

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO THE FACTORS EXERTING A
SUBTRACTIVE INFLUENCE ON TELUGU AND ITS CULTURE**

By

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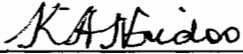
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DECLARATION

I, KISTA APPLESAMY NAIDOO, declare that "An Investigation into the factors exerting a subtractive influence on Telugu and its Culture" is my own original research and that all the sources I have used and quoted from have been acknowledged.



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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AMMSA	Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa
ECMTS	Ethnic Community Mother Tongue Schools
EMT	Ethnic mother tongue
HOD	House of Delegates
LMLS	Language maintenance and language shift
MST	Modern spoken/standard Telugu
MT	Mother tongue
PAS	Pathmajuranni Andhra Sabha
SAAYM	South African Andhra Youth Movement
SAHMS	South African Hindu Maha Sabha
STE	South African Telugu
UDW	University of Durban Westville

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ABSTRACT

In this study, I investigate the sociolinguistic factors that exert a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture. This study focuses on the sociolinguistic features of the Telugu Community and Telugu speaking Hindus in Natal. The majority of the Telugu speaking immigrants settled in the vicinity where they served during indentureship, for e.g. in Kearsney and Tongaat on the North Coast and, Illovo, Esperanza, Umzinto, Sezela and Port Shepstone on the South Coast.

The contents of this study are largely based on the findings of the survey conducted among the Andhras living in Durban and surrounding areas. As a Telugu home language speaker and concomitantly, an Andhra, my concern about other Andhras moving away from our language and culture has stimulated me to investigate the factors exerting a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra Culture. My participation in the Andhra community has afforded me a unique opportunity to view the occurrences in the community. I have enjoyed vast experience as an executive member of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa (hereafter AMSSA).

The study aims to respond to the following key questions:

- Why is there an erosion of the Telugu language and culture?
- Is AMSSA fulfilling its aims and objectives in the nurturing of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?
- Does the Andhra Eisteddfod help in the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?
- What is the community's attitude towards the Telugu language and Andhra culture?

This study applies to the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language shift (L.S.) to determine the status of the Telugu language.

According to the interview questionnaire findings, the language shift from Telugu is mainly linked to the dominant official status of the English language and the following factors which have an eroding influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture: Telugu as the home language in personal domains and the Andhra community as a minority group in South Africa, Government language policy, assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamil speaking community, lack of separate identity for the Andhras, the difference between the Telugu and Tamil scripts, borrowing from Tamil, the impact of intermarriage, lack of academically qualified teachers to teach Telugu, the political situation in South Africa, the Group Areas Act (1950) of South Africa and the breakdown of the joint family system.

My findings indicate that many Andhras do not retain a cultural value system that is traditionally Andhra. It follows that the Telugu language and Andhra culture within South Africa appear to be rapidly eroding in spite of the existing religio-cultural activities.

The conclusions derived from my observation are used to establish this hypothesis. In my opinion the AMSSA is not vigorous enough amongst the Andhra youth or younger generation in kindling their interest.

The statistical data and illustrations in Chapter Four support my hypothesis that there is an erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

The study of the Telugu language as a minority language is carried out within the framework of certain theories: theories on the role of minorities in a new host country and theories on self protecting forces in minorities. These theories apply to the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language shift.

The study concludes with a summary of the chapters. Thereafter, a brief account is provided of the contributions this study has made into the study of the Telugu language and Andhra Culture. This is followed by various recommendations to Andhra Community to maintain their Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. The study concludes by identifying areas for future investigations.

ABSTRACT IN TELUGU
సంక్షిప్త సారాంశము

నేను ఓ ఆంధ్రునిగా, తెలుగు భాషను మాట్లాడే వ్యక్తిగా, భాషాభిమానిగా, ప్రేమికునిగా, దక్షిణాఫ్రికా ఆంధ్ర మహా సభ కార్యనిర్వాహణ సభ్యునిగా డర్బన్ - నేటల్ ప్రాంత మందలి ఆంధ్రుల సామాజిక, సాంఘిక భాషా పరమైన స్థితిగతులను పరిశీలించి, శోధించి అవగతం చేసికొనే అరుదైన అపురూప అవకాశం నాకు కల్గింది.

నా మొక్క ఈ పరిరోధనావ్యాసములో డర్బన్ - నేటల్ ప్రాంతమందలి (దక్షిణాఫ్రికా) తెలుగు మాట్లాడే హిందువులపై ప్రభావముచూపిన సామాజిక, సాంఘిక అన్యభాషాపరమైన కారణాలను విశ్లేషించితిని.

తెలుగు భాషను మాట్లాడే ప్రజలలో అత్యధికులు ఉత్తరకోస్తాలోని కిమర్స్ సే, టోంగాట్ మరియు దక్షిణకోస్తాలోని లోవోవో, ఇస్పరాంజ, అంజిన్ టో, సెజెల, పోర్ట్ షెప్ థ్రోన్ ప్రాంతములలో స్థిరపడిఉండినారు. (ఇక మీదట తెలుగు భాషను మాట్లాడే ప్రజలను ఆంధ్రులుగా వ్యవహరిస్తాను.) పంతొమ్మిదవ శతాబ్దము నుండి ఇప్పటికిప్పుడు క్షణవేగంతో సాగుతున్న ప్రపంచీకరణలో దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలోని ఆంధ్ర సమాజము, తెలుగు భాష, సంస్కృతికి క్రమంగా దూరమైనదని భావిస్తున్నాను. అయితే, ఇందుకు గల కారణాలను విశ్లేషించడమే నా లక్ష్యంగా పరిశోధన సాగించినాను. నా ఆధ్యయనము క్రింద పేర్కొనిన పలుప్రశ్నలకు జవాబులు ఇవ్వగలదని ఆశిస్తున్నాను.

- * తెలుగు భాష, సంస్కృతి దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలో క్షీణదశకు చేరడానికిగలకారణాలేమి?
- * దక్షిణాఫ్రికా ఆంధ్ర మహా సభ తన లక్ష్యాలైన తెలుగుభాష, సంస్కృతి ఆభివృద్ధి చెందడానికి తగిన కృషి చేస్తోందా? సత్ఫలితాలుసాధిస్తోందా?
- * ఆంధ్ర ఐయిస్టేట్ ఫెడ్ తెలుగుభాష, ఆంధ్ర సాంస్కృతి వికాసానికి ఎంతమాత్రము సహాయకారి అవును?

తెలుగు భాష, ఆంధ్రసంస్కృతి పట్ల దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలోని ప్రస్తుత తరం ఆంధ్ర ప్రజల జీవనశైలి,తీరుతెన్నులు, వ్యవహారశైలి ఎలా ఉన్నది? ఎలాంటి ప్రభావము చూపుతోంది?

ఆంధ్రలైప్పటికినీ, తెలుగు ఇంటిలో వాడుక భాష అయిననూ క్రమంగా ఆంగ్లభాష బహుప్రాచుర్యం సంపాదించడం వలన, ప్రభుత్వఅధికార భాష అవడంమూలంగానూ, తెలుగుప్రజలు అల్పసంఖ్యాకులు అవడంవలన తమిళులలో ఏకమై ప్రత్యేకతను కోల్పోవడంవలనూ, భాషాంతరవివాహాల మూలంగానూ, భాషను భోధించే ఉపాధ్యాయులు, అధ్యాపకులు శిక్షణ, పాఠశాలలు, బడి ఏర్పట్లు లేమిమూలంగా, ఉమ్మడి కుటుంబ - వ్యవస్థలో వచ్చిన మార్పుల వలనూ, దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలోని వర్ణవివక్ష, రాజకీయ పరిస్థితులు ఉదా.

‘దిగ్రూప్ ఏరియాయాక్ట్’ (1950) ఇత్యాది కారణాలు, తెలుగు భాష, ఆంధ్రసంస్కృతికి యూరం అవడానికి మూలకారణం లైన. నాలుగవ అధ్యయనములో నేను ప్రస్తావించిన సాంఖ్యికపరమైన వివరాలుదక్షిణాఫ్రికాలో ఆంధ్ర సంస్కృతి, భాషసాంప్రదాయాలు అవసానదశకు చేరుకొంది అనే నా ఊహగానాన్ని నిజంచేస్తుంది.

నా అధ్యయనంలో తేలివచ్చేదునిజం ఏమంటే, కేవలంహిందూమత సంబంధమైన పుట్టుక, విహహవెడుకలు, పండుగలు, చావుకర్మకాండలు మినహాయించి, దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలోని ప్రస్తుత ఆంధ్రులు స్వచ్ఛమైన, అసలుసినలు ఆంధ్ర సంస్కృతి, సాంప్రదాయములు, విలువలకు, చివరకు తెలుగుభాషకు కుడా దూరం అయి ‘ఆంధ్ర’ అస్థిత్వాన్ని కోల్పోవుతున్నారు.

నావ్యక్తిగత అభిప్రాయంలో, ఆంధ్రమహాసభ దక్షిణాఫ్రికాలోని ఆంధ్రయువతరంలో భాషాపరమైన అభివృద్ధికి, సంస్కృతీసాంప్రదాయాల కొనసాగింపుకూ, విలువల పరిరక్షణకు తగినంత కృషిచేసి ఉండవలసింది. నా అధ్యయన ఫలము నుండి తెలుగుభాష, సంస్కృతి పురోభివృద్ధికి నేను కొన్ని సిఫార్సులు చేయదలిచితిని. ‘ధియరీస్ ఆన్ రోల్ ఆఫ్ మెనారిటీస్ ఆజ్ ఏ న్యూ హోస్ట్ కంట్రీ అండ్ ధియరీస్ ఆన్ సెల్ఫ్ ప్రొటెక్టింగ్ ఫోర్స్ ఇన్ మెనారిటీస్.’ ఆధారంగా ఇకనైనా దక్షిణాఫ్రికా ఆంధ్ర మహా సభ నిద్రమత్తు వదిలి ఆంధ్రయువతరంలో క్రొత్త ఉత్సాహాన్ని కల్పించే చర్యలు తీసికొంటుందని ఆశాభావంతో, ఈ క్రింద చేపట్టదగిన కొన్ని కార్యక్రమాలు ప్రతిపాదిస్తున్నాను.

- * ఆంధ్ర భాష సంస్కృతీ వికాసానీ, సాంస్కృతిక మంత్రిత్వశాఖ,
ఆంధ్రప్రదేశ్ ప్రభుత్వంతో (ఇండిమా) క్రమంగా సబంధాలు మెరుగుపరుచు-కోవాలి.
- * హైదరా బాదులోని తెలుగు విశ్వవిద్యాలయములో భాష, సంస్కృతిక అంశాల అధ్యయనానికి పలు విద్యాసంబంధమైన ఉపకారవేతనాల ఏర్పాటుకు కృషిచేయాలి.
- * ఆంధ్ర సంస్కృతి సాంప్రదాయాల వికాసముకోసం కూచిపూడి, పేరిణిశివతాండవం వంటి నృత్యరీతులు అభ్యసించుటకు, హరికథ, బుర్రకథ, తోలుబొమ్మలాటలు, పలు సాంస్కృతిక నాటకములు ప్రదర్శన మరియు సంగీతవిభావరి ఏర్పాటుకు చర్యలు తీసికోవాలి.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

1.0 The background and rationale for the study

As a Telugu home language speaker and concomitantly, an Andhra i.e. one who follows the culture associated with the Telugu language, my concern about other Andhras moving away from our language and culture has stimulated me to investigate the factors exerting a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

My participation in the Andhra community has afforded me a unique opportunity to view the occurrences in this community. I have enjoyed vast experience as an executive member of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa or Main Andhra Council (hereafter AMSSA). I have been actively involved in the Andhra community activities and, being a council member of AMSSA, I have attended all council meetings and annual general meetings. These activities made it possible for me to gain access to the minutes of the AMSSA and other official documents. My role as honorary secretary, Vice President, Chairman and co-ordinator of the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod and other religious-cultural activities, over a period of 20 years has given me further incentive to research the topic. I have observed that, although the Andhra Eisteddfod is one of the language-promoting activities of the AMSSA and the various affiliated branch or resident Sabhas for the past 70 years, the Telugu language and culture are rapidly eroding.

1.1 Aims and scope of the study

In this study, I investigate the sociolinguistic factors that exert a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

This study focuses on the sociolinguistic features of the Telugu Community and the Telugu Speaking Hindus in Natal. The speakers of the Telugu language and Andhra culture are distributed all over South Africa. The majority of the Telugu speakers settled in the vicinity where they served during their indentureship, e.g. in Kearsney and Tongaat on the North Coast and, Illovo, Esperanza, Umzinto, Sezela and Port Shepstone on the South Coast.

According to Haugen (1980: 89) "language is the most precious instrument of socialization that prevails in all human societies and cultures." It is an established fact that language is one way in which one generation passes on to the next, its traditions, laws, customs and beliefs. In so far as social force is concerned, language serves to reinforce the links that bind the members of the same group and at the same time, it provides group identity to them in any environment. It also determines one's culture and link between language and culture. Language is a vehicle for communication. It transmits one's thoughts, feelings, ideas, knowledge, attitude and aspirations to others who may be nearby or far away. A language cannot be considered as dying as long as one person of the given speech community is at the transmitting end and the other at the receiving end. Besides spoken language, a written language serves to link the past, intermediate and coming generations.

If language plays such an important role in one's life, why then are the Andhras moving away from their language and culture? This is the core question for investigation in this study. The South African Statistics (Central Statistical Services 1936—70: 1996) with respect to the Indian population indicates that the use of Telugu as a home language is rapidly decreasing with only 2 171 speakers listed in the 1996 survey.

1.2 Overview of the key concepts

According to Holmes (1992:1), sociolinguistics studies the relationship between language and society. Sociolinguists are also interested in the different types of linguistic variation used to express and reflect social factors. Sociolinguistics can therefore be regarded as the study of language in the matrix of the social and cultural behaviour of a community.

Language change is a natural process in the evolution of language. According to Trask (1995:95) language change is inevitable but its course is generally unpredictable and is quite possible that we might instead start creating some new grammatical endings. According to Crystal (1987:71) when considered an important symbol of a minority group's identity, the language is likely to be maintained for a longer period. If families from a minority group live near one another and communicate frequently, their language can be maintained.

According to Haugen (1980:100), "Minority" is a relative term. He states: "The world is full of minorities, from the individual or minority of one, to the largest of nations, which is still a minority in relation to mankind as a whole. The same holds for languages, whether they are spoken by only one person or by millions".

With respect to the term minority, Telugu may be a language spoken by large numbers in India, but it is a minority language in South Africa. In India, Telugu is the only Dravidian language which shares its linguistic borders with five other Indian languages, in which three are Dravidian group of languages such as Tamil, Kannada and Malayam; and two Indo-Aryan languages namely Hindi and Oriya. Telugu has the largest number of speakers among the Dravidian languages of India. Due to its exposure to various languages and cultural contacts, Telugu, over the past centuries, has undergone various linguistic changes and has become very assimilative in nature. It was only in the late 1920's in South Africa that a resurgence of Andhra cultural activities occurred due to the fear that they were losing their language and culture.

In South Africa there are several minority groups, each having its own ethnic culture. According to Zaman (1980: 200), as indicated in Central Statistical Services, (1988), the African language speakers in South Africa are in the numerical majority but occupy a minority status. Fishman (1978:436) suggests that even if such a linguistic group forms numerical majority, it is treated as a linguistic minority because it shows all the characteristics of a group in a socially inferior position. Thus English in South Africa would be treated as a linguistic majority despite its numerical minority because it shows all the features of a group in a socially and economically superior position.

According to Richard, Platt and Weber, (1985:156-9), language shift should not be confused with language change. Change in a language takes place over time. All living languages change and continue to change. In a language change situation, the use of a language is not given up in favour of another. However in a language shift situation, the use of one language is abandoned in favour of another. According to Hauptfleisch (1983:5) language shift should not only imply a shift in language identity but also in the value system of a particular cultural group.

Causes for language shift are always numerous and sometimes interrelated and vary from one situation to the other.

According to Mesthrie (1985:37) there are no specific sets of predictable causes for language shift in a given speech community. Sociolinguistics, however, roughly groups them as follows: economic changes; status; demography and institutional support. Apart from these, there are many other causes underlying the shift of the Telugu language in South Africa. Each cause is discussed under separate sub-headings in Chapter Four.

According to Mesthrie (1985: 41) language shift occurs when a new language is acquired by a community with the concomitant loss of its erstwhile primary language. When members of a community emigrate from one place to another or from one country to another or where they are exposed to a new language which has more speakers, social status or political status than that of their own mother tongue, the people usually shift their language to the dominant language of the new environment.

This is evident in the case of immigrants to the United states of America and Australia from non-English speaking countries. In South Africa, English and Afrikaans jointly were once the only official languages of the Government and education until 1994. In this instance it may be said that language shift was actively encouraged by official government policy, for example by restricting the number of languages (such as English and Afrikaans) used as a medium of instruction. The immigrants in South Africa had to conform to this language policy of the government if they wished to participate in the South African society. However in terms of the language policy, South Africa is no longer officially the bilingual state it was in the apartheid era, with English and Afrikaans as the sole official languages of the state. The country has now given official recognition to eleven languages, including English and Afrikaans and nine African languages: isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, SiSwati, SeSotho, SePedi, SeTswana, TsiTsonga and TshiVenda. English remains the language of power, prestige and status, and it is seen by many as an open sesame by means of which one can achieve unlimited vertical social mobility.

Language shift may also occur because another language, usually the main language of the region (English for Indian South Africans), is needed for occupational opportunities and wider

communication. Thus language shift implies that the main language has a subtractive or replacive influence on the minority languages. The term “subtractive” is introduced by Giles and St. Clair (1979:191) and the term “replacive” is used by Haugen (1972:311). It refers to the second language which gradually comes to fulfill all the communicative needs of the speaker so that he/she fails to use the first language and does not pass it on to his/her descendents. Haugen (1972:311) suggests that this is the situation of most immigrant and subject population.

1.3 Key issues and questions

This study aims to respond to the following key questions:

- Is there an erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra Culture?
- Why is there erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture?
- Is the AMSSA fulfilling its aims and objectives in the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture?
- Does the Andhra Eisteddfod help in the maintenance of the Telugu Language and Andhra culture in general?
- What is AMSSA's reaction to immigrant Andhras in the various items for competition purposes?
- What is the current status of Telugu teachers in general?
- What is the community's attitude towards the Telugu language and Andhra culture?

1.4 Research hypothesis

In adopting western values, the Andhras in South Africa in general and young Andhras in particular, are westernised in their outlook especially in respect of speech, dress, and lack of participation religio-cultural activities. Many Andhras do not retain a cultural value system that is traditionally Andhra. It follows that the Telugu language and Andhra culture within South Africa appears to be rapidly eroding in spite of existing religio-cultural activities. I aim to investigate the role of AMSSA in maintaining and promoting the Telugu language and Andhra culture. The conclusions derived from my observation are used to establish this hypothesis. In my opinion the AMSSA is not vigorous enough

amongst the Andhra youth or younger generation in kindling their interest. I also feel that the AMSSA is not showing enough interest in nurturing and preserving the Telugu language and Andhra culture and, is not attending to the extensive erosion. The statistical data and illustrations in Chapter Four support my hypothesis that there is an erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

1.5 Structure of the study

Chapter one is an introductory chapter and deals with subject of the study. It outlines the background and rationale for the study. The aim and scope of the study includes key issues and questions, and the significance of the study is outlined. This chapter also includes a brief overview of the methodological and theoretical orientation of the study.

Chapter two focuses on the theories that apply to the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language shift. A literature review and theoretical framework is presented. The chapter concludes with a motivation for an eclectic approach towards the study of the Telugu language shift in the Andhra community.

Chapter three focuses on the research methodology and design. Detailed accounts of the sampling strategy and data collection methods are outlined. Attention is given to the selection of key variables that stratify the sample as well as the need for a triangulation method of data collection.

Chapter four is the core chapter of the study. This chapter focuses on the actual analysis and discussion of the data. It considers how the shift towards the English language has been facilitated or accelerated among the Telugu speaking Hindus who form the majority amongst the Andhras and how it ultimately contributes to the erosion of the language

Chapter five concludes the study and makes recommendations on how the Telugu language and Andhra culture can be maintained and promoted.

1.6 Significance of the study

Since the Andhras are a minority within the minority Indian community, it is envisaged that the Telugu community will benefit from this study. The community will be better informed of changes in the speech patterns of the Telugu speakers. Succeeding generations are going to gain useful information in respect of the Telugu language and culture in South Africa. Language developments with reference to Indian languages need to be documented. There is a dearth of information regarding such matters about any of the Indian languages spoken in South Africa. This study will put forward recommendations to the AMSSA about ways to generate enthusiasm about the use of Telugu.

Furthermore it must be emphasized that it is linguistically very pertinent to document the history of a minority language in South Africa before it completely erodes. Telugu is a minority language in South Africa and it provides a good opportunity for sociolinguistic research. Any aspect of the fast eroding minority Indian languages in South Africa generally would enhance understanding of these languages and concomitantly to language shift and erosion. This research may generate interest in investigating the status of other Indian languages in South Africa. Such research will not only contribute to sociolinguistic research in the South African context but will also contribute to sociolinguistic research and knowledge internationally.

1.7 Theoretical orientation of the studies

An eclectic approach is used in this study. This study of Telugu as a minority language is carried out within the framework of certain theories: theories on the role of minorities in a new host country; and theories on self-protecting forces of the minorities. There are various theories pertaining to the language position of the immigrant groups, propounding that the immigrant languages need to be abandoned as rapidly as possible. These theories include: Kloss's (1971) Tacit Compact Theory; Take-and-Give Theory; Antighettoization Theory; National Unit Theory. As apposed to these theories of abandonment and assimilation is the theory of linguistic divergence as propounded by Tajfel (1974). In terms of this theory, the speakers are expected to maintain their language as strongly as possible in order to retain their ethnic and socio-cultural identity.

Other frameworks that also have an important effect on immigrant languages are Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory by Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, (1977) and Giles and Johnson (1981): Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory and Social Identity Theory both by Tajfel and Turner (1986). Since each model or theory aims to address certain issues which other models or theories may not be able to account for, an eclectic method is preferred.

1.8 Methodological orientation of the study

The primary aim of this study is to investigate the sociolinguistic factors that exert a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture. It involves a detailed cultural analysis that is guided by definite parameters. These include gender, age, subject's occupation and marital status.

According to Singleton and Straits (1999:93) the triangulation method is the use of multiple data sources arising from multiple collection procedures. This method is employed in the study. It is justified in Chapter Three. Data collection procedures are critical in establishing the methodological framework of a study. Sampling is another critical factor that helps to shape it. Factors that need to be considered with sampling include adequate sample frame: sample size and stratification of the sample.

Both the quantitative (questionnaire) and qualitative (interviews and participant-observations) methods are employed, providing primary data for the study. Secondary sources include:

- Various minutes of AMSSA;
- AMSSA's annual reports;
- Official letters and correspondence written by the members of the AMSSA;
- The documentation available on Andhras from the Documentation centre at the University of Durban-Westville (now UKZN);
- The Natal and Transvaal Archives, the minutes of the Telugu committee under the House of Delegates (HOD).
- Some issues of Fiat Lux (monthly Journal published by the Department of Information on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs (1973-1983).

- Papers of the Third Telugu conference held in Mauritius during (1990-1991). The literature available on the Andhras in India as well as literature available in South Africa.
- The Telugu Vaani - monthly Journal of International Telugu Institute.
- Various sociolinguistic Journals and other academic sources eg. Vasikile: (1968:167); Sridhar: (1988:81); Gal (1979:139).
- The brochures published by AMSSA and the Indian Academy of South Africa, especially the Heritage series;
- The Indian Annuals,
- The Hindu, a publication of the South African Hindu Maha Sabha

1.9 Conclusion

The purpose of this chapter is to provide the background and rationale for the study. The research hypothesis, key issues and questions, the structure and significance of the study, as well as the theoretical and methodological orientations are outlined.

The next chapter focuses on the literature review and highlights the theoretical framework for this study taking into consideration the relationships that exist between language and culture in South Africa.

CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW

2.0 Introduction

This chapter presents a literature review and theoretical framework of the study. It also describes key terms and concepts, gives an overview of the causes of language shift and presents theories of language shift. On the basis of the literature review, the chapter concludes with a motivation for an eclectic approach to explain the erosion of the Telugu Language.

2.1 Relationship between language and culture

Language, together with culture, religion and history, is a major component of nationalism. According to Fishman (1972:3) "the mother tongue is an aspect of the soul". In another words, language is unique to man and it is a prerequisite for the accumulation and transmission of other cultural traits.

According to Prabhakaran (1992:53) "Language is one trait of culture that is subject to cultural diffusion" because a language does not only borrow vocabulary from another which is very common in almost all languages, but can also undergo changes to the deeper structure of that particular linguistic culture. The present research revisits some of the areas covered by Prabhakaran (*A Language Challenged*) but emphasizes the mechanisms which are employed to promote the Telugu Language and Andhra culture, such as the Eisteddfods. A critical approach to the role of the AMSSA and its obligations towards the promotion of language and culture is also applied in the research.

Brown (1980:124) maintains that language and culture are so intricately interwoven that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture. Brown is of the opinion that language and culture are inseparable and that maintenance of language is vital for the maintenance of culture in any linguistic set up. As a result of the complex relationship between language and culture, societies tend to maintain their language in such a way so as to retain their culture.

As present day Andhras in South Africa we would like to protect and treasure our Andhra cultural heritage and traditional culture traits which the early immigrant Andhras brought from India. We are grateful to our forefathers who brought with them their Andhra experiences, their feelings, their rich cultural traits and their group identity. However, our linguistic heritage, due to erosion of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa is very precarious.

Fishman (1978: 71) states that language maintenance is the continued use of language by individuals or groups – particularly in a bilingual or multilingual country like South Africa or among immigrant groups like Telugu, Dutch, French and German speakers in South Africa and the United States of America. Weinreich (1979: 68) defines language shift as “a change from the habitual use of one language (e.g. Telugu) to that of another (e.g. English).” Mesthrie (1991:202-239) states that language shift occurs when a new language is acquired by a community with concomitant loss of its erstwhile primary language. Romaine (1994: 53) states that language shift occurs as a result of forced or voluntary immigration to a place where it is not possible to maintain one’s native language and often a geographical shift from a rural to urban areas triggers language shift. Language shift and language maintenance either way are really the long term, collective results of language choice.

Language shift took place and is still taking place with respect to Telugu in South Africa. Clearly Telugu is a minority language in South Africa because of the small population of the Andhra community and because of a lack of government policy towards promoting any of the Indian languages. When the Andhras arrived in Natal as indentured labourers in 1860, English was already very firmly established following the arrival of British immigrants in 1820. The indentured Andhras had the English-speaking South Africans as their employers and this fact exerted great influence on the economic and social conditions of the Andhras.

As indentured labourers, the Andhras began learning English through the medium of Telugu. Words are in the transliteration form eg. *Idi na thala* (This is my head). As

indentured labourers (Indians) they received a small wage of 10 shillings per month (about one rand) plus rations which were very inadequate. For many Andhras, who were illiterate, life became an economic struggle. They were bound to work with the employer to whom they had been contracted for the period of five years, which in later years extended to ten years. Men, women and children were all forced to work twelve to fourteen hours a day in factories, coal mines or on plantations.

The illiteracy of most of the early Andhra indentured labourers added to the factors which influenced the status of the Telugu language among the Andhras during the eighteen sixties. The main reason for the Andhra illiteracy was the British rule in the Madras Presidency during the nineteenth century and their "laissez faire" education policy towards the rural areas in India. Initially the transliterary type of Telugu word into English was used by the Andhras. Gradually the Andhras who gained fluency in English as a result of transliteration method became bilingual in Telugu and English and eventually gave up their ethnic mother tongue (EMT) in favour of English.

According to Haugen (1978:37) an immigrant, while learning the dominant language of the vicinity where he has settled, "builds new systems in the language he acquires and dismantles and reorders the system of the language he already knows". Maher (1991:67), in studying the dismantling and reordering process of a minority language, states that the best place to study such a situation is in an enclave community.

Haugen defines an enclave community as a multilingual community where speakers of a particular language comprise of a minority group with no socio-political status and have existed relatively in isolation from the same language speakers of other places or the main land for over hundred years.

Maher (1991:67) classifies the "enclave community" into the "immigrant enclave communities"(e.g. Finnish speakers in Northern Minnesota, Hindi/Bhojpuri community in Trinidad, Guyana and South Africa among others) and the "indigenous communities"(e.g. Scots Gaelic in Northern Scotland and Breton in France). The Telugu speaking community in South Africa is an "immigrant enclave community" whose language is eroding very fast due to several factors. According to

Garzon (1992:61-64), there are certain steps in which the process of language loss takes place. The first step is the extended period of language (or dialect) contacts. In the initial stage of this first step, the "enclave community" borrows substantially from the dominant language.

Kroon (1990:424) states that when migration is followed by a more or less permanent settlement, usually the immigrants opt for integration rather than segregation where possible. In that case, almost unavoidably, the members of the minority group shift from their ethnic mother tongue (EMT) towards the dominant language, English. Fishman (1971:306) states that bilingualism develops at this stage when shift begins towards the dominant language. Research on South African Telugu (STE), (Prabhakaran 1992a; 1992b; 1994a; 1994b) demonstrates that during the language shift process more and more Telugu speaking people gained fluency or near fluency both in English and in Telugu (some in Tamil).

The next step of language loss takes place when the usage of the subordinate language is restricted, that is, the shrinkage of domains for the usage of EMT occurs. At this stage usually the subordinate language is being withdrawn first from the public and finally from the home domain as well. Since there was no socio-political domain in which Telugu alone was required in the South African situation, the English-Telugu bilingual speakers came to use more English than Telugu and the language shift towards English began taking place.

The third step in the process of language loss occurs when parents begin to speak the dominant language with their children to the exclusion of their own natural language. Thus they do not enable transfer of their EMT to the next generation. The final step in the language death process takes place when young people fail to learn the subordinate language (Garzon 1992: 65). During the process of first language loss in an immigrant situation, many gaps emerge in the EMT, in this case, Telugu. These gaps emerge on account of an increased contact with the dominant English and a diminished contact with the EMT, Telugu.

In South Africa at present Telugu has been withdrawn from almost all the domains except in a few domains like religion and culture, while English is firmly used in other domains such as commerce, education, trade, etc. Telugu erodes with a lack of inter-generational transfer and therefore remains as a home language in very few homes at present.

2.2. Relationship between language and society

Wardhaugh (1986:87) states that there is a variety of possible relationships between language and society. One is that social structure may either influence or determine linguistic structure and/or behaviour. Certain evidence may be adduced to support this view e.g. the age-grading phenomenon whereby young children speak differently from older children and, in turn, children speak differently from mature adults. Furthermore, power, both as something to achieve and something to resist, exerts considerable influence on the language choices that many people make. Choices of words, and even rules for conversing are determined by certain social requirements. Power is a useful concept that helps to explain much linguistic behaviour.

A second possible relationship is directly opposed to the first: linguistic structure and/or behaviour may either influence or determine social behaviour. A third possible relationship is that the influence is bi-directional i.e. language and society may influence each other.

A fourth possibility is to assume that there is no relationship at all between linguistic structure and social structure and that each is independent of the other. A variant of this possibility is that although there might be some such relationship, attempts to characterize it, are essentially premature, given what little we know about both language and society.

Gumperz(1971:223) states that sociolinguistics is an attempt to find correlations between social structure and linguistic structure and to observe any changes that

occur. Social structure itself may be measured by reference to such factors as social class and educational background.

According to Haugen (1980:100) "the world is full of minorities, from the individual or minority one, to the largest of nations, which is still a minority in relation to mankind as a whole. The same holds for languages, whether they are spoken by only one person or by millions". The Indian community is a minority community in South Africa. In respect to minority languages, Telugu, with its sixty million speakers in India (1990 census), is a minority language in South Africa not only because of the small population of the Andhra community, but also because of the low status of Indian languages in the South African context.

According to McMahon (1994:285) parents will typically stop passing the minority language to their children, who in turn, will not have sufficient knowledge nor use it enough to be fluent speakers. The minority language will therefore die over several generations as the vocabulary and grammar gradually fall out of use.

Kroon (1990: 424) states that when migration is followed by more or less permanent settlement, usually the immigrants opt for integration rather than segregation where possible. In that case almost unavoidably the members of the minority group shift from their EMT towards the dominant language.

The inability of minorities to maintain the home setting as an intact domain for the use of their language is a contributing factor towards language shift. Language shift tends to be slower among communities where the minority language is highly valued. When the language is seen as an important symbol of ethnic identity, it is generally maintained for longer. Holmes (1992:56) states that the order of domains in which language shift occurs may differ among different individuals and different groups, but gradually over time the language of the wider society displaces the minority EMT.

There are many different social factors which can lead a community to shift from using one language to another, or from using two distinct codes in different domains. Migrant families provide an obvious example of this process of language shift.

Language shift takes three or four generations. When language shift occurs, it is almost always a shift towards the language of the dominant group. A dominant group has no incentive to adopt the language of a minority. The dominant language is associated with status, prestige and social success example from elsewhere in the world.

2.3 Causes of language shift

Causes of language shift are always numerous and sometimes interrelated and vary from situation to situation. When members of a community emigrate from one place to another or from one country to another where they are exposed to a new language which has more speakers, social status or political status than that of their own mother tongue, the people usually shift their language to the dominant language of the new environment. In South Africa, the main language is English in most aspects of life e.g. as information technology, engineering, large sectors of the economy and international transactions. Language shift may also occur because another language, usually the main language of the region (English for Indian South Africans), is needed for occupational opportunities and wider communication (Fishman 1972:370:1978:153; Gumperz and Hymes 1972:407; Richard et al 1985:165; Gal, 1979:153).

Language shift denotes that the main language of the place or country where the immigrants settle, permanently exerts a decisive influence on the immigrants' mother tongue.

Thus language shift implies that the main language has a subtractive or repulsing influence on the minority languages. The term "subtractive" is introduced by Giles and St. Clair (1979:191) and the term "repulsive" is used by Haugen (1972:311). The two terms are used interchangeably in this study: they refer to the second language which gradually comes to fulfill all the communicative needs of the speaker so that he fails to use the first language at all and does not pass it on to his descendants. Haugen (1972:311) suggests that this is the situation of many immigrants and subject populations.

Language shift often occurs when people migrate to another country where the main language is different, as in the case of immigrants to USA and Australia from non-English speaking countries. Language shift may thus be actively encouraged by official government policy, for example by restricting the number of languages used as media of instruction. The immigrants in South Africa need to conform to this language policy of the government if they wish to participate in the industrially flourishing South African society (Section 108 of the Constitutional Act 32 of 1961 & Act 110 of 1983:589).

Situations like military conquest, changes in the national boundary or emigration from one country to another can all create ethnolinguistic minorities that are prone to language shift. Once variable and active speech communities, when deprived of their traditional land, resettle in a new land (such as the Norwegians in the United States) with other groups who might not always share the same language as minority groups. These minority groups lacking political and economic power or a separate identity of their own, often undergo language shift.

However, according to Gal (1979:3) language shift sometimes does not occur in an immigrant situation. It seems that she does not agree with the general idea that language shift occurs because of factors such as urbanization, industrialization, loss of isolation and above all, the end of group identity. She states that language shift occurs even with "group identity" or "group loyalty". She argues that the process of language shift should be seen within the framework of linguistic variation .

Thompson (1974:58) as well as Lieberson and Curry (1971:134) state that the immigrants' mother tongue disappears because "they do not transfer it from one generation to the next". For example, it is natural in the United States, Australia and Canada for English to become the mother tongue (MT) for the descendants of immigrants in a matter of a few generations.

According to Fishman (1971:306) with regard to “bilingual functioning and domain overlap” theory, in the first stage, the immigrant learns the new language through his mother tongue. At that stage, English is used only in a few domains where the mother tongue cannot be used. In the second stage, a larger number of immigrants know more English and can therefore speak to each other either in the mother tongue or in English. In the third stage, both the mother tongue and the acquired language function independently because at this stage, most of the immigrants are bilingual. However, in the fourth stage, the acquired language displaces the mother tongue from all the domains of communication.

2.4 Theories of language shift

This study of Telugu as a minority language is carried out within the framework of certain theories: theories on the role of minorities in a new host country and theories on self protecting forces in the minorities. The following theories have dominated research on language shift: the tacit compact theory; the take-and-give theory; the antighettoization theory; the national unit theory; the theory of linguistic divergence; ethnolinguistic vitality theory; ethnolinguistic identity theory and social identity theory.

2.4.1 Tacit Compact Theory

According to Kloss (1971:254) this theory asserts that immigrants, by applying for residence in a new country and the host countries by accepting the application, are entering into an agreement. This implies that the immigrants, in return for permanent settlement in the new country, signal their willingness to adjust themselves to the environment culturally and linguistically. This theory aims to explain language shift with regard to the case of first generation of immigrants.

2.4.2 Take-and-Give Theory

According to Kloss (1971:254) this theory proposes that most immigrants, from an

economic point of view, flourish in the adopted country more than they had flourished in the old country, and that, in return for this prosperity, they are morally bound to submit completely and unreservedly to the language and culture of their adopted country.

2.4.3 Antighettoization Theory

This theory (Kloss 1971:254) asserts that transmitting the language of the forebears to the grandchildren is tantamount to confining them to a barren cultural ghetto or enclave (Haugen 1980:115) where they are shut out from the mainstream of national life, while simultaneously losing touch with cultural developments of the old country. By forming an isolated linguistic island, grandchildren are bound to lag behind culturally. Grandchildren will not be able to keep abreast of the current developments in the old or the new land and thus fail to keep pace with their past or present fellow citizens. Vocationally too, they may be hampered because of their lack of complete mastery of the national language or at least because of their "foreign accent". This also causes language shift.

2.4.4 National Unit Theory

According to Kloss (1971:254) this theory propounds that immigrant groups which maintain their language may easily become a politically disruptive force. Consequently, host countries have the right to demand linguistic assimilation from immigrants. It must be borne in mind that the fundamental principle of linguistic assimilation is that all non-dominant speakers are able to speak in the dominant language irrespective of their origin.

According to Cobarrubias and Fishman (1983:64-5) linguistic assimilation assigns higher linguistic status to the dominant language and generally does not treat linguistic minorities on an equal footing. The above four theories propound that the immigrant languages need to be abandoned as rapidly as possible. These four theories predict that immigrant minority groups will become assimilated into the host language and culture.

For that matter, it is an established fact, for example, that Telugu and other Indian languages in South Africa are not recognised in the administrative, legislative and other institutional domains. Opposed to these theories of abandonment and assimilation, is the theory of linguistic divergence.

2.4.5 Theory of Linguistic Divergence

This theory was propounded by Tajfel(1974:65), and is labelled variously as the theory of social identity (Tajfel, 1974:65; Hilderbrandt & Giles, 1983:436) and the “theory of intergroup behaviour” (Tajfel, 1977: 307; Simard et al, 1976:374).

The basic assumption of the theory of linguistic divergence is that “members of a group are led by interactions with other groups to seek qualities of their own group which can serve to differentiate themselves favourably from the group. Such positive ingroup distinctiveness allows for a positive social identity as well as satisfaction with one’s own group membership” (Giles and St Clair, 1979:149).

It is assumed that when applying this theory specifically to language then speech convergence(in respect of assimilation) is the socially accepted norm of linguistic behaviour and that speech “divergence”(in respect of dissimilation) is considered to be a particularly popular device of acquiring such ingroup differentiation. Tajfel's theory of linguistic divergence predicts that members of a minority group will tend to differentiate themselves from a “threatening” outgroup.

2.4.6 Ethnolinguistic Vitality Theory

According to Giles, Bourhis and Taylor, (1977:308), ethnolinguistic vitality is defined as “that which makes a group likely to behave as a distinctive and collectively active in intergroup situations”. An ethnolinguistic group is an ethnic group whose language is held as a primary defining characteristic, and its vitality refers to the degree to which that group is flourishing. Thus, a group with low ethnolinguistic vitality is one, which is unlikely to maintain its ethnolinguistic identity and assimilate

with other ethnolinguistic groups. This is true of the Andhras (Telugus) and the Indian Languages in South Africa.

Three dimensions: demographic factors, status factors and institutional support, contribute to ethnolinguistic vitality. Demographic factors refer to the variables pertaining to the relative numbers and density of the ethnolinguistic group in the region; the status factors refer to the prestige of the group or the language; and institutional factors reflect the power and control the group or the language has within the society.

The objective of an ethnolinguistic group can be determined by sociological and economic analysis, using the demographic, status and institutional support dimensions. According to Horward, Giles and Bourhis, (1994:308) it has been shown that group members' perceptions of the ethnolinguistic vitality of the relevant groups in a region, do not always match objective vitality, despite the fact that they use the same dimensions in making these assessments.

2.4.7 Social Identity Theory

According to Tajfel and Turner (1986) this theory states how members feel about their group and the way they behave towards other relevant groups may be understood through consideration of concepts like the relative status of the group, the need for positive distinctiveness, the existence of cognitive alternatives to the status hierarchy, and the permeability of group boundaries. In respect of language usage in intergroup context, in group identity and intergroup relations among the Andhras the question of language difference spoken between the Garavas, Raepitis and the Wadas (spoken Telugu dialects) is considered.

During the early years of immigration both caste and class played major roles amongst the Telugu speaking individuals in South Africa. The language difference, spoken between the spoken Telugu dialects hinged on the basic pronunciation of the Telugu words and spelling of surnames, for example, Naidoo or Naidu, Nydoo.

Naidu and Nydoo are surnames used by the Garavs, Raepitis and the Wada, and Naidoo as the other surname. However, as a result of the acquired education in South Africa the rigid caste system was ignored. The young educated Andhras absorbed and incorporated certain beneficial elements of western culture into Andhra culture. In the South African context, thus, the caste system is not so rigid as it is in the Indian subcontinent.

2.4.8 Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory

According to (Giles et al., 1977, Giles and Johnson, 1981) this theory emerged as a result of integration between ethnolinguistic vitality theory and social identity theory. This theory asserts that ethnolinguistic groups can be explained in the same way as other groups such as race, religions or national groups. The theory assumes the homogeneity of self definition and group identifications of the ethnolinguistic group members and that identification with the language is equivalent to group identification. The various combinations of factors determine whether group members strive to leave the group (social mobility) or whether they seek to throw off their low status and compete with high status group (social competition and social change). In the case of ethnolinguistic groups, their language vitality is a criteria that contributes to the groups' status. It is also argued that subjective perceptions of vitality are affected by these intergroup factors in the same way as other groups' attitudes and intergroup behaviours. Ethnolinguistic Identity Theory thus makes the assumption that identification with the group (like Andhras) and identification with language (like Telugu) is synonymous.

2.5 Language and ethnicity in South Africa

According to Fishman (1977: 18) language is the most salient symbol of ethnicity because it carries the past and expresses present and future attitudes and aspirations. Saint-Jacques and Giles(1979:IX) assert that "no other factor is as powerful as language in maintaining by itself the genuine and lasting distinctiveness of an ethnic group".

Courteau (1991) states that despite its intimate link with ethnicity, language is not always a primary prerequisite for the existence of ethnicity. For example, the majority of South African Indians, and particularly the younger generation, do not speak Indian languages (e.g. Tamil, Telugu, Hindi, Gujarati) and are rather English first-language speakers. In terms of ethnicity they identify themselves as Indian through other media (physical appearance, dress, food, etc) rather than through Indian languages. Dow (1991:3) states that "even anglicization ie. language shift (from Indian language towards English in the context of the Indian population in South Africa) does not automatically mean de-ethnicization."

Language and ethnicity have been intrinsically linked with the socio-political history of South African society. For more than four decades of apartheid rule (1948-1994) language and ethnicity were seen as complementary. Whites, Indians, Blacks and Coloureds were, by law, racially classified on the basis of their race and attendant colour of their skin.

Crowley (1996:83) asserts that the language shift toward English in the Indian communities can be characterized as "pragmatic" for it seems to have been motivated mainly by the need for access to the language of privilege and power, English. English is the most powerful language in the KwaZulu-Natal province, much as it is in the rest of South Africa. It is predominant in virtually all high domains of language use: education, administration, commerce, media, etc.

2.6 A diachronic perspective of Telugu and Andhra culture in South Africa

The conditions under the British East India (1853-1857) company and the British Crown Rule (1857), both unsatisfactory, indirectly led to some of the socio-economic problems of the Andhras. The unwanted British rule not only forced many patriotic Indians to oppose the British rule, but also to migrate to other parts of the British colonies including the Natal province in search of a better life. During the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries both the "push" and "pull" factors influenced Telugu communities to migrate into the now KwaZulu-Natal.

The problems prevalent in India would have exerted an influence on the Andhra emigrants and their brave decision to leave their native country in search of "better pastures" in the unknown land, South Africa. Many of the Andhras might have believed that they would eventually return to their mother country. At the same time, many of them might have left the native country as an escape from the poverty and economic instability.

In 1833 the British Government abolished slavery throughout its empire. As a result there arose an urgent need for labour in the various plantations of the empire since the former slaves, once emancipated, refused to work under the same white employers once again.

In Natal, as early as 1854, sugar cane plantations proved to be a success and there was a great demand for labourers. Many planters pressured the Natal Government to import cheap labour from India on a contract basis. The British Government passed a series of laws in order to safeguard the indentured labourers and their families. However many Indians became the victims of this indentureship because of the deceptive techniques used by the recruiters.

According to Brain (1984:4) "the immigrants were promised high wages, generous conditions of services, attractive living situations and other seductive conditions." In some cases, the labourers were promised ten pounds on completion of their contract. All these alluring guarantees made by recruiters persuaded many Andhras to emigrate. Thus Natal with its employment promises exerted a "pull" factor in the immigration of the Andhras to Natal.

On 16 November 1860, when the first ship "S.S. Truro", a paddle steamer carrying 342 passengers arrived in Durban, the Andhras entered South Africa together with Tamils, bringing their language, Telugu to the country. The young Andhras, like other Indian immigrants who arrived in Port Natal, faced an unpredictable future.

The next ship carrying 312 passengers who spoke Bhojpuri, Marathi, Hindi, Avadhi and Bengali entered the country in the same year. According to Meer (1980:311-2), between 1860 and 1911, a total of 152 184 indentured workers arrived in Natal. Many other languages such as Malayalam, Kannada, Kodagu, Urdu, Maithili, Oriya and Konkani entered the country, Another group of 31 Indian immigrants arrived in Natal mainly via Bombay as tradesmen and businessmen from 1877 onwards. This group comprised Hindu and Muslim merchants, who came voluntarily with the intention of setting up small businesses in various parts of Kwa-Zulu Natal. This group, referred to as "passenger Indians" was relatively wealthy. The main language brought by these passenger Indians was Gujarati and their immigration continued up to 1947.

Originally, the labourers were indentured for a period of three-year terms. Later the indenture was extended to five years. After a ten year period in the colony these "free Indians" were entitled to a free passage back to India. However, few of them took advantage of this opportunity and they soon spread throughout Natal, into the Cape and even into the Transvaal (Bugwan,1970:3; Schirmer,1980:198; Bhana,1987). According to Bhana(1987:46) indentured labourers were also recruited from the eastern and northern parts of India from Bihar and Uttar Pradesh.

The immigration of Indians to Natal stopped in 1911 and after that period there was no Andhra Indentured immigration to South Africa. By the middle of the 1920's almost all the Andhras were free of their indentureship and were in various sectors of employment.

2.7 Conclusion

This chapter has focused on the theories that apply to the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language shift, and a literature review. A diachronic perspective of Telugu and Andhra culture in South Africa was also outlined.

The terms "minority and minority language" were defined and then two groups of theories on minority groups were analysed. The first group of four theories all departs from the basic assumption that minority groups such as immigrants, should become assimilated in the host language and culture. On the other hand, Tajfel's theory of linguistic divergence predicts that members of a minority group will tend to differentiate themselves from a (threatening) outgroup.

Both sets of theories will be applied to the situation of Telugu speakers in South Africa. The forces that threaten and maintain Telugu as a minority language are so complex that they cannot be adequately examined in terms of one theory only.

The next chapter deals with research design and methodology that I used to retrieve the empirical data for this study.

CHAPTER 3 : RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

3.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on research design and methodology of the study. The chapter also deals with sampling procedure, organisation of the data and an account of the data collection methods employed in this study. Research was conducted through content analysis of the material and data.

3.1 Data Collection Methods

Some of the characteristics of scientific research are relevance, reliability and validity. A particular method is said to be relevant in terms of its ability to produce the type of data required for seeking answers to the research questions. Therefore, the data collection method is important. According to Tesch (1990:55), qualitative research literally refers to qualitative data. Quantitative research refers to quantitative data. In many studies both quantitative and qualitative data are used.

Reliability is an important aspect of data collection method. According to Bless and Higson-Smith (1995:130) reliability is concerned with "consistency of measures." They add that the greater the consistency of the results, the greater the reliability of the measuring procedure. Validity is another characteristic that characterizes scientific research as a whole and also selection of data collection procedure. According to Spector (1981:14) the validity of an instrument means that "it measures what it is designed to measure".

Both the qualitative and quantitative methods are employed. With respect to quantitative method, a questionnaire survey was used. As for qualitative methods, interviews and participant-observation were employed. Although interviews can either be unstructured, semi-structured and fully structured, I mainly employed semi-structured interviews for data collection purposes on account of the rigidity of structured interviews and the looseness of the unstructured interviews. A few

unstructured interviews were also conducted.

In total, 25 semi-structured interviews were conducted at the meetings of the different sub-organisations affiliated to the AMSSA and with executive members of the AMSSA at their council meetings. Fifteen females and ten males were interviewed. (refer to appendix 2 with respect to the categories of interview conducted)

The approaches, research designs, data collection methods and sampling procedures in this study complement one another to establish the research design of the study. Both the formal and informal interviews were conducted with different generations. I tried to elicit information from various members of the Andhra community. The information elicited provided useful insights into the attitudes of the Andhra community in respect of their religion, language and culture.

3.2 Data sources

In this study both the primary and secondary sources are employed. Both the formal and informal sources are used for the theoretical aspect of the research. I used a systematic inquiry into the matter in order to explain the problem with respect to factors that exerted a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and the Andhra culture. A polymethodic approach was also used and in this study the content analysis of both primary and secondary sources is employed.

Research was conducted through content analysis of the material available from institutions like Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa. Experience in teaching Telugu at Sabha level (branches of AMSSA) and also at schools offering Telugu language enhanced my knowledge of the language and culture. A historical method was employed in collecting the source materials of history, appraising them critically and presenting a synthesis of the results achieved with respect to factors that exerted a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and the Andhra culture.

The formal or secondary sources include various minutes of AMSSA, AMSSA's annual reports, official letters and correspondence written by the members of the AMSSA, the documentation available on Andhras from the Documentation Centre at University of Durban-Westville (now UKZN), the Natal and Transvaal archives, the Minutes of the Telugu committee under the former House of Delegates(H.O.D.), some issues of Fiat Lux (monthly Journal published by the Department of Information on behalf of the Department of Indian Affairs(1973 to 1983), Papers of the Third Telugu Conference held in Mauritius during(1990-1991).

The secondary sources also comprise the literature available on the Andhras in India as well as literature available in South Africa, Telugu Vaani-monthly Journal of International Telugu Institute, various sociolinguistics journals and other academic sources eg.Vasikile (1968:16); Sridhar (1988:81); Gal (1979:139); the brochure published by AMSSA: 50th Anniversary Golden Jubilee Brochure (1931-1981); Pathmajuranni Andhra Sabha Golden Jubilee (1933-1983); Andhra Eisteddfod Golden Jubilee Brochure; Souvenir Brochure of AMSSA (1989); Swami Thyagaraja Music Festival Brochures of AMSSA (1986-1992); Andhra Patrika (August 1991).

3.3 Sample procedures and stratification

Adequate sample frame, sample size and stratification are the key factors in determining a good sample which are representative of the selected community (Telugu) of the total population in order to produce a miniature cross-section.

Simple random samples are drawn from each stratum and these sub-samples are joined to form the complete, stratified sample. The selection of the key variables that stratify the sample as well as the need for a triangulation method of data collection are outlined. The rationale for the selection of the parameters is outlined. Justification for the inclusion of each variable is also clearly outlined.

Besides educational orientation, other parameters in this study include: gender, age, marital status, perception and ancestors' resistance to English, linguistic background, occupation, language proficiency, status and usage in Telugu, attitude towards

Andhraism and the Telugu language, language preference, participation in Andhra religio-cultural activities.

The first sociolinguistic variable to be dealt with is gender.

Table 1 represents the sample in terms of gender.

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
VALUE	61	76	137
%	45	55	100

Table 1 :Stratification in terms of gender

The purpose for selecting gender as one of the parameters for stratification was to investigate the possibility of a gender bias with respect to preferences of language and culture issues. From the table one can clearly see that there generally are more female subjects (55%) than male subjects (45%). I personally observed that females readily displayed their willingness to help me distribute the copies of the questionnaire, to respond to the questionnaire and to be interviewed.

The next sociolinguistic variable to be dealt with is age. Table 2 represents the sample in terms of age.

	Under 20	21-29	30-39	40-49	50-59	60+	TOTAL
VALUE	8	17	29	41	31	17	137
%	5	8	21	30	23	12	100

Table 2: Stratification in terms of age

The purpose for selecting age as a variable was to investigate whether language or culture patterns differ with respect to the age group one belongs to. In this study the largest percentage of subjects fall within 40 – 49 years category. I selected respondents on their basis of accessibility to me. These respondents displayed their willingness and eagerness to make contacts with other Andhras, to help me to distribute the copies of the questionnaire, to respond to the questionnaire and to be interviewed.

The next sociolinguistic variable to be dealt with is occupation.

Table 3 represents the sample in terms of occupation.

NO.	OCCUPATION	NO.	%
1	Educators (Teachers, Principals, Lecturers)	37	27.5
2	Doctors / Nurses	10	7.3
3	Technical	4	2.9
4	Engineers	1	0.7
5	Legal	24	17.5
6	Managerial / Technical	11	8.0
7	Shop Assistants / Insurance	1	0.7
8	Plumbers / Motor Mechanics	2	1.4
9	Supervisors	1	0.7
10	Labourers	1	0.7
11	Social Workers	5	3.6
12	Business	7	5.1
13	Housewives	12	8.7
14	Students	11	8.0
15	Unemployed / Retired	7	5.1
16	Others (e.g. Priests, etc.)	3	2.1
TOT.		137	100

Table 3: Stratification In terms of subject's occupation

The statistics in Table 3 indicate most of the respondents fell into the education category of occupation (27.5%) – i.e. teachers, principals and lecturers. According to the data available on educators the focus is on education. This makes up almost 40% of the full spectrum of the Telugu population.

The distribution of the respondents with respect to occupations is due mainly to segregational practice and the apartheid laws of the country. As a result, this weakened most of the races economically and socially. However, the white population enjoyed and flourished under the political status created by and for them in so far as occupations were concerned.

The institutionalized use of English (or Afrikaans) in the occupational situation does not allow the Telugu speakers to use their mother tongue. The subtractive influence of English on Telugu that had started at school and the education system in general continues in later occupational situations. English continues to swamp and submerge Telugu. This is typical of the immigration of non-elite minorities throughout the world. English has swamped minority languages not only in the occupational situations but also in the larger community where it is used as a language of wider communication.

The next sociolinguistic variable to be dealt with is marital status. Table 4 represents the sample in terms of marital status.

	SINGLE	MARRIED	DIVORCED	WIDOWED	TOTAL
VALUE	37	92	0	8	137
%	27	67	0	6	100

Table 4: Stratification in terms of marital status

The purpose of selecting marital status as a variable is to determine the structure of the family units. It is evident from Table 4 that the majority i.e. 67% of the respondents were married, 27% were single and 6% of them were widowed. A significant feature in the early years amongst the Telugu speaking people especially, was the structure of family units which was essential for the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. This is also true of other linguistic groups. The joint family system consisting of a male head, his wife, unmarried younger brothers and sisters and children, married sons and daughters-in-law and grandchildren are significant features in the early years amongst the Telugu speaking especially in so far as structure of the family units is concerned. An Andhra, when establishing new family relationships through marriage chose a bride of the same caste or family unit in order to retain their family units. For example, an Andhra engineer sought a spouse who could coexist or be mutually tolerant of his/her profession rather than the spouse who was merely an Andhra. However, there were outbursts by the younger generation in support of moving away from this practice.

3.4 Questionnaire distribution

One hundred and fifty copies of the questionnaire were distributed to the Andhra community living in Durban and the outlying areas like Stanger, Verulam, Tongaat and Port Shepstone during the Annual Bhajana festival and the Venketeswara Vrytham Prayers organised by the AMSSA during this period of six weeks. The respondents were selected partly on the basis of their accessibility to me and mostly, in terms of their willingness to respond. Some of the respondents were personally approached by me at the recent Annual Andhra Eisteddfod (2002-2003), the Sri Ram Naumee festival, Swami Thyagaraja Music Festival, the Annual General Meetings of the AMSSA and the weekly prayer services conducted by various branch Sabhas affiliated to the head body (AMSSA).

A small group of ten members from the different Sabhas (sub organisation) affiliated to the AMSSA and members of the head body (i.e. AMSSA) formed a pilot group on which the questionnaire was first administered. I conducted the interviews with subjects of the pilot group in order to test the feasibility of my semi-structured schedule.

This group provided numerous contacts with other Andhras. With the help of the various branch Sabhas, copies of the questionnaire were distributed to officials affiliated to the AMSSA; members and officials of AMSSA; senior grade 7 and 8 pupils and their parents from primary and secondary schools. Results from the pilot study indicated that interviews were a more successful means of retrieving information than a questionnaire survey. The collection of the completed questionnaire was undertaken by the leaders appointed by myself.

The leaders also took field notes of their interactions with all the Telugu speaking respondents. Twenty five respondents of the questionnaire survey were interviewees as well. The data obtained by means of the interviews were used to verify responses from the questionnaire i.e. the responses that emerged from the questionnaire method were cross-checked by means of interviews.

The interviewees were representatives of the different occupational backgrounds and of different areas in and around Durban. The interviewees also spoke different dialects like Garavas, Raepitis and Wadas thus making the sample a cross sectional representation of the community. During the early years of immigration both caste and class played a major role amongst the Telugu-speaking individuals in South Africa. The language difference, spoken between the spoken Telugu dialects of the Garavas, Raepitis and Wadas hinged on the basic pronunciation and spelling of their surnames for example "Naidoo" as "Naidu" or "Nyadoo".

In addition to interviews, I also conducted numerous telephonic interviews with members of the Andhra community. The information elicited provided useful insights about the attitude of the Andhra community towards religion, language and culture. This was evident from both the questionnaire survey and interviews with the various members of the Andhra community especially, amongst the ten affiliated branch Sabhas, their senior members of AMSSA as well as prominent members and executive members and patrons. Of the 150 copies of questionnaire that were distributed, 137 copies were returned.

3.5 Limitations

Initially I experienced problems in distributing some of the copies of the questionnaire. I had to travel to a number of places in Kwa Zulu-Natal and to various Sabhas. I also had to make personal contacts, schedule interviews; conduct telephonic and casual interviews with various members of the Andhra community. I visited various state schools where Telugu is taught. There was a lack of co-operation and support from some of the respondents / interviewees. However, in spite of the above limitations, I eventually managed to get back 137 copies of the questionnaire. Most of the copies of the questionnaire were properly answered and some had indepth responses to the questions asked.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter focused on research methodology and design. The chapter outlined the sampling procedure; organization of quantitative and qualitative data; an account of the collection and distribution of the copies of the questionnaire.

The next chapter focuses on the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data. It aims to highlight factors that have exerted a subtractive influence on Telugu. It considers how the shift towards the English language has been facilitated or accelerated among the Telugu speaking Hindus and how it has ultimately contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

CHAPTER 4 : DATA ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

4.0 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the analysis and discussion of the data in this study. The discussion here is based primarily on the data gathered from a questionnaire survey (See appendix 1) and also from interviews (See appendix 2). This chapter aims to highlight factors that have exerted a subtractive influence on Telugu. This chapter is guided by the following issues and key research questions (as stated in Chapter One).

A close analysis of the data reveals a number of factors that exert a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture. These include:

Telugu as the home language and Andhras as a minority group in South Africa; impact of English on Telugu; generation as a factor; government language policy; assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamils; lack of separate identity for the Andhras; differentiation between the Telugu and Tamil scripts; borrowing from Tamil; other areas of Tamil domination of Andhras, and the causes for inter-marriages; lack of academically qualified teachers to teach Telugu; political situation in South Africa; the Group Areas Act enacted by the South African government; breakdown of the joint family system.

I shall explore each of these separately.

4.1 Telugu as the home language in personal domains and the Andhras as a minority group in South Africa

Until the mid twentieth century, Telugu was spoken by almost every Andhra in South Africa (Population census between 1936-1970) Refer to Table 5.

LANGUAGE	1936	1946	1951	1970
ENGLISH	-	-	-	31.8 %
AFRIKAANS	-	-	-	1.5 %
TAMIL	39.4 %	36.6 %	36.4 %	24.4 %
HINDI	28.3 %	26.2 %	27.0 %	18.5 %
TELUGU	11.8 %	9.4 %	9.1 %	4.9 %
GUJARATI	11.9 %	11.3 %	12.0 %	7.3 %
URDU	6.5 %	6 %	7.7 %	-

Table 5: The Indians and their home languages between 1936 – 1970
(Central Statistical Services, Pretoria)

The South African Indian population census figures obtained between 1936 and 1970, which indicate the home language of the Indians show the Andhras as a minority group within the Indian population. According to the census taken in 1980, only 0.2 % of the Andhras speak Telugu as their home language and another 0.1 % of the Andhra are bilingual, speaking English and Telugu as their home language.

It is evident that after considering these figures, the Indians are a minority group in South Africa and the Andhras are a minority within the minority group. Furthermore, up to 1951, there was not even a single Andhra who considered English or Afrikaans as his home language. However the situation changed drastically by 1970.

This language shift could be attributed to the Group Areas Act and to many other factors. There is extensive erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa and the impact of English on Telugu as the home language of the Andhras has had an adverse effect. This is based on the census figures taken from the Central Statistical Services from 1991 – 1996 as shown in Table 6.

YEAR	GUJARATI	HINDI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU	ENGLISH
1980	17757	14739	1302	1878	7679	600565
1991	7456	4969	4103	638	3760	821100
1996	-	5510	4870	2171	-	

Table 6 : Home languages of Indians in South Africa between 1991 - 1996
(Central Statistical Services 1991 – 1996)

The present day Indian population in South Africa is estimated at just above one million. Table 7 shows the census figures taken from the Central Statistical Services 1991, which reflects Indians as a minority community in South Africa.

YEAR	INDIANS	WHITES	COLOURED	BLACKS	TOTAL
1904	122	1117	445	3491	5175
1921	166	1519	546	4698	6929
1951	367	2642	1103	8560	12672
1970	630	3773	2051	15340	21794
1991	864	4522	2929	17973	26288

Table 7: Population groups of South Africa in (1000's)

(Central Statistical Service 1991)

N.B.: The total S.A. population figures for 1991 excluded the population of the so-called homelands.

The estimate of the Indian population in South Africa reinforces the fact that the Andhras are a minority within this other ethnic minority community. As a minority group, their language, Telugu has not been accorded any status in the South African milieu and most of the Andhras have been willing to adjust in the host environment both culturally and linguistically.

In view of such circumstances most of the Andhras surrendered completely to the English language and its related culture of South Africa. Some Andhras fear that they will lag behind in the mainstream by following the Andhra culture. The 1980 census report confirms that most of the Andhras have already either assimilated or are assimilating with the mainstream and have already shifted or are shifting their home language to English.

The Central Statistical Service Department at Pretoria has been unable to provide an update of the census data other than those that are shown in Tables 5, 6 & 7. Neither the Kwa-Zulu Natal Archives, Pietermaritzburg Repository, nor the Durban Archives Repository is able to provide an update of the census data beyond 1996 in respect of home languages of Indians in South Africa. Therefore readers ought to use such figures provided as a guide only.

4.2 Impact of English on Telugu language

As a result of the Union of South Africa Act of 1909, English became one of the official languages along with Dutch. In 1961, the "Union" of South Africa became the "Republic" of South Africa and the word "Dutch" was not included in the new constitution. The status of English became more consolidated with the establishment of the Republic of South Africa. Section 108 of the Constitution Act 32 of 1961 stated that English and Afrikaans should be the official languages of the Republic. English therefore cumulatively exerted a far reaching influence on Telugus. Telugu speakers (like other minority groups) were required to learn English, an official language. In official communication they were obliged to use English and the opportunity to use Telugu was diminished.

When the Andhras arrived in Natal as indentured workers in 1860 and later as businessmen in the late 1880's, English was firmly established because of the arrival of British immigrants in 1820. Even before their arrival in Natal, some of the Indians were already exposed to English to a certain extent for almost a century in British India. Thus some Indians arrived with the knowledge of a few English lexemes which were borrowed and incorporated into their EMT. Above all, the fact that the indentured Indians had English speaking whites as their employers from the time of their arrival in South Africa, exerted a great influence on their lives.

On account of the low socio-economic status at the time of "indentureship" and hard working conditions on the farms where the indentured labourers were expected to toil from "sunrise to sunset", the Indians (except the passenger Indians) did not have any financial support or time to establish their own vernacular schools. They expected better lives in Natal than in India. However, for many, it became either the same or even worse. Their physical needs like shelter and food were not satisfied under these conditions.

Gradually the need for English as a means of communication in the economic and social domains increased. As indentured labourers, the Andhras began learning English through the medium of Telugu, for example : *ra*: come ; *velu/po*: go ; *akada*: where. Initially, they learned a few English words which were appropriate to communicate with their employers and with other co-workers who hailed from different linguistic groups. According to Bughwan (1970:12) the basic English vocabulary was sufficient for the purpose of communicating with the employers. However, some of the Indians also learnt Zulu/ Fanakalo and used it for communication purposes with other linguistic groups including their employers. After a day's hard work they did not have time to think of tasks such as cultural maintenance or imparting their vernacular knowledge to the younger generation.

In later years the development of local industries, gold mining and agricultural plantations accelerated the commercial economy which increased the scope for government employment. To take advantage of these new developments, it became imperative to learn English rather than to remain a foreigner who spoke Telugu only. As a result, the immigrant's need to learn English for communication purposes became imperative. At this stage they needed English both as a lingua franca and as a passport to social and upward mobility. On account of the nature of the indentureship, most of the Andhras were compelled to live in Natal, where the influence of English was greater and stronger than Afrikaans.

In fact very few Andhras resisted the adoption of the English language. Bughwan notes (1970:16) “the resistance to English was however, an individual effort” and “it was a strenuous effort.” The social identity associated with English became more desirable for the Andhras.

According to Prabhakaran (1991:3) those who were proficient in English, made greater economic progress than others in South Africa and even became models to be emulated in the immigrant organisations. At this stage, the use of English became more dominant than that of any Indian language. The immigrants whose main concern was to identify with their socio-economic group, raised their children by communicating with them through English. The Andhras were no exception to this norm. The Andhras who were fluent in English became bilingual in Telugu and English.

Once the immigrant becomes bilingual, he is prone to shift his language in favour of the acquired language (Prabhakaran 1991:3). Since there was no domain in which the ethnic language (Telugu) alone was required for membership in the community, the Andhra children, who had become bilingual in the family became monolingual English speakers increasingly.

According to Thompson (1974:58), at this stage of bilingualism the mother tongue usually disappears. Those Andhras who give up their mother tongue (Telugu) in favour of English show characteristics of language shift. According to Fasold (1984:238), “it is an unmistakable sign of language shift when bilingual parents pass on only one language to their children.” The failure to use one’s mother tongue where it should be used, poses a danger for mother tongue retention. My empirical results indicate that the decrease in mother tongue usage in certain domains closely linked to mother tongue maintenance would gradually lead to erosion of the language.

Table 8 illustrates the fact that the greatest drawback in the retention of the Telugu

language is the decline in usage at home where only 19% of the respondents claim Telugu to be their home language and 68% claim English to be their home language, 9% Tamil and 4% Urdu.

	TELUGU	TAMIL	ENGLISH	OTHER	TOTAL
VALUE	26	12	93	6	137
%	18.9	8.7	67.8	4.3	100

Table 8: Language spoken at home

Liberson and Mcbabe (1978: 69-81) studied language use and mother tongue shift in Nairobi amongst the Indian language speaking populations. Similar to the situation with Telugus in Natal they found that many parents used both an Indian language and English in addressing their children and that much of the shift can be attributed to the lack of use of the mother tongue.

The education policy of the South African government accelerated the language shift situation of the Andhras. The early indentured Andhras, like other Indians, imparted mostly religious knowledge and the Telugu language via the oral tradition in the form of discussion, narration and enacting incidents from the Ramayan, the Mahabharatam and other Hindu shastras. The oral tradition was regarded as the main source of education because most of the indentured Andhras were not well educated according to Western norms.

In 1879 the Indian Immigration School Board was established by Act 20 of 1878. According to Hofmeyr and Oosthuizen (1979:21) the state made no provision for Indian children to study their own language and culture. Some Indian children were admitted to white schools provided they appeared generally acceptable to the school authorities. The authorities insisted on Western dress and general habits and insisted on the use of English. At this stage Hofmeyr and Oosthuizen (1979:21) stated that "Education was used as an instrument to destroy the customs of the Indian child." Calpin (1949:64)

stated that "The Union of South Africa Government would recognize those Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life." These Indians who adopted Western dress were given admission to the Government schools.

The Cape Town Agreement of 1927, with its alluring promises, brought several changes in approach to the traditional culture of many of the Indians, including the Andhras. This accelerated the language shift towards English. Many Andhras became indifferent about the future of the Andhra culture and the Telugu language. According to Hilda Kuper (1960:9) "the uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement marks a stage in Indian development in South Africa.....the capitalization of Western education." Bughwan (1970: 16) as well as Bhana and Pachai (1984:242-3) were of the opinion that the promises made in the Cape Town Agreement provided sufficient incentive to some Andhras to abandon their mother tongue and the Andhra culture in favour of English. According to Hofmeyr and Oosthuizen (1979:23) and Kuppusamy, (1946:33), "the syllabi, which were the same as those for whites and Western education, made very deep inroads into the Indian (Andhra) culture and Indian (Andhra) customs." As a result, after 1940 the mother tongue began to become an alien language for many Indians. English became the medium of instruction in Natal as early as 1927.

In 1950, a comprehensive report on Indian Education from 1860 – 1950 was published in the Golden Jubilee Brochure of the Teachers' Association of South Africa (TASA). Kuppusamy and Pillay (1978), Maharaj and Bhana (1979) and Naidoo (1989) have given a detailed account of the introduction and systematic development of the education provided by the state for the Indians. In all these accounts, very little was mentioned of vernacular education. The state policy was always to maintain English as the medium of instruction in the Indian schools.

Free and compulsory education for Indians was instituted only in 1970 and 1973 respectively (Naidoo 1979:109). The first indication of the introduction of the Indian languages in primary schools was reported. It was reported that at a meeting of the

Indian Education Committee, the Chief Planner of Indian Education suggested that the Indian mother tongue would definitely be available as a subject in the primary schools after the take over by the Central Government from the Province of Natal (The Graphic: August 1964).

As a result of political developments, in 1984 a Tri-cameral system of government for Coloureds, Whites and Indians was introduced in the country. Indian education then came under the control of a Department of Education and Culture in the House of Delegates. However, before the Tri-cameral elections the Department of Indian Education under the control of the South African Indian Council had introduced the Indian languages in the Senior Primary classes at the beginning of 1984. Surveys conducted in 1990 and 1992 by the subject committee under the House of Delegates (H.O.D) indicate that many principals chose English when determining the pupils' mother tongue because Act 76 of 1984 stated that "the mother tongue shall be the official language in which the pupil is more proficient".

YEAR	HINDI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU	ARABIC	GUJARATI
1984	2575	4042	74	290	942	86
1985	6197	9140	148	466	2341	174
1986	9025	13210	234	575	2879	232
1987	10912	15846	266	661	4893	274
1988	11416	16792	325	421	5304	155
1989	12040	17795	261	623	5602	196
1990	12231	17490	310	603	5703	160
1991	11632	14461	196	436	5204	157
1992	14044	17287	1146	917	7003	245

Table 9: Pupils' statistics reflecting the numbers studying the different Indian languages (Courtesy: House of Delegates: 1992)

The Telugu community being the minority showed a poor response as reflected in the number of pupils studying Telugu in State Schools (See table 9). Only in 1992 there was some resurgence, encouraged by the Telugu community, to raise the numbers taking Telugu at State schools. However at present the position has worsened. The situation

can be attributed to the poor response by the pupils for various reasons: Firstly the Telugu community is a minority within the minority and the dispersal of the community into various distant suburbs, meant fewer Telugu pupils were present in each school studying Telugu; i.e. (the majority of the pupils were not concentrated in one school area as before): Secondly the Telugu pupils could not make the required number to warrant the running of a Telugu class: Thirdly the one and a half hours a week allocated for mother tongue instruction hardly aroused any interest in the pupils; furthermore there was a lack of continuity on a day to day basis in teaching the language: Fourthly Telugu is not an examination subject , and the teachers as well as the pupils do not treat it with respect as other examinable subjects. Finally there is a lack of qualified teachers of the Telugu language.

All the numerous acts and ordinances have exerted a great influence on the language shift of the Andhras in South Africa, particularly by the narrow definition of the mother tongue Act 76 of 1984

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	42	95	137
%	30.7	69.3	100

Table 10 : No. of respondents who communicate with parents in Telugu

Table 10 illustrates that 69.3 % of the total respondents experience difficulty with communicating in Telugu with their parents. This high percentage of negative response indicates language shift.

4.3 Generation as a factor in language shift

The “mother tongue” of a Telugu child in the first half of the 20th century was Telugu. He acquired this language from his parents and was able to think, speak and communicate

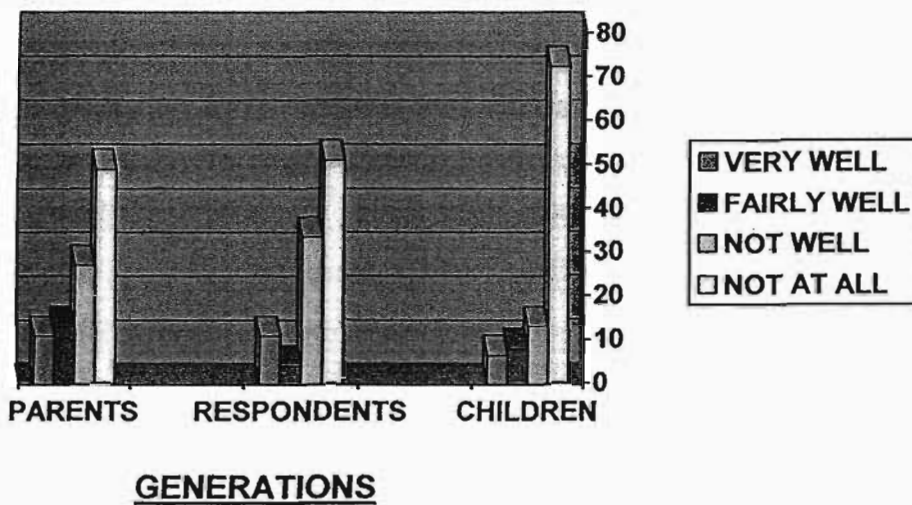
in it. This was as a result of his parents coming from India. The parents spoke Telugu and they transmitted the language to him. By the third generation the parents were bilingual. The parents spoke to their parents in Telugu but to their children in English and/or Telugu. The English language and culture were imposed on the minority Telugu groups which was dominated by the European or "white" groups, politically, socially and economically. Scholars like Fishman (1966:132), and Vasikile (1988:63) have found that "generation is the most important variable in the linear prediction of Ethnic Mother Tongue (EMT) retention". In their opinion, there is less EMT retention with each succeeding generation.

Children learn the dialect and speaking styles and religio-cultural habits from the social group to which their parents and immediate family circle belong, and in which they are born and raised. Their attitudes and sub-cultural behavior traits are mostly influenced by the language they learn as children because that language is the storehouse of knowledge for that particular linguistic group. This learning of the mother tongue (MT) is largely an unconscious and involuntary process of acculturation. However, the situation is not always the same with every group of people when immigrants arrive in a new environment; as a first generation, they earnestly try to retain their mother tongue. Bughwan (1979:480) states that faced by stark realities, they have to learn the dominant language of the new environment. As a minority group, they very soon realize that their MT lacks social status in their new life. They then neglect their MT to the extent that they do not transfer it to their children. The next generation, being more exposed to the new acquired language, shows less EMT retention compared to the previous generation.

Thus, with each succeeding generation, the proficiency in the EMT is reduced and the dominant language of the host country is more favoured. This is evident in case of the immigrant in the United States, United Kingdom and many of the Eastern as well as Western countries including South Africa.

It has been noted that when speakers become less proficient in their language even though they may have some qualification, the language loses stability and ground. In linguistic minorities, the children will often speak the groups' language less proficiently than their parents. The language proficiency decreases among the children. Responses to questions in respect of the proficiency in Telugu of the respondents, his/her parents and his/her children, clearly demonstrated that with each succeeding generation, there is a decline in speaking, understanding, reading and writing the Telugu language.

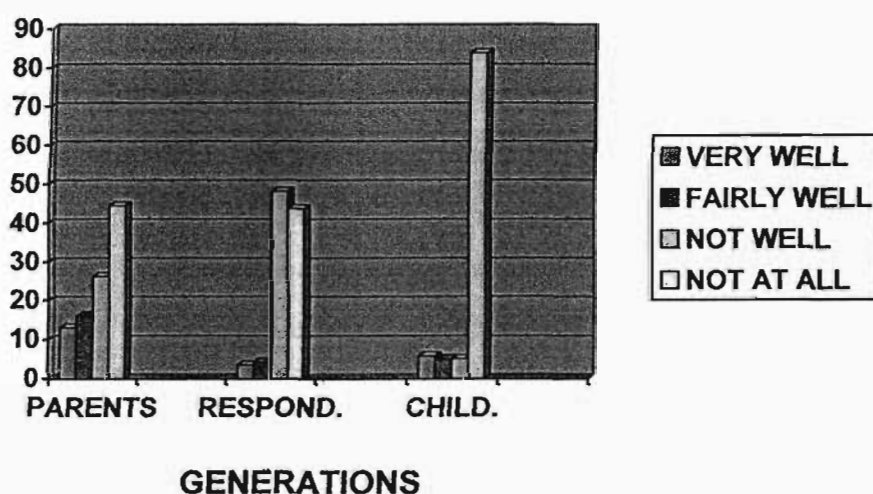
GRAPH 1 demonstrates the descriptive analysis of the speaking ability between the three generations of the Andhras.



Graph 1 shows the deteriorating speaking ability of the Andhras as the generations progress. The following descriptive analysis as depicted illustrates this fact. 10.9% of the respondents' parents can speak Telugu very well, 13.1% can speak fairly well, 27% not well but 48.9% cannot speak Telugu at all. Compared to these two generations, as a contrast, the respondents' children's generation shows erosion in the ability to speak the language. In the children's generation only 6.5% of the children can speak Telugu very well, 8.0% fairly well, 13.1% not well and most of them ie. 72.2% cannot speak Telugu at all.

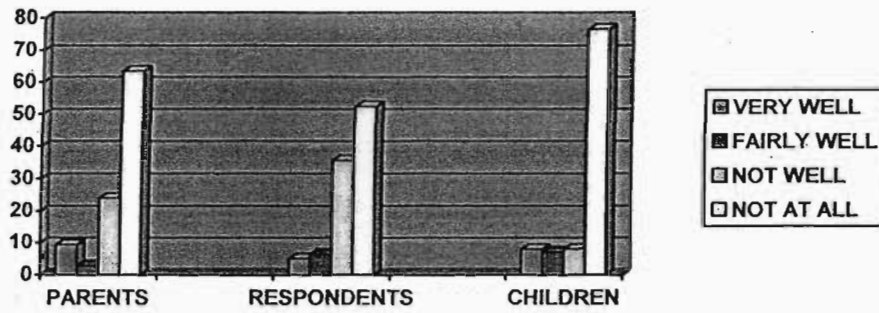
Similarly, the reading and writing abilities of the three generations show less retention of EMT (Refer graph 2 & 3). 13.1% of the respondents' parents can read Telugu well, 16.0% fairly well, 26.2% not well and 44.5% cannot read Telugu at all. However, only 3.6% of the respondents can read Telugu very well, 4.3% fairly well, 48.1% not well but 43.7% cannot read at all. In the respondents children's generation, only 5.8% can read Telugu very well, 5.1% fairly well, 5.1% not well but 83.9% cannot read Telugu at all.

GRAPH 2 demonstrates descriptive analysis of the reading ability between the three generations of the Andhras.



Graph 2 shows the deteriorating reading ability of the Andhras as the generation progresses.

GRAPH 3 demonstrates descriptive analysis of the writing ability between the three generations of the Andhras.



GENERATIONS

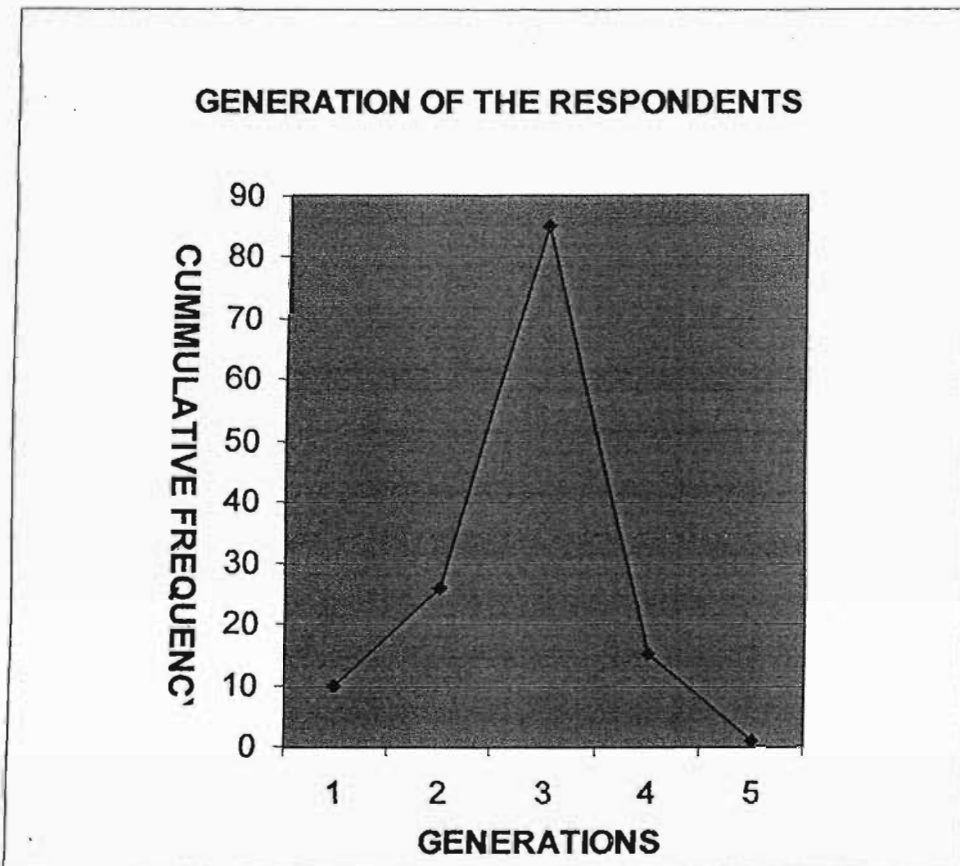
The following descriptive analysis as depicted illustrates this fact: 4.9% of the respondents' parents can write Telugu very well; 8.1% fairly well; 33.2% not well and 50.1% cannot write at all.

Graphs 1, 2 and 3 clearly indicate that the respondents' parents' reading, speaking and writing skills in Telugu are much higher than those of the respondents themselves, and the respondents' proficiency in the EMT is higher than that of their children. They show that there is less retention of the EMT in the succeeding generations of the Andhra community. These findings are consistent with the opinions of Fishman (1966:132) and Vasikile (1988:63). It is also interesting to note that in a stratified society like South Africa, the group's personal aspiration to achieve success in the socio-economic fields is given more importance than linguistic manifestation and EMT retention.

This aspiration for groups' personal advancement in a foreign environment forced the Andhras to abandon their EMT in favour of English. A fact emerging from the questionnaire survey is that, with the death of most of the first generation South African Andhras, the impact of English on Telugu was evident in areas of communication amongst the Andhras. Only 7.2% of the respondents are first generation South Africans, 18.9% are in the second generation, 62% of them are in the third generation and 10.9% of the respondents are in the fourth generation, 0.7% of the respondents were immigrants.

	FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH	IMMIGRANT	TOTAL
VALUE	10	26	85	15	1	137
%	7.2	18.9	62.0	10.9	0.7	100

Table 11: Generation of South African Andhras



Graph 4: Generation of the respondents

- KEY
- 5. IMMIGRANT : 1 : Original immigrant indentured labourer
 - 4. FOURTH : 15 : Respondents' great grandparent(s) born in South Africa
 - 3. THIRD : 85 : Respondents' grandparents born in South Africa
 - 2. SECOND : 26 : Respondents' parent(s) born in South Africa
 - 1. FIRST : 10 : Respondents born in South Africa

Generation is the most important variable in the linear production of Ethnic Mother

Tongue (EMT) retention. With each succeeding generation, there is less EMT retention for e.g. according to questionnaire survey, the number of third generation (i.e. 85) respondent's grandparents were born in South Africa whereas only 26 from the second generation respondent's parent(s) were born in South Africa.

Questions relating to proficiency in Telugu are outlined in the questionnaire (Refer to questions 1, 2 and 3 page 116 appendix 1)

LANGUAGE	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL	TOTAL
SPEAK	15 (10.9%)	6 (4.37%)	46 (33.57%)	70 (61.09%)	137
UNDERSTAND	16 (11.5%)	7 (5.1%)	56 (40.87%)	58 (42.3%)	137
READ	5 (3.6%)	6 (4.3%)	66 (48.5%)	60 (43.79%)	137
WRITE	7 (5.1%)	9 (6.56%)	49 (35.7%)	72 (52.55%)	137

Table 12: Respondents' proficiency in the Telugu language

Table 12 above illustrates the proficiency of the respondent in the Telugu language. The above data reveals that more than 42% of the respondents claim that they could not speak, understand, read and write well. It appears that there has been some loss in the transmitting process and the use of the Telugu language is therefore diminishing. As a result of the statistics outlined, it is evident that the Telugu language is gradually shifting and an erosion is taking place.

LANGUAGE	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL	TOTAL
SPEAK	15 (10.9%)	18 (13.13%)	37 (27.00%)	67 (48.90%)	137
UNDERSTAND	19 (13.86%)	21 (15.32%)	38 (27.73%)	59 (43.06%)	137
READ	18 (13.13%)	22 (16.05%)	36 (26.27%)	61 (44.52%)	137
WRITE	13 (9.48%)	4 (2.91%)	33 (24.08%)	87 (63.50%)	137

Table 13 : Proficiency of the respondents' parents in the Telugu language?

Table 13 above demonstrates the proficiency of the respondents' parents in the Telugu language.

The above questionnaire survey indicates that more than 24% -27% of the respondents' parents could not speak, understand, read and write well, and that more than 43% of the respondents claim that they could not speak, understand, read and write at all. The above data demonstrates that the Telugu language and Andhra Culture are gradually shifting and an erosion is taking place.

LANGUAGE	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL	TOTAL
SPEAK	9 (6.56%)	11 (8.02%)	18 (13.13%)	99 (72.26%)	137
UNDERSTAND	6 (4.37%)	9 (6.56%)	10 (7.29%)	112 (81.75%)	137
READ	8 (5.83%)	7 (5.10%)	7 (5.10%)	115 (83.94%)	137
WRITE	11 (8.02%)	10 (7.29%)	11 (8.02%)	105 (76.64%)	137

Table 14: Proficiency of the respondents' children in the Telugu language

Questionnaire responses relating to proficiency in Telugu amongst the children of the respondents are demonstrated in Table 14.

The above data revealed that more than 5% of the respondents' children claim that they could not speak, understand, read and write well and that a great majority i.e. 72% of them could not speak, understand, read and write at all.

It is apparent from the statistics (Tables 12, 13 and 14) that the status and usage of the Telugu language is eroding at a tremendous rate.

4.4 Government language policy

South Africa is a multilingual country, and like any other multilingual country, it needs language for communication across language boundaries. According to Stern (1983: 234) and Prinsloo (1985: 1, 24) such a language is termed a 'language of wider communication', 'lingua franca', or an 'inter-group language'. However, one would have expected that the apartheid system in South African politics was conducive to the loyalists for maintaining their minority languages.

Kloss (1971: 258) states that 'immigrant groups that do not have a compact speech area of their own, will eventually have to yield to the language of their new environment'. Under the apartheid system Group Areas Act which was passed in 1950, different ethnic groups were given separate areas. Thus, Indians lived in Indian areas set aside for them in different parts of the country. Thus it would appear that Indians have compact speech areas.

From the time of the arrival of the Indians in South Africa, many Indian languages existed in South Africa. There were major languages like Tamil, Urdu, Hindi, Gujarati and minor languages like Malayalam, Kannada, Parsee and others. According to Mesthrie (1985: 17) and Bughwan (1970: 8) some of the languages have already been eroded in South Africa and some of them are in the process of being eroded.

Since 1860 there has been no evidence to suggest that either the Natal sugar estate employers or the government of Natal took any interest in the promotion of the education of the indentured labourers let alone their Indian languages or Indian culture. Only after the arrival of the Agent-General for India, in South Africa, Sir Srinivasa Sastri and the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 was there any positive action in establishing education and welfare facilities for the Indians. However, no provision was made for teaching of Indian languages.

In 1879 an Indian Immigrant School Board, appointed by the Government, took steps to obtain a school inspector to teach and supervise the teaching of Tamil, Hindi and English (Minutes of the Indian Immigrant School Board: 1879).

However, Telugu was not mentioned here, which confirmed that Telugu as the minority language of the minority Indians was neglected from the outset. The Board came under the general supervision of the Natal Education Department in 1894. According to Kuppusamy (1966:10) the Natal Education Department terminated the teaching of vernacular languages in Natal. No Indian language was taught even as a subject of the school curriculum in any Indian school in Natal under government supervision.

According to a report in the Natal Witness (1950:42), the Director of Education, on emphasizing the standard of English amongst the Indian pupils, reported that "there are very few Indian homes where English is spoken as the home language, but the children on proceeding to a Government or Government-Aided School received all their instructions through the medium of English". In 1960 the main home language of the

Indians was their own ethnic language. According to the 1960 census only 34,484 i.e. 7.21% of the total Indian South African population spoke Telugu as their home language. In 1960 prominent community leaders Mr. V.S. Naidu, Dr N.P. Desai, Mr. P.R. Pather among others, strongly supported the suggestion made by Mr. P.R.T Nel, the Chief Planner of Indian languages at the time that Indian Languages should be included in the school curriculum. (The Graphic, 1964) However, no provision was made to teach Telugu (or any vernacular) in any state school. Many vernacular schools known as *patasalas* existed under the auspices of private organizations. These organizations received no assistance, financial or otherwise from the Government. The 1980 census showed a decline in the number of Andhras with Telugu as their home language (30,690 – 4.9%) in 1970 to 2171 (3%) in 1996. This is a significant indication of the language shift of the Andhras. Many Indian community leaders of all linguistic groups brought pressure on the government to introduce Indian Language at the state school level. In 1984 Telugu, as well as the other Indian languages was introduced in the state primary schools mainly on account of the pressure brought by the various cultural organizations in Natal. In 1977 Indian languages were offered at State Schools from Junior Secondary level, Std. 6, 7 and 8.

Mesthrie (1985: 17) states that:

"The motivation for the introduction of these languages has been cultural rather than linguistic...the use of the vernaculars is encouraged as a gateway to Hindu and Muslim culture and religion which many perceive to be on the decline under western influence". The effort is probably too late...it is not uncommon for an attempt to be made to bolster up and sustain an obsolescent language only after it has been eroded by another. "

The comment made by Mesthrie is appropriate to the Telugu language because by 1984, most Andhras had adopted English as their home language. The Circular No 51 of 1984 stated that the teaching of any Indian language must be warranted by economic viability. Circular No. 29 of 1983, stipulated that only if 15 or more students were interested in learning an Indian language would that particular language be taught at the school concerned.

The Andhras being the minority of the Indian community, could not provide the required number, not only because of numerical insufficiency but also because most of them had already abandoned their mother tongue in favour of English. Another reason for the inability to provide an economical unit was the rapid assimilation of the Andhras into the Tamil community. There were fewer than 700 students i.e. Only 1% of the total school population taking Indian languages, learning Telugu in the state schools as compared to 18 000 students who were learning Tamil. (Indian Languages Promoter – H.O.D.: 1991) Official help came too late to the Andhras because by 1984 most of the Andhras, influenced by various other reasons, were apathetic towards their EMT. If only Telugu along with other Indian languages had been introduced in the government school as early as the beginning of the twentieth century or even as late as the 1950's, Telugu would not have been eroded to the extent it has to date.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	96	41	137
%	70.07	29.92	100

Table 15: Absence of teaching Telugu up to 1984

The above table indicates that 70.07% of the respondents feel positive that absence of teaching Telugu up to 1984 led to the erosion of the Telugu language. 29.92% of the respondents did not agree that this made a difference.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	92	45	137
%	67.1	32.84	100

Table 16: Erosion of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture amongst the youth

The survey indicated that 67.1% of the respondents were of the opinion that the Telugu language and Andhra Culture are fast eroding amongst the youth. 32.84% of the respondents answered negatively; perhaps they were members of the outgroup and were not interested in the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

4.5 Assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamil speaking community

The unconscious assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamil community is an important factor in the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa. The Tamil community is the majority component of the Indian community. They exerted great influence on the Andhras as the minority within the minority Indian community in South Africa. In order to understand the Andhra assimilation with the Tamil community, it is important to trace the origins of this assimilation process prior to 1860. It is also important to outline briefly the sociological aspects of the behaviour of the minority groups (e.g. the Andhras) towards the dominant 'out – groups' e.g. the Tamils. The Tamil community although an 'in – group' is referred to as the outgroup because it has dominance over the Andhra community in South Africa.

According to Brand (1966: 29) it is a general phenomenon that most minorities are in the long run assimilated completely into the larger system of which it formerly was a part. Group boundaries become blurred and eventually the minority ceases to exist as a distinct entity. At this point it must be noted that the Andhras were formerly a part of Tamildesa or Madras Presidency (country of the Tamils in India) and arrived in South Africa along with their Tamil speaking peers. The Andhras (Telugus) were part of this larger group.

Brand (1966: 29) uses the terms “absorption” or “assimilation” to describe the process of the minority identifying with the dominant group (in this instance the Andhras identifying with the Tamils). Brand (1966: 29) states that this assimilation takes place under different stages. The groups with resentful attitudes move into a stage where they are on the margin between two groups. In this stage they readily identify themselves in increasing numbers with the dominant group values. They are exposed to the new group’s language and also their culture and learn the values of the dominant group. As the assimilation proceeds, the minority group continuously loses its original cultural distinctiveness. Brand (1966: 31) says that this stage might lead to intermarriages.

Barron (1957: 452) states that intermarriages could take place between two communities because of an unbalanced sex ratio, or other reasons like common socio-economic status in the new host country. In South Africa intermarriage acts as a mediating variable usually resulting in accelerated assimilation. The Andhras assimilated with the Tamil speaking Indians since their arrival in South Africa through intermarriages.

The Tamil population increased from 83, 731 to 153, 645 within a short period of thirty four years. This increase is attributable to former Telugu speakers identifying Tamil as their home language. However, because of the language shift of the whole Indian community towards the dominant English language, the percentage of the Tamil speakers also decreased as illustrated in Table 17.

YEAR	TAMIL	TELUGU
1936	39.4 %	11.8%
1946	36.6%	9.4%
1951	36.4%	9.1%
1970	24.4%	4.9%

Table 17: Percentage of Tamil and Telugu speaking communities in South Africa between 1936 – 1970 (Government Population census between 1936 – 1970

Similarly the percentage of Hindi and Gujarati speaking Indian populations also decreased on account of language shift. The Andhra Community experienced a great decrease in the percentage of the population between the period 1936 – 1970 which had a sharp decline from 11.8% to 4.9%. In contrast, the number of Tamil speaking people, though reduced as a percentage of the total population, appear more stable than the Andhras. It is assumed that the reasons for the big ratio difference in the decline of these two linguistic population groups could be attributed to the loss of self/group identification of the Andhras and assimilation with the Tamils or apathy of the marginal Andhras to be identified with the minority Andhra group.

The Andhras assimilated only with the Tamils, not with the Hindi or Gujarati linguistic groups. In a multilingual group situation like South Africa, why is it that the Andhras mainly intermarried and associated with the Tamils? In response to this question Brand (1966: 34) states: "In any given situation where a plurality of culturally distinct groups interact on more or less equal terms, those groups which resemble each other the most with regard to their principles become assimilated to each other."

The Andhras resemble the Tamils in many respects. For example, there are similarities in respect of cultural habits and their languages. They share the same "Dravidian race" feeling as against the "Aryan race" of the Gujarati and Hindi – speaking communities of South Africa. The Andhras are of the opinion that they are "South Indians" and different from the "North Indians."

The physical complexion of the South Indians (Dravidians), which differs from that of the North Indians (Aryans), also facilitated the common identity of the Tamil and Andhra communities. Although they shared the common concept of 'indentured Indian' with the Hindi – speaking Indians and the common religion, Hinduism with the Gujarati speaking community, as the Andhras were assimilated more with the Tamils than with any other linguistic group because of the common port of embarkation which made them feel that they were from the same Dravidesa (country of the South).

In summary Tamil domination over the Andhras in South Africa and Andhra assimilation with the Tamil community contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and culture in South Africa.

4.6 Lack of separate identity for the Andhras

When the Andhras arrived in Natal there was no separate identity for the Andhras, unlike the Tamils because, at the time of their departure from India, the whole Andhra country was under the British Crown. The Tamils and the Andhras were governed by a common Presidency, namely, the "Madras Presidency". Madras was the capital city of the Presidency. The British did not recognize the Andhras as a distinct linguistic group and they grouped the Andhras together with the Tamils. The British coined the term "Madarasee" to refer to both Tamils and Andhras because of the numerical strength of the Tamils over the Andhras.

Pantuli (1982: 6) states that "the Andhra country, which was comparatively a single unit, with common history and tradition, with common customs and usages, common language and literature, under one common king, was, after the advent of Mohammedan rule, split up into divisions...and when the British established their own power in the South...new acquisitions, one after another, were added on to the old possessions and placed under one single administration without any regard to ethnological, linguistic, historical or geographical considerations". Thus, the Andhras, though very distinct in their cultural aspects, language and different from the Tamils were forced to be united with the Tamil speaking people under a single British rule in 1857.

According to Kuper (1960: 6) "Madarassi's" is applied locally to all immigrants from the South, and "Calcuttia's" to immigrants from the North, thereby adding to other ethnic distinctions, the port of embarkation as a new identity."

Many Andhras came to Natal as bilingual Telugu-Tamil speakers and this led to great

confusion among the British who were unable to make any linguistic difference between the Tamils and Andhras. Further, the British never felt the urge to distinguish between these two linguistic groups. In fact this hastened the Andhra assimilation with the Tamils in South Africa.

4.7 The difference between the Telugu and Tamil scripts

The difference between the Telugu and Tamil scripts made many Andhras learn Tamil instead of Telugu. The numerical Telugu alphabet (with thirteen vowels, three-vowel consonants and thirty-six consonants, five hundred and four vowel combinations with consonants and many more hundreds of (subscribed consonants) made the beginner assume that Telugu was very difficult to learn. This discouraged the beginner from learning the language.

The Tamil language has a simple alphabet with its limited number of letters and with few hard consonants. It therefore appeals to the South African Indian who wants to learn an Indian language. Furthermore, on account of non-availability of properly qualified teachers to teach Telugu, the Andhras preferred to learn Tamil. However, if taught by the use of modern teaching methods, Telugu is not a difficult language when compared to other Indian languages in South Africa.

During the beginning of immigration the qualified Telugu teachers were Christians. Some of these included Baptist Church Ministers at Kearsney: Rev. Rangiah and later Prof. John Jeevaratnam. The Hindu Andhras were reluctant to learn Telugu from the Christian Telugu teachers because they feared religious interference from the Christian Telugu teachers. Thus this religious insecurity of the Hindu Andhras in the early years of the immigration also contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa.

4.8 Borrowing from Tamil

Telugu absorbs words freely from other languages and makes use of them. Since the beginning of its growth as a language, Telugu has absorbed many grammatical lexical words from Sanskrit, Hindi, Tamil, Urdu, English and many other languages and it continues developing by borrowing from other languages. Reddi (1985: iii) states that Telugu can assimilate the words from any language into its vocabulary. Through bilingualism languages are prone to be mutually influenced on account of socio-cultural factors. The Telugu scholars in modern Andhra Pradesh insist on the usage of modern spoken Telugu in daily life, literature and even in the classroom situation.

The Andhras in South Africa make use of "loan words" in their daily usage, and in code-mixing, Tamil predominates in conversation to a great extent. Consider the example below:

'repu da maa ammayi pelli nalungu'

'(Tomorrow is our daughters wedding initiation.)'

In this example, the underlined items are from the Tamil language. In speaking, the Andhras are unaware of the fact that they are using Tamil words. They may not even know the Telugu equivalents of such Tamil words and have not learnt the correct Telugu words because they probably feel more comfortable with these Tamil words. Other South African languages such as Hindi and Zulu or Fanakalo are also freely used in the daily spoken Telugu.

In conclusion borrowing may be a good sociolinguistic feature for the Telugu language in India, but it is proving to be a great disadvantage to Telugu language maintenance in South Africa. The flexible nature of the Telugu language exerts a negative influence on the Telugu maintenance and erodes Telugu language locally.

4.9 Other areas of Tamil domination

The availability of a vast number of Tamil films in South Africa is another reason for Tamil domination over Telugu. Fakir Hassan (Sunday Tribune: March 1991) wrote that the Telugu film industry produces over 200 films more than the Tamil film industry per year. However the Telugu video films are very rarely available in South Africa. There is insufficient demand for the Telugu films in South Africa because of the small number of Telugu film viewers when compared to Tamil and Hindi. The Andhras hire and watch the Tamil films, thus they are more exposed to the Tamil language than Telugu. It is assumed that the language loyalty of most of the Andhras is not particularly strong, and they therefore view films in other languages without much opposition. Thus the Andhras (Telugus) is a group with low ethnolinguistic identity and assimilate with other ethnolinguistic groups.

The "unfair time distribution" for the Indian languages on Lotus FM, SABC and Eastern Mosaic broadcasts is also influencing the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa. To any Lotus FM listener, it is obvious most of the air-time is spent on the Tamil and Hindi languages because of the relative dominance of the two linguistic groups in South Africa compared to Gujarati and Telugu. Telugu is given scant attention by the broadcasting stations. Another factor which does not facilitate the broadcasting of more Telugu songs is that there is no overt demand for the Telugu songs from the Andhra community. Similarly there are no Telugu films or features, sketches or dramas shown on SABC or on East Net thus far in South Africa. The ardent Andhra listeners and viewers are thus deprived of their own mother tongue on Lotus FM and also television.

The Tamil domination over the Andhras has not only influenced the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa, but also influenced the religio-cultural values of the Andhras.

In South Africa most of the Andhras are Vaishnavites. Vaishnavites are one of the many sects within Hinduism and generally in the Northern part while Saivites predominate in the South although there are areas in North and South where either one or the other is strongly followed. A Vaishnavite is a devotee of Lord Vishnu and Saivite is a devotee of Lord Shiva. Lord Vishnu and Lord Shiva are one and same – all pervading Lord. Saivism is the religion practiced by the devotees of Lord Shiva and which is sometimes said to be mankind's oldest religion.

Saivism contains the cream of the Vedanta philosophy. Knowledge, illumination and wisdom all arise from Lord Shiva. He is the abode of peace, blessedness and embodiment of holiness and divine love. He is forgiving and all-merciful. Lord Shiva is regarded as pure love and light, flowing through all forms and existing everywhere in time and space as infinite intelligence and power. He has no form and is unchanging and beyond everything. Saivites observe nine major festivals during the course of the year. The most important of these are Maha Shivaratri, Ganesha Chaturthi, Navarathri and Vinayaga Vratam.

However, the Andhras observe the Saivite festivals because of the influence of the Tamils. For example, the "Purtasi Prayers", a Tamil orientated prayer is sincerely performed by the Andhras of South Africa. This is probably reinforced by the fact that Purtasi is dedicated to Lord Vishnu. The other Tamil prayers are "Kavady Festival", "Porridge Prayer", the "Draupadi Amman Fire Walking" and "Karthigai Deepam". These are mainly observed by the Tamil-speaking Hindu community in South Africa, and they are also observed by the Telugu speaking people.

The traditional Andhra religious festivals like Vijaya Dasmi, Sankranthi and others have been overshadowed by the Tamil festivals because of Tamil influence. Even the traditional Andhra custom of having an "Inti Peru" (surname) has been long forgotten by the Andhras in South Africa and most of the Andhras prefer to use "Naidoo" or "Reddy" as their surnames. The Andhras especially in India fervently adopted the system of surname in order to distinguish themselves between "high-caste" and "low caste"

category of people. This system is not practiced in South Africa. The ancestors of some of the Tamil "Naidoos" or Tamil "Reddys" in South Africa have been the Andhras who migrated from Andhra country to Tamilnadu from the 8th to the 19th centuries.

According to the social history of the Andhras and the Tamils prior to 1860 in India, there were no Andhra Tamil speakers. There were no Tamil speaking Naidoos in Tamilnadu, but there were the Andhras who had migrated and assimilated with the local Tamils by inter-marrying.

4.10 The Impact of Intermarriage

Intermarriages between the Tamils and the Andhras have also led to the erosion of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa. According to one of the informants (Interview; with Naidoo V.: 2004) one of the reasons for the intermarriages between the various linguistic groups was the circumstance of their indentureship. When a shipload of indentured Indians arrived, some women and men were paired by the British employers and were taken to a plantation where they were made to work as well as live together. The British employers, while pairing the men and women together only considered their physical fitness but not their linguistic or cultural backgrounds. Thus the selections made by the British led to some intermarriages between the Andhras and other linguistic groups.

In the view of another informant (Interview: with Naidoo, V.K 2004) at the time of the arrival of the Indian immigrants the caste system also played an important role in intermarriages (whenever they were free to make their choices). The immigrant Andhras like other linguistic groups, observed the rigid caste system and were very conscious of their caste. An Andhra, when establishing new family relationships through marriage chose a bride of the same caste or of an equal caste from other linguistic groups. This situation was aggravated by the imbalance in the male/female sex ratio of the indenture Indians. The ratio was never properly balanced and the female ratio was always lower than it was supposed to be.

Class was another important factor which led to intermarriages in the early years of the settlement. Although most of the Andhras arrived as indentured labourers, some of them, because of their knowledge of English and management skills, were appointed as Sirdars (supervisors) within a plantation. They earned a better salary and ranked themselves as upper class. Even the sirdar's son sometimes married a bride from another linguistic group. Thus, in the early years of immigration both caste and class factors played a major role in facilitating intermarriages between the Andhras and other linguistic groups.

With the westernization of the Andhra community and with the acquisition of education, the rigid caste system was ignored. The young educated Andhras, as well as the Indians from the other linguistic groups, absorbed and incorporated many elements of Western culture into their Andhra (Indian) culture. Higher education brought the Andhras into contact with peers of other linguistic groups at various institutions. Here, personal encounters developed into romantic associations, which led to intermarriages. The question of compatibility also played an important role. For example, an Andhra doctor sought a spouse who could coexist or be mutually tolerant of his/her profession rather than a spouse who was merely an Andhra.

In summary the various reasons outlined above played a vital role in accelerating the intermarriages between the Andhras and other linguistic groups. The couple that intermarried in the early days of their immigration communicated in the dominant language (e.g. Tamil or Hindi) and later in English. According to Fishman (1966: 147) such couples later raised their children using English as a medium. Thus, intermarriages among other factors directly led to the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa.

4.11 Lack of academically qualified teachers to teach Telugu

A very important factor that caused the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa

was the lack of academically qualified teachers. Most of the Andhras who had migrated to South Africa between 1860 – 1911 were not well educated. Some of the immigrant Andhras were academically literate in the religious sense and many of them were able to recite the Ramayanam, Mahabharatam, Bhagavad Gita.

The Andhra children were instructed orally in the Telugu language, Andhra culture and Hindu religion. The adult Andhras, who were indentured labourers, did not have the facilities, time or energy to teach their children formally because of the exhausting working conditions on the plantations.

The first well-qualified Telugu teacher from India was Pandit Varadacharyulu. His negative attitude towards teaching the Telugu language did not inspire any Andhras to pursue the acquisition of Telugu. According to Sitaram (1991), the head of department of Indian Languages at the previous University of Durban-Westville, Pandit Varadacharyulu, taught some of the students grammatical literacy and Brahmanical Telugu with high Sanskrit words for several years. Hence, a small number of Telugu students were registered at University of Durban Westville (UDW). Pandit Varadacharyulu's caste conscious behaviour made him very unpopular among the Andhra community. As a result many Andhras turned away from the Telugu language exacerbating the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa. Pandit Varadacharyulu's demise created a vast vacuum in the teaching of Telugu in South Africa and the post at UDW was not filled until 1989. This gap of almost ten years was another reason for the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa. Prof. John Jeevarathnam who went to study Telugu academically in Andhra Pradesh, India, was the first South African Andhra to graduate with a degree in Telugu. However his decision to settle in Andhra Pradesh was a great disappointment to the Andhra community in South Africa.

A further reason which accelerated the erosion of the Telugu language was the fact that qualified Telugu teachers from India were not brought to South Africa on account of the strained political relations between India and South Africa.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	116	21	137
%	84.7	15.3	100

Table 18: Views about the qualification of Telugu teachers on language maintenance

It is evident from Table 18 that 84.7% of the respondents agreed that there is a lack of qualified Telugu teachers, whereas 15.3% of the respondents answered negatively. This confirms the lack of qualified teachers as one of the factors that led to the shift and erosion of the Telugu language.

4.12 The political situation in South Africa

The political situation in South Africa after the Second World War also contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language. A number of oppressive laws were enacted to suppress the Indians in South Africa. The Indian Government, which gained independence from the British rule in 1947, agitated against the oppression of the Indians at the United Nations Organisation (U.N.O.) India openly opposed South African racial discrimination. The Smuts Government (1939 – 1948) refused to comply with the directions given by the U.N.O.

When the National Party came into power in South Africa in 1948, a new, much - hated widely opposed system of segregation called "Apartheid" was introduced in the Union of South Africa, which segregated the non-whites from the whites. The Indian Government vigorously imposed political, economic and cultural boycotts against the South African Government in 1948 in order to demonstrate its opposition to the unjust political situation in South Africa. Further, the suspension of the service of the two passenger ships, S.S. Karanja and S.S. Kampala, two British India Ships carrying passengers between India and South Africa affected the free flow of religious cultural goods into South Africa. Furthermore a number of Andhra brides who were married to South African Andhras had

encountered difficulties in joining their grooms soon after their marriages because of the visa problems with both Indian and South African Governments. Many other sanctions were imposed by the Indian Government because of the diplomatic tensions between India and South Africa. For example, when the University of Durban- Westville appointed Dr. Sivaramamurthy of India to fill the vacancy created by the death of Pandit Varadacharyulu in 1981, the Indian Government refused to give permission to Dr. Sivaramamurthy to work in South Africa. As mentioned previously, the post was only filled in 1989.

4.13 The Group Areas Act (1950) of South Africa

After serving their indenture, most of the Andhras had settled according to their castes near other linguistic groups. This created close-knit socio-cultural units. For example, the Puntans Hill pioneer Andhra settlers were mostly the Gavaras.

During 1947, the 'Ghetto Act' was passed by the Smuts Government and the 'Group Areas Act' in 1950, both had serious effects on the Indian community. According to J.N. Singh (Sunday Tribune: March 1991) the 'Ghetto Act' was intended to place the Indians into confined areas in every town and village and because they had no vote, they would stagnate in the neglected 'ghettos', implying there would be no attempts by the Government for their upliftment.

The Group Areas Acts, Act 41 of 1950 and Act 77 of 1957, uprooted and dismantled the well established Indian community. The Pegging Act of 1943 (Trading and Occupation of Land Act) of Land demarcation prohibited Indians from buying land outside the so-called 'Indian Areas'. The Indians were asked to vacate the areas where they had settled and developed well over the previous ninety years. The Andhras living in small

pockets in areas like Sea View, Stella Hill, Puntans Hill and other areas were severely affected. Most of the central industrialized urban and well developed areas were declared white and coloured areas, while the hilly, barren, under-developed areas were allocated to Indians and Blacks.

According to Horrell (1963:27) those subjected to forced removal often benefited, because "housing schemes provided for people in the lower income groups, often of better quality than the accommodation they had occupied". Most of the uprooted people were forced to live in Chatsworth Housing Scheme where the semi-detached homes allocated by the Government lacked privacy. The uprooting also affected the Telugu patasalas (schools) of the Andhra Community in a number of areas which were forced to close on account of the dispersal of the Andhras from settled areas.

The above examples are characteristic of the experience of large numbers of Indians affected by the Group Areas Act. It took about twenty years to accomplish the rebuilding or developing their own homes and institutions in Chatsworth, Phoenix and other areas.

During these twenty years of re-settlements the language efficiency of the Andhras deteriorated because of the new unexpected problems created by the Group Areas Act. The Andhras were compelled to leave religio-culturally well-established areas for new areas, which were not of their choice. The Indians preferred their own religious centers at which to worship. In the newly allocated areas these facilities were lacking, which led to the erosion of Hindu Culture. This disregard for social units produced alienation and disintegration of group identity as a result of the Group Areas Act. Thus any improvement in the Indians' religio-cultural situation after removals was due to their own efforts and not a gift of the Group Areas Act.

4.14 Breakdown of the joint family system

The traditional joint family system has been most instrumental in maintaining the moral and ethical values cherished in Indian homes. The system has such a strong and sound foundation that in spite of the outbursts by the younger generation in support of moving away from it, the tradition still lasts. The cohesive forces and the feeling of "belonging" and a sense of identity brought about by the joint family is clearly observed in the expressions of the present day descendents of the joint families.

The immigrant Andhras, like other Indians in South Africa, maintained a joint family system for many decades. In the South African Indian context several internal and external factors influenced the breakdown of the joint family system. External forces like the socio-political and economic situation in South Africa have had a negative effect on the traditional joint family system. The present younger generation Andhras, influenced by various reasons, prefer the nuclear family system to a joint family system.

Schlemmer (1967:20) opines that the process of resettlement of Indian families in municipal housing schemes has serious implications for these traditional ways of living. It is obvious from the description of the municipal houses that they are intended as single family residence only... it seems likely that the new housing patterns will hasten the change extended to the Western "nuclear family" pattern. The small "match-box" homes provided by the Government indirectly led to the breakdown of the joint family system. On account of the Group Areas Act the Andhras who used to live in a joint family system were forced to leave their parents upon marriage and increases in family members. As a result the grandchildren were deprived of their mother tongue transmitted from the older generation.

Table 19 summarises the responses to the question "do you think that the Group Areas has militated against preservation of the Telugu language and the Andhra Culture in South Africa?"

	D.N.A.*	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	22	79	36	137
%	16.1	57.6	26.2	100

Table 19 : Views about the impact of the Group Areas Act on language maintenance

D.N.A*. – Did not answer.

According to the statistics 57.6% of the Andhras responded positively to the question, 16.1% did not answer because they were uncertain and only 26.2% replied negatively. The responses of over 50% of the respondents indicated that they believe that the Group Areas Act has affected the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. This lends support for the view point that the political situation in South Africa has led to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

	D.N.A.	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	19	82	36	137
%	13.8	59.9	26.2	100

Table 20: Views about the impact of the joint family system on language maintenance

According to Table 20 59.9% of the respondents agree on the views of the impact of the joint family system on language maintenance, 13.8% did not answer, probably they were uncertain and only 26.2% of the respondents replied negatively. Thus, the majority of the subjects believe that the breakdown of joint family system has certainly influenced the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa.

When the extended Andhra families were disrupted and the members dispersed, the younger generation were especially deprived of the opportunity to communicate regularly in Telugu with the elder family members. Therefore, they were deprived of the chance to learn their Ethnic Mother Tongue (EMT) in their own family environment.

4.15 Other factors

The apathy of the community and non-motivation by the Andhras contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra Culture. According to the questionnaire survey in respect of the above apathy had a serious effect as illustrated in Table 21.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	89	48	137
%	64.9	35.1	100

Table 21: Views on the apathy of the community and non-motivation by the Andhras on language maintenance

The fact that 64.9% of the respondents answered positively and whereas only 35.1% answered negatively, illustrates that majority of the respondents support the view that apathy of the community and non-motivation by the Andhras have contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language. Linked to apathy and non-motivation is a fact that the Andhra parents failed to encourage other Andhras to learn their language and this led to the erosion of their language and culture. Table 22 illustrates this.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	95	42	137
%	69.3	30.7	100

Table 22: Non-encouragement by Andhra parents

69.3% agree that non-encouragement by the Andhra parents aided the erosion of the Telugu language. 30.7% of the respondents display ignorance and/or did not want to commit themselves.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	116	21	137
%	84.7	15.3	100

Table 23: Non-participation of Andhra youth towards promoting of the Telugu language

The Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa insisted on the Andhra youth participating in the activities organized by the national body towards the promotion of the Telugu language. However, the Andhra youth were not keen to participate in the various activities. Table 23 illustrates this fact. Hence the Telugu language and Andhra culture are eroding rapidly.

The above Table 23 reflects that 84.7% of the respondents agreed that non-participation by the Andhra youth contributed to language erosion. 15.3% of the respondents replied in the negative probably because they wanted to show their allegiance to AMSSA. However, since a greater percentage of the respondents (84.7%) replied positively, this indicates that the Telugu language and Andhra Culture are eroding.

	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL	TOTAL
VALUE	34	82	21	137
%	24.8	59.85	15.3	100

Table 24: The future of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in the rapidly changing South Africa

The above Table 24 indicates that only 24.8% of the respondents feel positive about the future status of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in the rapidly changing South Africa, whereas the majority i.e. 59.85% of the respondents feel that the status of the Telugu language and Andhra culture will not be preserved in South Africa. It is interesting to note that 15.3% remained neutral. They were either not sure of what the future holds for them or were afraid of the future prediction of Telugu.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	66	71	137
%	48.17	51.8	100

Table 25: The survival of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in the changing South Africa

The data documented in this table in response to the question "would you like to see the survival of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in the changing South Africa?" is self explanatory and it also supports the hypothesis of the study i.e. The Telugu language and Andhra culture within South Africa appears to be eroding. 51.8% of the respondents do not believe that the Telugu language and Andhra culture will survive.

The close margin of difference between those who think that the Telugu language and Andhra culture will survive (i.e. 48.17% of the respondents) and those who think it will not survive (i.e. 51.8% of the respondents) is significant. I am of the opinion that since the Telugu language with all the problems surrounding it, survived thus far in South Africa, it will continue to survive in the foreseeable future, if only for the purpose of religion and culture. The closeness of the data also suggests that those who think it will survive believe that efforts towards maintenance could help.

There are many present day young Andhras who still feel that the Telugu should be cultivated and retained as a vital link within the Andhra culture, and they are willing to take an active role in an organized effort to preserve and promote the Telugu language.

RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
Should play an active role	62 (45.2%)
Should get more involved in the community work	31 (22.6%)
Should take a stand on the issues that affect Andhra Community	20 (14.5%)
Should stay away from politics	13 (9.4%)
No comment	7 (5.1%)
Not qualified to say	4 (2.9%)
TOTAL	137 100%

Table 26: AMSSA's role in preserving the Telugu language and the Andhra culture

Based on the respondents' opinion of the role of the AMSSA in preserving the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa it was found that 45.2% (62) state that the AMSSA should play an active role; 22.6% (31) state that it should get more involved in the community work; 14.5% (20) of them feel that the AMSSA should take a stand on the issues that affect the Andhra community; 9.4% (13) feel that it should stay away from politics; 5.1% (7) did not commit themselves, 2.9% (4) did not think they were qualified to comment.

The foregoing responses indicate that the participants in this survey believe that the AMSSA should become more pro-active in fostering the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

Questions relating to mother tongue and communication with family members and others in the community are outlined in the questionnaire (refer to questions 15, 16: page 115 Appendix 1)

Communication with parents in Telugu

RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
Claimed they speak all the time	17 (12.40%)
Claimed they speak often	18 (13.13%)
Claimed they speak sometimes	15 (10.94%)
Claimed they speak rarely	82 (59.66%)
Responded as not applicable	5 (3.64%)
TOTAL	137 (100%)

Table 27: Speech of the respondents' parents in Telugu

The data documented in the above table in response to the question "how often do your parents speak to you in Telugu?" supports the hypothesis of the study i.e. the Telugu language and Andhra Culture within South Africa appear to be eroding. These responses undoubtedly demonstrate the fact that almost 60% claimed that their parents rarely speak in Telugu, whereas only between 10% - 13% speak all the time, often and sometimes. The use of the Telugu language among children may be diminishing but by reinforcement it could be retained.

Communication with family members in Telugu

RESPONSE	PERCENTAGE
Claimed they speak all the time	9 (6.56%)
Claimed they speak often	11 (8.02%)
Claimed they speak sometimes	21 (15.32%)
Claimed they speak rarely	79 (57.61%)
Responded as not applicable	17 (12.40%)
	137 (100%)

Table 28: Communication by the respondents themselves in Telugu

In response to the question of communication by the respondents themselves in Telugu; 7% claimed they speak all the time; 8% speak often; 15% speak sometimes; 58% speak rarely and 12% did not respond. There was a general pattern of language shift within the

family members. The use of the mother tongue (Telugu) has gradually diminished among the younger members of the community.

In addition to other factors militating against Telugu in the years of assimilation into broader society, the state's attitude remained indifferent towards recognition of and assistance to Indian languages, particularly Telugu.

CATEGORIES	PROUD OF IT (FOR)	POSITIVE (FOR)	I AM NOT SURE	NEGATIVE (AGAINST)	NO RESPONSE (I DON'T CARE)	TOTAL
Yours (Respondents) Value	16	14	27	47	33	137
%	11.67 %	10.21 %	19.7 %	34.30 %	24.08 %	100 %
Your Spouses Value	14	11	31	45	36	137
%	10.21 %	8.02 %	27.02 %	32.84 %	26.27 %	100 %
Your Children Value	9	7	36	43	42	137
%	6.56 %	5.1 %	26.27 %	31.38 %	30.65 %	100 %

Table 29: Attitude towards Telugu language

34.3% of the respondents had negative attitudes towards the Telugu language; spouses 32.84% and their children 31.38%. In respect of 'I am not sure' attitudes towards Telugu the following percentages were registered: respondents' 19.7%, spouses 27.02% and their children 26.27%. 11.67% of the respondents were proud of their attitude towards the Telugu language, including 10.21% of the respondents' spouses and only 6.56% of the respondents' children indicated they were proud; 10.21% of the respondents; 8.02% of the respondents' spouses and 5.1% of the respondents' children indicated positive attitude towards the Telugu language. In respect of 'no response' attitudes towards the Telugu language, 24.08% of the respondents did not respond; 26.27% of the spouses and 30.65% of their children did not respond; perhaps the Telugu language and Andhra culture do not appeal to them.

These attitudes were adopted probably because they had no knowledge of the Telugu language and were not interested.

CATEGORIES	PROUD OF IT (FOR)	POSITIVE (FOR)	I AM NOT SURE	NEGATIVE (AGAINST)	NO RESPONSE I DON'T CARE	TOTAL
Yours (Respondents)						
Value	29	11	7	79	11	137
%	21.16 %	8.02 %	5.10 %	57.66 %	8.02%	100 %
Your Spouses						
Value	25	12	10	81	9	137
%	18.24 %	8.75 %	7.29 %	59.12 %	6.56 %	100 %
Your Children						
Value	19	12	16	73	17	137
%	13.86 %	8.75 %	11.67 %	53.28 %	12.40 %	100 %

Table 30: Attitude towards Andhra culture

Table 30 indicates that 21.16 % of the respondents are proud of their culture; 8.02% of the respondents have a positive attitude; 5.10% of the respondents are not sure of themselves probably on account of their apathy towards their culture; 8.02% of the respondents adopted a don't care attitude probably because of an attitude of indifference, towards the Andhra culture.

However, a majority (57.66%) of the respondents adopted a negative attitude towards the Andhra culture probably on an account of lack of interest and general apathy of the community. 18.24 % of the respondents' spouses are proud of their Andhra Culture and 8.7% have a positive attitude whereas 7.29% of them were not sure of their attitude towards Andhra culture, 59.12 of spouses had a negative attitude and 6.56% adopted a don't care attitude probably because of its low status in the South African context. 8.75% of the children had a positive attitude towards their Andhra culture; 53.28% of the respondents' children had a negative attitude towards Andhra culture; perhaps they were not interested in the Telugu language and Andhra culture and 11.67% were not sure probably because they were not given much encouragement by their parents;

12.40% of the respondent's children adopted a don't care attitude; most likely they felt that the Telugu language and Andhra culture are irrelevant. Majority of the respondents (57.66%); their spouses (59.12%) and their children (53.28%) indicate a negative attitude towards the Andhra culture. This emphasizes the fact that the Telugu language and Andhra culture are gradually shifting and erosion is taking place. Language shift can only be avoided if the particular group have a positive attitude towards the threatened language. Adoption of another dominant language does not imply negativity towards the E.M.T. Hence, any effort towards the preservation of language and culture must be accompanied by a positive attitude.

	NOT SURE	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	38	19	80	137
%	27.73	13.86	58.39	100%

Table 31: Evaluation of children learning/studying the Telugu language

In response to the question of respondents' attitude towards their children studying the Telugu language, 58.39% of the respondents had negative attitudes, 27.73% were not sure and only 13.86% had a positive attitude. The above statistics clearly reveal that the Telugu language and Andhra culture are gradually shifting and an erosion is taking place.

CATEGORIES	VALUE	PERCENTAGE
Disappointed	35	25.5
Surprised	19	13.86
Unfair	10	7.29
No Comment	45	32.84
Excusable	28	20.43
TOTAL	137	100

Table 32: Evaluation of the reaction where Telugu is not spoken/heard by the Andhras

25.5% of the respondents' reaction when Telugu is not being spoken revealed disappointment, 13.86% surprise, 7.29% felt it was unfair, 32.84% non-committed and 20.43% excusable. The above responses reveal that the respondents had no affiliation to the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

The annual Andhra Eisteddfod competition mirrors the enthusiasm, devotion and joy of the Telugu community. It endeavours in all earnestness to revitalize a people possessing a magnificent cultural heritage. Eisteddfod is a Welsh word meaning a gathering of poets. In South Africa the Gujarati, Hindi, Tamil and Telugu speaking communities hold Eisteddfods involving poetry recital, reading, speeches, debates etc. to promote the growth of these languages. The presentation of the Annual Eisteddfod is one of the most important contributions made by the AMSSA for the retention and maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa.

It has been observed that as a result of the general devaluation of the standard of Eisteddfod over the years, the movement is slowly declining. This has contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. The following assessment in respect of the various categories in Tables 33, 34 and 35 confirms this.

CATEGORIES	VALUE	PERCENTAGE
Improved	9	6.56%
Remained static	43	31.36%
Declined	39	28.46%
Uncertain	20	14.59%
No Comments	13	9.48%
Not qualified to stay	13	9.48%
TOTAL	137	100

Table 33: Evaluation of the standard of Eisteddfod over the years

31.36% of the respondents were of the opinion that the Andhra Eisteddfod movement remained static: 28.46 felt that the Andhra Eisteddfod declined, 14.59% were uncertain in their assessment. 9.48% did not commit themselves, 9.48% were not qualified to make an assessment. Only 6.56% of the respondents felt that the Andhra Eisteddfod movement has improved.

It is evident from Table 33 that the standard of the Andhra Eisteddfod is slowly dwindling and this will gradually lead to erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

CATEGORIES	VALUE	PERCENTAGE
Excellent	6	4.37%
Very Good	7	5.10%
Good	12	8.75%
Moderate	3	2.18%
Poor	16	11.67%
Very Poor	4	2.91%
Room for Improvement	46	33.57%
Does not cater sufficiently for all age groups	27	19.70%
Not qualified to say	16	11.67%
TOTAL	137	100

Table 34: Evaluation of the standard of Eisteddfod syllabus

Table 34 indicates that 33.5% of the respondents were of the opinion that the standard of the Andhra Eisteddfod should improve: 19.7% felt that it does not cater sufficiently for all the age groups: 11.67% stated that the standard is poor. And further 11.6% were not qualified to make comments. These responses indicate that in respect of the evaluation of the standard of the Eisteddfod syllabus, there is a need for it to be updated in order to halt the erosion of the Telugu language.

CATEGORIES	VALUE	PERCENTAGE
Excellent	7	5.10%
Very Good	8	5.8%
Satisfactory	10	7.29%
Fair	6	4.37%
Poor	13	9.48%
Room for Improvement in certain Aspects	30	21.89%
Need for Co-operation with Sabhas	38	27.73%
No Comment	12	8.75%
Not Qualified to say	13	9.48%
TOTAL	137	100

Table 35: Evaluation of the work performed by the Eisteddfod Committee

With reference to Table 35, 21.89% of the respondents were of the opinion that there is room for improvement in certain aspects of work performed by the Eisteddfod committee and further 27.73% stated there is need for co-operation with Sabhas and only 7.29% indicated satisfactory duties were performed. This points to the fact that the community at large is unhappy with the Eisteddfod Committee and that the committee and its activities need to be carefully evaluated and improved.

In recent years the number of participants for the Eisteddfod has decreased at an alarming rate. Despite the efforts of the officials, the negative attitude of many people results in failure to attract meaningful numbers of participants. A general apathy towards language, culture and religion pervades in the Telugu community.

CATEGORIES	VALUE	PERCENTAGES
Not much motivation by officials of resident Sabhas	56	40.87 %
Not much motivation by officials of the AMSSA	36	26.27 %
Lack of Finance	26	18.97 %
Petty quarrels/disagreements amongst officials and others	19	13.86 %
TOTAL	137	100 %

Table 36: Non-participation of Sabhas in recent Andhra Eisteddfods

According to Table 36 40.87% of the respondents indicated that there was not much motivation by officials of the resident Sabhas. This was the main reason why some of the old, well-established and vibrant Sabhas did not participate in the recent Andhra Eisteddfod. Further in recent years the number of participants for the Eisteddfods had decreased at an alarming rate. Despite efforts of the officials the negative attitude of the people resulted in failure to attract meaningful numbers of participants. 26.27% of the respondents were of the opinion that there was not much motivation by the officials of AMSSA perhaps because AMSSA had not given much impetus and had shown very little initiative to encourage participation by the various affiliated Sabhas. A lack of finance (18.97%) is also a problem for non-participation of some Sabhas in the recent

Eisteddfods. Presently the Department of Education and Culture is limiting its financial aid to the AMSSA towards the Andhra Eisteddfod competitions. Further, a number of the Andhra businessmen and stalwarts did not come to the assistance of the AMSSA. At the same time the AMSSA is not contributing much finance for the smooth functioning of the Eisteddfod competitions.

13.86% of the respondents indicated petty quarrels and disagreement amongst officials and others were some of the reasons for non-participation of the Sabhas in recent Eisteddfod competitions.

	N/A	YES	NO	YES
VALUE	18	37	82	137
%	13.13 %	27.0 %	59.85 %	100 %

Table 37: Children's participation in the Andhra Religio-Cultural Activities

59.85% of the respondents demonstrate a negative attitude towards the Andhra-Religio-Cultural activities. This state of affairs is probably because of the disregard for the language and non-encouragement by the Andhra parents. 27.0% of the children participate in the Andhra-religio-cultural activities most likely because they are motivated by their parents who also participate in such activities. 13.13% of the respondents' children did not answer. Either they do not have children or their children display apathy towards the religio-cultural activities organized by the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	109	28	137
%	79.56 %	20.43 %	100 %

Table 38: State of written and spoken Telugu

Table 38 indicates that 79.56% of the respondents feel that the state of written and spoken Telugu has deteriorated in the last 40 years. 20.43% were of the opinion that

the state of the written and spoken language has not diminished.

(Refer to questionnaire number 33, page 118-119 Appendix 1)

REASON	YES	%	NO	%	TOTAL	%
1. Telugu took second place to English for the purpose of making a living.	123	89.78%	24	10.21%	137	100%
2. Previously clustered Telugu speaking community dispersed into suburbs (because of the Group Areas Act).	130	94.89%	7	5.10%	137	100%
3. People moved into areas where no Telugu schools were available	124	95.62%	13	4.37%	137	100%
4. Parents not speaking Telugu at home.	124	90.51%	13	9.48%	137	100%
5. Greater adoption of western ideas and cultures.	116	84.67%	21	15.32%	137	100%

Table 39: Reasons contributing towards decline of the Telugu language

1. The fact that majority (89.78%) of the respondents indicate a positive response clearly demonstrates that Telugu has eroded in the last 40 years. 10.21% of the respondents did not agree with the statement that Telugu took second place to English for the purpose of making a living. Perhaps these respondents were strongly inclined towards English for the purpose of making a living. Further, the Telugu language did not appeal to them as a means of making a living.
2. 94.89% of the respondents indicated that previously clustered Telugu speaking communities were dispersed to the suburbs because of the Group Areas Act. Perhaps 5.10% of the respondents felt that the dispersal into suburbs could have been influenced by other factors while the Telugu language has eroded in the last 40 years.
3. Majority 95.62% of the respondents stated that people moved into areas where no Telugu schools were available. As a result the usage of written and spoken Telugu

would have severely declined. Probably for 4.37% of the respondents the Telugu language and Andhra Culture did not make an impact on them, hence their dissenting opinion.

4. 90.51% of the respondents emphasized the fact that parents not speaking Telugu at home was one of the reasons for the erosion of the Telugu language. Most likely 9.48% of the respondents felt that there could be other reasons e.g. Tamil domination, for parents not speaking Telugu language at home.
5. Majority 84.76% of the respondents agree that greater adoption of western ideas and culture is a reason why the Telugu language has declined in the last 40 years. Probably 15.32% of the respondents were of the opinion that eastern ideas and culture did not make an impact on them.

CATEGORIES	VALUE	%
It will soon disappear from South Africa	57	41.6%
It will be kept alive for the purpose of religion and culture	21	15.32%
It will be neglected	32	23.35%
The present status will be maintained for some more years to come by a small pocket of people	17	12.40%
There will be a resurgence in the language	7	5.10%
Other	3	2.18%
TOTAL	137	100%

Table 40: Future of the Telugu language in comparison with other Indian languages in South Africa

The above table reveals that 41.6% of the respondents claim that the Telugu language in comparison with other Indian languages in South Africa will disappear and that 23.35% state it will be neglected. Only 15.32% were of the opinion that the Telugu language will be kept alive for the purpose of religion and culture whereas 12.4%

indicate the present status will be maintained. 5.10% feel that there will be resurgence in the language and 2.18% did not commit themselves. These responses undoubtedly demonstrate the fact that the Telugu language is in jeopardy and that erosion will continue.

	YOUR ANCESTRAL INDIAN LANGUAGE	ENGLISH	AN AFRICAN LANGUAGE	OTHER	TOTAL
VALUE	27	93	13	4	137
%	19.70%	67.88%	9.48%	2.9%	100%

Table 41: Language preference in speech

The above data reveals that the majority (67.88%) of the respondents prefer English to their ancestral language. 19.70% of the respondents were in support of the ancestral language, 9.49% prefer an African language probably on account of the demographics of South Africa. It is evident from the above responses that erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture has set in.

	N/A	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	5	102	30	137
%	3.64%	74.45%	21.89%	100%

Table 42: Inefficiency in communicating in mother tongue (Telugu)

The fact that 74.45% of the respondents answered positively and 21.89% answered negatively, illustrates the fact that inefficiency to communicate in Telugu leads to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. 3.64% did not commit themselves, most likely the respondents found difficulties in speaking in Telugu.

	YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE	TOTAL
VALUE	7	123	7	137
%	5.10%	89.78%	5.10%	100%

Table 43: Importance of Indian languages (Telugu) in comparison with English

Only 5.10% of the respondents answered positively and 5.10% were not sure of the importance of the Indian languages in comparison with English. However, majority, 89.78% of the respondents did not regard Indian languages as important as English. This perception has contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

	YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE	TOTAL
VALUE	19	110	8	137
%	13.86%	80.29%	5.83%	100%

Table 44: Protection and promotion of mother tongue (Telugu) in the new South Africa

According to the statistics 80.29% of the respondents indicated that the mother tongue in the new South Africa need not be protected and promoted perhaps on account of the democratic changes. This is perplexing because South Africa is a multi-cultural and multi-lingual country. Mother tongue languages like Telugu and other Indian languages should have equal opportunities. Emphasis seems to shift towards the African languages and English. 13.86% of the respondents felt that protection and promotion of the mother tongue (Telugu) in the new South Africa was essential to keep the language alive for future generations. 5.83% of the respondents were not sure and therefore did not commit themselves.

	N/A	YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE	TOTAL
YES	3	28	94	12	137
%	2.18%	20.43%	68.61%	8.75%	100%

Table 45: Preference of learning mother tongue (Telugu) in spite of its accelerated erosion in South Africa

68.61% of the respondents indicated that if given the opportunity to learn their mother tongue (Telugu) that was fast eroding in South Africa, they were not prepared to learn. However, 20.43% of the respondents answered positively and 8,75% were not sure and

2.18% of the respondents did not answer owing to apathy towards their mother tongue language. A gloomy outlook for the Telugu language is contained in the unwillingness of 68.61% of the respondents to learn the language if given the opportunity.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	116	21	137
%	84.67%	15.32%	100%

Table 46: AMSSA'S failure to tackle grass root issues to bring back breakaway Sabhas (Telugu Organisations)

A high percentage ie. 84.67% of the respondents was of the opinion that the officials of AMSSA were unable to influence the breakaway Sabhas to participate in the various functions organized by the national body (AMSSA). This situation suggests a lack of co-operation and enthusiasm among the officials. 15.32% of the respondents differed, indicating they do not have a knowledge of the administration of the AMSSA. The majority view on this issue points to an important facet in the decline of Telugu and Andhra culture.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	102	35	137
%	74.45%	25.54%	100%

Table 47: AMSSA'S inability of hosting regular Telugu workshops / seminars

The above figures indicated that majority (74.45%) of the respondents feel that the AMSSA is not able to host regular Telugu workshops/seminars. This is one of the reasons that contribute to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. 25.54% of the respondents answered in the negative perhaps because they were not aware of the problems experienced in organizing workshops and seminars.

	YES	NO	TOTAL
VALUE	130	7	137
%	94.89%	5.10%	100%

Table 48: AMSSA'S inability to raise funds to host Andhra functions.

5.10% of the respondents were not of the opinion that AMSSA was unable to raise funds to host the Andhra functions. However, a majority (94.89%) of the respondents were convinced that AMSSA is unable to raise funds for the successful staging of various functions. This contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. The overwhelming majority of 'yes' responses suggests that the AMSSA would have to address the issue urgently.

4.16 CONCLUSION

This core chapter of the study focused on the analysis of the quantitative and qualitative data.

The discussion was based primarily on the data gathered from a questionnaire survey and also from interviews. It highlighted the factors that have exerted a subtractive influence on Telugu speaking Andhras and how they have ultimately contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

The next chapter will deal with the conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 5 : CONCLUSION

5.0 Introduction

This chapter concludes the study. It is organized around the following four sub-categories: a summary of the chapters, the contributions that the study makes, implications of the findings of the study, recommendations that ought to be considered by the Andhra community as to how the Telugu language and Andhra culture can be maintained and promoted. In each instance only the salient points are stated.

I begin with a brief summary of the other chapters in the study.

5.1 Summary of the chapters

Chapter One is the introductory chapter. It presents the topic of the study as well as the background and rationale, aim and scope for this study investigation (1.0 and 1.1), overview of key concepts (1.2), key issues and questions (1.3), research hypothesis (1.4), structure of the study (1.5), significance of the study (1.6) and summaries of theoretical (1.7), and methodological (1.8) orientation are also outlined in this chapter.

Chapter Two presents a review of the literature. It outlines the relationship between language and culture (2.1) and the relationship between language and society (2.2) within a sociolinguistic framework. Key terms and concepts are explored and the views of the different researchers on these concepts are outlined (2.3). Discussion on causes of language shift (2.4) is also provided. Theories of language shift (2.5) are also outlined. The chapter concludes with a

diachronic perspective of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa (2.6).

Chapter Three concentrates on the research design and methodology of the study. The chapter gives an account of the data collection methods in the study i.e. the questionnaire survey and interviews (3.1), and the data sources. Justification of the selection for each method is offered and the need for the triangulation method is outlined where the key data of the study is revealed (3.2). The sampling procedures and stratification of key variables, (gender, age occupations and marital status) are also discussed (3.3). Questionnaire distribution and limitation experience are also discussed (3.4) and (3.5) and the chapter concludes (3.6).

Chapter Four is the core chapter of the study. This chapter focuses on the actual analysis and discussion of the data. It aims to outline factors that have exerted a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture (4.1 – 4.15). This chapter is guided by a number of issues and key research questions (also stated in Chapter One). Each factor is explored separately and its contribution to the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture is outlined.

The conclusions derived from the study and the statistical data are used to establish the hypothesis that Telugu language and Andhra culture within South Africa appear to be eroding in spite of the existing religio-cultural activities.

In the next section, I outlined the contributions this study makes.

5.2 Contributions of the study

This study represents a part of my contribution to research into the study of Telugu language and Andhra Culture. The overall aim of the study is to investigate the sociolinguistic factors that exert a subtractive influence on the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

Since the Andhras are a minority within the minority Indian community in South Africa, it is envisaged that the Telugu community will benefit from this study. The community will be better informed of changes in the language adherence patterns of Telugu speakers. Succeeding generations would gain useful information in respect of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa from this study. This would also enable the community and the language and culture promoting organizations to take informed and proactive decisions to halt the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra Culture.

5.3 Recommendations

In this section, I make several suggestions to the Andhra community, to maintain their Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. According to Fishman (1985: 514) the subcultural ethnicity remains as a side stream or understream. The future of such a sidestream language and ethnicity in any foreign environment depends on the community itself.

Analysing the conditions in the case of Gaelic-speaking East Sutherlanders, Nancy Dorian (1987: 60-61) contends that the languages struggling to survive have often had to make heroic efforts 'in an alien environment'. She further states that large-scale changes in the political climate especially if accompanied by favourable economic developments, could work enough magic to bring a

struggling minority language back from the brink. Her study implies that if there is a speech community which is struggling to preserve a sidestream language, and it is contracting continually through language change on the fringes, who else can prevent this change or shift except the people of that particular community? Neither the state, nor any other linguistic group community can save a language for the community and the responsibility necessarily rests on the shoulders of the community concerned.

With these sociolinguistic factors in mind, I make some suggestions to the Andhra community in general and to the AMSSA in particular. This might help the Andhra community not only to halt the erosion of their language, but also to nurture it and facilitate Telugu language maintenance in South Africa. According to Nancy Dorian (1987: 61) the principal reason for the failure of language maintenance efforts is "the negative attitude internalized by the speakers or potential speakers themselves". The South African Andhras must value their language and social status. The Andhras should be proud of the success of their language maintenance efforts and should regard the Telugu they speak as 'South African Telugu'. The erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture should be of paramount concern to the Andhras, especially among the youth.

The AMSSA should take into account the efforts of South African Andhra Youth movement (SAAYM) in preserving their language and culture from complete erosion. The AMSSA should not ignore SAAYM, but rather draw the organization within its folds and make use of their expertise and ideas in cultural matters of some of the young generation academics to participate in the AMSSA administration. Besides, there should be no misunderstanding between the AMSSA and SAAYM. The AMSSA must welcome their constructive criticism in matters of administration. The AMSSA should rather

unite all Andhras into a single group in order to maintain their language and retain their Andhra group identity in South Africa. Sincere attempts must be made by the Executive Council to appoint young Andhra academics to senior posts in the administration of AMSSA in order to protect the Telugu language and Andhra culture from eroding amongst the youth.

With regard to the survival of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in the changing South African context, the AMSSA must acknowledge that Telugu is a language of communication and has much value to offer and therefore should encourage the Andhras to demonstrate a more positive attitude towards their mother tongue. Parents must inspire their children to learn Telugu and participate in all activities organized by the AMSSA in order to stem the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture amongst the youth.

Fishman (1985:368) believes that the Ethnic Community Mother Tongue Schools (ECMTS) can play a major role in language maintenance. If properly organized, the ECMTS can function constructively in the EMT retention efforts. Due to the complex inter-relation between language and culture, the erosion of the Telugu language entails the erosion of the Andhra culture. If it wants to retain the Andhra culture in South Africa, the AMSSA must immediately upgrade its vernacular education system at the Patasala (Sabha) level by implementing strict supervision and providing adequate and appropriate learning materials. It should channel adequate funds into the salaries of the Sabha teachers. It should also organize regular workshops, in-service courses for teachers and provide audio-visual materials to the Sabhas. In addition to the offerings of the patasalas for children, adult classes at convenient times should also be instituted.

The AMSSA should support the Telugu Subject Committee under the Eastern Language subject supervisors in state schools and share the responsibilities of organizing quiz programmes, group discussions and debates in Telugu for the Sabhas and State school Telugu learners. It could also award trophies and certificates and other incentives. Modern teaching methods must be introduced in the patasalas, state schools and higher education institutions to nurture the interest of the students. To maintain the language in this country, the introduction of Modern Standard Telugu (MST) is necessary. Modern Standard Telugu is the model for literary and academic purposes, and is taught in India and world wide. On the other hand, SA Telugu developed on the basis of the dialects of Telugu brought to South Africa (Gavaras, Wadas, Raepitis) and expanded through borrowings from and assimilation with Tamil. The media and entertainment industry also use modern standard Telugu and have a world wide audience.

The AMSSA should finance Telugu academic studies at universities by providing bursaries to the scholars and subsidies to the institutions. This could provide the AMSSA with leverage to persuade academics to impart their knowledge in the Sabhas and in the state schools. There is a need for modern and contemporary textbooks. The Andhras and AMSSA must solicit aid from the people and the Government of Andhra Pradesh in India to acquire the latest reading materials, audio-video teaching aids and above all young artists who could perform dances and render Telugu music. This could induce people who know the language to teach and propagate Telugu, and help to reduce the erosion of the Telugu language.

The AMSSA must open their doors to all the Andhras who have the commitment of preserving the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. Branch Sabhas must in turn adopt positive attitudes towards the "parent

body” AMSSA for its proper administration and the expertise of all those Andhras willing to assist must be utilized without bias or prejudice.

The officials of AMSSA should tackle grassroots issues and play a meaningful and leading role in order to draw back the breakaway or dormant Patasalas or Sabhas into the folds of the AMSSA. They must persuade them to participate in the Andhra Eisteddfod competitions and other events. There should be a personal and positive approach. These Patasalas (Sabhas) should be given more encouragement and positive assistance in training the youth. The AMSSA should encourage even small numbers of participants to officially represent them during the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod. Adequate workshops in all aspects of the Eisteddfod rules and regulations must be held by the AMSSA for the success of the competition.

In my opinion the propagation of culture in all its various forms deserves every support from the community. The message to the contemporary youth in the Andhra community is that they should take a continuing and abiding interest in the affairs of the AMSSA and support the parent body. The youth must learn and propagate their language and literature and in this way, help to preserve the rich and ancient cultural heritage.

It is commonly asked by the young Andhras in South Africa: “What are we going to gain by learning Telugu? ”. This negative attitude should be reversed and the Andhras should start asking: “What are we going to lose by learning Telugu?”, or even better, “what are we losing by not learning it?” It should be understood that learning Telugu would not hinder the Andhras’ English language proficiency in particular and knowledge in general. Rather, it would enrich their knowledge because most Andhras already have mastered spoken

English. The importance of one's own language to the cultural, spiritual and identity aspects of one's being must be emphasized.

Parents should have a positive attitude towards their EMT. In the absence of qualified Telugu teachers at formal level, informal teaching by parents at home should be implemented. Parents should encourage their children to learn Telugu, either formally or informally, by nurturing a love for their EMT and explaining the inter-relationship between language and culture to their children.

It is important to retain one's cultural and religious identity because the culture and language of the forefathers must be perpetuated for the moral and spiritual development of the individual and society. The study of Telugu by people of all linguistic groups will be an incentive of great value as it will enable one to really appreciate and enjoy the rich cultural heritage. Many Telugu speaking immigrants from India have settled in Durban and other cities.

These immigrant Andhras of the 1980's and 1990's differed in many ways from the indentured Andhras. The immigrants of the 20th century came into Southern Africa as teachers, doctors and other professionals in the apartheid era "homelands" and eventually found their way to Kwa Zulu Natal (eg. Prabhakaran herself).

Post 1994 – Many professionals particularly in the science and Information Technology fields, from the Andhra and other linguistic communities of India immigrated to South Africa (eg. Prof. Jonalogadda; Prof. Kumar) at UDW-UKZN. Whilst these immigrants may not have intergrated into the South African Andhra community, because they did not share the same experiences with regard to alienation, language protection and cultural survival with the indentured Andhras, they nevertheless sought out their fellow Andhras for religious and cultural pursuits. The researcher has personal association with some of these immigrants who attend Eisteddfods, Rambhajans etc. of the Andhra Maha Sabha and its branches.

The majority of the ± 20 immigrants interviewed out of a total of 137 were not South African born. They may not have had a profound effect on the findings of the research. The new immigrants came to South Africa for economic reasons also, but are better equipped culturally because of the educational system in India. It is hoped that the immigrants will wield some influence on language learning amongst the Andhras. It is also important that the descendents of the indentured Andhras embrace them and learn from them. The suggested second shift – towards language maintenance – may be a possibility, albeit a distant one. The immigrants must be regarded as one of the important available tools for survival of the Telugu language.

5.4 Areas for further research

Apart from the recommendations in the previous section, there are niche areas of research which I have not covered in this study, and which I believe are neglected. The study of language maintenance and language shift (LMLS) of the Andhras is a contribution to the sociolinguistic order in South Africa. The language maintenance efforts of South African Indian linguistic groups should bring further development and contribution to sociolinguistic studies.

Changes in the cultural value system of the Andhras because of the influence of the Tamils could be an interesting sociological and sociolinguistic topic for research in South Africa. Similarly semantic changes in Telugu through Tamil influence as well as code-mixing patterns of the Telugu language constitute linguistic topics for further research in South Africa.

To conclude, I reiterate the sentiments of Haugen (1980: 115):

“A language is a precious treasure so long as it serves as a reservoir of wit and wisdom from the past that will help to guide our future. We are here to ponder the means that will enable our leaders and our people to look less at the cost of maintaining small languages, and more at the values that are lost if we let them die.”

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Appendix 1: The Questionnaire

UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN WESTVILLE
COURSES: MASTER OF ARTS (TELUGU)

AN INVESTIGATION INTO FACTORS EXERTING A SUBTRACTIVE
INFLUENCE ON TELUGU AND ITS CULTURE

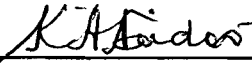
Dear Respondent

I hereby make an appeal to kindly assist me by filling this questionnaire for my research.

Your earnest assistance and co-operation in responding to these questions will remain confidential and will not be used against you at any time.

I sincerely appreciate and thank you for your co-operation in filling this questionnaire and for your valuable time you spent for the same.

Sincerely yours



K.A. NAIDOO (B.A HONS: TELUGU)
(RESEARCHER)

**AN INVESTIGATION INTO FACTORS EXERTING A SUBTRACTIVE
INFLUENCE ON TELUGU AND ITS CULTURE**

A QUESTIONNAIRE SURVEY

NB. WHERE APPROPRIATE PLEASE PLACE A CROSS

[A] GENERAL INFORMATION

1. GENDER

MALE	FEMALE
1	2

2. AGE IN COMPLETED YEARS

UNDER 20	21 - 19	30 -39	40 - 49	50 -59	60+
1	2	3	4	5	6

3. MARITAL STATUS

SINGLE	MARRIED	DIVORCED	WIDOWED
1	2	3	4

4. WHEN DID YOUR ANCESTOR/S COME TO SOUTH AFRICA?

YEAR	
------	--

5. DID YOUR ANCESTORS SHOW ANY RESISTANCE TO ENGLISH?

YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE

IF YES, STATE YOU REASON _____

6. WHAT IS YOUR LINGUISTIC BACKGROUND / ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE?

HINDI	GUJARATI	TAMIL	TELUGU	URDU	OTHER (SPECIFY
1	2	3	4	5	6

7. WHAT IS YOUR GENERATION IN SOUTH AFRICA?

FIRST	SECOND	THIRD	FOURTH	FIFTH
1	2	3	4	5

KEY TO GENERATION

- FIRST: Respondent born in South Africa.
 SECOND: Respondent's parent(s) born in South Africa.
 THIRD: Respondent's grandparent(s) born in South Africa.
 FOURTH: Respondent's great grandparent(s) born in South Africa.
 IMMIGRANT: Respondent born in other country (e.g. India)

8. OCCUPATION

PROFESSION	
Educational e.g. Teacher, Principal, Lecturer	1
Medical and related e.g. Doctor, Nurse etc.	2
Technical e.g. In Laboratory, Electronics	3
Other e.g. Engineer, Scientist etc.	4
Legal e.g. Attorney etc.	5
Managerial and Clerical workers e.g. Clerk	6
Company Director, Sales Worker, Accountant	7
Shop Assistant, Insurance / Salesman etc.	8
Transport and Communications Workers	9
Bus Driver, Postman, Telephone Operator	10
Artisans and Service skilled workers e.g. Painters	11
Plumbers, Motor Mechanics	12
Supervisor, Foreman	13
Labourer (except farm labourers)	14
Social Workers	15
Business (self-employed)	16
Housewife	17
Student	18
Unemployed, seeking employment, retired	19
Priest	20
Telugu teacher in State/Private School	21
Other (please specify)	22

9. DID / DO YOUR PARENT (S) SPEAK TO YOU IN YOUR ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE?

YES	NO
1	2

**[B] LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY IN ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE (INDIAN LANGUAGE)
STATUS AND USAGE**

1. HOW PROFICIENT ARE YOU IN YOUR ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE?

	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL
SPEAK	1	2	3	4
UNDERSTAND	1	2	3	4
READ	1	2	3	4
WRITE	1	2	3	4

2. HOW PROFICIENT ARE/WERE YOUR PARENT(S) IN YOUR ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE?

	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL
SPEAK	1	2	3	4
UNDERSTAND	1	2	3	4
READ	1	2	3	4
WRITE	1	2	3	4

3. IF APPLICABLE, HOW PROFICIENT IS YOUR CHILD IN YOUR ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE?

	VERY WELL	FAIRLY WELL	NOT WELL	NOT AT ALL
SPEAK	1	2	3	4
UNDERSTAND	1	2	3	4
READ	1	2	3	4
WRITE	1	2	3	4

4. QUALIFICATION IN TELUGU

LEVELS (AMSSA)	1	2	3	4	5
MATRIC (EX HOD)	6				
DEGREE (UDW)	7				
OTHER BODY	8				
NIL	9				

5. LANGUAGE SPOKEN AT HOME

TELUGU	TAMIL	ENGLISH	OTHER (SPECIFY)
1	2	3	4

6. ATTITUDE TOWARDS ANDHRAISM (ANDHRA CULTURE).

	PROUD OF IT (FOR)	POSITIVE (FOR)	I AM NOT SURE	NEGATIVE (AGAINST)	NO RESPONSE (I DON'T CARE)
YOURS	1	2	3	4	5
YOUR SPOUSES	1	2	3	4	5
YOUR CHILDREN'S	1	2	3	4	5

7. ATTITUDE TOWARDS TELUGU / LANGUAGE.

	PROUD OF IT (FOR)	POSITIVE (FOR)	I AM NOT SURE	NEGATIVE (AGAINST)	NO RESPONSE (I DON'T CARE)
YOURS					
YOUR SPOUSES					
YOUR CHILDREN'S					

8. ARE YOUR CHILDREN LEARNING / STUDYING THE TELUGU LANGUAGE?

N/A	YES	NO
1	2	3

9. IF "YES" WHERE ARE THEY STUDYING / LEARNING?

N/A	AT HOME	PATASALAS (SABHAS)	STATE SCHOOL	UDW
1	2	3	4	5

10. IF YOUR ANSWER IS "NO" WHY ARE THEY NOT LEARNING TELUGU?

N/A	NO FACILITIES TO LEARN	NO ONE TO TEACH	DIFFICULT TO LEARN	NOT INTERESTED IN THE LANGUAGE	OTHER (SPECIFY)
1	2	3	4	5	6

11. DO YOUR CHILDREN PARTICIPATE IN ANDHRA RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES?

N/A	YES	NO
1	2	3

12. WHICH LANGUAGE WOULD YOU LIKE TO SPEAK BEST?

YOUR ANCESTRAL INDIAN LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE	ENGLISH	AN AFRICAN LANGUAGE	OTHER (SPECIFY)
1	2	3	4

13. WHICH OF THESE DO YOU CONSIDER YOUR HOME LANGUAGE TODAY?

ENGLISH	TELUGU	OTHER (SPECIFY)
1	2	3

14. DO YOU THINK TELUGU IS A DIFFICULT LANGUAGE TO LEARN?

YES	NO
1	2

15. HOW OFTEN DO YOUR PARENTS SPEAK TO YOU IN TELUGU?

N/A	ALL THE TIME	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY
1	2	3	4	5

IF NO, STATE WHY _____

16. HOW OFTEN YOU COMMUNICATE WITH YOUR FAMILY MEMBERS IN TELUGU?

N/A	ALL THE TIME	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY
1	2	3	4	5

17. HOW OFTEN DO YOU COMMUNICATE WITH OTHERS IN YOUR COMMUNITY IN TELUGU?

N/A	ALL THE TIME	OFTEN	SOMETIMES	RARELY
1	2	3	4	5

18. IF YES, WITH WHOM?

ELDER MEMBERS OF THE COMMUNITY	1
CHILDREN	2
FRIENDS	3
TELUGU SCHOOL TEACHER	4
FELLOW WORKERS	5
SHOPKEEPERS	6
OTHERS (SPECIFY)	7

19. IF YOU CANNOT COMMUNICATE IN YOUR ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE, DO YOU REGARD IT AS YOUR INEFFICIENCY TO COMMUNICATE IN THAT LANGUAGE?

N/A	YES	NO
1	2	3

20. HOW IMPORTANT IS CULTURAL ETHNIC IDENTITY (AS AN INDIAN) FOR YOU?

VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	I AM NOT SURE	NOT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
1	2	3	4	5

21. HOW IMPORTANT IS YOUR ANCESTRAL LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE FOR YOUR IDENTITY IN SOUTH AFRICA?

VERY IMPORTANT	IMPORTANT	I DON'T KNOW	NOT IMPORTANT	NOT IMPORTANT AT ALL
1	2	3	4	5

22. DO YOU REGARD INDIAN LANGUAGES AS IMPORTANT AS ENGLISH?

YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE
1	2	3

23. DO YOU THINK THAT YOUR HERITAGE LANGUAGE / MOTHER TONGUE SHOULD BE PROTECTED AND PROMOTED IN THE NEW SOUTH AFRICA?

YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE
1	2	3

24. DO YOU BELIEVE THAT LINGUISTIC HOMOGENEITY DOES NOT AFFECT ECONOMIC GROWTH IN SOUTH AFRICA?

YES	NO	I DON'T KNOW	I DON'T UNDERSTAND THE QUESTION
1	2	3	4

25. IF GIVEN A CHANCE, WOULD YOUR OR CHILD WOULD LIKE TO LEARN YOUR ANCESTRAL TONGUE, WHICH IS ERODING FAST IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN CONTEXT?

N/A	YES	NO	I AM NOT SURE
1	2	3	4

26. WHAT IS YOUR REACTION WHEN YOU HEAR TELUGU SPOKEN?

VERY HAPPY	HAPPY	EXCITED	CONFUSED	NONE
1	2	3	4	5

27. WHAT IS YOUR REACTION WHEN TELUGU IS NOT BEING SPOKEN BY THE ANDHRAS?

DISAPPOINTED	THINK IT IS UNFAIR	IT IS EXCUSABLE	SURPRISED	NONE
1	2	3	4	5

28. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE PATASALAS IN SOUTH AFRICA?

N/A	POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NO COMMENT
1	2	3	4

29. HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE THE STANDARD OF EISTEDDFOD SYLLABUS?

EXCELLENT	1
VERY GOOD	2
GOOD	3
MODERATE	4
POOR	5
VERY FAIR	6
ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT GENERALLY	7
DOES NOT CATER SUFFICIENTLY FOR ALL AGE GROUPS	8
NOT QUALIFIED TO SAY	9

30. HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE THE WORK DONE BY THE EISTEDDFOD SYLLABUS?

EXCELLENT	1
VERY GOOD	2
SATISFACTORY	3
FAIR	4
POOR	5
ROOM FOR IMPROVEMENT IN CERTAIN ASPECTS	6
NEED FOR GENERAL CO-OPERATION WITH SABHAS	7
NO COMMENT	8
NOT QUALIFIED TO SAY	9

31. HOW WOULD YOU EVALUATE THE GENERAL STANDARD OF THE EISTEDDFOD OVER THE YEARS?

DO YOU THINK IT HAS	IMPROVED	1
DO YOU THINK IT HAS	REMAINED STATIC	2
DO YOU THINK IT HAS	DECLINED	3
	UNCERTAIN	4
	NO COMMENTS	5
	NOT QUALIFIED TO SAY	6

32. WHY ARE SOME OF THE OLD, WELL ESTABLISHED AND VIBRANT PATASALAS NOT PARTICIPATING IN THE RECENT ANDHRA EISTEDDFODEAU?

NOT MUCH MOTIVATION BY THE OFFICIALS OF THE RESIDENT SABHAS	1
NOT MUCH MOTIVATION BY OFFICIALS OF AMSSA	2
LACK OF FINANCE ETC.	3
PETTY QUARRELS/DISAGREEMENTS AMONGST OFFICIALS & OTHERS	4

33. DO YOU THINK THE USAGE OF WRITTEN AND SPOKEN TELUGU HAS DECLINED IN THE LAST 40 YEARS?

YES	NO
1	2

IF YOUR ANSWER IS YES, HAVE THE FOLLOWING FACTORS CONTRIBUTED TO THIS?

33.1 TELUGU TOOK SECOND PLACE TO ENGLISH FOR THE PURPOSES OF MAKING A LIVING.

YES	NO
1	2

33.2 PREVIOUSLY CLUSTERED TELUGU SPEAKING COMMUNITY DISPERSED INTO SUBURBS (BECAUSE OF GROUP AREAS ACT ETC.)

YES	NO
1	2

33.3 PEOPLE MOVED INTO AREAS WHERE NO TELUGU SCHOOLS WERE AVAILABLE.

YES	NO
1	2

33.4 PARENTS NOT SPEAKING TELUGU AT HOME.

YES	NO
1	2

33.5 GREATER ADOPTION OF WESTERN IDEAS AND CULTURE.

YES	NO
1	2

34. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION ABOUT THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE, ALONG WITH THE OTHER INDIAN LANGUAGES, IN SOUTH AFRICA?

IT WILL SOON DISAPPEAR FROM SOUTH AFRICA	1
IT WILL BE KEPT ALIVE FOR THE PURPOSE OF RELIGION & CULTURE	2
IT WILL BE NEGLECTED	3
THE PRESENT STATUS WILL BE MAINTAINED FOR SOME MORE YEARS TO COME BY A SMALL POCKET OF PEOPLE.	4
THERE WILL BE A RESURGENCE IN THE LANGUAGE	5
OTHER (SPECIFY)	6

35. DO YOU THINK THAT THE ABSENCE OF TEACHING INDIAN LANGUAGES AT STATE SCHOOLS UP TO 1984 PLAYED A ROLE IN THE EROSION OF THE LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA?

YES	NO
1	2

JUSTIFY YOUR ANSWER _____

36. WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE THE SURVIVAL OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE IN THE CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA?

YES	NO
1	2

37. WHAT IS YOUR VIEW POINT ABOUT THE FUTURE OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE IN THE RAPIDLY CHANGING SOUTH AFRICA?

POSITIVE	NEGATIVE	NEUTRAL
1	2	3

38. WHAT IS YOUR OPINION OF THE ROLE OF AMSSA IN PRESERVING THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA?

SHOULD PLAY AN ACTIVE ROLE	1
SHOULD GET MORE INVOLVED IN THE COMMUNITY WORK	2
SHOULD TAKE A STAND ON THE ISSUES THAT AFFECT ANDHRA COMMUNITY	3
SHOULD STAY AWAY FROM POLITICS	4
NO COMMENT	5
OTHER (SPECIFY)	6

39. DO YOU THINK THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE ARE FAST ERODING AMONGST THE YOUTH?

YES	NO
1	2

IF YES, STATE WHY _____

IF NO, STATE WHY _____

40. DO YOU THINK THE FOLLOWING FACTORS LED TO THE SHIFT AND EROSION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE? TICK THE RELEVANT COLUMNS.

1. INTERNAL CAUSES WITHIN THE COMMUNITY	1
2. EXTERNTAL CAUSES WITHIN THE COMMUNITY	2
3. LACK OF CO-ORDINATION AND ENTHUSIASM BETWEEN OFFICIALS OF AMSSA	3
4. APATHY OF THE COMMUNITY AND NO MOTIVATION	4
5. ATTITUDE OF INDIFFERENCE BY THE ANDHRAS	5
6. NOT MUCH ENCOURAGEMENT BY ANDHRA PARENTS	6
7. IN FIGHTING, JEALOUSY, SUSPICION, DECEITFUL CONDUCT TOWARDS ONE ANOTHER	7
8. DISREGARD FOR ONES/OFFICIAL APPEALS/REQUESTS	8
9. SHOW-OFF, BOASTFUL, FALSE PRETENCE/BETTER QUALIFIED THAN OTHERS	9
10. LACK OF ACADEMICALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS/PERSONS	10
11. LACK OF APPROPRIATE TEXT BOOKS	11
12. USE OF OLD, OUT-DATED TEXT BOOKS	12
13. MODERN/STANDARD TELUGU NOT INTRODUCED	13
14. NOT MUCH SPOKEN LANGUAGE INTRODUCED IN THE EISTEDDFOD COMPETITIONS	14
15. ADMINISTRATIVE PROBLEMS DURING EISTEDDFODS	15
16. ADJUDICATION AT EISTEDDFODS NOT UP TO STANDARD (GROUSES & NOISES)	16
17. OFFICIALS OF AMSSA LACK OF TACKLING GRASS ROOT ISSUES TO BRING BACK BREAKAWAY SABHAS	17
18. AMSSA AFRAID OF THE DOMINATION BY IMMIGRANT ANDHRAS IN VARIOUS ITEMS FOR COMPETITION PURPOSES LIKE EISTEDDFOD	18
19. ANDHRA MEMBERS APATHY IN WRITING TELUGU EXAMINATIONS	19
20. NON-PARTICIPATION OF OTHER LANGUAGE GROUPS LIKE HINDI, URDU, BLACKS IN TELUGU FUNCTIONS	20
21. LACK OF TELUGU WORKSHOPS REGULARLY	21
22. FUNDING PROBLEMS TO HOLD ANDHRA FUNCTIONS	22
23. LACK OF FULL PARTICIPATION BY ANDHRA YOUTHS	23

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR KIND CO-OPERATION IN FILLING THIS QUESTIONNAIRE AND FOR THE VALUABLE TIME YOU HAVE SPENT.

GOD BLESS YOU !!!

KEEP THE "ANDHRA JYOTHIE ALIVE".

Appendix 2: The Interview Schedule

The status of the Telugu language amongst the Andhras of South Africa

A. GENERAL QUESTIONS

1. Name of the interviewee, address, telephone number, did he/she answer my questionnaire.
2. Personal details: gender, age, home language, generation in South Africa, marital status.
3. Interviewee's role in the South African community. Is a member of any Sabha, cultural organization, patasala (Telugu school), teacher etc.
4. Ability to speak/ / understand / read / write Telugu.
5. Attitude towards the Andhra Culture and Telugu language. Do you regard Telugu as your Mother Tongue or your home language.
6. Did you acquire any vernacular education? How, when, where and from whom?
7. What is your view point about the Telugu patasalas in South Africa.

B. ABOUT THE ANDHRAS ANCESTORS

1. When did your ancestors come to Natal?
2. Did they show any resistance to English?
3. Where there any teaching patasalas. Did they employ old traditional methods?
4. What methods of teachings were used in the patasalas?
5. Did they suggest future plans for the patasalas?
6. Did they motivate the community to send their children to learn Telugu language at the patasalas?

C. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE

1. Do you think that the Telugu language is being maintained in South Africa? Can you outline some reasons/causes for the maintenance?
2. How can Telugu be maintained in South Africa? What are the means, vehicles and areas?
3. The language shift from Telugu is mainly linked to the dominant status of the English language over the Telugu language in South Africa?
4. Why is the shift taking place?
5. What can be done to stop the erosion?
6. Is there a lack of co-ordination and enthusiasm between officials of the AMSSA? Is there an apathy of the part of the community, non motivation and attitude of indifference by the Andhra amongst other factors?
7. Is there any resurgence of the Telugu language and Andhra Culture in recent years in South Africa?
8. Do you speak in Telugu to your family members and other members of the community? Can you read Telugu books, papers, magazines?

9. Is the AMSSA / Branch Sabhas and the youth movement helping to promote the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa? Are they beset with problems and setbacks in their efforts to uphold the Telugu language and Andhra culture?

D. FUTURE OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE

1. Do you want to see the survival of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?
2. What are the contributing factors towards the survival in the changing South Africa?
3. Do you think that the future status of the Telugu language, along with the other Indian languages in South Africa will soon diminish?
4. Why is it important for any particular group to retain its ethnic language and culture?
5. Can the Andhra culture survive without the Telugu language in South Africa?

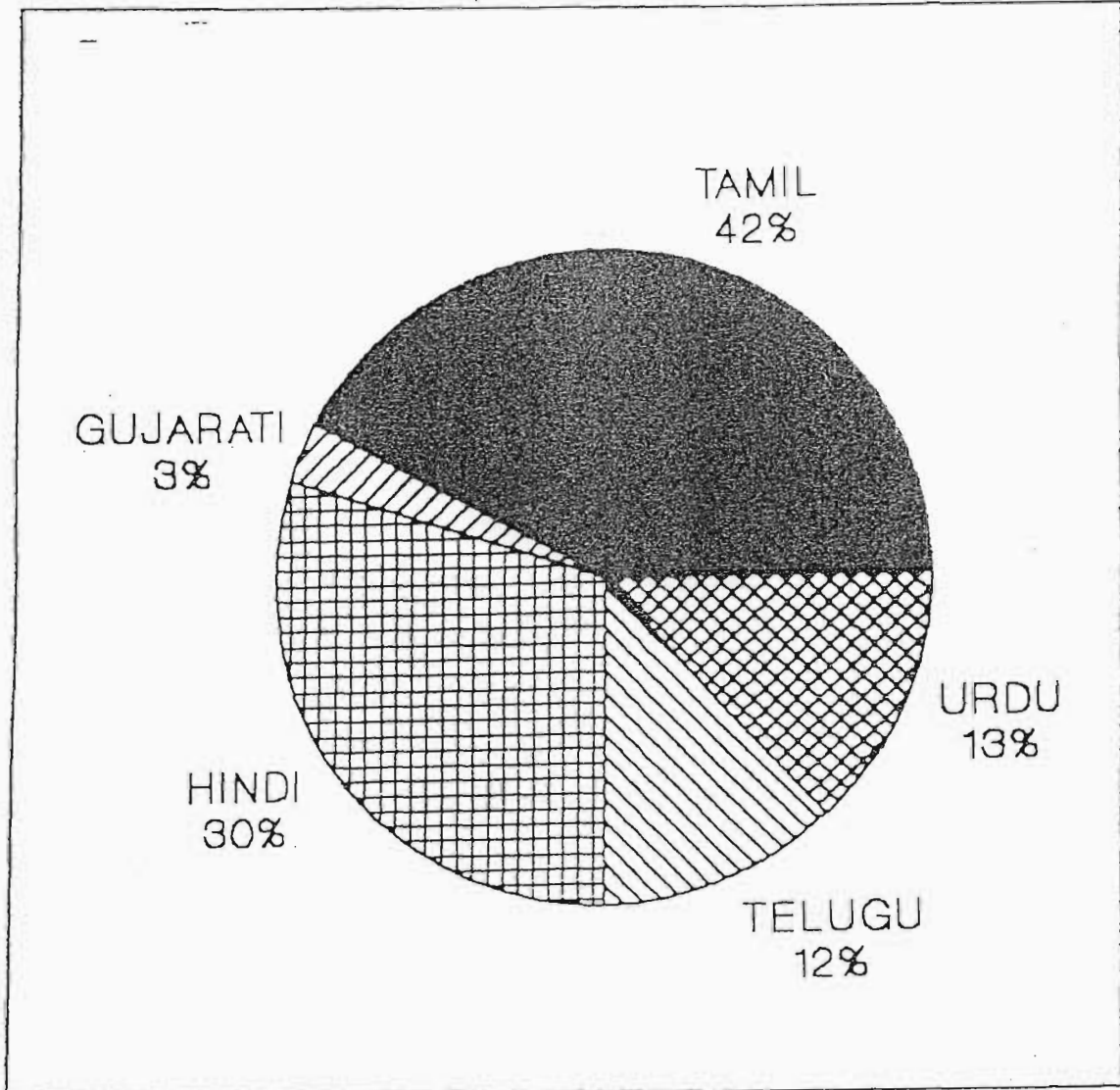
Appendix 3: Sample of the coded quantitative data

(Q 1, 2, 3, 5, 6,,: Answered by respondents 51 – 100)

NO.	Q 1	Q 2	Q 3	Q 5	Q 6	Q 7
51	2	3	2	2	4	3
52	2	3	2	2	4	3
53	2	4	2	3	3	3
54	2	2	1	2	4	1
55	1	4	2	3	4	3
56	2	3	2	3	4	3
57	2	1	1	3	4	4
58	2	1	1	3	4	4
59	2	3	1	2	4	3
60	1	3	1	2	4	3
61	2	5	4	2	4	3
62	2	4	2	2	4	3
63	1	6	2	2	4	1
64	1	4	2	3	4	2
65	2	4	2	2	4	3
66	1	4	2	2	4	4
67	2	4	2	3	4	3
68	2	3	2	2	4	2
69	2	4	4	1	4	3
70	2	4	4	1	4	2
71	2	3	2	2	4	2
72	1	2	2	2	4	3
73	2	4	2	3	4	4
74	2	1	1	3	4	4
75	1	2	1	1	4	1
76	1	6	2	2	4	2
77	1	3	2	1	4	2
78	2	4	2	2	4	3
79	2	4	2	2	4	3
80	2	4	4	2	4	2
81	2	4	2	2	4	4
82	2	4	2	1	4	3
83	2	5	4	3	4	1
84	2	5	2	3	4	3
85	2	4	2	3	4	3
86	2	3	1	2	4	3
87	2	4	4	2	4	3
88	1	5	2	2	4	3
89	1	4	2	2	4	3
90	1	5	2	2	4	3

NO.	Q 1	Q 2	Q 3	Q 5	Q 6	Q 7
91	2	1	1	3	4	4
92	2	5	2	2	4	3
93	2	5	1	2	4	3
94	1	4	2	3	4	3
95	1	2	2	2	4	2
96	1	3	2	2	4	1
97	2	5	2	2	4	3
98	2	4	2	2	4	3
99	1	6	2	2	4	2
100	1	6	2	2	4	3

Appendix 4: Pie graph illustrating divisions of Indian South Africans



APPROXIMATE DIVISION OF INDIAN SOUTH AFRICANS DERIVED FROM THE SOUTH AFRICAN CENSUS OF 1991

Appendix 5: Andhras' identification with Tamils, South Indians (Dravidians)



Distribution of the Dravidian languages.

Adapted from Ramanujan and Masica, "Toward a Phonological Typology of the Indian Linguistic Area," *Current Trends in Linguistics*, vol. 5 (1969); Mouton & Co., Publishers, The Hague

Appendix 6: India: estimated Telugu population - 1981



THE DATA ON POPULATION APPROXIMAS SUPPLIED BY TELUGU ASSOCIATIONS TO INTERNATIONAL TELUGU INSTITUTE, HYDERABAD A.P