

*Atitudes que o Vento Levou:*

The stories of Eduardo de Sousa and the post-1961 vision of a Goan elite in decline

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The now-defunct Lusophone literature of Goa holds interest today for two main reasons. Firstly, it bears testimony to the worldview of the former Indo-Portuguese elite, the variety of subject-positions found within its archive in relation to Portuguese culture and colonialism, native hierarchies and Goa's belonging to the wider Indian nation. It is notable that, at least insofar as prose fiction goes, this literature was often more autocritical or intracritical than invested in "writing back to the empire".<sup>1</sup> Secondly, the specific conditions of Goa and its cultural production in Portuguese might help complexify or problematise postcolonial thought and challenge universalised presumptions concerning the poetics and evolution of postcolonial literatures. If nothing else, at least, the particularities of Portuguese-language Goan literary works serve as a further reminder that the adjective postcolonial refers both to what arises in the wake of colonialism and to what resists colonialism discursively. Ian Adam and Helen Tiffin describe these referents as the two archives of postcolonial writing (1991, viii). Though their distinction is a helpful one, it raises more questions about the "hinge", to use John McLeod's influential metaphor (2007, 9), between historical conditions and contestatory representations than it answers. My argument here shall be that such thorny questions as these can only ever be answered locally and provisionally. In this spirit, in the present article, I shall consider the distinctive characteristics of the Goan social landscape in the immediate pre- and post-1961 period and their refraction in Eduardo de Sousa's *Contos que o Vento Levou*, one of the last Portuguese-language Goan short-story collections.

It has been suggested that the specificity of Goa, or of its former Lusophone elite, derives from its "entrelugar" (Garmes 2004, 13) between East and West. Given that an "entrelugar" is a position applicable in some degree to all colonial elites, and many

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<sup>1</sup> See Ashcroft, Griffiths and Tiffin (1989) for an early, influential yet widely contested view of postcolonial literature inspired by the title of a Salman Rushdie newspaper article, "The Empire Writes Back".

other groups besides, perhaps it is possible here to endow this term with more specific content. We can say that, in the twentieth century, this inbetweenness derived from its location on two peripheries: the margin of the Indian mainstream (issuing from British colonialism and explicitly or implicitly Hindu in orientation) and the margin of the third Portuguese Empire (focused on the control and economic exploitation of Portugal's southern-African possessions). At the same time, in the space defined by these overlapping spheres, Goa constituted, at least for some Goans, a sub-nation<sup>2</sup>, a local centre differentiated both in relation to Portugal and to the wider India<sup>3</sup>. The consequence of occupying this “entrelugar”, in the realm of Portuguese-language literature, was a tendency to be declaredly *regional*, as testified by titles of key short-story collections of authors as varied as José da Silva Coelho and Augusto do Rosário Rodrigues.<sup>4</sup>

It is the inward-looking focus of a certain strand of Lusophone Goan literature, and the ambiguous and conflicted position of Portuguese-speakers in Goa arising from the particular conditions of Goa's decolonization, that led to the emergence of a post-1961 voice like Eduardo de Sousa's, which is quite unlike any other I know in postcolonial Lusophone literatures, whether in the residual spaces of Asia or in Africa. Teotónio de Souza has suggested one important line of inquiry in which Goa, with its *sui generis* relation to the legacy of Portuguese colonialism might a space where the “paternalismos e nacionalismos” (2009, 120) of Portuguese postcolonialism can be discerned and debated. This is not exactly the tack taken here, though my interest is equally to extend the scope and targets of postcolonial criticism. My focus is, instead, on the formation and expression of a rather different sort of chauvinism.

Unlike many Goan writers about whom we know almost nothing, the key facts of Eduardo de Sousa's life and work are fairly well documented, for each of his published

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<sup>2</sup> Indeed, for a small minority, Goa constituted a territory engaged in a historical process that should have led to nationhood (see António A. Bruto da Costa (2013: 90)

<sup>3</sup> An encapsulation of this view is presented in João da Veiga Coutinho's imagined dialogue with Father Claude Saldanha, in which Saldanha is made to stand for formerly operative idea of a certain Goan attachment to Portugal and to state: “I believe that the reason for their deep attachment to the land of Goa rather than to India is their conviction of belonging to a separate country with a distinctive civilization” (Coutinho 1997, 26). Though the implied reader of Veiga Coutinho's work appears to be Catholic, and particularly upper-caste, Goans, the third-person plural possessive pronoun used here appears not to be limited in class, caste or religious terms and so begs the question of how widespread across the spectrum of society this conviction might or might not be. As Coutinho later muses in his own voice, presumably with reference to the 1967 Opinion Poll, one cannot “forget that in the perception of vast numbers of [Goa's] population [...] there was nothing so distinctive about their way of life that it could not merge smoothly into the surrounding Konkan scene” (1997, 32-33).

<sup>4</sup> Specifically Coelho's series of *Contos Regionais* that were published between 1922 and 1930 in *O Herald* and Rodrigues's identically titled short-story collection of 1987.

works comes accompanied by addenda detailing this information. His was the classic trajectory of a member of the Indo-Portuguese elite. Born in 1909 into a family of *bhatkars*, or landlords, of the ninth *vangodd*, or clan, of Saligão, Sousa studied at the Liceu Afonso de Albuquerque and read pharmacy at the Escola Médico-Cirúrgica before eventually taking a position as a primary-school teacher. He appears never to have absented himself from Goa for any lengthy period of time. In his youth Sousa completed various annexe courses at the Liceu de Goa: Marathi in 1936, Political Economy, Administrative Law and Statistics in 1943 and then Political Organization and Administration of the Portuguese nation in 1945. His uncapped roll of laurels resembles a CV compiled for a post that never materialised,<sup>5</sup> a position of distinction in a successor state to Portuguese Goa. In 1958 Sousa took up a post at the Liceu de Goa. He passed away in 2004.

If Sousa's biography tails off just before 1961, his literary life traces the inverse trajectory. Sousa published various school textbooks during the Portuguese regime, alongside his *Cartas sem Destino* (1948), which, ironically, seem to have been lost. There follows the comedy in one act *O Juiz Patusco* of 1961, put out just before the end of Portuguese rule. After the turbulent initial period of Goa's integration into India, Sousa seems to have dedicated more time to creative writing. In 1977 he published *Nas Margens do Mandovi: retalhos da minha vida*, a mixture of autobiography, anecdotes and reminiscences. In 1985 Sousa released *Contos que o Vento Levou*, a collection of short stories broadcast on All-India Radio between 11<sup>th</sup> January 1974 and 11<sup>th</sup> October of that year.

*Contos que o Vento Levou* contains eighteen stories. Rather than following the high tradition of the Western literary short story, with which Goan writers as varied as Vimala Devi, Maria Elsa da Rocha and Epitácio Pais engaged in the 1960s, Sousa's simple stories are a ragtag mix of anecdote, legend, superstition, personal opinion and recollection. If there is any overt affiliation to *belles lettres* it is to staid Portuguese classics of the nineteenth century like Júlio Dinis and Júlio Dantas, whom he references.

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<sup>5</sup> In his forthright, uningratiating "Proêmio" to Sousa's *Nas Margens do Mandovi*, Carmo de Noronha pointedly remarks that, though Sousa was a "pessoa com talento e variada bagagem", he "continuou atrelado ao posto de professor" (1977, 2). The suggestion is that it was not, as Sousa himself claimed, merely "amor aos meninos e à função pedagógica" (1977, 2) that was responsible for this lack of progression. Later in *Nas Margens*, after describing the dozen or so disciplinary proceedings to which he was subjected "por ter manifestado em público por palavra falada ou escrita a minha maneira de pensar" (1977, 139), Sousa claims "[f]ui, portanto, uma abóbora no telhado no regime anterior, tido como elemento perigoso com ideias anti-nacionais" (1977, 140). It is plausible to suppose such a figure expected more recompense from the demise of Portuguese rule.

Yet such names are not cited as predecessors in literary endeavour. Rather they are referred to as sources of common sense and well-turned axioms, as casual pretexts to display learning. In terms of literary ambition, Sousa's stories, it seems, were meant to fill the short slots on the radio they occupied and nothing more. The author eschews the aspects prized in the 20<sup>th</sup>-century post-Chekhovian prose tale, such as ambiguity, complexity and irresolution. Sousa's treatment of his stories is, by contrast, simple, and blunt. Here I shall analyse three narratives that are emblematic of the author's stark view of post-1961 Goa: "O fim do mundo", "Os filhos do sapateiro", and "As proezas de Panfúcio".

First aired on 10<sup>th</sup> June 1977, "O fim do mundo" is Sousa's only story narrated in the first person.<sup>6</sup> The narrator has returned home to rest after celebrating mass at Candolim. Suddenly his wife rouses him from his slumber with the news that the world is about to end. Hearing a commotion outside the narrator hurriedly takes to the street before making his way to the church, where his neighbours are headed to make confession before the final reckoning.

The psycho-spatial division of the sinners at the church bears some examination. We are told that the narrator (and his co-parishioners) are able to confess without ado: "[D]epois de ter vomitado a lava que me perturbava, senti-me aliviado e pronto para a marcha" (Sousa 1985, 29), the narrating voice adds. The reader/listener is not privy to their wrongdoings. For an unexplained reason, however, the congregation from a neighbouring village has sought out the vicar of Candolim to confess their sins. The secrets that we discover over the course of the story are therefore the secrets of "others"; any sins committed by the narrator (and his ilk) remain unvoiced.

Through the eavesdropping of the narrator the reader "hears" a series of confessions: engineers with false diplomas, architects who designed buildings that then collapsed, nurses who passed off injections of water as vitamins. A succession of tailors, carpenters, merchants, bakers, ministers, legislators, and young *padres*, who have robbed, defrauded, got rich through sharp practices or trafficked influence, are paraded briefly for our judgement (and condemnation). The suggestion is that these are figures that have prospered in the new social landscape of post-1961 Goa, presumably at the cost of the former bhatkar class to which the author belonged. Souza describes the period following the end of Portuguese rule as a moment in which "[t]he classes that

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<sup>6</sup> A version of "O Fim do Mundo" also appears in *Nas Margens do Mandovi*.

had been most neglected by the Portuguese rule and, consequently, by the more advanced classes of the Goan population, suddenly shot to power. Hindu Brahmins and Christian bhaktars entered a period of expiation for past sins” (1998, 63). Whatever the reality on the ground may be for the “more advanced classes”, and whatever historical responsibility they might objectively be seen to bear, in Eduardo de Sousa’s worldview any need for atonement rests solely on the shoulders of his internal others in consequence of their post-1961 actions and behaviour.

The summary quality of Sousa’s stories is partly determined by their form. Pasco argues that, due to its necessarily short length, the characters of the prose tale tend towards the formulistic and the general (1991, 420). Yet here it seems that the constraints of form align with the limited purview of the author. In this story, the extreme situation and rapid switching between confessions reduces the characters to their professions and their sins. There is no attempt on the narrator’s part to try to understand the reasons underlying any of the acts. On the day of God’s judgement, his own evaluation is summary, even preconceived. He restricts himself to listening in disapprovingly to strangers and accepting apologies from those who seek him out to apologise for their trespasses, having been ordered to make amends by the priest.

Eventually, as the narrator himself awaits his own last judgement, two queues form before his eyes. The first comprises the poor and the humble and rises to heaven. The second, made up of “políticos furta-cores” (Sousa 1985, 32) and young priests,<sup>7</sup> descends to hell. The satisfaction of the narrator is obvious. At the story’s end, the world falls back into line. The corrupt usurpers of the post-1961 period pay their moral debts and the poor and humble are rewarded. The story gives no inkling as to who these “poor and humble” might be. They serve merely as a rhetorical device for the narrator, a faceless contrast to the sinners and the damned.

As often occurs in certain strains of the short story, the climax of “O fim do mundo” reserves two surprises, one for the narrator and one for the reader. The first is a sudden breakdown in divine justice:

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<sup>7</sup> Various other stories display Sousa’s aversion to the young post-Portuguese priesthood, almost always characterised by hair and clothing suggesting an adherence, in the author’s eyes, to untoward worldly concerns. A representative example appears in the story “Os perus de Páscoa”: “[O] padre era sobrinho de um octogenário, devorado pela sórdida e inqualificável sovínice que acumulara riquezas fabulosas para serem esbanjadas pelo sobrinho. Trazia calças de fantasia e balalaika a tricolor indiana, com uma grande cabeleira desgrenhada. Era um padre moderno, espalhando perfume em vez de santidade” (Sousa 1985, 64).

Profundamente comovido, perante a catástrofe e o tremendo poder da morte sobre os mundanos, pareceu-me jazer num ataúde a aguardar a minha sentença, quando vi diante de mim um contrabandista, preso no regime anterior por crimes vulgares e ter conseguido tamrapatra como encarcerado político, estar a subir, intrujando a São Pedro de que tinha sido absolvido de seus pecados. (Sousa 1985, 32)

“Contrabandista” here seems to be a jibe at the supposedly fake freedom fighters who assumed positions of respect post-1961. The denigration of such figures as quondam criminals (who were said to spin incarceration under colonial rule for bootlegging or other activities as their contribution to the struggle for freedom) was not, at this time, an uncommon trope in reactionary discourse. Just as the end of Portuguese rule saw the “unworthy” ultimately benefit (in the worldview articulated in the story), so correspondingly does the end of the world. Not content with having eclipsed the narrator in life, such figures as this *contrabandista* seem poised to do so once more in the hereafter.

When the narrator sees this “malandro” (Sousa 1985, 32) entering heaven, he bellows in rage and jumps up in a desperate attempt to yank him back down to earth. Here the second “surprise” occurs, this time for the reader: “Nesta minha tentativa saltei da cama onde dormia e caí no chão com uma forte dor na cintura. A queda provocou em mim a cólica renal que, desde aquela data, me atormenta de quando em vez” (1985, 32). This is a common short-story ending, one which Gerlach terms the “completion of anti-thesis” (1985, 191), the return of the diegetic world to its initial state. In this *Barco do Inferno à Goesa* then, for the narrator the initial justice of the dream fades while the supreme injustice of real-life Goa in the 70s continues.

Though no less lurid, “Os filhos do sapateiro” and “As proezas de Panfúcio” exchange the phantasmagoric for a close focus on the political landscape of their times. Goa is unique amongst former Portuguese colonies in its almost immediate transition from dictatorship to functional democracy and its subsequent eschewal of the hegemony of the former colonised elite, with their “quasi feudal ethos” (Souza 1998, 64), for government by a party elected in the name of the *bahujan samaj*, a term often used to refer to the non-Brahmin sections of Indian society. Here it is important to remember that even within India Goa’s situation was unusual, the MGP being only the second non-Congress government ever elected (Congress being the party of India’s national bourgeoisie). Moniz Barbosa argues that the rest of India “could not have imagined at that point in time” such electoral results as Goa returned, since in comparable parts of the country the hegemony of zamindars and the wealthy continued unabated (2012, 44).

In my view, the particularities of the Portuguese-language Goan fiction emerging after decolonization is closely linked to what Said terms the “worldliness” of literature (1983, 4), its emplacement here in Goa’s *sui generis* political situation.

Newman describes a Goan post-1961 society in which “[f]or the mass of agricultural and maritime producers and labourers, the end of Portuguese rule meant an end to the system whose social structures kept them permanently in a subordinate position” (2001, 21). For elements of the former elite, according to Sinha, this shift was perceived as “freedom threatening the old order” (2002, 67). Yet, as Janet Rubinoff points out, the ultimately authoritarian nature of Portuguese Goa meant that, after its demise, the base for a democracy predicated on universal suffrage (and indeed for the success of the Congress party also) was lacking (1995, 17). This unpreparedness meant that squabbling and opportunism dominated the first elections.

If, as May contends, the short story form thrives best “in a fractured society” (1995, 13), it is perhaps unsurprising that the 1960s and 1970s, with their upswing in caste, class and communal wrangling, saw a boomlet in Lusophone Goan production in this genre<sup>8</sup>. However, whereas authors such as Epitácio Pais, Maria Elsa da Rocha and Augusto do Rosário Rodrigues tempered a critical view of the present scene with a keen eye for the plight of those at the bottom of society, in Sousa’s stories, the newfound freedom post-1961 is viewed uniquely as chaos and cupidity unleashed.

“Os filhos do sapateiro” and “As proezas de Panfúcio” deal with what is presented as the injurious effects of unrestrained (and uncouth) ambition in the context of a newfound social mobility. The stories follow the lives of Lúcio and Panfúcio, the children of two master shoemakers described as belonging to the lowest caste. While their parents want them to inherit their profession, the brothers refuse, seeing this metier as a dead end in the new Goa: “[L]ogo após a instrução primária, abandonaram seus estudos e meteram-se na política, por na prática, terem achado ser esta a mais rendosa profissão e o mais seguro meio de vida para amealhar milhares num meio democrático” (Sousa 1985, 53). In these stories the aetiological link between democracy, rupture of tradition and the individual enrichment of an emergent few – rather than the furtherance of any common good – is assumed as given from the very outset.

The first story, “Os filhos do sapateiro”, was broadcast on 3<sup>rd</sup> April 1980. It concentrates on the life of the elder brother, Lúcio. Lúcio manages to get himself elected

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<sup>8</sup> The extinction of censorship and abandonment of deference towards metropolitan models are also important in this regard.

as an MLA (or member of Goa's legislative assembly) not by merit or with a convincing manifesto, but for the sole reason that his father is liked and respected in their community. Panfúcio, for his part, we are told, "achou que podia furar melhormente a vida sendo Chefe dum sindicato. Viva a democracia!" (Sousa 1985, 53). Democracy is not seen as a mechanism that allows the election of truly representative figures. Rather, in the view of the author, it merely involves the duping of the ignorant to the benefit of the covetous.<sup>9</sup>

The two stories crystallise attitudes that are found throughout *Contos que o Vento Levou*: censure of the poor for refusing to continue in their "right" place and a view of democracy as permitting not the uplift of society as a whole but the replacement of the former elite by corrupt and self-serving factions. Nowhere in Sousa's stories is there any recognition that the problems of the present are conditioned by a past almost entirely lacking in participative decision making for the most humble in Goan society, both in colonial society and traditional hierarchies. The democratic process itself is instead held at fault.

One of the most salient characteristics of Lúcio and Panfúcio is the disdain they show for those of their fellows who try to tread an honest path: "Achavam parvo aquele que não sabe aproveitar das vantagens dadas pelo seu caudilho Ambedkar. Estudar, gastando dinheiro e fósforo para adquirir um grau universitário, quando a constituição permite ser ministro até a um analfabeto!" (Sousa 1985, 53). The snide reference to Ambedkar, the dalit leader and drafter of the Indian constitution, is used to locate the brothers as issuing from the *mull goenkar*, the downtrodden sections of Goa's "tribal" population whom Haladi describes as, generally, "still the most wretched of the Goan earth" (1998, 173) several decades years after the ouster of the Portuguese. The brothers' rise from the very bottom to the very top of Goan society represents, then, a complete inversion of the traditional pecking order. Rather than a force for social justice, for the improvement of his disadvantaged people, Lúcio's political career represents an indictment of what the author sees as the grotesquerie of Goa's democratic system. His aim is nothing more than personal enrichment and, moreover, in presumed contrast to those he displaces, he shows no scruples or nobility in his pursuit of wealth.

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<sup>9</sup> The most outspoken description of democracy is found in the story "Perus de Páscoa", where the telepath João Murilo has a vision in which he "[v]ia bonecos a passarem pela vida movidos por força desconhecida. Classificava as democracias como mentalidades de rebanho: corre um para o lugar onde correm todos, desaparecendo o indivíduo para dar lugar ao monstro terrível – a turba, dizia ele" (Sousa 1985, 63). In "Os filhos do sapateiro" and "As proezas de Panfúcio" we see almost nothing of this "turba" as such. All we see are caricatures of the politicians it elects.

Lúcio's career reaches its apogee when he is chosen to be chief minister and also minister of justice. The ludicrousness of this double appointment is an example of the heavy-handed sarcasm with which the new political system is treated. In short, on the view presented via these stories, the newly emancipated subalterns have turned the administration into a cross between a circus and a feeding trough. The corruptive upending of Goan society then reaches a new stage when Lúcio begins aping the old elite. We are told that, through his new position of power, “[s]em ter que gastar, conseguiu possuir uma menina de linhagem nobre, bonita e prendada, com jóias de valor, um carro Mercedes e uma festa de espanto no Taj” (Sousa 1985, 55). There is, here and in the subsequent story, a high measure of distaste in the way Sousa portrays the actions and behaviour of sections of the old elite who have accommodated themselves to the new grandees, an orientation that reaches its acme in intercaste marriages that transgress previously obtaining social rules.<sup>10</sup>

Sousa betrays castist, even racist, thinking when he describes Lúcio's son by this marriage as “o produto de dois sangues”.<sup>11</sup> Whatever the boy's origins, we are told that Lúcio plans to give his son “uma sólida educação portuguesa” in order to make him pass for a member of high society – someone, in short, who resembles the author. The illegitimacy of Lúcio's ascension to power is reflected in the way he is unable to occupy such a position without needing to mimic his supposed “betters”.

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<sup>10</sup> The spectre of intercaste marriage looms over much Portuguese-language Goan writing of the late- and post-colonial period. Another story by Sousa, “Flores sem fruto” concludes uncharacteristically with the marriage between the son of a *bhatkar* and the daughter of a *mundkar*. There is great ambiguity however. The “batcar, da velha guarda, calcando os seus princípios de aristocrata”, for example, in a reference to Almeida Garrett, calls the couple “flores sem fruto, próprias do nosso tempo” (Sousa 1985, 17). And it is noteworthy that the “son” in question is actually adopted, part of a series of characters in post-1961 fiction who are either adopted or illegitimate, perhaps reflecting the anxiety, described by Noronha, that “as gerações futuras [...] vão brotar num meio e ambiente totalmente diverso e totalmente desligado do passado” (1991, 8). Sousa's more fantastical narratives, such “Centelhas de dor”, in which a woman loses her arms in a car accident and has a murderer's forelimbs grafted onto the stumps, or “Odisseia duma beldade”, in which a woman reveals to her suitor that she has a prosthetic body (in an inversion of Álvaro de Carvalho's *Os Canibais*) seem to metaphorise related fears of estrangement, diminution and loss of control. We might also take the high frequency of car accidents in Sousa's stories as a negative vision of rapid Goan modernization.

<sup>11</sup> At the beginning of the story, we are told that the Lúcio and Panfúcio's mother, Maria das Botas, comes from a community of *fulkars*, flower-sellers, who have light eyes through their long “association” with Europeans. The brothers themselves come, therefore, from the sort of admixture of European blood that, according to Orlando Ribeiro, had generally been frowned upon in upper-caste Goan society (cf. Souza 2009, 121). If colonial discourse framed miscegenation as something the Portuguese bestowed on others but to which they themselves were not subject (Vale de Almeida 2002, 182), for the Goan elite, judging by the literature they produced, racial mixing is a contamination that affects the lower colonial Other, whether African or of more humble caste, hence perhaps the narrator's distaste at Lúcio's high-caste wife producing “mixed” children.

At the same time as he moulds his son to fit a superannuated social model, Lúcio grows increasingly ashamed of his own parents and draws away from them. They are depicted sympathetically as forelock-tugging subalterns reconciled to their traditional place in society but dismayed by the alienation of their children. For José das Botas, the brothers' father, the narrator tells us that "o presente amor humano andava tão deturpado, viciado e profanado que era quase impossível crer nele" (Sousa 1985, 54). Generally in Sousa's narratives, while subalterns or their children may enrich themselves through unfair means in the new dispensation, they lose the essential part of their lives<sup>12</sup> in the process. In this story, however, Lúcio's luck runs out. Eventually he loses his position of power to someone even more venal, underhand and self-centred than himself. And just as Lúcio has become alienated from his parents, his children are equally estranged from him. The story ends when "Lúcio, regressado à sua experiência prosaica, reconhecia que a instrução dada aos filhos por um pai analfabeto, era o maior mal da presente sociedade, para fazer afastar os filhos dos abraços paternos" (1985, 56). Not only is the story's close a damp squib after the previous invective (which perhaps explains why the author felt the need for a sequel), it beggars belief to find a career primary school teacher (moreover one who proclaims his attachment to the profession in his autobiography) arguing *against* education.

The even more outrageous career of Lúcio's brother is related in the story "As proezas de Panfúcio", broadcast on 18<sup>th</sup> November 1981. As head of an important union, Panfúcio's job is to manipulate the workers, inciting them to strike, only then to blackmail the bosses until they pay him to bring the industrial action to an end (in the story both capitalists and proletariat remain, however, faceless, amorphous masses). Between the labour and salaries that are lost, Panfúcio is the only beneficiary. Like his brother, Panfúcio gets a high-caste wife (provoking a further expression of aversion on

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<sup>12</sup> In the story "Paradoxos da nossa vida", a fisherman has three sons. Two study and become graduates, the third wants to follow his ancestral profession but is disowned by an ambitious father. As the graduates do not earn even enough to feed their families, the father is forced to work into his own age. The "unprodigal son", after working as a foreman on someone's estate and being unfairly sacked for his illiteracy, eventually becomes a fisherman and earns a fortune. The paradox of his life is that, if he had learnt to read, he would never have lost his job on the estate and so never made his riches. Happiness and prosperity for such figures lies, it would seem here, in their traditional place and occupation. There appears to be no socio-economic basis for this story whatsoever, given that, according to Newman, life for Goan fisherman had been reduced to subsistence levels by the end of the Portuguese period (2001, 14) and did not improve markedly afterwards. In "O bilhete da lotaria", by contrast with the previous story, a family of toddy-tappers (locally also called *render* or *bhandari*) lives happy lives in their allotted space in society. The suggestion of this story is that, rather than social re-organization, all the subaltern needs for a better life is material improvement to their traditional living conditions and encouragement to have smaller families.

the part of the author towards the non-subaltern elements of Goan society who have thrown in their lot with the emerging powers<sup>13</sup>) and buys a big house in the city, a space which in these stories is always negatively contrasted with the countryside.<sup>14</sup>

The narrator tells us that the people demand that the government take measures to deal with Panfúcio. Yet rather than being thwarted, Panfúcio is given “mercês e benesses” (1985, 58) by the political class to which his brother belongs. Like his brother, he accumulates roles, devalued by reckless conferral to the point that they cease to have any value beyond testimony to the dominance of his ilk over the power structure of society. Panfúcio is appointed to diverse committees, commissions, and councils. The process pointedly reaches true ridiculousness when this illiterate is awarded a PhD *honoris causa* in economic and financial sciences. The contradiction between the idea of people protesting against Panfúcio but electing Lúcio goes unprobed. Instead there is more obloquy: “[A] liberdade democrática produzira um caos na administração, e os bandidos, armando-se em sofreadores políticos, tinham libertado os honestos cidadãos de tudo, incluindo as liberdades cívicas e haveres” (Sousa 1985, 58). In Sousa’s stories the “people” are alternatively represented as poor dupes, virtuous innocents or a dangerous mass as and when it suits the author. While democracy is held responsible for loosing malefic forces, it is curious that in these narratives there is never any idea that the “people” enjoy any power themselves. Indeed, when Panfúcio is eventually defeated, it is by a presidential decree banning strike action. Hereupon we are told that Panfúcio promptly takes up smuggling. As in “O fim do mundo”, the idea conveyed is that criminality is the basic nature of those who have risen to controlling positions in post-1961 Goa. Just as the narrator of the latter tale wakes to find reality unabated, the passage of Lúcio and Panfúcio through the corridors of power leaves them essentially unchanged.

It is perhaps the pique Sousa displays towards the perceived state of affairs in Goa, rather than any sense of disillusionment (which would have required an anterior investment in the democratic project) that most clearly marks Sousa out as postcolonial in the first sense I outlined rather than the second. Cristiana Bastos defines

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<sup>13</sup> Other stories focus on marriages among the former elite, a strong seam in Lusophone Goan literature. In “Casamento inesperado”, the decline is stopped by an unexpected, and improbable, marriage. “Casamento improficuo” sees a marriage between nobles fail. In “Em busca da justiça”, another story centring on characters belonging to the Catholic elite, a family is pulled apart by greed and squabbling.

<sup>14</sup> In Sousa’s stories, the country is seen as the seat of tradition, hierarchy, and the good life; the city is always associated with the corruption of morals. An extra “Golden Goa” aspect to *Contos que o Vento Levou* is the absence of Hindu characters (with the exception, in “O fim do mundo”, of one convert to Catholicism).

postcolonialism, as a practice in relation to this second sense, as a “reflection upon the ways in which colonialism produced hierarchised states [...] and the ways in which colonial mechanisms of differentiation and oppression extended beyond the time frame of colonial rule” (2007, 180). Sousa’s writing not only performs a hugely different, even inverted operation, it obliges the postcolonial critic to engage with his stories in a significantly divergent way.

Sousa, as I have argued, does not write in resistance to colonial power or to its psychological aftermath. Instead he attacks what he sees as the “new exploiters” (those resurgent groups who, pre-1961, Kamat describes as repressed by the nexus between *bhatkars* and *paclé* [whites, in Konkani] [2000, 149]) with no attention to how such figures – admitting, for a moment, the unalloyed reality of the author’s depictions – were formed by colonial and colonially influenced conditions. Here I wish to reflect on how the particularity of Goa amongst the spaces once constituting the Portuguese empire might have made possible the emergence of a voice as singularly reactionary and revanchist as Sousa’s.

The first condition of possibility is Goa’s aforementioned status as a sub-nation (and the role of its former elite in such a formation and this elite’s decline after 1961). It seems to me that many common expectations regarding the development of postcolonial literature presuppose a nation under construction. An example would be the general model of postcolonial literatures in European languages following a pattern of, at first, imitation of metropolitan models and language, followed by the contestation of European norms and dominance, and then the expression of a certain disillusion with post-colonial difficulties and the non-realization of utopian ideals. At this point, it is debatable whether these literatures are still postcolonial, and not national or even globalised. Notwithstanding the occlusions implied by any linear conception of historical development, this pattern, generally sketched out in reference to the literatures of former British and French colonies in Africa and Asia, does fit the literary production of the PALOP to a certain extent. It does not, however, apply at all to Goan literature in Portuguese.<sup>15</sup> Sousa seems totally outside conventional moulds. Instead of contesting the former centre from a position of incremental emancipation, he makes a critique of inner others – the sinners from the other villages, the rampant *Lúcius* and *Panfúcius* – from a position of relative disempowerment. Even if a vague appeal to the “people” is

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<sup>15</sup> It is interesting to note that Anglophone Goan literature (or literature written by authors of Goan origin) is a much better fit for this model.

made at times, more often than not it is they who are identified as the root problem. Furthermore, European inheritance is never a bone of contention in Sousa's stories. The best example of Sousa's oblique position towards the European is seen in his continual citations from the classics of Portuguese literature, placing him in lineal relation to preceding writers such as Alberto de Menezes Rodrigues and recalling the very origins of the Goan short story in the nineteenth century. Any normative or incremental view of post-colonial literary evolution must be abandoned here.

Sousa's acidity towards the Goan political landscape might seem at first glance to have some relation to the literature of postcolonial disappointment, but this impression is misleading. Venugopal describes Indian authors writing after the demise of the Raj as "taken aback by the unexpected turn the social scene took in free India – producing a new bureaucracy and a society full of exploitation and hypocrisy, selfishness and corruption" (1976, 85). The similarity in standpoint with Sousa is superficial. There is little in the author's story, or oeuvre, that suggests someone "taken aback". Rather the content of stories such as the three analysed here suggest instead the bitter confirmation of certain elite expectations concerning subaltern enfranchisement, which in *Nas Margens do Mandovi* is summarised as "[a] qualidade [...] sacrificada ao número" (Sousa 1977, 78). The author shows far more rancour about the discontinuation of the social structure of the past, the seemingly fixed native hierarchy of colonial society, than any disillusion at the failure of an emancipatory ideal.

Sousa's position, it is important to note, would have been representative of no more than a tiny section of Goan population, one described by Robert Newman as "a backward looking class of *rentiers* and functionaries, nostalgic for the peace and stability of colonial times (and their lost privilege), critical of the crassness of capitalism" (2001, 21). In itself this gulf between Sousa's views and the mainstream of Goan society is an eloquent warning against the tendency in postcolonial studies to take literary authors as representatives of whole societies (Schwarz 2000, 15), a particularly fraught risk given the linguistic perspectivism of Goa. Sousa's is an example of what JanMohammed and Lloyd term a "minority discourse" (1990), a discourse subject to domination and exclusion by the majority though, as detailed here, a rather *sui generis* one based on recent disadvantage rather than longstanding exclusion. Given the tenor of Sousa's stories, doubtless few Goan observers would consider this suppression anything but correct. However, what interests me here is that this discourse emerges from a social location that, if not exactly hegemonic, was once what Bastos has called a "subaltern

elite” (2007, 129). During the period in which Sousa wrote this colonial bourgeoisie had either been sidelined or transfigured, whereas the formerly voiceless mass had become the democratic majority. That this sea change lent a particularity to Lusophone Goan fiction can be seen in the manner whereby the canonical features of the prose tale identified by O’Connor (2003), such as its focus on a “little man” and the “submerged population group”, are oddly re-wired in ways that challenge our expectations not just of postcolonial literature but of the short-story genre itself.

It is unlikely that Sousa is the only member of a colonial elite to have perceived decolonization as having prejudiced his position in his native society. The question for a postcolonial criticism concerning Portuguese-language works is: why have so few voices like the author’s emerged? New hegemonies? Market forces in the ex-metropole? Inner and outer forms of what Huggan (2001) has termed “the postcolonial exotic”? In the case of Goa, and the literature produced there for internal consumption post-1961, I argue that the *sui generis* linguistic situation following the end of the Portuguese regime was crucial to the emergence of Sousa’s stories. It is my contention that, if resentment for the colonial bourgeoisie not taking power appears to be the motivation for the stories analysed here, the language in which they were written decisively conditioned their existence. In Goa the substitution of the former elite by a new political formation involved the disestablishment of Portuguese. The effect was that the dwindling group of writers expressing themselves in that tongue after 1961 were writing in a situation vastly different to Lusophone authors in the rest of the colonial and post-colonial Portuguese-speaking world where the language remained largely dominant and its use uncontested.

In a discussion of “Portuguese” postcolonialism Ferreira excludes the former Portuguese colonies in Asia from Sousa’s notion of “postcolonialism in the time-space of official Portuguese language” (2007, 28). While justifiable in practical, even perhaps political terms, given the residual position of Portuguese in Asia, the effect is somewhat unfortunate, given that it serves to deflect attention from the rich archive of Portuguese-language Asian writing. Nonetheless, the tonic Ferreira places on linguistic hegemony, explicit in her assertion that “Portuguese never became the *dominant* language in the former colonies in Asia” (2007, 28; italics mine) is of crucial importance here. I argue that a voice in Portuguese like Sousa’s could only have emerged in the Goa of this time because this language had gone from being a colonial public language to a post-decolonization private language. To put this point another way, since Portuguese was

not the language of Goa's postcoloniality, Goan literature in Portuguese did not necessarily perform postcolonial "nation-building" manoeuvres in the first sense of postcolonialism I outlined. Sousa's stories, which exemplify this inclination, were broadcasted on the last existing Portuguese-language programme on All-India Radio, then collected and published by the author as a courtesy to friends, as he declares in his introduction. These short narratives are not in any operative sense an intervention in the public realm, but rather almost a venting of steam in private, declarations without any significant public valence and practically, I imagine, without an audience.<sup>16</sup> There is currently some debate about whether the previous term "Indo-Portuguese" literature should be abandoned for a designation such as "Goan Literature in Portuguese", along the model of the shift that took place in the nomenclature of Anglophone Indian writing. The divergence between a literature that withered and died after colonialism, and which addressed a small fraction of a vanishing class during the final stages of its existence, and one that, in the eyes of the outside world at least, has become the national literature of this plurilingual nation militates, shows the difficult ground upon which this discussion takes place.

Given Sousa's attitude and tiny audience, it would be easy to dismiss the author as "pro-Portuguese", as he surely would have been had he expressed himself in these terms in an idiom open to the public realm. Even today it is common to look back and see figures such as Sousa as part of what Noronha calls a "discredited elite (that was seen, not without reason, as pro-colonial)" (2007, 59). Yet is "pro-colonial" not too hasty an expression, one that does not take into account what Bastos calls the Goan elite's "ambiguidade de base" (2006, 236)? This ambiguity is perhaps another way of saying that between the two political positions (the Salazarist and the Nehruvian) sketched out by Bravo (1997), figures such as Sousa might have been more concerned, both pre- and post-1961, with their own interests. Bègue, for instance, describes a colonial elite that was essentially neither fundamentally pro-Portuguese nor Indian nationalist, but rather interested above all in the furtherance of its own position (2008, 144). Sousa's stories, as I have argued, can be read as a reaction to the personal frustration of this aim.

Understanding the medley of objectives and obstructions informing Lusophone Goan writing requires us to attempt to understand the situation in which this literature arose in

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<sup>16</sup> Sousa perhaps hints at this situation in *Nas Margens do Mandovi*, when he writes "[c]onfesso que teria mais leitores se tivesse aproveitado do idioma inglês. Preferi o português porque achei ser o mais brando para deleitar, o mais doce para pronunciar e o mais próprio para chorar uma desilusão" (1977, 150).

terms of the local rather than the metropolitan (of whatever stripe). For instance, Janet Rubinoff sees Lusitanization in Goa as a veneer grafted onto the more fundamental local identities of caste and lineage, most significant to rural society and political organization (1995, 169). If we accept this postulate, we can surmise that, despite the language in which he wrote and the literary universe that he references, it is not so much the de-lusitanization of Goan society that the author decries in these stories as the dismantling of an old hierarchy based on the primacy of notions of innate superiority dressed in the outer trappings of colonial culture. One way of viewing these stories of Sousa are as a particularly bitter reaction to what Melo Furtado has described as a sense of exile in the present for certain members of the former colonial elite, one caused by “la perte de tout un passé familier, d’institutions centenaires et d’un mode de vie qui, lors de la décolonisation, se transforme, change et souvent disparaît” (2008, 42). So often connected with the notion of diaspora in contemporary postcolonial studies, on this view, for some, postcoloniality can involve a sense of *desterro* in time, without geographic relocation.

In the United Kingdom the purview of postcolonial literary studies is notoriously monolingual, scanting non-Anglophone texts and almost completely ignoring writing in non-European languages. The stories of Sousa, and their testimony to the *sui generis* development, content and status of Portuguese-language Goan writing in comparison to more familiar bodies of postcolonial writing, remind us of the importance of language and its status in the content and development of postcolonial literatures. To include Goa in wider discussion of postcolonial writing holds the possibility of destabilizing expectations, parameters and readings. In the *Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literatures: Continental Europe and its Empires* of 2008, out of almost 700 pages, Goa merits only half a side of text. Though more consideration than is granted to Goa in the *Historical Companion to Postcolonial Literature in English*, where Goa is not even mentioned, it is not enough. I hope that what I have presented here contributes to the argument for the inclusion of Goa in future histories of postcolonial literature in Portuguese (and, where appropriate, in other languages), as, if for nothing else, a continual reminder of the need for the constant historicisation and contextualisation of our literary analyses. The ambiguous valency of centre and periphery in the writings of Sousa alert us to the fact that our understanding of postcolonial literature must include, as Kumar argues, texts that interrogate local centres and peripheries, dominants and marginals (1996, 201) as well as those that engage in wider geo-political questions. The

universalization of theoretical concepts derived often implicitly from the Anglophone Indian experience is a common complaint in postcolonial literature (Rajan 1998, 491). It would be a fitting symmetry if cultural production in Portuguese from Goa, the phantom limb of Lusophony, could serve as a warning against this disposition, at least for those interested in non-Anglophone literatures.

I entitled this article “Atitudes que o Vento Levou”, playing with the title of Sousa’s books and the outlook it reflects. It would be easy to disregard the author as a reactionary throwback and let his stories slumber in a limbo of oblivion, part of a general “neglect of writers whose works are not disengaged from colonial culture in an explicitly self-conscious way” (Sorensen 2010, 7). What I have tried to do here is use Sousa’s stories to unsettle common expectations and content boundaries and contribute to the pluralization of Portuguese-language postcolonial studies. Yet there is another possibility: that of confronting these attitudes with contemporary views of Goa. Have such attitudes really been blown away or do they flutter still in today’s popular discourses on the Goan body politic? From the work of an inveterate nostalgic like Vasco Pinho, who describes last years of Portuguese rule as a time when “Goa was passing through a blissful period” (2010, 13), and paints a picture of degeneracy, blitheness and waste in today’s dispensation, to a questioning moderate like Alexandre Moniz Barbosa, who writes in *Goa Rewound* that “Goa has never had a government that could be called as being ‘for the people’. Over the years, a ‘money bag’ democracy was established where votes and political loyalty could be purchased. While certain segments of civil society debated on ways to root out the malaise, in 2011 a change in the situation is merely a distant dream” (2012, 150); to Victor Ferrão, who glumly views

the opportunistic and glaringly corrupt and apparently largely incompetent political class of the politicians, bureaucrats as well as a police nexus with the politicians working against the interests of Goa and Goans, corrupt practices which take place within both legal and illegal mining, the growing communal divide, the suspicion of the outsider, thoughtless sale of land, moral degradation: these among other issues are raising their hydra heads, threatening to fragment the fabric of our society. (2011, 3)

A comparison and contrast between Sousa, one of the last representatives of the Lusophone colonial elite, and these Goan commentators of diverse origins is an illustrative one in mapping out social attitudes. And what of contemporary fiction? How do Sousa’s stories compare to coeval works such as Jorge Ataíde Lobo’s English-

language novel *Liberation* (1971), which, while emerging from a similar social position, presents the Indian nationalist side of Goa's narrative? And to what extent can multigenerational Goan novels in English of a later period such as Carmo d'Souza's *Angela's Goan Identity* (1994), or António Gomes's *The Sting of Peppercorns* (2010), which attempt to represent balanced accounts of Goa in the pre-and post-1961 periods, be read as rejoinders to such trenchantly biased discourse evidenced in *Contos que o Vento Levou*? And what of non-local Indian representations of Goa? In his novel *In the Land of Aparanta*, Sudeep Chakrevarti paints a portrait of the Dantas brothers (depicted as embattled descendants of the former elite, speaking now only scraps of Portuguese) taking on Lúcio and Panfúcio's heirs (complete with comedy Goan accents that presumably serve to highlight their deviant "regionality") as they engage in the rapacious economic exploitation and environmental despoliation of the territory. In his novel the author shows a degree of dualistic condescension highly reminiscent of Sousa's, if far outstripping his vision in luridness and scale. To what can the similarities between these two visions, distant in time and orientation, be attributed? This comparison between past and present, outsiders and insiders, is, however, for other investigators and another occasion.

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