would not want to work in an industry. I am not saying that they won't want to work in the industry but you will see less of the locals working in the industry. But industry related immigration is a lot and most of them are from outside. People come from Gujarat, UP, Madhya Pradesh, Bihar (Charmie Parekh, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

During our research, the official migration data we accessed in Daman detailed the number of people migrating out of Daman and Diu every year since 1999. This data is represented in Figure 5. On the chart, there is a clear spike in the number of migrants between the years 2011-15. A respondent from Daman claims that this spike can be attributed to migration fraud that was taking place (N. Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018). This will be elaborated upon later.



Number of People Migrating from Daman and Diu Every Year

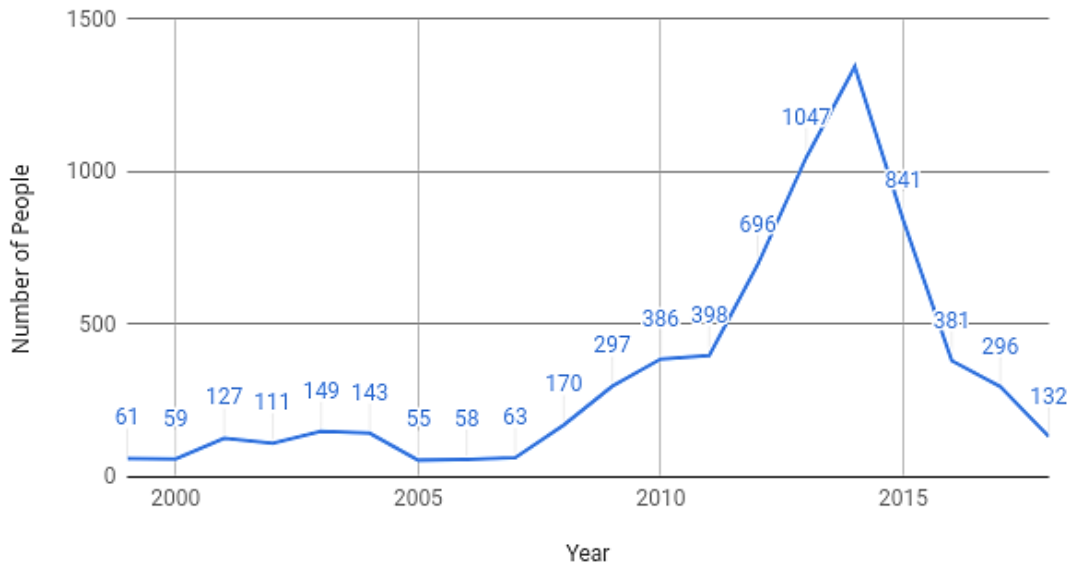


Figure 3: Graph showing the number of migrants from Daman and Diu every year.

Source: Police Department, Daman, October 4, 2018.

This extremely high rate of migration has a massive impact on the Portuguese community in Daman and Diu. As per our on-field observations, migration causes a decline in the number of speakers of a language. This causes the prevalence of the language to decline as it is spoken by a smaller proportion of the population in the region. This is in line with our initial literature review, especially of Hugo Cardoso (2009) who argued that “Challenges to the maintenance of Indo-Portuguese in Daman and Diu include the continuous reduction of the Indo-Portuguese speaking community, the lack of official recognition within the Union Territory and the nation, and the continuing Standard Portuguese pressure and emigration.”

The effect of migration on a language is dependent on many parameters including space, time, and socio-cultural variables (Kerswill, 2006). Space refers to the distance and direction towards which the migrants travel. The further the distance from the origin that the migrants move, the weaker are the ties that remain to the region (Kerswill, 2006). The direction, as highlighted before, is out-migration. The period of time a person migrates for, depending on short-term or long-term, also has effects on the language of the origin. If it is long-term



migration, as in the case of Daman and Diu, an individual's link to their place of origin weakens (Kerswill, 2006).

While Kerswill (2006) argues that long-term migration can cause the formation of linguistic islands<sup>9</sup>, this is not the case for Indo-Portuguese. This is due to the fact that there exists a hierarchical divide between Indo-Portuguese and Portuguese speakers. This fact is brought out by an interview conducted with Noel Gama, a historian from Daman, who states,

My mother never... (sic) She used standard Portuguese with everyone. What my mother said, I told my mother these people are trying to be nice to lower class people. No, you're treating them like inferior when you're talking that way. When you're using good Portuguese to high class people, and then how do you talk to them- that means you are actually treating them like an inferior people. (Noel Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018)

A sense of inferiority and the feeling that their language is a broken language means that even those who do speak Indo-Portuguese choose not to, fearing judgement. This is shown in an interview with Mr. Gilbert from Diu who said,

“Those who heard that they speak creole here so they come to know. And some are interested to know like Hugo (Cardoso) came and he started speaking the same thing and I also feel ashamed when he used to ask me. He used to ask me that creole. He used to talk with me I was getting scared to talk with him in that language (creole)” (G. Almeida, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

In the case of Daman and Diu, people migrate a large distance and most, if not all, are long-term migrants. This causes a weakening of the links of the migrants to Daman and Diu (their place of origin). This is in line with what Kerswill (2006) says - “Distance seen in isolation from other variables is unlikely to show anything other than a weak association with language behaviour.” One of these links is their language, which is disappearing from the region under the impact of declining number of speakers in Daman and Diu. Even the migrants who still speak the

---

<sup>9</sup> Linguistic Islands: An exclave of a language that is surrounded by one or more different languages.



language are “ashamed” to speak the language in public and, hence, do not use it very often. We shall now examine the reasons behind the migration of the Indo-Portuguese community.

## **5.1 The Process of Obtaining a Portuguese Passport**

The main provision enabling migration from Daman and Diu is the provision of the Portuguese government that issues Portuguese ‘Red Passports’ to certain people (Cardoso, 2009). People who want to procure a Portuguese passport have to prove that their ancestors resided in either of the cities of Daman or Diu. It is necessary to provide documentation of the birth of either the parents or grandparents of the applicant prior to 1961. As stated by an employee of the Diu Collectorate, Ms. Lucia,

“Your parents, or grandparents have to be born in Diu - Diu, Daman, Goa or Dadra and Nagar Haveli, because the Portuguese ruled in these places. Whoever is born before 1961, they can avail this benefit. Suppose my grandparents were born prior to that, I can do my documents. First I have to do their documents, I have to attach my parent’s documents, their document will be ready, they will be Portuguese national, then I have to process my paperwork (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018).”

The required certificates are the person’s birth certificate, marriage certificate, and in the case of the children and grandchildren of Portuguese descendants, their ancestor’s marriage and birth certificates, as well as their own (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

Once the person proves that they or their ancestors have been residents of Daman or Diu before 1961 and get their documents ready, they fix an appointment with the Portuguese Consulate either in Goa or Delhi (Lloyd Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018). These documents are processed twice, once within the country, and then later in Portugal (Lloyd Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018). The Portuguese government then issues a BI number, which is essentially a citizen’s identification number, for each successful applicant. After getting a BI number, an individual is allowed to apply for a Portuguese passport. This



again requires another round of processing documents as well as a fee payment (Lloyd Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

### **The Controversy of Birth Certificates**

After the liberation of Daman, a man once applied for his Portuguese passport. To his surprise, he found out that someone had used his identity and migrated to Portugal almost ten years ago! As the authorities were strict and they both could be jailed if this got reported, the two men struck a deal. The man allowed the imposter to continue living in Portugal with his identity as long as he received half of his salary each month. The man did not migrate. Instead, he returned home and lived his life on the money he received. Such was the rampant faking of birth certificates after the liberation of Daman.

#### *Vignette 4*

The process of acquiring a Portuguese passport is, hence, a long and complex one, involving various checks and counter-checks. The procedure has become more complicated in the past three to four years (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). The reason given is that a lot of frauds were taking place while acquiring Portuguese passports by individuals who migrated despite not being a citizen of Daman, Diu, Dadra and Nagar Haveli, or Goa before 1961. As shown previously in the data, there was a major spike of migrants from 2011-15. There were instances wherein individuals who wanted to go abroad would pay money to others who were already residing in the UK in order to obtain documents belonging to an individual who had expired (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). They would then assume the identity of the expired individual and obtain a Portuguese passport and migrate to the UK.

In order to prevent such occurrences, the process of obtaining a Portuguese passport was made much more stringent, with lots of checks and cross-verification (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). In fact, some frauds were even caught and the person who had faked his documents was sent to jail. This was told to us by Mr. Noel Gama, who said,



There was one guy from - he was a Sindhi guy. And he came to meet me once and he was from Portugal. His name was Antonio Chainani. So then one day, he got arrested. I was shocked, and Sub-Registrar was a strict one from Goa. He told me Noel you disassociate from this guy, his name is not Antonio, he is a Sindhi from... and he is staying in Portugal since so many years and all. (N. Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018)

In order to fly out of India, the Portuguese passport holder has to apply for a No Objection Certificate (NOC). The NOC is then issued and their Indian passport is cancelled. After this, the migrant has to leave the country within 3 months (Lloyd Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018). The migrants, however, recently received a provision from the Indian government called the OCI (Overseas Citizen of India) Card (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). This card enables the holder to enter the country without any visa checks in exchange for a periodic fee which is lesser than that of a tourist visa (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). The fee, as stated by Mr. Noel Gama, is rupees 5000- 50,000 and is paid every five years (N. Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

While on-field, the team had in fact interviewed a holder of this OCI card – Mr. Nayan from Diu. He told us that this card enables the holder to own and run businesses in India for as long as they please (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). It is a particularly convenient privilege for those who still have family in India and come to visit often. Additionally, the spouses of the Portuguese passport holder are also entitled to get a passport as long as they receive a sponsorship letter from their husband/wife. Because of this, many Gujaratis prefer marrying into families from Diu as this enables them to migrate to UK in the long run (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). However, in recent times, migration to the UK in particular has become more difficult due to Brexit.

## **5.2 Economic Influences**

The Indo-Portuguese have traditionally occupied government posts in Daman and Diu in the era of Portuguese rule (De Souza, 2013). After the Liberation of Daman and Diu in 1961, there was a rapid industrialization of Daman under the Goa Industrial Development Act (1965).



Due to this, a lot of factories came up in the region and a number of blue-collar jobs were created. The Portuguese speakers did not take up these jobs as they had not traditionally held these jobs. Additionally, when Daman and Diu was separated from Goa in 1987, the control of governmental positions came under the Central Government (De Souza, 2013). This meant that the jobs the Portuguese traditionally held were being taken up by others (De Souza, 2013).

Mr. Nayan was one of the few people who spoke Diu creole despite not being an Indo-Portuguese Catholic or of Portuguese descent. When we asked him about the link between religion and Indo-Portuguese, he replied,

I do not believe that there is any particular link between Portuguese and the Catholics. While it might be true that these days, the language is mostly spoken by the Catholics due to it being their ancestral heritage, many people in Diu from different religions in Diu speak the language as it was the main trade language before the Portuguese left. (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018)

He stated in his interview that the two main professions in Diu lie majorly in the fishing industry and the tourism industry. Besides these two, there is very little scope in Diu of finding gainful employment. Mr. Nayan himself is a successful businessman and owns a number of hotels and restaurants as well as the only cinema hall in Diu, among his many businesses. This fact was later supported by similar statements from Mr. Gilbert (G. Almeida, personal communication, October 2, 2018) and Mr. Lloyd Anthony (L. Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018). This is further backed up by the Census of India (2001) data, according to which 68% of Daman and Diu's population is engaged in fishing. While on field, the team visited Ghoghla, a locality in Diu which is famous for its fish market. One of the first observations the team made in the market was that it was dominated by Hindu Gujaratis. After asking around, we confirmed the fact that there were barely any Indo-Portuguese Catholics who were part of the fishing community in the area.

The members of the Indo-Portuguese community who were not part of these industries were engaged in other professions such as nurses, teachers, and electricians, among others. Examples of people engaged in these professions are Mrs. Helena, who works as a nurse in the





Diu Government Hospital, Mr. Arockiam Thomas who works as a teacher in Nirmala Mata School, Diu and Mr. Gilbert who works as an electrician in Diu. Mr. Nayan went on to say that people who are not engaged in these two professions, mostly the youth, migrate to Europe (especially London) on a Portuguese passport in order to get better employment opportunities and higher salaries. Hence, the lack of availability and diversity of job opportunities in Daman and Diu is a push factor for the Indo-Portuguese population of the regions. This is shown by the industry wise GDP table shown below.

Shares of Gross Value Added at Factor Cost by Economic Activity of Daman and Diu (2008-2013)						
S.no	Sector	2008-2009	2009-2010	2010-2011	2011-2012	2012-2013
1	Agriculture, Forestry and Fishing	1.9	1.	1.1	1.1	1.2
1.1	Agriculture	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.3	0.2
1.2	Forest and Logging	0.1	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1
1.3	Fishing	1.5	0.8	0.8	0.8	0.9
2	Mining and Quarrying	0	0	0	0	0
3	Manufacturing	82.8	84.9	84.2	81.6	77.7
3.1	Registered	82.7	84.8	84.1	84.1	77.6
3.2	Unregistered	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.2
4	Electricity, Gas and Water supply	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.9	1.0
5	Constructing	1.3	1.2	0.9	1.3	1.5
6	Trade, Hotels and Restaurant	5.4	4.1	4.2	4.2	4.6
6.1	Trade	4.5	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.8
6.2	Hotels and Restaurants	0.8	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8
7	Transport, Storage and Communications	1.4	1.2	1.4	1.6	1.7
7.1	Railways	0	0	0	0	0
7.2	Transportation by other means	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6
7.3	Storage	0.013	0.012	0.013	0.014	0.016
7.4	Communications	0.9	0.8	0.9	1.0	1.0
8	Financing, Insurance, Real estate and Business services	4.6	4.6	5.9	7.6	10.4
8.1	Banking and Insurance	1.6	1.8	2.0	2.1	2.6
8.2	Real estate, Ownership of dwellings and	2.9	2.9	3.8	5.5	7.9



	Business Services					
9	Community, Social and Personal Services	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.8
9.1	Public Administration and Defence	1.2	1.1	0.8	0.8	0.8
9.2	Other Services	0.8	0.9	0.9	0.9	1.0

Table 2: Share of Various Industries in Daman and Diu's GDP (Figures as a percentage share of the total Gross Value Added to the Daman and Diu Economy).

Source: National Council of Applied Economic Research (2016).

Conversely, a very strong pull factor for the population is the availability of higher paid jobs in the UK. This enables the individual to save money as well as live comfortably which was previously not possible in Daman or Diu. A number of informants on-field told us that they knew of people who have migrated from Daman and Diu and have managed to save as much as 70,000 rupees per year after accounting for all their expenses (N. Gama, personal communication, October 2, 2018). This kind of savings is not possible in Daman and Diu where jobs do not pay as much as in the UK. Upon asking Ms. Lucia, it was learnt that people migrate to the UK because,

“The rate of the pound is too high compared to rupees, actually, one pound is 90 rupees in Indian rupees. If you save that pound and you bring to India and then convert it, naturally, you earn double or triple” (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

In India, no such benefit is available, and hence, savings is rare.

However, the trade-off for earning more money is that migrants from Daman and Diu are employed in physical labour and work continuously for approximately nine hours a day. The population in London is also not as homogenous as the culture in India and is a lot more individualistic according to Mr. Nayan (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). This culture is resented by many of the migrants who are used to community style living. Another advantage of staying in Diu is the laid back culture of the area. Mr. Nayan, who holds a Portuguese passport and an OCI card, said:



I prefer the lifestyle and pace of life in Diu over the kind of life you lead abroad. While it is true that you earn more abroad, the kind of work you perform is that of labour rather than actual satisfying jobs. I own a number of businesses in Diu and am living well, hence, I much prefer the laidback life of Diu rather than the workhorse, individualistic style of living abroad. (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018)

There is not as much work pressure as London and the residents are able to work as and when they like (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018).

Upon asking Mr. Nayan about the usage of the Portuguese language in business, he stated that Portuguese was the main language of communication among residents and business owners even as late as three decades ago (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). However, nowadays, English, Hindi, and Gujarati are used as the main languages of trade. Portuguese has faded out of prominence in the recent years. Mr. Nayan has, in fact, recently started a printing press and said that he does not print any Portuguese material as there is no readership for the material.

### **5.3 Social Influences**

The reasons that people have for migrating from Daman and Diu to Europe – the UK in particular – are not always purely economic. There are other social and cultural reasons, and lifestyle differences for which people decide to migrate.

A major pull factor that attracts people to migrate to Europe are better externalities such as better education, healthcare benefits, and quality of life in general (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). During our various interviews, many interviewees mentioned that education is one of the biggest reasons why families migrate from Daman and Diu. One of our respondents stated, “Schooling in the local Nirmala Mata School is quite sound until class 10, but, not great after that” (Anonymous, personal communication, October 3, 2018). Hence, many Daman and Diu residents such as Mr. Nayan in Diu who have families are getting their children passports in order to get them better higher level education in Europe” (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). A teacher at Nirmala Mata School in Diu, Mr.



Arockiam Thomas told us that a number of children migrate to the UK after completing their tenth standard education from the school (A. Thomas, personal communication, October 3, 2018).

Healthcare benefits are notably better in countries in Europe that are technologically more advanced than in India. One of our interviewees, Mrs. Helena, mentioned that her son is handicapped (H. Alvarez, personal communication, October 1, 2018). She claims that if she and her husband were to migrate to the EU, many benefits including free healthcare for their son would be provided to them (H. Alvarez, personal communication, October 1, 2018). Other benefits are also provided to other disadvantaged groups abroad, including widows and orphans. This fact is also highlighted in an interview with Ms. Lucia who said that “They went more for the employment and the British government is giving benefits for children, widows, disabled. For that purpose they have gone. The quality of life is good there” (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). These amenities as well as various benefits provided to citizens of European countries offer a better quality of life for migrants when compared to India.

However, these benefits, as mentioned before, do have a trade-off. We found on-field that even though the quality of life is much better abroad, the satisfaction that people derive from their lives is lesser (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). This is due to the fact that the work there consists mostly of labour than “fulfilling jobs” (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). This lack of satisfaction can be frustrating for some who come back to India to work despite the low income just in order to employ themselves into what they believe to be more fruitful and fulfilling work (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018).

An observation that the team made with relation to the younger generation is that they want to pursue their dreams, and that is not viable in a place like Diu. Many of the younger community members that were interviewed had big ambitions such as Leslie Almeida, who was migrating to the UK in the coming December, in order to pursue his dream of being part of the medical industry (L. Almeida, personal communication, October 3, 2018). However, Leslie also wants to migrate to the UK to pursue his hobby of playing music with a band (L. Almeida,



personal communication, October 4, 2018). In a place like Diu which has minimal job diversity, dreams such as that of being a musician will rarely be realized as there is no audience for it in the region.

A factor that we came across, albeit briefly, and were not able to probe into fully was that of discrimination against the Portuguese community (as it is a very sensitive topic). An example of this is how Portuguese names are made fun of by the locals for being long and hard to pronounce (W. Almeida, personal communication, October 5, 2018). While we were not able to see any further blatant discrimination, some observations pointed towards the same. These included instances such as Portuguese monuments which had not been well maintained and were falling into disrepair, while other, non-Portuguese monuments were cleaned comparatively more often. This is a major push factor for the residents of Daman and Diu as they feel disappointed that the monuments have not been well maintained (W. Almeida, personal communication, October 5, 2018). Some believe that if these are better maintained, it would not only attract more people to explore the rich culture of Daman and Diu, but would also boost the economy of the region which is dependent on the tourism industry (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). After having considered the reasons for migration, the following section shall underscore the process of obtaining a Portuguese passport.

#### **5.4 Concerns regarding Migration**

While researching about our topic before going on-field, we had anticipated the possibility that Brexit would play a role in migration as majority of migrants from Daman and Diu migrate to London on a Portuguese passport (De Souza, 2013). This fact was later confirmed when we asked questions about the same on-field.

There are many reasons why a person would migrate to the UK instead of Portugal or any other EU state. One, Portugal being a member of the EU allows migration on a Portuguese passport to any of the EU member states. One of these, until recently, was the United Kingdom which was the heavily favoured destination for Portuguese migrants (N. Shamal, personal communication, October 2, 2018). Two, the UK has one of the most robust economies in Europe.



This provides gainful employment opportunities for migrants. Mr. Lloyd Anthony in his interview stated,

Why people go to London, UK, and why people don't go to Germany also. See Germany and UK, they are the biggest sized economies in European Union. They are a strong country, a developed country and they got a huge GDP status. Meanwhile, there are some countries, including Portugal, the GDP and income is on the lower side. (Lloyd Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018)

Three, the migrants are comfortable with the English language. While countries in Europe such as Germany and France are arguably as economically sound as the UK, the principal languages spoken in these countries are German and French respectively. As Mr. Lloyd Anthony went on to say,

“But why I will not go to Germany? Why I won't go to France? Why would I prefer to work in UK? And why I won't stay in Portugal? Portugal I know the language, but Portugal will not give me the opportunities to earn money. I'll go to UK because, what language I know, English, UK speaks English. I won't go to Germany because I don't know German” (Lloyd Anthony, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

However, with the variable of Brexit now introduced by the UK government, new laws state that all migrants from the EU will be given a temporary status after 30th March, 2019 (Power, 2018). The temporary status will last until December 2020, after which the transition phase will end. This was brought up repeatedly by many of our interviewees who mentioned the date on multiple occasions. As a result of this deadline, residents were rushing to get their Portuguese passport in order to migrate to London before this window expires, after which it will become considerably harder to gain access to the United Kingdom. This is a major push factor for the Indo-Portuguese residents as they are scrambling in order to finalize their passports.

## **5.5 Conclusion**

Migration is, hence, one of the primary factors that have caused the Indo-Portuguese population of Daman and Diu to diminish to the extent it has today. Community members tend to



lose contact with the regions after they migrate. This loss of contact translates into a loss of culture. Moreover, the ones who stay back are unable to showcase their culture as the population of the community is too small to sustain an attempt at keeping their culture alive. An aspect of this culture is the Indo-Portuguese language which is disappearing at an extremely fast rate due to this decreasing population. Additionally, those who do remain in Daman and Diu may own businesses or have connections to the region which enable individuals to stay in Daman and Diu. However, those who are not as fortunate as to own their own businesses migrate under the provision of a Portuguese passport in order to earn decent salaries. Consequently, the majority of migration is to the UK where there is a strong economy and many opportunities for gainful employment. The subsequent section will elaborate upon education – one of the other crucial factors that contribute to the decline of the Indo-Portuguese language.



## **Chapter 6: Formal and Informal Learning: Language of Instruction**

Ties between education and the decline of a language can be formulated at both formal as well as non-formal levels. As per the definition given by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), formal learning refers to the teaching or training which is provided at an institution such as school, with a structured method of teaching and certification of the learner (UNESCO, 2010). Complementing this is non-formal education, which occurs separately from the formal school system, such as learning from one's experiences or through the family, and this may or may not be regular and is sometimes referred to as "accidental learning" (UNESCO, 2010). This chapter looks at the role of education in the decline of the Portuguese creole in Daman and Diu mainly through the formal learning perspective, but with reference made to non-formal learning as well. It also discusses the Three Language Formula and the link between migration and education.

According to Bugarski (1992), the term language policy refers to the policy of a society in the area of linguistic communication – that is, the set of positions, principles, and decisions reflecting that community's relationships to its verbal repertoire and communicative potential. Language planning is understood as a set of concrete measures taken within language policy to act on linguistic communication in a community, typically by directing the development of its languages (Bugarski, 1992). Language policy, especially in relation to the public education system of a nation, holds significance in cultivation of linguistic identity from a young age. For the development of human capital for any state or district, its educational system plays an important role.

### **6.1 Education and the Role of Portuguese**

The presence of education and training institutions in Daman and Diu are vital for industrial development in the area of Daman and Diu since most people either have government jobs or are skilled workers. The Three Language Formula for the Indian education system was a joint effort by the central government and the policy makers for the Central Board of Secondary Education or CBSE (Meganathan, 2011). The National Policy Resolution of 1968 introduced the





Three Language Formula, which recommended that Hindi, English, and a local language be taught at all schools (Meganathan, 2011). In the case of Daman and Diu, Gujarati was taken as the regional language. Within a few decades of this, Portuguese was no longer taught at any school in Daman or Diu, as per several of our interviewees in both cities. Mr. Arockiam Thomas stated that Portuguese was taught at Nirmala Mata School in Diu about 15 years ago by Father Mariano (personal communication, October, 2018). To the contrary, Ms. Lucia and Mr. Gilbert both mentioned that Portuguese was taught by Father Machado till his passing, which was around 1980 (G. Almeida, personal communication, October, 2018; L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). In Daman and Diu, language planning has helped in standardizing majority of the population but has led to the decline of Portuguese as well as Daman and Diu Indo-Portuguese, outside private spheres.

### **Mobilising Students during Liberation**

On 18th December, 1961, a rumour was heard across the city of Daman. Young Tertullian D'Costa, studying in grammar school, was sent by the military to run errands as a scout and guide job. It was a matter of emergency, as he heard that the Indian military had started bombing and advancing further into the city. The Portuguese were still adamantly refusing to hand over the territory. The next morning, matters had become worse as the Indian Air Force had begun bombing Daman. With no ammunition and security, the Portuguese Government became helpless. Later that day, they finally surrendered and the Indian army was successful. Tertullian was informed that his school was bombed but nobody was injured. Later, he was relieved to learn that it was untrue and the building was left as it is.

#### *Vignette 5*

Beginning with our first observation in the pre-existing literature, Portuguese was the official language of Daman and Diu before Liberation. From the responses of our older interviewees, we gathered that the older generations attended technical grammar school and conversed in Portuguese with other Catholics on a daily basis. One of our respondents, Mr. Tertullian D'Costa, mentioned,



From the age of 5, we started to go to pre-primary school. After that, we went to primary school up to 4<sup>th</sup> standard. After that, we joined the grammar school. It was in Portuguese. I finished two years in grammar school and that is called *Liseau*. When the Liberation took place, we had to shift out. They had stopped all Portuguese medium schools. We had to move to English medium schools. (personal communication, October 1, 2018)

Mr. D'Costa, Cardoso (2009) and Clements (1991) have stated that Portuguese as a medium of education in schools ceased to exist after 1961, after which Portuguese was taught until the 1980s as an optional subject in schools. However, very few students opted to study it. Our respondents informed us that the Convent of Our Lady of Fatima in Daman and Nirmala Mata School in Diu were the only schools that continued to teach Portuguese for a period post the 1961 Liberation. Portuguese was removed from the curriculum and only Gujarati, Hindi and English were the languages being taught in governmental, private as well as parochial schools. This shows an obvious decline in the formal usage and relevance of Portuguese and perhaps an incline in the languages that replaced it: English, Gujarati, and Hindi. The shift in the medium of education also holds political relevance, specifically in the context of post-colonial nations.

Presently, Portuguese is only used as a liturgical language by the territory's Catholics and the older generation, who know how to speak the form of Portuguese that was widely spoken during the colonial period. Through the application of Fernandes' (1997) study, we note that as the language has been passed on from generation to generation, it has formed a dialect that is mixed with local Indian languages, mainly Gujarati in the case of Daman and Diu. The typical characteristics of these dialects are the modulation of the phrases, which is sometimes difficult to express with clarity in writing, and the scarcity or absence of proper rules for grammatical structure, in elements such as singular and plural, masculine and feminine, and the like (Fernandes, 1997). Thus the dialect is a mixture of an archaic form of Portuguese (Fernandes, 1997).



Image 3: Nirjala Mata High School, Diu

Source: Discover India Program, 2018

## 6.2 Drawing parallels from other nations

A study on the education systems and change in the language of instruction in Hong Kong and Macau shed light on the importance of language of education (Bray & Koo, 2004). To understand the educational system in Daman, parallels may be drawn with other Portuguese colonies, in this case Macau. One of the reasons for locals in Macau to receive education in Portuguese was linked to the framework of civil service. Civil services and bureaucracy was considered a distinguished profession which mandated fluency in Portuguese. To become adept in the language, the Portuguese government in Macau institutionalized Portuguese in educational settings. Despite the recognition of Chinese as an official language after Macau's integration as a special administrative region of China, Portuguese continued to dominate in institutional settings making Chinese a "subsidiary language in [the] government" (Bray and Koo, 2004, p. 230).



With the end of Portuguese presence in Macau in 1999, the government prioritized language used in educational settings. There was an overall increase in the number of institutions teaching Chinese as well as English. The proportion of students in English-medium schools in Macau grew significantly while a steady decline of Portuguese was observed. This phenomenon was linked to “market forces” rather than “official policies” (Bray & Koo, 2004, p. 229). The introduction of English and Chinese “crowded out” Portuguese and residents were forced to learn a “foreign language” to secure employment.

A similar observation was made on-field. Portuguese as a language, before Liberation, was seen as an asset for employment. Catholics proficient in Portuguese were preferred for white collar jobs. However, with the liberation of Daman and Diu in 1961 and with the introduction of the Official Languages Act (1987) the utility of Portuguese diminished. The government actively advocated English and dominant regional languages such as Gujarati. The Liberation also meant that the Catholics in Diu had to compete for white collar jobs with migrants. Mr. Remedios during an on-field interview said:

“Later on, after Liberation one had to compete with other people. You had to study, education was necessary so we had taken English. We started studying English so some worked as teachers, most of them were teachers. Those who were employed, the government accommodated them in employment but later we had to compete... [earlier] the Christian could get job very easily. Just because of the status. But later on, after the Liberation, we had to study to compete with other castes and communities. Job was same for everyone” (personal communication, October 3, 2018).

One of the plausible reasons that English was chosen as the official language of education over Portuguese is due to the linguistic diversity of India. This claim is based upon a parallel that we observed between post-Independence India and the situation in Kyrgyzstan after separation from the USSR. In the case of Kyrgyzstan, Russian was chosen as the official language despite the presence of other dominant regional languages. This was done to ensure that the citizens aligning their identities with these languages do not clash against each other (Bray & Koo, 2004).



### 6.3 Informal Education, Portuguese and the Younger Generation

Despite the decline of Portuguese in formal education, the language continues to be spoken in an informal setting albeit it is limited and in decline. Knowledge regarding the language is imparted to the younger generation through oral tradition with an absence of pedagogy and structure. In this regard, Ball (2014) emphasizes the relation between the vitality of a language and culture, by alluding to the fact that the absence of education through mother tongues and regional languages leads to “a rapid depletion of the world’s repository of languages and dialects and the cultural knowledges that are carried through them” (Ball, 2014).

The younger generation is more interested in what can aid them in advancing their careers. Subjects such as French are now being offered in Daman schools due to the increase in demand, while Portuguese is not being taken up as a third language due to the lack of proper Portuguese teachers as well as a lack of interest. Mr. Gabriel Guedes said in his interview:

Our youth is not interested to learn the Portuguese language. They are not interested. Even by giving them free lessons and about this language, they are very happy that they know the Indo-Portuguese dialect of Daman, which they speak at home and that only Catholics, but they are not interested in further learning. (personal communication, October 1, 2018).

#### **The Young Portuguese Poet of Daman**

A 15-year old boy, Hermenegildo had a strong inclination towards poetry. He had no training, no inspiration, but he had the courage to dream. He slept with a notebook and a pencil by his side, thinking of rhyming words all night. Till 10 to 11 o’clock in the night, his mind revolved around Portuguese words like, “fleur, amour...” and there was no end to it. In the morning, he would note down the same words and try to recall the thoughts that were associated with it. He would later make corrections to them and immediately scribble them down on his poem book. Many years later, while narrating this story he mentioned “At that time, I don’t know why I didn’t use a pen. I still can’t recollect. But I still have the notebook with me.” He was 15 when he started writing in Portuguese. Now he has penned over 50 poems in Portuguese and over 17 in English.

*Vignette 6*



The team observed through the interviews of the younger members of the community that some of them have an intense dislike for the Portuguese language. Ryan Britto, one of the younger generation members that the team interviewed in Diu, told us “I don’t like to speak in Portuguese. My parents want that I should learn but...we both should speak with friends also Portuguese but I just say I don’t want... Nothing is a reason, I just don’t- I- from heart I just didn’t feel that I should learn Portuguese” (personal communication, October 3, 2018). Another respondent in Daman, Mr. Noel Gama, told us about his son:

... I have found so many people who mix with the youth and all, they learn Portuguese. My son is an exception. He always spoke [in English]... Till today he can’t stand Portuguese music. He calls it BS [bullshit], all that... Only my son, and it’s a shame because...he does not like anything Portuguese. (personal communication, October 4, 2018)

While not directly evident, this could be linked to Ball’s (2014) argument since language forms a major part of cultural identity, and some of the younger generation experiences a disconnect with the linguistic identity of their family.

## **6.4 Conclusion**

The creoles of Daman and Diu are the mother tongue of the Indo-Portuguese Catholic community. Loss of mother tongues has been linked to the education system and the language of primary instruction in several studies. These include Ball’s 2014 blog study in the Global Partnership for Education, as well as papers commissioned for and published by the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (2011). Though we observed a decline in creole as well as Portuguese, the latter is undergoing a faster decline than the creole, due to its removal from school curricula. Additionally, Portuguese has little utility within the workplace in India. This means that since there is no “demand” for Portuguese in employment, “supply” of the language at the school level would be unnecessary (Anonymous, personal communication, October 3, 2018).



Implementation of the Three Language Formula poses a further challenge to the salience of Portuguese and the Daman and Diu creoles. As per Abbi's (2009, p. 304) hierarchical pyramid of Indian languages, neither Portuguese nor the creoles are recognized officially because they do not have enough speakers. We gathered from Father Adrian D'Souza and Mrs Helena that there were 630 Indo-Portuguese Catholics in Daman and 90-95 in Diu, which represents only a small proportion of the total population of the Union territory, which is 2,42,911 (Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, 2011). The demographic of the Union territory mostly comprises of Gujaratis or Hindus and Muslims, primarily speaking Hindi (Wanmali & Lodrick, 2018). Hence, the regional language would be Gujarati. Inferring from the above facts, it would be impractical to deem Portuguese or the creoles as a regional language and incorporate them within the Three Language Formula.



## Chapter 7: Conclusion and Analysis

The initial findings of the research seemed to vary from the claims put forth by Cardoso (2009). His claim that the creole is in decline seems to be true albeit not at the pace he mentions. Furthermore, Portuguese is declining at a faster rate despite holding higher prestige. One of the reasons is that despite the migration of community members from Daman and Diu to Europe, the creoles continue to be spoken at home. The team also observed that the Daman community perceived the Diu creole to be “a broken language” (Fr. Adrian, personal communication, October 5, 2018) while the Diu community perceived the Daman creole to be “rough” and ranked below Diu creole (H. Alvarez, personal communication, October 5, 2018).

A claim that runs parallel to Clements’s (1991) work is that there is a sense of in-group feeling. Out-group differences between the Gujaratis and the Catholics were on the basis of education and profession (Anonymous, personal communication, October 2, 2018). Similarly, an informal chat with Mr. Noel Gama (personal communication, October 4, 2018) suggested that there was stratification within the community based on language, location and identity. Profession has greatly affected the identity and the creolization process in Badrapur – it has more elements of Gujarati as the region houses more working-class people (N. Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018). This was substantiated by Fredrik Barth’s (1998) theory of identity and the Social Identity Theory (Tajfel & Turner, 1979).

Cardoso’s (2009) claim that the Church and Christianity were introduced alongside Portuguese as a language of propagation is true. The language is propagated through Church Mass and hymns. An additional observation that the team in Daman made was that the frequency of Portuguese Masses depended on the population density of Portuguese speakers in the region. This also affected the settlement patterns where settlements were poly-focal around the Bom Jesus Church and the Chapel of Our Lady of Rosario in Fort Daman. A similar pattern was observed in Diu where settlement patterns were around three churches – St. Paul’s church, St. Francis of Assisi church and St. Thomas Church (converted into Diu Museum).





An interesting observation made was that learning the language is a strenuous task for the priests from the Pilar Society. The priests take the help of local teachers and former professors to learn the language and pronunciation in order to conduct sermons in Portuguese. The effort to learn the language has been appreciated by some such as Hermenegildo Lopes while natives such as Noel Gama and his mother look at them as outsiders because they are unable to pronounce the words and accents correctly. Another reason they look at them as outsiders is that funds from Portugal meant for restoring Portuguese heritage in Daman have been diverted to Goa by the priests and nuns.

Another observation that the team made is that there is the presence of a lacuna between the mind-set of the older generation and the younger generation. The older generation expects the younger generation to become involved in community mobilization but during the team's interaction with Ryan Britto, it was found that the youth do not identify themselves as Portuguese. Additionally, the closure of the Portuguese Learning Centre in Daman which was funded by the Portuguese government and run by Mr. Gabriel Guedes for the young to learn Portuguese led us to the same inference made by Ryan Britto. The sense of disconnect from the language has eventually led them to move towards English. Though the younger generation are able to understand the language, they are unable to converse in Portuguese. This has led to the conduction of Masses in English.

There was also a desire among the Indo-Portuguese community in Daman to integrate with Gujarat or become a separate state as seen in the case of Goa (N. Gama, personal communication, October 4, 2018). The community was also upset with the efforts made by the magistrate and the authorities to widen the roads within Fort Daman, which entailed demolishing old walls around the convent in Fort Daman. The community members were also unfamiliar with their linguistic rights under the Constitution.

The team's on-field research found that there is a strong link between migration and the Indo-Portuguese identity. This finding is in line with findings made by Cardoso (2006a) and De Souza (2012). During an informal conversation with Mr. Gama (personal communication, October 6, 2018), he mentioned that his son did not identify himself as a Portuguese descendant



and now lives in England with his mother. The primary reason that people migrated to Europe was due to better job opportunities. This is complemented by better education, medical facilities and social welfare schemes which act as pull factor.

The above reasons have resulted in a surge of issuance of Red Passports from the Portuguese Embassy in Goa which was in similar vein to what Cardoso mentioned (2009). However, the issue of Red Passports has also been marred with identity theft. To counter this, the procedure of getting the passport has been made more stringent (L. Rebello, personal communication, October 3, 2018). The issuance of red passports has resulted in younger generations migrating to achieve their dreams. Mr. Gilbert (personal communication, October 5, 2018) hoped to start his band after his previous band disbanded while Leslie Almeida (personal communication, October 3, 2018) wanted to pursue nursing in England. The community members are hurrying to obtain their passport and move to UK due to Brexit.

The implementation of the Three Language Formula poses a challenge to the vitality of the language. Additionally, language cannot be officially recognized due to the low number of speakers. This means that it cannot be implemented in school curricula. Furthermore, Portuguese was removed as a first language after the Liberation and this created difficulty for the children to grasp the new language – English (T. D’Costa, personal communication, October 1, 2018). This finding is congruent with De Souza’s (2012) claims.

## **7.1 Findings and Utility of Research**

1. There is a dissonance between the interests of the younger generation and the expectations of the older generations leading to a different understanding of the culture. This has affected their expectations.
2. Cases of identity thefts have been reported and the Indo-Portuguese migration is expected to change dramatically due to Brexit.
3. Though scholars mention that there is a decline of the creole and an increase in number of Portuguese speakers, the on-field findings and observations have proved this wrong. Instead, there is a faster decline of Portuguese among the speakers while the creole



remains as a mother tongue even among families that have migrated. The decline in Portuguese is occurring despite the language being considered more prestigious than the creole.

4. There is a sense of superiority in terms of language among Daman over Diu. The opposite was observed by the Diu team. Residents of both union territories feel that the residents of the other territory speak a broken language although there is no explicit reason for this feeling.
5. The residents of Daman state that they want Daman to be integrated into Gujarat (N. Gama, October 4, 2018) however such a demand has not been registered with the Collectorate of Daman (C. Parekh, personal communication, October 4, 2018).

## **7.2 Limitations and Scope for Further Research**

The greatest challenge we faced was the duration of on-field visit. Through our literature review, we found that there is no concrete number of speakers in the region. The only verified number was an estimated number by the community members. Another limitation we faced was that the community members were disappointed that Christians and Portuguese academicians were not conducting the research. This resulted in some of the respondents being evasive when posed with religious questions.

The team was also unable to understand the mechanism of how fake passports were obtained in depth as this would involve talking to policemen and investigators. It was also difficult to find young respondents aged between 18 and 25 years in Daman since most of them had migrated to Europe. We could only interview a few members of the community who had migrated to UK through Skype.

Further research can be conducted on understanding how Brexit would affect the association of the community with their Indo-Portuguese roots in Daman and Diu. Research can also be conducted to understand the mechanism of state intervention for preventing the creation of fake passports. Furthermore, the role of education and identity loss can be analysed in greater detail.



The team has only focused upon the Indo-Portuguese community and language of Daman and Diu. The scope of this study can be extended to a comparative analysis of the language and identity in other former Indo-Portuguese colonies, such as Korlai, Goa, Silvassa, Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Expanding the ambit of this research project will provide for a better and more holistic understanding of post-colonial identities in the multilingual, multi-ethnic context of India. Consequently, the study of Indo-Portuguese linguistics and community will be a great contribution to preventing the death of a language and a culture.

## References

- Abbi, A. (2009). Vanishing diversities and submerging identities: An Indian case. In A. Sarangi (Ed.), *Language and Politics in India* (pp. 299-311). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Ball, J. (2014, February 21). Children learn better in their mother tongue: Advancing research on mother tongue-based multilingual education [Web log]. Retrieved from <https://www.globalpartnership.org/blog/children-learn-better-their-mother-tongue>
- Barth, F. (1998). *Ethnic groups and boundaries: The social organization of culture difference*. Long Grove, Illinois: Waveland Press.
- Brass, P. (2009). Elite interests, popular passions, and social power in the language politics of India. In A. Sarangi (Ed.), *Language and Politics in India* (pp. 183-217). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Bray, M., & Koo, R. (2004). Postcolonial patterns and paradoxes - Language and education in Hong Kong and Macao. *Comparative Education*, 40(2), 215-239. DOI: 10.1080/0305006042000231365
- Brown, I. (1999). *Cultures and Customs of the Dominican Republic*. London: Greenwood Press
- Bugarski, R. (1992). *Language planning in Yugoslavia*. Slavica Publications.
- The Cambridge Encyclopaedia of Language. (1997). Cambridge, United Kingdom: Cambridge University Press.
- Cardoso, H. (2006a). Challenges to Indo-Portuguese across India. In R. Elangaiyan, R. M. Brown, N. D. M. Ostler, & M. K. Verma (Eds.), *Vital Voices: Endangered Language and Multilingualism* (pp. 23-30). Mysore: Foundation for Endangered Languages.
- Cardoso, H. (2006b). Diu Indo-Portuguese at Present. *Journal of Pidgin and Creole Languages* 21(2). 359-370.
- Cardoso, H. (2009). *The Indo-Portuguese language of Diu*. Utrecht: LOT.
- Cardoso, H. (2013). Diu Indo-Portuguese. In Michaelis, M., Maurer, P., Haspelmath, M., & Huber, M. (Eds.), *The Survey of Pidgin and Creole Languages, Volume 2: Portuguese-based, Spanish-based and French-based Languages*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Constitution of India. (1950). Retrieved from [https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/mpi/files/coi\\_part\\_full.pdf](https://www.india.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mpi/files/coi_part_full.pdf)
- Creole (n.d.). In *Oxford Living Dictionaries*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/creole>
- De Souza, G. (2012). Daman: Headed nowhere [image]. *Herald Insight*. Retrieved from <http://bygerarddsouza.blogspot.com/2013/01/daman-headed-nowhere.html>
- Darquennes, J., & Vandebussche, W. (2011). Language and religion as a sociolinguistic field of study: some introductory notes. *Sociolinguistica - International Yearbook of European Sociolinguistics*, 25, p.1-11. Retrieved from [http://homepages.vub.ac.be/~wvdbussc/2012\\_SL25\\_1-11\\_Darquennes%20Vandenbussche.pdf](http://homepages.vub.ac.be/~wvdbussc/2012_SL25_1-11_Darquennes%20Vandenbussche.pdf)
- Etikan, I., Musa, S., & Alkassium, R. (2016). Comparison of convenience sampling and purposive sampling. *American Journal of Theoretical and Applied Statistics*, 5(1), pp. 1-4.
- Etikan, I., & Bala, K. (2017). Sampling and sampling methods. *Biometrics & Biostatistics International Journal*, 5(6), pp. 1-3.
- Fasold, R. (1987). *The Sociolinguistics of Society*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Fernandes, A. (1997). Influence of Portuguese language and culture of Daman. In C. Borges, & H. Feldmann (Eds.), *Goa and Portugal: Their cultural links* (pp.220-233). New Delhi: Concept Publication.
- Goa Industrial Development Act. (1965). *Goa Industrial Development Corporation Manual: 2*. Retrieved from <https://www.goaidc.com/pdf/man2.pdf>
- Google Earth. (n.d.) [image of settlement around Bom Jesus Church in Daman, India]. Retrieved November 22, 2018, from <https://earth.google.com/web/>
- Google Earth. (n.d.) [image of settlement around St Paul Church in Diu, India]. Retrieved November 22, 2018, from <https://earth.google.com/web/>

- Halperin, S., & Heath, O. (2012). *Political Research: Methods and Practical Skills*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- History of Daman. (n.d.). Retrieved from <http://www.damanonline.in/city-guide/history-of-daman>
- Inalcik, H., & Faroqhi, S. (1997). *An Economic and Social History of the Ottoman Empire*. Cambridge University Press.
- Jourdan, C., & Tuite, K. (2003). The genesis of pidgin and creole languages: A state of the art. Retrieved from [https://archipel.uqam.ca/259/1/Genesis\\_of\\_PC.pdf](https://archipel.uqam.ca/259/1/Genesis_of_PC.pdf)
- Keesing's Record of World Events. (1962). *Indian occupation of Portuguese territories in India. - Invasion of Goa, Daman, and Diu. - Incorporation in Indian Union*. Retrieved September 20, 2018, from <http://web.stanford.edu/group/tomzgroup/pmwiki/uploads/1074-1962-03-KS-a-RCW.pdf>
- Kerswill, P. (2006). Migration and language. In Klaus Mattheier, Ulrich Ammon & Peter Trudgill (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics/Soziolinguistik. An international handbook of the science of language and society* (Vol 3). Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Lawson, A. (2010). Last speaker of ancient language of Bo dies in India. *BBC News*. Retrieved from [http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south\\_asia/8498534.stm](http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/south_asia/8498534.stm)
- Maboyi, A. (2015). Role of religion in colonialism. *The Chronicle*. Retrieved from <https://www.chronicle.co.zw/role-of-religion-in-colonialism/>
- Meganathan, R. (2011). Language policy in education and the role of English in India: From library language to language of empowerment. In H. Coleman (Ed.) *Dreams and Realities: Developing Countries and the English Language* (pp. 57-85). London: British Council. Retrieved from [https://ia600208.us.archive.org/16/items/ERIC\\_ED530679/ERIC\\_ED530679.pdf](https://ia600208.us.archive.org/16/items/ERIC_ED530679/ERIC_ED530679.pdf)
- Ministry of Human Resource Development, Government of India. (2013). Language education. Retrieved from [http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload\\_files/mhrd/files/upload\\_document/languagebr.pdf](http://mhrd.gov.in/sites/upload_files/mhrd/files/upload_document/languagebr.pdf)

- National Council of Applied Economic Research. (2016). Gross State Domestic Product of Daman and Diu (pp. 16-17, Rep.). Retrieved from [https://daman.nic.in/websites/planning\\_daman/documents/2017/GSDP-Daman and Diu Report March 212016.pdf](https://daman.nic.in/websites/planning_daman/documents/2017/GSDP-Daman and Diu Report March 212016.pdf)
- Nativization (n.d.). In *Oxford Dictionary*. Retrieved from <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/nativization>
- Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. (2001a). General Note. Retrieved from [http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census Data 2001/Census Data Online/Language/gen\\_note.html](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/Census Data 2001/Census Data Online/Language/gen_note.html)
- Office of the Registrar General & Census Commissioner, India. (2011). Language. Retrieved from [www.censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/C-16\\_25062018\\_NEW.pdf](http://www.censusindia.gov.in/2011Census/C-16_25062018_NEW.pdf)
- Office of the Registrar General and Census Commissioner, India (2001b). Data highlights migration tables (D1, D1 (Appendix), D2 and D3 Tables). Retrieved from <http://censusindia.gov.in/Data Products/Data Highlights/Data Highlights link/data highlights D1D2D3.pdf>
- Official Language Act (1987). *Manual of Goa laws 3* pp. 487-492. Retrieved from <https://www.daman.nic.in/acts-rules/Hindi-department/documents/Official%20Language%20Act.pdf>
- Pereira, M. (2000). *Religion, identity and community - The religious life of Portuguese women in Durban* (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/43175105.pdf>
- Power, G. (2018, August 10). How will Brexit affect immigration? *The Week*. Retrieved from <https://www.theweek.co.uk/95761/how-brexit-will-change-immigration>.
- Premier. (2016). *Novena*. Retrieved from <https://www.premier.org.uk/Projects/Novena>
- Rahman, A. (2018). With the island's old-timers moving to Europe, Diu's 400-year-old Portuguese influence is fading. *The Hindu*. Retrieved from



<https://www.thehindu.com/society/with-the-islands-old-timers-moving-to-europe-dius-400-year-old-portuguese-influence-is-fading/article23528249.ece>

- Samarin, W. (1987): The language of religion. In A. Ulrich, D. Norbert, & M. Klaus (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics. An international handbook of the science of language and society* (Vol. 1, pp. 85-91). New York: de Gruyter.
- Sarangi, A. (2009). Introduction. In A. Sarangi (Ed.), *Language and Politics in India* (pp. 1-38). New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Shakib, M. (2011). The position of language in development of colonization. *Journal of Languages and Culture*, 2(7), 117-123.
- Sharma, G. (2017). Pros and cons of different sampling techniques. *International Journal of Applied Research*, 3(7), pp. 749-752.
- Shullai, P. (2017). Colonialism, Christianity and Mission Activities in India: A Postcolonial Perspectives. *International Journal of Humanities & Social Science Studies (IJHSSS)*, 3(5), 324-334.
- Singh, K. (ed.) (2002). *People of India: Introduction*. New Delhi: Oxford University Press.
- Tajfel, H., & Turner, J. C. (1979). "An integrative theory of intergroup conflict". In W. G. Austin & S. Worchel. *The social psychology of intergroup relations* (pp. 33-47). Monterey, CA: Brooks/Cole.
- Tombat, N. (1994). Tristao de Braganza-Cunha (1891- 1958) and the rise of nationalist consciousness in Goa (Doctoral dissertation). Retrieved from <http://hdl.handle.net/10603/31750>
- UNESCO (2010). Guidelines for TVET policy review: draft. Retrieved from <http://unesdoc.unesco.org/images/0018/001874/187487e.pdf>
- U.T. Administration of Daman and Diu (2016). About Daman. Retrieved from <https://daman.nic.in/about-daman.aspx>
- Wanmali, S., & Lodrick, D. (2018). Daman and Diu. In *Encyclopædia Britannica online*. Retrieved from <https://www.britannica.com/place/Daman-and-Diu>

West Oxfordshire District Council. (2013). *Design Guide 5 Settlement Type*. Retrieved from [https://www.westoxon.gov.uk/media/1420188/WODG-2016\\_section5.pdf](https://www.westoxon.gov.uk/media/1420188/WODG-2016_section5.pdf)

Williams, G. (1992). *Sociolinguistics. A sociological critique*. London: Routledge





## **Appendix**

### Transcripts

#### Interview of Noel Gama (Daman)

(Author, Historian, Musician and gatekeeper to previous researchers)

4th October, 2018

Interviewer - So the local languages, when you say...

Noel Gama - So the local languages of Daman is heterogeneous, it is not homogeneous. So when you say Daman Portuguese... you can call it biryani... it's like that. It's a mix of lots of things. But those who speak very correct Portuguese, they have all died. They studied in Portuguese.

Now my mother is living, but... she's 80... She'll be 88 in December. She comes from the higher class and all that, so... but she got a stroke in 2014, so only what you ask her, she answers. She's in a daze. Healthy [00:00:38.21]. She speaks English but, Portuguese is very good, her Portuguese is good. So her class of people have all died and [00:00:47.12]. Then comes we... we are the children of such people. Only we are there, means I and one brother. All the others... there was a mass exodus after the liberation. They didn't want to...

Interviewer - It was using the Portuguese passports?

Noel Gama - That is now. That time they left out of fear of India. It was an invasion, we were bombarded whole day. Two jets used to come from Bombay. A child, 4 year old child was mistaken for military and from the top they dropped a bomb. She was running away from the convent, she died. Her body is [00:01:32.08]. There is a chapel inside, behind the chapel. They were twins. The other sister is living, she's in USA now. This was in 1961, December. So it was almost 36 hours of military... full Marathi regiment came, surrounded. And here the soldiers were very few, Portuguese soldiers. Some died, from here, but more died from the India's side because we had Africans, guerrilla warfare experts. Portuguese army [00:02:03.15]. They played havoc at night from the trees and all [00:02:07.22]. But then we had to surrender. Then Portugal sent a ship, better ship and... That time Saudi Arabia was... pro-India. So they blocked the Suez Canal, blocked the ship. And it's good the ship didn't come because all this would have been destroyed. We would have perished also.

Interviewer - We also saw the, um, church near Our Lady of Fatima that was...

Interviewer - The church inside Our Lady of Fatima.

Noel Gama - Ah yes, the next to it. But that was not destroyed by Indian army, that was... it fell down, I mean it collapsed many years back, maybe 100 years back.

Interviewer - Okay, because, what we heard is that there are two ruins, one is inside the convent and the other one is the Dominican.

Noel Gama - Dominican, that is earthquake. Earthquake also maybe 100 or 2 years- 200 years back. They didn't destroy any churches, when they bombed... the Indians. I was four-and-a-half or something. This, I think it remains in my mind because of two things – it had a big impact or effect on me, nothing went wrong psychologically but for a child to be present in, it's like a war or like a- . And secondly is that we keep on thinking about it because... and parents talk about it, so it's still fresh in my mind. In small- I was staying in Small Daman. There the church... that is another thing that you won't find even in UK... our churches are not built - Portuguese churches - straight on the ground, in the ground. There's a platform like the Taj Mahal and then... I think that is the Arabic influence on all the churches in Portugal are like that. See this church has got a platform, fort area- all the chapels. And UK you go, all the churches are straight into the ground. They have a church yard. Now this word is *adro* a-d-r-o. I could not find in today the dictionary, the English word for this platform, call it platform. So there when the bombing started, Portuguese soldiers went and brought bedsheets- white bedsheets. They laid it down. It was, I think before 8 in the morning, maybe 7 o'clock in the morning. And they took mercurochrome, and they made huge red crosses on that. So, they can see, so they didn't bomb us. We were in church, that day. I mean...

Interviewer - So like, were you offered any safe place during this...?

Noel Gama - No there was no time to run, because it was illegal, no? We didn't know we were going to get attacked. It was being discussed in the UN, for a gradual handover. And... there was a Defense Minister, Krishna Menon, who didn't tell them when he attacked. And Nehru didn't

know, he was told by Krishna Menon. Nehru said no, it will be discussed on the table. And people were calling Nehru a liar, but Nehru was betrayed. He told Nehru that... it's too late, the forces have already been mobilised and they have attacked. So we were not ready. But then we had our spies also, those who were pro-India... mostly non-Christians, this local Tandel community, Patels and all... so they knew because they all stocked ration in their houses, [00:05:22.10], seen them carrying grains, this and that. So they knew, we didn't know. We were taken completely by surprise. And many of our people- I was in Small Daman but it seems we had... not a single this was there like in goa, rape cases and all, by the military here, it was Maratha regime. But they ransacked food, gold and all that they took. But people were not harmed at all, while in Goa it was very bad. And goa wanted freedom. In two hours they surrendered. We surrendered after 36 hours, more than Diu, because our Governor was a... Major in the army. And he was wounded here \*gestures to leg\* ...in his leg, somebody shot him. So then he said that "I'll surrender last. Show me proof that Goa and Diu have surrendered." And people were pleading that "please surrender because, we would all get killed otherwise [00:06:20.20]". Then the exodus started. Indian government gave us, you know one month or two months, I can't remember... my mother also won't remember, to decide whether you want to stay or go. So, those who wanted to go they were flown to... Karachi, because Pakistan was naturally, an ally of Portugal, because it's an enemy of India, in some manner. The people who were there, everything was paid for them, and we who stayed back, we were given some time to go and deposit the money and get Indian rupees... currency was Portuguese, no? So... my father's clinic was, many houses were taken over by the army to stay. They camped here for few months. So my father's clinic- he was a dentist- was taken over. They robbed some things but, uh... the guy was Colonel Bhonsale. So my father was [00:07:15.20]. They became friends, so he got everything back... what was robbed, he got everything back. So then from Karachi people were sent either to Africa, Portuguese Africa- with employment, everything. So many people went there. Others went to Portugal- they could opt, where they wanted to go, jobs were provided and all that. That was the first wave. Second wave happened now, due to this, uh... EU thing, that, uh.... otherwise people were not going to Portugal – there is no jobs, opportunities. So, when it became EU, then everybody wanted a Portuguese passport and they never went to Portugal. Straight Bombay to London. Now they're visiting Portugal as tourists and all because they've got money, but otherwise there's straight to UK for them.

Interviewer - But even now, this Brexit would become an issue for those who are planning to go...

Noel Gama - Uh, those who went late. Those who went 10 years back and all they are okay. Then there's a tough [00:08:12.04] for them. But the Brexit, main thing is that some benefits are being cut off. There are many people here who go only because of- they take their old people and keep them in bed, just to gain from the benefit. They get everything paid for them, it's a welfare state, they're doing that. Then, typical of our country, because of this thing to go to UK, people in civil departments started making money. Like, if I... all old people who were still alive or people who died, they were resurrected, and a person who does not belong to this place was given that birth certificate by paying money. And they all, many went. Many, and many people made money – Sub-Registrars became rich, those who issue birth certificate, those who do the – what is that called? The truth of the... it was flourishing in the 90s. Then there, there was something to check when the renewal of passport comes, then many had to go to jail, they were caught with false seals and all that. So, this happens more in Goa and Diu. These two places are more corrupt than Goa – Diu and Daman. Because our locals are actually Gujaratis from here, we are good in cheating. So, Maharashtrians were not such big cheats as Gujaratis. So... this went on. Now they are strict. But still there are cases where- there was a case where one guy found out that somebody else was already there for 10 years with his birth certificate. So then he made an agreement with him, half of your salary you pay. He is sitting here, not working at all, drinking away, and he gets. Otherwise I'll tell the police you'll go in jail. And there also he'll be arrested in UK and sent back, deported. I mean fake- all the papers are fake. So, these things are rampant in this place while in Goa it doesn't- they're all [00:10:11.13].

Interviewer - Sir um, about the fake birth certificate, is there any idea about the religion of these people, like the ones who applied for the...?

Noel Gama - All are non-Christians. Because Christians don't need fake. We were always here.

Interviewer - And they already have the provision...



Noel Gama - Already have the provision. These are people from mainland India, and some from here who were born after that. Like now, this generation who was born after 1961, they do this, because to find their parents and all they were not registering. This, how do I call them? Here they just call them non-Catholics but it's wrong. It's the... Patels and all, they are [00:10:54.10]. Now they are rich, because of [00:10:58.13]. But... they, their parents didn't register their births, they don't know their age. So they don't have records. Because of that they go into this. But from mainland India, many. There was one guy from- he was a Sindhi guy. And he came to meet me once and he was from Portugal. His name was Antonio Chainani. So then one day, he got arrested. I was shocked, and Sub-Registrar was a strict one from Goa. He told me "Noel you disassociate from this guy, his name is not Antonio, he is a Sindhi from... and he is staying in Portugal since so many years and all." Then he bribed the authorities involved, he ran away from jail. But he was beaten up by the police – typical third world country, there's no reason for beating up anyone under any circumstance... rampant here. Like all over India. And then... there are cases, lots of cases. Then he showed me the documents and all that he had... it all looked authentic, given by one advocate from Daman who minted money doing these things.

When I speak of identity, this is correct, your this thing and like, the cultural identity and all. But, all of these people, their official identity is of Portuguese, not even NRI. See, they are Portuguese nationals, these who go to UK. They take the Portuguese passport, it's not like other Indians going to USA, and they are [00:12:26.13]. These are Portuguese nationals. When they come here for holidays, they have to take a visa to come to India. Now they are giving that, what is that called? What my brother's got it. There you have got one passport but every three years or five years you pay 50,000 rupees to get that. Everybody has got that now. There is an arrangement where ethnically you're from here, but politically they are Portuguese.

Interviewer - Is it OIC?

Noel Gama - OIC, OIC. Not OIC.

Interviewer – I mean the must be OICs right?

Noel Gama - OICs. So... that I think 5000- 50,000 every five years. So my brother [00:13:16.13] is a dentist. He says "why should I pay 50,000 I'll go for holiday to Portugal with that money."

And he goes [00:13:23.09] and comes here instead of paying 50,000 cash to Indian government. So, that is going on. But I don't know how these people have got Aadhar card also. Like in my case I don't have a Portuguese- I am not interested to go to live there. But my wife and both children, they are Portuguese nationals. I am one of those 0.001% who continues to have an Indian passport. That way they got- they are in UK also. One son is in UK studying. So they went now. So the official identity, political identity, whatever happens to the language... on paper they are Portuguese nationals. But they are staying here. And they all come down for Christmas. The place fills up. And.... but another thing that has happened, very curious thing, our culture was quite Portuguese and all and, music... then there was this English- what we call English music, otherwise it was all Portuguese. We could never, I mean Bollywood could never enter this place, but why UK it's become mainstream now. There, they don't mix with the whites, means the whites reject our people. So, they find their identity by linking back with Gujaratis, Indians who have been settled there for ages. So they feel a bit of moral support. So there they mix, they go for weddings and all. So, they bring Bollywood music via UK here. So now our community also is opening up too... but not from here, from there. See everyone is trying to find... you want your tribe. There, they're like at the outskirts of society there. And even the Portuguese people out of Portugal, they don't like us. It's a shame like to have us. We are all mixed. Many of us have got Portuguese ancestry. So, not- at least the Indians welcome us everywhere. They don't even notice that we've got ancestry. But there the Portuguese people feel ashamed to associate with us, in UK.

Interviewer - Is there a particular reason?

Noel Gama - Yeah, because there they are perceived as Europeans and we are Asians. So Asians are perceived as low people in European countries, so they don't want that link with us. These things happen. But I like the culture. [00:15:49.24]. I like maybe because I was born and brought up, but I prefer this Portuguese culture to Indian culture. And... the only thing that I find common is this thing... of respect for parents and all is same, Indian culture and Portuguese culture, where other western culture it's not there. Many things are very same- similar, of Portuguese culture and Indian culture, barring language and all. The values, the values. We are loud, means the Portuguese loud-speaking, just like Indians and all that. Then our jokes are... very similar, it's

not dry like British. It's almost vulgar, same like Indian. Many things are there, it's the same. Weddings are – I mean the whole town should come and all, the same thing is there.

Interviewer – It's kind of like similarities in the cultures is why it's been able to mix.

Noel Gama - Mix... Then the languages got lots of, which I thought, like *almari*, it comes from the word *armário* in Portuguese which is a cupboard. Then table is *mez*, which is *mesa*. So there are lots of Portuguese words because they were here for 400 years in India, not just Daman, Cochin and all. So even some south Indian languages, one journalist told me, has got a... *camisa*, *camisa* is Portuguese for a shirt. But they say *kameez*. There are so many words that are, that are all – that crept into our main Indian languages also. They had more impact than the British. The reason is that they, they married our people... they came... that's why we are all...

Interviewer – There was intermarriage.

NG – There were lots of marriages. That was their policy – wherever they went in the world. It's called... Now then, we are known as abandoned Portuguese. Now we have no connection with them except for the language... and here I brought back the music. What has happened is that the music was gradually invaded by US pop and British pop, [e]specially the 90s. And I always, like, never wanted to sing in Portuguese, only English. And, if anybody sang Hindi, I would not even stand on stage... leave the guitar and go down. To me, Hindi was like red cloth to a bull. I scored 3 out of 100 for my SSC Hindi. It was an alien language, we didn't have Hindi before '61, it came in no? Gujarati, yes. So then... it started becoming English, even our dance is different, it's all ballroom dance. We were influenced by Bombay Christians. Jiving is not ours, it is of the Anglo-Indian community. Jive took over in our... then when I stopped playing in the band, my wife converted me to Portuguese culture, otherwise I was all American... and then I found out many things that I had taken for granted, I thought that [00:18:50.01]. She said no, it's only Daman. For example in church, if the church is crowded, other parts of India we have to... instead of a horn to ask [00:19:01.09] excuse me just to make way. Here, how they feel it I don't know, we don't even have to tell, they will just like shift and nod with a half-smile in church and you get your way. They'll show you... very very nice etiquette they've got, which other- even Goans don't, which we have. It's very European. Very European. So I thought it is everywhere where the people are better class people it must be. She said no it is only here. And, she was-

studied in Bombay, so she knows the culture there, I was always in Daman. I did appreciate it. There are lots of these subtle things that are different, that you won't find in Diu, you will find only in Daman. And, like, thanking people – it's quite different. Like if they come to my house... after 9 or after 8, they won't ring the bell, they'll just... it's not written anywhere, but they feel that they are disturbing you or something, and the first thing they apologise for coming at this late hour but I had to see you. That is ...very nice that is there, but now, till my generation it is there. Now this younger generation there are lots of people from mainland India. Our population is grown now. It was always 50000 or so. I came to know that it is almost, I think 2 lakhs now. And there are lot of people due to industries staying. And then, how the effect comes on us – our children goes to the convent, the convent is the number 1 school here, there they mix up, and there they are dominating, they are the majority. So our culture gets suppressed. And these nuns, to favour them, they have got- mostly it was very nice the concerts and all to attend in the convent. Now its rubbish, it is all rubbish, of course I should not use the word, but it is not our culture. It's alien. So that's why I always, I'm against nuns and priests because of the culture – they say mass but, do you know that most of the priests nowadays, they come to Daman and they learn Portuguese. They learn Portuguese, and my mother can't- because they can't pronounce uh... the syllables have got accents. In English accents is different from Portuguese. So, like once I was, somewhere else we were staying, and I was doing something and I stood. My wife said I know, you're paralysed. Someone was trying to play a violin outside, and he was... could not find the note and he was not- I was waiting for him to go to that note and I was getting angry, that is one thing. Same thing happens in this, the Portuguese [00:21:40.19] is gone. Horrible, you feel like...

Interviewer - Losing the influence.

Noel Gama - Yeah. Because if I say spirit... spirit, where the accent comes... spirit. In Portuguese, when they read, it is e-s. So they say "espírito" **\*emphasis on second i and t\*** it is wrong. It is *espírito* **\*emphasis on first i\*** and it is not o – to. It is u like u. So when they are speaking, they are reading like that, you can't stand that. I mean I'm not even, I'm just giving my attendance and coming home. I prefer them to speak in English than Portuguese.

So, these Goans, we always called them traitors. And the Portuguese called them traitors. So now also they are doing all this just to funnel funds to Goa. That [00:22:21.29] is there, in Goa. It's all over the world. So they showed that there is no point spending in Daman, everyone is in UK, the language- they speak English... and there they've got MA and all in Portuguese and these people were getting good jobs in... MNC companies and all as interpreters, translators and all... So nothing is coming to Daman. Same thing they are doing in music, over ten years back there was a contest by [00:22:48.25]. And I was known to be the best in this place – vocals, Portuguese. And... again these priests were... told to send in the nominations and all. So... nobody from here had daring to go to sing in Goa. So my wife put my name without telling me. He cancelled the thing, because he knew what would happen. I have defeated a band from Bombay [00:23:13.16] ((Aqua Flow??)). Full band came, they were Bombay's top band. And I had one keyboard alone, but their sound system. So it depends on your authenticity and how you... So they were always like that, they were always suppressing the people from Daman. And now they're happy with this, but actually the decline is there, in Goa, because those Brahmins have died, some have gone away to Portugal and all so... they speak now, like I have got a cousin, blood cousin. I mean, she is my father's niece so... she has done the course there in Goa. I send her for translating and all. Very good Portuguese. She got a scholarship to go to Portugal, she stayed for three months. She can't speak, at all.

Interviewer - She can't speak, but she can read and write.

Noel Gama - Read and write very well. Means I can't. She reads and writes. So that is Goa, they are- it's a very unique situation, that we speak authentically... see, when do you know it is a mother tongue? When everyday words, you use without thinking. Not big words and language. Like, if I don't water my plants, we would say it's all drying up. That's wrong, that- because that's not our mother tongue. It's wilting... and wilting is a very common word for those who speak English. Same thing in Portuguese the Goans will use big words and all that [00:24:42.15] but they don't know everyday words, like we use every day. And then the children who are in UK, even those who are born in UK, they speak Portuguese at home, our Portuguese dialect. So, it cannot die.

Interviewer - So they pick it up from the parents?

Noel Gama - Parents. See, when you pray, I don't know how you pray, but people pray as a community loudly. It is usually reciting the [00:25:08.04]. But sometimes you pray in your mind... that is your mother tongue. Your thinking with god, it is called interlocation, in which language? Secondly, when we use bad words when angry, which gives you most satisfaction? When you say the bad words in your mother tongue. Like English to me, whatever word it is, it sounds bland. But in Portuguese there is fire in the... in that. So I get utmost satisfaction when I, use abusive language in Portuguese, so that is really your mother tongue. So... it's like that. So Goans will pray in Konkani... their language is Konkani, it's not Portuguese. But their grammar is far superior to us.

Interviewer - Sir so the language that, uh, people in UK, the Portuguese that you were mentioning, what Portuguese is that? Would that be standard Portuguese or Daman Portuguese?

Noel Gama - No. what we call- we call it a dialect, it's a dialect. Now people from Badrapur will speak Badrapur Portuguese even there.

Interviewer - So is it different, Badrapur Portuguese from the thing that you speak?

Noel Gama - Yeah it is different, like even if I've got friends from Badrapur, I will feel embarrassed to speak that Portuguese. Now that is because of the conditioning. Like, if my mother hears me speaking she won't believe, that her son is speaking this Portuguese, because it was for servants and... the servant class people and all came from there in those days when we were big lords and... So, it is like, even I can't. I mean, I just can't use those words that they use. They are- very, I mean they are innocent words but, for example p-u-t put. In Portuguese, Standard Portuguese it is [00:27:01.16]\*"put" in SP\*. They use the word [00:27:04.08]\*"put" in Badrapur Portuguese\*. So, when I did my research I found that very old Portuguese had this word [00:27:11.23]\*repeats word\*. But now the influence is, servant's language and all that. But I can't tell them that you are speaking servant's language because now we are all equal. So, it's like that. And then, there are now things happening like, you know... the bell has rung. So... I have heard in Badrapur, they told me that, hurry up for mass and all. And the bell is *sino* in

Portuguese, c-i-n-o. They told me, “go soon” in Portuguese, “bell ja ringo” – ja means already, then used the word bell in English... Bell ja ringo – now ring is English, and they added that o to make it sound as a past tense, "bell ja ringo" [00:27:58.00]. Then, some... Gujarati expressions have come. So like, if I ask them... “Since when were you standing here waiting for me?” They won’t say quite a long time in Portuguese. They say... “Since when”. So that term is in Gujarati, [00:28:20.21] **\*term in Gujarati\***... **\*term\*** means from when. So that is all. Now this is creeping, this structure is creeping into English – “from when I was waiting for you”. Totally wrong in English. “For quite a bit I was waiting for you” or “quite a long time”; “from when”.

Interviewer - So in Badrapur it’s more like a creole.

Noel Gama - No it’s still not creole. It’s a dialect. Creole means when you have... the main [00:28:47.01] there is this, ours – Indian, Gujarati – it’s not there, its’ not... And even those, non-Catholics like we have got Halpattis, before they were called Dublas, now you get arrested if you use this name. They are known as Halpattis. They were our servants, but for what kind of work? Sweeping, [00:29:06.12], cleaning the garden and all, mostly men, boys. And... they still speak Portuguese. And not only that, I told one journalist there are people from Kathiawar, they open these *kirana* shops all over the place, and they are more popular than our own people because they are nice, they bring things home and all that, they know how to [00:29:27.14]. They speak the Badrapur Portuguese, those who are near Badrapur, because they want to sell their customers. So, they are really good marketers.

Interviewer - So has like learning Portuguese become a necessity in, to stay in Daman and Diu right now?

Noel Gama - No. But you will automatically learn if you mix. People are very friendly, unlike, people from Goa and all. And... they like to teach. First, if you don’t know English they will talk to you in Hindi. But slowly because of the culture I have found so many people who mix with the youth and all, they learn Portuguese. My son is an exception. He always spoke- his mother tongue is English, and his English is very good, the second one who is there. So one day... I told him – he was having his lunch, he was still in the second standard – “Leo do you know that Portuguese is our mother tongue?” “Yeah daddy, *your* mother tongue” – he’s telling me. Then I

told him- he is very sharp. I said “do you know it is a rich language?” “[00:30:29.12] rich language of poor people.” Then I could not tell him more... Yes, rich language of poor people. I’m sorry, you do what you want. Till today he can’t stand Portuguese music. He calls it BS, all that. He likes everything English and British, and his accent is- we all have got this Portuguese accent. Mine is now more of a Hindi accent because I, I worked in a company full of north Indians... Nice people, but then because I didn’t know Hindi, even workers used to talk to me in English- try to talk. So, for me to again, get through to them, my English became- not grammatically but accent, pronunciation... Like, that Hindi t **\*like t in tomato\*** has crept in everywhere, where it’s not there in English. Then, my direct boss in Daman was a south Indian. His English was too good... Old man, quite old. But his, like worker, r is silent – it was worker **\*pronouncing out the r's clearly\***, so my English also became like that. So they said we all benefitted from you. And one friend of mine says, this is what happens when horses roam with donkeys, the donkeys become more like horses, but horses also become... But then we have got Portuguese accent, like in church when they read in English, our people, the new generation, they read in English. So, apple does not have an h. We tend to put an h where there's no h – “happle”... And house has got an h, we tend to eliminate h where there is h, so it becomes "ouse". So, you know soon that this person's mother tongue is Portuguese, it’s there. Then, Gabriel must have... Like, station is, we'll say "istation". Even people from UP are like that, [00:32:25.01]. So that's there. My father's English remained good till ‘95, because he was born and brought up outside Daman. When he came to Daman after liberation as a dentist, he went for classes to learn Portuguese. And, he managed to learn, but his Portuguese was... Standard Portuguese he learned, but my mother was always, like, guiding him.

Interviewer - So sir, there's just one- a few questions regarding... First one is regarding um, your son. You said he does not like Portuguese. Now, is this a attitude that we've seen throughout the young generation?

Noel Gama - Only my son, and it’s a shame because my wife's family, they are supposed to be the protectors and conservators of this Portuguese culture. And he does not like anything Portuguese. Then, he refused to go to Portugal for a holiday, he told my wife, “you go, I’ll- I’ll



be here at home. I'm fine with my [00:33:23.19].” She forced him to come. The next day, he's telling “can we stay here forever?” The place is too good, Portugal.

Interviewer - And... We also wanted to know, we were speaking to Mr Gabriel and he spoke about this youth centre where standard Portuguese was taught.

Noel Gama - Here in Daman?

Interviewer - And, um, now that it's stopped there's no real place to learn standard-

Noel Gama - No funds, who'll pay the teacher? He is one. There's one Anton Luis...

Interviewer - Yeah, we were trying to speak to him as well but he is right now...

Noel Gama - His Portuguese is good.

Interviewer - Yeah he is right now, not in Daman.

Interviewer - We heard he's in Goa.

Noel Gama - He is active. He is a retired teacher.

Interviewer - So we weren't able to get in touch with him.

Noel Gama - I mean, he speaks both fluently – English and Portuguese.

Interviewer - Okay. And, we wanted to know, actually the attitude of the youth over here. Mr Gabriel was mentioning that, a lot of youth are not interested in learning the language. So we wanted to know to what extent is this true.

Noel Gama – It's not true at all because he is an old man who does not mix with youth. And I am, also ancient, but not as old as he, and I prefer mixing with youth. And I know that they are- when they come here, they play volleyball and all. They are swearing away in all the same old rubbish that our grandfathers spoke. Vulgar language... Even that has not changed. It's not, our Portuguese is old, just like in India, Indian English is 50 years old or more. It's not today's current...

Interviewer - English.

Noel Gama – Same thing with Portuguese, it may be 400 years old. Some of them, like you've got "glasses". We call it "frames". In Portuguese it is [00:35:02.28] "kangaz((??))". That word is no more used in Portugal, so they were asking what is this word. Then we have to explain the vocabulary has changed there. Like I don't read, again it's not bias, but... I, I am a... You can say I am a professional writer in English. So... I don't read anything Indian. Not because of being anti-Indian, nothing to do with Portuguese. It's the structure, sentence structure, of Indian journalists and all. Naturally they are thinking in their mother tongue. And this English is an European language. Portuguese in European language, so I capitalize on it. But I don't touch Indian- Times of India. It's bad. Not grammatically, but the structure. The headlines – send them for headlighting- head, head- headline writing seminar [00:35:52.26]. Follow what USA is doing, they are the masters in marketing and all. I can't understand the headlines and all that. So I don't read anything by any Indian writer, even if they win an award. See, I wrote a book *Culture Wise India* it's for... Only for western audience who are coming to work in India, not for tourists, general tourists. There I researched about- like, we say "okay, the bathroom is empty, you can go." no Westerner is going to understand the meaning of... That means you don't have a bathroom, if the bathroom is empty. There is nothing, it's just a room. Then... Again this is, the usage... What we would say is that "the bathroom is free." Now culture comes in, cultural aspect. Bathroom is free means what, you have to pay for it? So again you have to, that- when an Indian says the bathroom is empty, he means that there is nobody standing. Because there is no queue for a bathroom in the West. There is a queue in Indian homes also, when they have got one bathroom. They don't know that the- such situations are there. So, I had to explain all this in my book. And... It was good for me to write this book because, all others who have written these books, I went, I researched. They were either Indians or they were Westerners. There was nobody like me, in the in between, to be able to know both the cultures so well- to have lived both the cultures, immersed in it. I lived here as a Portuguese, I lived here as an Indian, so I could open these things up. So, there were lots of things like that that I found out, and it was very helpful. The review was good... And another thing one American lady wrote, "very truthful and honest writer" because I didn't hide anything. I wrote, in those days, the book is written more than ten years back. That we love our mothers, but this is what we do – dowry, rapes. I gave statistics and all. My brother was worried that somebody will... I said yes, Indians are like that. We know the truth, but we don't like when we open up – nothing happened. I have put all those,

you know... But I have got 3-4 box loads of, files to protect, research and all. Like Indians are very spiritual [00:38:05.18] fake. Indians are very materialistic. It's all about money. I said it's about... flouting rules and flouting [flaunting] wealth. You know, you feel a sense of pride when, you broke the red light, and even the police did that rule. I am something, [00:38:22.03]. And then you carry all the jewellery box with you for weddings. So, these things are there. And it's there in us also, because... Even Portuguese culture, they are also fond of lots of jewellery and all. Other people in the west, use, French gold because of looks. They say it's- you're not showing the value, the ornament should look good. They don't like that yellowish gold.

Interviewer - So sir, one more question... We were discussing about standard Portuguese and, you were telling how you do not like talking the, Daman Portuguese in...

Noel Gama - Badrapur Portuguese.

Interviewer - In Badrapur. So would you tell that like, could- like, is there a hierarchy between standard Portuguese and Daman Portuguese?

Noel Gama – Class-based.

Interviewer – Class-based, even in...?

Noel Gama - Now there's nobody, no? Like I said the last dinosaur is my mother who is [00:39:16.26]. Her whole family... They've all died and gone away. My father's family is very... I mean it's typical. They are real Portuguese. My great grandfather was a Portuguese. And... Means, we were Pereiras originally, the males. And, he won a war in Diu. He was a colonel. So his wife was da Gama, a distant this of Vasco da Gama. See that d-a is small, it's a title. If d is capital it's a common name. This d-a is small in da Gama. So he was allowed to use his wife's surname... It was supposed to be an honour but we used- it was something to laugh at, that you're taking your wife's surname, and you're- you're a colonel. Then, I'm writing a novel – my first novel, romance novel. All my novels are going to be based in Daman just till 1961. The military were here for 7 years before '61. Otherwise there was only a governor in [00:40:21.10] the rest of us were locals. So, that novel, I had to find a name that is appropriate for the hero and heroine in 1950s – and middle class names. See their names also you know from where they come. So I sent my ancestry paper to a woman who is- she worked in the ministry of law there – she's my

friend, Portuguese. "This is my ancestors' this thing can I use some of these names?" She wrote back – your ancestors were all of the nobility, don't use these names. They were from the nobility, I'll find second class names for you and send. So, very class based people they were, very class conscious even now, they're class conscious, these high level people. It is the city people who are nice throughout the world. Again you'll go to the countryside, they're as bad as our people. They're very conscious of colour – whites, non-whites and all, just like our villagers were very conscious of their own – either Hindu, Muslim, whatever. You find more of this thing in the village and top people. Middle class people are overall... They're always mixing about. We work, we mix with people and all. Same thing in UK – my wife said that I fiend UK... We call that British are conscious of this- they are better than people in the villages of Portugal, [e]specially London. Because all types of nationalities are there - blacks, whites, Asian... They mix very well with everyone. But Daman are friendly people. The people from here are friendly. But we cheat outsiders. Because we [00:41:55.04]. That is there.

Interviewer - Also sir, we want to know about the Portuguese passport. Where do you apply? Do you apply within Daman? Where do you go for this Portuguese passport?

Noel Gama - Ah, it begins with your birth certificate, Sub-Registrar. Your own birth certificate. Then you have to prove, right to your grandparents, that they were born here, and they [00:42:18.15] that is all.

Interviewer - Where do you apply for it?

Noel Gama - Sub-Registrar's office.

Interviewer - In Daman?

Noel Gama - Moti Daman. I think it's, yeah, near the convent. You have been to the convent?

Interviewer - Yeah, we saw the- we saw it. But that looked like an Indian, um...

Noel Gama - Yes, now it is all Indian.

Interviewer - No, if I want to apply for a Portuguese passport I still...?

Noel Gama - No, not Daman, you can't apply here. You take the birth certificate and there is something called "tior" ((??)). The next step. Then... You have got to apply for an appointment in Goa at the... Consul.

Interviewer - That's the only place where-

Noel Gama – That's the only place. Not in Daman. Daman is for getting your documents to prove your ancestry. And now they ask for something else, like anything you have got old – an old paper or something of your grandfather or something of those days, in addition to your own. Like I can show this ancestry thing because it was given by the Governor of Bombay to my grandfather and all that.

Interviewer - Sir, also, few final questions, to understand...

Noel Gama - What will you all have? I've got only soft drinks.

Interviewer - No no it's fine sir, we're fine.

Noel Gama - Finish and try some.

Interviewer - Just few final questions that we wanted to know. One, now that we've established that standard Portuguese is a bit on hierarchy and through our research we learnt about, that, standard Portuguese is actually on a decline...

Noel Gama - Why nobody will tell you this thing... Except my family now nobody is there, they will want to erase this, that there was no class, there was no such thing. So, they do not like but I open- why should I not tell about my class? I mean, I'm not telling them that I was superior to you, but I should not feel... Like that is something to hide also. It was there, it's a fact, it there. They will not like because, Gabriel and all they come from... Not low class, but they were not in the top class. They were not in the top class. Ah another thing – very wrong, but it is there, is that this first class people, they... These people like Gabriel and all, when the Portuguese come they speak very well Portuguese. In their homes they speak ungrammatical Portuguese, all of them, even those who [00:44:28.01]. Even my mother-in-law. I have pulled her up. She's saying that "but I'm speaking with these other people, what do you expect me to say". Go ahead then. My mother never... She used standard Portuguese with everyone. What my mother said, I told my

mother these people are trying to be nice to lower class people. No, you're treating them like inferior when you're talking that way. When you're using good Portuguese to high class people, and then how do you talk to them- that means you are actually treating them like an inferior people.

Interviewer - It's like, patronising.

Noel Gama - You should talk directly to them. That is her point of view. She, she is- she was very class conscious, till she got the stroke, now she forgot everything. Because my two brothers married uh, a bit below their class, so... She didn't want to attend the wedding and all. Typical like India no? But it is not there in most of my people, they are not like that. So many are marrying now, Tandels, fisher folk and Patels and all. It's nice, it is very healthy.

Interviewer - So, is this like, affecting the, the community composition? Like, is there any aversion towards this mixed marriage in, in the catholic...?

Noel Gama - No.

Interviewer - So they are open?

Noel Gama - They are open. They are open... But it was going on, but it's come down. Same thing in Portuguese days... Our, our boys... Our girls married Portuguese people. The [00:46:25.29] wives. But our boys, didn't much marry them, because those uh, marriages didn't last. It's not like here, it's for a lifetime. There it's like any other western country. That uh, values - again, culture is same, values are different here. We value this, like I am writing this novel. It's not going to be like other novels. My, coach is from USA, but he tends to be clean... I mean, there are- it has to end with a marriage, nothing happens before marriage. And, nothing vulgar in the book, it has to be very clean, it's called Christian... Christian sweet romance, category. Only thing, the location will be Daman of those days.

Interviewer - And um, is there any help that is provided by the Indian government to upkeep the...?

Noel Gama - That is my objection. Nothing, they are just making use of the churches. I've written this on my blog. See, any uh, VIP comes from mainland India, no? What they show off? Churches and forts. What have you done after 50-55 years to show? Still we are banking on showing these churches and, these are dead things, they don't have soul. Of course they are there, but this is all they show. When any dignitary comes, from mainland India, I'm not saying from the west. They show the churches and fort. Even when Kalam came, he went around to all the church's... President Kalam. We should have, by now, no? Its long time, that we should have something unique of Daman to show. We don't have.

Interviewer – In fact, even when we visited the Bom Jesus for the first time we saw, a MP/MLA who was, who had come from Bihar, to um, visit Bom Jesus. And he was allowed inside the... Towards the statues, towards the... And um, we saw that um, the guards then did not allow the other people, some of them.

Noel Gama - Now again, these guards are not ours. They are Archaeological Survey of India. We welcome anybody... But, they don't allow us to take photos and all, even for weddings and all, because of the flash it seems it will ruin the... that gold paint. It is real gold paint, on those gilded altars and all. It is real gold. These churches are about 400 years old. So the flash and all... affect. But then you can bribe them, heavy, and they will allow.

Interviewer - And is the Portuguese government doing anything to keep up the culture?

Noel Gama - No because the centre is goa. And, everything gets blocked there. It doesn't reach Daman. So they- those people call me, they call me... You are our voice in Asia. From where will my voice come out if you are not doing anything? Only one barking dog, its- is there in Daman. I had a blog, I had websites and all, but I was paying myself. Then I stopped because, I had to focus on my writing.

Interviewer - So neither of the governments are aiding or anything?

Noel Gama - No, no, no. They, they just want to capitalise on this for tourism. Now this new administrator is revamping the whole place. He is the first one who is doing something, about the physical things here. Others used to just come from north India, enjoy. The IAS officers are

mostly from north. They are the most corrupt people who come. I like when people come from south, they are not, they are not like that. It is the north Indians who come here only to make money and to, you know, they are- our governors used to visit people in their homes, Portuguese governors. These people in their red light, now they use blue light, and... They don't even mix with the locals, they're only with the industrialists and those politicians, from where the money comes. It's like that. We were better off under goa. Because those officers used to come from goa, they are like us. These are north Indians who are coming, horrible people. Very, I mean... They treat everybody as inferior, only IAS people are... They are all rulers, if you go to see. So, I was in the group once, not actively but that, why we don't have our own assembly, mini assembly? So then this- now IAS people are ruling us. My mother said, who will be your assembly members? It will be these local goons, don't you prefer qualified IAS people to rule the place than to have these goons? [00:51:03.25] out of the two evils you choose the lesser evil.

Interviewer - So sir you were mentioning that there was this group of yours who was, working towards getting Daman an assembly.

Noel Gama - There was a group.

Interviewer - What was the name of this group?

Noel Gama - No, no name, they were some, political people. Not formal group anything. But, it died down. They still want, for example, he is in congress uh... But it is better for you to not mention, this congress person because, very criminal. He was in jail last 15 days, he's the president of congress. You will hear about him... He's a Patel, involved in... bootlegging and murders and all this type of people. [00:51:50.10].

Interviewer - I had a question about the, intermarriages, like, as you mentioned that there are people now who marry Patels and all. So, in that case-

Noel Gama - Mostly they marry Machees. There is a reason. Patels were, the farmers – *kheti* people all, in those days. Even now, they are staying- they don't stay in town most of them, they stay out. So that culture is really mainland Indian culture. Machees were very poor, they were fisher folk. And, but they were staying with us. So...



Interviewer - The proximity also...

Noel Gama - Only the religion is different. The culture is same, the way of thinking is same. Everything is same, except this... And, the women of course, women in all communities, they are more conservative. Even our women, took very long to begin wearing salwar and all, they stuck to their dresses. Same thing girls are still wearing those Machee saris, the way they wear. It's a different way of wearing sari, not like mainland India, their own and all- their jewellery and all. It is the men who adapt and change very fast. Now you can't tell on the road, what community they are. They are all modern, they are all the boys, everyone has got a beard now. It's like that. All the young folks look same. Females, still, are more inclined to be traditional. You will not find a single non-Catholic girl with that dress, the short dress. But when they come from UK they dress. But now, our people are forced to wear *salwar kameez* because their bosses in government offices are from the north, and they stare at you and, our people are not used to this. Like kissing... Our kissing in public is a social- instead of *namaste*, we touch cheeks. Not man-to-man, I mean a man and a woman and woman-to-woman. But again Bombay women, Christians, they when uh, two women kiss, they kiss the cheek but with their lips. Ours is European, it is cheek to cheek. Lip does not come into play in social... It is a social greeting, form of greeting. So, even here and all we don't care. But mainland India, they... After mass, Christmas and all that, we kiss, but this way - touching cheek, man and a woman also. That is our way of greeting, and it is 400 years old, you are not coming today to tell us stop doing. Our drinking is also social. Mainland India drinks to get intoxicated... I have been observing, I have researched also, ours is social. So, when there are weddings here it's very curious. I take notes of these things. Like, now we bring all the caterers from Bombay, non-veg and all, that with drinks and... The moment the table – table system you know... We get up to go for the wedding march or for the dance. When we come back, our table is empty, the drinks everything taken away. Bombay it's like that, you are drinking no, you finish your whole drink. No, ours we sip, keep, go meet someone, have a dance, come back again have something more... The food also remains, the snacks- its not that we have to finish. So then I have told some people, you tell these caterers, that we are different, we are not like the Christians of Bombay. And, it's like that- we have come here to socialise, we have not come to eat and drink, so leave it on the table, till dinner is served. So, these are the things that I intend putting- how I wrote *Culture Wise India*, I am writing a book now. Motivation is not there, but, about our culture in Daman. So it will serve as a guide.

So they can just give a copy. But why there is no motivation? Because I'll have to self-publish. And, when you know that you have to earn that money back by marketing and all, it's a bit of a demotivator. *Culture Wise India* I was paid by a British publisher, but this I'll have to do on my own. So I keep on opening it and pushing it back. But I think I should have this, where it will explain everything – the language, all your questions will be answered.

Interviewer - So when people from outside the community, you said they marry Indians, the Portuguese community, do they also pick up the language or...?

Noel Gama - They are already into the language, and the weddings are very nice to have, because you get to eat two types of food. Our way – our way is not pure Portuguese, it's Indo-Portuguese. We like spices and all that. It's something like Goa but less spice than goa. And then we get to eat their food which is unique, Gujarati food and all, it's very nice. Music also we have uh, western music, and we have Bollywood, when it is like that. And some of them have two receptions - one is completely like us, for us, and next day it is for, all the indo friends who are- but nobody marries a Muslim. Again it's not because we are anti-Muslim. The Muslims don't mix, with us, or with anybody else. They don't really mix, unless they are business partners. Others mix with each other. They play games together, they go hiking together, they go drinking together. Youth are drinking now beer, at the age of 18 they begin drinking. You want, in my time till I was 30 I, my stomach was flat. Now all these young people with beer, they're drinking beer every day. Drinking is a culture here, but it's so fun, but still they get addicted to it.

Ah the other part, identity part. That you will be sending me?

Interviewer - Yes, so we- what we were planning was, once we're done all the interviews, we will ask- we will send you a few questions that are more directed based on what we learned. And through that we'll be able to go further. This would do for now... It was really helpful. So, thank you so much for your time.

Noel Gama - But it's nice that people are still coming and doing this. Architects come a lot. But they have got good things.

Interviewer - The architecture is very fascinating.

Noel Gama - Yes. That is very good because... Those houses are going now, Portuguese houses, from Daman. In Goa they preserve. Here, we adapt very fast, like we want to look like people in Vapi, and those bungalows, so the architects also around this place, they are from mainland India, they are not our own... We don't have- we never had a single architect from our community. There, the architects are Goans, so they have the same thing. Now I am making my own bungalow in the fort. It is a Portuguese design. My wife worked with an architect, so she designed- she made a cardboard cut-out of the house and gave the contractor. And then, she was... She is also headstrong, about steps. So she called the architect and said, I think, the steps... Said "no, those are your Indian steps, I want my Portuguese steps." He said "how is your Portuguese steps?" She's saying "your Indian steps were so high, and the place to put the foot is so small. We want such a big place for the foot and height so much, of each step. That's why people don't fall in those houses." He said- he was like "more space, more space will be used up." You went to the convent, went up? Those steps, going up?

Interviewer - Yes, from the fort, from the behind.

Noel Gama - No, into the convent, going into the nuns'... Inside the school. Did you enter the convent school building?

Interviewer - We didn't go upstairs in the convent, we just stayed down.

Noel Gama - That is nice, all those arches. Again, I think it's come from Arabia.

Interviewer - Yes its- I think it's byzantine.

Noel Gama - the shape. We have two shapes – one is if you take a whole cylinder and make it in- yeah, a whole circle. And this is more open. But what I have noticed that inside, internal it's all like that. And outside, external it's those, complete, more curved ones. Colour schemes also the Portuguese- they like yellow houses, and blue and white is uh, this thing. Like bed linen will be blue and white, cutlery will be like this. Dinner sets, tea set - blue and white. It's something to do with that. Like I have got- then they get it from china.

Interviewer - Is it a china set?

Noel Gama - The blue and white? Yeah, from China. Even the other one is china, it is more than 100 years old. Paper-thin glass it is. It used to come from China in those days, so I inherited it,

because I was the eldest. But the music... See, there are so many things that you can't find out in research... We all like today's modern hits and all, songs and all. Even these young people. But, when they start blaring Portuguese music, everybody jumps to dance with their partners and all. Some people even feel their hair stand, with Portuguese. So that shows that their identity is still not changed, except my son. My son was called a *bhaiyya* in school, because he was fluent in Hindi, mixing with *bhaiyyas*. But the mix of culture is good. After all the segregation... I don't know if you have come across that study, using computer, they took all the faces of people from all over the world, but giving weight to population, how many are there. Again average age and all that, I think age was of 20 years and all. And then the computer came out with what would happen if all these people intermarried for so many years, what would be the final... That face looked more like an Indian face, than any other community, other country, nationality.

Interviewer – The, you were mentioning that during the weddings and all, the cuisines that you have is more of the Indo-Portuguese than... So, like, we wanted to know a little bit more about the cuisine because... Because most of it when we've asked people they've said that they don't really make proper Portuguese dishes.

Noel Gama - They can't make but it is all influenced, I'll tell you how. See, uh... There is something called "*queijadinha*". *Queijo* is cheese in Portuguese, but no cheese is used. It's a tart, like, and grated coconut is used. So my mother-in-law says the same thing is made in Portugal, its rich in almonds. So they use grated almonds. When they came here, there was no almonds. They found the best substitute is grated coconut with sugar. So that kind of thing. Then olives are used everywhere in Portugal. Here no olives, we found a local berry that, after you put it in salt water and all it turns black. That was used in garnishing and all. So, the influence is Portuguese but ingredients have been substituted here. And, the- the final result is better than that. And, there is that- you must have heard of "*bebinca*" ((also spelled as *bebinka/bibingka*)). *Bebinca* is a... It looks like a cake, in the shape of a cake. But, it is Muslim, originally, but it came from Portugal here. But when I was in Surat I had Muslim friends who used to make similar type, didn't look that good, because Portuguese is everything about how it looks. That is first, taste is second, while ours taste is first, looks is second. So, it's uh... The coconut is ground and, it's called milk, no? You squeeze and that white thing... They collected lot of that milk, and

then- see they use cardamom, which is again Muslim. We use only [01:03:52.29]. And then they use only the yolk of 20 eggs or 30 eggs, the white is thrown out. Again this came because the wine industry in Portugal used the whites of eggs, for making the wine clear. There was no resin in those days. So another industry flourished when- what they would do with all the yolk. So a sweet industry came up which used only the yolk of the eggs. So- and then it is baked in an oven, only the first layer you have heat from underneath, they pour it with a cup. This thing, it is quite fluid. Then from the second layer, when this is ready, the heat is on top of the oven, from the top. This down is put off. And then seven layers, so when you cut you get the- it's very delicious. But it's a dessert, you eat it with a fork, you can't hold it, it's too... Soft. So again, there there is. The Goan *bebinca* is red in colour, I don't know how, its reddish. Ours is honey gold. So we say that ours is superior to theirs. But they've marketed it well, the whole, whole of India knows it as coming from goa, while we never sold it outside commercially, it is only home. So Goans were good in business, our people want, they all want jobs. Job is a status, working for yourself is not a status. So, they all- and they go for government jobs. Like, if I am a general manager in a company, and you are, say, an UDC for the government. You have got better status than me. That comes from Portuguese way of thinking, those who work in the government were governing. All these things, then it is outside of your scope.

You'll be publishing this or it is a thesis? Or dissertation?

Interviewer - It's a, it's a- it's sort of like a dissertation. So once it's done, suppose um, the college finds it worthy enough, it might get published.

Noel Gama - That will be nice.

Interviewer -a But we'll make sure to send you a copy of this.

Noel Gama - What language do you speak? Different languages?

a Yeah, I think we all converse in English but we've all got different mother tongues.

### Interview of Gabriel Guedes (Daman)

(Retired Professor of the Portuguese Language in Our Lady of Fatima School, Daman)

1st October, 2018

Interviewer - Sir, could you please tell us about yourself? Could you tell us your name, age date of birth and place of birth?

Gabriel Guedes - My name is Gabriel Luis Guedes. i am born, bred and brought up in Daman. Although I have done my studies in Goa, and my age is 71 at the moment and I speak the correct Portuguese language. i was a teacher of Portuguese language in Our Lady of Fatima College, High School, which is also known as Institute of Our lady of Fatima

Interviewer - Sir, could you tell us about what Indo Portuguese dialect is?

Gabriel Guedes - Indo Portuguese dialect, I came to know at a later stage that it is a dialect. It is not a wrong language that we are talking. Although, in the church, today we read the correct Portuguese and we only listen to the Portuguese reading gospel and epistle and all that, but the fathers that are posted here, they are form the Pilar Society, and they don't know the Portuguese language but we thank God and thank Our Lady of Remedios that they are trying their best to say the mass in Portuguese.

Interviewer - So, is Indo Portuguese language on a decline?

Gabriel Guedes - Yes. Actually, the Indo Portuguese dialect is spoken by the Catholic people who are here in the center area of this, our catholic church. But, in the villages, they speak Gujarati, in the market they speak Gujarati and though we don't speak pure Gujarati, even then we try to manage our life, with the Gujarati language.

Interviewer - Is there any role of the youth in keeping up of the language? how do the youth perceive the language?

Gabriel Guedes - You see, I'm very sorry to tell you that our youth is not interested to learn the Portuguese language. They are not interested. Even by giving them free lessons and about this language, they are very happy that they know the Indo Portuguese dialect of Daman, which they speak at home and that only Catholics, but they are not interested in further learning\*, and today, day by day, in the school also the Portuguese language that I was teaching, that language has disappeared.

Interviewer - Could you tell us more about how the Portuguese identity, how the community associated itself after the Liberation change?

Gabriel Guedes - You see, after the liberation, due to some politics anyhow the Portuguese government did not recognise the Liberation of Daman, some call it Liberation, some call it war, but they, the Portuguese government, did not recognise. At that time, Portugal was under autocratic government of Dr. Salazaar and he was a terrible fellow. Later on, slowly slowly, the Indian government admitted that Goa, Daman & Diu, Dadra & Nagar Haveli is under the Union government, and from that time onwards, we are with the Indian government.

Interviewer - Could you tell us, is there any difference between the Portuguese spoken in Portugal , the Standard Portuguese and the Indo Portuguese? Could you give us an example if possible?

Gabriel Guedes - You see, "O que tu queres", that is 'what you want?' and in our dialect "osque quere". That os means you, ose and all that. But there is a big difference, vast difference between the dialect and the Portuguese and therefore this young generation, if I speak proper Portuguese, they will not understand and that is the reason that decline is there.

Interviewer - Could you tell us if there are any attempts that have been made by the community, the Portuguese government or any body to keep the language alive?

Gabriel Guedes - You see, right from the Portuguese government in Portugal, through our Youth Center, they are trying their best to see if they can revive the pure Portuguese and they were paying to me also, paying to that Youth Center and they were trying their best to see that young generation come and speak the real Portuguese language but that was a failure.

Interviewer - Why did it fail?

Gabriel Guedes - It failed because they are not interested.

Interviewer - The youth?

Gabriel Guedes - The youth. And now that influence of, I will give you one example, if you go to Silvassa, you see, there also Portuguese language was there, but today they are more interested in talking Gujarati. Not even this, how Portuguese which how Catholic people here in the center they speak. In Silvassa, they not talking, but Silvassa also 1954 was the Liberation of Silvassa. 1961 was Liberation of Daman. We call it Liberation because from that day onwards we joined the Indian Union, not officially. Later on, the Portuguese government recognise and today we are \*with Portuguese government\*/ with Indian government. Now see in Daman we don't have Chief Minister. In Goa there is Chief Minister, there is government. We have only one administrator looking for Daman & Diu and Dadra & Nagar Haveli. Now distance from Daman and Diu is very far. Silvassa is 25 kms from here. It is very close, but up to now I don't understand the reason, though talks are going on, that sooner or later, Daman & Diu will be amalgamated and put in Gujarat. So far, from 1961 till today nothing has happened.

Interviewer - Could you tell us about the 3 language formula? What are the languages taught and what effect has it had on the survival of Portuguese.

Gabriel Guedes - You see, with this 3 language formula, and after I left the school, this Portuguese language is gone. But English, Hindi and Gujarati they have to learn. Because they have to appear for the board exam which is under Gujarat Board. So, that is like become a must.



Now, you will not believe, soon after Liberation I did not know a word of Hindi. I knew other languages, French, Portuguese and all that, but in SSC examination, I fail 7 times because I could not pass in Hindi. But then later on, I don't know, anyhow I managed 39 marks and I passed \*laughs\*and then I joined. I joined government, I was longing for government job. I was bill collector in \*electricity\*(7:48) department. But then I was not happy and then I became a secondary teacher. I did my \*DPED\* (7:56) in Goa, in Nirmala Institute of Education. I did my B.Ed in service training in Bhopal. In 'service training' was a.. and I'm very happy that I retired as a teacher and later on for 8 years I became the principal of a private school.

Interviewer - Could you tell us whether the schools give any holidays for any Portuguese events?

Gabriel Guedes - No. They don't give any holidays. We have to strictly follow the list of holidays given by the \*Directorate\* of Education, Daman throughout the year.

Interviewer - Is Portuguese history taught in Daman?

Gabriel Guedes - No, it is not taught. I was trying my best. I have written many things about the history. Just now I have one history book \*?????\* which is The History of Daman. But, it is not taught in the school. You see, whatever I also have acquired, the knowledge, is because I went to Macau, I went to Portugal 2 times. Like that I collected some information, i have some information. I have given to tourism department also of Daman, all this information, and in this way they are trying also to collect from me information about the Daman history. because you see, inside the fort we have one church there, just like in Goa you have the church, that Rosary chapel you spoke about. So all this is inside the fort, and \*history\* also I have there, but it is in Portuguese, I will show you later on, the book. But I tried my best to give them the history of Daman. You see, for example, the ruins of St. Dominic there near that lighthouse, there is something, this. But up to now in the history of Daman, it is not recorded how that came into ruins. Because it was close to the sea? Maybe due to some storm or some tsunami or something like that, it has come. But it was a centre of studies and many things of the history of Daman has already disappeared from inside the fort. Because inside the for it was everything.

Interviewer - Could you tell us more about Portuguese in Goa? Is the language prevalent? What is the language of sermons?

Gabriel Guedes - That is a very interesting question. You see, in Goa, they are not interested at all. At least we Christians, Catholics in Daman, we are keeping up that Portuguese language. But in Goa, only sometimes they have a mass in Panjim near that Mary immaculate, you might have gone to there, and in Margao, but they are dominating with Konkani language. Completely dominating with Konkani language. Everywhere you go, even in the schools, they're speaking Konkani. And just for your information, now see, they in Goa, upto 4th standard, they have made Marathi compulsory. So education is through Marathi. Now you tell me, after doing upto 4th or 5th standard in Marathi medium, how you can continue with English medium, and most of those leading schools in Goa, the children are the children of ministers and all big shots. So what they do, on the record they show that they are teaching in Marathi medium, but they are not teaching in Marathi medium, they are teaching in English medium. So their children don't suffer when they change from that 5th standard to 6th standard because they have to go up to that secondary level. So this is happening in Goa, especially in the main cities like Panjim, Margao and many other places. Because all these ministers daughters and sons are studying in these schools so they realise that because of the policy of the government they have kept Marathi up to 4th 5th standard but that policy they say we cannot follow, otherwise our children, in the 6th 7th standard, what they will do when study only Marathi. And just now one of my brothers is \*pres in\* Gujarat province, he also told me same thing, we just show that they are studying Gujarati medium, but actually they are not because to please the ministers, to please the government officers. So they are just showing on the record that we are teaching in Marathi medium but actually they are not.

#### Interview of Helena (Diu)

(Nurse in the Diu Government Hospital and a member of the Portuguese community)

October 5,2018

Interviewer - So, tell us about yourself. Your name, age, date of birth, place of birth.

Helena- Papa (father) was from Diu only. He was the only son and lost his mother when he was 10 months old. And then my grandpa got married again when he was of four years old. And he was of well to do family. My grandpa was working for custom and they had everything, servants and this thing, everything. When my grandma expired, my papa's mother. So when he was four years old then everyone started telling my grandfather to marry again saying who will take care of you. When he was four years he married again and she was another one son. He was twenty years younger to my papa and was sent to Africa and there he expired. So papa was the only one and he had many uncles and all that but he took care of some of them also. Was working for port department, marine secretary.

Interviewer - So which year were you born?

Helena- Myself. I was born in 21/2/1959.

Interviewer - So you were born in Diu?

Helena- Diu only.

Interviewer - So are you of Portuguese descent.

Helena- Yeah. 61, this liberation, Diu, Daman and Goa was liberated so I was born then.

Interviewer - So could you tell us about the Portuguese influence in this region?

Helena- Actually I was only three years or something so I don't remember much. My parents used

to tell means talk about the Portuguese people. They were very kind and they were very helpful.

Those days they used to get grains and medicines and clothes and everything from the Portuguese community. So the pay was very less but the Government used to take good care of the people. And they would not allow them to suffer, they used to be very much concerned about them.

Interviewer - So how long have you lived in Diu?

Helena- Throughout my life (laughs) since time of my birth. I have only been to Goa for three and half years for my nursing.

Interviewer - Do you own this house?

Helena- Yes I own this house.

Interviewer - So about this community that you live in. So have you seen a decrease in the number of people who speak Portuguese here?

Helena- Yeah of course because from the time of my birth there is a vast difference because many have died and many have gone means settled in London. So there is a decrease in. Before they used to settle in Africa and Portugal. Now last twenty years they went to London.

Interviewer - Now that we are talking about languages. What languages do you speak in your workplace, with your family, at home.

Helena- Here in the workplace local language is Gujarati and at home here my husband is from Bhavnagar so he don't know Portuguese so he speaks English and he knows Gujarati and Hindi. Means home here at our place the mother tongue is English. At workplace we speak in Gujarati and Hindi and of course I am in the hospital, doctors and all they speak Hindi only. Make use of three languages.

Interviewer - So can you tell us about what your level of education is, what did you study?

Helena- Actually, first student of Nirmal Mata till tenth. Then I did higher secondary. Science and then went for nursing. In 1978 I joined my nursing. 82 I completed in Feb. In 82 September I

joined my service. So this is my 36th year. Last year of my service.

Interviewer - Can you tell us about the different dialects, different types of Portuguese that we speak in India. Like differences between Daman Portuguese, Diu Portuguese, Goa Portuguese.

Helena- Actually the thing is that Goan Portuguese that is one of the best. Second comes Diu and the third Daman and then Silvassa. So because the thing you said no, we still here. This young generation even I didn't study Portuguese. But since it's our mother tongue we have kept it to that level. Speaks rough like these people. But they are mix up like Gujarati and these words, Daman people language is gone. But people here don't speak so broken.

Interviewer - So were your ancestors residents during the Portuguese era here?

Helena- Yeah, ancestors the same place where we are staying. My mum's house and opposite was grandfather's brother's house but they sold it.

Interviewer - So what languages did you speak as a child?

Helena- Here we speak English

Interviewer - And in your family?

Helena- Portuguese

Interviewer - Can you tell us about the inter-community marriages that takes place like two people prefer marrying outside the Portuguese community or not. Can you tell us about that?

Helena- Actually for the last 20-21 years. There was a girl. One big house is there. So she was the first who married a Hindu man. He was the collector Vijay Kumar, he was the collector here. So after her then some seven to eight of them means married Hindus. That means they did convert themselves.

Interviewer - About your education what language was the medium of education in your school as in what languages did you learn when you were in school?

Helena- I learnt three languages: Hindi, English and Gujarati. And when I was in 8th standard there was second language So French but I only learnt it for two three months. For that father was teaching he went on tour for six months. So I had to give up that.

Interviewer - So Portuguese was not part of your curriculum.

Helena- No.

Interviewer - So have you noticed any of your colleagues speak in Portuguese with you in your workplace?

Helena- Yeah there are. When I was studying some of them who used to come from Africa. So they used to continue talking Portuguese . Still now when they come and meet me they speak Portuguese.

Interviewer - So now when they go to the Hospital. Do you have any speakers there or do you just speak in Gujarati.

Helena- No Portuguese people now, nobody is there. So there was one catholic working for the field Government hospital. But he just took voluntary retirement now last month. Now I am the only Catholic Portuguese speaker in whole of this health department.

Interviewer: So did someone from your family or someone you know took up the migration offer and left to UK or Portugal.

Helena- Yeah my family did. My brother, two brothers were there. But the elder one present this year and his two sons are settled over there. One is married, one is unmarried. My second brother, his two daughters. One daughter is married and the other is unmarried. Settled there in

UK.

Interviewer: So how long do you think the Portuguese community you know the people who speak in Portuguese here will last. Like how many years?

Helena- Now the thing is that since Portuguese catholics is decreasing because they are settling there so that we also have a fear that it should not completely go down. For that we are praying everyday and hope that the good lord will help to sustain that. Because we have a beautiful church with the culture and everybody appreciates and there are many groups coming from out not only from Portugal or from this thing, European country. There are other from other place like Russia, China, Japan. They come in a group many times they have come. Even children, medical students, nursing students used to come for their internship and used to admire the Hospital.

Interviewer - While speaking about your grandfather who worked in the customs department, which language did he have to speak in?

Helena- He used to speak there, on duty he used to speak in Portuguese and Gujarati.

Interviewer - And at home?

Helena- At home Portuguese.

Interviewer - Which was the first language that your father taught you?

Helena- It was Portuguese only.

Interviewer - Your mother, was she also a nurse as an occupation.

Helena- No she was a housewife but before she could get married she was born here and she was 7-8 years old also from Diu but nana was from Daman.

Interviewer - Which languages were you taught in Nirmala Mata School

Helena- Now they speak in English in the classroom. Now that the students have increased a lot. Before we used to have 5-6 in each class. Now all together there are more than 1200.

Interviewer - Did you speak in English in your school or Portuguese with your friends?

Helena- That time it was compulsory to speak in English. Once we were out of the school compound we used to speak in Portuguese and Gujarati.

### Interview of Gilbert Almeida

(Electrician, Musician and an Indo-Portuguese speaker)

4th October, 2018

Interviewer - What is your name, age and date of birth

Gilbert Almeida - My name is Gilbert Almeda, my age is 52 and I was born on 11th February 1966.

Interviewer - I see. So, are you a Portuguese descendent?

Mr. Gilbert- I come from a Portuguese family, but more Indian. We are not Portuguese because we are born in India and they also like India, my parents. So, we are more Indian than Portuguese.

Interviewer - So, could you tell us a bit about your family and about your parents?

Gilbert Almeida - My parents means, my father is from Diu, his grandfather is also from Diu. All his

family, means, all his forefathers is from Diu. My mother also, she also from Diu. They were



born during the Portuguese period, means, I don't know how many years but my father's recording is there somewhere the church. They served in the church in the church for more than 400 years. So the members of the St. Paul's Church.

Interviewer - Sir so how long have you personally lived in Daman or Diu?

Gilbert Almeida - Since my birth. Only for studies I used to go to Goa. I was there for five-six years studying there.

Interviewer - So the property that you own, is it your family property or did you purchase it?

Mr Gilbert Almeida - I had a family property which I sold and I got a better place here. It is on the hilltop.

So then I purchased this, I sold that.

Interviewer - And sir what is your main occupation in the Daman and Diu area as in what job?

Gilbert Almeida - Actually I am a mechanical electronics, I did mechanical electronics. Only time I was busy with my project of electronics like doing some invention and like repairing and suppose any equipment, nobody could repair. I can do that. Because of that I was sent to Goa to study Electronics. So before that also I, when I was very young I play with electricity. Means doing some lights and all. So then I was more interested in electronics.

Interviewer - And sir we have heard from everyone as well as from you that you used to be a musician

for the Portuguese church. So for how many years have you been in the position.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - I played for 25 years continuously in Diu in this church. Soon after my uncle expired.

So there was no one to play in the church. I continued with that.

Interviewer - Sir did you learn to play music by yourself or were you taught by one of your forefathers.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - I started playing music when I was six years old. I started playing flute. So then

when I was ten years old I went to Goa and I learn playing the mouth organ. So I started with a

blowing instrument. Then I thought that I wanted to learn guitar and all so then I started

practicing guitar but I learned by myself. I did not go to any school and I got some idea from my

uncle. My uncle was a guitarist.

Interviewer - Sir so we have attended some of the masses currently and we have heard the songs sort

of the sermons are in English however the hymns are in Portuguese currently that's what we

have been told by quite a few people that we interviewed. So could you tell us the like where

these portuguese hymns have come from. Did you personally sing some of the hymns?

Gilbert Almeida - Portuguese hymns, since I was born, I heard those hymns since long back.

And I

think those are composed in Portugal. Other days, the prayers are in English, all the hymns are

in english. And there are books and are compulsory in India.

Interviewer - Has there been a culture of music in Diu prior to this day as in what was the scene of

music in Diu 20 years back?

Gilbert Almeida - 20 years back there were many musicians. Now there are very less because some

expired and some left from this place. They went abroad and so when I thought of leaving this

line because I could not do both of two together. So suppose a minister used to come so they

used to catch me. First I used to give them more preference then I thought that I am losing everything and I am not doing anything so then I thought that there was a group means in our community there was a group of 15-20 boys and girls. So I thought that I start teaching them and then I will skip. So I taught them, nearly fifteen boys and girls learnt to play the guitar and keyboard. Not only from my community, when other people came to know, they also joined us and some officers would in government office they also came to know that I am teaching so they also joined. There was a separate batch for them. I started teaching with notes like sa re ga ma pa. I also taught some kids. They could read and play in one day. When I was in UK I did a small course of how to teach children like the colouring of notes . So there was a school nearby. So when they saw I was learning they taught me. When I came back I taught that. Now I leave this I could not go all the time for practice so then those children so now they are playing so now they are fighting to play. So one wants to play or the other one wants to play (laughing).

Interviewer - So when did you start teaching this.

Mr. Gilbert- It was 2012 to 2014. And they are playing in the church. My son plays, my nephew. They are all related only. But the girls, they left. They don't want to practice.

Interviewer - Did you teach any Portuguese songs or music?

Gilbert Almeida - No I only taught them how to play the music. Mostly I saw that they don't want to

sing they just want to play. When we ask them to sing they feel shy. First I used to teach them how to read notes. Once they know reading notes they can compose their own song also. So by the time they started learning then I became busy. Then I shut down because I only got the group that was playing . So I never touched my guitar only for parties and all.

Interviewer - So you mentioned that the children are not interested in singing and are more interested in

playing. One of the most important parts of choir which sings. Is there currently any choir that regularly sings in the church

Gilbert Almeida - Yes there is. But mostly only girls sing. Choir leader stays closeby. When I started

my sister was teaching then she got married and went to Goa. Then a girl from Diu used to lead and she also got married away. Another girl also came and she too got married away. Now there is a married lady who teach the children how to sing. When a group sings everybody opens their mouth.

Interviewer - So the choir that sings, do they sing in Portuguese in the Church?

Gilbert Almeida - There are some feast you know Mount Mary, there is special hymn in Portuguese.

So on that day the prayer is in English but they sing that hymn in Portuguese.

Interviewer - Are there any music bands which have been part of the church either before or currently?

Gilbert Almeida - I remember, I heard that 100 years back maybe more than 100 years back ur community had brass band. Different type of trumpet, bass, baritones and still it is and it was given on lease to the hindu community and they used to play it during weddings and everyday they used to play in the front of the church there is a band stand outside and surrounding they used to play there. All blowing instruments like clarinets, saxophone, trumpet, cornett all that. So at that time I was very young. So I used to help play the bass and the drums.

Interviewer - That was a hindu community.

Mr. Gilbert- No. For the wedding there was some, I, y uncle, he used to play the trumpet. So he

used to go for the wedding to play. And for the feast they used to come here to play.

Interviewer - So this band of brass playing instruments which used to exist in the church, did they sing a

lot of songs in Portuguese.

Gilbert Almeida - They used to play even Portuguese music on that and even they used to play hindi

and portuguese both and there was on Diwali day they used to play and there was a festival called Diu Diwali where the god is getting married. There is a special song that they used to play even all our means boys from our community they also used to play for this festival.

Interviewer - Have you as a musician ever played in a band or have you ever been part of a group which

plays songs related to the catholic community.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - We had a group, a band group, means long back, I told you we had a group. But all

the boys they went abroad. So we stopped. Now we not having any playing band.

Interviewer - Sir we have heard from you as well as others that there was a lot of street music which

used to be played so can you tell us some more about this?

Mr Gilbert Almeida - There used to be a collector , a police inspector and the priest and they used to like

music. And they knew that we were quite young and they knew we had that talent of playing music. So they used to organise. They used to encourage us. That's why we used to do.

Otherwise without encouraging nobody. Now these nobody encourages these kids. And that's why they are left like that only.

Interviewer - Why is that? Why do you think there is no encouragement?

Gilbert Almeida - Because sometimes what happens some collectors when they come. They don't

know anything about the past. But some who come they ask some people when then they come to know they tell. So then again they allow them to perform. But now there is they don't want this

type of things. Only in December they do that Diu festival. Because tourism has a got lot of money. So they bring all singers from outside, heroines and all.

Interviewer - But they don't consult the community about singers

Gilbert Almeida - No no.

Interviewer - Sir and I believe you said yourself that you stopped taking classes. So is there any particular reason why the younger generation would not be interested or would have stopped taking the music classes.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - I just stopped because. I wanted to continue. But I stopped because the parents

started complaining that my children has got extra classes in the evening. So they used to go and so I means my music class was only in the evening, afternoon, after 2 o'clock. So, from 2 o'clock to 3 o'clock there was one batch. From 3 to 4, 4 to 5, 5 to 6. Last batch was of all officers who used to come. So because after office, they used to come directly here. But some children they started saying that they have got that tuition classes mostly no kids they had tuition in the afternoon or evening. So then I also thought that I got my group ready then why I should go that problem, I should do something else. And I started helping my uncle because we are having nearly ten rooms so and after Nov, Dec Jan February there are lot of foreigners. So I am

involved more in that. Giving them rooms, taking them, guiding them for any where they are having any problem. That is why I am having lot of friends all over the world and even I am having that motorbike that also is of one foreigner who keeps here. He comes for three months. He stays here three months. He use the motorbike after that I use for full year.

Interviewer - Are there. So I am just wondering because the musical culture is very rich so I am wondering have there been any sort of say celebrities, big musicians who have come out of this community whether from Daman, Diu or Goa. I mean you know Portuguese.

Gilbert Almeida - Mostly the good musicians from here, singers and musicians they went to Goa. and

they settled in Goa and they made big show there. They made a lot of money, big musician.

Now I wanted to means after this teaching this children I wanted to start with a band with these youngster. But the problem is from the first thing my nephew went to UK. Small boy, but he came back. Now he is going to UK (points at his son), his sister is going. So then I thought that it is useless doing all that.

Interviewer - But do they continue there when they go to London.

Gilbert Almeida - If he gets a chance he will do that.

Interviewer - So, the Portuguese music which has been played over time. Which has declined now .

Have there been any differences between the Portuguese music was played a while back and the Portuguese music that is sung in the church now.

Gilbert Almeida - Earlier, when they used to sing that was original means those old people used to sing. And now these are the youngster . So they want to know more beats, fast. That was very

slow so we now we started playing keyboard with instrumental music in the back. So that was like disco type and that was with old piano, organ playing. Only that difference.

Interviewer - Do you feel that there is any discrimination which the Portuguese community faces on the basis of their music or their culture.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - No no there is no discrimination nothing.

Interviewer - But is there any encouragement from the Govt. towards preserving or continuing this culture because in India there are a lot of different cultures and the Govt. does things to preserve that but we are wondering if the same treatment is given to the Portuguese community.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - So now I told you since these new officers have come many years back they are not means they don't care about this community. So earlier we were the one who we were forced to do this because they wanted to show that the Portuguese culture still exists in Diu. So after that slowly slowly they stopped us and they started promoting like Garba and Dandiya Raas. Garba and Dandiya Raas is Gujarati's dance. So they do that. And they dont. So when our community used to do Portuguese dance and they used to play live music and they used to dance and sing. So there was some people they started teaching their children with CD player. Putting music and making them to dance. They used to show Portuguese dance. And they used to go to other places to take money from the Govt.

Interviewer - Who are these people? Local people from here only.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - Local people from here only

Interviewer - So if you don't mind I would like to ask you questions about the Portuguese and Catholic community itself in Diu. So there is a definite decline in the number of speakers in the Portuguese community. So one of the major reasons for this decline is the migration. So why do you feel the migration in this region is taking place.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - Actually first the declination of the Portuguese creole. First it is that the local people are settled somewhere else. They have moved out from Diu. Now nearly the it is less than 50% what the population was before. Now at present it is less than 50%. Plus the outsiders lot of people from nearby means from Gujarat, they have migrated here just to do



business. Because they can do good business here. Better than we can do because they know business means how to cheat and they can (laughs). That is the main reason.

Interviewer - So we have through our interviews from some of the other members of the community have come across this difference between a pure form of Portuguese and the Diu Portuguese. So what is the main difference between the two languages.

Mr Gilbert Almeida - During the Portuguese rule there was a Portuguese school. So mostly my uncles, my daddy and all they studied Portuguese. So pure Portuguese. So when they used to go around they used to speak , they used to put Gujarati tone in it. Because locals were Gujarati so they used to put Gujarati tone in it. And in Daman like interior of Daman and Silvassa, they used to speak Portuguese that means Creole that it was completely, nobody used to understand what they used to speak. And it was mixed with border of Maharashtra and Gujarat. So it was completely different. So when these boys used to come to Diu. Their parents used to get transferred in Police to Diu. So those boys used to mix with our boys and we used to learn that type. That's why the creole got more mixed like this. Like in Portuguese if you when you meet someone you ask "Como estas". That means the "how are you." Now in creole some people say "Como tes" they will ask that. "Estas" no they will say "tes". Like when we repeat "estas bon" it is okay. They will say "tes bon". So this is the changes. Sometimes here are some people. One day I ask my mother, that how is that you also speak same type. So she said what will I do. I learned Portuguese but all these children speak like this so I also learn same thing (laughs). But when I speak here local I speak the same Portuguese creole. But someone come from Portugal I speak good Portuguese. So before speaking I tell them "just excuse me I got no practice of speaking", but they say "no you speak very well". Because I studied Portuguese. When I was in 9th standard. Instead of Gujarati I had taken Portuguese. For one year I studied Portuguese.

Interviewer - So Portuguese choice was available in school?

Gilbert Almeida - Yeah. Father Machado. The founder. He used to teach Portuguese.

Interviewer - So was this formally inducted into the course structure I mean was it added as a third subject with English, Hindi and Portuguese? Or was it an optional subject

Gilbert Almeida - No there was an option because there were many boys from. That day when you were there that Iqbal had come. So he had that time there was some war in Africa, Mosabic. So they all left everything and came here. So here were many boys and many girls who came from Africa. They were from Diu only but they left everything and settled there. So they got admission in the school and the school was crowded. When they were not there there were very less number of students and they could not speak good English and Gujarati. So because of them there was one option of Portuguese. Because they studied Portuguese there in Mosabic. So I also got a chance to study Portuguese.

Interviewer - Do you remember what year was this?

Gilbert Almeida - This was in before 80s. 78-79.

Interviewer - So you mentioned that the Portuguese spoken in Daman and Diu is a creole so do you think that the community in Daman or Diu aware that they are speaking a creole and not the pure form of Portuguese?

Gilbert Almeida - Yeah they know they know. Even when suppose I am speaking with a group, our group and Portuguese couple come and speak in Portuguese. We will talk slowly. Or they will say what they are speaking? Many times happen like this that they ask which language you are speaking? Because they heard some Portuguese tone in that. So they ask if we are speaking Brazilian like this is same like Brazilian. In Brazil they speak this language.

Interviewer - So you have been mentioning that in Portugal. Foreigners from Portugal come here. So the community here do they feel like how is the interaction. Like do you feel conscious that oh they are speaking some kind of a higher is there a consciousness felt.

Gilbert Almeida - No here everybody knows that is the way they speak. They know and we have to keep

little quiet we talk with other.

Interviewer - Are they interested to know the creole.

Gilbert Almeida - Some they don't know what we are speaking. Some people they know that we are speaking that type of Portuguese. Those who stay for longer time they come to know. And

those who heard that they speak Creole here so they come to know. And some are interested to know like Hugo came and he started speaking the same thing and I also feel ashamed when he used to ask me. He used to ask me that creole. He used to talk with me I was getting scared to talk with him in that language.

Interviewer - In the creole itself?

Gilbert Almeida - Ya, he used to speak Creole. He learn from them. He learned then he did the book. He

learned everything. He learned how to talk Creole and when he used to meet me he used to talk in creole. So I could not give him answer because I used to speak in when I look at them I used to speak pure Portuguese. And he used to ask me in Creole and I used to reply in good.

Interviewer - Sir we have actually interviewed quite a few others who have said that the only difference between Daman and Pure Portuguese is that they have tonal differences of the way you speak the words but some of the things that you mentioned. It would suggest that there are structural difference between Diu Portuguese and Daman Portuguese meaning that there are different terms that are used in both the languages. So, are the differences in Diu and Daman Portuguese have more tonal differences.

Gilbert Almeida - No it is not tonal but words also. Even words are different.

Interviewer - So is there. You also mentioned that there are different creoles in Daman and Diu. Is there

any hierarchy that exists like is there any one creole better than the other? Essentially.

Interviewer - Or do people think that there is one creole. We keep hearing that in the Diu community they are saying that Daman Portuguese is a bit broken.

Gilbert Almeida - More broken.

Interviewer - More broken. What does that mean if you can explain?

Gilbert Almeida - I told no Daman is close to Maharashtra and Gujarat so Daman is in middle of Gujarat and we are in the middle of Arabian sea and Gujarat. So all the tone means it is Gujarati

tone with Portuguese even when we are in the shop. There are many people who speak Portuguese. Some words they put Gujarati when they can't pronounce that word they put Gujarati. In the shop many muslims many hindus who studied portuguese at that time during the Portuguese still there are many shops with those people and even when we go in the shop we speak Portuguese with them. They know each and everything suppose I want rice I won't ask them in Gujarati I will ask them in Portuguese. Now our people they have got some problem in speaking Gujarati like that tone means for sugar in Gujarati they say khaan something and we say kaan which means ear. So they start laughing as they get confused so we speak in Portuguese and they give.

Interviewer - So what you trying to say is that in Daman Portuguese, there is more influence of languages Marathi and Gujarati that in Diu. That's why it is more broken.

Gilbert Almeida - That's why it is more broken all everything is mixed there.

Interviewer - Besides you, do you know any other musicians who practice like who play in Daman or Diu.

Gilbert Almeida - I don't know anything about Daman because I never go to Daman. Means sometimes for any work we go to Daman and but in Diu, after means, there are many musicians , means who play keyboard and all there are some groups in means in Goghala who play for the Hindu wedding, parties but myself I was the one who used to play for our group means for the dance when the children dance and wedding party.

Interviewer - What about Christmas? How is Christmas celebrated in Diu.

Gilbert Almeida - Christmas on 24th night there is a prayer service in the church and on that day there are lot of tourist, foreigner. That was the day when I had to practice more not to make a single mistake because of these foreigners. Our people no problem, they won't understand. So after the midnight mass means the second day there is Christmas tree for children and distribution of Christmas father comes and gives sweets to all community. Means people from all over means Diu they come this ground behind the church and nothing else. And before means maybe 20-25 years back when there were less tourists, our community used to make big party, dance and all. Even for Christmas for new year but since tourists started coming especially

Gujarati, I mean they never saw this type of things. That they are dancing and there is music and dancing. So they used to enter anything and they used to spoil everything. And fight used to take place. They used to call the police and afterwards we stopped. Because of Gujaratis (laughs) not other people from other places.

Interviewer - So in my formative years I have studied in a catholic school and we used to I mean for us Christmas, was all about Christmas carols and I was myself part of the choir member. So I was wondering, was there sort of carol performances.

Gilbert Almeida - We used to have it on Christmas day. Before Christmas day the full week the children goes around singing carol singing, playing music, singing carol for christmas.

Interviewer - And these are sung in English or Portuguese?

Gilbert Almeida - English and Portuguese both.

Interviewer - So when we talk about singing Portuguese in the church so are we talking about singing songs in pure Portuguese

Gilbert Almeida - Yeah this is pure not creole. Hymns are all sung in original Portuguese. Only speaking they speak anything.

## Glossary

**Superstrate** – the language of a foreign body leaving its features on a local native language.

**Substrate** – a local native language that contributes features to the language of a foreign body.

**In-group** – a group with which an individual feels a sense of unity and has common interests.

**Out-group** – a group that is not one's own and that an individual may feel animosity or hostility towards.

**Novena** – the religious practice of praying and conducting services over nine consecutive days.

**Convenience sampling** – a type of non-probability sampling method where the sample is taken from a group of people easy to contact or to reach

**Snowball sampling** – a nonprobability sampling technique where existing study subjects recruit future subjects from among their acquaintances; the sample group is said to grow like a rolling snowball

**NOC** – No Objection Certificate

**OCI card** – Overseas Citizen of India card


**Standard Portuguese** – form of Portuguese which is unaffected or untouched by other languages or dialects.

**Red Passport** – the passport granted by the Portuguese government to Indian residents who could provide proof that they were present in Portuguese occupied India.

**Liberation** – the event wherein the Indian military worked to liberate Daman, Diu and Goa from Portuguese rule and incorporate them into the Republic of India; December 19, 1961.

***Bilhete de Identidade*** – National Citizen Identity Card of Portugal. It is valid for 5 years for those under the age of 30 years. For people over 30 years old, it lasts for ten years.

**Mother tongue** – the native language of a person



*De um varão em mil casos agitados,*  
From one man in a thousand agitated cases  
*Que as praias discorrendo do Ocidente,*  
That the beaches of the West,  
*Descobriu recôncavo afamado*  
Discovered famous concave  
*Da capital brasílica potente;*  
Of the powerful Brazilian capital;  
*Do Filho do Trovão denominado,*  
From the so-called Thunder Son,  
*Que o peito domar soube à fera gente,*  
That the breast tame knew the beast people,  
*O valor cantarei na adversa sorte,*  
The value I will sing in the adverse luck,  
*Pois só conheço herói quem nela é forte.*  
I only know heroes who are strong in her.