

Proud to be a Goan: colonial memories, post-colonial identities and music

Susana Sardo*

Abstract During 451 years of colonial history, catholic Goans used music as a mediator of identity negotiation. In a political context repressing musical sonority of Indian flavour, in which Portuguese was the official language, catholic Goans created their own music, sung in Konkani and performed according to Portuguese models. *Mandó* among other hybrid and ambivalent musical genres, comprehensible for colonial rulers and Goans but with different significance for both, acquired an emblematic status. After 1961 Goa becomes an Indian territory, and the Goan diaspora, into Europe, America and Africa, increased. With it, the homeland myth created the necessity to isolate some cultural ingredients in order to maintain their cultural ties within an alien territory. Musical genres developed in Goa were recreated not for their colonial memory but because they allowed Goans to prove their difference. This paper tries to inscribe Goans as a paradigmatic case of diasporic communities where music acquires central status in the process of post-colonial identification and as an instrument of conciliation.

Keywords Music, Goa, diaspora, postcolonial theory, identity

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Introduction

During the process of Portuguese colonisation, music constituted one of the most effective instruments in mediating communication. In some contexts, such as in the case of Goa (India), Western classical music was imposed by the colonial power during the first two centuries of colonisation, being the only allowed form of musical expression. Because the process of colonisation was strongly influenced by a fervent strategy of Christianisation, Western classical music was used as a vehicle for the transmission of the Christian doctrine and, in the converts' case, replaced the music associated with the practices of Hinduism considered heretical by the colonizer. During the colonial period, that extended itself from 1510 to 1961, the social fabric gradually created an hybrid, and in some cases, mimetic local elite (Bhabha, 1994), very close to the colonial power structure. Sharing a common musical repertoire of classical and traditional music with the Portuguese, this elite, predominantly made up of Catholics of the Brâmane and Chardó¹ caste, developed local musical genres, sung in Konkani, being the result of the combination of two great musical traditions: the Western and Indian, the latter being of Hindustani affiliation. It is this repertoire to which I from now on refer myself when using the term 'Goan music' because it is in this manner that the musical genres are enunciated by Goans themselves when referring to 'their music'.

Although it is one of the most obvious testimonies of the colonial past, Goan music, in the post-colonial past,² has acquired a central place in the cohesive process of the Goan community, both in Goa and in the diaspora. Furthermore, it today constitutes the biggest guarantee for preservation of the Konkani language, which gives it a kind of paradoxical status, making it both a mirror of colonialism and a testimony of resistance.

This article, framed by the theoretical legacy of postcolonial theory (Homi Bhabha, Leela Gandhi, Walter Dignolo, Gaiatry Spivak, Veit Erlman, Featherstone), wants to show how a repertoire that we nowadays call 'Goan music' came about, the importance that it has acquired in Goa's post-colonial period, and the central position that it occupies in creating and maintaining a Goan community. This is to be understood primarily as an 'emotional community' (Gordon, 1989; Mafesolli, 1988), diasporic in nature and, therefore, increasingly located in an area without physical place although ideologically conceived. Music, in this context, perhaps retakes the leading role that the past has bestowed on it and becomes above all an element of conciliation, now surpassing the limits of space and the absences of place in the same way as it, in the past, has also surpassed the boundaries of religion, language and power relations.

First meeting – the Konkani incident

In June 2007, the First Convention of Goans in the Diaspora took place in Lisbon. This meeting, in the form of a congress, took place for three days and was organized by Casa de Goa, the first association of Goans established in Lisbon in 1987, the year in which Goa acquired the status of State of India and Konkani became the official State language. For this meeting, I was invited to lead a panel on music, and in my introductory speech I mentioned that after 46 years of integration of Goa into India and a long history of struggle for the recognition of Konkani as an official language of India, it is losing its status as most important language of Goa, in favor of English.

In the context of the new generations of Goans, for which formal education happens in English, the language of communication now increasingly is the one of India's colonizer. With regard to Goan diasporic communities, that show a marked tendency to adopt the language of the host country as language of communication, Konkani has virtually ceased to be spoken. And the fact that the official languages of the Lisbon Convention were Portuguese and English further strengthens this argument. Music is, indeed, the only means by which Goans need to communicate in Konkani, be it in Goa or in the diaspora, because the music, in order to be *Goan*, must be sung in Konkani.

During the coffee break, one of the participants, clearly offended by my argument, came looking for me, trying to explain to me that he did not recognize itself in it, given that he always speaks Konkani, whether he is in Goa or out of Goa among Goans. He asked me if I had tried to learn Konkani during my research work. I explained to him that I did and told him that when I arrived in Goa, in 1987, one of my first concerns was to learn Konkani with help from the writer Dilip Borkar, but that the results were initially little productive because the Konkani that he taught me was quite different from the one commonly spoken by the people. *"That is because you were learning Konkani from an Hindu!"* – he concluded. Obviously, my interlocutor was a Goan Catholic.

This episode is quite enlightening regarding the situation of the Konkani language in Goa. As the matter a fact, the language's particularities change in accordance with religious affiliation, social status (caste), geographical origin and the type of formal education. In the diaspora, this discontinuity increases because Konkani incorporates different diasporic memories. By this reason, the adoption of the host language also contributes to the blurring of social differences carried from Goa, which the collective memory does not allowed to conceal. How can a diasporic community survive as such (a whole) when the language, one of the stronger ingredients for a collective identity of the group, seems to be the weakest link? What kind of strategies are used by the Goans in the diaspora to ensure the vitality and reproduction of the community? This is where music takes on a central and unifying role.

Music in Goa: schizophrenic sounds

The relation of Goa with India was partially interrupted during 451 years of Portuguese colonisation (1510-1961). This period was long enough to generate a hybrid

culture, especially in the Catholic context, clearly represented by a relationship of complicity generated between coloniser and colonised (Bhabha, 1994). The Catholic religion was one of the most powerful instruments in the process of colonisation carried out by the Portuguese in Goa, as well as in other areas of India and the Orient. The conversions to Catholicism ensured political allies that inevitably led to the creation of culturally close interlocutors of the coloniser, thus facilitating the understanding between the two parties [coloniser and colonised]. With the consolidation of political power in Goa, culture seems to have complied with a partition of a religious order: on the one hand Hindus and Muslims - which the Portuguese called *gentios* and *mouros*, respectively - and, on the other, *converts* attracted by irresistible offers such as the allocation of land or permission to marry men and women, in the latter case especially sent from the Kingdom for this purpose (Costa, 1940). Simultaneously, a robust system of formal education was also implemented with the primary objective of preventing Goans converted to Catholicism to continue to attend traditional Hindu schools. Parochial schools, founded in Goa in 1545 and only destined to male students, acquired a central place not only in the process of evangelisation but also in the creation of a paradigm of basic education of Goans, teaching mathematics and music in addition to writing and reading. In the case of music, the teaching program included solfejo (*solfas*), singing and learning to play an instrument, in most cases the violin. Through this colonial strategy, Western music was entirely transplanted to Goa, initially with the sole purpose of supporting the establishment of new religious practices associated with Catholicism (Sardo and Simões, 1989).

For Goans, western music defined a 'strange' sound universe, especially by its polyphonic character. Unlike the secular monodic practice of classical Indian tradition, Goans were now invited to listen to other music marked by the performance of several simultaneous voices singing different melodic paths, or even the use of instrumental accompaniment with melodic material different from the one performed vocally. One can say that for the Indians western music represented an 'exotic' universe because it was different in relation to the known musical ambient because it somehow provided a sense of fascination, especially emphasised by the presence of large instrumental ensembles. The description of musical events recorded throughout archival documentation, in particular in the field of epistolography, show us that the Portuguese quickly took advantage of this exotism using music as a way to attract either Hindus or Catholic converts. These 'schizophonic' sounds, a concept described by Steven Feld (2000) based on the proposal of Murray Shaffer to refer to the process of musical relocation, were great allies of the colonists and were gradually adopted by Goans, especially Catholics, providing a genesis of a new musical universe.

Initially, according to archival documentation, particularly legislation of a religious nature, the Portuguese introduced a rigid system of musical negotiation that only allowed Goans to play the music transplanted from the West, invariably associated with the Catholic faith. Gradually, and after the eighteenth century and the eradication of the Inquisition in 1836, it is possible to see an emergence of some signs of musical emancipation with the emergence of hybrid and ambivalent genres, developed mostly within the rural elite consisting of landowners (*gãocars*). Music occupied a central position in the consolidation of this elite, as I will describe below.

Within the rural elite, consolidated after the decline of the city of Old Goa, which led to the formation of the city of New Goa (actual Panjim), and to the return of landlords to their villages of origin, the difference between Portuguese and Goans became very tenuous. It was in this very particular situation that music emerged as a central ingredient to legitimise difference and as a guarantee for the maintenance of 'goanity'. The Goan Catholics had a huge success in the field of literature, poetry, painting or even performance or composition of Western music. However, a creation of new artistic genres or even stylistic emancipation never happened, merely restricting oneself to reproduce the models imported from or through Portugal with excellence (Devi and Seabra 1971). Only music seems to have offered to Goans the possibility of creating something new, something where they could show the difference between the models received by the Portuguese and those newly created by the Goans. And it was in this context that a number of new genres developed and consolidated themselves that have increasingly defined what Goans today call 'Goan music', reclaiming the exclusivity of its performance. Some of these musical genres are categorised as 'art forms' by the Goans themselves. Mandó is the most paradigmatic case of this categorisation. This 'new music', although based on Western polyphony, is sung in Konkani and safeguards a set of local polysemous ingredients that allow us to diagnose different, apparently exclusive, narratives of goanity, thus identifying its historical, social and performative universe (Earlman 1998). The association of these genres to playfulness allowed them to survive colonial oppression, and this condition of apparent entertainment transformed music in a behaviour that did *not endanger* the objectives of the coloniser for whom the sound of this music was intelligible, and even pleasant, although it sheltered other stories only understood by Goans and shared by them.

These musical genres, and especially mandó, were created through two historical processes described below:

1. The appropriation of stylistic patterns and musical vocabulary of western music imposed by the Portuguese;
2. The reaction to colonial power that produced, in the framework of a 'second power' of mimetic nature and based in the rural context, a different music that, although consolidated within the same paradigms of western music, was sufficiently different of it. Only Goans had access to its multiple meanings. This music was neither Indian nor Portuguese but included ingredients from both traditions. Because it was sung in Konkani, it allowed Goans to use their own language through an apparently innocuous behaviour. This particular feature bestowed on Goan Catholic music the ambivalent status that later on would confer a central position as a political instrument of differentiation and autonomisation.

The way in which Goans have taken advantage of this ambivalence reveals an interesting process of dealing with the emotional domain. Secular music was, for the colonisers, a seemingly harmless cultural ingredient, aesthetically attractive but totally incomprehensible. The meaning of Konkani and the different narratives printed in song, literature and dance, could only be decoded by the proper Goans that recognised themselves in them. This peculiarity allowed Goan to hide in music, and through it, some important aspects of their identity, which they refused to abdicate.

Konkani was, evidently, one of them but also history, the social dimension and, of course, performance. One can say that music was perhaps the most effective way of conciliation between colonisers and colonised, building bridges of dialogue but, for each of them, the intrinsic meanings were inevitably different.

When, in 1963, the Goans organized the Opinion Poll that in 1967 was to decide on the state autonomy of the territory as an alternative to its inclusion within the neighbouring state of Maharashtra, music, and Mandó in particular, constituted one of the most powerful instruments of claiming and exhibiting Goa as a 'different' place in the context of the other Indian territories. Mandó represented the most evident testimony of language resistance, one of the features that were politically central to the state autonomy of Indian territories, and a mirror of Goan identity that is, for Goans, the strongest sign of their unity. The Mandó Festival was thus founded as a flag for independence and quickly became a initiative welcomed by different institutions giving way today to a state event that is multiplied over the years in different events. As Konkani nowadays seems to lose importance in Goa in favor of English, the Mandó Festival has resumed its leading role in the state's social and cultural scene. And the music sung in Konkani, which includes *tiatr*, popular music and traditional music, is now supported by a booming industry that entails various forms of music publishing, a variety of network shows and even various forms of dissemination through media of mass communication.

The 'second Goa'

Thanks to Goa's privileged position between two great cultural vicinities – India through its geographic proximity and Portugal through its political hegemony and 451 years of colonisation – Goa capitalised a particular experience of intercultural dialogue, particularly with regard to labor relationships. The benefits for Catholic Goans were evident. Being experts of the Indian reality, religious conversion gave them access to a set of opportunities that were apparently forbidden to Hindus: they could travel by sea, they did not have any food-related restrictions, they learned at least one European language (Portuguese) that allowed them to understand Western literature and music, and they had learned to sing and sometimes play a musical instrument. In this framework, Goan Catholics acquired unique opportunities to travel, be it in India be it by means of the ocean, thus expanding a long history of emigration to the West, first to the former Portuguese colonies in Africa and, from there on, to Portugal, Brazil, the United Kingdom, Canada, the United States of America, Germany and Australia to list only some of the most important reception contexts of the Goan diaspora. There are at least 61 countries where Goans have organised themselves as migrant groups. As the matter a fact, speaking about Goans necessarily implies an awareness of a multiple reality common to an evident partition: Goans in Goa and Goans abroad in the Diaspora.

Despite some important studies such as the work of Baptista (1956) on Goan clubs based in Mumbai and, in particular, the work of Stella Mascarenhas-Keyes on female emigration of Goans, the history of Goan emigration is still to be studied. And here I refer to an analysis of the trajectories and numbers, but also, and in particular, to the

anthropological look at how Goans negotiated the inevitable emotional costs that the emigrant condition always comprises.

Although there are isolated cases of establishment of associations of Goans in the first half of the twentieth century, it is especially from 1987 onwards that a proliferation of an associative movement in the proper sense can be noted. It is likely that the autonomous status of the state of Goa has contributed to this increase of associations, mainly because for the first time Goans were recognised by a formal symbol of auto-identification: Konkani was indeed the official language of Goa and the most obvious reason for its autonomy as Indian state. But what kind of Konkani Goans could use to communicate with each other? How could they speak a language that only they had learned orally and which written version they did not know? How could they speak a language that changes depending on religion, social status or geographical origin of its speakers? How could Goa and language return an unifying sense of identity to Goans in the diaspora?

Spread over multiple places, countries and cultures throughout the five continents, the majority of Goans in the diaspora is part of a double migrant condition: they left Goa before its political integration in India and when they try to reconcile themselves with the image of the place they left the latter is inevitably altered in relation to their memories by the new political condition that the territory of Goa meanwhile acquired. Forty-nine years after the integration of Goa into the Indian Union, some Goans and Goan groups living in Goa or in the diaspora have shown a great need to rediscover themselves culturally. They want to understand their place in the world and life by looking for relational ties in the past, that help them to reconstruct and to re-found their cultural autonomy.

It is within this process that I name 'post-colonial reconstruction' and that Leela Gandhi calls 'post-colonial convalescence', that music seems to acquire a double significance: on the one hand, it is differentiated by its uniqueness when confronted with Goan cultural vicinities, but on the other hand, it is reconstructive as it travels through generations and permits to reconstruct the present as a projection of the past, although the latter, the past, only exists in the imagination of its interpreters and, therefore, is inevitably personal and discontinuous.

In addition, music in a diasporic context acquires a unique role in maintaining strong bonds of group cohesion and seems to be the only vehicle, once again, in preserving Konkani as a living language, and especially in the transmission of Goanity to younger generations. Goanity is transmitted through language but also through the memories and narratives that the music embodies. Starting from the theoretical proposal of Veit Earlman (1998), I believe that history, social organisation and performance are narratives that are present both in music and identity. And these three narrative dimensions are central in defining the Goanity, an identity that is neither Portuguese nor Indian, but an emotional idea of resistance. At different moments in the history of Goa, music, especially Mandó, has been the best testimony of this resistance in which some ingredients of the culture that Goans consider non-negotiable are kept virtually untouched (Bhabha, 1996).

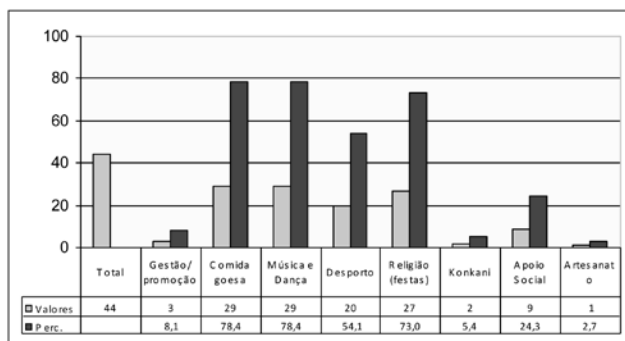
It is probably for this reason that music constitutes one of the most important activities of Goans in the diasporic context and this has been central in creating a kind of 'second Goa', a place without culture, housed within an emotional community, based in cyberspace and shared via the Internet.

Representing Goa in the diaspora

Using an electronic inquiry that was accomplished between 2003 and 2005, I contacted 44 associations of Goans in the diaspora, that make themselves known through websites where they regularly publish their activities. These associations are seated in countries of the Middle East, Africa, Europe, and America. For all of them, and contrary to what happens with the more than 300 clubs of Goans seated in Mumbai, humanitarian support does not form part of their action. Instead, the central objectives of these associations are in short expressed as: 1) construction of a meeting place for Goan residents; 2) creating a sense of Goanity especially for the younger generations.

To achieve these objectives, associations promote actions such as the constitution of sport teams in football and keram (a board game very common in Goa), celebrate the most important religious festivals of Goa: S. Francisco Xavier, on 3 December, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception (*Festa da Imaculada Conceição*) on 8 December, the Popular Saints (*Santos Populares*) in June, especially St. John (S. João), and the most important festivals of the common Catholic calendar such as Christmas and Easter. They promote floral games, fairs, dances on New Year's Eve or even regular meetings that they call picnics, to eat in group and get together. However, music seems to be present in almost all the initiatives or even in isolation as a central element to some events and organisations.

Figure 1 – Main activities promoted by the 44 associations of Goans with web activity



As evidenced in the analytical framework above, in a universe of 44 associations with Web activity, 29 of them select music and Goan food as the most important actions to achieve their objectives. In this context, the presence of music is expressed through the organisation of musical groups, music festivals and concerts. The cases of associations seated in Kuwait and Dubai are perhaps the most expressive examples regarding the organisation of concerts and festivals aiming to finance Goan musicians that travel directly from Goa to perform there.

To create formally organised musical groups seems to constitute an important tool for sharing Konkani language and for teaching Goanity in the second generation of migrants. In fact, songs to be sung together require the adoption of the same form and the same accent, and music, in this framework, serves as a language unifier although the choice of one of the linguistic versions always complies with negotiation processes that cannot be explored and clarified in this text. On the other hand, children and youngsters are usually very open and enthusiastic with regard to a possible presence on stage. Thus the creation of musical groups that resort to children and youngsters as protagonists is always welcomed by the latter, that agree to sing and dance, as representatives of their parents' message, even if initially the messages that are contained in music, words and dance may not have much meaning for them. However, by learning a repertoire that their parents describe as 'their music', they gradually incorporate the meaning of words, gestures and dress modes, and are certainly faced with the more or less strange idea to play and sing Indian music with Western instruments and sound organisations. *'After all, Indian music is not that difficult, it is even very similar to ours'* (field interview, Pedro Carmo Costa, 23, student, 1993).

In fact, for the new generations, born in the diaspora, these sounds are equally schizophrenic. But for parents, this is also the most important argument for transmitting Goanity, through its look, experience and memory, exhibiting its difference in confrontation with other cultures, and especially the Indian culture. To explain difference, Goans have to resort to history, social codes and the meanings of musical performance and choreography. And, while today in Goa they cannot find the settings that are equivalent to these narratives, the objectives are kept in order to pass on to new generations, and also to the host culture, the pride of be Goan, an idea of Goa that remains in their memories and an attempt to recreate in the diaspora.

These objectives are reinforced by other strategies where music is also present in an unequivocal manner. Some evident examples:

1. the creation and maintenance of local radio stations in Konkani (ex: Konkani Radio Goaworld - created in March 2000 in Kuwait,³ a station on-line 24 hours with music in Konkani or performed and interpreted by Goan musicians);
2. the creation of websites exclusively devoted to music (ex: do, re, mi, fa,⁴ a website created in Muscat, Sultanate of Oman, exclusively dedicated to the dissemination of Goan musicians);
3. Konkani Music On-Line, a website created in December 2006 in Ontario, Canada, from which Konkani music can be downloaded in mp3 format;⁵

4. AngelAv,⁶ a website created in Goa, exclusively dedicated to updating all information on production and musical activities in Goa, which includes a newsletter about Goan music entitled *Dulpod*;
5. a yahoo group, dubbed goan-music, created in February 2001, probably in Dubai, fully dedicated to the online discussion about Goan music and also allowing the exchange of information such as lyrics and music in mp3 format, among other things.

In fact, the more fluid access to the internet has promoted an increasing exchange of music over the web but also more contact between Goans in the diaspora and those that have stayed in Goa. In 1999, René Barreto, a Goan lawyer based in London, launched the idea on the web of celebrating what he called World Goa Day. Recalling this moment, at the occasion of divulging of World Goa Day 2003, Barreto defined the objectives of the initiative as follows:

“On GOA DAY this year, thousands of Goans will once again remind themselves of the need to work to preserve OUR culture, music, history, language, cuisine, and art for our children, the non-Goan community, and for posterity. (...) It all started in 1999, when we decided to dedicate a day in the year to the celebration of World GOA DAY. It was meant to be a day when Goans worldwide focused on and took pride in every aspect of Goan culture - language, traditions, the performing arts, cuisine etc.”⁷

And this was indeed the beginning of an intense movement that culminated in the creation of World Wide Goans (WWG), an organisation that promoted the first annual gathering of Goans in the diaspora, on 20 December 2000, in Panjim, with the presence of 270 delegates representing the different communities of Goans living outside Goa. The importance of these meetings led the local government itself to create an agency to support the event - the Non-Resident Indian Goan Facilitation Centre that is responsible for organising the annual convention of the WWG since 2003.

World Goa Day, celebrated annually on 20 August in the different countries where Goans are represented through associative structures, always incorporates a strong musical component through the organisation of concerts, festivals and competitions, for which different formally organised groups prepare to perform and/or compete. Especially for this day, Basílio Magno, a Goan journalist residing in Spain, composed the song ‘Proud to be a Goan’, disseminating it over the web so that it can be sung by *all Goans* on the commemorative day. Although August 20 was chosen in order to celebrate the introduction of Konkani as official language of Goa in the Indian Constitution, the anthem was composed in English and was initially always intoned in English. On 24 June 2007, eight days after my speech in Lisbon at the First Convention of Goans in the Diaspora (and the Konkani incident), Basílio Magno, also present at the conference, updated and disseminated a new version of the anthem through the web, this time in English and Konkani.

Conclusions

The theoretical debate regarding culture enveloped in a postcolonial relationship is not pacific, most notably when it is directed towards the analysis of relationships between areas that share asymmetric pasts of power: some because they were colonised, others because they were colonisers. An awareness of the relativism of history, marked by a post-modern logic, allows us today to encounter consensus strategies to overcome and go beyond the positivist or even romanticised analyses - of which the proposal of luso-tropicalism by Gilberto Freyre is probably one of the most intriguing ones - of the relations of cause and effect between cultures with common colonial pasts. But they equally lead us to evident theoretical impasses that solely depend on how each of us experiences the colonial relation, transforming the discourse in a mirror of its own personal and collective biography.

A reflection on music suffers the same problems although music, and expressive culture in general, can denounce other historical and contemporary processes that help to define it in these contexts as an area of consensus or, at least, of adjustment. Its association with playfulness or 'ludicity' becomes a seemingly 'harmless' testimony, although its performative component can be a condition for its own exposure and, accordingly, its presence cannot be overlooked. Hence, it is possible that some key concepts of postcolonial theory, in particular the concept of 'hybridity', can be re-equated in the context of reflection about musical processes. Instead of hybridity that is based on the almost exclusive idea of analysis of the sound universe where it is possible to diagnose musical ingredients from various origins - arising from a purely theoretical idea that those same origins can be circumscribed - my proposal relapses within the concept of 'conciliation'.

Actually, this addresses a double conciliation, marked by compromise between what is allowed and what is forbidden in the context of the power of colonisation, and between what is exposed and what is hidden in a process of resistance for safeguarding cultural ingredients. We say that the prism of analysis shifts from the gaze of the coloniser, for whom the finding of hybrid forms is a sign of success of his power effort, to the look of the colonised for whom the adoption of the conditions imposed by the coloniser translates into a cosmetics where forms of resistance are concealed by the veiled maintenance of non-negotiable ingredients of culture and only intelligible by themselves or by their peers. It is a possible way of conciliation with the colonists and with itself, in an asymmetrical power relationship.

During the colonial past, Goans 'created' an expressive repertoire articulating ingredients of western music with Konkani language: a way to hide some features of culture and, especially, language. The creation of this expressive repertoire developed from negotiation processes that de facto led to conciliation strategies between coloniser and colonised, between prohibited music and allowed music, creating something new and recognised as 'Goan' (neither Portuguese nor Indian). From 1961 onwards, this same music initiated a new performative and explanatory trajectory, starting to be performed on stage: a form of distinction with regard to the Indian central government and the struggle for state autonomy and linguistic diversity, both

acquired in 1987. In this context, once again, Goan music was also an instrument of conciliation, going beyond religious beliefs, social and political differences, in favor of a common goal: the defense of the language and with it the justification for the autonomy of the state territory.

Since 1987, Goans in the diaspora have begun a process of redemption of their own Goanity, by creating associative and collective spaces and where Goa - or the idea of it - now a State, reconstructed and reproduced itself through the dissemination of music sung in Konkani: a way of preserving the language and to transmit Goanity to the members of the second generation of migrants born in the diaspora. In this context, music permits to overcome all discontinuities, be they social, linguistic or historical, and transforms itself once again into an element of conciliation between Goans of various social and religious origins, among Goans in the diaspora and those who have never left India.

Since 2000, 'Proud to be a Goan', the anthem designed to commemorate the World Goa Day, recalls the testimony of conciliation between all Goans. In it, not a language of union is revealed - be it English or Konkani - but the unique expression that somehow, and despite the memory of the colonial past, allows to claim Goanity with one single voice, anywhere in the world: music.

Notes

¹ In Goa, the process of conversion to Catholicism did not delude the caste mechanism that is present in the social organization of India. Thus, Goan converts to Catholicism remained a social caste but, in this case, the four varnas of Hinduism resulted in three distinct categories, with respect to different precepts of organization by means of natural adaptation that religion imposes. In this respect see Perez, 1987.

² In this text, I adopt the proposal of Leela Gandhi (1998) regarding the use of the expressions 'post-colonial', 'post-colonial' and 'postcolonialism'. In the first case I refer to the period following the end of the colonial status of the colonized territory, in the second case I am referring to the colonial situation from the time of takeover by the colonizers, and in the last case, to the very theory that informs the study on this subject from the seminal book of Edward Said, *Orientalism*.

³ Available at: <http://www.live365.com/stations/konkani>, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁴ Available at: http://www.konkandaiz.com/music_alwyn.html, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁵ Available at: <http://www.konkanimusiconline.com/kmo/catalog/index.php>, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁶ Available at: http://www.angelav.com/s_index.php, accessed on 30.05.2010.

⁷ Available at: <http://www.goanvoice.ca/2003/issue11/goa/goaday.htm>, accessed on 30.05.2010.

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