

## CHAPTER II

### NORTH KANARA DISTRICT

In the district of North Kanara included in the State of Mysore by the States Reorganisation Commission, the Government of Bombay claimed 50 villages in Karwar taluka with a population of 67,107 Marathi and Konkani percentage being 78; 131 villages in Supa taluka with a population of 17,451 Marathi and Konkani percentage being 84; and 120 villages in Haliyal taluka with a population of 31,122 Marathi and Konkani speaking being 67. It was said that in its structure as well as vocabulary Konkani is closely affiliated with Marathi.

2.2. The Mysore Government resisted the claim and suggested that Konkani that is spoken in the northernmost region is moulded more or less by the Marathi language while that spoken in the two Kanara districts and south-west has been moulded by Kannada, Malayalam etc. It said that Konkani is an Aryan language very much resembling Balabhasha; Konkani people themselves wanted the Census Officers to declare that it was an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi. It could not, therefore, be grouped with the Marathi language to support the claim of minority of Maharashtrais in these talukas for their merger in the State of Maharashtra.

2.3. The percentage of Marathi-speaking population in the talukas of Karwar, Haliyal and Supa is 8, 40 and 30, respectively. It was further urged that the North Kanara District had no contiguity with any part of the State of Maharashtra and that historically, the North Kanara District has always been a part of the Karnatak region.

2.4. The two Maharashtraian members on the Four-Man Committee in their report said that this area is contiguous to Marathi tract of Belgaum district which itself is contiguous to Maharashtra and Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.

2.5. The Mysore members on the Four-Man Committee repudiated the claim of Konkani being added to Marathi. They said that Konkani is not Marathi and cannot be considered for acquiring linguistic homogeneity. It was further said that all these areas have thick forests with very sparse population. Villages are not compact villages. A farm with a hut for residence is a unit by itself and there are no village communities proper. Land tenures are also different. Culturally major part of Karwar district has affinities with the Kannada districts of Dharwar, Belgaum and the districts of old Mysore area. Several communities in the district are followers of His Holiness Sri Shankaracharya Mutt of Sringeri of the old Mysore State.

2.6. In Karwar town the Kannada-speaking population is 22.2 per cent while Marathi is 17.6 per cent. As regards Supa, the Revenue

Sub-Division is called Peta, having a lesser status than a taluka. The Government of Mysore after reorganisation has made it a taluka. It is a forest area situated in the midst of Sahyadri range. It consists of 127 villages with an area of 731.9 sq. miles. The total population consists of 18,114 souls. There are 13 villages which are deserted and have no population. Out of the total population, Marathi-speaking people are only 7,217.

2.7. Haliyal is mostly a forest area above the Ghats. The total population of the Haliyal town is 16,368, percentage of Marathi-speaking is 35 and that of Kannada-speaking is 26; only 10 per cent speak Konkani. Those who speak other languages are 28 per cent.

2.8. The town of Haliyal is situated at a distance of 20 miles from Dharwar which is a Kannada area. The nearest railway station of Haliyal is Alnavar at a distance of 7 miles and it is in Dharwar taluka.

2.9. Number of memoranda were received regarding these talukas. A synopsis of the memoranda received by the Commission, the persons interviewed by it and the views of those who support the Government of Maharashtra and of those who support the stand of the Government of Mysore are given in Annexure III, Volume II. A few important ones are given herein.

2.10. The Government of Maharashtra in their memorandum submitted on 31st March, 1967, stated as follows:

Prior to the reorganisation of States in 1956, North Kanara district was included in the then Bombay State. With the reorganisation of the States, it came to be included in the Mysore State. The claim of the Government of Maharashtra to the villages in three talukas of the district is based on the principles of contiguity, village as the unit, relative language majority and wishes of the people. For the purpose of computing relative language majority, the Government of Maharashtra have included the Konkani-speaking people in the Marathi-speaking people. Great philologists, scholars and gentlemen in public life whose mother tongue has been Konkani have arrived at the following conclusions:

"Konkani dialects have developed out of an older form of the current standard Marathi, and that in grammar, syntax and vocabulary, they bear very close resemblance to the standard Marathi. It is true that they differ from standard Marathi in some respects, but these differences are no more marked, and no more important than they are between any two Konkani dialects. These differences moreover are due to accidents of history and are such as commonly exist in the spoken versions of any language. Konkani, therefore, appears to us to be a dialect of Marathi."

2.11. It was said that the above conclusion is in accord with the conclusion of the other scholars of established repute. In his Linguistic Survey of India, Vol. VII, page 164, Sir George Grierson affirms

that Konkani is the dialect of Marathi and definitely controverts the suggestion that it is an independent language. He also specifically mentions that the missionaries of Goa and Mangalore contend that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi and controverts it pointing out that the contention is based on the misconception that dialect connotes a deterioration of some other form of speech.

2.12. Sir Ramkrishna Bhandarkar, whose mother tongue was Konkani, refers to "Goan Konkani" as "Goanese Marathi."

2.13. Dr. Suniti Kumar Chatterjee holds the view :

"It is well known that Kannada is an important Dravidian language and it differs basically from Indo-Aryan speech like Marathi, Konkani and the rest. With regard to the relationship between Marathi and Konkani, opinions differ ... Konkani and Marathi, therefore, are to be regarded closer and allied speeches and for all practical purposes the Konkani which is split up in numerous dialects, can be regarded as being within the orbit of Marathi."

2.14. Encyclopaedia Britannica also supports the view that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.

2.15. The former Government of Bombay as far back as 1948 took the view that Konkani is not an independent language. It is only a dialect of Marathi.

2.16. The Fact-Finding Committee (States Reorganisation), 1954, consisted of important personalities from the princely State of Mysore. They quoted Grierson's opinion contained in his Linguistic Survey of India that—

"Kanaree is bounded on the north and west by Marathi and its dialect Konkani, on the east by Telugu and Tamil and on the south by Tamil, Kodagu and Tulu."

The Committee also admitted that Konkani is allied to Marathi.

2.17. The Government of Maharashtra summarised their case in para 5.26 at page 61 of their memorandum thus—

- (1) Everyone including the Government of Mysore is unanimous on the point that Konkani language belongs to an Indo-Aryan group of languages to which Marathi belongs; whereas Kannada belongs to an entirely different system of languages known as Dravidian languages.
- (2) The morphology and the structure of the Konkani language are akin to those of Marathi.
- (3) A number of eminent philologists and linguists of international fame as well as scholars and historians have held that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.
- (4) Eminent persons whose mother tongue has been Konkani have unequivocally accepted that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.

- (5) It is demonstrably true that any one who knows Marathi can easily follow Konkani of Karwar, Supa and Haliyal talukas and that any person whose mother tongue is Konkani in these talukas has no difficulty in following Marathi.
- (6) Dr. Katre, Shri Suniti Kumar Chatterji and Mr. Silva who are of the opinion that Konkani is an independent language, have agreed that Konkani is most akin to Marathi.
- (7) The Government of the pre-reorganised Bombay State and the Government of Mysore had held that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.
- (8) The Government of India have also by necessary implication held the same view while ordering the opinion poll in Goa.
- (9) Various Konkani dialects have no standard form because all the Konkani-speakers have all along given their allegiance to Marathi only as their language of traditional literature and literary expression.
- (10) The people of Karwar, Supa and Haliyal talukas have by passing resolutions unequivocally expressed the opinion that Konkani language belongs to Marathi family."

2.18. The case of the Government of Maharashtra is supported in all its aspects by the memorandum presented by the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, Karwar, where its leading members also came in for interview with the Commission and discussed the matter with it. The annexures to this memorandum gave quotations from the Karwar Municipality's Centenary Souvenir and cited the opinion of Dr. S. K. Chatterji about Konkani, a letter of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru dated 15th March, 1956 and "Kali te Gangavalli" (Marathi publication). A table of comparative sentences of Marathi and their analysis in Konkani was appended. Specimens of land records in Marathi were given. A list of books in Karwar General Library was filed along with a memorandum of Karwar Taluka Development Board. The annexures give a list of communities in Karwar, Supa and Haliyal. A bunch of resolutions passed by the Village Panchayats and Taluka Development Boards in support of their thesis was annexed. Reference was made to Kanara Gazetteer, Mysore Gazetteer, Census Report of 1951, Language Handbook of 1951 and to a book about the "Future of Bellary Taluka" by Justice Misra. Report of the Fact-Finding Committee appointed by the Mysore Government was also cited. Publication of Dr. Buchanan's Journey was annexed along with the Linguistic Survey of India by Dr. Grierson, History of Marathas by Grant Duff, Rise of Maratha Power by Justice Ranade and History of Maratha People by C. A. Kincaid. The publication of Grand Rebel by Dennis Kincaid was cited. Writing on the Formation of Konkani by Dr. S. M. Katre, a memorandum on Konkani language by D'Silva and Granthik Marathi Ani Konkani Bolee (Marathi publication) by Shri Priyolkar were referred to

2.19. The Government of Mysore in their memorandum dated 31st March, 1967, said that the whole of this area was known as

Kanara or Kannada. The official language of both the districts has been Kannada ever since they have been under the British rule.

2.20. In 1950, the Government of Bombay chose to declare the talukas of Karwar, Supa and Haliyal s bilingual—not because the Marathi-speaking population was of that magnitude, but because they wanted to enforce the theory that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi and that it should be added to and counted as Marathi for all linguistic calculations. In this way the total number of Marathi-speaking persons was taken to be more than 20 per cent., which was the minimum to recognise any language as bilingual. This action of the Bombay Government evoked a storm of opposition from the public both in the press and on the platform all over Karnatak. It was characterised as uncalled for and one engineered with the help of a particular local District Officer. With a view to pacify this agitation and to allay the feelings of the general public, a Press Note was issued by the Government of Bombay on 24th June, 1953, clarifying that the Government order was only with a view to helping the people to get recognised as bilingual merely for the purpose of receiving Notices and communications from Government in that language and that the orders have no political significance.

2.21. Konkani language has its variations. The people of Karwar and Mangalore speak Konkani which has a greater mixture of Kannada. In his book "The Formation of Konkani" Dr. S. M. Katre, Professor of Indo-Aryan Philology remarks—

"Thus the dialects spoken in the two Kanaras (i.e. Districts of South and North Kanara) drew upon Kannada for fresh vocables. . . . While the settlers in Maratha country drew upon cognate Marathi to enrich its own vocabulary."

2.22. Most of the Konkani-speaking people in the district of Karwar know Kannada as well. At the time of 1951 Census, out of a total of 153,737 Konkani-speaking people, 74,156 have declared their subsidiary language. Out of them 68,716 have declared Kannada as their subsidiary language while 5,120 only have declared Marathi as such. It not only shows that most of the Konkani-speaking people knew Kannada but it also indicates that their leaning is more towards Kannada than towards Marathi. This goes counter to the theory of affinity and sisterhood of languages put forth by the Government of Maharashtra.

2.23. Similarly, out of a total of 36,330 persons of Karwar district whose mother tongue is Marathi, 13,479 persons have declared their subsidiary language. Out of them 1,068 have declared Konkani as their subsidiary language while 12,179 have declared Kannada as such.

2.24. All these talukas have thick forest areas with very sparse population. Villages are not compact places of human habitation. They are wide apart. Groups of two or more villages are called Maganies. The land tenures are quite different in this area. There is no similarity in any way between the system of land tenures in Konkani districts as compared to the districts of North and South

Kanara. Culturally major parts of Karwar district have affinities with the Kannada districts of Dharwar, Belgaum etc. and also with the districts of old Mysore area. Karwar taluka is not contiguous to any part of Maharashtra State. If contiguity has to be established, it could only be through the talukas of Belgaum, Khanapur, Haliyal and Supa which are all in Mysore State. Karwar is one of the finest and safest natural harbours on the West Coast of India.

2.25. The few Marathi-speaking villages in the centre of the taluka of Haliyal are surrounded on all sides by areas consisting of villages which are either deserted or unpopulated or by villages where neither Marathi nor Konkani language is predominant. Even the central area where there are Marathi-speaking villages is interspersed with other areas. Teak wood and other forest produce like bamboo from these forests have earned a name.

2.26. In April 1950, the then Government of Bombay had declared that the three talukas of Karwar, Haliyal and Supa were bilingual on the ground that Konkani is akin to Marathi and that Marathi should also be used for official purposes. The result of this privilege given to Marathi language in these three talukas was very meagre. During the year 1961 the Taluka Office, Haliyal, received 2,998 applications of which only 11 were in Marathi. Similarly, the total number of correspondence in that office amounted to 17,500 and these were either in Kannada or in English and none at all in Marathi. The number of documents registered in the Sub-Registrar's Office at Haliyal and Supa were all in Kannada excepting a few. Even in the general elections of 1962, the electoral rolls were printed both in Kannada as well as in Marathi but there was no demand for the Marathi language copies.

2.27. In another part of the memorandum, the claim of the Government of Maharashtra that for purposes of linguistic homogeneity, persons speaking Konkani language should be added to those of Marathi, has been examined. The claim is based on the ground that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi. When the Government of Mysore disputed this proposition, and came out with a case that Konkani is an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra replied that Marathi and Konkani both belong to the same family, namely, Aryan family of languages on the ground that both are derived from Sanskrit. In short, according to him, if Konkani is not a daughter of Marathi, she is undoubtedly its sister.

2.28. Scholars, historians and linguists are sharply divided and some hold views, which are almost diametrically opposite to those of some others. There are three schools of thought. Broadly speaking, one puts forth the view that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi, there is another which asserts that Marathi is derived from Konkani and there is a third which maintains that Konkani is an independent language, having no kinship with Marathi.

2.29. After a deep and thorough study of the question, Dr. S. M. Katre, Professor of Indo-Aryan Philology, has reached the conclusion that Konkani is a separate language from Marathi and not a dialect of the latter.

2.30. In the Madras District Gazetteer (South Kanara) a reference is made to the Saraswats who have migrated from Goa. It is said:

“It (Konkani) is believed to be the corrupt form or a dialect of Marathi, but in fact it is neither. It is a direct offshoot of the Eastern Magadhi Prakrit and is thus cognate with Eastern languages of North Indian States of Mythili.”

2.31. After comparing the grammatical mechanism of Konkani languages with that of other Aryan languages, Dr. Dalgado, another authority on this subject, concludes that Konkani belongs to Aryan group. He observes that—

“Konkani is an Aryan language, inflexive and non-Dravidian. It resembles much the Balabhasha. It is less distant from Sanskrit in grammatical organisation and vocabulary than Marathi. It is not a dialect or corruption of Marathi.”

2.32. Shenai Goibab, another scholar of Konkani, maintains that it is an independent language. He is a Goan himself and has written a valuable book entitled “Konkanichi Vyakarani Bandavala”.

2.33. Apart from the opinion of scholars and historians, the opinion of the Konkani-speaking people themselves is also contrary to the view taken by the Government of Maharashtra. The Third Konkani Conference held at Bombay in 1942 said:

“That the Konkani language is an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi language.”

2.34. At a subsequent conference held in Karwar in May 1961, a resolution was passed expressing the same stand.

2.35. In the census enumerations, Konkani is treated as an independent language and shown separately from Marathi. The significance of this fact is sought to be watered down by the Maharashtra Government by saying that this separate enumeration is only from 1931 onwards and that prior to it Konkani was treated as a dialect of Marathi. This overlooks the better light thrown on the problem by later investigations and findings and the most recent conclusions of the Government, which remain unchanged even to this day.

2.36. Govinda Pai, a linguist, a research scholar and a Poet laureate of Madras, refutes this theory of a common Prakrit being the parent of both these languages.

2.37. In the note to the 1961 Census, the latest view of Government is given that Konkani is not a dialect of Marathi.

2.38. Those who supported the stand of the Mysore Government contend that there is no substantial majority in any one of these talukas of the Marathi speakers. In Karwar taluka Marathi is practically insignificant. The argument that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi is not supported by linguists like Dr. S. M. Katre of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute. In his opinion, Konkani is an independent language.

2.39. The entire Supa taluka is a forest area. Petty villages with only 10 or 12 houses are to be found interspersed here and there. In 75 villages the population is less than 100; in 48 villages it is less than 50; and in some it is not more than 10 or 12, with only one or two houses. How can a wealthy forest region be given for the sake of a handful of people?

2.40. Elected representatives of the people of Karwar taluka in Mysore State and of various Village Panchayats in Karwar taluka have unreservedly supported the continuation of these areas in Mysore State. Ten members of Karwar Town Municipal Council expressed the same opinion. Eighteen members of other village Panchayats in this taluka have also subscribed to the continuation of *status quo*.

2.41. The Mysore Government's case was strongly supported by the memorandum presented to the Commission by Shri P. S. Kamat of Karwar. Shri Kamat is an Ex-MLC, Bombay, Ex-Senate Member of Karnatak University, Ex-President, Taluka Congress Committee of Karwar and he also holds various other honorary offices including the Presidentship of the Bar Association of Karwar. He was born in Karwar in 1899 and educated and bred up at Karwar. He participated in the Independence movement since 1921 up to 1947 and in all political, social and educational activities in the district and State since then. It is his earnest desire that *status quo* should be maintained in the interests of all concerned. He further said that these talukas have no contiguity with Maharashtra territory; that Khanapur and Supa talukas are separated by natural barriers of vast forest and mountain ranges and the whole forest area of Supa taluka cannot be split into such undesirable proportions with little advantage to any of the States. The northernmost villages in these two talukas, which may be called as inhabited villages, are not at all contiguous. Vast stretches of forest intervene and even though the crow fly distance make them nearer areas, the actual communication facilities allowed by nature would remove them to a great distance from each other and a little experience with actual geographical and topographical knowledge of this forest area would surely explore the theory of contiguity of these two talukas. Shri Kamat when interviewed gave very balanced answers and the Commission was impressed by the manner in which he gave evidence.

2.42. Shri Sen and Shri Misra appearing on behalf of the Maharashtra Government and on behalf of the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti drew my attention to the expert opinion and further contended that Konkani is only a spoken language and cannot have the status of an independent language, that in any case as it appears from the evidence and from the various memoranda of experts, research scholars, linguists and academicians, its kinship with Marathi is fully established and, therefore, Konkani should be added to Marathi in order to establish linguistic homogeneity of these areas with Maharashtra.

2.43. Shri Nambiar on behalf of the State of Mysore contended that the expert opinion was evenly divided and that the note of 1961 Census clearly showed that the theory that Konkani is a dialect of

Marathi, is a blown out theory. It cannot now be watered down. He also said that the Konkani people in three different conferences have said that this is a separate independent language and they have no linguistic affinity with Marathi-speaking people.

2.44. Shri Nambiar also drew my attention to the large number of Konkani-speaking persons who have given evidence against merger of these areas in Maharashtra. He emphasized the fact that language which the masses understand can alone be considered to decide linguistic homogeneity and it can, therefore, be the spoken language that is understood by the masses, that matters. He also contended that there was no contiguity of the areas with the existing border lines of the State of Maharashtra. It was further said that the linguistic complexion and the geographical situation of the villages was against the theory of linguistic homogeneity.

2.45. After a careful consideration of the arguments of the learned counsels and the material collected by me or placed before me by the contending parties, I have reached the conclusion that the villages in the three talukas claimed by Maharashtra cannot be recommended to be included in that State.

2.46. My own impression is that people who were interviewed, a large number of them, with few exceptions, were briefed either by the Congress Party, the Karnatak Samiti or the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti and the bodies supporting it. Most of them presented to me memos which seemed to have been prepared by a common source. A large number of such copies had been cyclostyled and handed over to the persons who came for interview and they gave these to me. People came with a bias and a special pleading for either side of the case. Hardly a Marathi-speaking person interviewing me was prepared to say that Konkani is an independent language even if he did not fully understand Konkani. Similarly those who came to say that Konkani was an independent language, and particularly the Kannada-speaking people, were not prepared to concede either that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi or was akin to it or that there was any case for merger of these areas in Maharashtra. Even eminent persons, highly respectable and holding positions of eminence and responsibility, succumbed to this bias and were obsessed either with the Maharashtra claim or with the *status quo* version of Mysore. People who came from different villages or Sarpanches of Panchayats were similarly coloured by the views of those who were leading either the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti or the Congress. Amongst the Konkani speakers, the evidence was of a very contradictory nature. Some prominent Konkani speakers not only repudiated the Maharashtra claim that Konkani was a dialect of Marathi but they asserted that, as a matter of fact, Marathi was born later than Konkani, that Konkani was an independent language and that Konkani-speaking people were thinking of getting it added to the Eighth Schedule to the Constitution and some were even of the view that there should be a separate Konkani State. Those Konkani speakers who came to support the case of Maharashtra or who were under the influence of the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti, however, emphatically declared that it was a dialect of Marathi or, in any case, akin to it. One Member of Parlia-

ment even asserted that Konkani was Marathi and Marathi was Konkani, and no question arose of Konkani being a dialect of Marathi. Experts who appeared before me, as is usual with all experts in all subjects when their opinion is called for, also put in a special pleading in support of their opinions. While going about the area and consulting opinion of people and wishes of people, it is difficult to say that any strong case has been made out for merger of these areas with Maharashtra.

2.47. Great emphasis was laid on the results of elections which were fought on one side by candidates of the Maharashtra Ekikaran Samiti and on the other side by the Congress. This evidence on the question at issue is not of much help. The Congress never opposed the Samiti or joined issue with it on the question of language and the Congress lost because not of the verdict of the people on the language issue but owing to other causes.

2.48. Expert opinion about Konkani being a dialect of Marathi is sharply divided. As a lay man I will not venture to tread into a domain in which experts hold divergent views and to decide whether Konkani is a dialect of Marathi or is so akin to it as to be regarded as Marathi. I have no hesitation, however, in deciding that Konkani speakers of these areas cannot be added to Marathi speakers for the purpose of giving Marathi language predominance and to give the Marathi speakers the benefit of the principle of linguistic homogeneity which would entitle them to take these villages to Maharashtra. There is plenty of material on the record that Konkani is spoken in different forms and in different ways and is not necessarily as a spoken language understood by all the persons who speak Marathi and *vice versa*.

2.49. I agree with Shri Nambiar's arguments that linguistic homogeneity is not the homogeneity of experts or of those who know both the languages, but linguistic homogeneity is the homogeneity of the common man. Does a common man who speaks Marathi understand Konkani or a common man who speaks Konkani understand Marathi? Answer must be in the negative. If these people cannot understand each other apart from philologists or experts and speakers of both the languages, does it really matter if once upon a time it was an Indo-Aryan language from which it descended?

2.50. I cannot accept the view of Shri Misra that a language which is purely spoken is only a dialect. When questioned he could cite no authority for this proposition except his own.

2.51. Shri Sen had argued that all the publications, all the papers and periodicals in Karwar or in Hubli were in Marathi and there were no periodicals in any other language. Shri Nambiar very sharply reacted against this contention and said it was absolutely incorrect. He cited from the report of the two Mysore members on the Four-Man Boundary Committee wherein it has been said that even to this day Kannada script holds its field as a popular vehicle for Konkani language. This is evident from the fact in a cosmopolitan city like Bombay where there are Konkani people from all

parts of the western coast, newspapers and magazines are run exclusively in Konkani language to cater to the needs of the Konkani people. They are in Kannada script even to this day. "Poinnari" is a magazine printed at Sundar Art Printing Press, Frere Road, Bombay. It was established in 1950 and claims to be India's foremost Konkani newspaper. "Zhelo" is a Konkani fortnightly magazine published at Agra Road, Kurla, Bombay. "Vishala Konkani" is another weekly news magazine in Konkani printed from Bombay. "Mitra" is another Konkani language weekly published at Bombay and it claims the largest readership of any Konkani news magazine. All these publications are printed in Konkani language but in Kannada characters obviously because the reading public is mostly conversant with Kannada script.

2.52. Shri Sen very strenuously urged before me that Konkani and Marathi are so integrated in these areas that they can only be regarded as one language group and for purposes of linguistic homogeneity, he placed reliance in inter-change of Census figures of 1951 and 1961 in a certain number of villages. Marathi high percentage in 1951 became Konkani percentage in 1961 and *vice versa* in a number of villages. From a few of such changes he concluded that Konkani-speaking people had no hesitation in getting themselves enumerated as Marathi-speaking and Marathi-speaking people had no hesitation in getting themselves enumerated as Konkani-speaking. They mingled with one another and treated themselves as the same. In my opinion this contention is unsound and based on very meagre material. The inter-change in the Census figures of Marathi speakers into Konkani speakers and Konkani speakers into Marathi speakers in a few villages may be the result of the enumerator's own doing and the result of his own understanding. The conclusion that it was at the instance of the people that the Census authorities made this inter-change does not follow. Be that as it may, the instances are not so numerous as to necessarily lead to such a conclusion.

2.53. In the three Konkani Conferences the Konkani people themselves resolved that Konkani is an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi, and they wanted to maintain an independent status and did not like to coalesce with Marathi people.

2.54. The Konkani language has been treated as an independent language in the Census operations from 1931 up to 1961. For the purposes of my enquiry it is the best evidence of the fact that it is an independent language. It was at the instance of the Konkani people that the Census authorities were obliged to record Konkani speakers separately. In the 1961 Census it was clearly stated that the theory that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi is an exploded one and that the latest thinking is that it is an independent language.

2.55. As Shri Misra put it, the heart of the case in regard to these three talukas is whether Konkani can be added to Marathi for linguistic homogeneity and for merger of these areas in Maharashtra. As stated above, I cannot add Konkani to Marathi for purposes of linguistic homogeneity.

2.56. Public Prosecutor told me at Karwar that not a single pleading in Marathi has been filed in Karwar District Court.

2.57. The members of the District Bar of Karwar and Haliyal support the view of the State of Mysore. I attach considerable importance to their testimony.

2.58. If Konkani is not added to Marathi, then there is no stable and sizeable majority of the Marathi speakers in these areas. In Karwar it is not more than 8 per cent or so. In Supa it is below 39 per cent. In Haliyal there are certain villages which have Marathi majority but these villages are so inter-mixed with Kannada villages that they do not form a compact area. On the basis of language, there is no case made out to merge these areas in Maharashtra.

2.59. Be that as it may, it is an admitted fact and cannot be denied that these three talukas by themselves have no contiguity with the existing border of Maharashtra. It was contended by Shri Sen and Shri Misra that if they get Belgaum and Khanapur then contiguity can be established. Shri Nambiar replied by saying that contiguity must be with the existing border of Maharashtra. The border that may be reorganised or laid down after the Commission's report or as a result of the Parliamentary statute, will not be an existing border but will be the future border and as one does not know what that border is going to be, the matter has to be decided on the basis of the existing border and it is evident that these areas have no contiguity whatsoever with the existing borders of Maharashtra. I agree with the contention of Shri Nambiar. The claim of Maharashtra has to be rejected on this ground as well.

2.60 It may also be mentioned that so far as Supa area is concerned, 93% is forest. The population is about 17,000 to 18,000. The villages are far apart from one another. Some of them are situated 8 to 10 miles apart. One villager who came to see me told me that in order to go to the other village they have to travel 32 miles. It is also evident that over six months in the year Supa taluka is land-locked. It has no communication during the rainy season with any part of the district of Karwar. People have to keep their food stored for these months. How can there be any linguistic homogeneity and fraternizing of people living in such areas with people living in Maharashtra, I fail to understand. Allowing the claims of the Government of Maharashtra will mean that the Commission will be recommending transfer of 93% of the forest wealth of Mysore to Maharashtra. The same is the case with Haliyal, which is also mostly a forest area.

2.61. It is unnecessary to consider the argument of Shri Nambiar that the whole of Malnad area should be kept within one State as said by the S.R.C. Report and hence *status quo* should be maintained

2.62. In the additional claim that the State of Maharashtra has put forward, they have given up a number of villages originally claimed in the taluka of Supa as well as in the taluka of Haliyal,

but they claimed seven villages in addition to the ones already claimed in the original statement in the taluka of Haliyal. As I have totally rejected the claim of the State of Maharashtra regarding the District of North Kanara, the additional claim also cannot be considered and has to be disallowed.