

A Comprehensive Study of the Konkani Language Movement and beyond (1961- 2006)

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Declaration By Student

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "A Comprehensive Study of the Konkani Language Movement and beyond (1961- 2006)" is based on the results of investigation carried out by me in the History Programme at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies under the Supervision of Ms. Sneha B. Ghadi and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will be not be responsible for the correctness of observation/ experimental or findings given the dissertation.

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Completion Certificate

This is to certify that the dissertation report “A Comprehensive Study of the Konkani Language Movement and beyond (1961- 2006)” is a bonafide work carried out by Ms Mercy Luiza Fernandes under my supervision in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Masters in History in the History Programme at the D. D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

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Preface

First of all, the reason behind the selection of this topic is to get a better understanding of the Konkani language movement in Goa. It is equally necessary to study about the history of our language and to know the hardships faced by the supporters of Konkani in giving Konkani its rightful place.

The prime reason for researching this topic is to know the history of our language. Konkani being our mother tongue, it is essential to know the history of our language, as to how people of Goa had to fight for our language. We study the history of our land, the people, our culture, about the dynasties that ruled Goa, but apart from all these topics, it is important to understand and to know the past of our language. This study will give an understanding of the Konkani language movement and the post official language bill scenario.

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The completion of this research was only possible because of my guide Ms. Sneha B. Ghadi who constantly guided me in this study and also for supporting me. I am deeply grateful to my guide for giving the necessary guidance to complete this research and also for the time which she invested in helping me out in doing this study.

I also thank Sir Vinod Kankonkar, Programme director of History Department, for giving me some inputs about the movement. I would also thank Sir Yugank Naik, Assistant Professor of School of International and Area Studies for giving me all the valuable information related to my research work.

Abbreviations Used

Entity	Abbreviations
Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party	MGP
United Goans Party	UGP
Konkani Porjecho Avaz	KPA
Konkani Bhasha Mandal	KBM
Indian National Congress	INC
Goa Konkani Academy	GKA
Marathi Rajiya Bhasha Prastapan Samiti	MRBPS
Nav Jawan Bharat	NJB
Central Reserve Police Force	CRPF
Goa Pradesh Congress Committee	GPCC
All India Congress Committee	AICC
Dalgado Konkani Akademi	DKA
Thomas Stephens Konkani Kendr	TSKK
Progressive Democratic Front	PDF
Goa Hit - Rakhan Manch	GHM
Gomantak Marathi Academy	GMA
Bhartiya Janata Party	BGP
Member of the Legislative Assembly	MLA
Public Interest Litigation	PIL

Abstract

This research is based on the Konkani language movement in Goa and beyond (1961-2006). This study will provide information on the historical background of the Konkani language, its status during the Portuguese period, the movement and the scenario after passing of the language bill in 1987. It will give an understanding of the movement which took place to give Konkani its due status, the organisations formed in support of Konkani including the supporters and leaders. This language movement had made a significant impact by giving Konkani its due status as the official language and also in giving an identity to the people of Goa. The purpose of this research is that we equally need to study about our language and its history. The methodology followed in carrying out this research was through interviews, referring to books, articles, newspapers, census reports, Konkani sources and magazines. This research has aimed to study the movement and its outcome, and also the scenario after the passing of the bill.

Keywords

Konkani, Language movement, Marathi, Portuguese, Inquisition, Opinion poll, Medium of Instruction, Script Controversy.

Glossary

Arte de Lingua Canarim- A Grammar of the Konkani language

Avoi Bash- Mother Tongue

Bandh- a general strike

Boli- Dialect

Chawandrayem Karaviyalem- inscription found in Konkani language

Colégio dos Naturais- Natural College

Doutrina Christam em Lingua Bramana Canarim- Christian doctrine in the Canarese Brahmin language.

Konkani Bhaxechem Zoit- the triumph of Konkani

Konkani Nad-Xastr- Konkani Phonetics

Lingua Canari- Canarese language

Lingua Brahmana- Brahmin language

Monsignor- a title bestowed on a priest by the pope.

Primeiro Congresso Provincial- First Provincial Congress

Vocabulario Concani Portuguese- Konkani to Portuguese dictionary

Vocabulario Portuguese Concani- Portuguese to Konkani dictionary

Udentichem Sallok- The Lotus of the East

Udenti Sakal- An organisation formed during the Konkani language movement.

Palkhi- A palanquin

Powdas- Praise song

Rangasangati- An organisation formed during the Konkani language movement.

CHAPTER I- INTRODUCTION

1. Background

Goa was liberated on 19th December 1961 and through the opinion poll Goa did not merge with Maharashtra and remained separate, but statehood was not granted yet. The main issue after the opinion poll was regarding the language of Goa and as a result, it led to a fight for Konkani to be the official language of Goa. The majority of the people in Goa spoke Konkani and Marathi.

The Konkani agitation was started on July 1985 and ended on 4th February 1987 with the recognition of Konkani as the official language of Goa, and it took place for 555 days.¹ The Konkani language movement in Goa was to preserve and promote the Konkani language and give it the status of official language. During the Portuguese period, due to the orders of the Inquisition, literature in the local languages was destroyed.² This local literature which was destroyed held a cultural resemblance of Goa. The pioneers of the Konkani language, Waman Raghunath Shennoi Varde Valaulikar popularly known as Shennoi Goembab, Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalgado, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara,³ made significant contributions to the development of Konkani. There was also the contribution of activists, writers, and institutions in this movement. Konkani was declared as the official language on February 4, 1987, and it was included in the 8th schedule of the constitution on 20th August 1992. Goa got its statehood on 30th May 1987.

¹ Sanjiv Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas Kashi Jali?* (Ponda: Impression, 2019), 19.

² Edward de Lima, *Influence of Portuguese Vocabulary on Konkani Language* (Porvorim: Vikram Publications, 2014), 12- 13.

³ N. J. Kamath, *The Konkani World* (Mumbai: Art Digital, 2016), 22- 28.

After the language bill was passed in 1987, there emerged the issue of the scripts that is Devnagari and the Roman script. The Dalgado Konkani Academy was fighting for the Romi script and was supported by many supporters of Romi Konkani. Also, there were other organisations which came in support of the Roman script. The Sunaparant newspaper was started on May 13, 1987, soon after Konkani was made the official language on February 4, 1987.⁴ There had emerged the issue on the new education policy leading to rallies supported by the people. There was also a question regarding the jobs where it stated that Konkani was most essential while Marathi was essential for jobs, but the actual rule was that Konkani was essential and Marathi as desirable.⁵

This language controversy played a significant role in forming and giving the Goans an identity by recognising Konkani as the official language of Goa. The study will discuss in detail the Konkani Agitation that was meant to recognise Konkani as the official language of Goa. It will give information about the scenario after the official language bill was passed. It will also give information about the historical context of the Language. This study will be based on Primary and Secondary sources, primarily based on secondary documents like books, newspaper articles, journals, census reports etc.

1.1 Identification of Research Problem

This research involves a study of the language movement and its impact on recognising Konkani as the official language. It also dwells on the contributions made by the leaders, writers, and institutions. This study also includes examining the historical background of the Konkani language. The purpose of researching on this topic, is to gain a deeper

⁴ “Sunaparant: End of a cause”, *The Navhind Times*, August 2, 2015, 1.

⁵ Staff Reporter, “Marathi not essential for jobs, GHM tells agriculture director”, *The Navhind Times*, August 2, 2000, 3.

understanding of the impacts it made on the Goan people and the Konkani language. It is important to study this topic as it sheds light on the efforts made by the people to preserve and recognise Konkani as the official language. Also, it shows how the language evolved during the Portuguese period.

This research will also involve understanding about the post- language act scenario. It will analyse the status of Konkani. This study will also give information on the issue of script and the organisations formed in support of Konkani in terms of Devanagari and Romi script. It will also analyse the education policy and its effect on the people.

The prime reason for researching this topic is to know the history of our language. The language movement played a crucial role in preserving and promoting the Konkani language. It was because of the efforts of the leaders, writers, and supporters of Konkani that had given Konkani its status. Konkani being our mother tongue, it becomes essential to know the history of our language, as to how people of Goa had to fight for our language. We study the history of our land, the people, our culture, about the dynasties that ruled Goa, but apart from all these topics, it is important to understand and to know the past of our language and also to know how Konkani was treated during the colonial rule and how it bloomed in the modern period.

1.2 Objectives

The objectives of the research are:

- To know the historical background of the Konkani language.
- To study about the Konkani language movement that took place in Goa.

- To analyse the scenario after the official language bill was passed and the status of Konkani

1.3 Literature Review

Sanjiv Verekar's book titled as *Konkani Rajbhas Kashi Jali?* gives detailed information on the Konkani language movement. The *Konkani Bhasha Mandal* was established in Margao on 30th October 1962 under the leadership of Peter Afonso. This book also speaks about the organisation named as *Udenti Sakal* which was established in June 1978 for the cause of Konkani.⁶ It gives information on Shenvoi Goembab and mentions about the other Goan writers. The women also contributed to this movement. It provides information on the *Konkani Porjecho Avaz*, which was established on 31st August 1985 headed by Pundalik Narayan Naik.⁷ This book also gives information on the fight between Konkani and Marathi. The people reacted on this issue and started fighting and, it was because of the contribution of these freedom fighters that Konkani became the mother tongue of Goa. It also gives information as to how the language bill was passed. At the end of the book, The Goa, Daman and Diu official language bill is given which was put forth by Pratapsingh Rane in 1986, and another bill declaring Konkani as the Official language along with Gujarati and Marathi languages to be used in 1987. This

⁶ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 24- 49.

⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 109.

book is very important for this research as it gives detailed information on the Konkani language Movement.

Marc de Souza's book *Goa's Official Language* gives a detailed description of the Konkani Language Movement, starting with the genesis of the official language struggle. It mentions about the Political parties and the election manifestoes. Most of the parties wanted Konkani to be included in the VIII Schedule of the constitution of India and the grant of Statehood for the Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.⁸ It also gives the list of MLAs elected from the congress, M.G.P, Goa congress and Independent. The book showcases pictures taken during the agitation. It also mentions the Goa, Daman and Diu official language bill, which was passed in 1986. All the aspects mentioned in this book are relevant for this study.

Manohar Rai Sardesai in his book *A History of Konkani Literature (from 1500 to 1992)* gives information about the land, people and the history of the language of Goa, and also Konkani speaking people. It contains information regarding the printing press in Goa and Mangalore, and Devanagari block printing in Kerala. The book also talks about the influences of Portuguese, Kannada, Arabic- Persian and English on the Konkani language. This book gives reference on the pre- Portuguese period and about the missionary activities related to the language. Fr. Thomas Stephens is called as the father of Christian religious literature in India.⁹ A detailed description is given on Fr. Thomas Stephens and his work. Also, it gives information about the other missionary priests, Goan writers and their contribution to Konkani language. This book is important for this

⁸ Marc De Souza, *Goa's Official language* (Panaji: Casa J.D. Fernandes, 1986), 12.

⁹ Manohar Sardesai, *A History of Konkani Literature (From 1500 to 1992)* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1992), 34.

study as it gives information as to how Konkani language was given a boost by these scholars.

Edward de Lima in his book *Influence of Portuguese Vocabulary on Konkani Language*, gives details about how Portuguese rule was both detrimental and contributory to the language and how it was moulded because of the efforts of the missionaries, followed by the efforts of the sons of the soil.¹⁰ This book traces the historical aspects which is important for this study as it gives details on the impact of missionaries on Konkani and the effect of Inquisition on Konkani. Also, Reference is made to Shennoi Goembab who gave a boost to Konkani literature and other scholars. All the aspects given in this book are important for this research.

Celsa Pinto's book titled *Concise History of Goa* provides a general overview of Goa's history, its people, land and culture. It also covers pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial eras along with Goa's journey towards statehood. The book also contains information about the Politics in Goa in the 1980s. It throws light on the Konkani language Movement and the work of the leaders, institutions, and writers. The book also talks about Floriano Vaz who was a victim of police brutality.¹¹ This book is important for the study as it gives reference to the Konkani Language Movement and its leaders.

Aureliano Fernandes in his work *Cabinet Government in Goa 1961- 1993 - A Chronicled Analysis of 30 years of Government and Politics in Goa* contains issues concerned with those entrusted with governance. It gives information on the Ministry under Dayanand Bhandodkar, Shashikala Kakodkar, and Ravi Naik. The book also talks about how

¹⁰ De Lima, *Influence of*, 4.

¹¹ Pinto, *Concise History*, 362- 363.

Bandodkar supported Marathi and to make it as the official language of Goa. The first Bandodkar Ministry showed no differences on the issue of Marathi as being the official language of Goa and Konkani its dialect.¹² It also discusses the post Opinion Poll scenario. Also, during Shashikala Kakodkar's role as Chief Minister, there was opposition towards making Konkani the official language of Goa by the MGP. Also, it speaks about the failure of the Rane Government to fulfill the promises of Statehood and Inclusion of Konkani in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. It also mentions the formation of the Congress ministries. This book is important for this study as it gives information on the opposition of Konkani language by Dayanand Bandodkar and Shashikala Kakodkar and also the post Opinion Poll scenario.

The work titled as *The Konkani World* by N. J Kamath gives information on the land of Konkan, its history and its people. It contains other varied aspects of Konkani, such as literature, riddles, proverbs, lullabies, and nursery rhymes. The book also gives information on the cuisine of the Goan and the Mangalorean people and also details about culture and traditions. It mentions the work of the missionaries and its impact on Konkani. Also, it speaks about the persecution of the Konkani language in Goa by the Portuguese, who forbade the use of any language other than Portuguese for state and religious purposes, and later many Christian priests realised the value of Konkani for the propagation of Christianity.¹³ The book is important for this study as it gives inputs on the works of the missionaries and their impact on the language, and also about the revival of the Konkani language after its persecution by the Portuguese.

¹² Aureliano Fernandes, *Cabinet Government in Goa 1961- 1993- A Chronicled Analysis of 30 years of Government and Politics in Goa* (Panjim: Maureen and Camvet Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1997), 27.

¹³ N. J. Kamath, *The Konkani world* (Mumbai: Art Digital, 2016), 17.

Pius MaleKandathil and Remy Dias in their Work titled *Goa in the 20th Century History and Culture* is a book based on history and culture during the 20th century. It contains information on the impact of Colonisation, the struggle for independence, social changes, economic development and cultural transformations. This book provides information on the history of Konkani language, it also gives details about Konkani fiction and poetry. It also gives information on the Konkani Language after the Opinion poll, and about the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, who fought tirelessly to expose the misconception that Konkani was a *boli*, that is dialect of Marathi.¹⁴ This book is important as it gives information about the historical aspect of the language and status of Konkani after the Opinion Poll. Also, it provides information on the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth schedule of the Indian Constitution.

Olivinho Gomes in his work on *Konkani Literature in Roman Script- A Brief History* is a book that brings out the contributions of various scholars, editors and writers. The Konkani missionary movement began through the press.¹⁵ It gives information about Cunha Rivara, his work for Konkani and many other scholars. It also mentions about the Konkani-Marathi controversy and the Konkani language agitation. Reference is also given to Dalgado Konkani Akademi and other organisations. It also gives information on the Konkani language agitation. All the aspects mentioned in this book are relevant to this study.

Goa 2011 Reviewing and Recovering Fifty Years by Savio Abreu and Rudolf Heredia gives information on post-liberation. It speaks about Konkani during the Portuguese

¹⁴ Pius MaleKandathil and Remy Dias, eds. *Goa in the 20th Century History and Culture* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008), 251.

¹⁵ Olivinho Gomes, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script- A Brief History* (Panaji: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2010), 47.

period and post-liberation. During the Portuguese period, the catholic elites looked upon Konkani as language of servants and socio- economically backward common people.¹⁶ It mentions the Sahitya Akademi and also about Konkani being included in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution but the official script was not decided. This book also mentions the language scenario in schools. It also gives information on the Konkani language in media, literature, and culture. This book is important as it mentions the early phase of Konkani during the Portuguese and also about the issue after Konkani was included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. It also mentions about the script controversy.

Fr. Cosme Costa's book *The Heritage of Govapuri: A Study on the Artefacts in and around the Pilar Seminary Museum* is a book based on the artifacts collected in and around and are displayed in the Pilar Seminary Museum. This book gives reference to Krista-Purana, which was a handwritten copy of Thomas Stephens, who was the first English Jesuit to come to Goa in the 16th century. He studied both Konkani and Marathi languages.¹⁷ This is an important source as it gives information about Thomas Stephen's work.

Paul Moras in book *Konkani Challvoll - A research and study on the Konkani Language Movement in Konkani (Devanagari script)*. It questions whether Konkani is an independent language or dialect of Marathi, also mentions about Sahitya Academy and the fight between Konkani and Marathi. When Konkani Porjecho Avaz had started the agitation to make Konkani as the official language, at the same time Marathi supporters

¹⁶ Savio Abreu and Rudolf Heredia, eds, *Goa 2011 Reviewing and Recovering Fifty Years* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 104.

¹⁷ Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri: A Study on the Artefacts in and around the Pilar Seminary Museum*, 2nd ed. (Pilar: Xaverian Publication Society, 2018), 82.

also came together.¹⁸ It also provides information on the Konkani language Movement and also it mentions about the approval of the language bill. It also mentions about Konkani Porjecho Avaz, where leadership was taken by Pundalik Naik and this organisation fought to make Konkani the official language. All the aspects mentioned are relevant for this study. This is Volume 1.

Paul Moras in his book *Jagarann* is the second volume of the book Konkani Challvoll. This book gives information on the Konkani language movement. It also gives information based on English learning in schools, and the agitation of Konkani in Mumbai. The Konkani agitation which Shennoi Goembab had started in Mumbai has a past of 60 years. Inspired from his writings many young people came forward such as Bakibab Borkar, Manohar Rai Sardessai, Uday Bhembre, Shankar Bhandari and many others.¹⁹ This book also speaks about its first successful stage. All the aspects mentioned are relevant for this study. This is Volume 2.

Dr. Kiran Budkuley in her book *Shenoi Goembab The Man and His Works* is a book based on Shennoi Goembab's Early life, his work towards Konkani and his writings. This book gives details of Shenoi Goembab's life, career, and his published works. He is called the great son of Konkani and a crusader for Konkanihood.²⁰ It also highlights the struggles faced by him in achieving his goal. Also, his published works are mentioned in this book which are in Devnagari and Romi Script. All the aspects mentioned in this book are relevant to this study.

¹⁸ Paul Moras, *Konkani Challvoll- A research and study on the Konkani Language Movement in Konkani (Devanagari script)* (Mangalore: Konkani Institute, 2003), 265.

¹⁹ Paul Moras, *Jagarann- A research and study on the Konkani Language Movement in Konkani (Devanagari script)* (Mangalore: Konkani Institute, 2007), 224.

²⁰ Kiran Budkuley, *Shenoi Goembab The Man and His Works* (Margao: Asmitai Pratishthan, 2003), 8.

Public History of Goa Evolving Politics, Culture and Identity edited by Savio Abreu, Anthony Da Silva and Rinald D'Souza, this book contains information on history and heritage, Goa's struggle for freedom, and the language controversy. This book is important as it gives information on the language controversy, also mentions about Shenai Goembab and his life. It provides details on the Konkani language after liberation. This language agitation was successful as it resulted in the enactment of Goa's Official Language Act on 4th February 1987.²¹ It also gives the nature of Konkani newspapers as a means to promote identity formation.

Olivinho J. f. Gomes in his book *Old Konkani Language and Literature- Portuguese Role* gives information on the positive contribution that was given to Konkani Language and literature by a select group of Portuguese missionaries. It contains information on the Pre-Portuguese Konkani literature and also about the Portuguese arrival in Goa. It also mentions about the golden era of Konkani literature and the Grammatical contributions to Konkani by many scholars such as Henrique Henriques, Dr. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Thomas Stephens and others.²² This book also gives information on Thomas Stephens, Dr J. H. da Cunha Rivara and many others. This work is important as it gives information on the Konkani literature and the writers.

Concise History of Goa by Olivinho J.F. Gomes is a book that provides information on the land, ancient dynasties, the Kadambas, the arrival of the Portuguese, Maratha and the Mughals. It gives information on the post-Pombaline period, the political situation in Goa around the 17th- 18th century, educational and cultural scenario. This book is important

²¹ Savio Abreu, Anthony Da Silva and Rinald D'Souza, eds., *Public History of Goa Evolving Politics, Culture and Identity* (Margao: Cinnamonteal Design and Publishing, 2019), 114.

²² Olivinho Gomes, *Old Konkani Language and Literature- Portuguese Role* (Chandor: Konkani Sorospot Prakashan, 1999), 88- 92.

for this study as it provides information about the Opinion Poll and the Konkani Movement. It mentions about Dr. J. H. Da Cunha, Dalgado and Shennoi Goembab. This language controversy was kept alive by the politicians of the MGP party. It also mentions about the formation of Konkani Porjecho Avaz. It gives information about the movement and the post official bill scenario. It also mentions about the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth schedule of the India constitution in 1992 as one of its 18 official languages with the write up of Konkani on all currency notes.²³

J. Clement Vaz in his book *Profiles of Eminent Goans Past and Present* gives information on the saints, the church, the archbishop and the bishops. It mentions the composers of music, the singers, the artistes, governors, chief ministers, lawyers, judges, poets and the writers. It also deals with sculptors, painters, artists and sports personalities. This book is important as it gives information about the poets and the writers and their contribution to the Konkani language. Some writers wrote on the scenic beauty of Goa and its culture such as Manohar Rai Sardesai, Shennoi Goembab, B. B. Borkar and others. There were also Goan writers who wrote in Portuguese and, there were some Goan writers who wrote on serious subjects such as religion and history of Konkani.²⁴

The book *The Transforming of Goa* edited by Norman Dantas gives information on the opinion poll, the parties involved, 1987 official language and statehood. This book is important as it gives information on the medium of instruction issue at the primary level. It also mentions about the language issue. On 4th February 1987, Konkani was given sole

²³ Olivinho Gomes, *Concise History of Goa* (Panaji: Directorate of Official Language, 2010), 336.

²⁴ J. Clement Vaz, *Profiles of Eminent Goans Past and Present* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1997), 247.

official status. Though Konkani is called the official language but Marathi was also used for all or any official purposes.²⁵

Judith Siqueira in her article Role of Women in Goa Konkani Agitation gives information on the role played by the women Konkani writers towards the agitation. This article provides details on Chitrangit, an association of women Konkani writers in Goa.²⁶ It also mentions about Konkani Porjecho Avaz, who also contributed to this agitation. All the aspects mentioned in this article are important for this study.

Arthur G. Rubinoff in his article Goa's Attainment of Statehood provides information on the post- liberation scenario. It mentions about the merger issue, the Opinion Poll and statehood. It also mentions about the language issue. This article also gives details about the Konkani Marathi fight. This article is important for this study as it gives details on the language issue.

Jose Pereira in his work Literary Konkani A brief history gives information about the history of the Konkani language, such as its origin, its status during the Portuguese period. It also mentions about the Inquisition and the migration that took place due to famines, epidemics and frequent Maratha incursions.²⁷ This book also provides information about the Konkani- Marathi controversy, the Konkani Bhasha Mandal, the seven dialects. This book is important as it provides information about the history of the Konkani language.

²⁵ Robert Newman, "The Struggle for a Goan Identity", in *The Transforming of Goa*, ed. Norman Dantas (Mapusa: The Other India press, 1999), 45.

²⁶ Judith Siqueira, "Role of women in Goa Konkani Agitation," *Economic and Political Weekly*, no. 50 (1987): 1-3.

²⁷ Jose Pereira, *Literary Konkani- A Brief History* (Dharwar: Konkani Sahitya Prakashan, 1973), 6.

Alan Machado's book *Goa's Inquisition* gives information about the inquisition imposed by the Portuguese and also the suppression of the Konkani language. During the Portuguese period, Konkani was used in the catechism, prayers, preaching and other devotions.²⁸ This book is important as it gives information about the suppression of the Konkani language.

1.4 Research Design and Methodology

This study will evaluate the sources based on the script, language controversy, education, its suppression, the status of Konkani after the movement and the post- language act scenario. In this, primary and secondary sources will be consulted. Also, interviews were conducted to gather more insights on this topic. The methodology followed to do this research was through the collection of books, articles, journals, newspapers and magazines.

This study focuses on the significant struggle of the Konkani language. It will provide information in terms of the historical aspect of the language and will give an insight into the movement. It will analyse the challenges faced by the Konkani language in its course towards official recognition. It will also give insights on the issue of Konkani after 1987, the script controversy and the issue of medium of instruction.

1.5 Scheme of Chapters

Chapter I: Introduction

²⁸ Alan Machado, *Goa's Inquisition* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2022), 290.

Literature review, objectives, scope and Methodology

Chapter II: Historical background

This chapter will include the status of Konkani during the Portuguese period. This chapter will give information on the various places where Konkani is spoken all over India. It will give information on the history of Konkani language, the persecution of the language during the Inquisition and the ban on Konkani. It will cover the revival of Konkani language and also, will include details on the scholars that contributed to the revival of Konkani language during the Portuguese period and, also the modern Goan writers. It will also give the contributions of the missionaries.

Chapter III: The Konkani Language Movement

This chapter will cover the merger issue, the Opinion Poll and its agenda and, also about the status of Konkani. It will give a detailed information on the Konkani language movement which included rallies, meetings, violent means of protest and the passing of official language bill. This chapter will also give the status of Konkani during the tenure of the Chief ministers during the movement and before the movement.

Chapter IV: Language Issue post 1987

This chapter will give information on the post- official language act scenario. It will speak about the various organisations formed for the cause of Konkani. This chapter will also speak about the script controversy between the Romi and the Devanagari script. It will also give information about Konkani in schools and the issue of medium of instruction.

Chapter V: Conclusion – This chapter includes the main findings of this study.

Further, the thesis will include a glossary, bibliography, photographs and appendices.

1.6 Scope and Relevance

The scope for this research involves studying the historical, cultural and social aspects of the movement. The Konkani Language Movement is an important topic for all the Konkani speakers. It is important to study this movement as it shows how Konkani was included in the 8th Schedule of the Indian Constitution as per the 71st amendment and gave the language its status. This movement boosted the process of including Konkani as a language to be taught in schools and various other purposes.

There are works done on Konkani language in terms of script, status of Konkani during the Portuguese period. There are also some works available related to the movement. This study is different from the other works as it gives detailed information on the Konkani language Movement and giving it the status as the language of Goa. It will also give insights on the status of Konkani after the official language bill was passed.

The work will give an understanding of the movement and showcase the role of the activists, writers, and institutions. It will further enhance the understanding of the language controversy in the contemporary times. As people of Goa, we need to know the history of our language and the movements that were staged to give Konkani its due status.

CHAPTER II- HISTORICAL BACKGROUND OF KONKANI LANGUAGE

Language is a unique gift bestowed on human beings enabling them to reach higher levels of communication and development than the rest of the mammalian species

-By N. J. Kamath.

2. Introduction

Language Konkani takes its name from the Konkan,²⁹ the coastal strip that comprises the Western shores of Maharashtra, Goa, Karnataka, Kerala, and Gujarat.³⁰ The speakers of Konkani are called as Konkani people. Konkani is spoken as well as the official language of the people of Goa. Konkani like all the other languages has a long historical tradition and it has undergone a lot of changes and modifications over the years.³¹

In Maharashtra, the area from Thana through Ratnagiri, Savantvadi and other districts³² and also Mumbai Konkani is spoken.³³ In Karnataka, Konkani is spoken in Karwar, Haliyal and Supa Talukas of North Karnataka, it is also spoken in South Canara district of Karnataka and in the Western coastal areas of Kerala.³⁴ There is also a considerable Konkani speaking population above the Western Ghats for instance, at Sirsi, Siddapur and Belgaum, a good number of Konkani speakers have settled in the cities of Chennai

²⁹ Olivinho Gomes, *Goa* (India: National book trust, 2004), 231.

³⁰ N. J. Kamath, *The Konkani World* (Mumbai: Art Digital, 2016), 14.

³¹ L. Suneetha Bai, *Historical Background of the Konkani language with special reference to its Relationship with Sanskrit and Prakrit- Phonological Study* (Kochi: Sukrtindra Oriental Research Institute, 2004), 1.

³² Nithyanantha Bhat and L. Suneetha Bai, *The Konkani Language: Historical and Linguistic Perspectives* (Kochi: Sukrtindra Oriental Research Institute, 2012), 28.

³³ Kamath, *The Konkani*, 15.

³⁴ Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 28.

and Coimbatore in Tamil Nadu and in the city of Bangalore in Karnataka.³⁵ The majority of the people in Mangalore speak in Konkani, and there are large communities that speak Konkani in Thalassery and Kochi in Kerala.³⁶ In Belgaum, Dharwar, Mysore and Kodagu districts there are Konkani- speaking people.³⁷

As per the Census of India 1971, it enumerated only 15,22,684 persons as Konkani speakers, out of them 556,223 reside in the territory of Goa, 572,828 reside in the State of Karnataka and 272,970 in Maharashtra.³⁸ As per the survey of Konkani in Kerala in 1971, Konkani is spoken in Cannanore, Calicut, Palghat, Trichur, Ernakulam, Kottayam, Alleppey, Quilon and Trivandrum.³⁹

As per the census of 1981, the number of Konkani speakers was 15,70,108.⁴⁰ According to the census of India 1991, the number of Konkani speakers was 17,60,607, of these 602,626 were from Goa, 312,618 from Maharashtra, 706,397 from Karnataka and 64,008 from Kerala.⁴¹ In Goa, Daman and Diu, majority of the population is Konkani speaking, and in Kerala, half of the Konkani speakers are from Ernakulam district.⁴² Over 80%, the Konkani speaking people in Maharashtra are from Bombay and in Karnataka over 80% of the Konkani speakers are from the coastal districts of North and South Kanara.⁴³

³⁵ Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 28.

³⁶ Kamath, *The Konkani*, 15.

³⁷ Kamath, *The Konkani*, 15.

³⁸ Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 29.

³⁹ Ashok Mitra, *Census of India 1971- Survey of Konkani in Kerala* (India: Office of the Registrar General, 1971), 1.

⁴⁰ C. Chandramouli, *Census of India 2011* (India: Office of the Registrar General, 2011), 16.

⁴¹ G. N. Devy, Madhavi Sardesai and Damodar Mauzo, *People's Linguistic Survey of India the Languages of Goa* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2019), 12.

⁴² Devy, Sardesai and Mauzo, *People's Linguistic*, 12.

⁴³ Devy, Sardesai and Mauzo, *People's Linguistic*, 12.

As per the census of 2001, the number of Konkani speakers are 24,89,015.⁴⁴ As per the 2011 census, the number of Konkani speakers are 22,56, 502, Konkani is spoken in Goa, Odisha, Gujarat, Daman and Diu, Dadar and Nagar Haveli, Maharashtra, Karnataka, Kerala, Tamil Nadu, Puducherry, Andaman and Nicobar Islands, Chandigarh as per this census.⁴⁵

If observed all the census reports, there is an increase in the number of Konkani speakers beginning from 1971 to 2001 census, but as per the 2011 census, there is a decline in the number of Konkani speakers. This shows that either the people have diverted towards other languages or may have migrated to other places which in turn reduces the number of Konkani speakers.

2.1 Development of the Konkani Language

The roots of the language Konkani can be traced to the proto Australoid tongue to ancient Mundari on one hand as per the vocabulary in the *Encyclopedia Mundarica* and Vedic ancestry on the other hand.⁴⁶ *Encyclopedia Mundarica* is a book by John Hoffmann which gives information about the Mundas. Having Vedic ancestry means that the language of the Vedas is the language of Konkani.⁴⁷ Similarities between Konkani and Mundari suggest that proto- Australoid who had inhabited Goa thousands of years ago

⁴⁴ Chandramouli, *Census of India*, 16.

⁴⁵ Chandramouli, *Census of India*, 13.

⁴⁶ Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 24.

⁴⁷ Shantaram Varde Valaulikar, *Shenoi Goembab, (Collected literature of Shenoi Goembab)* (Ponda: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2003), 153.

had brought this language to the west coast and as time passed it absorbed influences of Aryan, Dravidian and also foreign languages.⁴⁸

According to Jerome A Saldanha, in his work on the *Origin and Growth of Konkani or Goan Communities and language*, he has observed that the Konkani extended for approximately a hundred miles from Devgad in the north to Sadashivgad in the south, it corresponded to the province of south Konkani which included Goa, this was the region where the migrating Aryans settled, coalescing with the local people there and which gave birth to the new vernacular, Konkani.⁴⁹ This source shows the density of Konkani speaking but with different dialects in these areas.

There are a lot of scholars who have given references on the Konkani language and the Aryans. According to Dr. Jose Pereira, Aryans came during the eighth century on the Konkani, their dialect was influenced by Prakrit languages and that led to the birth of Konkani language in the tenth century.⁵⁰ Sripath Raghunath Desai opines that during the ninth or tenth century, Konkani, Marathi, Gujarati, Rajasthani, Bengali and other modern Indian languages were born from *Apabrahmsa* Prakrit.⁵¹

When the Aryans had come southwards, they took some of the Nagari script of western India and more of the Marathi of the Northern Deccan, the Aryans who were already in the Konkani by the eighth century, the blend of the Prakrit had given rise to Konkani

⁴⁸ Pius MaleKandathil and Remy Dias, eds. *Goa in the 20th Century History and Culture* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008), 273.

⁴⁹ Kamath, *The Konkani*, 14.

⁵⁰ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 273.

⁵¹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 273; Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 24.

afterwards.⁵² Konkani is an Indo- Aryan Language from the Indo- European group. There are four groups of languages such as Austric which includes Kasi, Kol and Munda dialects, the Dravidian includes Tamil, Malayalam, Kannada, Telugu, and Garo Dialects, the Tibet- Burman and the Indo- Aryan group includes Punjabi, Bengali, Odisha, Assamese, Gujarati, Marathi and Konkani dialects.⁵³

For about five hundred years after its birth, Konkani must have remained only a spoken language continuing the oral tradition, no evidence is available to prove its written tradition of that time.⁵⁴ But if seen in Karnataka, in the Hassan district there is a village named Shravanabelagola, where there is a Gomateshwara statue which is 57 feet and under its feet it carries an inscription as *Chawandrayem Karaviyalem*.⁵⁵ It was created by the king Chamundaraya.⁵⁶ The inscription is written in various languages and it also mentions Konkani written in the Devnagari script as well.⁵⁷ According to Dr. Jose Pereira, this was the first sample of written Konkani.⁵⁸ Since the inscription contained the Konkani language in the Devnagari script, it can be assumed that Konkani was recognized with other languages. And also, during his rule, there may have been Konkani people who were staying in that area. However, there is difference of opinion like the

⁵² Jose Pereira, *Literary Konkani- A Brief History* (Dharwar: Konkani Sahitya Prakashan, 1973), 2.

⁵³ Shyam Verekar, Madhavi Sardessai and Malshi Kamlakar, eds. *Konkani Bhas, Sahitya ani Sanskrutai* (Margao: Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 2003), 68- 69.

⁵⁴ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 274.

⁵⁵ Manohar Sardessai, *A History of Konkani Literature (From 1500 to 1992)* (New Delhi: Sahitya Akademi, 1992), 9; Gomes, *Goa*, 231; Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 80.

⁵⁶ Sardessai, *A History*, 9.

⁵⁷ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 90.

⁵⁸ Pius MaleKandathil and Remy Dias, *Goa in*, 274.

Marathi people claim that the language written on this inscription is in Marathi whereas the Konkani people say it is in Konkani language.⁵⁹

The history of the Konkani people is also by and large responsible for the underdeveloped status of Konkani language, till the fifteenth century, Goa was ruled by kings from other regions and these rulers used their own language in the administration and as a result, Konkani never got any patronage of any ruler or regime to support it, in addition to this, the Konkani community was scattered and the plight of the Konkani language became pitiable⁶⁰ in the later period. As Dr. S. M. Katre, in his book *Formation of Konkani*, mentions that there is no instance in any medieval account of whether Konkani or its speakers had received any royal patronage.⁶¹ The earliest inscription in Konkani language is of the Gupta period and is found at Arvalem in Goa.⁶² One another inscription found which goes back to the 12th century, the entire inscription is not in Konkani but only one or two sentences are in that language the rest is in Marathi, it is an inscription of the Shilahara king Aparaditya of the year 1166 CE.⁶³ Therefore it cannot be assumed that Konkani did not receive any patronage or recognition as there were inscriptions found during these ruler's period.

Jose Pereira in his work *Literary Konkani- A Brief History* mentions about the famines in 1553, 1570 and 1682, Epidemics in 1635 and the frequent Maratha invasions in 1683 and 1729, to escape from these disasters, large number of people had fled down south,

⁵⁹ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 80.

⁶⁰ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 278.

⁶¹ S. M. Katre, *The Formation of Konkani* (Bombay: Karnatak Publishing House, 1942), 157.

⁶² Sardessai, *A History*, 8; Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 33.

⁶³ Sardessai, *A History*, 8; Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 33.

especially in the eighteenth century who took with them the Konkani language.⁶⁴ During the Inquisition, the converted people migrated to Karnataka and they learnt the local language.⁶⁵ They did not have much difficulty in studying the Kannada language as while staying in Goa they had the knowledge of Kannada because before the arrival of Portuguese the Vijayanagara were ruling Goa and they used the Kannada language.⁶⁶ It is a possibility that when people had migrated to Kerala and Karnataka, they did not carry with them the literature written in Konkani, but had carried verbal version of the Ramayana, Mahabharata and other religious things.⁶⁷

When the Portuguese had arrived in Goa, they tried to destroy the temples and the religious literature, as a result, there is no indication of the language used but it can be found in Krishna das Shama's work.⁶⁸ The creation of Konkani prose of Krishna Das Shama in the 16th century lies in the archives of Portugal.⁶⁹ Krishnadas Shama was a writer of Konkani prose and of Marathi poetry.⁷⁰ According to P. S. S. Pissurlenkar, the copy of *Shri Krishna Charitra katha* which was in the Roman script was transcribed by Fr. Thomas Stephens, this was done in order to be fluent in the Marathi language and he and his contemporary missionaries used to go through the available Marathi works and

⁶⁴ Pereira, *Literary Konkani*, 6.

⁶⁵ Verekar, Sardesai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 92.

⁶⁶ Verekar, Sardesai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 92.

⁶⁷ Verekar, Sardesai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 97.

⁶⁸ Verekar, Sardesai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 90.

⁶⁹ S.B Kulkarni, *The Konkani language: Nature and Tradition*, trans. Srinivas Kamat (Panaji: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2010),13; Verekar, Sardesai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 90.

⁷⁰ J. Clement Vaz, *Profiles of Eminent Goans Past and Present* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1997), 248.

copy them in the Roman alphabet and one example of this is the work of Thomas Stephen's *Krista Purana* in Marathi.⁷¹

Before the arrival of Portuguese, there is evidence of Nagari script which was used by Krishnadas Shama to write his works namely *Mahabharat* and *Ramayana*.⁷² Also, another work 'Shri Krishna Charitra Katha' which was written in Marathi script.⁷³ Alfred Braganza in his book *Goa- History and Culture* speaks about Krishnadas Shama's works namely *Ramayana* and *Mahabharata* tales were written in Konkani before writing his few poems in Marathi later on.⁷⁴ Dr. Mariano Saldanha, the noted orientalist of Lisbon University, had discovered Shama's '*Krishna Charitra Katha*' in Portugal which was written in Roman script.⁷⁵

Fr Angelus Maffei in his work "*A Konkani Grammar*" in the beginning of the book, it states that "the Konkani language was formerly written with the alphabet called *Balabodha* or Nagar sometimes it was written with the Modi alphabet which is the Marathi alphabet, now the Kanarese alphabet is generally used, and although it does not express all Konkani sounds, yet it is better adapted for this than the Latin alphabet".⁷⁶

In the 17th century, the Dutch governor of Kochi, Hendricks van Rhee had published a book on Medicinal plants which was written in Konkani and Nagari script.⁷⁷ In the book *The Konkani Language Historical and Linguistic Perspectives* mentions that this

⁷¹ B.S Shastri, ed. *Goan Society Through the Ages* (New Delhi: Asian Publication Services, 1987), 197.

⁷² Bhembre, *Asmitayecho Kassay*, 68.

⁷³ Bhembre, *Asmitayecho Kassay*, 68.

⁷⁴ Alfred Braganza, *Goa- History and Culture* (Panjim: Third Millennium, 2017), 62

⁷⁵ J. Clement Vaz, *Profiles of*, 248.

⁷⁶ Bhembre, *Asmitayecho Kassay*, 70.

⁷⁷ Bhembre, *Asmitayecho Kassay*, 70.

botanical work was written in the Nagari script and it is written in 12 volumes and the name of each plant is written in different languages.⁷⁸ According to N. Purushothama Mallaya, secretary of Konkani Bhasha Prachar Sabha, mentions that Van Rheed's work was written in Nagari and the introduction containing a testimonium in Konkani to his work was given by three Konkani Ayurvedic Physicians of Cochin.⁷⁹

The Roman script was started by the foreign missionaries, as they did not know any other script as a result, they wrote in the Romi script, not only Konkani was written in Romi script but also Marathi, such as Thomas Stephens Krista Purana written in Marathi was then written in the Romi script.⁸⁰ Konkani language was written in the Nagari script in the 12th century.⁸¹

2.2 Konkani during the Portuguese period

Governor General, Afonso de Albuquerque had conquered Goa with the help of Timmaya and Mhall Pai Vernekar which was in the hands of Adil Shah of Bijapur. When the Portuguese had arrived in Goa for the first time, they were driven out of the island of Goa in the middle of May 1510 by the forces of Adil Shah of Bijapur, but on 25th November 1510, they succeeded in recapturing the islands of Goa from the Sultan of Bijapur.⁸² Firstly, the Portuguese had captured Ela that is modern day-Old Goa and proceeded in capturing other parts such as Bardez, Salcete, and Tiswadi and these places were termed as old Conquests. After these places, Ponda, Canacona, Sanguem, Bicholim, Quepem

⁷⁸ Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani Language*, 34.

⁷⁹ Paul Moras, *Jagarann- A research and study on the Konkani Language Movement in Konkani (Devanagari script)* (Mangalore: Konkani Institute, 2007), 351.

⁸⁰ Bhembre, *Asmitayecheo Kassay*, 70.

⁸¹ Bhembre, *Asmitayecheo Kassay*, 71.

⁸² Edward De Lima, *Influence of Portuguese Vocabulary on Konkani Language* (Porvorim: Vikram Publications, 2014), 2.

Pernem, Sattari came under the Portuguese rule at different time periods and were called as new conquests. The Portuguese did not conquer the whole of Goa at once, but they captured the parts of Goa at different times.

With the arrival of the foreign missionaries in Goa, the process of Romanization of the Konkani language had started.⁸³ The Portuguese wanted to convert the people of Goa and to spread Christianity. When the Portuguese had arrived in India, they found Konkani which was written in the Kannada script, and hence, they called it as Kanarese language.⁸⁴ In the 16th century, in Goa, Konkani was written with the help of Kannada script.⁸⁵ From the term Kanarese, it may refer to the region of Kanara or Kannada. When the missionaries began to Romanize the Konkani language, during this course, it came to be called as “Lingua Canari” (Canarese language) or “Lingua Canarina” or “Lingua Brahmana” (Brahmin language) and was also variously written as Cocani, Cocanni, Cocni, Kokanni, Kokany and Kokani.⁸⁶ Konkani was known by different names by the Portuguese. The Portuguese found more benefits in making the use of Konkani in the Romi script which was beneficial for them in achieving their aim.

The foreign missionaries, to proceed with their work of evangelization, they had to first learn the language and the customs of the people of Goa, without which they could not take their work further.⁸⁷ So a Goan named Andre Vaz of Carambolim village was appointed to write the first elementary grammar in Konkani for them before 1558.⁸⁸

⁸³ Richard Cabral, *Konkani in the Roman Script: A Short Grammatical Study* (Panaji: Qurate Books Pvt Ltd, 2023), 9.

⁸⁴ Alfred Braganza, *Goa- History*, 62.

⁸⁵ Verekar, Sardesai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 80.

⁸⁶ Cabral, *Konkani in*, 10.

⁸⁷ Braganza, *Goa- History*, 62.

⁸⁸ Braganza, *Goa- History*, 62; Gomes, *Goa*, 233.

Based on this elementary grammar, it was Fr Thomas Stephens who worked to write the full- fledged grammar of Konkani, which was published in 1640.⁸⁹ When the missionaries were successful in converting a fairly large number of people, they prohibited them to attend the local schools and to read Konkani literature under excommunication, so that they may not practice their old religion.⁹⁰ The language of the Portuguese was difficult to study for the people and as a result, the Portuguese diverted in studying the language of the people, as it would make their work easier which could be made use for communication, religious, and administrative purposes.

The Spaniards had burnt thousands of books of the Moors at Granada, when the latter were driven away from the Iberian Peninsula, Portuguese had done the same who carried on a continual repression against the local language.⁹¹ Before the arrival of the Portuguese, Konkani had met the same treatment under the Bahmanis, the Muslim rulers, when the Konkani Hindu priests had fled into the hinter- land fixing their residences in Kanara and other places.⁹² It may be assumed that since the Hindu priests had fled due to the persecution done by the rulers, they must have carried with them their religious texts and practiced it in the other regions. Despite of all this persecution and the Inquisition later on, Goans stuck to their mother-tongue.⁹³ Konkani language had faced a lot of persecution may it be under the Portuguese or the rulers before the Portuguese period. The Portuguese never wanted Konkani to flourish and as a result they tried to destroy the

⁸⁹ Alfred Braganza, *The Discovery of Goa* (Panjim. Brooks Publications, 1964), 29- 30; Gomes, *Goa*, 29.

⁹⁰ Braganza, *The Discovery*, 30.

⁹¹ Braganza, *The Discovery*, 30, Gomes, *Goa*, 63.

⁹² Braganza, *The Discovery*, 30, Gomes, *Goa*, 63.

⁹³ Braganza, *The Discovery*, 30, Gomes, *Goa*, 63.

written material in the Konkani language and also because these written materials might deal with idolatry.

The Printing Press which was invented in Germany had only Roman characters, and the missionaries were skilled with Latin, Portuguese, French, Italian and English grammars, but here, they needed to produce literature for the overall purpose of evangelization.⁹⁴ So, they tried to produce works in the Konkani language using the Roman script.⁹⁵ It was this language that people were taught to read which made it easier for the missionaries to carry their work. Portuguese, Italian, Spanish and French were derived from one classical language, and Konkani was derived from another classical language, that is Sanskrit which belongs to the same Indo-European set of languages.⁹⁶

But before they could carry on their process of writing Konkani in the Roman script, the missionaries had to first familiarize themselves not only with the language but also with the cultural nuances of the language from the natives.⁹⁷ The missionary activities were divided between the Religious Orders, Shashti came under the Jesuits, Tiswadi came under the Dominicans and Bardez was put under the charge of the Franciscans which consequently afforded them enough time to devote to their scholarly pursuits.⁹⁸ It can be noticed that, as the missionaries were divided into different places, there is a change in the accent of Konkani language spoken in Goa.

⁹⁴ Cabral, *Konkani in*, 11.

⁹⁵ Cabral, *Konkani in*, 11.

⁹⁶ Cabral, *Konkani in*, 11.

⁹⁷ Cabral, *Konkani in*, 11.

⁹⁸ Cabral, *Konkani in*, 11.

2.3 Contributions of the Franciscan and Jesuit missionaries

The first printing press in India was brought to St. Paul college, in present day-Old Goa by Jesuit missionaries in 1556, but the first ones to write Konkani in the Roman script were the Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries.⁹⁹ The Christian missionaries belonged to different Christian orders, the Franciscan and the Jesuit missionaries had contributed to the language of the natives.¹⁰⁰ The Franciscan missionaries were the first to arrive in Goa in 1517, and the first two Franciscans to write grammar in Konkani were Amador de Santana and Joao de Sam Mathias.¹⁰¹ A Franciscan missionary, Gaspar de Sam Miguel was a great scholar who knew Konkani and Marathi and had written 13 books, some of the important works were *Synthexix Copiosissima*, *Vocabulario Concani* and *Vocabulario Portuguese Concani*, these two were the dictionaries one is Konkani to Portuguese and the other one Portuguese to Konkani,¹⁰² there were also other Franciscans who compiled vocabularies in the Konkani language in the 17th century.¹⁰³

After the arrival of the Franciscans, then came the Jesuits and the first Jesuit priest was Saint Francis Xavier and after him there were many priests who had come to Goa, when the printing press had come to Goa, they tried to print books on Christianity and the second printing press was placed in the Rachol College.¹⁰⁴ The important Jesuits who contributed to Konkani linguistics were Thomas Stephens, Diogo Ribeiro, Miguel de

⁹⁹ Savio Abreu and Rudolf Heredia, eds. *Goa 2011 Reviewing and Recovering Fifty Years* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 103-104.

¹⁰⁰ De Lima, *Influence of*, 8.

¹⁰¹ De Lima, *Influence of*, 8- 9

¹⁰² Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 112.

¹⁰³ De Lima, *Influence of*, 9.

¹⁰⁴ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 193.

Almeida and Antonio de Saldanha.¹⁰⁵ The first English Jesuit to come to Goa in the 16th century was Thomas Stephens and his most popular work was called as *Krista Purana*.¹⁰⁶ He studied both Konkani and Marathi with the help of Hindu Brahmins and also wrote a Konkani Grammar in Roman script for the benefit of fellow Jesuit missionaries.¹⁰⁷ The *Krista Purana* was written in Marathi in classical puranic slokas using Roman script which tried to present passages from the Bible and the life of Jesus Christ.¹⁰⁸ The *Krista Purana* was the first one to be printed in the Rachol college although it was in Marathi there are some Konkani words included for the people to understand.¹⁰⁹ He also wrote a Konkani book *Doutrina Christam em Lingua Bramana Canarim* and also wrote a book *Arte de Lingua Canarim*.¹¹⁰ During the Portuguese period, it was the Christian missionaries who took forward the Konkani language, wrote books and Grammers in this language.

2.4 Inquisition and Persecution of Konkani

The history of the Konkani language includes understanding the effect of the inquisition, about the people and how Konkani as a language had tried to retain its dignity.¹¹¹ The Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560, it exercised a harmful effect on the development of the Konkani language and literature and one of the reasons for the establishment of the Inquisition in Goa was because of the new converts who might turn

¹⁰⁵ De Lima, *Influence of*, 9.

¹⁰⁶ Cosme Jose Costa, *The Heritage of Govapuri: A study on the Artifacts in and around the Pilar Seminary Museum*, 2nd ed. (Pilar: Xaverian Publication society, 2018), 82.

¹⁰⁷ Costa, *The Heritage*, 82.

¹⁰⁸ Costa, *The Heritage*, 82.

¹⁰⁹ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 193.

¹¹⁰ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 114.

¹¹¹ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 181.

back to their old religion.¹¹² The Inquisition brought by the Portuguese to Goa did not only harm the people but it also included the persecution of the local languages especially Konkani. As there was a ban on the Konkani language, as a result the situation may have been difficult for the people. The Portuguese missionaries, aided by the government, did not want to only convert the people of Goa but also to lusitanize them completely, they feared that Hindu religious literature in the local languages, would contaminate Christianity and they displayed a tendency to suppress and destroy all that was Indian.¹¹³

In 1684, the viceroy had put a decree forbidding the use of Konkani language in all transactions and to only converse in Portuguese.¹¹⁴ The Portuguese language was made as the language of Goa under the Portuguese and had tried to push Konkani down. The people of Goa were given a period of three years and within these three years they had to learn the Portuguese language but they were restricted from talking in Konkani, if they do so then they were eligible for a penalty.¹¹⁵ This clearly shows how the Portuguese were intolerant towards the people of Goa and their penalties were harsh.

Many Hindus had fled from Goa to neighboring regions to avoid persecution.¹¹⁶ These Hindus had tried to escape from these conversions and fled to other places and must have preserved Konkani, wherever the places they had fled. The Konkani language, was the most to suffer in their attempts at westernization and by the orders of the Inquisition, books in the local languages were forbidden and all books written in Sanskrit or Marathi

¹¹² De Lima, *Influence of*, 12.

¹¹³ De Lima, *Influence of*, 12.

¹¹⁴ Alan Machado, *Goa's Inquisition* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2022), 290; Maria Couto, *Goa: A Daughter's Story* (New Delhi: Penguin Viking, 2004), 171; MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 277.

¹¹⁵ Nishtha Desai, *Liberation vs Armed Aggression: The Media Response to Goa's Liberation* (Panaji: Directorate of Art and Culture, 2011), 22.

¹¹⁶ Desai, *Liberation vs*, 21.

were seized during the Inquisition and were burnt on the suspicion that they may deal with idolatry and thus, all literature existing up to that time was destroyed.¹¹⁷ Later on, books had to be acquired from territories outside Goa when there was a need for learning local languages.¹¹⁸ Books in the local languages were destroyed or burnt especially Konkani, it can be assumed that books in these languages may have contained information which was against the Portuguese.

In 1745, Archbishop D Lourenzo de Santa Maria ordained that Brahmins of Salcete and Bardez should learn Portuguese within six months, whereas the other castes were given a year to study the language, and also it prohibited the contracting of matrimony to any man or woman who did not know the Portuguese language.¹¹⁹ Since the Brahmins were the higher caste, the Portuguese tried to take hold over them as they were the higher priests and people would listen to them, and also by expecting them to learn the language within six months as compared to the other caste who were given more time to learn.

In the year 1774,¹²⁰ Marques de Pombal, became the Prime Minister of Portugal, he also realized the importance of Konkani as a medium of communication, and he founded the *Colégio dos Naturais*, a college in which Konkani was taught and it was made compulsory for the priests to know the local language.¹²¹ Pombal had expelled the missionaries and had restored Konkani to its old position but he had lost his seat and again the religious authority had started this persecution.¹²² Pombal had tried to put things

¹¹⁷ De Lima, *Influence of*, 13.

¹¹⁸ De Lima, *Influence of*, 13.

¹¹⁹ Desai, *Liberation vs*, 21; Shastry, *Goan Society*, 201; Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 199.

¹²⁰ Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 119.

¹²¹ De Lima, *Influence of*, 15.

¹²² Shastry, *Goan Society*, 201; Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 120.

in order but after his dismissal, things returned to the previous order. Barao de Cumbarjua, Tomaz Mourao and a Luso- Indian writer Fernando Leal proposed the policy of imparting education in Konkani, but all these efforts had failed.¹²³ In 1916, the Primeiro Congresso Provincial approved elementary education in Konkani, but that was all it did.¹²⁴

In 1812, the Archbishop of Goa passed the circular that, Konkani should be banned in the schools.¹²⁵ With the banning of Konkani language in schools, Portuguese language was made use in the schools. In 1847, this rule was extended to the seminaries forbidding any student or priest to converse with one another in the language of Goa.¹²⁶ Portuguese language was given more importance as Konkani was banned from every sphere. All these measures brought about a complete split in the cultural exchange between the Hindus and Christian groups, as a result, the Christians learned to speak in a vocabulary spread with Portuguese words, and the accent was different from the Hindus.¹²⁷ The Inquisition was abolished in 1812.¹²⁸

Many Hindus were attending private Marathi schools as they were forbidden to take education in the government run schools till 1910.¹²⁹ Although there was a ban on Konkani but the people tried to speak in their language, but Portuguese was not spoken by everybody, it was learnt only by the educated elite which till 1910, comprised only of

¹²³ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 277; Pereira, *Literary Konkani*, 17.

¹²⁴ Pereira, *Literary Konkani*, 17.

¹²⁵ De Lima, *Influence of*, 13; MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 277; Verekar, Sardessai and Kamlakar, *Konkani Bhas*, 120.

¹²⁶ De Lima, *Influence of*, 13; MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 277.

¹²⁷ De Lima, *Influence of*, 13.

¹²⁸ Manohar Sardessai, *A History*, 70.

¹²⁹ Desai, *Liberation vs*, 22.

the upper caste Catholics.¹³⁰ Although Portuguese had tried to force people to learn Portuguese but it could not be a reality, as people were more attracted towards their mother tongue Konkani.

By the nineteenth century, the Konkani vocabulary manifested hundreds of Portuguese words and idioms in the everyday speech of Goans, particularly Christians.¹³¹ The Konkani language spoken in the old conquest is different from the language spoken in the new conquest.

2.5 Revival of Konkani

With the arrival of Dr. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara in 1855, a new era began for Konkani, he looked into Konkani language and literature and published his work titled as '*A Historical Essay on Konkani*' in 1857.¹³² With the coming of Rivara, things had changed for the Konkani language. He supported Konkani and he believed that it should be recognized as the language of Goa. There were also others who began writing in Konkani such as Dr. Gerson da Cunha, Monsignor Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalgado, Joaquim Antonio Fernandes, Dr. Mariano Saldanha, Shennoi Goembab¹³³ and other prominent writers.

Monsignor Sebastiao Rodolfo Dalgado was inspired to study Konkani and also had compiled a Konkani dictionary in order to help the Catholic priests to acquire sufficient knowledge of the language of the land and he deserves praise for his great contribution to Konkani through the two dictionaries that he published, one is his Konkani to Portuguese

¹³⁰ Desai, *Liberation vs*, 22.

¹³¹ De Lima, *Influence of*, 13.

¹³² De Lima, *Influence of*, 14.

¹³³ De Lima, *Influence of*, 14- 15.

dictionary published in 1893 and Portuguese to Konkani dictionary published in 1905.¹³⁴

Also another scholar to come to Konkani's defense was Dr. Gerson da Cunha, he published his work titled as *The Konkani Language and Literature* in 1881 and this work set out to prove the independent status of Konkani as well as its inherent strength.¹³⁵

Another scholar Mariano Saldanha (1878-1975), whose primary interest was in the study of Konkani as well as other Indian languages, according to him, Konkani children should receive the primary education through Konkani but unfortunately, though he had propounded the systematic scientific study of Konkani, he himself did not write in this language, but he wrote in Portuguese.¹³⁶ A Goan who contributed to the renaissance of Konkani in the Roman script was Eduardo José Bruno de Souza who published the fortnightly journal *Udentichem Sallok* (The Lotus of the East)¹³⁷ in the year 1889.¹³⁸

Joaquim Antonio Fernandes (1889-1975), he wrote Konkani Nad-Xastr (Konkani Phonetics) in 1972¹³⁹ and also, he had composed textbooks in Konkani in the Roman script which could be used by the students in the primary school.¹⁴⁰ Another scholar named Angelo Francisco Xavier Maffei (1844-1899), had mastered Konkani within four years and wrote a book on Konkani Grammar and also had published an English to Konkani dictionary in 1883.¹⁴¹

¹³⁴ De Lima, *Influence of*, 15.

¹³⁵ De Lima, *Influence of*, 17.

¹³⁶ De Lima, *Influence of*, 18.

¹³⁷ De Lima, *Influence of*, 18.

¹³⁸ Olivinho Gomes, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script: A Brief History* (Panaji: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2010), 48.

¹³⁹ Kamath, *The Konkani*, 28.

¹⁴⁰ De Lima, *Influence of*, 18.

¹⁴¹ Kamath, *The Konkani*, 27.

Vaman Raghunath Varde Valaulikar also called as Shennoi Goembab had laid the foundations of Modern Konkani literature in Devanagari, and his work 'Konkani Bhaxechem Zoit (The Triumph of Konkani)' in 1930, which proves beyond doubt that Konkani is an independent and self-sufficient language and is not a dialect of Marathi and it has a proud past.¹⁴² He has contributed much to the Konkani language. He has written works in Devnagari and Romi script. Inspired from him, there were many other writers who came in the support of Konkani and started writing in this language. There were other writers who wrote in Konkani and contributed towards the development of Konkani.

During the Portuguese period, literature in the local languages including Konkani was destroyed, giving more importance for the Portuguese language. The people were made to study the language and also the Brahmins. Though Portuguese language was imposed onto the people, but still they were attached to their language. With the coming of the Inquisition in 1560, it not only harm the people but also led to the suppression of the Konkani language. After the suppression of Konkani language by the Portuguese, it had brought a new beginning for Konkani with the coming of Dr. Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara and other writers who contributed towards the language in the form of literature and published their works in Konkani. Shennoi Goembab who was at the forefront of the Konkani movement, had contributed much to the Konkani language through his writings.

The Konkani movement had started in Bombay and most of its activities were carried here, as Goa was under the Portuguese rule and as a result the Goans could not form a

¹⁴² De Lima, *Influence of*, 19.

movement in Goa. It was through the mandals that the activities of Konkani were carried out. The supporters of Konkani also had carried their work through the Akash Vani. After Goa's liberation, the Konkani movement took place in Goa, where the Konkani supporters fought to make Konkani as the official language of Goa. Many organisations came in support of Konkani. On 4th February 1987, Konkani was made as the official language of Goa. Along with the Konkani movement, the issue of Merger, that is merging Goa with Maharashtra and granting of statehood took place. In the next chapter, the Konkani movement will be discussed in detail such as the merger issue, the Opinion poll, the movement and Konkani being declared as the official language.

CHAPTER 3- THE KONKANI LANGUAGE MOVEMENT

Konkani is the main constituent of Goan Identity

-By Olivinho Gomes

3. Introduction

Konkani is the language of the Goans and to give its rightful place, the Konkani movement took place in Goa. Before the liberation of Goa, the actual movement for Konkani took place in Bombay. Shenvoi Goembab along with other great writers who were inspired from him and his writings came forward in support of Konkani. The Konkani Bhasha Mandal which was first set up in Bombay was now setup in Margao after the liberation of Goa. It was through these mandals which had helped to carry out the work for Konkani. The people from Bombay who supported Konkani used to carry out their activities through the Akash Vani which provided a platform for them to carry out their work.

After the liberation, the idea about the progress of Konkani language had spread to Goa which had led to the agitation for Konkani to be the official language. Before the movement, the issue of merger had taken place, that is merging Goa with Maharashtra and also Karnataka wanted Goa to merge with them. In the 1963 elections, the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party had won, where verdict was given for the merger of Goa with Maharashtra. Also, the issue of Konkani language which was going on but before that the opinion poll had to be taken into consideration. With the opinion poll, which was held on 16th January 1967, Goa did not merge with Maharashtra and remained

separate. Following this issue, was the official status to Konkani and Statehood for Goa. During the movement, there were meetings, Morcha, hunger strike and aggressive means which were used to get the demands fulfilled. There was a tussle between the Konkani and the Marathi supporters. When the official language bill was passed on 4th February 1987, with Konkani as the official language and Marathi to be used for other official purposes, still there were opposition from both the sides.

3.1 Language Movement from Mumbai

The process of mobilization for Konkani language had started in Bombay under the leadership of Goan intellectuals, and through their deliberations or resolutions in the Konkani Parishad, had demanded for the inclusion of Konkani in the administration and education.¹⁴³ With the involvement of the Goan youth in the activities which were conducted such as literary activities and their association with the liberation struggle had prepared a ground for the movement which took place due to the official language.¹⁴⁴

In the year 1939, there emerged an important event in the public life of Konkani-speaking community.¹⁴⁵ Late Madhav Manjunath Shanbhag had organized the first Konkani Parishad in Karwar and for the first time, the representatives of Konkani community from all parts had assembled there.¹⁴⁶ The first Konkani Parishad was held on 8th July 1939, and had taken some resolutions which included a call being given to the

¹⁴³ Narayan B. Dessai, “*Politics of Script: The Case of Konkani (1961- 1992)*” (PhD Diss., Goa University, 2002), 118.

¹⁴⁴ Dessai, “*Politics of*”, 118.

¹⁴⁵ Pius MaleKandathil and Remy Dias, eds. *Goa in the 20th Century History and Culture* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008), 279.

¹⁴⁶ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 280; S.B Kulkarni, *The Konkani language: Nature and Tradition*, trans. Srinivas Kamat (Panaji: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2010), 25; Jose Pereira, *Literary Konkani- A Brief History* (Dharwar: Konkani Sahitya Prakashan, 1973), 15.

speakers of Konkani to use Konkani in writing personal letters etc, request was made to the Government to get school textbooks in Konkani, to maintain the practice of indicating Konkani speakers in the census data separately, to provide primary education in the Konkani medium in areas where there is a sizable population, to publish bulletins or books in Konkani language and for carrying out its adult literacy Programme in the Konkani language for the Konkani speakers.¹⁴⁷

The Parishad had held 24 sessions covering the four states and it can legitimately claim credit for awakening the Konkani-speaking people who were almost submerged in other cultures and giving them a platform to plan the future.¹⁴⁸ Due to the persecution of the Konkani language, it did not gain as much of importance as other languages had, but with the setting up of the Konkani Parishad it had brought a new beginning to the Konkani language. The existence of the Konkani Bhasha Mandal was as a result of the first session of the All-India Konkani Parishad which was held at Karwar.¹⁴⁹ The Konkani Bhasha Mandal was founded In Bombay and also in Mangalore in 1974 and also the Konkani Bhasha Mandal was also founded in Margao after the liberation of Goa.¹⁵⁰

First of all, there was a need for Konkani literature to be in one script and keeping this in mind the Konkani Parishad had accepted to go ahead with Konkani in the Devnagari script.¹⁵¹ There were also other organisations in support of Konkani such as Konkani Sahitya Samiti, the Konkani Cultural Association of Bombay and the Konkani Prachar

¹⁴⁷G. N. Devy, Madhavi Sardesai and Damodar Mauzo, *People's Linguistic Survey of India the Languages of Goa* (Hyderabad: Orient BlackSwan, 2019), 7.

¹⁴⁸ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 280.

¹⁴⁹ Nithyanantha Bhat and L. Suneetha Bai, *The Konkani Language: Historical and Linguistic Perspectives* (Kochi: Sukrtindra Oriental Research Institute, 2012), 34.

¹⁵⁰ Bhat and Bai, *The Konkani*, 35.

¹⁵¹ Shyam Verekar, Madhavi Sardesai and Malshi Kamlakar, eds. *Konkani Bhas, Sahitya ani Sanskrutai* (Margao: Konkani Bhasha Mandal, 2003), 97.

Sabha of Cochin.¹⁵² For the purpose of political propaganda, Radio Goa had started Konkani broadcasts in 1945, the Konkani section of All India Radio for the same reason was started by the Government of India in 1952.¹⁵³

In 1942, the third meeting of the Konkani Parishad took place in Mumbai and the president of this meeting was Shennoi Goembab, and on April 5, 1942, there emerged an institution in Mumbai named Konkani Bhasha Mandal, this institution was formed to take this movement forward.¹⁵⁴ In 1949, the 4th meeting of the Konkani Parishad took place and in 1952 the fifth meeting took place under the Konkani Bhasha Mandal.¹⁵⁵ All these meetings had helped for the growth of Konkani language.

Broadcast of programmes in Konkani from All India Radio, Bombay began in 1956, Writers and artistes got a platform to exhibit their talents, this led to increased awareness about the strengths and requirements of the language.¹⁵⁶ During this period, Konkani Mandals were started in most colleges in Mumbai, and Konkani-speaking students from Goa and Mumbai actively participated in the activities of the Mandals¹⁵⁷. The Mandals lit the torch of cultural identity in the people's hearts, it did not only serve literature and culture, but it also created an army of energetic volunteers to keep the Konkani movement going.¹⁵⁸ It was through these mandals that Konkani got a boost and it was through these mandals that the work for Konkani was carried out. Inspired from Shennoi Goembab, there were many people who tried to come further in support of Konkani.

¹⁵² Pereira, *Literary Konkani*, 15.

¹⁵³ Pereira, *Literary Konkani*, 15.

¹⁵⁴ Paul Moras, *Jagarann- A research and study on the Konkani Language Movement in Konkani (Devanagari script)* (Mangalore: Konkani Institute, 2007), 267.

¹⁵⁵ Moras, *Jagarann- A*, 267.

¹⁵⁶ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 280.

¹⁵⁷ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 280.

¹⁵⁸ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 280.

There were many Goans who were studying in the Mumbai college and while studying here the people used to carry their work in support of Konkani and used to spread to the people.¹⁵⁹

Before the liberation of Goa, all the work of the Konkani used to take place in Mumbai, there were many student Mandals which were setup and they were in Marathi, Gujarati, Kannada and Hindi, looking at this, the students of Goa, Karwar and Mangalore set up a Konkani Mandal to take this movement further.¹⁶⁰ There were many students who used to carry out their work in Konkani and got a platform on the Akash Vani Kendr in Mumbai, it was only for Konkani language.¹⁶¹ The Marathi artist used to appreciate the Konkani People.¹⁶² The Akash Vani was the best platform for the Konkani people to bring out their aims and objectives. The base for this Konkani movement was started in Mumbai as Goa was still under the Portuguese rule and if the Goan people had tried to give Konkani its due status then the supporters of Konkani would be punished. On 19th December 1961, Goa was liberated from the Portuguese rule.

After the liberation of Goa, the idea of Konkani spread to Goa and the movement for Konkani to be the official language took place. The Konkani Porjecho Avaz and many other organisations who had come in support of Konkani. The supporters of Konkani worked hard for the betterment of the Konkani language. On 4th February, 1987, Konkani was declared as the official language of Goa.

¹⁵⁹ Moras, *Jagarann- A*, 27.

¹⁶⁰ Moras, *Jagarann- A*, 28.

¹⁶¹ Moras, *Jagarann- A*, 28.

¹⁶² Moras, *Jagarann- A*, 29.

3.2 Background

After the liberation of Goa, the foremost question that emerged was of Konkani language and Statehood for Goa. Between the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, the idea that appeared was that, Konkani is an independent language and is not a dialect of Marathi and soon after the liberation this idea had spread to Goa,¹⁶³ and later on, the Konkani supporters came forward to fight and to give Konkani its due status as the official language of Goa.

During this time, the issue of merger that is merging Goa into Maharashtra had emerged. Not only Maharashtra wanted Goa to merge with them but also Karnataka wanted the same. Despite the assurances given by the central government leaders that Goa's unique cultural integrity would be respected, but instead Maharashtra and Karnataka wanted Goa to merge with them.¹⁶⁴ The Maharashtra people claimed that Goa is a part of Maharashtra and Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.¹⁶⁵ When the Maharashtrawadi party had come into being, they believed that Marathi is the language of the Goans and considered Goa to be culturally, historically, geographically, and economically is a component of Maharashtra.¹⁶⁶ If observed the culture of Goa and Maharashtra, it is totally different. The language that Goans speak, is totally different from Maharashtra.

During the liberation movement, along with Maharashtra, Karnataka that is Belgaum was also the base for their operations, there were many Maharashtrians who had participated

¹⁶³ Kyoko Matsukawa, "Konkani and "Goan Identity" in Post- Colonial Goa, India". *Journal of the Japanese Association for South Asian studies*, (2002): 10.

¹⁶⁴ Arthur Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment of statehood". *University of California Press*, no. 5, (1992): 4.

¹⁶⁵ Paul Moras, *Konkani Challvoll- A research and study on the Konkani Language Movement in Konkani (Devanagari script)* (Mangalore: Konkani Institute, 2003), 222.

¹⁶⁶ Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment, 5.

in the Goa's freedom struggle and also had helped the Goan freedom fighters in their struggle against the Portuguese.¹⁶⁷ Many freedom fighters who had supported Goa from Maharashtra during the liberation movement wanted Goa to be a part of Maharashtra.¹⁶⁸ The National Congress (Goa) supported merger of Goa with Maharashtra and the pro-merger forces propagated the idea that Goa was the cradle of Marathi culture and that Marathi was the language of Goa and Konkani was just its dialect.¹⁶⁹

The Deputy Minister of External Affairs Lakshmi Menon had informed in the parliament that one reason to keep Goa as a Union territory would be claims of Maharashtra and other states which wanted to make Goa a part of them.¹⁷⁰ Regardless of this, Maharashtra and Mysore wanted to have Goa as their part as it was economically prosperous as compared to their respective border areas.¹⁷¹ The Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, recognised Goa's distinctive personality and he felt that it should remain separate within India's federal system and on March 14, 1962, Goa was conferred upon the status of Union territory and he pledged to maintain Goa's separate identity.¹⁷²

3.3 Status of Konkani and the Opinion Poll

3.3.1 The Elections of 1963

In December 1963, the First General Election were held, and there emerged a tussle between the pro-merger and anti-merger forces regarding the status of Goa, the pro-

¹⁶⁷ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 245.

¹⁶⁸ Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment, 4.

¹⁶⁹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 245.

¹⁷⁰ Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment," 4.

¹⁷¹ Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment," 4.

¹⁷² Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment," 4.

merger forces merged together to form Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (MGP) and they chose their symbol as the lion.¹⁷³ Their aim was to merge Goa with Maharashtra and to impose Marathi on the people of Goa.¹⁷⁴ MGP a strong advocate of the Marathi language had contested the elections on two important issues, one was Marathi to be the official language of the Goans and, secondly merger of Goa with Maharashtra, whereas on the other hand the United Goans Party (UGP) had contested the elections based on two issues, one was to make Konkani as the official language of Goa and secondly statehood for Goa.¹⁷⁵

The anti-merger forces had warned that Goa's historical identity and unique culture was in danger, so to counter the formation of the MGP they merged themselves and in September 1963 they formed the United Goans Party (UGP) with Dr. Jack de Sequeira as its President.¹⁷⁶ The UGP in the elections had propagated that the Goan identity and Goa's uniqueness would be destroyed and thereby its people would become non-entities and Goa would become a part of Maharashtra.¹⁷⁷ The UGP's main aim was the issue of separate state and Konkani to be recognised as the official language of Goa.¹⁷⁸ The UGP had a strong advocate for Konkani to be the official language and for gaining the status of statehood for Goa.

¹⁷³ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 246; Olivinho Gomes, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script: A Brief History* (Panaji: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2010), 174.

¹⁷⁴ Olivinho Gomes, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script: A Brief History* (Panaji: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2010), 174.

¹⁷⁵ Savio Abreu, Anthony Da Silva and Rinald D'Souza, *Public History of Goa- Evolving Politics, Culture and Identity* (Margao: Cinnamonteal Design and Publishing, 2019), 113.

¹⁷⁶ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 246.

¹⁷⁷ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 246.

¹⁷⁸ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 246.

In the elections of 1963, in a House of thirty members, MGP had bagged 14 seats, UGP won 12, INC secured one and three seats went to independent candidates.¹⁷⁹ MGP did not get a single seat where opinion was in favour of merger with Maharashtra, however, the MGP took its victory as a verdict for merger and claimed as a caretaker government, and would resign after the announcement of Goa's merger with Maharashtra by the Union Government.¹⁸⁰ It promised to bring the merger resolution in the Assembly at the correct time, however, it was forced to take up an immediate action when one of the members of the Congress Parliamentary Board, Shri S.K. Patil disclosed that in its decision of 7 April 1964, the Board had decided to maintain Goa as a Union Territory for a period of ten years, after which the issue would be decided by depending upon the wishes of the people of Goa.¹⁸¹ On 27 January 1965, it introduced the Re-merger of Goa Resolution in the Goa Legislative Assembly, sticking to the same stand that Goa is not different from that of Maharashtra.¹⁸²

3.3.2 Konkani and the Opinion poll

From the first session of the Legislative Assembly January 1964, the MGP MLAs spoke only in Marathi, and they proclaimed it as their mother tongue.¹⁸³ The language issue had paralysed the business of the house, hence, the Chief Minister Bandodkar and the Leader of the Opposition Dr. Sequeira arrived at an understanding, that whatever are the opinions

¹⁷⁹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 247.

¹⁸⁰ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 247.

¹⁸¹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 247.

¹⁸² MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 248.

¹⁸³ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 248.

about the status of Konkani but the business of the House should be generally conducted in Konkani.¹⁸⁴

The business of the Legislative Assembly was disturbed by the language issue and as a result the speaker advised that this matter could be solved by introducing a language bill in the Assembly.¹⁸⁵ As the central Government in Delhi was doubtful on the issue of official language status for Konkani and statehood for Goa, there was a great deal of unrest in the territory, and a strong demand was that to resolve this matter by means of a referendum.¹⁸⁶ On 22 July 1966, the Goa, Daman and Diu Official Language Bill, 1966 was moved in the Legislative Assembly but before the bill was taken up for discussion, it was dissolved so as to make way for the historic Opinion Poll.¹⁸⁷ Before the language problem, the issue of the merger of Goa had to be solved first.

As the main opponent of Goa's merger with Maharashtra, the UGP within and outside the Legislative Assembly, carried an intensive campaign in favour of the separate State of Goa with Konkani as the official state language, it refused to accept the MGP victory in the election as a verdict for merger.¹⁸⁸ The National Parties were also divided on this issue, the Indian National Congress (INC) was split into the pro-merger and anti-merger forces.¹⁸⁹

The Chief Minister of Mysore, Nigalingapa patronised the anti-merger forces and in response to Maharashtra Assembly's resolution of March 1965, the Mysore Legislative

¹⁸⁴ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 248.

¹⁸⁵ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 248.

¹⁸⁶ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 175.

¹⁸⁷ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 248.

¹⁸⁸ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 248.

¹⁸⁹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 249.

Assembly passed a non-official resolution urging the continuance of Goa as Union Territory for ten years but in case it was decided otherwise it suggested that Goa should be merged with Mysore.¹⁹⁰ Even the Chief Minister of Mysore wanted Goa to be merged with Mysore, but the idea of merging Goa with Mysore would have never been successful because people did not want the merger of Goa with Maharashtra so also the merger of Goa with Mysore was to be rejected.

On 22nd July 1966, the MGP MLA Dattaram Chopdekar presented a language bill for Goa, Daman and Diu which only mentioned Marathi and Gujarati languages, but there was no mention of the Konkani language in it, but on 1st December 1966, a law was passed for the Opinion Poll.¹⁹¹ In September 1966, the Congress Parliamentary Board recommended an Opinion Poll in Goa to ascertain the wishes of the people on their future status.¹⁹² Through the opinion poll, the future status of Goa would be decided. The Goa, Daman and Diu Opinion poll Bill was passed in December 1966, and 16 January 1967 was fixed for the Opinion Poll.¹⁹³ It was the first of its kind in independent India, where people of the territory could decide their political future within India, every voter was given the right to participate in this momentous decision.¹⁹⁴

The Christian community in Goa worked passionately for retaining their territory as a separate identity along with the Hindu and Muslim people.¹⁹⁵ The anti-merger forces focused their attention on the issues of identity and the Konkani language, their slogans were *Amchem Goem Amkam Zai*, '*Goem Konachem Goem Konachem*', '*We do not want*

¹⁹⁰ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 249.

¹⁹¹ Sanjiv Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas Kashi Jali?* (Ponda: Impression, 2019), 98.

¹⁹² MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 252.

¹⁹³ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 252.

¹⁹⁴ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 252.

¹⁹⁵ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 175.

Maharashtra's Shrikand Puri, we are satisfied with our xit-coddi'.¹⁹⁶ Ulhas Buyanv a Goan Sahir sang *Powdas* in Konkani, glorying Goa and Goan identity, he urged the people to vote for 'two leaves' irrespective of which ever religion they belong to.¹⁹⁷ He worked hard to create awareness among the people through Konkani songs.¹⁹⁸

The people of Goa gave their verdict on 16 January 1967, the Opinion Poll results were announced on 19 January 1967, the total Electors were 3,88,392, out of which the people who voted for the merger were 1,38,170 and the people who voted for Union Territory were 1,72,191.¹⁹⁹ The people of Goa had voted by a majority against the merger of Goa and its continuance as a separate entity and to begin as an Union territory.²⁰⁰ The victory in this Opinion poll was possible because of the Hindu and the Christian population who supported the anti- mergerist forces.²⁰¹ After the Opinion, the issue of future status was still open, leading to two more agitations.²⁰² The recognition of Konkani as the official language in February 1987 and the subsequent grant of statehood in May 1987.²⁰³

3.3.3 Role of Press

The Press in Goa was also divided, it played a key role in the contest for identity, newspapers such as Gomantak and Gomantwani, the two Marathi dailies left no stone unturned to disgrace the forces of anti-merger.²⁰⁴ They called the movement for separate state as anti-national and that the merger would help Goa to join the mainstream and they

¹⁹⁶ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 254.

¹⁹⁷ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 254.

¹⁹⁸ "Jaag", *Jaag Prakashan*, January 12, 2018, 19.

¹⁹⁹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 255.

²⁰⁰ Olivinho Gomes, *A Concise History of Goa* (Panaji: Directorate of Official language, 2010), 331.

²⁰¹ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 176.

²⁰² MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 255.

²⁰³ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 255.

²⁰⁴ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 250.

said that the slogan '*Goenchem separate Raj*' and '*Goa for Goans*' were dangerous connotations.²⁰⁵

The House of Salgaocar's had started a Marathi daily to counter the merger propaganda which was 'Rashtramat' with Chandrakant Keni as its editor, the anti-merger forces deliberately started a Marathi paper, as it was a strategy to win over the Hindus who were for Marathi and supported merger into Maharashtra.²⁰⁶ The Rashtramat newspaper had contributed during the opinion poll and in giving an answer to the supporters of Marathi.²⁰⁷ The Rashtramat newspaper came into existence because of the opinion poll and it was started in Margao.²⁰⁸ This newspaper had three objectives, one is opposition against the merger, secondly, statehood for Goa and lastly, Konkani as an independent language.²⁰⁹

Uday Bhembre, a prominent anti-mergerist who wrote a fiery column called as 'Brahmastra' in the Marathi daily Rashtramat, it emphasized the political and economic gains of those who were in favour of voting against the merger.²¹⁰ It exposed the dangers of merger, and it asserted that Marathi was the language of a class whereas Konkani was the language of the masses.²¹¹ The 'Navhind Times' and the 'Goa Today' promoted the anti-merger cause.²¹² The newspapers too were also divided in the support of merger and anti-merger cause. The newspapers that were in the support of anti-merger tried to

²⁰⁵ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 250.

²⁰⁶ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 250.

²⁰⁷ "Jaag," 18.

²⁰⁸ 'Jaag,' 18.

²⁰⁹ Dessai, "*Politics of*", 120.

²¹⁰ Parag D. Parobo, *India's First Democratic Revolution- Dayanand Bandodkar and the rise of Bahujan in Goa* (New Delhi: Orient BlackSwan Limited, 2015), 130.

²¹¹ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 250.

²¹² MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 250.

convince people about the dangers of merger while the newspapers that were in the support of merger tried to portray that the Goa would benefit from the merger issue.

3.3.4 Konkani Bhasha Mandal

Before the liberation of Goa, the Konkani movement for recognition of Konkani as the official language was being carried out on a minor scale and was not in a very well organised manner from Bombay, but at first the Konkani Bhasha Mandal was started in Bombay but the formation of a well-knit and properly founded organisation took place only after the liberation of Goa when the entire crew of active workers and true Konkani enthusiasts of the movement returned to the homeland.²¹³

The meetings of the Akil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad which had taken place before, it was now spread to Goa and for the first time, this meeting was held in Margao on May 26, 1962 after five months of Goa's liberation,²¹⁴ the Konkani Bhasha Mandal was set up in Margao by Pedru Correia Afonso.²¹⁵ The 8th conference of the Konkani writers and workers was held in 1962 at Margao under the banner of the KBM, Bombay, and Dr. Manohar Rai Sardesai had presided over the conference, and on this occasion he gave a slogan as "*Konkani Bhas Amchi Mai, Amchi Bhas Amkam Zai*" and expressed in confidence saying, '*Zait Atam Pais Nam*' which means that the victory is not very far.²¹⁶ Immediately thereafter Dr. Pedro Correia Afonso, the founder- president of the mandal was entrusted on the task of drafting the constitution of the KBM, Goa, it was then

²¹³Prakash Thali, "Konkani Bhasha Mandal completes 15 years," *Goa Today*, September, 1977, 23.

²¹⁴ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 222.

²¹⁵ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 24.

²¹⁶ Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

adopted on the 30th September 1962.²¹⁷ KBM started their work of creating a general Konkani awareness and tried its best for its introduction in schools, the inclusion of Konkani at the primary level as a medium of instruction was also sought.²¹⁸

In the year 1964, quite a few branches of the Mandal were spontaneously started in the cities as well as rural areas like Majorda, Chorao, Divar, after the opinion poll, the mandal was also partly responsible in getting Konkani introduced at the secondary level in high schools.²¹⁹ The KBM promoted primary education in Konkani and also supported the schools which were already existing and also had started one in Margao.²²⁰ The triumph of Goan people who were demanding recognition of Konkani and statehood in the opinion poll provided a very curious and strange paradox.²²¹

There were many dedicated Konkani supporters like Mr. Antonio da Piedade Moraes, Mr. Nagesh Karmali, Mr. Shantaram Valaulikar and a few others, the KBM branch in Panjim was very active and was organising literary discussions, poetry festivals and book exhibitions.²²² Chandrakanth Keni, editor of *Rashtramat* which had so heroically, valiantly and successfully fought the opinion poll, he took over the presidentship of the mandal in 1972 and was involved in infusing new life in the mandal which now started working vigorously.²²³ A monthly bulletin titled as ‘Konkani’ was started for all the

²¹⁷ Thali, “Konkani Bhasha,” 23.

²¹⁸ Thali, “Konkani Bhasha,” 23.

²¹⁹ Thali, “Konkani Bhasha,” 23.

²²⁰ Dessai, *Politics of*, 121.

²²¹ Thali, “Konkani Bhasha,” 23.

²²² Thali, “Konkani Bhasha,” 23.

²²³ Thali, “Konkani Bhasha,” 23.

Konkani speakers to know all the issues which were happening and he was mainly responsible for reshaping the constitution of the Mandal with progressive amendments.²²⁴

The Mandal was successful in gaining success of the hitherto anti-Konkani local government and during 1973- 1975 it had managed to obtain grants under the 5th Five Year Plan.²²⁵ The 10th All India Konkani Parishad was held in Goa in 1974 and the movement for getting the recognition of the Sahitya Akademi for Konkani gained momentum, it was late Dr. SunitiKumar Chatterji who provided the right push and the impetus for patronage of the Sahitya Akademi for Konkani.²²⁶

In fact, Sahitya Akademi had not taken the decision prematurely or hastily, the deliberations had been going on over four years, but the Marathi author-members on the General Council of the Akademi were determined to reverse the decision.²²⁷ However, in 1975 a delegation of Konkani Bhasha Mandal had gone to Delhi, and had met several people who mattered. and presented them with some Konkani books, this resulted in the Akademi confirming its earlier decision in recognising Konkani.²²⁸ Around this time in 1976, KBM also got Konkani introduced at the Secondary level right up to the tenth standard, also the Goa Kala Academy had conducted Konkani drama competitions for the first time while the KBM boosted the enthusiasm of the participating members.²²⁹

The KBM fought tirelessly to expose what it called 'misconception that Konkani was a boli' that is dialect of Marathi, it claimed that Konkani was a language on its own, it had

²²⁴ Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

²²⁵ Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

²²⁶ Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

²²⁷Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

²²⁸Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

²²⁹Thali, "Konkani Bhasha," 23.

its own grammar and vocabulary and it demanded the inclusion of Konkani in the VIII schedule of the Indian Constitution.²³⁰ This organisation had tried to create awareness among the Hindu and the Christian people.²³¹ It said that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi but is an independent language and because of this Konkani should be included in the 8th Schedule.²³² The KBM had worked very hard for the Konkani language and also had tried to introduce Konkani in schools.

3.4 Recognition by the Sahitya Academy

The Sahitya Academy was established on 15th December 1952 and was inaugurated on the 12th March 1954 and it had given recognition to the other languages.²³³ In 1964, Suniti Kumar Chatterji had called a meeting of the Sahitya Academy and had framed five guidelines for a language to get its recognition.²³⁴ There were requests made for the recognition of Konkani as well as other languages.²³⁵ According to Suniti Kumar Chatterji, 90% of the Goan speak Konkani which means that Konkani is the language of Goa, and also said that Konkani is not a dialect of any language and will get recognition as a language.²³⁶ Suniti Kumar Chatterji was the president of the Sahitya Akademi.²³⁷

The Konkani protagonists had attempted to seek recognition for the Konkani language from the Sahitya Akademi as a modern Indian literary language.²³⁸ The recognition of Konkani by Sahitya Akademi became a very sensitive issue and also had opposition from

²³⁰ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 251.

²³¹ “Jaag,” 18.

²³² “Jaag,” 18.

²³³ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 218.

²³⁴ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 219.

²³⁵ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 220.

²³⁶ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 233.

²³⁷ Dessai, “*Politics of*, 126.

²³⁸ Dessai, “*Politics of*, 126.

the Marathi language representatives in the Akademi and there were no Konkani speaking person in the Akademi who would try to convince the members regarding the Konkani case.²³⁹ Ravindra Kelekar and Uday Bhembre were the main lobbyists and Dr. Chatterji was totally in favour of the recognition for the Konkani language and almost had promised in the 10th Konkani parishad, in the first meeting in 1974, the recognition was postponed but in 1975, the request for the recognition was considered favorably due to the forceful plea of Dr. Chatterji.²⁴⁰

On 26th February 1975, the Sahitya Academy recognised Konkani as a separate and as an independent language,²⁴¹ this news was spread through the Akash Vani radio,²⁴² taking its honoured place among the other then 18 languages of India.²⁴³ When New Delhi gave recognition to Konkani, there was no mention of its script in the minutes, excerpts from the meeting of the General Council of the Sahitya Akademi held on February 26, 1975 and Konkani was given recognition based on the fulfillment of the criteria put forth by the Akademi for the recognition of a language, it was recognised as an independent modern literary language of India.²⁴⁴

On November 21, 1981, the Advisory Board of Konkani, which consisted of a majority of Devanagari proponents, recommended that Devanagari should be the script for Konkani, since then, Sahitya Akademi has accepted Devanagari script as the official script of

²³⁹ Dessai, *"Politics of*, 127.

²⁴⁰ Dessai, *"Politics of*, 127.

²⁴¹ S.B Kulkarni, *The Konkani language: Nature and Tradition*, trans. Srinivas Kamat (Panaji: Goa Konkani Akademi, 2010), 24; Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 245.

²⁴² Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 245.

²⁴³ Alfred Braganza, *Goa- History and Culture* (Panjim: Third Millennium, 2017), 67.

²⁴⁴ Savio Abreu and Rudolf Heredia, eds. *Goa 2011 Reviewing and Recovering Fifty Years* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 106.

Konkani.²⁴⁵ Konkani speakers, writers and leaders of various scripts were not consulted for such a major decision, there was no public debate to come to a consensus on this important issue of the script.²⁴⁶

3.5 Stand of Political Parties

The elections in 1984, were seen as crucial for the Konkani language leaders to get their demands recognised, that is Konkani as the official language and inclusion of Konkani in the 8th schedule of the Indian Constitution.²⁴⁷ These were the election manifestos issued for assembly and parliament election in November 1984, most of these parties wanted Konkani to be included in the 8th schedule of the Indian constitution and the grant for statehood for the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.²⁴⁸

3.5.1 The Goa, Daman and Diu Pradesh Congress (I)

The Goa, Daman and Diu Pradesh Congress (I) committee manifesto included statehood and language.²⁴⁹ The congress party believed that Konkani is the majority language of this territory and is spoken in almost every Goan home.²⁵⁰ The policy of the Congress (I) government was that it would work for the growth of Konkani on scientific lines and for its inclusion in the 8th schedule of the constitution and also had decided to set up a Konkani Academy in Goa and it would also take care of the other two languages of Goa that is Marathi and Gujarati.²⁵¹

²⁴⁵ Abreu and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 106.

²⁴⁶ Abreu and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 106.

²⁴⁷ Dessai, "*Politics of*", 132.

²⁴⁸ Marc De Souza, *Goa's Official Language* (Panaji: Casa J.D. Fernandes, 1986), 12.

²⁴⁹ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 13.

²⁵⁰ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 13.

²⁵¹ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 13.

3.5.2 The Goa Congress

The Goa Congress manifesto was statehood and for Konkani to be made as the official language and its inclusion in the 8th schedule of the constitution.²⁵² This party believed that the Opinion poll in 1967 did not achieve the aim of a separate state for this territory within the Indian Union.²⁵³ The mother tongue of the Goans is Konkani and it should be included in the eighth schedule of the constitution and Konkani must therefore form the basis of a separate state for this territory.²⁵⁴ This party had assured that every linguistic section of our population will be given the opportunity for free and full development of their language.²⁵⁵

3.5.3 The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak party

The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party was founded in March 1963.²⁵⁶ The Maharashtrawadi Gomantak party's manifesto was statehood and wanted equal status for Marathi and Konkani in order to bring greater harmony and cooperation among people of Goa.²⁵⁷ After their loss in the opinion poll, the issue of merger was closed down and this was affirmed by the party and even the party's constitution had been amended to that effect.²⁵⁸ As per the article of the amendment of the constitution it mentions that the MGP party shall strive for Statehood for the Union territory of Go, Daman and Diu and

²⁵² De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 14.

²⁵³ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 14.

²⁵⁴ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 14.

²⁵⁵ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 14.

²⁵⁶ Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment," 4.

²⁵⁷ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 15.

²⁵⁸ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 15.

believed that Marathi and Konkani are the languages of Goans and Gujarati is the language of people of Daman and Diu.²⁵⁹

3.5.4 The Janata Party

The Janata party's manifesto was Statehood and the inclusion of Konkani to be included in the eighth Schedule.²⁶⁰ Statehood is the legitimate demand of the Goans and was committed to the inclusion of Konkani in the 8th schedule.²⁶¹ This party was committed to the inclusion of Konkani in the 8th schedule and to achieve statehood for the Goan people with the active cooperation of all.²⁶²

3.6 The Konkani Movement

3.6.1 The Beginning of the Movement

The Konkani agitation was started on July 1985 and ended on 4th February 1987 with the recognition of Konkani as the official language of Goa, and it took place for 555 days.²⁶³

There were writers who used to carry out their work in support of Konkani in the form of programmes in literature and the leadership was taken by Pundalik Naik, there were also other writers who came in support of this programmes, they were held at different places and also had faced opposition from the Marathi supporters.²⁶⁴

²⁵⁹ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 15.

²⁶⁰ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 16.

²⁶¹ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 16.

²⁶² De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 16.

²⁶³ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 19.

²⁶⁴ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 39- 43.

In 1978, an organisation called as Udentī Sakal was established, where the Konkani supporters used to carry out their work and also had faced opposition in their work.²⁶⁵ The Konkani supporters used to carry out their programmes under the organisation Udentī Sakal, they used to carry these programmes in the T. B. Cunha Hall in Panjim under the guidance of KBM and the leadership was given to Nagesh Karmali.²⁶⁶ With the work going on under the Udentī Sakal, Pundalik Naik tried to establish another organisation called as the Rangasangati which consisted of the youth, it was established on 28th March 1979.²⁶⁷ Navprabhat was the newspaper where Sanjiv Verekar and Uday Bhembre used to note down the incidents which were taking place against the Konkani language, but the editor of this newspaper was Lakshmi Das Borkar and after him was Suresh Valve, while Gomantak was the newspaper which was in support of Marathi.²⁶⁸

In the elections of 1980, the MGP party had lost and the congress government had taken power, while in 1984, the congress party had made a promise to make Konkani as the official language, but promises are never fulfilled during elections, so there was a need for a person in the assembly who was in favour and was supporting Konkani, as a result people wanted Luizinho Faleiro who was the MLA of the congress party and Uday Bhembre to stand for elections.²⁶⁹

On 31st March 1982, MLA Herculano Dourado had put before the petition to make Konkani as the official language, but there was a lot of discussion on this bill, on 14th January 1983, again there was discussion on this matter and opposition was brought by

²⁶⁵ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 49- 51.

²⁶⁶ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 52.

²⁶⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 53.

²⁶⁸ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 56.

²⁶⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 93- 95.

Ramakant Khalap, but Dourado had made a statement that there is no need to revise this bill but wanted to rethink on the bill, Khalap tried to oppose Konkani and as a result the Government did not approve this bill.²⁷⁰ On 19th July 1985, a bill was passed to make Konkani as the official language under Uday Bhembre and MLA Luizinho Faleiro.²⁷¹

Babli Naik a strong believer in Konkani, met Cardoz and Uday Bhembre, Barat and Babli discussed how to bring people together, While Dhillip Borkar, Ravindra Kelekar, Gurunath Kelekar and others reached Savoi-Verem to carry out a Morcha, on July 23rd it was decided in the meeting that on 29th July, to carry out a Morcha in Panjim which included Poets, Writers, Artists, Tiatrists and others.²⁷² Luizinho Faleiro, MLA of Goa Congress had made the arrangement for the Morcha, the day had arrived and there were many people who had joined the Morcha such as Pundalik Naik, Hema Naik, Sanjiv Verenkar, Prakash Naik, Mahesh Naik, Tukaram Shet, Uday Bhembre, Christopher Fonsco, and others, the total number of people were 230.²⁷³ They were giving slogans as to make Konkani the official language, but they were stopped by the police and were taken in their vans to Altinho, on reaching there, they tried to hold a meeting.²⁷⁴

Luizinho Faleiro tried to obtain permission to establish institutions, Kendr, and it was approved in the assembly, later on, before giving Konkani its due status on 4th February 1986, the Goa Konkani Academy was established and this academy was firm until its goal was achieved.²⁷⁵ In 1985 the Goa government had founded the Goa Konkani Akademi, whose chief objective was to bring about development of Konkani language,

²⁷⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 99.

²⁷¹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 101.

²⁷² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 102.

²⁷³ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 103.

²⁷⁴ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 105- 107.

²⁷⁵ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 100.

literature and culture and also to promote cultural unity of the state through Konkani language and literature.²⁷⁶ The GKA started actually functioning from 1986; it was filled with proponents of Devanagari and they interpreted Konkani as Konkani written in Devanagari script.²⁷⁷

In 1979, the KBM worked for the extension and development of the language spoken by about 90% of all Goans.²⁷⁸ The people's democratic front also supported Konkani, in march, on the streets of Panjim, calling for anti- government demonstrations, the front said that the Konkani language which is the language of all the people of this territory should be the prime criterion while granting employment both in the public and private sectors, so that preference is given to the people of Goa.²⁷⁹

3.6.2 The Konkani Porjecho Avaz

In 1985, the Konkani supporters came together and formed the Konkani Porjecho Avaz under Pundalik Naik, and the first meeting of this organisation took place in Sanquelim.²⁸⁰ The KPA was founded and a memorandum was submitted to the government on September 10, 1985, it was a non-political committed to a non-violent approach and its leaders sought the co-operation of all political parties in the achievement

²⁷⁶ Abreu and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 107.

²⁷⁷ Abreu and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 107.

²⁷⁸ Robert Newman, "The Struggle for a Goan Identity". In *The Transforming of Goa*, edited by Norman Dantas (Mapusa: The Other India press, 1999), 30; Newman, Robert. S. *Of Umbrellas, Goddesses and Dreams* (Mapusa: Other Indian Press, 2001), 69.

²⁷⁹ Newman, *Of Umbrellas*, 69; Newman, "The Struggle", 31.

²⁸⁰ Anivesha Singhal, "60th Vardapan Dis', *Konkani Bhasha Mandal*, 2022, 4.

of their goals.²⁸¹ Members of the KPA committee were professional lawyers, doctors, writers and businessmen.²⁸² The KPA was formed essentially to put a pressure on the government to take action on the promises which were made by the Congress during elections.²⁸³ The KPA was not given the shape of a statutory registered organisation but it was allowed to grow as a public agitation.²⁸⁴ KPA through its meetings in towns and villages stressed the constitutional privileges and economic benefits and constitutional privileges and economic benefits of Konkani.²⁸⁵

On 31st August 1985, a meeting was held in Margao, and the KPA was established under the leadership of Pundalik Naik, Pundalik with an aim to give Konkani its due status, had left his job on the Akash Vani and this had made an impression on the people, he kept aside his writing work and totally focused on the agitation, and to bring the Tiatrists together the work was done by Tomazinho and Roseferns.²⁸⁶

On 10th September 1985, under the leadership of Pundalik Naik, had put the petition for Konkani as the official language, statehood and the inclusion of Konkani in the 8th schedule.²⁸⁷ The Congress in Goa supported Konkani but Pratap Singh Rane was not ready to bring the bill in the assembly, he feared that this bill might bring problems for the state, as a result the KPA had given three months to the Rane government to bring in the bill.²⁸⁸ On 11th October, the editor of Gomantak printed in the newspaper that the

²⁸¹ Siqueira, Judith. "Role of women in Goa Konkani agitation". *Economic and Political Weekly*, no. 50, (1987): 2.

²⁸² Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

²⁸³ Dessai, "*Politics of*, 134.

²⁸⁴ Dessai, "*Politics of*, 134.

²⁸⁵ Dessai, "*Politics of*, 137.

²⁸⁶ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 109.

²⁸⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 109.

²⁸⁸ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 110.

government was trying to give Konkani its rightful place, while Narayan Rao Attvale who was the editor of the Gomantak said that if Konkani is made the official language, then Marathi should be given the same status.²⁸⁹ On 12th September, the Marathi supporters organised a meeting in support of Marathi as the official language, the agitation of Marathi used to take place under the leadership of Narayan Attvale.²⁹⁰

There were two newspapers which were in the support of Konkani which were O'Herald and Rashtramat and Nave Goyem was the newspaper which discussed about the Christian community.²⁹¹ Konkani is the only official language and its importance was spread among the Hindu people through the Rashtramat newspaper, and to bring a division among the Goan people because of Marathi was done by Gomantak, and as result Rane government was not trying to bring in the bill.²⁹² During the movement also, there were newspapers which were in support of the Konkani language.

A meeting was organised in Panjim where various speakers, mostly from the MGP, had made demands that Marathi should be made the official language of Goa.²⁹³ Also the Goa Pradesh Congress committee convened a meeting of the party MLA's and executive members as well as MPs to take into consideration the official language question.²⁹⁴ At this meeting it was decided that Konkani should be made the official language of Goa but with provision for use of Marathi in any official matter to be specified, it was also

²⁸⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 110.

²⁹⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 112.

²⁹¹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 113.

²⁹² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 113- 114.

²⁹³ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 10.

²⁹⁴ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 10.

decided that Gujarati should be used in the overland districts of Daman and Diu, all this happened in September 1985.²⁹⁵

3.6.3 Women's Contribution

Chitrangit was an association of women Konkani writers in Goa, they took an active part in this agitation in promoting Konkani as the official language of Goa.²⁹⁶ The women's wing of Konkani writers was called as Chitrangit and it was started in 1980 by Hema Naik, a writer in Konkani, who is also the wife of a Konkani writer-Pundalik Naik.²⁹⁷

The contribution of the women towards the Konkani literature, such as Vijayabhai Sarmalkar, Sheela Kolbakar, Meena Kakodkar, Jaymala Dayanand and Hema Naik, while Hema Naik was the one who had tried to bring the women together, to bring them on a single platform.²⁹⁸ In 1982, she had tried to put a pandal in front of her house where the first women's literature group called as the Chitrangit was formed, all this gave an inspiration for the new writers.²⁹⁹ In 1985, many women came forward to support this agitation, after this there were other groups formed by many women and all these groups were an important component in the Konkani language movement.³⁰⁰

To come to the aid of the KPA for the cause of Konkani, was Chitrangit, who provided support and service to the KPA, and acted as a link between the KPA and the mass of women, right till December 1986.³⁰¹ Large numbers of women took to the streets shouting slogans and expressing their anger at the neglect and even suppression of *Avoi*

²⁹⁵ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 10.

²⁹⁶ Siqueira, "Role of, 1-3.

²⁹⁷ Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

²⁹⁸ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 87.

²⁹⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 88.

³⁰⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 88.

³⁰¹ Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

Bash, braving lathis in ruthlessly hurled at them, and also had joined in a chain hunger strike.³⁰² The initiative for the Konkani agitation, the reaction of the KPA to the chief minister when the bill in July 1985 was dismissed, had called for a Morcha.³⁰³

Members of Chitrangit and KPA believe in the equality of men and women. However, Chitrangit women were excluded from policy and decision-making meetings of the KPA.³⁰⁴ The KPA were Hindu and Catholic male writers of Konkani, catholic writers used the Roman script and Hindu writers the Devnagari script.³⁰⁵ Women in Chitrangit said that they participated in the agitation for Konkani because it is the *Avoi Bash'* (mother tongue) and to preserve their cultural identity.³⁰⁶

3.7 Nature of the Movement

3.7.1 KPA vs MRBPS

As a reaction to the formation of the KPA, the Marathi Rajiya Bhasha Prastapan Samiti was set up under the leadership of P.P. Shirodkar, Shashikant Narvekar and Ramakant Khalap, MLA, with full support of the MGP and some leaders of the Congress also.³⁰⁷ KPA was for Konkani as the sole official language and MRBPS for Marathi as the sole official language, both the groups finally accepted consideration of both the languages with some differences.³⁰⁸ The KPA was for Konkani as the sole official language but with the provision that Marathi could be used for specific official purposes while the MRBPS

³⁰² Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

³⁰³ Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

³⁰⁴ Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

³⁰⁵ Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

³⁰⁶ Siqueira, "Role of, 2.

³⁰⁷ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 10.

³⁰⁸ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 11.

stands for both Marathi and Konkani as equal official languages.³⁰⁹ Both these parties were divided between the stand of Konkani and Marathi.

3.7.2 Meetings

The Marathi supporters had tried to organise meeting in support of Marathi, if both Konkani and Marathi are made the official languages, then there will be a divide between the people.³¹⁰ The Marathi people had a meeting on the Azad maidan to counteract them, the KPA also tried to hold a meeting on the Azad maidan on 14th November 1985.³¹¹ All these meetings had tried to make their base strong of both the parties that is the Konkani and the Marathi supporters.

On 14th November in Panjim a meeting was decided to be held by the KPA, where it was estimated that one lakh people will be gathered, on 10th November Luizinho Faleiro had organised a meeting on the Lohia Maidan in Margao and in this meeting, Pundalik Naik, Advocate Uday Bhemre, Luizinho Faleiro, Mauvin Godinho, Wilfred Dsouza, Datta Naik, and many others were present and had made speeches to make this protest strong, Tomazinho Cardozo and S. Dsilva sang a song based on the Goan Identity while Avertano Furtado who was in Kuwait who tried to hold a meeting there and also had sent a petition to the Rane government in terms of Konkani as the official language.³¹² On the 14th November, people had come through buses and tempos to Panjim and there were almost 75 thousand people who had gathered at this place and if the demands were not fulfilled then the outcome would be problematic as said by the KPA, the international pop singers

³⁰⁹ De Souza, *Goa's Official*, 11.

³¹⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 118.

³¹¹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 119.

³¹² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 121.

namely Remi Fernandes, M. Boyer, Jacinto Vaz, Alfred rose and Shankar Bhandari had sung at this meeting.³¹³

On 18th March 1986, a meeting of the Congress took place, all the ministers had given approval for the Konkani to be the official language except minister Venkat Desai, but there were some people who tried to take the issue of the bill further such as Vasu Paik Gaonkar, Shabu Bandodkar and Subhash Shirodkar were the ones, along with Konkani they also wanted Marathi as well.³¹⁴ On 24th March, a Morcha was organised but the police had tried to stop them and had taken them in their vans on the Campal ground, and, a meeting was held on the Campal ground.³¹⁵ From 31st March onwards MLA Uday Bhemre decided to keep a bandh in Goa, the people tried to break the glasses of the vans of the police, as a result of this, the South Goan ministers decided to stay in Panjim only, as a result the police were called.³¹⁶

As the KPA on 31st March had decided to go for a bandh in Goa, and if there was a bandh in Goa, then all the shops would be closed down and it will stop the foreigners from coming in Goa, Rane along with Uday Bhemre and Luizinho Faleiro tried to normalize the situation but the supporters of Konkani did not accept it.³¹⁷ On the other side the Marathi supporters were not ready to accept Konkani but Marathi. Since the KPA were going for bandh in Goa as a result the government called upon the reserved police from

³¹³ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 123.

³¹⁴ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 142- 143.

³¹⁵ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 143.

³¹⁶ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 143- 144.

³¹⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 145.

Karnataka and Maharashtra, on 27th March KPA, MGP, Goa Congress and others took a meeting and started discussing about this issue.³¹⁸

3.7.3 Hunger Strike

On 17th January, Datta, Dilip Borkar and Dominic Diniz went for a hunger strike in Panjim on the Azad maidan, many Konkani supporters came, their health was deteriorating and as a result the government had taken them to the hospitals but they were firm and were not ready to give up as long as the bill was passed.³¹⁹ On 21st January, thousands of people gathered in Panjim and wanted to carry on their Morcha peacefully, but suddenly they were attacked by stones, the youth leader of KPA Siril Pacheco also was beaten up with the lathis.³²⁰ Again there were hunger strikes in the Azad maidan and this maidan came to be known as Kendr of Konkani, the injured were taken to the hospital, while the photographer of the O'Herald newspaper was also beaten up.³²¹

Under the leadership of Datta naik, Ashok Boslo, Damodar Ghanekar and Cyril Pacheco entered the Goa Kala Academy when the chief minister Rane was speaking but the police tried to put them out, the KPA had given a call regarding the official language to be reached to the authorities.³²² On 12th March 1986, the leader of Pradesh Congress Sulochana Katkar along with minister Francis Sardin, Dr. Barbosa, Sheikh Hasan Harun and others went to Delhi to discuss about the issue of Konkani to the vice president Arjun

³¹⁸Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 146.

³¹⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 135.

³²⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 136- 137.

³²¹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 137- 139.

³²² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 140.

Singh and the person in charge of Goa R. L. Bhatia, they tried to explain them the situation in Goa.³²³

3.8 Forms of protest

On 13th April, it was decided that Konkani alone to be made the official language and Marathi to be also given a place which was decided by the Congress General Secretary and Batya who declared it in Delhi.³²⁴ Sulochana Katkar on 27th June presented before Rajiv Gandhi the petition of the official language and if this is not solved then it would lead to problems.³²⁵ On 5th July the news had come that the Mandovi bridge had collapsed and so all the attention was focused on that, but by evening the news had spread that Konkani was approved.³²⁶

Dr. Jalmi, Advocate Babuso Gaonkar and advocate Khalap tried to influence the people, the Marathi supporters from Marcel, Banasterim rose to fight, and on 11th July, 1986, the Marathi supporters had burnt two Kadamba buses and some government vehicles on the Banasterim bridge.³²⁷ The pipe lines were also destroyed and there was problem of water, within night the reserved police had reached Goa, the Marathi people are trying to break the Banasterim bridge, this news had reached the chief minister, as a result the police with their arms were standing on the bridge.³²⁸

³²³Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 142.

³²⁴Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 146.

³²⁵Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 146.

³²⁶Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 146- 147.

³²⁷Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 146- 147.

³²⁸Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 147.

3.8.1 Morcha

On 14th July, 1986, the Marathi supporters carried a Morcha and tried to attack the Konkani supporters, the work which was done by the KPA for Konkani the same was carried on by the Marathi supporters.³²⁹ The bill which was approved was then rejected was put for reconsideration and this was done by eight Marathi people³³⁰ Shashikala Kakodkar and Ramakant Khalap, both of them supported Marathi.³³¹

On 16th July, the Marathi supporters again tried to hold a Morcha, on 6th August the KPA thought that the bill would come and before that on 4th June it was approved to give statehood for Goa in the assembly, but if Konkani doesn't become the official language, then there was no meaning in getting statehood as per KPA.³³² On 24th July 1986, Pundalik Naik, convenor of the KPA, MGP and Mr. Rane were actively colluding with the Samyukta Seema Samiti, the group which led the Belgaum agitation, to realise the Vishal Gomantak in the Garb of language agitation, this Vishal Gomantak had the support of Shiv Sena chief Bal Keshav Thackeray and other Maharashtrians.³³³

3.8.2 Rallies

On July 29th 1986, a massive rally of an estimated 25 thousand Konkani supporters demanded that the Chief minister, Pratap Singh Rane, should make an announcement that the official language bill would be passed in its original form, before the bill comes up for a discussion on August 6th, the KPA also had announced to gherao MLA's opposing the

³²⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 148.

³³⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 148.

³³¹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 147.

³³² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 149.

³³³ Herald Reporters, "KPA warns of Vishal Gomantak plot", *Herald*, July 25, 1986, 1.

official language bill in its present form.³³⁴ There were a large number of youths and women who had come from different parts of the territory, there was mild rainfall but the people were listening to the speeches during the rally.³³⁵ Majority of the shops were closed down while the rally was going on but later on the shops were opened.³³⁶ If an announcement by the CM was not forthcoming, then the Konkani protagonists said that they will stage another rally on August 6 to force the congress (I) legislature party to honour its commitments on Konkani, but if a resolution was passed that if dual language bill was passed then the Konkani people would have never accepted it.³³⁷

Congress (I) MLA's J. B. Gonsalves, Dr. Sripad Cuncolinecar, Manu Fernandes, Simon D'Souza and Monte Cruz were present at the rally and addressed it, it also included the leaders of the Konkani movement Independent Uday Bhemre and Goa Congress Luizinho Faleiro and also Mauvin Godinho.³³⁸ The rally was peaceful, except there were some stones being thrown near the cine national in the city which provoked a small lathi charge, most of the shops and the municipal market remained closed.³³⁹

Pundalik Naik stressed that the main consideration for the struggle for the Konkani language was the plight of the 50,000 Goan youth, who were still languishing in the rolls of the employment Exchange in Goa, he illustrated this, with an example of the recent recruitment of 9 mamlatdars in the Goa administration, all of whom he said were

³³⁴ Herald Reporters, "Massive rally serves ultimatum", *Herald*, July 30, 1986, 1; Staff reporter, "Massive rally supports Konkani", *The Navind Times*, July 30, 1986, 1.

³³⁵ Reporter, "Massive rally, 1.

³³⁶ Reporter, "Massive rally, 1.

³³⁷ Reporters, "Massive rally, 1.

³³⁸ Reporters, "Massive rally, 1.

³³⁹ Reporters, "Massive rally, 1.

invariably from outside Goa, we must fight so that our own people get employment and their rightful place in the administration of Goa.³⁴⁰

The following resolutions were taken at the rally, firstly, that Konkani alone should be the official language of Goa and the present bill should be passed as it is, secondly that the Konkani supporters will never accept equal status for Marathi along with Konkani, thirdly that the Konkani people will never accept Vishal Gomantak and that if a dual language bill is passed, it will never be accepted by the Konkani people and they will oppose it.³⁴¹ Mauvin Godinho said that the youth must be ready to make any sacrifices on the altar of Konkani, Churchill Alemao sounded a note of warning to the Goa government saying that if the language bill was not passed on August 8, there would be no more government left in Goa, Bharat Naik and Tomazinho Cardozo compered the rally.³⁴²

3.8.3 Aggressive means of protest

On 17th August 1986, a Morcha was organised in Ponda, which included the people of Vasco as well.³⁴³ Since the Marathi supporters tried to uproar against the Konkani supporters, as a result the supporters of Konkani had decided to kill the Hindu people with knives, Vasco was in terror, there was a road block, stones were thrown and there was a lot of destruction, the police had beaten up the people from both the sides that is the Marathi as well as the Konkani supporters, and they were taken to the hospitals.³⁴⁴

The news of the decision taken by the Konkani people to kill the Hindus had spread to youth of the Nav Jawan Bharat and they tried to visit the Christians as well as the Hindus

³⁴⁰ Reporters, "Massive rally, 1.

³⁴¹ Reporters, "Massive rally, 1.

³⁴² Reporters, "Massive rally, 1.

³⁴³ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 152.

³⁴⁴ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 152.

saying that this was not a religious protest and held meetings, the Nav Jawan Kendr was in Vasco, Same things like this had happened in Benaulim and Shiroda, if the Konkani Porjecho Avaz on 6th was not pushed forward then there would have been bloodshed.³⁴⁵

In the 3rd week of August, the people of Benaulim had blocked the roads by laying stones, the stones laid by the Konkani supporters on the roads were removed by the reserved police but again the Konkani supporters used to place it back on the roads.³⁴⁶ The CRPF police tried to beat the Christian people in their houses as a result the people rose to fight, these police also started throwing stones on the houses of the Hindus.³⁴⁷ The Nav Jawan Bharat had tried to put fire to the Kadamba bus in Chicalim when one police officer named Bhandodkar tried to stop the meetings held by them, and to stop the fight between the Christian and the Hindus was done by the Nav Jawan Bharat.³⁴⁸ The Marathi supporters tried to put obstacles in Ponda and Vasco.³⁴⁹ On 19th December the KPA proposed that if before the celebration of liberation of Goa on its 25th anniversary, if the bill is not passed then they will boycott the silver jubilee celebrations of Goa's liberation and Shigmo and carnival.³⁵⁰ He warned that if the Rane government fails to fulfill its promise on this issue then the KPA would be forced to launch a more direct and aggressive campaign.³⁵¹ The Konkani supporters were firm in their demands made and wanted the Rane government to pass the bill before 19th December.

³⁴⁵ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 152.

³⁴⁶ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 153.

³⁴⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 153- 154.

³⁴⁸ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 154.

³⁴⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 154.

³⁵⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 155; Bolshoi, "The Fight for Konkani as official language". *Herald*, July 18, 1986, 5; Moras, *Konkani Challvolla*, 263.

³⁵¹ Bolshoi. "The Fight", 5.

On 29th November 1986, in Panjim, the inauguration of the Akash Vani tower was going to take place and the state minister Ajit Panjya had come to Goa for this inauguration along with him state minister Eduardo Faleiro and this celebration was to be held in the Goa Kala Academy.³⁵² During this celebration the Konkani supporters voiced out, which included the P.A.S and Nav Jawan Bharat, they started waving black flags and shouting as a result the police beat them with the lathis, Pundalik Naik and some 22 people were injured here, Ashok Bhoslo was dragged and beaten up, since the people had beaten up the Konkani supporters, they tried to block the roads in Agassaim and Cortalim.³⁵³ Since Rane was not ready to make Konkani the official language, KPA members tried to make the agitation even more stronger and the consequences would be faced by the Rane government,³⁵⁴

On December 2nd 1986, the South Goa bandh call given by the KPA evoked a mixed response. Shops were shut down, while at Margao and other places in South it was partial with nearly half of all the shops staying open.³⁵⁵ On 5th December 1986, the prime minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi assured Dr. Proto Barbosa and Mr. Mauvin Godinho that the Congress high command and the Centre continued to be committed to the official language bill in the legislative assembly of Goa, Daman and Diu in the last session and Goa would be given statehood before the end of the year 1986.³⁵⁶

On 16th December 1986, the KPA had demanded that all the MLA's to profess to support the cause of Konkani must resign from the assembly by December 18, if no concrete

³⁵² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 155- 156.

³⁵³ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 156.

³⁵⁴ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 156.

³⁵⁵ Reporters, "The Fight", 5.

³⁵⁶ Reporters, "The Fight", 5.

steps were taken by the government to fulfill the twin aspirations of Konkani and Statehood.³⁵⁷ On 17th December under Pundalik Naik, ten members had visited Dona Paula in the Raj Bhavan and met the president and discussed about Konkani and Statehood.³⁵⁸ There were meetings held by the KPA regarding the bill which was passed earlier, to be forwarded without any changes and would be declared before 19th December, 1986.³⁵⁹

On 19th December 1986, Since the government was not ready to fulfill the wishes of Konkani and statehood, the Konkani people from south goa took the law in their hand.³⁶⁰ Problems were created in Margao on the Lohia Maidan while hoisting the national flag and the flag fell down, the people took in their hands the agitation which the KPA was taking forward, the people tried to block the roads, stones were thrown on the government buildings and the motorbikes were broken, and the mostly affected were Margao, Mormugao and Ponda and as a result, the reserved police were brought and placed on every road.³⁶¹

On 20th December, a fight took place in Margao between the Konkani supporters and the police, the Gujarat police had shot fire to a 22-year-old boy named Floriano Vaz from Gogol and this was the first sacrifice, hotels and shops were closed down.³⁶² There was a shortage of the police and within night Delhi police were brought in, after Floriano Vaz had shot dead another incident happened, on the next day in the evening, at Mandur, Dongrim another 7 people had lost their lives and were Christians, but the only thought

³⁵⁷ Reporters, "The Fight", 5.

³⁵⁸ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 156- 158.

³⁵⁹ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 292.

³⁶⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 156- 158.

³⁶¹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 158.

³⁶² Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 158- 159.

in the minds of the people was that Konkani should be made the official language.³⁶³ Business had come to a standstill, also the railway tracks were broken and as a result the railway station was closed, the travelers in Goa were stuck, also the national highway was in their control, also during Christmas on 24th the prayers did not take place in some places, the Margao market was also closed.³⁶⁴

On 21 December 1986, the army staged a flag March in Margao city and a platoon of the CRPF from New Delhi was rushed to Goa as the situation had deteriorated on the fourth day of the Konkani agitation. 2 people were killed and over 30 were injured in clashes between two groups at Mandur, Dongrim.³⁶⁵ On 23rd December 1986, spontaneous protest had entered the fifth day with central, eastern and south Goa to be paralysed and major incidents were reported from North Goa for the first time.³⁶⁶

On 31st December 1986, to show that the Hindu people are in the support of Konkani, the Goa Hindu association under Babli Naik, Advocate Amol Navlekar and Advocate Raju Mangeshkar organised a procession in Panjim. This procession included 300 Hindu people.³⁶⁷ The thing which were taking place, as a result Dr. Luis Proto Barbosa, Francis Sardin, Sheikh Hassan Haroon and Harish Zantay gave their resignation and also Sulochana Katkar and Mauvin Godinho also gave their resignation but it was not granted.³⁶⁸ The fight in Margao started again on 27th December, the roads from Margao to Canacona were blocked, on the other side the blocks were removed by the police but again the Konkani supporters used to put it back, Since the Margao market was closed

³⁶³ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 159; Gomes, *Concise History*, 335.

³⁶⁴ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 159- 160.

³⁶⁵ Reporters, "The Fight", 6.

³⁶⁶ Reporters, "The Fight", 6.

³⁶⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 160.

³⁶⁸ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 161.

down there was a loss of money, an attempt was made by the writer from Margao Datta Naik, helped to open the shops.³⁶⁹

3.9 The Official Language Act

In July 1986, Luizinho Faleiro, had moved a private member's bill in making Konkani as the territory's official language, this was an attempt to embarrass the Rane government and enhance his party's weak electoral position.³⁷⁰ On 4th July 1986, it was agreed upon that Konkani is to be the official language and Marathi will get a status agreeable to all kinds of opinion as per the agreement that reached between the Congress-I high command and the Goa cabinet in Delhi, and one suggestion was that Marathi should be given an associate language status.³⁷¹ On 4th February 1987, Konkani was given the sole official status though the bill allowed Marathi to be used at the discretion of the administrator, but neither the supporters of Marathi or Konkani were satisfied, but the common man felt that justice was done.³⁷²

On July 4th, 1986, it was decided to formally put its seal on the approval on the official language formula approved by the High Command in Delhi and PM Rajiv Gandhi.³⁷³ But there was no official version about the language formula coming from the CM Rane and GPCC- I president Sulochana Katkar, the formula envisages that Konkani alone with Devnagari script is to be adopted as the official language of the Union Territory while Marathi would receive patronage in Government publications and correspondence except

³⁶⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 161.

³⁷⁰ Rubinoff, "Goa's Attainment," 4.

³⁷¹ Staff Reporter, "Konkani likely to be the official language", *The Navhind times*, July 4, 1986, 1.

³⁷² Newman, "*The Struggle*", 33.

³⁷³ Staff Reporter, "Konkani likely", 1.

publication in official Gazette.³⁷⁴ Also in case of Gujarati for Daman and Diu.³⁷⁵ On 4th August 1986, the Union minister of Goa Mr. Gulam Nabi Azad and Mr. R.L. Bhatia, AICC-I, General Secretary had held discussions with the CM Pratapsingh Rane, Cabinet ministers, GPCC- I President Sulochana Katkar and opposition MLAs on the question of the official language within the Congress- I Legislature Party on the language question.³⁷⁶

On 30th December in the afternoon, to show how many ministers were supporting Rane, had called a meeting but only 22 ministers turned towards him, Rajiv Gandhi had taken the matter of Goa into seriousness, On 22nd January 1987, Rajiv Gandhi declared to give Marathi some privilege and the bill would be passed in February, On 24th January, Rane along with the news reporters spread this news.³⁷⁷ On 2nd February 1986, Chief minister Pratap Singh Rane had given a notice in writing to the speaker Dayanand Narvekar requesting him to schedule for discussion during the forthcoming session of the official language bill that was introduced at the last session of the legislative assembly.³⁷⁸

On knowing that on 4th February the bill will be passed, the Konkani supporters tried to make preparation to come to Panjim, and to prepare the bill the Goa Congress minister Dr. Wilfred D'Souza had also contributed.³⁷⁹ On 4th February, there were police standing around the assembly building, R. L. Bhatia and minister Chintamani Panigrahi had arrived in Goa, from Canacona to Pernem, the Konkani supporters had arrived in Panjim, the session had taken place in the Adil shahi palace where within 5 minutes the

³⁷⁴ Staff Reporter, "Konkani likely", 1.

³⁷⁵ Staff Reporter, "Konkani likely", 1.

³⁷⁶ Staff Reporter, "Language Bill", *The Navhind Times*, 5 August, 1986, 1.

³⁷⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 161- 162.

³⁷⁸ Reporters, "The Fight", 6.

³⁷⁹ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 163.

government had approved the language bill.³⁸⁰ On 4th February 1987, the Goa Daman and Diu official language bill was passed and was approved in the assembly.³⁸¹ Konkani was made the official language and Marathi for all purposes. Though the official language bill confers sole official status for Konkani but it also allows for the continued use of Gujarati and Marathi for all official purposes.³⁸² After 555 days of tensed situation, bandhs, road blocks, and violence, on 5th February, people had realised that they now had a language, Konkani had become the official language of territory. on February 4, 1987.³⁸³

There were changes made in the previous bill which was passed in 1986 and the new bill which was passed on 4th February was as follows that the definition of the Konkani language meaning Konkani in the Devanagari script remains unchanged, the Union territory means the Union territory of Goa, Daman and Diu.³⁸⁴ Marathi to be used in the Goa district while Gujarati to be used in the Daman and Diu districts, the use of Marathi and Gujarati in educational and social and cultural fields was unchanged.³⁸⁵

The Goa daman and Diu Bill was passed on 4th February 1987 and Pratap Singh Rane, Harish Zantay, Shabu Bhandodkar, Chandrakanth Vereikar, J. B. Gonsalves, Sripad Cuncolinecar, Subhash Shirodkar, Pandu Vasu Naik, Vasu Paik Gaonkar, Venkut Dessai, Manu Fernandes, Monte Cruz, Francis Sardin, Luis Proto Barbosa, Simon D'Souza, Sheikh Hassan Haroon, Shyamji Solanki were in the support of the bill and also including the independent members such as Fransicu Broko, Uday Bhembre, Jevan Prabhakar and

³⁸⁰ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 163.

³⁸¹ Moras, *Konkani Challvoll*, 300.

³⁸² Reporters, "The Fight", 6.

³⁸³ "Calm after the Storm", *Goa Today*, March 1987, 21.

³⁸⁴ Herald Reporters, "Konkani made official language; Marathi for all official purposes," *Herald*, February 5, 1987, 1

³⁸⁵ Reporters, "Konkani made," 1.

Luizinho Faleiro.³⁸⁶ There were also those who were against the bill they were Ramakant Khalap, Ashok Naik Salgaocar, Shrikant Malik, Chandrashekar Divkar, Kashinath Jalmi, Babuso Gaonkar, Ravi Naik and Prakash Velip.³⁸⁷

Both the parties, that is the MGP and the KPA expressed deep disappointment with the bill and said that they would continue to agitate.³⁸⁸ The KPA had objected to the concession extended to Marathi through the amendment that provides Marathi shall also be used for all or any of the official purposes of the Union territory.³⁸⁹ The MGP and the MRBPS rejected the bill as it did not provide equal status to Marathi.³⁹⁰ The official language bill was passed by the house by a margin of twenty-one to eight. MLA's Uday Bhemre, Luizinho Faleiro and Francisco Branco had earlier walked out in protest against the amendment.³⁹¹

Goa Congress president Dr. Wilfred De Souza and some of the rebel ministers demanded that the main clause should be changed to provide that Konkani should be made the official language for all purposes with immediate effect and also demanded that the provision for Marathi should not be included under clause no.3 but be included in a special clause.³⁹²

The Konkani movement had set before itself various immediate targets and had gathered public support which were firstly, separate political identity for Goa which was achieved in 1967, secondly getting Konkani recognised by the Sahitya Akademi, this would mean

³⁸⁶ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 164.

³⁸⁷ Verenkar, *Konkani Rajbhas*, 164.

³⁸⁸ Reporters, "Konkani made," 1

³⁸⁹ Reporters, "Konkani made," 1

³⁹⁰ Reporters, "Konkani made," 1

³⁹¹ Reporters, "Konkani made," 4.

³⁹² Reporters, "Konkani made," 4.

that Konkani would be recognised as one of India's literary languages and this was achieved in 1975, thirdly getting Konkani recognised as the official language of administration in Goa was achieved in 1987.³⁹³ Lastly, getting Konkani included in the eighth schedule of the constitution which was achieved in 1992.³⁹⁴

The Konkani movement had started in Bombay and it was through the mandals that the activities of Konkani were carried out. The mandals consisted mostly of the youth who carried the activities of Konkani. The Konkani agitation took place for 555 days. The tussle between the Konkani and the Marathi supporters was full of fights and protests. Meetings and Morchas took place along with aggressive means of protest like shooting, blocking of the roads, throwing of stones, destruction of government property and the people beaten by the police. The Konkani supporters worked hard to get their demands fulfilled. Many organisations came in support of Konkani and under these organisations, meetings were held where large number of people who were in support of Konkani to be the official language attended these meetings. The KPA along with the Konkani supporters took forward this agitation. The KPA tried to force CM Pratapsingh Rane to pass the bill, and if the bill was not passed then they would make the agitation even more stronger. After all these protests, on 4th February 1987, Konkani was declared the official language along with Marathi to be used for official purposes. Even though the bill was passed, but the supporters from both the side were not satisfied with the bill. After a long period of agitation, finally the Konkani issue was solved by giving it its due status.

³⁹³ Devy, Sardessai and Mauzo, *Peoples's Linguistic*, 8.

³⁹⁴ Devy, Sardessai and Mauzo, *Peoples's Linguistic*, 8.

3.10 Chief Ministers and status of Konkani under their tenure before and during the movement

3.10.1 CM Dayanand Bandodkar

Dayanand Balkrishna Bandodkar, was a self-made man, philanthropist and mine owner, and MGP was an organisation of twin demands of Merger and Marathi.³⁹⁵ He had the characteristic of mass leadership which is the apex of executive power, he donated liberally to churches, temples, and educational institutions as well as to various cultural and sports club and to the poor which won him many supporters.³⁹⁶ Though the merger of Goa with Maharashtra was the principal issue in the manifesto of the MGP, it was also one of the first parties of India who an emphasis on the Bahujan Samaj.³⁹⁷

He was requested to assume the office of CM, and Without having stood for elections himself, he was supported by two Praja Socialist Party members of the legislative assembly and an Independent from Diu, Bandodkar formed the government, and the three-member ministry was sworn in on 20th December 1963.³⁹⁸

The first Bandodkar ministry showed no differences on the issue of Marathi as being the official language of Goa and Konkani as its dialect.³⁹⁹ After the opinion poll results Bandodkar wanted to retire from political life but he was persuaded to contest the 28th

³⁹⁵ Aureliano Fernandes, *Cabinet Government in Goa 1961- 1993- A Chronicled Analysis of 30 years of Government and Politics in Goa* (Panjim: Maureen and Camvet Publishers Pvt. Ltd, 1997), 5.

³⁹⁶ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 13.

³⁹⁷ Parobo, *India's First*, 120

³⁹⁸ Parobo, *India's First*, 127

³⁹⁹ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 27.

March 1967 elections apparently by the Konkaniwadis Ravi Pandit, Bakibab Borkar and others who argued that only Bandodkar could keep the people of Goa together.⁴⁰⁰

According to him, the twin demands of statehood and rightful place to Konkani were acceptable to him and there was no point in bringing up the issue of merger again, as its result was already decided by the democratic verdict of the opinion poll, after two days of the confidence vote, Bandodkar declared that Konkani in Devnagari script would be made the state language along with Marathi as compared to earlier stand which he had given that was Marathi was the official language and Konkani was only its dialect.⁴⁰¹

Bandodkar government had to face three no confidence motions, two started by the opposition UGP while the third was initiated by the dissenting MGP MLAs.⁴⁰² After UGP's victory in the opinion poll, on 23rd April 1972 tabled a resolution to include Konkani in the eight schedule of the constitution, but the Centre continued to be decisive power in decision making in the second Bandodkar ministry as well.⁴⁰³

3.10.2 CM Shashikala Kakodkar

After Dayanand Bandodkar, Shashikala Kakodkar became the next Chief minister. She took over the government with a two-fold strategy that is she accepted the mistakes and short falls of the Bandodkar regime to win the support of his critics and secondly, she vowed to carry on the unfinished task of her father, and to retain Bandodkar's supporters.⁴⁰⁴ She did possess certain leadership qualities which could make her an

⁴⁰⁰ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 33.

⁴⁰¹ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 47- 49.

⁴⁰² Parobo, *India's First*, 128.

⁴⁰³ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 49.

⁴⁰⁴ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 57.

effective leader, she was well educated and closely followed Bandodkar's work and accompanied him on tours and party meetings.⁴⁰⁵

Shashikala Kakodkar and her administration faced criticism from the opposition for showing favouritism to her husband Gurudutt Kakodkar in granting transport and cement licenses and tyre dealership, the opposition also alleged that the Sharad Vengurlekar her brother-in-law was given the structural design of Kala Academy.⁴⁰⁶ The UGP MLA R.S. Fernandes had accused the government of giving maximum advertisements to the Marathi fortnightly Sameer as the editor was her husband.⁴⁰⁷ When the Marathi protagonists had tried to pressurize her, she made statements that Marathi was a much more advanced language than Konkani and refused to accept the demand that Konkani be made the official language.⁴⁰⁸

During Shashikala Kakodkar's second ministry, had an eye on the Christian community and UGP supporters, she also enlisted in the manifesto the demand for statehood for Goa and development of Konkani while she was still supporting Marathi as an important state language.⁴⁰⁹ The second Shashikala Kakodkar cabinet was a four member ministry, despite its manifesto and pretenses towards supporting Konkani, three ministers that is the CM, Shankar Laad and Vinayak Chodankar took the oath in Marathi while Raul Fernandes took the oath in English.⁴¹⁰

⁴⁰⁵ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 59.

⁴⁰⁶ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 61.

⁴⁰⁷ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 61.

⁴⁰⁸ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 63.

⁴⁰⁹ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 67.

⁴¹⁰ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 69.

During her second ministry, she had to face difficult situation one is her strained relations with the bus owners lobby, secondly, was her uneasy relations with the press and press barons and thirdly was the Ramponkar agitation, in terms of press, the Marathi press especially the Marathi daily Gomantak had stood behind the MGP in its merger propaganda.⁴¹¹ The opposition parties, congress and Janata party tabled the no-confidence motion against Shashikala Kakodkar by backing on the rebel MLA's support to defeat the government.⁴¹²

At a specially summoned press conference, the rebels for the first time had announced that they were planning on calling the Lt Governor and withdrawing their support to the MGP government, at the press conference they also alleged that Shashikala Kakodkar could not adopt a pro- statehood, without amending the party constitution which advocated merger and Marathi as mother tongue.⁴¹³ The CM had met the Lt Governor but refused to resign and both agreed that the assembly was the appropriate place to hold a trial of strength, to tilt the balance in her favour and pass the appropriation bill and thus save the government, the CM was in need of one MLA, amidst strict security arrangements by the speaker, the Shashikala Kakodkar government was defeated on the cut motion by one vote.⁴¹⁴

3.10.3 CM Pratap Singh Rane

The schedule for the first Rane ministry was defined by the Congress election manifesto which had promised the following things which were attainment of statehood, recognition

⁴¹¹ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 73.

⁴¹² Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 75.

⁴¹³ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 77.

⁴¹⁴ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 77.

of Konkani as the official language and inclusion of Konkani in the eighth schedule.⁴¹⁵ Pratapsingh Rane was elected as the leader of the Congress legislature party by consensus.⁴¹⁶

There was a split within the party and was divided into Congress (I) and Goa Congress, the Congress (I) had a recognised leader that was CM Pratapsingh Rane who led the party to victory and power, but the first Rane ministry's most visible failure was its inability to fulfill the promises of Statehood and inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule, in his second ministry he wanted to full the promises and by giving equal status for both Konkani as well as Marathi.⁴¹⁷

During the language agitation, he had refused to pass the bill declaring Konkani as the official language. The agitation which was turned in to chaos and violence, initially the cabinet was for dual official language policy but as Konkani agitators pressurized and even burnt the houses of South Goa ministers, they were forced to adopt an “only Konkani as official language”.⁴¹⁸ Sheikh Hassan, MLA and GPCC president Sulochana Katkar, Mauvin Godinho were other prominent party members who supported “Konkani only”, the pro- Marathi camp which demanded a dual official language formula that is Konkani and Marathi should be given equal status which comprised of CM Pratapsingh Rane, minister Harish Zantye and others.⁴¹⁹ After prolonged fights by the Konkani supporters, Konkani was made the official language while Marathi to be used for other official purposes.

⁴¹⁵ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 87.

⁴¹⁶ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 87.

⁴¹⁷ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 99- 105.

⁴¹⁸ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 107.

⁴¹⁹ Fernandes, *Cabinet Government*, 107.

These Chief Ministers supported Konkani as well as Marathi. Dayanand Bandodkar had accepted the two demands that was statehood and Konkani. He also had declared that Konkani in Devnagari script would be made the state language along with Marathi as compared to his earlier stand where he had said that Marathi was the official language and Konkani was just its dialect. There was a change of opinion. Shashikala Kakodkar stood for both statehood and Konkani but also taking a stand for Marathi. Pratap Singh Rane in his first ministry had promised statehood and Konkani as the official language, but it had failed to fulfill these promises. During the Konkani movement, he had denied to pass the official bill and was more instilled towards Marathi. The next chapter will discuss about the post language issue after 1987.

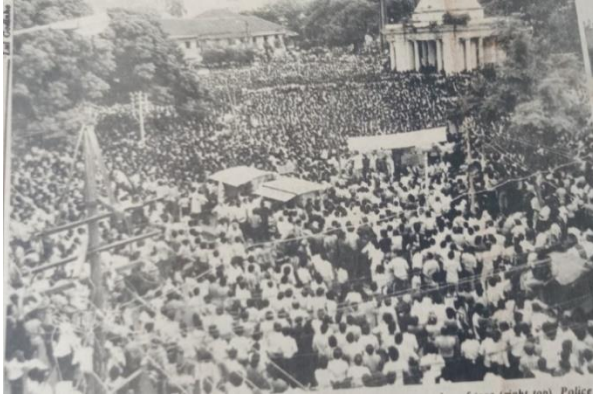


Fig No- 1 Rally

Picture Credit- OHerald

Picture Courtesy- OHerald



Fig No- 2 Azad Maidan

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- Azad Maidan



**Fig No- 3 crowd gathered at the Azad Maidan
on the eve of the 25th anniversary of Goa's
liberation**

Picture Credit- OHerald



Fig No- 4 Azad Maidan

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- Azad Maidan



Fig No- 5 T. B. Cunha Hall on the 3rd floor

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- T. B. Cunha Hall



Fig No- 6 Goa Konkani Akademi

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- Goa Konkani Akademi

Fig No- 7 Konkani Bhasha Mandal

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- Konkani Bhasha Mandal

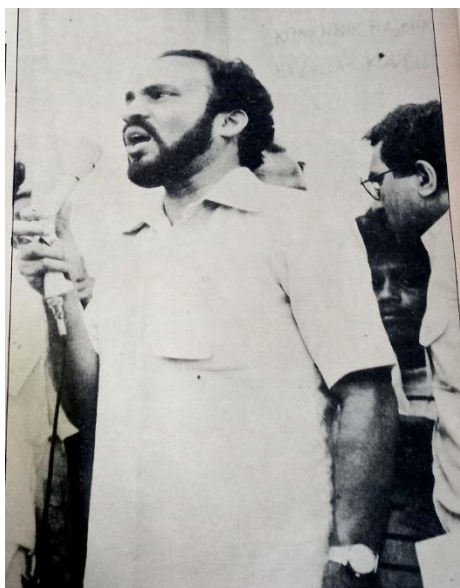


Fig No- 8 Pundalik Naik

Picture Credit- Goa Today

Picture Courtesy- Goa Today



Fig No- 9 Lohia Maidan

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- Lohia Maidan



Fig No- 10 Rally

Picture Credit- Goa Today

Picture Courtesy- Goa Today

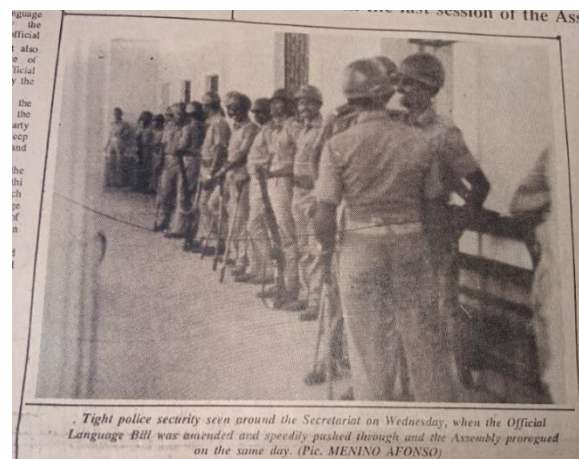


Fig No- 11 Police seen around the Secretariat when the official language bill was amended

Picture Credit- Menino Afonso

Picture Courtesy- O'Herald

CHAPTER IV- LANGUAGE ISSUE IN KONKANI POST

1987

The Konkani movement lasted for 555 days with the aim to have Konkani as the official language of Goa. There were many Konkani supporters and leaders who carried this movement further, including the women. The movement was accompanied by rallies, Morchas, road blocks, destruction of government properties and violent means of protest.

4. Scenario after the language bill

On February 5, 1987 the fight for the official language was successful when Konkani was declared as the official language, Bhatia and Panigrahi the two emissaries from the Centre, had sidelined both the vociferous MGP and the KPA and through a consensus approach they had got the historic Bill and the issue was finally resolved by the Centre and not by the local politicians and the news went unnoticed in the national press.⁴²⁰

Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has settled all issues all over India on the basis of consensus, and Goa was the best example, the MGP leaders were now insisting on dual language but it was not possible, as Konkani is the only official language and the official language could only be one.⁴²¹ Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi and the Congress party's promises have been fulfilled.⁴²² The Bill has kept in view the identity of Goa, as informed by Bhatia that Konkani was made official language, and Marathi for all official purposes, whereas the

⁴²⁰ "Calm after the storm", *Goa Today*, March 1987, 21.

⁴²¹ "Calm after", 21.

⁴²² "Calm after", 22- 23.

headlines mentioned that Konkani was the official language and Marathi gets equal status.⁴²³

In June 1987, Konkani entered the portals of the university of Goa, for the first time with its department of post-graduate studies set up there, also including undergraduate courses in colleges affiliated to the university, also the university of Mangalore followed suit with its own programme of studies in it.⁴²⁴ The Indian parliament had included Konkani in its Eighth Schedule to the constitution in 1992 as one of its 18 official languages with its inscription on all currency notes thereafter.⁴²⁵

4.1 Issue of Medium of instruction

On July 3, 1990, the private primary schools which would switch over to the mother-tongue or regional languages as the medium of instruction from June 1991 of the academic year, will be entitled to Government grants with retrospective effect from this year, as per the Barbosa Cabinet decision.⁴²⁶ The Chief Minister, Dr. L.P. Barbosa, at the end of the meeting informed, that this decision had been taken in deference to the representations which were made by the Diocesan Society and other institutions.⁴²⁷

After the 1991-92 scholastic year, those primary schools introducing regional languages as the medium of instruction, would get grants prospectively and not from retrospective effect, Simultaneously, the Chief Minister had reiterated the Government decision not to

⁴²³ “Calm after”, 22- 23.

⁴²⁴ Olivinho Gomes, *Concise History of Goa* (Panaji: Directorate of Official Language, 2010), 336.

⁴²⁵ Olivinho Gomes, *Concise History*, 336.

⁴²⁶ Correspondent, “Govt. assurance on grants to English schools”, *The Navhind Times*, July 3, 1990, 1.

⁴²⁷ Correspondent, “Govt. assurance”, 1.

grant recognition to any new English medium primary schools which might be opened henceforth.⁴²⁸ But the issue of enforcing the provision in the Goa Education Act which speaks of parity of wages to teach by the Government would be considered.⁴²⁹

On July 5, 1990, a memorandum was submitted to the Dr. Luis Proto Barbosa, Chief Minister, the Principal of the Nirmala Institute of Education and its teaching staff had advocated that, at the primary level, the use of child's mother tongue as the medium of instruction.⁴³⁰ As per the Education Commission Report 1964-66 (Kothari Commission), the Principal, Ms. Jennifer Fonseca has informed that only one language should be studied compulsorily, which was the mother tongue or the regional language at the lower primary stage.⁴³¹

Simultaneously, the Goa Pradesh Congress I restated that it would continue to stand by Konkani, and had not received or changed the decision taken at the joint meeting of GPCC-L Congress legislators and Block Presidente held on June 7, 1990.⁴³² The Congress I however felt that the PDF Government was messing up the educational issue by treating it in isolation, the expeditious use of Konkani in the Administration should be linked and its knowledge for Government jobs should be made compulsory.⁴³³ On the other hand, the Government has failed to take steps towards implementation of the Official Language Act and the adoption of an integrated approach to link education with the future socio-

⁴²⁸ Correspondent, "Govt. assurance", 1.

⁴²⁹ Correspondent, "Govt. assurance", 1.

⁴³⁰ Staff Reporter, "Mother- tongue as medium of instruction advocated", *The Navhind Times*, July 7, 1990, 3.

⁴³¹ Reporter, "Mother- tongue", 3.

⁴³² Correspondent, "Breakthrough in", 1.

⁴³³ Correspondent, "Breakthrough in", 1.

economic prospects, emotional integration of the people of the State and cultural development.⁴³⁴

The Chief Minister, Dr. Luis Proto Barbosa, and Mr. Churchill Alemao, the Minister for Official Language, while asserting that the policy on the medium, Progressive Front Government was in the best interest of the student community, and launched a vigorous drive for ascertaining views of the public either by meeting representatives of parents or mass contacts on the sensitive issue which had triggered off a violent agitation in the State.⁴³⁵

At the outset on July 13, 1990, Dr. Barbosa and Mr. Alemao appealed to the agitators as to not to create "English Martyrs by misguiding the public over the language policy, and both of them blamed Dr. Wilfred de Souza, the Opposition Leader, and MLA Mr. Luisinho Faleiro, for trying to politicalise the medium of instruction issue and escaping from the responsibility by boycotting the Assembly session instead of putting forward their points before the House.⁴³⁶

The confidence of the PDF was boosted when the leaders of the All Goa Students Action Front representing various college unions, not only backed and supported the language policy but also threatened to launch agitation to counter the ongoing stir.⁴³⁷ As per the

⁴³⁴ Correspondent, "Breakthrough in", 1.

⁴³⁵ Correspondent, "Barbosa, Alemao launch mass contact drive", *The Navhind Times*, July 14, 1990, 1.

⁴³⁶ Correspondent, "Barbosa, Alemao", 1.

⁴³⁷ Correspondent, "Barbosa, Alemao", 1.

official statistics, during the last academic year, there were 58310 students attending the 933 Marathi schools as against 45254 children going to 272 English schools.⁴³⁸

On the other hand, the Government had come with a few announcements during the recent discussions with representatives of the parents and students, one of them was that study of Konkani would be made compulsory in all the schools from Standard V onwards and, Besides, the Government has made Konkani compulsory for jobs in the circular that was already issued, announcing two increments as an incentive to those who were willing to join a refresher course in Konkani.⁴³⁹

Both the Chief minister, Dr. Luis Proto Barbosa, and Mr., Churchill Alemao, Official Language Minister., informed that if the people wanted English and not Konkani, where their demands would be met, at the same time, both the Ministers had stated that the Goa Legislative Assembly, was the best place to decide what were the wishes of the people.⁴⁴⁰ The Congress-I is was divided on this issue, while Dr. Wilfred de Souza, the Leader of the Opposition, and Mr. Luizinho Faleiro the former Industries Minister, was in support of the demand for the payment of grants to be made to the English medium primary schools, with Dr. de Souza having served an ultimatum to get all schools closed from tomorrow, and Mr. Faleiro had announced for the organisation of a rally on July 19 in Margao and launch a move to fill the jails, the GPCC-L, through a statement by the

⁴³⁸ Correspondent, "Barbosa, Alemao", 1.

⁴³⁹ Correspondent, "Barbosa, Alemao", 1.

⁴⁴⁰ Correspondent, "Legality of teaching medium controversy", *The Navhind Times*, July 16, 1990, 1.

General Secretary, Mr. Uday Bhembre came out with the clarification that the party has not and will not back the demand for English.⁴⁴¹

Due to arguments and counter-arguments, especially during the discussions at the Secretariat Conference Hall, between Mr. Alemao and the representatives of the ACMI, which was later joined by Dr. Barbosa, followed by some student leaders, the question of the implementation of the Official Language Act and the use of Konkani, Marathi and English came up and the issue of medium of instruction was side lined.⁴⁴²

All the private primary schools were informed by the Government, that it would only pay grants to those who had which switched from English medium to Konkani, Marathi or any other regional language in Standard 1 this year, to be progressively done in next standard every year and this was done through a circular which was issued just a few days before the commencement of the academic year, while the Government stated that the policy was on lines with the national policy.⁴⁴³

What was this national policy. The official language of the Union according to Article 343 of the Constitution is Hindi in Devnagari script, Clause 2 of the Article states that notwithstanding anything in Cl. 1, for a period of 15 years from the commencement of this Constitution, the English language shall continue to be used for all the official purposes of the Union.⁴⁴⁴

On July 16, 1990, from its recently announced education policy, the Progressive Democratic Front Government had made a tactical retreat by declaring that the issue of

⁴⁴¹ Correspondent, "Legality of", 1.

⁴⁴² Correspondent, "Legality of", 1.

⁴⁴³ Correspondent, "Legality of", 1

⁴⁴⁴ Correspondent, "Legality of", 1

aiding private primary schools, including those having English medium, had been suspended for one year thereby keeping its doors open for a discussion on this issue with the concerned organisations and those who concerned for a meaningful decision which would be in the interest of Goans.⁴⁴⁵

On 17th July, 1990, CM Dr. Luis Proto Barbosa had appealed to the Congress and Mr. Luizinho Faleiro its MLA to withdraw the agitation call given by him in favour of English and against Konkani medium, Dr. Barbosa informed that Mr. Luizinho Faleiro should not involve the primary school children in the agitation in the name of a Morcha while the All Goa students action front and a joint rally of vehicles was decided by the Goa protectors throughout the state to explain the people about the new education policy.⁴⁴⁶

4.2 Inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule

On August 17, the member of the executive board of the Sahitya Akademi in New Delhi and Dr. Olivinho Gomes, national convenor for Konkani had submitted a formal memorandum demanding the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the constitution of India, to the Prime Minister Mr. V. P. Singh.⁴⁴⁷ Dr. Gomes recalled the various assurances which were given by successive governments and parties mentioned in their election manifestoes and all these promises were not fulfilled and pointed out specifically to the clause in the National Front's manifesto which says that the Eighth Schedule would be extended to respond to the urges of other linguistic groups and hoped

⁴⁴⁵ Correspondent, "Status quo on medium issue," *The Navhind Times*, July 17, 1990, 1.

⁴⁴⁶ Correspondent, "Status quo ", 1.

⁴⁴⁷ Staff Reporter, "Plea to include Konkani in Eighth Schedule", *The Navhind Times*, August 28, 1990, 2.

that Konkani was included in the Eighth Schedule of the constitution just as the Sahitya Akademi had already included Konkani in its list of the literary languages of India.⁴⁴⁸

On 30, August, Mr. Subodh Kant Sahai, the Union minister of State for Home, had disclosed in the Lok Sabha that the National Front government is considering to include Konkani language in the Eighth schedule of the constitution.⁴⁴⁹ Mr. Noor Bahadur Bhandari the CM of Sikkim, had demanded the inclusion of Manipuri, Nepali and Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution, he made it clear to the PM that all these languages are recognised by the Sahitya academy and also are the official languages in their respective states.⁴⁵⁰ Since the Sahitya Akademi had already recognised these languages as literary languages, the government had to include them in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution.

At the 12th All India Konkani writers meet, which had taken place in Pernem on January 18 regarding the resolution demanding inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule, later the president of 12th All India Konkani writers conference Mr. Gurnath Kelekar and Dr. Sushruta Martins the former President of Konkani Bhasha Mandal, in March had submitted the copies of the resolution to the PM's office in New Delhi.⁴⁵¹

In 1992, the Central government had approved the demand to include Konkani in the Eighth Schedule of the constitution, where leaders of various political parties had recommended the criterion that a language which is recognised by Sahitya Akademi

⁴⁴⁸ Reporter, "Plea to", 2.

⁴⁴⁹ Correspondent, "Assurance to include Konkani in Eighth Schedule", *The Navhind Times*, August 31, 1990, 1.

⁴⁵⁰ Correspondent, "Assurance to", 1.

⁴⁵¹ Correspondent, "Assurance to", 1.

should be in the Eighth Schedule of the constitution.⁴⁵² Only three languages could satisfy these conditions that were Konkani, Manipuri and Nepali, while the Government had accepted the criterion and a bill seeking amendment to the constitution was introduced on 20th August 1992.⁴⁵³ Both the houses of the Indian parliament unanimously passed the bill on the same day and Konkani was finally included in the Eighth Schedule.⁴⁵⁴ Goa was raised to a full- fledged state on 30th May 1987, the twenty fifth of the Union of India, after the passing of the Official Language Act, in February of that year.⁴⁵⁵ Finally Konkani was included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian constitution along with the other two languages.

4.3 Script Controversy

When the language bill was passed where Konkani was made as the official language in the Devanagari script, it had excluded the Roman script and it was only confined to Devanagari alone, it had deprived the large community that uses the Roman script.⁴⁵⁶ Before the act was passed the Roman script was also used along with the Devanagari, widely in all official government publications in Konkani, the Devanagari lobby even got the National Sahitya Akademi to make only Konkani books in Devanagari script eligible for national awards, but during the time of its approval as an independent literary language of India in 1975, there was no mention of any script.⁴⁵⁷

⁴⁵² Pius MaleKandathil and Remy Dias, eds. *Goa in the 20th Century History and Culture* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 2008), 282.

⁴⁵³ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 282.

⁴⁵⁴ MaleKandathil and Dias, *Goa in*, 282.

⁴⁵⁵ Olivinho Gomes, *Concise History*, 338.

⁴⁵⁶ Olivinho Gomes, *Konkani Literature in Roman Script: A Brief History* (Panaji: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2010), 177.

⁴⁵⁷ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 177.

Sahitya Akademi awards were given exclusively to books which written in Devanagari script, this had continued and reached a high peak during the selection of a Konkani book for Sahitya Akademi award for 2005.⁴⁵⁸ The Sahitya Akademi recognition to Konkani first sowed the seed of division among the supporters of Konkani and supporters of Marathi, the Sahitya Akademi could solve this issue by giving annual awards to books published in Devanagari, Roman and Kannada scripts and this was possible if the Advisory Board of the Sahitya Akademi resolves the script issue by mutual understanding.⁴⁵⁹ In 2010, the representatives of Konkani using Roman and Devanagari scripts approached the Sahitya Akademi and requested it to consider their demand, but the Sahitya Akademi refused to accept their request.⁴⁶⁰

In 1985, the Goa government founded the Goa Konkani Akademi, whose chief objective was to bring about speedy development of Konkani language, culture and literature and also to promote cultural unity of the state through Konkani language and literature, from 1986, the GKA had started functioning; it was filled with proponents of Devanagari and they interpreted Konkani as written in Devanagari script.⁴⁶¹ The GKA hardly did anything to fulfil its primary objective till 2005, but due to the demands of Roman script supporters, the Goa government ordered the GKA to publish and to give financial assistance to books written in Roman script.⁴⁶²

⁴⁵⁸ Savio Abreu, and Rudolf Heredia, eds. *Goa 2011 Reviewing and Recovering Fifty Years* (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company Pvt. Ltd, 2014), 107.

⁴⁵⁹ Abreu, and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 107.

⁴⁶⁰ Abreu, and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 108- 109.

⁴⁶¹ Abreu, and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 108- 109.

⁴⁶² Abreu, and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 108- 109.

The main objective of the State Language is to give preference to native speakers for government jobs.⁴⁶³ In the education system of Goa, Konkani is not a compulsory subject, in other states the State Language is compulsory in education, in Goa for government jobs, the knowledge of Konkani (in Devanagari script) is essential and the knowledge of Marathi is desirable.⁴⁶⁴

After when the language bill was passed, the protagonists on both sides that is the Konkani and the Marathi supporters, were more keen to propagate script rather than a language, since the 16th century the Konkani script existed, it kept the language alive down the centuries at first under the care of missionaries later under a few stalwarts who gradually dwindled leaving only the Vauraddeancho Ixtt and the Udentichem Noketr.⁴⁶⁵

The demand that the Roman script be accorded parity with Devnagari is resounding all over Goa, there was a symbolic rally held at the Azad maidan, where the Dalgado Konkani Akademi had gathered language stalwarts from all over Goa to reiterate their demand for the Roman script.⁴⁶⁶ Azad maidan slowly filled up with Konkani stage artistes, singers and musicians who performed before the start of the meeting drawing a sizeable crowd, there were not just Goans at the rally, but the people of Mangalore and Bombay who came in specially to lend their support to the cause, The movement received more fame with the presence of Dr. Wilfred de Souza deputy CM and South Goa member of parliament Churchill Alemao taking the daiz and speaking for the Roman script Konkani.⁴⁶⁷

⁴⁶³ Abreu, and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 108- 109.

⁴⁶⁴ Abreu, and Heredia, *Goa 2011*, 108- 109.

⁴⁶⁵ Irene Heredia, "Storm in a Teacup", *Goa Today*, February 2006, 62.

⁴⁶⁶ "Roman script Konkani's show of strength", *Goa Today*, March 2006, 64.

⁴⁶⁷ "Roman script", 64.

A large number of Konkani speakers are more comfortable in reading the language in the Roman script, but in terms of rewards, literary awards by the Sahitya Akademi are not given to the writers of Konkani in the Roman script as the script is not recognised.⁴⁶⁸ The Dalgado Konkani Akademi which is spearheading the movement has vowed not to rest until their demands were fulfilled.⁴⁶⁹

In 2004, the Konkani writers in Roman script had held together to discuss the future of Konkani written in Roman script in Panjim in T.B Cunha's Hall, it was held to revive and re- activate Dalgado Konkani Akademi formed in 1980s and to organise a three-day festival of various activities to bring all roman script lovers together, they also demanded that the government should support to preserve and promote Konkani in the roman script.⁴⁷⁰

On 19th June, the Konkani supporters had gathered at the T. B Cunha Hall and appointed an ad hoc committee with former speaker Tomazinho Cardozo as its convenor, to take ahead the task of rejuvenating the Dalgado Konkani Akademi which aims to protect and preserve and promote Konkani in the roman script.⁴⁷¹ The participants made it clear that they bore no ill will towards the Devnagari script, but felt that the catholic community in Goa has a sufficiently long tradition which has been passed from one generation to the other through the use of roman script.⁴⁷² The Dalgado Konkani Akademi aims to make the masses aware of the Konkani language in the Roman script, to provide financial help

⁴⁶⁸ "Roman script", 64.

⁴⁶⁹ "Roman script", 64.

⁴⁷⁰ "Developing Romi Konkani", *Goa Today*, June 2004, 46.

⁴⁷¹ "Wake- up call for Konkani writers in Roman script", *Goa Today*, July 2004, 9.

⁴⁷² "Wake- up", 9.

for writers to publish their work and also organise literary and cultural competitions to attract more people towards Konkani.⁴⁷³

Eduardo Faleiro states that in the Konkani language, both the Roman and the Devanagari script should be treated equally, however it would be advisable and should be in the interest of the young student to teach Konkani in schools through the Devnagari script only.⁴⁷⁴ In Goa, Konkani writers in the Roman script should have access to literary awards, financial assistance should be also given to the writers in the Roman script as same which is given for the Devnagari writers.⁴⁷⁵

4.4 Sunaparant newspaper

Sunaparant is the first newspaper in the Konkani language in the Devanagari script. Sunaparant was also called as golden Aparant.⁴⁷⁶ On May 13, 1987 Sunaparant was started, soon after Konkani was made as the official language on February 4th 1987, Chandrakanth Keni was the founder editor of Sunaparant which started from Margao and he was also editing Rashtramat, after him it was carried over by Uday Bhemre and Raju Naik after which the black and white newspaper was shifted to the capital city of Panaji, it had 10 pages was made colour in 2004.⁴⁷⁷ Sandesh Prabhudesai, Anant Salkar and Babali Naik served as its editor while Mahesh Divekar was made an acting executive editor before the newspaper was shut down.⁴⁷⁸

⁴⁷³ “Wake- up”, 9.

⁴⁷⁴ “Script Controversy”, *The Navhind Times*, February 26, 2006, 1.

⁴⁷⁵ Script Controversy”, 1.

⁴⁷⁶ “Konkani Nemaleacho Itihas”, *Sunaparant*, May 13, 1987, 2.

⁴⁷⁷ “Sunaparant: End of a cause”, *The Navhind Times*, August 2, 2015, 1.

⁴⁷⁸ “Sunaparant: End”, 1.

On 16th January 2004, it marked the day for the re-launch of Goa's only Konkani daily Sunaparant and the editor of the newspaper was Sandesh Prabhudesai and he said that this day was an auspicious day for the relaunch of this newspaper, as the historic opinion poll was held.⁴⁷⁹ This newspaper will come out daily, in the Devnagari script with 10 pages and 14 pages on Sunday.⁴⁸⁰ On the occasion of its relaunch, Industrialist Dattaraj Salgaocar reiterated the Sunaparant management's resolve to 'promote Goan culture and to help reserve Goa's identity', also the CM Manohar Parrikar also said that the promoters had decided to use common man's language, which will popularise the Konkani daily.⁴⁸¹ And also that the daily newspaper should not only popularise Konkani language but also to spread reliable and authentic news to retain its integrity and on this occasion, most of the Konkani celebrities were present on the occasion, including previous editors.⁴⁸²

On July 31st July 2015, was the last day where the Goans read the newspaper in the official language of Goa that is the Devnagari Konkani, it had shut down because of financial reasons, and this move was a blow to the Konkani language and the cause the stood for.⁴⁸³ On July 31st, the last editions of the newspaper had come and on 1st August the Sunaparant was closed down.⁴⁸⁴ As per the Goa Union of Journalists, the management said that they had to close the newspaper since the government of Goa paid mere service

⁴⁷⁹ Vinayak Naik "Sunaparant Back with a Bang", *Goa Today*, February 2004, 9.

⁴⁸⁰ "Sunaparant Back", 9.

⁴⁸¹ "Sunaparant Back", 9.

⁴⁸² "Sunaparant Back", 9.

⁴⁸³ "Sunaparant: End of a cause", *The Navhind Times*, August 2, 2015, 1.

⁴⁸⁴ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

to support the lone Konkani newspaper in Goa's official language, which resulted into huge amount of unbearable losses.⁴⁸⁵

President of Goa Konkani Akademi, Madhav Borkar said that it had paved the way for many writers to write and they had published 150 books and the main contribution was by Sunaparant.⁴⁸⁶ As per the editor Sandesh Prabhudesai, Sunaparant was the only newspaper which would report all events related to the Konkani language, Sunaparant did not get the expected views from the Konkani readership or advertisers though the Konkani movement had become much stronger in last 28 years.⁴⁸⁷ Also official patronage and support from the Goa government was not received by Sunaparant it deserved after Konkani becoming Goa's official language, Sunaparant had done its part to support the Konkani movement and it also achieved great success.⁴⁸⁸

As per Uday Bhembre, Sunaparant newspaper's contribution to Konkani has been tremendous, it had given a platform to the journalists, writers and has been the mouthpiece of Konkani language, it has been an unofficial forum for the supporters of Konkani language to speak out their opinions, especially when the other newspapers did not give so much importance to the movement.⁴⁸⁹ Each page had a unique name which was based on a concept like political news, cultural and literary page.⁴⁹⁰ Sunaparant was an independent newspaper, and was not aligned with any political party.⁴⁹¹

⁴⁸⁵ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

⁴⁸⁶ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

⁴⁸⁷ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

⁴⁸⁸ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

⁴⁸⁹ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

⁴⁹⁰ "Sunaparant: End", 1.

⁴⁹¹ Vinayak Naik, "Interview- "I believe in free and fearless journalism", *Goa Today*, March 2004, 22.

4.5 Organisations for Konkani

4.5.1 Dalgado Konkani Akademi

In 1988 the Dalgado Konkani Akademi was established and the main aim of this academy was to work for Konkani language in the Romi script and to get its rightful place.⁴⁹² This academy is named after Mons. Sebastiao Rudolf Dalgado, he was a Goan and he knew 14 languages, he also had published his two dictionaries that is Konkani to Portuguese in 1893 and the other one in 1905 that is Portuguese to Konkani.⁴⁹³ The academy also had requested the government to fulfill their demands, this academy asks for recognition for both the scripts that is Devnagari and Romi.⁴⁹⁴

In the intervening years, the work of this Akademi languished for some time until it was revived into a new dynamism around 2001.⁴⁹⁵ The Dalgado Konkani Akademi in a new momentum of an action plan went all out to secure justice to Konkani in the Roman script by virtually launching some sort of an agitation to press to get its demands fulfilled.⁴⁹⁶ The matter was raised for redressal in the Goa state legislative assembly, the government had promised to include it in the official language act and as a first step was compelled to concede support for promotion of it by providing some funding to the Akademi with a provision made in the financial year 2007- 08, as well as directing the Goa Konkani Akademi to disburse from its funds for the Roman script books too.⁴⁹⁷ The Akademi has been very active in recent years in each and every field of literary and creative endeavour,

⁴⁹² Tomazinho Cardozo, *Polloylam Tem Boroylam-2* (Panjim: Dalgado Konkani Akademi, 2011), 183.

⁴⁹³ Cardozo, *Polloylam Tem*, 183.

⁴⁹⁴ Cardozo, *Polloylam Tem*, 183.

⁴⁹⁵ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁴⁹⁶ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁴⁹⁷ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

competitions for budding talent, with workshops for young writers, publications of Konkani books in every genre of writing and magazines of qualitative worth.⁴⁹⁸

The Dalgado Konkani academy had taken upon itself the essential task of promoting Konkani literature in the roman script, with this specific aim the academy will provide financial assistance to writers and will publish ten books including novels, khell, Tiatr, short stories etc written by various Konkani writers, a decision to celebrate the 150th anniversary of Mons. Dalgado by this institution by organising numerous programmes throughout the year beginning from May 8, 2005.⁴⁹⁹

4.5.2 Romi Lipi Action Front

The government had still not taken any initiative to accept the demands of the large number of users of the Roman script in Konkani, particularly the whole Christian community, for the latter to have democratic legitimacy, and had ignored and had pretended that it does not exist on the ground, as a result a new body called Romi Lipi Action Front had been formed to pursue the said request that is a serious grievance of the community that had been ignored.⁵⁰⁰

In many parts of Goa, the demand has been voiced out at public meetings, with deep resentment in the minds and hearts of the community, with absolutely no positive response from the government but had made promises which were not fulfilled.⁵⁰¹ It is necessary that this Front, approaches the President of India or the Supreme Court with the

⁴⁹⁸ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁴⁹⁹ "Promoting of Roman script Konkani", *Goa Today*, November 2004, 50.

⁵⁰⁰ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 181- 182.

⁵⁰¹ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 182.

legitimate people's grievance in a P.I.L. (Public Interest Litigation) petition to seek immediate action on the demands made by them.⁵⁰²

Konkani literature in the Roman script continues to be written and its standards have improved in the past fifty years, the educated writers take to honour and self-pride in their own heritage without bothering about the rewards to be gained out of it.⁵⁰³

4.5.3 Diocesan Contribution

The Archdiocese of Goa and Daman had acknowledged that it is a Konkani-speaking realm and had taken effective steps to implement the use of Konkani language in its jurisdiction, in collaboration with the other seven Konkani-speaking dioceses, that is, Mumbai, Pune, Karwar, Belgaum, Sindhudurg, Mangalore and Chikmagalur that constitute the Konkani province of the Indian Church hierarchy.⁵⁰⁴ This has been done by employing the Roman script for the use of its flock in the State of Goa, it has taken up initiatives like setting up of primary and secondary schools in almost all the parishes of Goa and introducing for the first the Konkani language as a medium of instruction in its institutions time in 1990, under Archbishop Raul Gonsalves, at the primary level.⁵⁰⁵

All the readings and liturgical rites and proceedings in the churches and chapels are conducted in Konkani in the Roman script.⁵⁰⁶ Texts which were being used in Latin for centuries earlier have been rendered in Konkani, the People's language.⁵⁰⁷ The Goan Church stood steadfastly by the people in their movement for recognition of Konkani as

⁵⁰² Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 182.

⁵⁰³ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 182- 183.

⁵⁰⁴ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁵⁰⁵ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁵⁰⁶ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁵⁰⁷ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

the sole Official Language of Goa, and its subsequent enthronement in the Official Language Act, 1987, but it had utterly failed to voice its genuine grievance over the deliberate exclusion of the Roman script.⁵⁰⁸

4.5.4 Thomas Stephens Konkani kendr

One of the centers who had made commendable contributions to the Konkani language, literature and culture and treats work as a dynamic entity was the Thomas Stephens Konkani kendr.⁵⁰⁹ It is a Konkani cultural Centre named after the 16th century English Jesuit, Fr. Thomas Stephens a renowned linguist and poet.⁵¹⁰ TSSK had set itself the task of working for Konkani culture by a scientific study and promotion of Konkani language, literature, folklore and reacted forms for Konkani culture.⁵¹¹

The main work of TSSK is education and research in Konkani, this Centre has been involved for last 15 years in the following activities, such as writing grammars in terms of descriptive grammar and research articles for periodicals, compiling the linguistic glossary and dictionary project, writing courses to teach Konkani such as Konkani basic and advanced courses, then promoting literature by translating works into Devnagari from other scripts, critical editing and research, publishing of old Konkani works, preparing and publishing children's books and cassettes and lastly giving various courses to Konkani learners and Konkani teachers.⁵¹² In the year 1986, TSSK started functioning at Miramar and shifted to the new building at Alto Porvorim.⁵¹³ The TSSK also to

⁵⁰⁸ Gomes, *Konkani Literature*, 180.

⁵⁰⁹ Anil Shankhwalkar, "A Kendra dedicated to Konkani", *Herald*, June 2, 2001, 3.

⁵¹⁰ Shankhwalkar, "A Kendra, 3.

⁵¹¹ Shankhwalkar, "A Kendra, 3.

⁵¹² Shankhwalkar, "A Kendra, 3.

⁵¹³ Shankhwalkar, "A Kendra, 3.

encourage the Konkani speakers, scholarship are made available to young people who show promise of getting into the research line in the field of Konkani and it also has been granted recognition as a research institute by the University of Goa.⁵¹⁴

4.5.5 Konkani Seva Kendr

The Konkani Seva Kendra had organised the 13th century late Shankar Bhandari memorial function at Sanquelim, the CM, Mr. Francisco Sardinha had addressed the function as the chief guest, urged the students to become good writers and poets in Konkani.⁵¹⁵ Mr. Sardinha also appealed to the gathering of parents, to give their children education in Konkani, in order to protect the Goan culture, he further urged the followers of Konkani to patronise Sunaparant, the Konkani daily.⁵¹⁶

Ms. Nirmala Sawant, the MLA of Cumbarjua and Mr. Arvind Bhatikar were the guests of honour on the occasion, while addressing the gathering, Ms. Sawant requested the public to correspond in Konkani language.⁵¹⁷

4.6 DKA and the Roman script

On February 7, 2006, a call to the real followers of Konkani language by the Dalgado Konkani Academy gave to boycott the silver jubilee of literary conference of the Akhil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad, which was scheduled to be held at Kala Academy complex,

⁵¹⁴ Shankhwalker, "A Kendra", 3.

⁵¹⁵ Correspondent, "Konkani Seva Kendra observes Shankar Bhandari anniversary", *The Navhind Times*, August 18, 2000, 5.

⁵¹⁶ Correspondent, "Konkani Seva", 5.

⁵¹⁷ Correspondent, "Konkani Seva", 5.

from February 10 to 12, bringing to the fore the sharp divide between the supporters of Konkani in Devanagari and Roman scripts.⁵¹⁸

Mr. Wilson Mazarello, the DKA president, had addressed a press conference, said that at the Azad Maidan a symbolic rally would be held, on February 10, to display an active support to Konkani in Roman script.⁵¹⁹ He informed that the rally is not a show of strength and will be participated by those who support equal status for Konkani in both scripts, including around 30 noted Konkani writers.⁵²⁰ Appealing to the Konkani supporters to boycott the literary conference and openly show their protest, Mr. Mazarello said that DKA demands an equal status to Konkani written in Roman script at par with Konkani written in Devanagari script in the official language act 1987 from the government.⁵²¹

Imposition of Devanagari script and a particular dialect as a standard Konkani have resulted in pushing away the minority community from the Konkani language, he said, DKA regrets to state that the imposition of Devanagari script for Konkani had divided the Goan community.⁵²² He further states that, instead of respecting the varieties of Konkani and thereby forging unity among the various regions, communities, dialects and scripts, the Akil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad has caused irreparable damage to the unity of

⁵¹⁸ Staff Reporter, “Roman script supporters to boycott Konkani meet”, *The Navhind Times*, February 8, 2006, 1- 14.

⁵¹⁹ Reporter, “Roman script”, 1- 14.

⁵²⁰ Reporter, “Roman script”, 1- 14.

⁵²¹ Reporter, “Roman script”, 1- 14.

⁵²² Reporter, “Roman script”, 1- 14.

Konkani, by adopting a retrograde policy of one script, one dialect/ language, one community, one literature.⁵²³

Through its above-mentioned communal policy, the Akhil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad is sowing the seeds of communal division, disharmony and hatred in Goa and among followers of Konkani in various scripts spread throughout the country, Mr. Mazarello also mentioned under the Societies' Registration Act 1860 the Akhil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad is not registered and furthermore remained an 'exclusive club' of a fistful of persons and organisations to get funds from government and public, to organise unproductive conferences.⁵²⁴

No genuine attempt has been made by the parishad either to include active registered bodies into it or promote Konkani language and literature.⁵²⁵ Since the Akhil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad is not registered society, it has no legal right and status to ask for or receive government grants, funds and subsidies.⁵²⁶ All matters related to Konkani at the state as well as central government level, in various departments and institutions are being controlled and manipulated by a coterie of writers who control Akhil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad.⁵²⁷ As per Tomazinho Cardozo, though the Goa Konkani academy, at the direction of the government has started planning activities for Roman Konkani, much is left desired for this script of Konkani.⁵²⁸ He also said that he is convinced about the fruitful efforts to unite Goans through one language and one script.⁵²⁹

⁵²³ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

⁵²⁴ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

⁵²⁵ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

⁵²⁶ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

⁵²⁷ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

⁵²⁸ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

On February 10, 2006, DKA, in the presence of Dr Wilfred de Sousa, Deputy Chief Minister, and Mr. Churchill Alemao, the South Goa MP, gave an ultimatum to the government to amend the Official State Language Act for according equal status to Roman Konkani at par with the Devanagari Konkani during a large rally of supporters of Roman Konkani, at Azad Maidan before December 20, 2006.⁵³⁰

The public rally was held to boycott the silver jubilee literary conference of the Akhil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad, which was inaugurated at Kala Academy Complex.⁵³¹ The president of DKA, Wilson Mazarello said that the Speaker, Mr. Francisco Sardinha, the deputy Speaker, Ms. Victoria Fernandes, Industries Minister, Mr. Luizinho Faleiro, Agriculture Minister, Mr. Francisco Pacheco as well as MLAs, Mr. Matanhy Saldanha, Mr. Jeetendra Deshprabhu and Mr. Carl Vaz have extended their support to the agitation.⁵³²

Dr de Sousa said that he as well as Mr. Pacheco would support the amendment in the Official State Language Act for giving equal status to Roman Konkani and would vote in favour of such a bill if it was introduced in the House.⁵³³ Mr. Alemao said that he would support the agitation if it takes on to the street and take it to its conclusive end.⁵³⁴ Fr Pratap Naik, speaking on the occasion said that Floriano Vaz was the first martyr of the Konkani language, sacrificed his life for the cause of Konkani, on December 20, 1956,

⁵²⁹ Reporter, "Roman script", 1- 14.

⁵³⁰ Staff Reporter, "Roman script backers demand equal status", *The Navhind Times*, February 11, 2006, 1.

⁵³¹ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³² Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³³ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³⁴ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

twenty years ago.⁵³⁵ he pointed out that almost 28 per cent of the Goan people read Konkani in Roman script.⁵³⁶

Those who spoke at the rally included Fr Conceicao D'Silva, Fr Antimo Gomes, Fr Manuel Gomes and Mr. Radharao Gracias.⁵³⁷ A strong contingent of 60 people from Mangalore led by Eric Ozario the president of the Karnataka Konkani Sahitya Akademi and president of the ad hoc committee of Vishwa Konkani Parishad, had also attended the rally, supporting the Roman Konkani.⁵³⁸ Ozario informed the Navhind Times that unity of the Konkani people, cannot be achieved by thrusting on them the Devnagri Konkani, and the government should respect the dialect of the language, customs and traditions of different communities.⁵³⁹

4.7 Fight for Devanagari script

On 10 February, 2006, Paul Moraes, the president of the silver jubilee literary conference of Akil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad, while addressing the inaugural session of the three-day event, had said that one script namely Devanagari should be supported, while Konkani language is to be developed in the global scenario especially among the new generation if.⁵⁴⁰

The CM, Mr. Pratapsingh Rane, who was the chief guest on the occasion said that his government was ready to support the holding of world Konkani conference in Goa, the

⁵³⁵ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³⁶ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³⁷ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³⁸ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵³⁹ Reporter, "Roman script backers, 1.

⁵⁴⁰ Staff Reporter, "Konkani meet wants one script, Devnagri", *The Navhind Times*, February 11, 2006, 1- 14.

state has a unique culture of creative geniuses and Konkani language has been instrumental in maintaining this culture.⁵⁴¹ Earlier, the Governor, Mr. S C Jamir, at the open auditorium of Kala Academy had inaugurated the literary conference, in the presence of a number of former presidents of the Parishad, and also described Konkani language as the entity which gave Goa its distinct identity, there should be reciprocal understanding between people by way of languages.⁵⁴²

The local languages must develop linkages with the world community, at large, the governor stated that languages are vehicles of communication and find expression of feelings.⁵⁴³ Moraes, while delivering his presidential address said that literature in Konkani had been generated through various scripts, the leaders who had shouldered the Konkani movement chose Devnagari script as the standard script.⁵⁴⁴ He also stressed on the need to include Konkani in education and to make Konkani compulsory in Goan schools and impress upon the governments in Maharashtra, Karnataka and Kerala to introduce Konkani in their schools.⁵⁴⁵

Goan bodies like Goa University, Goa Konkani Academy and Kala Academy must involve Konkani institutions from outside the state in their projects like Konkani Encyclopedias, dictionaries, translation work and research.⁵⁴⁶ The government should provide the Akil Bhartiya Konkani Parishad with an office in the state and provided with an annual grant.⁵⁴⁷

⁵⁴¹ Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

⁵⁴² Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

⁵⁴³ Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

⁵⁴⁴ Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

⁵⁴⁵ Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

⁵⁴⁶ Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

4.8 Jobs

The recent order by the Hon'ble Goa bench of the Bombay High court had not changed nor altered the Goa language Act 1987, it had only interpreted the language act in the legal point of view with regards to employment in government jobs.⁵⁴⁸ As 96 percent of our population speak Konkani, which is the sole official language of Goa, and knowledge in this language has become a must in seeking government jobs, which will give the local population the chance to get government jobs.⁵⁴⁹

On August 1st 2000, around 25 activists of the Goa Hit-Rakhan Manch gheraoed Mr. Prabhakar. B. Hawaldar, director of agriculture, protesting against the publication of advertisements which invited applications in the department for clerical posts in contravention of the recruitment rules which were set up by the Goa government.⁵⁵⁰ They were Shouting slogans as to "we want Jobs for Goans", Mr. Purnanand Chari, the enraged youth under the leadership of GHM convenor, stormed the Panaji office of the directorate of agriculture, they were protesting against the advertisements published in the newspapers inviting applications, where the language rule was twisted stating that Konkani was most essential while Marathi was essential for jobs, whereas the actual rule was that Konkani is essential and Marathi was desirable.⁵⁵¹

The GHM activists also asked director why the 15-year domicile clause was not at all mentioned in the advertisement, when in government departments, it was a rule made

⁵⁴⁷ Reporter, "Konkani meet", 1- 14.

⁵⁴⁸ Jimmy Rodrigues e Rebello, "Jobs for Konkani speaking Goans", *Herald*, June 3, 2000, 4.

⁵⁴⁹ Jimmy, "Jobs for ", 4.

⁵⁵⁰ Staff Reporter, "Marathi not essential for jobs, GHM tells agriculture director", *The Navhind Times*, August 2, 2000, 3.

⁵⁵¹ Reporter, "Marathi not", 3.

applicable for recruitment, the protesters also brought it to his notice that the domicile clause was included by other departments and stationery in similar advertisements.⁵⁵²

For almost 30 minutes, after heated arguments, Mr. Hawaldar finally agreed to immediately issue a corrigendum with regards to the language and domicile clauses, he also assured that the protesters that he would protect the interests of Goan youth in all possible ways, while he also apologized for the mistake and said that it was committed by the information department while issuing the advertisement.⁵⁵³ Later the GHM in a delegation also met Mr. K. V Prabhugaokar, director of information, demanding that no mistake should be repeated while issuing such advertisements in future.

4.9 MRBKS and Konkani

Marathi Rajyabhasha Kriti Samiti, a body which was fighting for the cause of Marathi language in Goa was seriously considering challenging the Constitutional validity Language Act, 1986, before the High Court.⁵⁵⁴ Mr. Vinayak Naik, the MRKS joint secretary, in a press note, had said that the special leave petition which was filed by the MRBPS and Gomantak Marathi Academy, the Supreme Court had rejected those who were challenging the Panaji Bench of Bombay High Court order on technical grounds.⁵⁵⁵

Mr. Naik said that the MRBPS and the GMA jointly challenged the state government notification issued under Article 309 of the Constitution for making knowledge of Konkani compulsory for recruitment before the high court, however, he informed that the

⁵⁵² Reporter, “Marathi not”, 3.

⁵⁵³ Reporter, “Marathi not”, 3.

⁵⁵⁴ Staff reporter, “MRKS likely to challenge official language”, *The Navhind Times*, August 3, 2000, 3.

⁵⁵⁵ Staff reporter, “MRKS likely”, 3.

Constitutional validity of the Act under Article 345 had not been raised by the original petition.⁵⁵⁶ Mr. Naik had said that Since the special leave petition stressed on the Constitutional validity of the Act, the apex court had rejected the petition pointing that the leave petition has gone beyond the scope of the case which had been decided by the High Court.⁵⁵⁷

Stating that even though the apex court had not entertained the special leave petition, Mr. Naik said that the language act has allowed Marathi language to be used for all official purposes in the state.⁵⁵⁸ In view of a provision to use Marathi for all official purposes, no power can stop the use of Marathi for official purpose in Goa.⁵⁵⁹ He said that senior advocate Mr. Fazi Nariman, who represented the MRBPS in apex court, while arguing the case had stressed the point that Constitutional validity of the Goa Official Language Act under Article 345 be examined and that on July 10th the special leave petition was filed, which was the last date, the special leave petition challenged the order of the high court.⁵⁶⁰

Mr. Venu Gopal, the company's representative advocate had filed the petition before the apex court on July 10, immediately after the high court order the joint meeting of the MRBPS and GMA which was held on April 12 had decided to file an appeal the high court before the apex court and the panel of legal experts were constituted.⁵⁶¹ However, Mr. Naik informed during the intervening period that since two private members bills were moved, Mr. Manohar Parrikar, BJP legislator, and Mr. Pandurang Raut, MGP MLA,

⁵⁵⁶ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁵⁷ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁵⁸ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁵⁹ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶⁰ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶¹ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

in the recently concluded state legislative assembly session, the MRBPS thought that the official language issue would be resolved at Goa House, Since both the bills being referred to the Governor in view of the financial implications into it the bills could come before the House.⁵⁶²

In view to avoid any further delay, the MRBPS had decided to file a special leave petition, Meanwhile, the MRBPS, initially announced launching of the struggle to renew its attempt to give the official language status to Marathi along with Konkani by organising the Chaityanya Palkhi from Marcaim, however, poor response was received in the Marathi protest.⁵⁶³ As against this, the GHM launched by young Konkani supporters, vehemently opposed any change in the official language act to make Marathi as essential language for recruitment in Goa, they feared that if Marathi was made essential for jobs, Goan youth would not be able to compete with Maharashtra.⁵⁶⁴

Hailing the high court order, awareness by organising public meetings was created by the GHM, saying that the interest of Goans in the state would only be protected by Konkani, all major political parties in Goa were also divided over the official language issue, though the high court verdict was on the recruitment rules.⁵⁶⁵ The Congress Party, which had brought the legislation on official language besides, framed the recruitment rules that stated that knowledge of Konkani was essential for jobs.⁵⁶⁶

The Bhartiya Janata Party, sharing the power in the coalition government in the state had announced that it would amend the Official Language Act for giving equal status to

⁵⁶² Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶³ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶⁴ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶⁵ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶⁶ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

Marathi along with Konkani.⁵⁶⁷ Accordingly, Mr. Manohar Parrikar in the concluded session of the state legislative assembly had moved the bill, Like-wise, the MGP legislator, Mr. Pandurang Raut had also moved in the concluded session.⁵⁶⁸

On 3rd August 2000, The Goa Hit- Rakhan Manch had accepted the supreme court decision to reject the appeal which was made by MRBPS, challenging the recruitment rule of making knowledge of Konkani compulsory in government jobs.⁵⁶⁹ Besides, several Konkani supporters also hailed the apex court decision of rejecting the Marathi Rajya Bhasha Prasthapan Samiti's special leave petition.⁵⁷⁰ Though the news had in Goa about the rejection of the petition record, details of the proceedings at the apex court were known to people.⁵⁷¹

In a press note, the GHM had informed that the rejection of the appeal means that following the Mumbai High Court, the apex court of the country in terms of recruitment rules, has also upheld the state government provision stating that knowledge of Konkani is essential and Marathi is desirable.⁵⁷² The MRPS wanted to also make knowledge of Marathi essential in government jobs which could have created hurdles for the Goan unemployed youth in seeking government jobs by opening the floodgates to the people knowing only Marathi and not Konkani.⁵⁷³

⁵⁶⁷ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶⁸ Staff reporter, "MRKS likely", 3.

⁵⁶⁹ Staff Reporter, "Konkani lovers hail SC decision on MRBPS", *The Navhind Times*, August 4, 2000, 3.

⁵⁷⁰ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷¹ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷² Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷³ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

The court case is being unnecessarily projected as that of the official language since the high court while giving judgement had clearly stated that Konkani is the sole official language and 90 per cent of Goans speak Konkani and is the official language whereas Marathi is not the official language.⁵⁷⁴ The GHM has thus alerted Goans to realise that the issue, which is being portrayed as the official language issue, is actually a threatening move of a few fanatics to play with the future of our unemployed youth in the name of official language and make an official provision for Marathi- speaking non-locals who come from outside and to seek government jobs.⁵⁷⁵

Though these extremist always said as to not worry about the outsiders who were coming and taking up jobs here, since the 15-year domicile clause is made applicable, the GHM has also brought to the notice that most of the government departments while inviting applications that this clause is not being inserted by them.⁵⁷⁶ The GHM however fully supports the demand of making the domicile clause applicable, though this alone cannot provide security in Jobs.⁵⁷⁷ The real security, states the press note issued by spokesperson, Mr. Prashant Naik, is the clause of Konkani as it is the strongest identity of Goans.⁵⁷⁸

The GHM had also hoped that the Supreme Court judgement would put the language controversy to rest which is four-decade old which had wasted enough time and energy of Goans where it had divided the people unnecessarily, Mr. Naik had also appealed to all

⁵⁷⁴ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷⁵ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷⁶ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷⁷ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁷⁸ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

the Goans as to not to fall prey to the moves of these fanatics and to concentrate more on the issues that were affecting the Goan society as a whole.⁵⁷⁹

4.10 Konkani in schools

The Konkani which is Taught in schools is in the Devnagari script. The government has decided to introduce English as a subject in primary schools with Konkani and Marathi as a medium of instruction right from standard one, and this move which was welcomed by parents and educationists but had faced opposition from the Marathi supporters.⁵⁸⁰

Education minister Luizinho Faleiro, however, stood by his decision and English is being taught in all schools from this year, the Congress party MLAs as well as functionaries supported the decision of the government, while Faleiro also announced that the decision to introduce English was taken after discussions with the Advisory Board.⁵⁸¹

Considering that for all purposes English is required, including protesting against the language, the decision should have come earlier, as Goa follows the policy of primary education in Konkani or Marathi where the medium of instruction changes to English at the fifth standard, when students reach the fifth, they have to switch to English which makes it difficult for them with just two years of studying the language in the third and fourth standards, but if it is taught them right from standard first then it will be of immense benefit for the students.⁵⁸²

According to the directorate of Education, as of June 13, 1992, , out of a total number of 202 government primary sections in Goa, 140 have switched over to Konkani as a

⁵⁷⁹ Reporter, "Konkani lovers", 3.

⁵⁸⁰ "English in primary schools", *Goa Today*, July 2006, 14.

⁵⁸¹ "English in", 14.

⁵⁸² "English in", 14.

medium of instruction since 1990- 1991, when the state government had announced its policy of medium of instruction.⁵⁸³ Before 1990- 91, 14 primary sections were imparting education in the Marathi medium and 19 more have switched over to Marathi since then taking the number of primary schools with Marathi medium to 33.2 primary sections where Urdu was the medium of instruction, while 27 government recognised primary sections still reported to be persisting with English as the medium of teaching, the fact that the use of vernacular languages is done by 175 primary sections, 140 of them Konkani, the official language of the state.⁵⁸⁴

The fears of Konkani protagonists that state grants to English medium primary schools to enable them to be financially solvent, further the CM's statement that he does not think that teaching of Konkani at primary school level should be made mandatory, but Konkani is the mother tongue of the Goan population and the Goans are unwilling to educate their children in the state language, but they prefer to send their children in English medium schools.⁵⁸⁵

On June 3rd 2000, Konkani protagonists in the State unanimously resolved to fight for Konkani if vested interests interfered to revive the language issue resolved way back in 1987, in a resolution which was issued to the government, they stated that Konkani being the People's language in Goa was alone entitled to be the official language of the State and that the provision in the Official Language Act to that effect was proper and wise.⁵⁸⁶

At the Margao Municipal Council Hall, a meeting of Konkani writers, poets, Tiatrists and Konkani supporters was held which highlighted the fact that there was an adequate

⁵⁸³ "English in", 14.

⁵⁸⁴ Kita Govekar, "140 non-govt. schools switch to Konkani", *Herald*, June 14, 1992, 5.

⁵⁸⁵ Cecilia D'Souza, "Konkani medium primary schools", *Herald*, March 1, 1990, 2.

⁵⁸⁶ D'Souza, "Konkani medium", 2.

provision in the Official Language Act for use of Marathi and no injustice had been caused to that language which is being created today, they pointed out that the demand for according official language status to Marathi is unwise and was not beneficial for the interests of Goans and hence they strongly opposed this.⁵⁸⁷

President of Goa Konkani Academy, Uday Bhemre, pointed out that no State in the country had two official languages and that only the spoken language in the State that is Konkani should be the official language, it was further argued that having two official languages on equal status will seriously jeopardise the interests of Goans, especially of the youth and future generations, in the economic field.⁵⁸⁸ The meet also stressed that the entire language issue will create a false impression that Goa is a bilingual State and will create complications on the political status of Goa which attained Statehood after much efforts and sacrifices.⁵⁸⁹ The Konkani protagonists raised one voice against any move to make Marathi official language giving equal status with Konkani or any attempts to amend the Official Language Act, any such move will be strongly resisted.⁵⁹⁰ The meeting was organised by Goa Hitrakhamn Manch, an organisation incepted a year ago and had made efforts towards promoting Konkani in the State.⁵⁹¹

The Chief Minister, Mr. Francisco Sardinha, has given a call to people to give primary education to their children in their mother tongue that is Konkani which he said that it

⁵⁸⁷ D'Souza, "Konkani medium", 2.

⁵⁸⁸ Herald Reporter, "Konkani protagonists vow to fight over language issue", *Herald*, June 4, 2000, 1.

⁵⁸⁹ Reporter, "Konkani protagonists", 1.

⁵⁹⁰ Reporter, "Konkani protagonists", 1.

⁵⁹¹ Reporter, "Konkani protagonists", 1.

would help them to understand many subjects in a better way.⁵⁹² Mr. Sardinha who was the chief guest at the 13th annual Shankar Bhandari Memorial Day organised by Konkani Seva Kendra, Sanquelim Speaking further, the Chief Minister called upon Konkani writers and Konkani supporters to extend patronage to the language.⁵⁹³

4.11 Primary Education- English v/s regional languages

As informed by Luizinho Faleiro, the Education Minister, in the legislative assembly of Goa, that 12 new primary schools were given permission by the Government in the state since January 2005, where out of these 12 schools, 10 were in English, 2 in Marathi and none of them were in Konkani.⁵⁹⁴ The question that why Konkani medium schools are not patronised by Goans is a very serious matter, majority of the parents who send their children to Konkani medium schools find it very difficult because Konkani is taught in Devnagri script and the dialect used in the text books is not liked by them.⁵⁹⁵ Konkani medium primary schools were introduced in Goa only in 1991, this was because the teachers who were teaching in privately managed English medium schools had filed a writ petition in the High Court demanding government pay scales, where the high court had accepted the demand of teachers and had directed the management of these schools to pay the teachers as per the government pay scale.⁵⁹⁶

The then Goa government having a bias against English education had formulated a policy to give salary grants to the schools which opted for primary education in regional

⁵⁹² “Giving primary education to kids in Konkani, Sardinha urges Goans”, *The Navhind Times*, August 6, 2000, 3.

⁵⁹³ “Giving primary”, 3.

⁵⁹⁴ Tomazinho Cardozo, “Primary Education in Goa; English v/s Regional languages”, *The Navhind Times*, February 19, 2006, 3.

⁵⁹⁵ Cardozo, “Primary education”, 3.

⁵⁹⁶ Cardozo, “Primary education”, 3.

languages, that is Konkani or Marathi, overnight, majority of these schools which were belonging to the Archdiocesan Board of Education were converted into Konkani medium schools, that too in Devnagari script.⁵⁹⁷ Since the number of Konkani medium schools remained the same, that is 137 schools belong to ABE while the remaining 11 belong to others.⁵⁹⁸ No other' managements had made any efforts to opt for Konkani medium, on the contrary, they preferred education in English medium, it is for this matter that English medium primary schools increased from 46 in 1994 to more than 100 in 2006.⁵⁹⁹

On analysing the scenario of primary education in Goa, the schools having Konkani medium, were actually English medium schools prior to 1991, the number of students in these schools decreases year after year and simultaneously those studying in the English medium schools increases every year, people wish to establish English medium schools in every village of Goa.⁶⁰⁰

4.12 Move of Marathi

On Oct 22, 2004, The Chief Minister, Manohar Parrikar had stated that the Marathi movement in the state which was the main guiding force behind construction of Marathi Bhavan, should reach every corner of Goa or else it will vanish even after the project was completed.⁶⁰¹

Mr. Parrikar, who had inaugurated the Marathi Bhavan building of Gomantak Marathi Academy (GMA), at Porvorim had informed that whatever amount which is collected by

⁵⁹⁷ Cardozo, "Primary education", 3.

⁵⁹⁸ Cardozo, "Primary education", 3.

⁵⁹⁹ Cardozo, "Primary education", 3.

⁶⁰⁰ Cardozo, "Primary education", 3.

⁶⁰¹ Staff Reporter, "Marathi movement should reach every corner of Goa: Manohar Parrikar", *The Navhind Times*, 23 October, 2004, 5.

the Academy for completion of the project in the future, the same would be matched by the government, and he also informed that for a good project the mind-set of donating money is disappearing from the society and as a result a statewide dindi should be organised by the Academy or for collection of funds for completion of the Bhavan.⁶⁰²

Mr. Ramdas Phutane, while delivering the key-note address informed that Marathi Bhavan will experience the onslaught of western culture, he hoped that the venue would be an information Centre for Marathi supporters.⁶⁰³ In the state, the Marathi-Konkani language controversy is actually limited to only few of the supporters from both the sides who carry an extremist mind-set.⁶⁰⁴

Mr. Dayanand Narvekar, Aldona MLA, on this occasion said that Marathi is an undying language and had contributed richly towards the local culture, earlier, the president of the Marathi Bhavan construction committee, Ms. Shashikala Kakodkar, had said that the Academy must now dedicate itself to the cultural and social activities and to carry out work where the expectations of the public would be fulfilled.⁶⁰⁵

⁶⁰² Reporter, "Marathi movement", 5.

⁶⁰³ Reporter, "Marathi movement", 5.

⁶⁰⁴ Reporter, "Marathi movement", 5.

⁶⁰⁵ Reporter, "Marathi movement", 5.



Fig No- 12 Sunaparant

Picture Credit- Goa Today

Picture Courtesy- Goa Today



Fig No- 13 Sunaparant

Picture Credit- Mercy Fernandes

Picture Courtesy- Sunaparant



Fig No- 14 Rally of Vehicles organised by the All Goa Students Action Committee and the Goa Protectors

Picture Credit- Daryl Andrade

Picture Courtesy- The Navhind Times

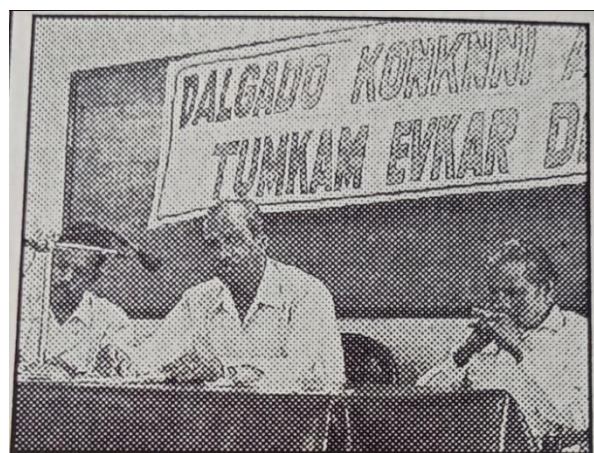


Fig No- 15 Meeting of the Romi script organised by the Dalgado Konkani Akademi

Picture Credit- Goa Today

Picture Courtesy- Goa Today

CHAPTER V- CONCLUSION

The Konkani language movement which took place in Goa had a significant impact on the people. It not only had brought the people together but had created awareness among the people in terms of Konkani. The demands which were put forth by the Konkani leaders and supporters which was Konkani to be the official language, the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule and the grant of Statehood to Goa, all these demands were fulfilled.

In the first chapter, this study shows the historical aspects of the Konkani language, beginning with its origins, where it was spoken, the status of Konkani during the Portuguese rule, the Inquisition and its effect on the Konkani language and the revival of Konkani. As per the sources, the origin of the Konkani language is being traced to the Mundari language and also to the Vedas. Also, it traces back to the Aryans. The first evidence of the Konkani language can be seen in the village named Shravanabelagola, where there is a statue which contains an inscription which is written in various languages which also included Konkani. There are also inscriptions found in Goa as well which is mentioned in Konkani language. This gives a testimony to the use of Konkani before the coming of the Portuguese. With the arrival of the Portuguese, due to the Inquisition, books in Konkani and other languages were burnt down and making Konkani as just a spoken language. it was also banned from schools and seminaries but later there was a need felt to study Konkani the purpose of evangelization. Things had been changed when other writers had started writing in Konkani and publishing their works.

The Konkani language movement which took place in Goa, have been studied in the 3rd chapter. The beginning of this movement had its origins in Mumbai. The actual work for the Konkani language used to take place here which mostly comprised of the youth and it was through the mandals that the work for Konkani was being carried out. After the liberation, the Konkani movement had started in Goa. It was first accompanied by the merger issue, that is merger of Goa with Maharashtra. But with the Opinion poll, Goa was saved from this merger issue. After this, was the movement that came into being. Before the statehood issue could be solved the language issue had to be taken first. This movement was given a boost by the Konkani leaders where these had tried to create awareness among the people and as a result there were many Konkani supporters who had come forward. The movement was accompanied by rallies, meetings, Morcha, road blocks, bandhs and violent means of protest. After all this, on 4th February 1987, Konkani was declared as the official language of Goa where Marathi and Gujarati had to be used for other official purposes.

In the 4th chapter, the issue after when the official language bill was passed is discussed in this chapter. Even after Konkani was made the official language, but still both the supporters that is the Konkani as well as the Marathi supporters were not satisfied with the bill, also there was a demand for dual language bill. After this issue was the medium of instruction in the schools and the national educational policy. Also, the issue of the script controversy arose, whether Devnagari or Romi Konkani. The Romi Konkani supporters as well as the Devnagari supporters used to carry out meetings to discuss this issue.

In this study, an attempt is made to discuss about the Konkani language movement, the passing of the official language bill, the language history and the post official bill scenario. It can be noticed that during the movement the Konkani supporters were titled towards their language. Also, during the hunger strikes, people's health was deteriorating but people chose to carry this strike until and unless their demands were fulfilled.

This study has made an attempt to cover the history of the language, its origins, status of Konkani during the Portuguese period, the Konkani movement, the official language bill and the status of Konkani after 1987. After the official language bill was passed, then was the granting of Statehood to Goa, on 30th May 1987, Statehood was granted to Goa, while Goa became separate from Daman and Diu. Earlier on the language bill it was noted as Marathi and Gujarati to be used as the official languages but after the statehood it was only Marathi that could be used for other official purposes. The other demand was the inclusion of Konkani in the Eighth Schedule, where in 1992, Konkani was included in the Eighth Schedule of the Indian Constitution along with the other languages.

The Konkani language movement was based on the three demands which were fulfilled. Konkani is a symbol of Goan identity as the Goans speak Konkani. The Konkani movement had made a significant impact on the people first of all it led to the recognition of Konkani as the official language and also in giving an identity to the Goan people. Konkani was also included in literature, music, theatre, administration.

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Appendix

Interview

Date of the interview: 18/12/2023

Interviewee: Yugank Naik

(Assistant Professor in the School of International and Area Studies at the Goa University)

Interviewer: Mercy Luiza Fernandes

Purpose of the interview: This interview was conducted to gain more insights on this dissertation topic on the Konkani language movement and beyond.

1) Sir I'm working on the Konkani language movement, so can you give me some inputs.

Eighth Schedule of the Constitution, if seen on the currency note, it is written in all languages. These are called as the 8th schedule languages which become the national languages of India. Government recognises Konkani as one of the national languages. The 1st demand was to have Konkani in the Eighth Schedule so that it was recognised as a national language. The second demand was that Konkani will be the official language of the state. Eighth Schedule is that Central government has to make an amendment which state government does not have any control, based on that state government can amend a law that Konkani is our official language. The state legislature has to do that based on that government makes an amendment to the law granting Goa as a state. All three demands were interlinked. First you have to mobilise people on mass level and also other intellectuals and before that in 1975, Konkani was given recognition by the Sahitya Academy. It is the apex institution of Indian languages. For this you have to establish Konkani as a formal language, that is a language that has produced literature. Then the Issue of the script, Konkani in which script. Konkani always had a displaced characteristic. For Example, Tamil Nadu where Nadu means country, also Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra where on 1st May it was called as Maharashtra Desha. But Goa doesn't have any that of sought. Konkani was not a part of the imperial region. Konkani was never a language of any king. Right from Gujarat to Kerala, Konkani speakers have been displaced. For example, in Karnataka, you have almost 17 lakh Konkani speakers. So, we have more Konkani speakers then in Goa, there are more Konkani speakers outside Goa. Struggle for Konkani has taken a long time and Konkani has been always a part of disputed community.

2) Konkani was made the official language of Goa but I had referred to one bill of 1992, which mentions that Marathi was also included as the official language.


The bill says that Konkani shall be the official language and the bill was introduced before the statehood which says that Marathi and Gujarati can be used for educational and official purposes. It is being said as 'can be used' and 'not shall be used'.

3) But official language is only one.

Yes, official language is only one. Goa did not have Marathi as the official language, as in 1967, Goa had fought an Opinion poll. Goans only want official language just because of government jobs but that's not the entire purpose.

4) But Konkani was declared as the official language in Devnagari script.

It was in Devnagari, but there are multiple approaches that one was that Devnagari was in 1975 wanted to get recognition from Sahitya Academy, as Sahitya Akademi will not accept any language written in the Romi script. Konkani is written in 5 different scripts. It is written in Romi and Devnagari which we know and it is also written in Malayalam, Kannada and Arabic. If you go to Bhatkal and those areas, there are coastal population who write Konkani. Devnagari was made the script of Konkani. The bill of 1987, when the script issue started coming? Script is a complex issue. Konkani as a movement, Konkani as a language has contributed immensely for the communal harmony and secular place in the state and that is where the script issue comes. Goa was the last state to get statehood based on official language or linguistic identity.



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