

**THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ITS  
INFLUENCE ON THE CULTURAL LIVES  
OF THE HINDU 'PRAVASANDHRAS'  
IN SOUTH AFRICA**

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# DEDICATED TO LORD VINAYAKA



గజాననుని పాదపద్మములకు

అంకితం

WITH LOVE  
TO  
MY HUSBAND PRABHA  
DAUGHTERS SWAPNA AND SNEHA

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## **ABBREVIATIONS**

AMSSA	=	Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa
ECMTS	=	Ethnic Community Mother Tongue Schools
EMT	=	Ethnic Mother Tongue
H <sub>a</sub>	=	Hypothesis
H <sub>o</sub>	=	Null hypothesis
HoD	=	House of Delegates
LMLS	=	Language Maintenance and Language Shift
LM	=	Language Maintenance
LS	=	Language Shift
MST	=	Modern Spoken/Standard Telugu
MT	=	Mother Tongue
PAS	=	Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha
SAAYM	=	South African Andhra Youth Movement
U.D-W	=	University of Durban-Westville

## STATISTICAL TABLES

			<u>PAGE</u>
Table	1.1	Age distribution of the respondents	14
Table	1.2	The professions of the interviewees	17
Table	2.1	Original Dravidian Languages	28b
Table	5.1	Did/do you find it easy to speak to your parents in Telugu?	186
Table	5.2	The Indians and their home languages between 1936-1970	193
Table	5.3	Which language group did/does your spouse belong to?	204
Table	5.4	Percentage of Tamil and Telugu speaking communities in South Africa between 1930-1970	206
Table	5.5	Do you know your place of origin in India?	219
Table	5.6	Do you know your family in India?	219
Table	5.7	Do you think that the Group Areas Act has militated against the preservation of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?	253
Table	5.8	Do you think that the breakdown of joint family system has influenced the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa?	254
Table	6.1	Language attitudes of the respondent, spouse and the children	265
Table	6.2	Respondents' reaction to hearing Telugu being spoken	267
Table	6.3	Is there any need to perpetuate Telugu in South Africa	268
Table	6.4	Do you use Telugu when praying alone?	270
Table	6.5	Did/does your parent speak to you in Telugu?	271
Table	6.6	Number of children attending the patasalas	297
Table	6.7	The budget of the AMSSA for 1989 and 1990	299
Table	6.8	Total number of pupils in state schools	304
Table	6.9	Telugu students' number at the University of Durban-Westville	309
Table	6.10	Respondents' opinion about the future status of the Telugu language in South Africa	364
Table	7.1	Religio-cultural practices of three generations of Andhras	369
Table	7.2	Religio-cultural practices of the present-day Andhra community - model values	370
Table	7.3	Survival of Telugu in South Africa through promotion and learning of the language	372

## MAPS, GRAPHS AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLES

Map	2.1	Distribution of the Dravida Languages	29b
Map	5.1	Distribution of Telugus in India	212b
Graph	5.1	Telugu speaking abilities of the Andhras	188
Graph	5.2	Telugu reading abilities of the Andhras	190
Graph	5.3	Telugu writing abilities of the Andhras	190
Graph	5.4	Generation of the respondents	192
Graph	5.5	Tamil and Telugu population between 1936-1970	205
Graph	7.1	Generation - learning Telugu	374
Graph	7.2	Frequency polygon - Absence of teaching Telugu led to erosion	376
Ch.Tab	2.1	Ikshavakus of Vijayapuri Dynasty	33
Ch.Tab	2.2	Eastern Chalukyas of Vengi	35
Ch.Tab	2.3	Kakatiyas of Warrangal	36
Ch.Tab	2.4	Tuluva Dynasty	37

## APPENDICES

	<u>PAGE</u>
1. Questionnaire to the Andhras of Natal	389
2. Interview schedule	414
3. Andhra Prayer - Pratahkaala Prardhana	418
4. Andhra Prayer - Sayamkaala Prardhana	418
5. Andhra Prayer - Subhakaarya Prardhana	419
6. Telugu New Year Greetings - Rudhirodgari Ugaadi by late Mr.R.S.Naidoo	419
7. Monthly Report of the Andhra Education and Eisteddfod Committee in 1960's	420
8. Telugu story - extracted from Telugu Velugu Book 2 written by Mrs.Varijakshi Prabhakar	421

# TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>PAGE</u>
Acknowledgements	i
Abbreviations	iii
Tables	iv
Maps, graphs and chronological tables	v
Appendices	vi

## CHAPTER ONE

### INTRODUCTION

1.1	Subject of Study : The Telugu language and its influence on the cultural lives of the Hindu 'Pravasandhras' in South Africa	1
1.2	The problem of the study	5
1.3	Aims of study	8
1.4	Methodology	9
1.4.1	Empirical research	12
1.4.1.1	Respondents' background	13
1.5	Problems	18

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ANDHRA COMMUNITY IN INDIA AND THEIR HISTORIC MIGRATION TO NATAL

2.1	Abstract	21
2.2	Introduction	22
2.3	The terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu'	24
2.4	Telugu as a Dravidian Language	26
2.5	An overview of the early history of the Andhras	31
2.6	The cultural heritage of the Andhras - a synopsis	40
2.7	The Andhras under the British East India Company and the Crown	46
2.8	Andhra migration and early settlements in Natal	51
2.8.1	Causes of the Andhra migration to Natal	51
2.8.1.1	The "push" factors from the Andhra country	53
2.8.1.2	The "pull" factors in Natal	58

2.8.2	The Andhra arrival and their early settlements in Natal	63
2.8.2.1	From Madras Presidency to Natal	63
2.8.2.2	Early Andhra settlements in Natal	67
2.9	Their initial language problems	73
2.10	Summary and conclusion	76

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **THE STATUS OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN THE EARLY YEARS OF ANDHRA IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA**

3.1	Abstract	79
3.2	Relationship between language and culture	79
3.3	Conditions of Andhra indentureship and early informal attempts to retain the Telugu language	83
3.3.1	Conditions of indentureship	84
3.3.2	Informal teaching at home	91
3.4	Formation of organized patasalas and their activities to preserve the language	98
3.4.1	Formation of various patasalas	98
3.4.2	Language promoting activities of the patasalas	104
3.4.2.1	Academic activities of the patasalas	104
3.4.2.2	Eisteddfod training	110
3.4.2.3	Dramas and sketches	111
3.4.2.4	Pathmajurani Andhra study group	112
3.5	Conclusion	113

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **THE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR LANGUAGE PROMOTING ACTIVITIES**

4.1	Abstract	114
4.2	Stimulation for an organized body to promote the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa	114
4.3	Formation of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa and the various branch sabhas	119
4.3.1	Andhra Maha Sabha and the founder members	119
4.3.2	Constitution of the AMSSA	121
4.3.3	Aims and objects of the AMSSA	122
4.3.4	The Council and Executive minutes of the AMSSA	123
4.3.5	The Andhra House	124

4.4	Establishment of various branch sabhas between 1931-1991	126
4.4.1	Stella Hill Andhra Sabha	126
4.4.2	Springfield Andhra Sabha	128
4.4.3	Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha	129
4.4.4	Other branch sabhas before 1960	130
4.4.5	South African Andhra Youth Movement (SAAYM)	132
4.5	The Language promoting activities of the AMSSA and the branch sabhas	134
4.5.1	The Andhra printing company	134
4.5.2	Publications made by the AMSSA and the branch sabhas	140
4.5.2.1	The Andhra Patrika	141
4.5.2.2	Other publications	143
4.5.3	Books imported from India	145
4.5.4	Dramas	146
4.5.5	Initiation of Gita Week	152
4.5.6	Uma Bharathi Show	153
4.5.7	Annual Andhra Eisteddfod	156
4.5.8	Andhra cultural Awards Day	158
4.5.9	Educational activities of the Sabhas excluding the branch patasalas	159
4.5.9.1	Daily free Telugu classes	159
4.5.9.2	Adult classes and night school	159
4.5.9.3	Andhra education board	163
4.5.9.4	Andhra Quiz program	170
4.6	Conclusion	170

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE GRADUAL EROSION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

5.1	Abstract	172
5.2	Factors exerting "language shift" and gradual erosion of the Telugu language	173
5.2.1	Definition of the terms "Sociolinguistics" and "Language Shift"	173
5.2.2	Language Shift - a sociolinguistic phenomenon	175
5.2.3	The Superseding of Telugu By English	179
5.2.4	Generation as a factor in language shift	186
5.2.5	Andhras as a minority group in South Africa	192
5.3	Factors which influenced the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa	195
5.3.1	Government language policy	195
5.3.2	Assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamils	201
5.3.2.1	No separate identity for the Andhras	208

5.3.2.2	Andhra migration to Tamilnadu prior to 1860	211
5.3.2.3	The difference between the Telugu and Tamil scripts	216
5.3.2.4	Visits to India	218
5.3.2.5	Tamils' loyalty and Andhras' flexibility towards their languages	220
5.3.2.6	Other areas of Tamil domination	223
5.3.2.7	Conclusion	225
5.3.3	Andhras and causes for intermarriage	227
5.3.4	Lack of academically qualified teachers to teach Telugu	231
5.3.5	The political situation in South Africa	240
5.3.5.1	The political sanctions instituted by India against South Africa	240
5.3.5.2	The Group Areas Acts enacted by the South African Government	245
5.3.5.3	Breakdown of the joint family system as a result of the Group Areas Act	252
5.4	Conclusion	255

## CHAPTER SIX

### FACTORS GOVERNING THE MAINTENANCE OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

6.1	Abstract	258
6.2	Definition of the terms "Language Loyalty" and "Language Maintenance"	260
6.3	Language Loyalty and the attitudes of the present-day Andhras towards the Telugu language in South Africa	264
6.4	Areas where Telugu is used in South Africa by the present Andhra community	269
6.4.1	As the home language and in personal domains	269
6.4.2	Within the family circle	271
6.4.3	Kinship terms	272
6.4.4	Household articles, food and vegetables	273
6.4.5	Andhra jewellery	274
6.4.6	Telugu verbs in common use	275
6.4.7	Traditional Andhra greetings	275
6.4.8	Family gatherings - jokes and riddles	277
6.4.9	Andhra names and surnames	279
6.4.10	Telugu Inti Peru	279
6.4.11	Usage of Telugu by the "master of ceremonies"	280
6.4.12	Hindu Andhra priests	281
6.4.13	Andhra community and the sacred Aum	284
6.4.14	The AMSSA and the Telugu Aum	285
6.4.15	Usage of Aum in other areas	286

6.4.16	Street names	286
6.4.17	Buildings and temples	287
6.4.18	The AMSSA, branch sabhas and Telugu	288
6.4.19	Community dramas	290
6.4.20	Media - Radio Lotus	290
6.4.21	Audio-Video cassettes	292
6.4.22	Conclusion	293
6.5	Means by which Telugu is being maintained in South Africa	295
6.5.1	Telugu vernacular education at present in South Africa	295
6.5.1.1	Patasalas	295
6.5.1.2	The teaching of Telugu at state schools	302
6.5.1.3	Telugu teaching at U.D-W	306
6.5.1.4	Telugu adult literacy classes	310
6.5.1.5	Conclusion	312
6.6	Religio-cultural activities of the Andhra community which govern the Telugu language maintenance in South Africa	313
6.6.1	Religio-cultural activities of the community	313
6.6.1.1	Ugaadi	313
6.6.1.2	Sri Rama Navami	317
6.6.1.3	Tyagaraja Music festival	319
6.6.1.4	Annual Andhra Eisteddfod	322
6.6.1.5	Dramas	326
6.6.1.6	Dance - Bharata Naatyam, Kuchipudi, Gobbi and Kolaatam	328
6.6.1.7	Bhajana Festivals and bhajana groups	333
6.6.1.8	Conclusion	338
6.7	Other religious activities of the Andhra community	339
6.7.1	Sankranthi	339
6.7.2	"District prayers" or "porridge prayers" done by the Andhras	340
6.7.3	Daily prayers and Shanti paatam	342
6.7.4	Weekly prayer services conducted by various Sabhas	344
6.7.5	Nagula chavithi or Puttalo Paalu	345
6.7.6	Deepawali	347
6.7.7	Conclusion	347
6.8	Resurgence in the Andhra community	348
6.8.1	Definition of "resurgence" and identi- fication of the facets of resurgence	348
6.8.2	Causes for the resurgence	350
6.8.2.1	The arrival of the Telugu lecturer at U.D-W in 1989	350
6.8.2.2	The Third World Telugu Conference held in Mauritius	354
6.8.2.3	The positive changes taking place in the South African politics	357
6.8.2.4	Appointment of Andhras as the language promoters by HoD in 1991	359
6.9	Summary and conclusion	361

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

7.1	Abstract	365
7.2	The Hypothesis	365
7.3	The negative influence of English on Telugu in South Africa	366
7.4	The Loyal Andhras' attempt to retain Telugu in South Africa by religio-cultural activities	367
7.5	Future of Telugu in South Africa	368
7.6	Recommendations	378
	Summary	386
	Appendices	389
	Bibliography	422
	Glossary	437

# CHAPTER ONE

## INTRODUCTION

### 1.1 SUBJECT OF STUDY : THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON THE CULTURAL LIVES OF THE HINDU 'PRAVASANDHRAS' IN SOUTH AFRICA

Language is perhaps the most precious instrument of socialization that prevails in all human societies and cultures. It is largely by means of language that one generation passes on to the next its traditions, laws, customs, and beliefs. It is also by means of language that the child comes to appreciate the structure of the society into which he is born and his own place within that society. As a social force, language serves to reinforce the links that bind the members of the same group and also provides group identity to them in any environment.

In recent years, the importance of ethnic mother tongue (EMT) retention to subcultural continuity has become a major focus of research for scholars of linguistics and a popular topic for discussion among the various ethnic cultural groups. Many modern scholars of linguistics, concerned with the role of language in society, related linguistics more closely to sociology and anthropology than to any other discipline.

The Encyclopaedia Britannica describes the study of the sociological aspects of language as "sociolinguistics" (Vol 10,1989 : 928). Sociolinguistics, as a discipline, concerns itself with the part that language plays in maintaining the social roles in a community and also with the use of language in relation to its cultural functions.

Although Telugu, one of the Indian Languages in South Africa, has been in existence for the last one hundred and thirty-one years in South Africa, no academic study was undertaken on any aspect of the Andhra culture or the Telugu language, dealing with its past active use and the present gradual erosion. The Andhras are a minority within the minority Indian community and their language maintenance is an interesting example for any sociolinguistic study. This very fact precipitated the choice of the present topic for academic study by the writer.

Besides being influenced by a lack of academic study on the Telugu language and the Andhras in South Africa, the selection of the topic is also influenced by the Andhra background of the writer. The personal interest of the writer in the Telugu language, combined with her curiosity to observe the language maintenance efforts of the Andhras in an alien environment, also stimulated the selection of the topic. The reception given by the Andhra community on her arrival as a Telugu lecturer at

the University of Durban-Westville (U.D-W), the grandiose celebration of the Golden Jubilee of the Andhra Eisteddfod and the items which were all rendered in Telugu, also influenced the selection of the topic.

The writer's experience as an immigrant Andhra, her command of spoken Telugu and Tamil as well as her home background as a Hindu further attest to her bona fides. The writer's life as an Andhra in India enables her to make a comparison between the Andhra culture as manifested in South Africa and India, and also helps her to determine the degree of erosion or preservation of the language and culture locally.

The present-day South African Andhra community consists mainly of Hindus (approximately 80%) and the rest is composed of Christians and a few Muslims. The Christian Andhras maintain the Telugu language and some Christian Andhras continue to use Telugu as their home language. However, as an Andhra with a Hindu background, the writer takes an immense personal interest in Hindu culture. The strong maintenance of the Hindu culture in the midst of dominant Western culture and partly secular environment influenced the writer, as a foreigner, to choose the Hindu Andhras as a subject of study.

Discussion with various Hindu Andhras, Hindu academics at the University of Durban-Westville, the Andhra priests in

the community, and participation in the religio-cultural activities of the community all contributed as further impetus for the selection of the stated topic.

In an academic study of this nature, clarity of the vital concepts involved in the title is a necessity. Thus the term 'Pravasandhras', a Telugu term used in the title, needs to be explained.

The term 'Pravasandhras' consists of two Telugu words Pravasa and Andhra, both borrowed from Sanskrit. The term 'Pravasa' means immigrant and also an exiled person (Source : Telugu - English Dictionary 1989 : 82) and 'Andhra' means the Dravidian race of people who use Telugu as their mother tongue. The Andhras have migrated to various parts of the world over the last century, including South Africa. Between 1860-1911 many Andhras immigrated and settled in the Union, thus making South Africa their home. The immigrant Andhras of that period are called the 'Pravasandhras'.

However, in this study, the immigrant Andhras and their succeeding generations, even though born and raised in South Africa, are collectively referred to as 'Pravasandhras' due to the fact that many of the present-day Andhras maintain their affiliation to the Andhra country in India whence their forefathers came and claim that they are still Andhras. Their attitudes towards their

ancestral home and their loyalty towards the Andhra country motivated the writer to apply the term 'Pravas-andhras' to such present-day Andhras, although their numbers are small.

Another factor which motivated the selection of this term is that some of the present-day Andhras themselves make use of the term (Vide : research findings) in their speeches. It supports the assumption of the writer about their affiliation to the Andhra country (present-day Andhra Pradesh) in the Indian subcontinent.

## 1.2 THE PROBLEM OF THE STUDY

In the research process, the first and foremost step is that of selecting and clearly defining the research problem. According to Kothari (1985: 34) any research problem should meet some of the following conditions viz:

- 1) There must be an individual or a group to whom the problem can be attributed.
- 2) There must be at least one or two possible outcomes i.e objectives to be attained.
- 3) There must be an environment to which the problem pertains.

In this study the Andhras and their language maintenance efforts in an immigrant situation where language shift is taking place conform to Kothari's conditions. The main

problem of the study is discussed in chapters five and six. Attention is focused on the awareness in the South African Andhra community of the importance of EMT survival for the retention of its group identity. However, this awareness occurred because its EMT is threatened by a dominant "out-group", and a dominant "in-group".

English as the language of power and the *lingua franca* in Natal, is a dominant "out-group". Forced by various other factors the Andhras, the minority Telugu language speakers, learnt English and use it in such domains as trade, science, technology, economics, education and the socio-political arena. Various scholars state that receiving education through the medium of a dominant language (cf. Aziz : 1988) and the use of a dominant language in religio-cultural domains (cf. Mesthrie : 1985) usually generate a feeling of linguistic insecurity among the minority language speakers.

In the case of the immigrant Andhras in South Africa Tamil is as an "in-group", and English the "out-group" dominant language. Pressure from both these groups led to linguistic insecurity amongst the Andhras who subsequently became bilingual and multilingual. Very soon the Andhras raised their children in the dominant out-group language which has a higher status than the dominant "in-group" Tamil, and they did not transfer their EMT from

generation to generation.

However, there are some Andhras who are loyal towards their language and culture, who tried or are trying to nurture the Telugu language in the face of socio-economic pressure from the dominant out-group languages, amongst which Afrikaans is included.

This brings one's attention to the problem of the study: two forces working in opposite directions. Like any other minority immigrant language in South Africa, the situation of Telugu speakers on the one hand indicates language shift in favour of English (cf. Bughwan :1970, Mesthrie : 1985 and Aziz : 1988). On the other hand there are indications that the Telugu language in South Africa is not completely eroding and many young Andhras are returning to their EMT in their religio-cultural practices. This return to their EMT is shown by the various activities taking place in the Andhra community (chapter 6). This conflicting situation, shift and maintenance, generates the two main objectives of this study:

- 1) to trace the reasons that exert such shift and
- 2) to identify the areas where Telugu is maintained and to analyze the factors that govern the maintenance of the language.

Finally, in postulating the hypothesis, the writer is influenced by Gleeson (1968 : Preface) who pronounces that the relationship between language and culture is reciprocal. During the first half of the twentieth century the South African Andhras became aware of the fact that the loss of their own linguistic heritage could endanger the survival of their culture. Thus, they earnestly tried to preserve their language from attrition in the face of many problems.

It is the writer's hypothesis that although the Andhras in South Africa in general, and young Andhras in particular, may be westernized in their outlook, many Andhras retain a cultural value system which is quite traditionally Andhra. It follows that the Telugu language survives in South Africa through their religio-cultural activities.

### **1.3 AIMS OF STUDY**

The basic aims involved in this sociolinguistic study of the Telugu language through an examination of the religio-cultural activities of the Andhras are as follows:

1. To determine the status of the Telugu language among the Hindu Andhra community in South Africa.
2. To document the specific nature of the religio-cultural life of the Hindu Andhra community in South

Africa.

3. To determine the degree of preservation and erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. To identify the factors that exert an influence on such preservation or erosion.
4. To make scholarly suggestions to upgrade the level of the Telugu language in South Africa.
5. Lastly, to contribute to a wider understanding of Hindu culture in South Africa.

#### 1.4 METHODOLOGY

In this study both "primary" and "secondary" sources were employed. Both formal and informal primary sources were utilized for the theoretical aspect of the research. The formal sources include the various minutes of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa (AMSSA), the AMSSA's annual reports, its financial statements, official letters written by the members of AMSSA, the documentation available on Andhras in Natal and Transvaal Archives, and the minutes of the Telugu Subject Committee under the House of Delegates (HoD), all of them directly concerned with the topic of study. The empirical research, combined with personal interviews conducted with various elderly community members from different social classes, the leaders of the Andhra community and the members and non-members of the AMSSA and various academics constitutes the informal primary sources for the research. The writer

also traced some of the relatives of the Andhra immigrants in India and interviewed them.

The secondary source comprises the literature available on the Andhras in India, the information on Indians from various libraries such as the Killie-Campbell, the Natal Society Library, the Africana Library, and the U.D-W library including the Documentation Centre at the U.D-W. Various journals and academic studies on sociolinguistic situations which are similar to that of the immigrant Andhras (Vasikile : 1988, Sridhar : 1988, Gal : 1979, Lieberson and Edward : 1978 among others) were thoroughly analyzed. The brochures published by the AMSSA and its branch sabhas and the newspapers such as Viveka Bhanoo (1914-1926), a Tamil newspaper and Lokaranjani (1875), and Andhra Patrika (1948) (both Telugu newspapers) were consulted by the writer.

Since no single method of approach is known to be fully adequate in academic research, along with the use of the printed matter, a combination of various methods was employed by the writer. The other methods of research used in this study are:

1. Personal participation.
2. Empirical research.
3. Personal interviews.

In order to procure "first-hand" information about the Andhra culture and Telugu language, the writer involved herself deeply in the Andhra community activities from the time of her arrival in South Africa in 1989. Thus, as a result of prior contact, the writer had an opportunity to become involved in the community activities as an participant-observer without being an "outsider". The friendly contacts established by the writer and her foreign nativity enabled her to make an impact on the Andhras who afforded numerous interviews freely, without any restraint. However, the writer maintained the necessary distance while interacting with the community, which enabled her to be objective. At the same time, as William Labov (1970 : 49-50) suggests, both "careful" and "casual" speech patterns are noted in determining the degree of erosion of the Telugu language.

The writer, being a Council member of the AMSSA, attended all the Council meetings and Annual General meetings since her arrival in South Africa. This membership made it possible for her to gain access to the minutes of the AMSSA from 1931 to 1991. She has participated regularly in all the religio-cultural activities of the Andhra community, which enhanced her knowledge of the present day Andhra community.

#### 1.4.1 EMPIRICAL RESEARCH

The writer also employed the empirical method to establish the language attitudes and language loyalty of the present-day Andhras. This, in combination with the personal interviews, also enabled her to ascertain the degree of the erosion of the Telugu language.

In any empirical research the respondents selected should be as representative of the total population as possible in order to produce a miniature cross-section. The selected respondents, technically called a 'sample', should at least be a rough representative of the selected community. With this criterion in mind the researcher distributed her questionnaires to the Andhra community living in and around Durban. Thus, the data illustrated in chapters 5, 6 and 7 represent the Hindu Andhra community of Natal.

The respondents are selected partly on the basis of their accessibility to the researcher and mostly their willingness to respond. A small group of acquaintances (10 members) formed a pilot group on whom the questionnaire was first tested. The pilot group provided contacts with some respondents who in turn suggested more respondents. Some respondents are personally approached by the researcher at the Andhra Eisteddfod, the annual cultural event of the South African Andhra community. The

officials of Andhra branch sabhas were requested to help in the distribution and collection of the questionnaire. In some cases, the researcher visited the Andhra sabhas and homes and distributed the questionnaires.

With the help of the AMSSA and the branch sabhas, the writer distributed three hundred and fifty questionnaires to the Andhras. Out of 158 questionnaires received, only 146 questionnaires were from respondents with an Andhra background and the rest were completed by respondents from Tamil-backgrounds. Due to their irrelevance to the topic, the Tamil-background returns were not considered.

#### **1.4.1.1 RESPONDENTS' BACKGROUND**

The 146 respondents in this sample include 79 males (54.1%) and 67 females (45.9%). Information on age, marital status, occupation, religious affiliations, educational qualifications, their generation in South Africa and vernacular educational qualifications was analyzed for all respondents.

The age distribution of the respondents is illustrated in a table below (see table 1.1).

**TABLE 1.1**

**AGE DISTRIBUTION OF THE RESPONDENTS**

AGE GROUP	NUMBER	%
UNDER 14	1	0.7%
15-19	20	13.7%
20-29	21	14.4%
30-39	29	19.9%
40-49	25	17.1%
50-59	30	20.5%
60+	20	13.7%
TOTAL	146	100%

The above table shows that 13.7% of the respondents are between 15-19 years, 14.4% of them are between 20-29 years, 19.9% of them are between 30-39 years, 17.1% of them are between 40-49 years. 20.5% of them are in 50-59 years age group and 13.7% of them are above 60 years age group. Only one female respondent is below 15 years age group. The average mean age of the respondents is 40.4 years.

While considering the marital status of the respondents 23.3% of them are single, whereas the majority of them (69.9%) are married while 6.8% of them are widowed.

The educational qualifications of the respondents reflect that almost half of the respondents (45.8%) have secondary education, 23.3% have University education, 16.5% of them have tertiary education and 12.3% of them have only primary education. It is necessary to mention in this context that 2.1% of the respondents do not have any formal educational qualifications.

Information on vernacular educational qualifications reflects that 39.7% of the respondents have basic vernacular knowledge which they acquired from home. 27.5% of them have patasala (vernacular schools) education, 6.8% of them have primary education and only 4.8% of them have University education. While 17.8% of them have no vernacular education, 3.4% of the respondents did not answer this specific question.

Although income information of the respondents is not elicited through the questionnaire, the respondents' individual occupations reflect that the sample is drawn from different professions varying from professionals such as doctors, nurses, teachers and attorney to semi-skilled workers such as painters, plumbers, foreman, and many others. 22.7% of the respondents are professionals. 21.9% of them are managerial and clerical workers, 8.2% of them are businessmen, 17.8% are housewives, 15.8% of them are students, 4.7% of them are unemployed. The remaining 8.9% is drawn from other groups.

Information about the religious affiliations indicates that 95.9% of the respondents are from Hindu Andhra background, 3.4% are Christian Andhras and 0.7% are affiliated to other religion which is not specified. Although the research topic specifies the Hindu Andhras, the non-Hindu Andhras were also included in the sample due to the very large number of the sample. The researcher feels that the linguistic behaviour of the non-Hindu Andhras should not be ignored due to the reason that language has no religious barriers. She also assumes that 4.1% of the total sample will not effect the statistical data very much.

While interviewing the Andhra community (in some cases they have responded to the questionnaire) in general and the Indian community in particular the researcher tried her utmost not to elicit information from one section only. A cross-sectional interview was conducted and their professions are tabled below (see table 1.2).

**TABLE 1.2****THE PROFESSIONS OF THE INTERVIEWEES**

PROFESSIONS	NUMBER	%
INDIA ANDHRAS	3	7%
PRINCIPALS/TEACHERS	6	13.9%
RETIRED/UNEMPLOYED PEOPLE	5	11.7%
HOUSE WIVES WITH PRIMARY EDUCATION IN RURAL AREAS	5	11.7%
MANAGERIAL AND CLERICAL	6	13.9%
PRIESTS	2	4.6%
PROFESSIONALS ACADEMICS AT U.D-W/DOCTORS	7	16.2%
BUSINESSMEN (SELF-EMPLOYED)	4	9.3%
TELUGU STUDENTS AT U.D.W WITH SECONDARY EDUCATION	5	11.7%
TOTAL	43	100%

The background of the interviewees also reflects that the sample is drawn from Andhra community of Durban and consists of various social classes thus making the sample a cross-sectional representation of the community.

In addition to the scheduled interviews, the writer also conducted numerous telephonic and casual interviews with

various members of the Andhra community and also with some academics at U.D-W.

To gain more information on the language maintaining activities of the immigrant Andhras in the diaspora, the writer attended the Third International Telugu Conference held in Mauritius in 1990.

In order to understand the status of Telugu teaching in contemporary South Africa, the writer made various visits to Telugu patasalas and state schools where Telugu is taught. Lastly, to limit the scope of the study, research was conducted mainly in and around the Durban metropolitan area where most of the South African Andhras reside.

### 1.5 PROBLEMS

This study, the first of its nature, is a preliminary attempt to record some problems of an immigrant minority language in a foreign milieu. Sociolinguistics is a relatively new field of research in South African academic life. Due to a lack of research on Telugu language in South Africa, the writer had to depend on the academic study conducted on other immigrant language situations such as Bhojpuri and Urdu in South Africa, and situations similar to Telugu, in other parts of the world. However, not much literature was available on this subject. Thus,

there is a need for the study of the Telugu language within the discipline of sociolinguistics to focus on code-mixing and language change due to language contact in the South African context. The writer, due to the restrictions of the topic, was constrained to limit her study to only one aspect of language study viz. the maintenance and shift of the Telugu language (LMLS).

Moreover, the paucity of documentation of the Andhra community and Telugu language in South Africa also compounded the difficulties of the research process. The lack of proper documentation compelled the writer to depend extensively on oral information and observer-participant methods.

One impediment in the search for oral information was the apathy exhibited by some "marginal Andhras". In this study the term "marginal Andhras" is used to indicate those Andhras whose attitudes and response toward the out-group (English or Tamil - see chapter 5.3.2) which ranges from identification with dominant group values and aspirations to complete assimilation with the out-group. This is a general phenomenon usually referred to as marginality by the sociologists. The kind co-operation and support given by some informants made this research a possibility.

Another problem faced by the writer was the failure of the interviewees to narrate the events prior to 1920. With the demise of most of the first generation South African born Andhras, the present-day Andhras have no source of information concerning the manner in which their ancestors maintained the language, and how they imparted their knowledge to succeeding generations.

## CHAPTER TWO

### THE ANDHRA COMMUNITY IN INDIA AND THEIR HISTORIC MIGRATION TO NATAL

#### 2.1 ABSTRACT

This chapter considers the early history of the Andhras in India, from their origins until 1860 A.D, the time of their historic migration to Natal. The origins of the terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' are traced and defined in their historic context. The place of the Telugu language in relation to the other Dravidian Languages is considered before the history of the Andhras is dealt with.

The lengthy history of the Andhras commencing with the Satavahanas (271 B.C-174 A.D), up to the British Crown rule (1860) is dealt with briefly to provide an overview of the early history of the Andhras. A synopsis of the cultural heritage of the Andhras is furnished. The causes for the Andhra migration to Natal, their early settlements in the province between 1860-1911 and their early difficulties regarding communication are also reviewed.

## 2.2 INTRODUCTION

The earliest reference to the Andhras is found in the *Aitareya Brahmana* (Apte 1896 : V11,18). The *Aitareya Brahmana* describes the Andhras as a tribe who migrated to the south of the Vindhya Mountains, in India. It also alludes to them as a race whose progenitor was Andhra, the son of the great saint Viswamitra. It states that Viswamitra was furious with some of his sons including Andhra, Pulinda, Mutiba and Sabara because of their disloyalty towards him. Viswamitra, being a quick-tempered saint, was enraged by the behaviour of fifty of his sons who refused to accept Sunasyepa as their eldest brother. He cursed them, resulting in their living with the non-Aryans in the south of the Vindhya Mountains.

Valmiki refers to the Andhras in his *Ramayan* (Kiskindha Kanda - chapter 41 - sloka : 11-12):

**tatha Vangan Kalingamsca Kausikamsca samantataha:  
Anviksya dandakaranyam saparvatanadiguham  
Nadim Godavarim caiva sarvamevanupasyata  
Tathaivaandhramsca Pundramsca Cholanpandyamsca Keralan.**

(Exploring) the territories of Vanga, Kalinga and Kaushika, and scouring the entire forest of Dandaka with its mountains, rivers and caves, they ransack the river Godavari and even so the territories of Andhra and Pundra, Chola, Pandya and Kerala (in the search of Sita).

The Andhras are also mentioned in the *Mahabharata*,  
(Sabhaparva - Chapter 4 : sloka 24):

.....  
.....  
**Thadaanga Vangau saha Pundrakena**  
**Pandyodhra Raajaucha sahandhrakena**

The *Mahabharata* also mentions the Andhra territory and people together with others lying in the southern parts of India, such as the Pandyas.

Megasthenes, the Greek diplomat during Chandragupta Maurya's regime, 300 B.C cited the Andhras as a political power in the south-eastern Deccan (Indian Antiquary 1877 : 337-339) :

**Next come the Andhras, a still more powerful race which possess numerous villages and thirty towns defended by walls and towers and which supplies its king with an army of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry and 1,000 elephants.**

Bharata, the famous dramatist of the first century A.D, mentioned the 'Andhri' language as one of the languages being utilised by the theatre artists working with him (Apparao 1959 : 486). Chatterji (1978 : 623) is of the opinion that the Andhras migrated from the north; and with their political and cultural domination, gave their name to the country, to the people and even to the language. Grierson (1967 : 580) narrates the remark made by Hwen Thsang, the Chinese pilgrim, who visited India in the seventh century A.D, that the Andhras' alphabet did not differ much from those of the other languages in the north. All the foregoing references indicate that the

Andhras already existed as a race in the south of the Vindhya mountains as early as 200 B.C.

### 2.3 THE TERMS 'ANDHRA' AND 'TELUGU'

Even though the terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' are used synonymously by the people of Andhra Pradesh in India today, the word 'Telugu' was unknown until the tenth century A.D (Venkatarangaiya 1975:2). Telugu, according to various Telugu literary sources such as *Andhra Mahabharatam*, *Andhra Kaumudi*, and the Puranas viz. the *Brahmanda Purana*, and *Skanda Purana*, was also known as 'Tenugu', 'Telinga', 'Telungu', 'Trilinga' or 'Andhra Bhasa'. The Tamil Sangam Literature, (500 B.C-200 A.D) refers to the Andhras as 'Vadugaras' meaning the people living in the North of Tamildesa (Kurnthogai 1952 : 11). Historians like Iswara Dutt (1967 : IV), and Subramanian (1981 : 9) claim that the terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' were used as synonyms as early as the third century A.D, but their claims are not supported by any historical evidence.

Chatterji (1978 : 623), relying on the existence of Telagas, and Telaganyas, two types of people in the present day Andhra Pradesh, presumes that the word 'Telugu' is perhaps connected with the word 'Telinga', the name of an Andhra tribe. The word 'Andhra' was used in the earliest epigraphs like the *Erragudi Edicts of*

Asoka, E.1.XXX11-1 (256 B.C) which were translated by

Iswara Dutt (1967 : VI):

Such a conquest has been achieved by the Beloved of the Gods not only here (in his own dominions) but also in the territories bordering (on his dominions), as far away as (at the distance of) six hundred yojanas, (where) the Yavana king named Antiyoka (is ruling and where), beyond (the kingdom of) the said Antiyoka, four kings named Turamaya, Antikeni, Maka and Alikasudara (are also ruling), and towards the south, where the Chodas and Pandyas (are ruling), as far as Tamaraparni. Likewise here in the dominions of His Majesty, in (the countries of) the Yavanas and Kambojas, of the Nabhakas and Nabhapanktis, of the Bhojas and Paltrayanikas and of the Andhras and Paulindas, everywhere (people), are conforming to the instructions in Dharma (imparted) by the Beloved of the Gods.

According to Grierson (1967 : 576), "the word 'Telugu' is generally supposed to be a corruption of the Sanskrit word 'Trilinga'". He quotes the ancient Hindu tradition in which Siva, in the form of the linga, descended upon the three mountains, which marked the boundaries of the Telugu country. However, C.P.Brown, the British linguist on the Telugu language, rejected all etymologies of the word Telugu, and regarded the word as not being derived from any known root (Grierson 1967 : 576).

The Telugu speaking people themselves label the language as 'Telugu' or 'Tenugu' and the race as the Andhras. Rangayyappa Rao (1975 : 18) suggests that the presence of more than sixty percent of the Sanskrit vocabulary in Telugu, gave the language the 'Andhra' name, whereas the Dravidian element contributed the term 'Telugu' to the language. We do not, however, have conclusive evidence either in historical documents or from literary sources of the Telugu language to support his argument.

After careful consideration of all the foregoing views, it can be assumed that in the ancient period the terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' were not applied to the people and the language respectively as synonyms. However, some time during the thirteenth or fourteenth century A.D they became synonyms. Up to the present-day even in Andhra Pradesh, India, no acceptable solution to the controversy has been found.

In India, these terms are used to indicate both the people and the language they speak. However, to avoid confusion, throughout this study, the term 'Telugu' is used to refer to the language, while the term 'Andhra' is used to denote the people or the race who speak the Telugu language.

#### **2.4 TELUGU AS A DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGE**

As mentioned above, the language the Andhras speak is Telugu and it is also called 'Telungu' by the Tamils. Telugu has the characteristics of both the Aryan and the Dravidian elements in it, thus making the language a mixture of both the Aryan and Dravidian linguistic sources. Rangayyappa Rao and Donappa (1975 : 19) claim that the Aryan element, Marqa, originated from Sanskrit, and Desi, the Dravidian element, play a major role in the development of the Telugu language and literature. Their views are supported by Grierson (1967 : 581) and

Chatterji (1978 : 625).

The eminent Telugu poet Srinadha, 1365-1420 A.D, erroneously states that Sanskrit is the mother of all the languages, and for many centuries the Andhras believed that their language, Telugu, is derived from Sanskrit. This impression was created by early poets like Nannaya, the court poet of King Rajaraja of the Eastern Chalukya line of Vengi (1022-1063 A.D), and Srinadha. Their argument was based on the presence of many Sanskrit words in Telugu. Even Campbell (1760-1840), the early British grammarian on the Telugu language, was convinced that Telugu originated from Sanskrit.

The great poet Kumarila Bhatta (15 century), himself an Andhra, speaks of the Andhra Dravida Bhasha, thus classing the language of the Andhras along with Tamil.

However, it was Lord Illies, the British functionary at the Madras Presidency during the early nineteenth century who established systematically that Telugu did not originate from Sanskrit, but rather belongs to the Dravidian group of languages. Grierson (1967 : 85), the profound scholar of Indian languages, also confirms the theory that Telugu belongs to the Dravidian group. For example, Grierson, using the Manual of Administration of the Madras Presidency, summarises the general characteristics of Dravidian forms of speech in his Linguistic Survey of

India (1967 : 84) in this manner:

**In the Dravidian languages all nouns denoting inanimate substances and irrational beings are of the neuter gender. The distinction of male and female appears only in the pronouns of the third person, in adjectives formed by suffixing the pronominal terminations, and in the third person of the verb. In all other cases the distinction of gender is marked by separate words signifying 'male' and 'female'. Dravidian nouns are inflected, not by means of case terminations, but by means of suffixed postpositions and separable particles. Dravidian neuter pronouns are rarely pluralized...**

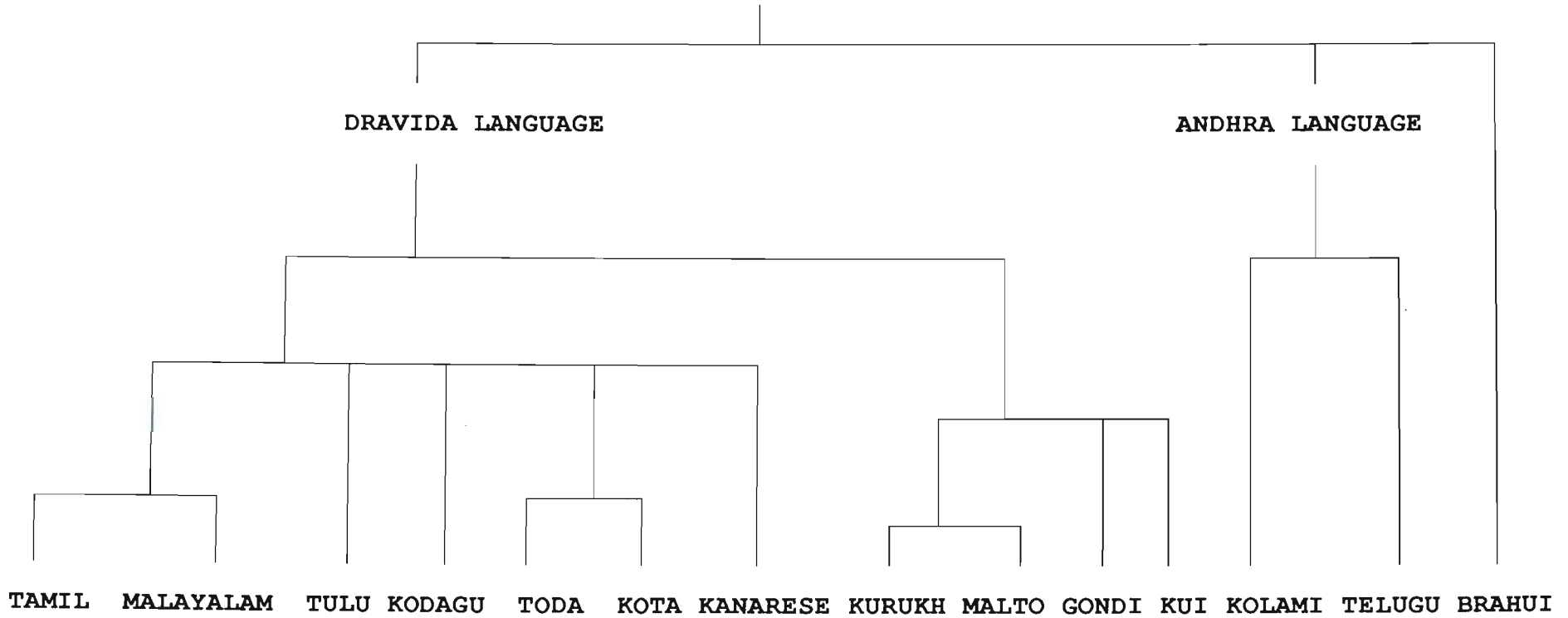
Grierson asserts that the parent of the modern Telugu language is the Andhra language and illustrates the Dravidian language group in a table (See table 2.1).

Thus, Grierson in his survey, as illustrated in table 2.1 demonstrates his division of the Dravidian languages into four groups, to which he later adds a pair of semi-Dravidian Hybrids. They are: the Dravida group, consisting of Tamil, Malayalam, Tulu, Kodagu, Toda, Kota, Kannada; the intermediate group consists of Gondi, Kurukh, Malto, Kui, and Telugu, along with Kolami. He classifies Brahui as the North-Western language in the third group of the Dravidian family (1967 : 86).

According to Gopalakrishnayya (1981 : 10), Telugu was isolated from the Proto-Dravidian family some time between 1100-900 B.C. According to Krishnamurthy (1981 : 13), Proto-Dravidian, the parent of all the Dravidian languages, is divided into three, namely, the South Dravidian, central Dravidian, and the North Dravidian. He substantiates the theory of Grierson by postulating that the Southern Dravidian split into two. He classi-

TABLE 2.1

ORIGINAL DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES



28 b

fies the languages like Kannada, Toda, Kota, Tamil and others as belonging to the first group, and places Telugu in the second group. Krishnamurthy holds the view that this split occurred around 2000 to 1500 B.C. His idea substantially supports the phenomenon propounded by Gopalakrishnayya (1981 : 10).

According to Crystal (1987 : 308), the Dravidian family consists of over twenty languages and the people speaking Dravidian languages are found close together in the southern and eastern areas of India. The Brahui language is isolated from the others, being spoken 1,500 kilometres away from the main family, in the north of Pakistan. (See map 2.1).

According to the 1990 census report of India, Telugu as a vernacular, is more widely spread and has a greater number of speakers than Tamil. Telugu is spoken all along the eastern coast of India, covering a vast area from Chicacole (Srikakulam, bordering Orissa) in the North to Pulikot in the South, extending to Chanda in the Central Provinces, to the West covering half of the Nizam's dominions i.e, Bidar, Nander and Adilabad districts in the present day Andhra Pradesh. The linguistic boundaries of the Telugu country are Oriya and Marathi in the North East, Hindi in the North, Kannada in the West, and Tamil in the south (Rajagopala Rao 1984 : 2).

**MAP 2.1**



Distribution of the Dravidian languages.

The Kannada Emperor and a famous poet of Rayala Yuqam, Sri Krishnadevaraya (1509-1525) in his *Amuktamalyada* emphasises the fact that Telugu is the best of regional languages under his rule.

To conclude, even though there are over 60% of Sanskrit words present in the Telugu language, it is evident that the Telugu language belongs to the Dravidian group of languages because of its similarity to the other Dravidian languages.

Telugu, the language spoken in a vast area of almost 275 square kilometres of Andhra Pradesh has several regional dialects and many class dialects besides a very specialized literary dialect (which of course is now fading away, losing ground to the modern spoken Telugu). According to Gopalakrishnayya (1981 : 10) the Census Report of India and the Linguistic Survey of India have enumerated most of these dialects and only four main dialects are identified and studied by the linguists. They are : Accha Telugu spoken in the Krishna, Guntur, Nellore and three other districts, the coastal variety, the Telangaana dialect, spoken in the ten districts which were formerly part of the Nizam's dominion, i.e Adilabad, Nizambad, Medak, Warangal and others, the Raayalaseema dialect, spoken in the Kurnool, Anantapur, Cuddapah and Chittor districts, and lastly, the Kalingandhar dialect spoken in three districts viz. Srikaakulam, Vijayanagaram

and Visakhapatnam.

Gopalakrishnayya (1981 : 9-10) also mentions many "class" dialects like VaDarii, Kaamaathi, Beeraoi and Daasari, Pourla, Koomtaav, Golaarii and many others in the regional Telugu. For example, the Koomtaav dialect is spoken by the Komati (the Vaisya) class in Andhra Pradesh and Maharashtra. Similarly, VaDaari is spoken mostly by the northern VaDaaris (a sub-caste among the Kshatriya caste).

Most of the Andhras who immigrated to Natal during the mid-nineteenth century and early twentieth century hailed from Srikaakulam, Vijayanagaram and Visakhapatnam (source : ships' list survey between 1860-1902), and thus the dialect they brought to South Africa was the Kalingandhar dialect. An interesting topic for further linguistic research on the Telugu language would be to determine the dialect variety extant in South Africa.

## 2.5 AN OVERVIEW OF THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE ANDHRAS

The history of the Andhras prior to the Satavahana rule 271 B.C-174 A.D has not been accurately documented. This makes it extremely laborious to trace the origins of the Andhras as a race. Several mythical narratives appear in the Puranas concerning the Andhras. Pargiter (1962 : 35) does not rate them as viable evidence and says it is not

possible to establish the origins of the Andhras as a race based on those mythical narratives. He is biased and his statement cannot be regarded as valid because the Puranas are not purely mythical, but they are also historical. Historians, like Roy (1978 : 103-105), have successfully established the authenticity, origins and development of the Purana traditions. It is, however, factual that the various Puranas do not concur with the origins of the Andhras as a race, but their evidence cannot be ignored.

The reference made in Asoka's epigraphs (271-232 B.C) like the *Erragudi Edicts*, discovered in the Pattikonda Taluk of the present-day Kurnool district in Andhra Pradesh, confirms the fact that the Satavahanas or the Andhras were existing as a race as early as 231 B.C.

Historians like Krishna (1983 : 16), and Ramanuja (1981 a : 4) claim that the Andhras, after the weakening of the Mauryan empire, established their own kingdom under Sri Mukha (271 B.C). They also state that Sri Mukha was the first king who ruled the Andhra region from Pratistanapura, now in Maharashtra, to Dhanyakataka, now in Guntur district. Thus, the past of the Andhras is traceable from 232 B.C and their history assumed a definite shape since this date.

The period of the Satavahanas (271 B.C-174 A.D) was described as the 'Golden Age' of Andhra history by many historians. Gautamiputra Yajna Sri Satakarni, who ruled during the second century A.D, had extensive trade relations with China, Rome and Sumatra. The lengthy coastline and the rivers such as the *Vamsadhara*, the *Godavari*, and the *Krishna* made it possible to maintain excellent and prosperous trade relations with eastern and western countries. The trade relations with the above mentioned countries made it possible for Andhra culture, art and religion to be exported to the east. It was these Satavahanas who facilitated the prelude to the spread of South Indian culture abroad.

The Ikshvakus, (3-4 century A.D) who succeeded the Satavahanas, were great patrons of Buddhism. Nagarjuna Konda, an important city of the Andhras during their rule, not only became a pilgrim centre, but also an educational centre which attracted thousands of scholars like Aryadeva, the native of Ceylon, who spent many years in the Nagarjuna Konda valley (Gopalachari 1976 : 145).

**IKSHVAKUS OF VIJAYAPURI DYNASTY**

**(200 - 300 A.D)**

Maharaja Vaisisthiputra Chantamula 1  
(200 - 225 A.D)

|  
Maharaja Ehuvala Chamtamula 11  
(250 - 275 A.D)

|  
Vasisthiputra Rudrapurisdatta  
(275 - 300 A.D)

**(Source : Historical Tables : Apparao : 1991)**

After the Ikshavakus, during the rule of the Brihatphalayana and Salankayana gotra Andhra kings (3-4 centuries A.D), many immigrants settled in the Andhra region and merged with the local tribes. This was the period during which Buddhism lost its foothold in the Andhra region and the Vedic religion gained ascendancy.

The decline of Buddhism also led to the degeneration of Prakrit and to the change in the status of Sanskrit as an official language at the royal court. While Sanskrit gained official status, the Telugu language began to emerge as a major language. Ramanuja Rao declares (1981 a : 7) that the Telugu language up to the third century A.D was in the "cradle", indicating that it did not enjoy any royal patronage.

The Eastern Chalukyas, who succeeded the Vishnukundins (7 century A.D), had healthy, friendly relations with the Chola kings of the south. This finally led to a matrimonial relationship between the two great kingdoms.

Rajaraja Narendra, the off-spring of that alliance, ruled the Andhra country from 1022 A.D. During his regime, the Andhras once again braved the seas and traded with Java, Malaya, Burma and other neighbouring countries.

**EASTERN CHALUKYAS OF VENGI**

**(624 - 1076 A.D)**

Kubja Vishnu Vardhana (624 - 641 A.D)  
|  
Jayasimha Vallabha 1 (641 - 673 A.D)  
|  
Indrabhattaraka (673 A.D)  
|  
Vishnu Vardhana 2 (673 - 681 A.D)  
|  
Vishnu Vardhana Vijayaditya (1061 - 1076 A.D)

**(Source : Historical Tables : Apparao : 1981)**

After the Eastern Chalukyas, mention should be made of the Kakatiyas of Warangal (11 century). The Kakatiyas, the vassals of the Kannada Emperors, proclaimed their independence under Prolaraju II. Of all the Kakatiyas, Ganapathi Deva, who assumed power in 1199, ranks high in Andhra history. According to Ramanuja Rao (1981 b : 13) it was Ganapathi Deva (1196-1262), who tried to bring the entire Andhra country under the banner of a single authority. During his glorious rule, the Andhra country bloomed, and his authority extended from Kalinga in the north to Chengalpet in the south. After his death (1262), owing to the lack of a male offspring, his daughter, Rudrama Devi, (1262-1289) took control of the regime and she is said to have excelled her father in several ways. Under Pratapa Rudra (1289-1323), her grandson and her successor, the Andhra armies conquered all the land in the south up to Tiruchinapalli.

**KAKATIYAS OF WARANGAL**

**(955 - 1323)**

Gunda IV	(955 - 995 A.D)
Rudra Deva	(1158 - 1195 A.D)
Ganapathi Deva	(1199 - 1262 A.D)
Rudramamba	(1262 - 1289 A.D)
Pratapa Rudra	(1289 - 1323 A.D)

**(Source : Historical Tables : Apparao : 1981)**

The glory of the Kakatiyas came to an unfortunate end during Pratapa Rudra's rule, and after his death in 1323 the Andhra country fell into the hands of the Delhi Sultanate. The members of the royal families took refuge in various places (Khandavalli 1985 : 293).

The religious insecurity of the Hindus under the Muslim rulers, and the tyrannical misrule of the Bahamani Sultans led to the foundation of an independent kingdom in 1336, which later flourished as a magnificent Hindu Empire viz. the Vijayanagara Empire. This kingdom was established by two brothers, Hari Hara Raya and Bukka Raya (Hanumantha Rao 1989 : 359). Being the faithful servants of Pratapa Rudra of the Kakatiya Empire, they fled from Warangal, and lived in exile for numerous years. They founded a new empire called Vijayanagara, which means the city of victory.

Four dynasties ruled over this kingdom in succession namely, the Sangama, the Saluva, the Tuluva and the Aravidu dynasties. The rule of the Tuluva dynasty commands much respect from the Andhras because of the outstanding rule of Sri Krishnadeva Raya, who reigned between 1506-1529. Raghunadha Rao (1988 : 14) states that **"he was the greatest emperor South India has ever produced"**.

#### TULUVA DYNASTY

(1506 - 1576 A.D)

Vikranarasimha	(1506 - 1509 A.D)
Krishnadevaraya	(1509 - 1529 A.D)
Achyutaraya	(1529 - 1542 A.D)
Sadasivaraya	(1542 - 1576 A.D)

(Source : Historical Tables : Apparao : 1981)

During his rule the Muslim invasions were kept under control. Krishnadeva Raya maintained stable relations with the Portuguese, who were well settled in Western India by that time. He imported the best thoroughbred horses and used them to fight against the Muslim invaders. He brought about a revolution in the history of the Telugu language and literature by introducing a new style in writing, called Prabandha Kavya, where the poet is free to develop his own style. The writers of Puranas, with the exception of the Shaiva poets,

translated the Sanskrit Puranas and Itihaasas into Telugu.

The purpose of a Purana poet in translating the text into Telugu is a didactic one. It was meant to spread Hindu moral and ethical principles, not to create a piece of literary beauty. However, the Prabandha poet aimed to produce creative art work. He developed his poetry by taking a small story from one of the Puranas and carving it into beautiful art. It was a period of renaissance for the Telugu language. Many modern Telugu linguists like Yasoda Reddy (1975 : 44-45) feel that the Telugu literature '**attained its freedom from the clutches of the Sanskrit language**' during this period because the new prabandha style is not dependent on any of the old kavya methods. The prabandha poets set a new model for the future generations by following this independent approach in their literature.

Rajagopala Rao translated the famous quotation of Krishnadeva Raya from his kavya *Amuktamalyada* as follows (1984 : 78):

**Telugu is the language of the poem, for that is the country, to them I am the king, and praised by all is that language. Among the languages of the land, Telugu alone is best.**

Krishnadeva Raya's *Amuktamalyada* opened the gates for the beginning of the Prabandha Kavya, where the poet is permitted to select an ancient theme to develop on his own lines. In his royal court Krishnadeva Raya patronised

many poets. He was also a great builder and built the famous Hazara Rama Temple, the Vittalawami Temple and many others. His successors, however, were not as strong as he was and that led to the decline of the empire in 1565 and to the re-establishment of Muslim hegemony in the Andhra country.

The weak rule of the Sultans of Deccan in the South of India, led to the conquest of the Andhra kingdom along with the rest of the Deccan by the Mughals in 1687. The Mughal rule continued up to the middle of the seventeenth century. The British, under the name of the British East India Company, were already well established in South India during this period. They waited for their opportunity and occupied the Deccan completely by 1853 (Raghubadha Rao 1988 : 49). The British Crown took control of the Andhra region in 1857, after the Sepoy Mutiny. This mutiny, also called the First War of Independence, took place against the British Crown. The anti-British feeling increased among the Andhras between 1853-1857, and it was openly expressed in 1857 after the outbreak of the mutiny at Meerut on 10 May 1857. The Indians, who could not tolerate the British yoke, revolted against the British when the Hindu soldiers were asked to use the fat of the cow, the animal sacred to the Hindus, to lubricate gun cartridges. Similarly, the Muslims were expected to use pigs' fat to lubricate their guns.

During this period of British rule the Andhras migrated to many countries, including the sugar-belt of Natal. The history of the Andhras under the Crown and the migration to Natal is dealt with separately in chapter 2.7.

## 2.6 THE CULTURAL HERITAGE OF THE ANDHRAS - A SYNOPSIS

The sociologists tend to look at culture from the perspective of sociology and define it as **"the social heritage which the individual receives from the group; a system of behaviour shared by members of a society"**

(Horton and Hunter 1964 : 564).

Edward Taylor, the anthropologist, describes culture as **"that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and other capabilities acquired by man as a member of a society"** (quoted by Johnson 1961 : 10). Edward Sapir (1921 : 218) simply defines culture as **"what a society does and thinks"**.

According to Goodenough (1966 : 35)

**A society's culture consists of whatever it is one has to know or believe in order to operate in a manner acceptable to its members, and do so in any role that they accept for any one of themselves. Culture, being what people have to learn as distinct from their biological heritage, must consist of the end product of learning: knowledge, in a most general, if relative, sense of the term.**

Goodenough's definition implies that culture is not a material phenomenon but it is the forms of things that people have in mind, their models for perceiving, relat-

ing and interpreting them.

According to Bhattacharya (1983 : 37-38):

**Culture is a concept which cannot be simply or unitarily defined. It is always a complex of many strands of varying importance and vitality ... Culture ..... expresses itself through language and art, through philosophy and religion, through political institutions and economic organizations. Not one of them is separately culture but collectively they constitute the expression of life which we describe as culture.**

Upadhyaya in his book "Vedic Culture" (1985: 1-2) defines

Culture as a concept:

**Which includes all things big or small, from beginning to end, which contribute towards the actualization of a sentient being's potentialities or seed powers. It is the sum total of many things which play a part in its own way, but whose function is, severally and jointly, to turn the seed into a fully grown tree. 'Kṛiti' or man is that tree, and all those small or great things which help in the full development of man, is given the collective term, "Culture".**

The Telugu word Samskruthi, derived from Sanskrit, means "culture". Culture is a social force by means of which man builds upon his heritage of knowledge, artifacts, institutions and behavioral patterns. Culture could mean the true overall development of a society and it plays a very significant role in the life of any community. At the same time the cultural development of a particular country or people within a society could be dominated by the religious and political conditions prevailing at any given period. The Andhra culture evolved in India prior to 1860 was no exception and it is an integral part of the Indian as well as Hindu cultures.

According to Subba Reddy (1990 : 81), the early Andhras, who were Hindus, seem to have been animists and always

worshipped trees, serpents and spirits. Gopalakrishnayya (1981 : 9) states that the latest discoveries and studies made at Kurnool District in Andhra Pradesh, India, reveal that a rich Andhra culture existed as ancient as and contemporary to the Maya and the Mohenjadarо cultures (C.2500-1700 B.C).

The Andhra Satavahanas who revived and followed the Vedic culture, also showed great tolerance towards, and even patronized, Buddhism. During the Satavahana period (271 B.C-174 A.D), Buddhism was the religion of the masses, whereas the royal court glorified the Vedic religion (Ramanuja Rao 1981 a : 7). The Prakrit language was considerably patronized by the kings and King Hala's period (1 century A.D) was called the 'Golden Age' of Prakrit literature (Ramanuja Rao 1981 a : 19). Under the royal patronage the great Buddhist monasteries and educational centres were built at Amaravathi and Nagarjuna Konda (60-64 A.D), both in present-day Andhra Pradesh. Women were respected and given freedom of religion (Khandavalli 1985 : 85). Even though their mother tongue was Telugu, the kings patronized Sanskrit and Tamil along with Prakrit. This shows the extent of their religious and linguistic tolerance.

The Ikshvaku period (200-300 A.D) saw great architectural developments. The kings built great citadels with rampart walls and gates, residential buildings, luxurious

baths, soak pits and many other structures. The excavations conducted at Nagarjuna Konda provide historical evidence of their architectural skills (Rapson 1989 : 55 and Narasimham 1975 : 16).

The Vishnukundins, who ruled over Telangana and the Coastal Andhra, between 375-612 A.D, promoted Hinduism and their rule saw a great revival of the Vedic religion. They used Sanskrit for their inscriptions and also as the court language (Krishna 1983 : 42). They constructed great Hindu temples like Chitraradhaswami at Vengi and also Vishnugrahaswamy temple at Paluru (Subba Reddy 1990 : 82). These temples still exist in present-day Andhra Pradesh.

It was during the Eastern Chalukya period (535-1070 A.D) that the Telugu language and literature gained official status in the royal court (Rajagopala Rao 1984 : 25). The first known Telugu literature was produced by Nannaya during the time of Rajaraja Narendra (1022-1063) on his instruction. Nannaya's *Mahabharatam* still enjoys a worthy reputation among the present-day Andhras in India. The Chalukyas, though Saivites, were extremely tolerant towards the other religions. They also had maritime trade with the Eastern countries, which is confirmed by the gold coins of Saktivarman discovered in Arakan and Siam (Rapson 1989 : XCii - XCiv).

The Reddy rulers, who governed Kondavidu between 1325-1386, also contributed much to the development of Telugu literature and arts. They constructed various educational institutes which tremendously enhanced the Hindu culture in India.

The Kakatiya rulers (955-1323) compel our admiration because of their patronage of architecture, sculpture and literature. Many great Telugu poets such as Tikkana (1220-1280) and Potana (1300-1370) were patronized by the Kakatiya kings. The thousand pillared shrine at Hanumakonda, built by Prolaraju II (1116-1157) and the beautiful temple at Palampeta, built by Rudradeva, stand as worthy examples of their contribution to Indian architecture.

The fusion of Perso-Bahamani and Hindu-Muslim cultures took place during the period of the Bahamani and Delhi Sultans (Subba Reddy 1990 : 84). Subba Reddy states that the phenomenon of fusion was strikingly evident on the days of "Urs" when coconuts and flowers were offered in Hindu style at the tomb of Ahmad, the Muslim saint. The Qutb Shahis of Golkonda (1543-1687) laid the foundation for an era of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between the Hindu and Muslim cultures which resulted in the magnificent architectural construction of Charminar in Hyderabad, the modern capital of Andhra Pradesh. Due to the peaceful co-existence between the two religions,

the Telugu language came in contact with the Urdu language and borrowed several words from Urdu. The borrowing of Telugu loan words also occurred in the Urdu language (Swarajya Lakshmi 1984 : 28).

The Vijayanagara rulers also command considerable respect from the Andhras for their impartiality in religious matters. They not only extended their patronage to Islam but also to Christianity. This period saw a new era in Telugu literature. The leading poets of the century, the Astadiqqajas, adorned the royal court of Krishnadeva Raya, who himself was a famous poet.

The Lord Virupaksha Temple on the banks of the river Tungabhadra, which was built by the Vijayanagara emperors, survives as a perfect masterpiece of Andhra as well as South Indian architecture.

The Andhras' contribution to South Indian music as well as Indian music in general is valuable. Annamacharya of the Vijayanagara Empire composed thousands of Kirtanas on Lord Venkateswara (Leelavathi 1988 : V). Swami Tyagaraja, a Tamilian by birth, also composed Kirtanas on Lord Rama in Telugu. Today the Andhras and the Tamils of South Africa continue to revere Swami Tyagaraja for his Kritis.

The comparatively long sea coast made possible profitable maritime trade between the Andhras and other countries.

While the Andhras traded with the eastern countries, formerly part of Greater India, they also exported their culture and their manpower. The Andhras traded with the spice Islands viz. Java and Sumatra, and many of them emigrated to the far eastern countries. This gave the emigrants and the local inhabitants opportunities for new experiences and created wider scope for intellectual and economic enhancement (Subramanian 1981 : 144).

Andhra culture, which evolved as a result of geographical and historical factors like the Aryan, Muslim and later British invasions, is cosmopolitan and composite in nature (Radhakrishna Sarma 1981 : 31). At the same time, within the country itself, the cultures of the neighbouring people such as the Tamils, Kannadigas and others also contributed tremendously to the development of Andhra culture. Thus, the Andhra culture, absorbing the valuable elements from the other cultures, evolved into a rich culture in South India.

## **2.7 THE ANDHRAS UNDER THE BRITISH EAST INDIA COMPANY AND THE CROWN**

From ancient times until the beginning of the nineteenth century India was noted for its excellent textiles and other industrial products. The textile products and manufactures of the Andhra country were in great demand

in foreign markets. The Europeans traded with the Andhra Satavahanas and were keen to obtain Andhra silk and the superior muslin produced in the region (Chopra 1979 : 15). However, during the seventh century all the trade routes to India through Egypt and Syria were closed when these two countries fell into the hands of the Arabs. By 1452, because of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks, all the overland trade routes between Europe and the Indian subcontinent were closed to the Europeans. This led to the discovery of the sea route to India in 1498 by Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese navigator. Between 1498-1595 the Portuguese became masters of the Indian trade because they monopolized the sea trade routes to India (Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 23). This successful Portuguese trade with India and their monopoly in the east was very soon challenged by the Dutch, the French and the English.

Although the English were greatly interested in Eastern products such as spices, silk, fine muslin and cotton, they could not participate in the eastern trade before the seventeenth century because their shipping was not fully developed to undertake long journeys across the rough oceans. However, by the end of the sixteenth century, they had developed their shipping facilities, which gave them a fair chance to trade with India and later to compete with the other European countries

(Chopra 1979 : 49).

On the 31 December 1600 a Charter to trade in the East was issued by the English Queen to a private company under the title of "The Governor and Company of Merchants of London trading into the East Indies" and they were also granted a fifteen year trade monopoly between the Cape of Good Hope and the Magellan Straits. This English Company dispatched a ship called the 'Globe' to engage in trade in the Bay of Bengal and in the Gulf of Siam (Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 24).

The Globe arrived in Machilipatnam (in the Andhra country) in January 1611 and the English opened negotiations with the rulers of Golkonda for trading facilities. The English were immediately granted permission to establish a factory at Machilipatnam and thus, by 1611 the Andhra country came under the influence of the English. By 1620, the English were firmly established in the Andhra country and were able to overcome the Portuguese opposition. However, the Anglo-Dutch rivalry for the trade monopoly in East India continued. Between 1621-1640, this rivalry became so intense that the English had to abandon their first settlement, Machilipatnam, and find alternative places for permanent settlements. Eventually, on 20 February 1640, they took possession of Madrasapatnam, in the Chandragiri dominion, which was later

simply known as 'Madras' (Raghunadha Rao 1988: 28). In Madrasapatnam, the English established their settlement and on the 1 March 1640, began the construction of Fort St. George. Very soon Madras became a very important trading port and the English made it the centre of all their activities in South India (Kondayya 1985 : 144).

Due to the pressure from the British Government, and also due to the expiry of the charter of the original company during the last decade of the seventeenth century, the new East India Company, which was a merger of two English Companies, took over the Indian trade and changed the old policy of peaceful trade laid by Sir Thomas Monroe. However, the internal political situation in India also caused this takeover. During the eighteenth century the textile industry in the Andhra country flourished. However, the weavers were not well paid by the English in comparison with the Dutch. The British had many factories in the Andhra country such as those at Maddepalam, Bandamurilanka, Tuni, Kakinada, Corinka, Gollapalle, Visakhapatnam and lastly at Injaram (Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 30). Thousands of weavers worked in each of these factories. The Dutch merchants, due to their higher rates of pay, were naturally more popular among these weavers than the British.

The political situation in the Andhra country was chaotic and it became worse after 1724. Nizam-ul Mulk became the Subedar (ruler) with the title Asaf Jah. The Anglo-French rivalry became very critical and it led to the engagement of these powers in the First Carnatic War between 1744-48. The Carnatic wars, aggravated by the internal political situations, continued up to 1800 and by the mid-nineteenth century, the British were completely involved in the internal politics and wars of South India. The company's expenditure on the Indian continent increased rapidly and it became an intolerable burden on the British state.

There were many political disturbances in the Andhra country and the company faced a serious opposition from the Zamindars, local poligars (trouble makers) and a few 'Fituris' (outbreaks of local tribes). Even as late as 1846, Poligar Narasimha Reddy of Kurnool district revolted against the Company (Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 47). Many poligars were not ready to accept the authority of the British. The British Governor-General confiscated the estate of the poligars and introduced permanent settlement of Land Revenue in the Kurnool area. However, using the 1857 Sepoy (soldiers) Mutiny as an excuse, some of the Andhras once again revolted against the British (Chopra 1979 : 145). On 17 July 1857, Tura Baj Khan, a Jamedar of Rohillas, led a crowd of 5000 people and

attacked the British Resident at Hyderabad. He was suppressed by the British very easily; however, due to the outbreak of the Sepoy Revolt, the administration of the country was transferred from the East India Company to the British Crown (Sarojini, R 1986 : 14).

The conditions under the British East India Company and the British Crown rule, 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.

## **2.8 ANDHRA MIGRATION AND EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NATAL**

### **2.8.1 CAUSES OF THE ANDHRA MIGRATION TO NATAL**

Before considering the Andhra migration to Natal, it would be necessary to examine the factors which exerted both "pulling" and "pushing" influences on the Andhras during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The problems prevalent in the Andhra country would have exerted an influence on the Andhra emigrants and their brave decision to leave their native country in search of "better pastures" in an unknown land, South Africa. Many of the Andhras might have believed that they would even-

tually return to their mother country. At the same time, many of them might have left the native country as an escape from their poverty and economic instability. In this sub-section the causes for the emigration to Natal are discussed under the headings "push" and "pull" factors. The Andhra country under the British Crown, with its various socio-economic problems, is regarded as exerting a "push" factor, whereas the luring promises made by the indentureship in South Africa, with its gold mines, are regarded as "pull" factors.

Following Lee (1970 : 292) we can summarize the factors which may influence a community's decision to migrate into four categories. They are:

1. Factors which are associated with the areas of the origin of the immigrant, viz. the Andhra country (push factor).
2. Factors associated with the area of destination, viz. Natal (pull factor).
3. Intervening factors like influence of the relatives or friends (both push and pull).
4. Personal factors such as the spirit of adventure and family problems (push factor).

However, in some of the migrations, various factors influence the community to emigrate.

According to Morrill (1974 : 163):

**Migration of people is like trade in the sense that if the potential increase in income or satisfaction - the value differential - is perceived as greater than the economic and social cost of moving, then migration is possible.**

The Andhras, as mentioned earlier, emigrated to many countries because of their powerful maritime enterprise. The early Andhra emigration was largely cultural and commercial. At the time of the glorious rule of the Ikshvakus, due to the rise of Jainism even spiritual leaders emigrated to other parts to spread Jainism. However, emigration in the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century was not of the same nature and as Lalla (1984 : 28) states, it had "a pathetic and striking contrast" because the modern Andhra labourer, usually unlettered, was depending on his hard work in an alien land.

#### **2.8.1.1 THE "PUSH" FACTORS FROM THE ANDHRA COUNTRY**

As a result of the outbreak of the 1857 Mutiny, the British Crown took over the administration of the Indian subcontinent including the Andhra country, and the Queen issued a new proclamation in which many promises were made. The four main promises, such as equality of treatment between the Indians and Europeans, religious neutrality, the admission of all the Andhras to all offices, peaceful industry and lastly promises to reward the hard-working Andhras, were never fulfilled by the English

(Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 58-59).

The majority of the people of the Andhra country depended on agriculture for their livelihood. Rice was the principal crop. However, the company and the Crown did not pay much attention to the development of Andhra agriculture. At the same time, the Industrial Revolution in England, which necessitated the transformation of India not only from an agricultural to an industrial country, but also from a manufacturing power to a source of supply of raw materials, and the main consumer of the British "finished goods" (Kondapi 1951 : 2). The free access of British goods into the subcontinent devastated the Indian handicraft and cotton industry (Bhana, 1987 : 69). The general conditions of the Andhra farmers were pathetic under the Crown's administration due to the high taxation on the agricultural products and also to defective tenancy laws.

In order to convert India into an industrial country, the Crown discouraged agriculture by levying high taxation on agricultural products. The taxes were so heavy that one of the local Telugu journals complained that the Andhra farmers were better off under the British Company rule than under the Crown (Lokaranjani October 1875 : 4).

Another problem associated with the agricultural land was the division and sub-division of the land among the male issue in a family. It is an Andhra custom to divide the property of a landlord or a peasant into equal parts for all the male issue born to him. If a farmer had four sons and four acres of cultivable land, he had to divide his land into four equal parts, giving one part to each son. Thus, the son, would sub-divide his share of land into equal parts so that his sons could inherit his property. In this way after three or four generations, the sub-divided portions of agricultural land were very small. Above all, due to continuous cultivation, the soil became so infertile that it hardly produced any crops to benefit the farmer.

To aggravate the above situation, between 1865 and 1900, the Andhra country suffered a series of disastrous famines, which claimed thousands of lives. The most severe famine, commonly known as the Ganjam famine, occurred during the years 1865-66. When Civil war broke out in the United States, Britain imported cotton from India, which led to the sudden rise in Indian cotton prices. Encouraged by the price rise, the Andhra farmers in Ganjam district grew cotton on a large scale. At the end of the American Civil War, Britain stopped buying cotton from India. This led to the drop in the price of cotton in the Andhra country. It was an abject situation

because due to the cultivation of cotton, the production of rice was drastically reduced and there was a severe shortage of rice, leading to famine.

Famines also occurred in other parts of the Andhra country and Madras Presidency due to a lack of irrigational facilities. The Madras Presidency suffered so intensely that most people lived at subsistence economy level (Chopra 1979 : 41). "Grain riots" occurred in many Andhra districts and troops were sent to quell the violence.

When the country was suffering crippling famines everywhere, the Crown Government did not even formulate a famine code (Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 65). The various measures which were adopted by the Government to bring relief were not effective (Majumdar 1962 : 870). At this stage the Madras Presidency lost three and a half million lives (Chopra 1974 : 193). Another negative effect on the Hindu Andhras was that a large number of Andhras, especially in the Guntur and Cuddapah districts, were converted to Christianity by foreign missionaries who opened famine relief camps with the intention of conversion rather than providing relief (Raghunadha Rao 1988 : 65).

The well-known Andhra handicraft industries, such as Kalankari Addakam, Cheneta sarees, Nirmal toys and pottery also deteriorated during the Crown rule because they could not match the high standard of the machine-made goods. Thus, thousands of Andhra artisans were either dismissed from their employment or made redundant by the advent of modern technology.

To add to all the natural calamities and political problems, there were some man-made problems which aggravated the situation. The rigid caste system played a very important role in the Andhra country which resulted in restriction and prejudice which prevented the Andhras from adopting any occupation other than those which were allocated to their caste. With predicaments such as the agricultural disasters, heavy unjustifiable taxation, threatening famine and unemployment, the common Andhra was left with no choice but to borrow money to survive. In this way many became victims of the money lenders who exploited the people by insisting on high interest rates and mortgage of their small farming lands. Many Andhras, victims of these "push" factors mentioned above, were forced to leave the country in search of better lives in other countries, including South Africa.

#### 2.8.1.2 THE "PULL" FACTORS IN NATAL

Many historians have written about Indian indentureship in Natal. In a study of this nature it is not feasible or necessary to discuss in detail facts regarding the Indians (Andhras) who were brought into Natal, the conditions of their indentureship, and their passage to Natal. However, a brief overview of the situation in Natal is provided in order to understand the "pull" factors for the Andhra emigration to Natal between 1860-1911.

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. This was the peak period when the British colonies fully depended on agricultural produce, such as sugar, cotton, tobacco and other tropical products for revenue. In Natal, as early as 1854, sugar-cane plantations proved to be a success and there was a great demand for labourers. As Bhana (1987 : 9) states, there was a severe shortage of labourers, especially on the sugar plantations where a supply of cheap labour was needed urgently to save the situation. The labour was needed for the day-to-day work which involved weeding, fertilising and harvesting the

sugar fields. However, local African labour was not freely available to meet these needs. With this labour shortage, the plantation owners faced immediate ruin unless some labour force could be obtained to fill the vacuum.

The British Government turned to British India, where there were millions of unemployed and impoverished peasants who were eager to obtain employment, to solve the problem. The Natal plantation owners eagerly sought to secure Indian labour because they realized that the success of the nearby Mauritian plantation depended on the hard work of the cheap Indian labour which had been imported between 1824-1855. Many distressed planters pressurized the Natal Government to import cheap labour from India on a contract basis.

Initially a three year contract was issued to the emigrants, which was later extended to a five year period (Calpin 1949 : 6) because of the greed of the planters. In 1862, five-year contract periods were sanctioned with an option of renewal of the contract for another five years. However, as Bhana (1987 : 11) states, the plantation employers cunningly linked the period of "industrial residence" with the issue of sponsoring return passages.

The British Government, conscious of possible abuses, 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. Recruiting was done by men commissioned by the agents for each country wishing to import labourers. The agents were licensed as recruiters and they worked through hired touts who travelled from village to village, district to district, looking for both men and women willing to sign a labour contract.

The means which these recruiters employed to make the people sign the contracts were quite disturbing. In some cases the people were promised high wages, generous conditions of services, attractive living situations and other such seductive conditions (Brain 1984 : 4). According to an aged interviewee his father was lured by the recruiters who stated that **"there were golden chillies on the chilli plants in Natal, which any one can pluck and keep for himself"** (Interview : Naidu, J.G : 1990). In some cases, the labourers were promised £ 10 on completion of their contract. All these alluring guarantees made by the recruiters persuaded many Andhras to emigrate. Thus Natal with its employment promises exerted a "pull" factor in the immigration of the Andhras to Natal.

However, there are some intervening factors which made the Andhras emigrate to Natal. Before 1842, in some cases, the young children and women were **"just kidnapped from their villages and were shipped overseas"** (Tinker 1974 : 66-7). However, such case of kidnapping occurred in Natal only once in 1892 (Brain 1984 : 5).

There are some other factors which influenced the decision made by the emigrants to leave the country. For example, the interviews conducted with various present day Andhras, revealed the fact that some of their forefathers immigrated because of family or personal problems. One extraordinary case was that of an Andhra who boarded the boat to come to Natal because, as a boy he lost a horse which he was supposed to be taking care of. Fearing that his parents would never forgive him, he ran away to the nearby recruiting depot and signed a contract to go to Natal (Naidoo, Johnson : 1990). According to one interviewee (Naidoo, L : 1990) his ancestors came to Natal for the spirit of adventure. Another interviewee (Naidoo, B.A : 1990) states that his grandfather who came to Natal in 1880, did not come as part of an indenture-ship but as a free Andhra. It is true that some Andhras came to Natal during the early years of the Andhra settlements in Natal as free passengers who paid their own passage and were not committed to any company or to the Immigration Officer. They either heard stories about

Natal or they themselves had some relatives who were ex-indentured labourers in Natal. Similarly some of the ex-indentured Andhras, who went to India with the money given by the employers, came back to Natal paying for their own passage. These Andhras were called the free Andhras. However, the free Andhra population was small when compared to the indentured Andhras. Tinker (1974 : 66-7) supports the above assumption when he suggests that perhaps some of the emigrants heard encouraging descriptions about Natal from those who had returned to India after their indentureship. However, most of the interviewees stated that their ancestors came to Natal in search of a better livelihood.

The above are some of the factors which also influenced the Andhras to emigrate to Natal. The reason may be either a "pull" or a "push" factor. Many thousands of Andhras emigrated to Natal between 1860 and 1911, when the immigration was finally terminated by the Indian Government. It is very unfortunate to note that the actual number of Andhra immigrants is not yet clearly established because there was much confusion about the Andhra identity. In some places, the Andhras were mentioned as Gentoos (the Portuguese used this term for the Andhras when they arrived in the Andhra country in the early sixteenth century, meaning gentlemen), in some places they are referred to as Telugus and in some in-

stances as Madrassis (the name given to the Andhras because of their port of embarkation, i.e. Madras). Another misleading factor was that some Andhras were already bilingual in Telugu and Tamil and their bilingualism led to the confusion of the English officials and they just regarded them, for the sake of their convenience, as Madrassis.

## **2.8.2. THE ANDHRA ARRIVAL AND THEIR EARLY SETTLEMENTS IN NATAL**

### **2.8.2.1 FROM MADRAS PRESIDENCY TO NATAL**

Before considering the Andhra arrival and their early settlements in Natal, it will be necessary to briefly discuss their journey to Natal.

Once an Andhra had agreed to emigrate to Natal, the recruiter or his trusted agent had to provide transport from the place of his origin to Madras, the port of their embarkation. However, there were many cases where emigrants had to undertake the journey on foot, sometimes walking thirty to forty kilometres, and had to stop at various transit depots for rest and overnight stays.

It should be remembered that there were no proper roads, bus transportation or trains to transport the emigrants

to Madras. An interview conducted with Golla Appana Raju (in Anakapalli, India : 1990) by the researcher, revealed the fact that his grandfather, Golla Ramasamy Raju, who was recruited to go to Natal, could not reach the port of embarkation because he was harassed and misguided by some mischief-makers on the way to Anakapalli depot. He narrates how his grandfather could not reach the depot because he had taken the "short cut" route shown by one of the "boys" in the small village. He "circled" for days, before finally giving up and returning to his village (Source : personal interview conducted with Golla Appana Raju in July 1990 in Anakapalli, India). Another young interviewee (Macherla Gopal Naidu : 1990) narrated that his great-grandfather was told that he would be converted to Christianity by the Natal jaativaallu (whites) if he took the journey. So, even though he was selected to go to Natal, he refused, preferring to die as a pakka (real) Hindu Andhra. The interviewee also informed the writer that his great-grandfather's younger brother went to Natal and died there and that they do not have any contact with his family. In some cases the Zamindars (landlords) related alarming stories to the peasants about how they might be abused by the "white man" in Natal in order to keep them under their control.

However, the unscrupulous recruiting agents, whom Tinker (1974 : 124) describes as gamblers, lured many Andhras to

sign the contracts by "dangling carrots" before their eyes. The more recruits they made, the more commission the agents obtained. They visited poverty-stricken areas and by every possible means of fraud and betrayal, recruited the labourers (Tinker 1974 : 116). They were told that Natal was a land of plenty, remarkably healthy, with abundance of pure water, fruits and food (Brain 1984 : 6). In every way, Natal was portrayed as a glowing heaven where they could work hard and earn enough money.

Once the recruits had arrived in Madras, they were told to wait under the protection of the Protector of Indian Emigrants, were bathed, fed, given new clothing, and underwent a thorough medical inspection. Those who were found to have physical ailments, or to be unfit for the agricultural service, were not taken aboard. According to the Report of the Protector of Indian Emigration at Madras in 1883, three Telugu teachers, who were supposed to be sent to Natal for the purpose of teaching Telugu to the Andhra children in the schools, were not able to make the journey because they were found physically unfit. If the medical reports were positive, they were allowed to embark on the boat to Natal.

The voyage to Natal on the old sailing ships in the initial period of emigration was very unpredictable. It took almost forty days to travel from Madras to Natal on

the unhygienic ships where the Andhras might have been victims of many dreadful diseases such as malaria, chicken-pox or small-pox, cholera and diarrhoea. Children suffered from measles, malaria and malnutrition. Above all many Andhras suffered severe sea-sickness and sun-stroke burns with no proper medication. The rat-infested ship was under constant threat of the plague epidemic. Plague was quite common during the early immigration period. The over-crowding in the boats hardly provided any privacy for the female or any rest for the sick passengers. During the early years of immigration there was an alarmingly high mortality rate among the passengers.

These unsatisfactory and deplorable conditions were soon improved with the introduction of steam-boats, which transported the immigrants much faster and in safer conditions compared to the previous antiquated and unhealthy ships. On their journey to Natal, many Andhras came into contact with Tamils and their culture for the first time. Those who could speak Tamil, mixed with the Tamils and communicated with them freely. They also met other religious and linguistic groups on the journey.

On the 16 November 1860, when the first ship "S.S.Truro", a steam paddler carrying 342 passengers arrived in Durban, the Andhras entered South Africa together with

the Tamils, bringing their language Telugu to the country. There were no large crowds or any officials on the beachfront to welcome these new immigrants. Y.S.Meer (1980 : 5) portrays the situation thus: **"there were very scanty preparations for the proper reception"** of the immigrants. There was no press coverage for their arrival except for the Natal Mercury which recorded their landing. However, during the later years there was a large crowd protesting the importation of Indian Immigrant labour. The young Andhras, like other Indian immigrants who arrived in Port Natal, faced an unpredictable future. They only had adventure and optimism in their hearts.

It is not possible within the confines of this study to mention all the hazards of the indentured system, the hostility and oppressive attitude of their employers and the various obstacles faced by the immigrant Andhras as 'Pravasandhras'. However, it is necessary to discuss briefly the areas of their early settlements in Natal and the problems associated with their communication with others.

#### 2.8.2.2 EARLY ANDHRA SETTLEMENTS IN NATAL

As aforementioned, there is no separate documentation available on the Andhras. Thus, to trace their early

settlements in Natal is extremely laborious. However, using the ships' lists available for the period between 1860-1902, other literary sources, the documentation at the Archives and the information given by the various elder members of the present-day Andhra community, an attempt is made to trace the initial Andhra settlements in Natal.

According to Brain (1984 : 21) from the advent of the "Truro", the first ship to bring indentured Indians to Natal, the immigrants were dispersed along the coastal belt from Umzinto on the South Coast to Verulam on the North Coast. However, the Andhra settlements went as far as Kearsney on the North Coast and up to Port Shepstone on the South Coast. On the basis of the ships' lists Bhana (1987: 104) conducted a survey where he records that there were some leading employers who contracted the Madras Passengers between 1860-1902. They were Blackburn Central Sugar Company, Effingham Estates, Kearsney Estates, La Lucia and Muckle Neuk Estates, Natal Central Sugar Company, Natal Estates Ltd, Natal Government Railways, Natal Plantation Company, Reunion Estates, Reynolds Bros, Tongaat Estates and Umzinto Estates, Esperanza. However, as Bhana states (1987 : 106) the difficulty in unearthing the complete pattern of employment or settlement is a weighty problem because of the deficiency of the ships' lists (only up to 1902). The picture of the

Andhra employment is extremely blurred because, as noted, there is no separate documentation available for the Andhras; and their dispersal was wide.

Once free of their indentureship, the Andhras either bought or leased land. Most of the Andhras, on the expiration of their indenture, were given grants of Crown Lands in lieu of a free return passage to India. Many settled in the vicinity where they had served during their indentureship, for example in Kearsney and Tongaat. Kearsney had a very dense Andhra settlement where they worked on 3,000 acres of tea plantation. The Andhra settlement at Kearsney was dispersed when the tea factory was closed in 1949.

On the South Coast the predominant Andhra settlement areas were Illovo, Esperanza, Umzinto, Sezela and Port Shepstone. Sezela was the only Indian settlement alongside the sea in those early years of the Indian colonisation in Natal. Isipingo had a thin pocket of Andhras in the early years of the Andhra settlements. In Cato Manor and Amatikulu there were distinct Andhra settlement pockets (Source : Paper read at the fiftieth anniversary celebrations of AMSSA in May 1981).

The Congella Barracks, near King Edward VIII Hospital in Durban, had a large Andhra settlement which is no longer

in existence due to the Group Areas Act (1950) which declared Congella a "white area" and removed the Indian settlement. In the North Coast the early settlements were in Stanger, Mt.Edgecombe, Darnall, Kearsney and Tongaat. As early as 1958 on the North Coast at Pongola, a large Andhra settlement was established. These are the areas where the majority of Andhras have settled. A few Andhras have settled in places like Tinley Manor, Glendale, and La Mercy (Interviews Naidoo, V.K : 1991 and Chetty, R : 1991).

At the beginning of the twentieth century, most of the Andhras who were released from their indentureship, left the sugar plantations and embarked on their own enterprises such as market-gardening, hawking and small-scale industries. In this phase, for the purpose of education for their children, the Andhras moved into urban areas such as Umgeni, Puntans Hill, Stella Hill, Cato Manor, Clairwood, Fenniscowles, Sea View and the South Coast Junction and they prospered within a few decades. As early as 1930, Stella Hill was referred to as Natal's "Andhradesa" (Andhra country) (Graphic : January 1974) due to the large Andhra settlement. The Umgeni floods of 1917 had displaced the early Andhra settlement along the Umgeni river and most of the Andhras moved either to Puntans Hill or to Stella Hill and Sea View.

The other later, small Andhra settlement areas were Auckland and Mayville. In each of these areas a certain sub-caste group predominated. For example, the Andhras who settled in Puntans Hill before 1940 were mostly Gavaras (a merchant class among the South African Andhras) and the Andhras who settled in Stella Hill were predominantly Velamas (mostly market-gardener class among the South African Andhras). This phenomenon demonstrates that after their indentureship, the Andhras progressively moved to live in areas where kinship ties could be maintained. This pattern of their settlements helped them not only to retain their family and kinship ties, but also their home language and later to initiate their vernacular schools and cultural institutions. Thus while the early nineteenth century settlements evolved for the welfare of employer and immigrant, the later free Andhra settlement which included a degree of deliberate choice, evolved for the benefit of the Andhras. This was instrumental in the preservation of distinct identities, and led to the emergence of settlements with well-defined socio-ethnic characteristics.

However, some of these settlements such as Stella Hill, Sea View, Cato Manor and Clairwood were uprooted later by the harsh Group Areas Act (1950) and the Andhras (as well as the other Indians) were constrained to move from their early settlements and were forced to settle in new town-

ship areas such as Mobeni Heights, Phoenix, Chatsworth, Umhlatuzana Township, among others.

After their indentureship, some free Andhras found employment in tea factories, collieries and wattle plantations. Some business-minded Andhras like Appala Raju in Port Shepstone, S.D.Naidoo and B.A.Naidoo in Stella Hill, R.A.Naidoo and Rami Naidoo and others in Puntans Hill, Nayana Rajh from Riverside, T.J.Naidu from Stanger and many others went into private enterprise and established successful businesses (Interview : Naidoo,V.K : 1991).

Due to their mastery of the English language, some of the Andhras, after their indentureship, were appointed sirdars (supervisors) in the sugar mills where they were previously employed. Some of them were made sirdars at the outset, for example, there were four Andhra sirdars (Interview : Naidoo,T.P : 1991) on the La Mercy Sugar Mill near Tongaat. These four Andhra sirdars at La Mercy Mill between 1862-1872 were Subba Naidu, Subba Veeriah Naidoo, Ellaurie Venkataswami Naidoo, and Rayapetlu Naidu. Because of their proficiency in English they acted as interpreters between the employers and employees and were regarded as "Kingpins" in that sugar mill. The first Indian to be made a sirdar at Mt.Edgecombe sugar estate was Venkata Sami Naidoo, who claimed that he came from Chittor District (in present-day Andhra Pradesh).

Similarly, the first Indian sirdar to replace a white sirdar at Illovo sugar estate was an Andhra called Yellayya Ramasamy (Interview : Naidoo, T.P : 1991).

Those early Andhra immigrants who were able to learn English quickly, were appointed to do important jobs in the sugar mill. According to the interviewee (Naidoo, T.P : 1991) those Andhras who were tidy, neat and intelligent, became waiters, domestic gardeners and helpers in the kitchens of the English. Some of the Andhra women were employed as personal attendants to the English women. Some whose command of English, Hindi and Tamil was good, were appointed as interpreters or translators in the courts and in the government offices (Source : Minutes of Indian Immigration office : 141/1888 in Natal Archives). Some of the free Andhras who came to Natal of their own accord and whose English was good, were commissioned as mediators, chief clerks and some were even placed in charge of the mills. They were even appointed at railway stations and post offices and such Andhras became the main links in communication between the various linguistic groups.

## 2.9 THEIR INITIAL LANGUAGE PROBLEMS

The Andhras who came as part of the indentureship scheme had many problems. Their language problem and communica-

tion predicament, which accelerated the need to learn English, needs special mention. In this subsection an attempt is made to examine briefly the initial language problems of the Andhras while working as indentured labourers in Natal.

Many of the Andhras had a communication problem because they did not know any other language besides Telugu. To demonstrate the communication problem the case of a young Andhra woman named Gopi, who hailed from Vijayawada is recalled here. On 9 November 1903, a letter was written to the Protector of Indian Immigrants from Argosy Mills in Thornville Junction, criticizing Nallagonda Gopi, depot no 2206, who arrived in Natal in 1903, aged 27 (Source : Letter written to the Protector of Indian Immigrants Office : 9-11-1903/ No I. 2318/03 at Natal Archives).

The letter states that:

**the lady is continuously crying and speaks a language (Telugu) and neither she can understand the rest of the labourers in the mills nor they her. The other coolies won't have anything to do with her. She cannot or won't work and she does not earn her ration.**

The letter made an application to the authorities to transfer her or put her in a place where there were others who speak the same language i.e Telugu. This is a striking example of the language problem and the alienation of the Andhra in a foreign environment. Gopi lost

her employment, provisions and reputation because she could not communicate with others either in Tamil, Hindi or in English. It is unfortunate to note that there is no further documentation made available on this Andhra woman in the Natal Archives.

Similarly, in 1888 Soobadoo, a free Andhra, lost a court case against Veerasamy, because Soobadoo could not communicate in Tamil or English. The court interpreter, who could converse only in Tamil, could not help the Telugu speaking Andhra to obtain justice and Soobadoo lost his case against Veerasamy, a Tamil speaking immigrant (Source : Document No : 141/1888 in Natal Archives). His letter to the Supreme Court to reconsider his case was also not successful, because it was alleged that Soobadoo was deceiving the authorities by claiming that he could not understand Tamil.

Taking these two cases of the early immigrant Andhras as examples, we can speculate that many other Andhras had communication problems which must have made them realise the need to learn English for communication purposes. If they did not learn English within a few years of their arrival, they would have lagged behind their fellow immigrants. Thus, since their arrival in Natal, the Andhras experienced an urgent necessity to learn English, because from the day of their arrival they had English speakers

as their employers. At the same time, English was the official language and they also needed to communicate with other Indians whose languages were much different from Telugu. Many Andhras learnt Zulu (Fanagalo) for the purpose of communication with the other Indians and Zulus on the farms.

## **2.10 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION**

In this chapter the Andhra community in India and their migration to Natal are reviewed with special reference to the indentured Andhras. An attempt is made to discuss the two synonymous terms 'Andhra' and 'Telugu' (2.3) and the place of Telugu as a Dravidian language is discussed (2.4). To understand the history of the present-day Andhras an overview of the early history of the Andhras (2.5) and a brief synopsis of their cultural heritage is provided (2.6).

The British rule in the Andhra country (2.7) is examined and it is shown that the British rule had exerted a "push" factor (2.8.1.1) in the emigration of the Andhras to Natal. Similarly, circumstances in Natal which exerted a "pull" factor (2.8.1.2) on the Andhras are also examined. The Andhras' arrival and their early settlements in Natal (2.8.2) are briefly discussed to complete the early history of the present-day Andhras of South

Africa. The early Andhra communication problems are discussed (2.9) and it is asserted that if they were not prepared to learn the English language they risked being marginalised from the mainstream of the indentured labourers' development.

In conclusion, some facts about the Andhras need to be emphasized. Due to the limitation of this study, the indentureship problems of the Andhras are not discussed in this chapter. These are briefly discussed in chapter three, and will be an interesting socio-historical research topic.

The immigration of the Indians to Natal stopped in 1911 and after that period there was no Andhra indentured immigration into the Union of South Africa. Some of the Andhras, after the successful completion of their indentureship, returned to India. No Andhra emigration from the Union of South Africa to India after 1935 is recorded.

By the middle of the 1920's almost all the Andhras were free of their indentureship and were in various sectors of employment. Most of them were not content to be labourers, and thus left the employment in the sugar industry and began working towards developing an economically stable life. By 1930's, most of the original

'Pravasandhras' had died and most of the first generation South African born Andhras were bilingual in both English (Tamil/Fanagalo) and Telugu.

## CHAPTER THREE

### THE STATUS OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN THE EARLY YEARS OF ANDHRA IMMIGRATION TO SOUTH AFRICA

#### 3.1 ABSTRACT

This chapter seeks to ascertain the status of the Telugu language in South Africa in the early period of Andhra immigration. The relationship between language and culture is explained under the theories of various contemporary sociolinguists (3.2). The status of the Telugu language, as far as the Andhras are concerned, is examined (3.3) along with the Andhra's early informal attempts to retain their language in South Africa. Finally, the formation of organized Telugu patasalas (vernacular schools) and their activities to maintain the Telugu language in an alien environment, are discussed (3.4).

#### 3.2 RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN LANGUAGE AND CULTURE

Language is one aspect of culture, and both language and culture could be understood by observing either human behavioral differences or their similarities. According to Greenberg (1977 : 75) "**Language is one trait of culture that is subject to cultural diffusion**" because one language is not only able to borrow some vocabulary from another (which is very common in almost all languages),

but can also affect, due to language contact, the deeper structure of that particular linguistic culture. The basic function of a language is the transmission of mono-linguistic culture.

According to Greenberg (1977 : 78) :

**The continuity and elaboration through time of separate human traditions would seem to depend on language as the essential means for instruction in and the transmission of accumulated knowledge.**

Here Greenberg implies that the accumulated traditions and knowledge of a community depend on language. He thus brings culture closer to language and asserts that culture depends on language.

Edward Sapir (1884-1939) a prominent Anthropological linguist, and Benjamin Lee Whorf (1897-1941) his student, advanced the hypothesis that **'Language is the guide to social reality'**. The Sapir-Whorf hypothesis concerning linguistic and cultural relativism (Hoijer 1954 : 49) emphasizes culture as a determinant of the individual's values, motives, needs, and, in general, his world-view. To quote Whorf who states (1954 : 43):

**We are introduced to a new principle of relativity, which holds that all observers are not led by the same physical evidence to some picture of the universe unless their backgrounds are similar or can in some way be calibrated.**

Discussing the relationship between language and culture

Whorf further states (1954 : 43):

**In the main they have grown up together, constantly influencing each other. But in this partnership the nature of the language is the factor that limits plasticity and rigidifies channels of development in the more autocratic way.**

Here, Whorf develops the view that the linguistic system of a language is not merely a reproductive instrument for voicing the culture of that community but rather acts as a guide to mental activity of that particular community. Dell Hymes, a prominent sociolinguist, is also interested in studying the relation between language and culture and his hypothesis is an extension of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis.

Similarly, according to Brown (1980 : 124):

**Language and culture are so intricately interwoven that one cannot separate the two without losing the significance of either language or culture.**

This statement of Brown implies that language and culture are inseparable and if there is no maintenance of language there is no maintenance of culture.

Finally, according to Gleeson (1968 : Preface) **"The relationship between language and culture is reciprocal and they influence each other"**. His statement, while supporting Brown (1980 : 124), implies that the form of language influences or determines the form of culture, and the form of culture automatically influences the form of language and language change.

Many anthropologists have seen language as much more than the external expression and communication of internal thoughts formulated independently of their verbalization (Source : The New Encyclopaedia Britannica, Vol 22, 1990

: 581). It is also true that they speak of the relations between language and culture. When they mention culture they mean every aspect of human life and behaviour. However, the fact that "the man eats and drinks itself" is not culture, but the taboos he follows regarding some kinds of food and drinks at particular times of a day or particular day in a month or year (for example beef and pork are not consumed by Hindus and they abstain from eating meat on certain days in a week) is his culture. In other words as the Encyclopaedia Britannica describes culture as "**something acquired by man as a member of a society**" (1990 : 581) and this is transmitted through language.

Having established the relationship between language and culture, it is appropriate to add the statement of Fishman in this regard, viz. (1985 : Preface):

**Most of the human behaviours are language imbedded .....thus making language an inevitable part of culture. Ceremonies, rituals, songs, stories, spells, curses, prayers, laws are all speech acts or speech events that constitute the very warp and woof of ethnic life. But such complex ethno-cultural arenas as socialization, education, barter and negotiation are also entirely awash in language. Language, is therefore not only part of culture but a very major and crucial part as well.**

In Fishman's view there are three major ways in which language is related to culture:

1. Language itself is a part of culture
2. Every language provides an index of culture
3. Every language becomes symbolic of the culture with which it is mostly associated.

Due to the complex relationship between language and culture people tend to maintain their language in order to retain their culture. The present-day Andhras opine that it is a distinct ethnic duty to protect their Andhra cultural heritage and tradition. The early immigrant Andhras conceived that if Telugu were eroded, then all their Andhra experiences, their feelings, their rich traditional cultural traits and their group identity would be lost. Above all, they were fully aware that the loss of their own linguistic heritage could negatively influence their cultural growth in South Africa. Similarly, they were also alert to the fact that to maintain a language it is always very important to maintain the particular culture with which it is intimately associated. Thus, the Pravasandhras who arrived in South Africa taught their children the Telugu language and Andhra culture even under inconvenient circumstances such as difficult indentureship, economic problems and socio-political segregation.

### **3.3 CONDITIONS OF ANDHRA INDENTURESHIP AND EARLY INFORMAL ATTEMPTS TO RETAIN THE TELUGU LANGUAGE**

It is difficult to understand the status of the Telugu language in South Africa during the early years of Andhra immigration to Natal between 1860-1911 unless one is aware of the conditions of indentureship which the 'Pravasandhras' experienced. It is not necessary in this

study to discuss in detail the conditions of indentureship. However, a very brief attempt is made to depict the conditions of the early Andhras as indentured labourers which in the early years influenced the status of the Telugu language.

### 3.3.1 CONDITIONS OF INDENTURESHIP

At the time of their arrival, as indicated in the foregoing chapter, the Andhras were dispersed to various sugar estates, tea estates, collieries, railways, corporations and wattle plantations. As indentured labourers (Coolies) they received a small wage of 10-14 shillings per month plus rations which were very inadequate. For many Andhras, who were mostly 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.

There were no trade unions to address their problems, no accident funds or benefits to compensate for the hazards and the strenuous labour. Men, women and children were all forced to work twelve to fourteen hours a day in factories, coal mines or on the plantations. Ill-treatment, bashing and whipping by the sirdars were very common and complaints made by the labourers seldom reached the ears of the employers. Many Andhras, who were clerks in the

offices in the Madras Presidency, were lured and misled by the deceiving stories told by the unscrupulous recruiting agents, arrived in Natal and were sent to do strenuous physical labour, to which they were not accustomed. They could not cope with the harsh conditions of employment on the sugar estates or in the coal mines.

The alluring promises made, such as ample food, fresh running water and better living conditions, were never fulfilled but remained a dream. Life in the "barracks" was most pathetic. The Andhras, along with the other Indians, were given a single room per family in long rows of barracks. A ninety-four old interviewee (Pillay, P.C : 1991) recalls the life in the barracks, which were made of mud and wattle. According to him these premises did not have any toilets, running water or privacy. The rations provided were totally inadequate, which forced the Andhras to grow their own vegetables, to raise poultry, cattle and goats. In later years they even grew paddy in their backyards.

According to another interviewee (Joe Samuel : 1991) the Andhras brought with them seeds like brinjals, cucumbers, pumpkins, mango and gonggoora (sour leaves cooked only by the Andhras even today) which they planted and grew on the small patch of ground they had behind their barracks. Some women even sold those seeds or vegetables and made

some extra money to meet their needs. On a visit to Kearsney in Natal, it was noted by the writer that the Andhras in Kearsney had brought with them some rare tree seeds such as Sampanqi (gold flower tree), Daanimma (Pomegranate), Seetaphalam (custard apple), Nooruvahalalu (hundred flowers tree) and Asoka and planted them on the Hullett estates.

The Immigration Laws of 1889 (Laws 13,14 and 15) stipulated that **"the coolie had to work for nine hours of each day, Sunday, Good Friday, Christmas Day and New Year's Day being the only exceptions"** (clause 14). In most cases, the Andhras worked from "sunrise to sunset". In the first few years of their arrival the Andhras realised that they had to suffer all these tribulations in silence, since, due to their lack of proficiency in English, they could not communicate with the employers. Even if they tried to take the problem to court they did not obtain redress because of a lack of command of English. The situation was later improved by the labour legislation enacted between 1870-1874 which brought protective laws to Natal. For example, under the Law 2 of 1870 all the employers were forced to keep a register and a "wage book" for the indentured labourers. Similarly, under law 12 of 1872, a "Protector of Indian Immigrants" was appointed to look after the problems of the indentured labourers. The situation improved with the introduction of a compulsory medical fee of one shilling per

month which each employer had to pay towards the medical care of the labourers.

However, the growing white agitation against the importation of Indian labour resulted in some harsh acts being passed after 1895. For example, Act No 17 of 1895, the Indian Immigration Law Amendment Bill, stipulated that the Indian, after his first five years of indenture, had to return to India. However, owing to labour demand, it was also stipulated that he could be re-indentured at a standard rate of 10 shillings per month. If he desired to remain in the colony, he had to pay a penalty of £ 3 tax per annum, in addition to an annual tax of £ 1. By this time most of the Andhras had made Natal their home and many first generation Andhras were born in Natal during this period. This additional tax, which was probably the most unpopular of the anti-Indian measures, ruined many Indians and many Andhras were plunged into complete misery and poverty. In practice it resulted in unemployment and forced the Andhras to accept another five year contract with a moderate salary, and it became impossible for them to save for their children.

Between 1901-1911, the laws against the indenture Indians became even more severe and most of the Andhras suffered tremendously because the Protector's powers were considerably reduced and it became impossible for any Indian to make a complaint against the employer. In 1903, the

Government of Natal sent a delegation to India seeking more indentured Indians with an eleven year contract. However, they laid a condition which clearly stated that they wished to discourage Indians from settling in Natal. The Indian Government, which had been receiving complaints from the repatriated ex-indentures, expressed its displeasure about the ill-treatment of Indians in Natal.

The Government of Natal failed to pay any attention to the threats made by the Government of India but still desired the continuous flow of cheap Indian indentured labour. According to the Clayton Report of 1908, 25,569 indentured Indians were engaged in the sugar industry and Natal was therefore fully dependent on the Indian labour. The situation of the indentured Indians in Natal deteriorated with the formation of the Union of South Africa in 1910 when the new government refused to recognise the Colonial-born Indians as citizens of the Union.

On 25 February 1910 the Government of India finally declared that as from 1 July 1911 **"all immigration to Natal would be prohibited"** (Gazette of India : April 1910). However, due to the vigorous protest made by the Natal coal, sugar, wattle and tea associations, a last shipment of indentured Indians arrived in Durban in the Umlazi (from Madras) on 21 July 1911 (Source : Ships' lists available at U.D-W Documentation centre).

The indentured Andhras' situation in Natal became a struggle for survival. The Andhras who arrived in Natal had to fight for their existence economically, politically and socially. They were merely regarded as "Coolies" and treated like slaves by some employers. They struggled to save for their future. They expected better lives in Natal than in India but for many Andhras it was either the same or even worse. Their physical needs like shelter and food were not fully satisfied under these conditions. They did not have time to think of anything such as cultural maintenance or imparting their vernacular knowledge to their younger generation, but were compelled to work hard to gain some economic stability. Nor were they free to think of teaching Telugu to their children and they lacked the funds to establish Telugu patasalas for their children.

The illiteracy of the most of the early Andhra indentured labourers added to the factors which influenced the status of the Telugu language among the Andhras. 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. When the British Crown took over the Madras Presidency, it withheld the 'grants-in-aid' to the rural schools, which were previously provided by the East India Company. This cut in the grants, drastically affected the Andhra education system because

there were no government schools where children could be taught free of charge.

To exacerbate the situation, the British government instituted primary schools only in towns and cities, but not in villages and rural areas. For example, when Monroe came to India in 1920 as the Governor of Madras he proposed the establishment of 40 collectorate schools and 300 schools in the rural areas. However, due to a lack of financial aid, the Crown built one central collegiate institution which could accommodate only 160 students. The rest of the Presidency was not catered for. The rural dwellers of school-going age were deprived of initial education. Thus, only Andhras living in towns and cities such as Madras, Visakhapatnam, Hyderabad, Bangalore, Nellore and Chengalput were privileged at the expense of the rural dwellers.

Another reason which added to the Andhra illiteracy was that the British did not make primary education compulsory and only after much agitation by people like Mr. Gokhale, a social reformer, primary education was made compulsory after 1920 in the Madras Presidency. The teachers were not paid adequately and were not given any special training in modern educational methods. Only after 1920 the British instituted several changes such as the establishment of primary education and adequate salaries for the teachers. However, by 1920 the Andhra immigration to

Natal as indentured labourers had ceased, thus resulting in a lack of educated Andhra immigration to Natal (Source : Telugu Encyclopaedia Vol IV, 1961 : 1406).

In these unfavourable circumstances, it is natural in any immigrant situation for the immigrant to give primacy to satisfying his physical needs rather than to his inner and spiritual needs. The Pravasandhras were no exception to this norm.

However, as expected, the Andhras did not ignore their mother tongue, Telugu, and their Andhra culture. Due to a lack of time and proper motivation, many Andhras neglected the formal language teaching of their children. Nevertheless, they continued the informal teaching which facilitated the maintenance of the Telugu language and later led to the formation of formal Telugu patasalas in Natal.

### **3.3.2 INFORMAL TEACHING AT HOME**

Most of the early immigrant Andhras, at the time of their arrival in Natal, did not intend making South Africa their home. Many thought that they would eventually return after one or two contract periods to India, their land of birth. With that intention some arrived without their families. However after a few decades of their indentureship they decided to make Natal their home. As

noted already, they had no facilities or time to teach Telugu to their children or feel the necessity to preserve it. However, informal teaching continued and they taught their children their socio-cultural habits, religious rituals, dharma, Andhra traditions, habits and taboos through oral communication. They realised that literacy in the Telugu language was essential to keep their customs and practices alive.

Unfortunately, no information regarding such informal teaching is available. It is difficult to trace the early Andhra informal teaching amongst the Pravasandhras. However, a brief attempt is made to document some of these activities through information gathered from the elder members of the present-day Andhra community.

In the early years of their 'barracks-lives', after their day's work, the different linguistic groups mostly kept to themselves as they were alien to each other due to differences in their language, culture and traditions. In areas where the Andhras were in the majority, they married within their linguistic group and even absorbed some other linguistic groups into their folds. This enabled them to maintain a close-knit kinship relation which facilitated the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. Kinship is the socially recognised relationship between people in a culture who are or held to be biologically related or who are given the status of

relatives by marriage, adoption, or other ritual. All cultures recognise the significance of the nuclear family unit and through this kinship relation all the religious-cultural taboos are transmitted from one generation to the other.

In Kearsney, there were almost 3,000 Indians (Interview : Israel : 1991) living in the Hullett Tea Estate, which covered more than 3,000 acres of land. Andhras dominated these barracks and the Hindi-speakers and the Tamils also learnt Telugu and communicated with the Andhras in Telugu. In later years, even in Stella Hill, Sea View and in Puntans Hill, where most of the free Andhras settled and lived on market-gardening, the Andhras were dominant over the other linguistic groups and absorbed them into their folds.

The Andhras, as immigrants, naturally spoke in Telugu, laughed in Telugu, joked in Telugu, shouted in Telugu, cursed in Telugu and even prayed in Telugu. Almost all of them were monolingual in Telugu, except for those who could either speak a little Tamil or English.

On dark, moonless nights they stayed in their own quarters, too tired to venture out. However, on moonlit nights, particularly on Saturday or Sunday nights, they gathered outside their barracks, discussed their common problems, their day's work, life 'back home' and other

topical issues. They used to relate stories to each other about religious characters, stories taken from *Ramayanam* or *Mahabharatam*. Those among them who could read and write Telugu, would recite from the religious books and explain the meaning to the others. Some would play the Tamboora (an Andhra stringed musical instrument) which he had either brought from India or made locally out of a dried pumpkin, and the others would sing to the accompaniment of the music. The choice of the songs depended on the occasion such as a religious or an auspicious day or a social event. These activities were replicas of village life in the Indian subcontinent during the second half of the nineteenth century.

The fascinating stories like Baalanaagamma, Chenchu Lakshmi, Maya Fakir, or Bakta Prahallada, and stories on Veera (powerful) Hanuman, Sri Rama or Sita were usually popular. Some Andhras who were talented at singing narrated Burra-kathalu (Andhra music-dance) and performed Toolubommalaatalu (puppet shows) or sang bhajans.

According to an interviewee (Joe Samuel : 1991), if there was a special dance-drama or puppet show or an Andhra wedding in a particular area, the Andhras used to gather in that area. For example, if there was an important occasion in Kearsney on a Saturday evening, Andhras from Stanger, Darnall and from as far as Mt. Edgecombe, used to walk the entire distance and attend that function,

spending the night in Kearsney and returning on Sunday afternoon. Similarly, if a family gathering took place, the Andhras from afar used to walk a long distance to maintain their Kutumbam (family) relations. At all these gatherings Telugu was the means of communication. According to another interviewee (Naidoo, V.K : 1991), if there was a bhajan in Stella Hill, where he was born and raised, Andhras from Sea View and Puntans Hill used to go to Stella Hill. If there was a bhajan rendered in Sea View the Andhras from Stella Hill went to Sea View walking and singing all the way. "Spinning" riddles and relating proverbs were also common, along with the stories.

There was no formal Telugu teaching during this period. However, some literate Andhras taught literacy in Telugu to the others. In some cases the children had to go to the guru's (teacher's) house, sometimes walking from one barrack to another; covering long distances on bare feet. The children were expected to perform certain duties such as cleaning the teacher's house, fetching water for his family, washing his clothes, cleaning the front yard or collecting firewood (Interview : Joe Samuel : 1991). The teacher, having finished his day's work, came home, washed, finished his daily routine and then attended to his students.

An interesting feature was that only boys were allowed to go to the guru's house, while girls were discouraged from venturing out. It was the traditional Andhra custom during the late nineteenth century for Andhra girls to stay at home because they were expected to marry early and take care of their families. It was assumed that the girls' place was in the kitchen and that it was sufficient for them to know how to cook and manage household affairs.

It should be remembered that the teacher in South Africa was an indentured labourer, not a qualified full-time educationist. The students were mostly taught the Telugu alphabet, secondary forms of the vowels, subscribed consonants and some songs and stories. No grammar or syntax rules were taught because there was no-one academically qualified in Telugu. An Andhra, the late Mr.D.V.Naidoo, recorded in Telugu that they were not taught any grammar in Telugu (Source : Letter written by D.V.Naidoo on 14 December 1960). Due to a lack of financial power and, in some cases, to their abscondment from India, many Andhras did not maintain any contact with their Indian relatives in the early immigrant period. As a result of this lack of contact with their relatives and friends, most of the immigrant Andhras did not have any incentive or ambition to import Telugu teaching material from India. As a result the syllabus consisted mostly of recitation from memory. Pupils had no books, slates, or chalkboards.

They wrote and practised in sand using their fingers and demonstrated their homework to their teacher in the sand. The teachers used pumpkin seeds, tamarind seeds or even stones to teach numeracy in Telugu. The interviews conducted show that use of environmental aids such as sand, sticks, leaves and seeds was made to teach Telugu.

During week-ends, if an elderly Andhra visited another barracks, the younger Andhras would eagerly gather around him. The ladies usually occupied the rear space. These younger Andhras asked the older one to read a verse or a story from a book. It is very interesting to note that some Andhras brought some religious books such as the *Ramayanam*, *Bhagavad Gita*, *Mahabharatam*, Sumati Satakam, Vemana Satakam, and Krishna Satakam among others, to Natal. They provided solace to the Andhras in an alien environment, in addition to serving as educational material.

Around 1915 an Andhra, Ramamurthy Naidoo, with the help of his twin brother, founded an informal Telugu patasala at Mt.Edgecombe and taught many Andhra children Telugu, doing yeomen service in keeping the language alive. Many Andhras claim that this was the first known patasala organized by an individual. Similarly, in Kearsney, the Telugu Baptist Church taught Telugu to the Hullett Tea Estate children. This situation was replicated in other areas, such as Stella Hill, Clairwood, Riverside, Puntans

Hill and Port Shepstone.

Thus, for almost fifty-two years Telugu teaching remained mostly a family affair (Rambiritch 1960 : 67) and the indentured Andhra children acquired informal knowledge at home through a learned elder, and acquired reading and writing skills in Telugu (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991).

However, as the number of freed Andhras grew and as they gained economic and social status, small freed Andhra settlements grew. With the death of the immigrant Andhra generation, some of the freed Andhras realised the need to preserve the mother tongue. Thus, by the beginning of the second decade of the twentieth century, organized formal Telugu patasalas began to emerge in different parts of Natal.

### **3.4 FORMATION OF ORGANIZED PATASALAS AND THEIR ACTIVITIES TO PRESERVE THE LANGUAGE**

#### **3.4.1 FORMATION OF VARIOUS PATASALAS**

The first organized patasala in Natal was established by the diligent efforts of the Tongaat Hindu Samarasa Bodha Andhra Association which was founded on 6 September 1912 by Mr.S.Ramasamy Pillay (Rambiritch 1960 : 71). This Association was registered as a fully-fledged Sabha in September 1924 (Source : Minutes of Union of South Africa

: 16 September 1924). The Tongaat Andhra Patasala, which was founded on 20 September 1915 by V.M.Naidoo, merged with the Tongaat Hindu Samarasa Bodha Andhra Association.

This was the first organized Patasala established prior to the foundation of the AMSSA in 1931. The affairs of the Association were initially conducted in a wood-and-iron building belonging to Mr.Allum and the association commenced with a membership of 80 people. The main aim of this Association was to encourage, improve and enforce the study of the Tamil and Telugu languages and to conduct and maintain schools to that end. Therefore, in 1937 the Association brought Pandit S.N.C.Varadacharyulu from India to teach Telugu and Tamil. This Association was very powerful during the mid-twentieth century but later, due to a lack of interest from the younger generation, it became defunct. The second individually organized patasala was established in Mt.Edgecombe by Mr. G.S.Ramamurthie Naidoo in 1915. The third well-known patasala was established in 1926 on the South Coast Junction by the Andhras working for South African Sugar Refinery Ltd. The forerunner of this patasala was the South Coast Junction Andhra Bhajan Sabha Telugu Night School.

The first patasala under the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa (AMSSA) was the Stella Hill Telugu Patasala which was founded in October 1931. On 6 September 1931, at an

AMSSA monthly meeting, the members of AMSSA discussed how the young generation were deprived of their mother tongue in Natal and the importance of mother tongue for the Andhras in a foreign environment. They recognised the dire need for Telugu Patasalas in Natal to keep the language alive and strongly felt that it was their responsibility to organize such patasalas.

On 6 October 1931 a meeting was held by the Andhras in Stella Hill. More than one hundred Andhras attended and agreed that it was the right time to institute a pata-sala. A decision was taken that a patasala be established in the Stella Hill area where many Andhras resided (Source : AMSSA Minutes : September 1931). That decision led to the foundation of the first patasala under the control of the AMSSA.

Very soon, another school called the Durban Telugu Pata-sala was established in Central Durban. The progress of these two schools was recorded in the first annual general meeting report of AMSSA and according to this source, more than 100 children were taught Telugu free every day between 15 h 00 and 17 h 00 by Mr.G.M.Reddy. In 1932, Mr.D.V.Naidoo and Mr.A.J.Naidoo, two eminent Andhras who were well educated in Telugu, were appointed as inspectors to the Patasalas to assess their gradual improvement, to give assistance and to guide them in teaching Telugu.

Within one or two years of its establishment, the AMSSA was able to initiate two further patasalas, the Springfield District Patasala and Cato Manor Andhra Patasala. The Springfield and District Andhra Sabha, which was established in March 1932, had established its patasala in the same year. This Sabha provided free Telugu education to the Andhras living in that area, with Mr.B.A Ramaswamy as the first teacher. The Cato Manor Telugu patasala was established in July 1932 with more than thirty children attending initially.

The Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha, which was established in 1933, instituted its patasala in August 1933, with the main aim of promoting Telugu to improve the standard of the language in its area. This school started with a small enrolment of fifteen at the Clairwood Government Indian Primary school under the charge of late Mr.B.R. Moonsamy Naidoo. The patasala was granted permission to use the Clairwood school by the then Principal of the school, Mr.H.S.Done and classes were held every afternoon between 15 h 00 and 17 h 00.

Over the years, the numbers at Pathmajurani Andhra Patasala increased from 15 to more than 100 and they had to appoint another teacher (Minutes : Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha 1954 : 16). This school flourished under the service of prominent Andhras like Mr.Ashiah, Mr.R.J.Ruthnum, Mr.S.S.Naidoo, Mrs.Parvathy Naidoo and Pandit S.N.C.

Varadacharyulu.

In 1933, the Stanger and District Andhra Sabha initiated its patasala with Mr.Muni Reddy as the first teacher. He was later succeeded by Mr.Vinukonda John, Mrs.Dharula Sarammah, Mr.Naamala Veerasamy Rao and later by Mr.Joe Samuel (Source : AMSSA Golden Jubilee Brochure 1981 :27). Muni Reddy was brought from India by the Stanger Andhra Sabha to teach Telugu in the Stanger District. He was a "free" Indian. However, for personal reasons, Mr.Reddy left Natal within three years of his arrival and was replaced by Naamala Veerasamy, who was also brought from India by the Stanger Sabha. Unfortunately, Mr.Veerasamy subsequently left Natal and there arose the alarming situation of an active patasala being closed, due to the lack of a teacher. At this juncture, the Stanger Sabha induced Mrs.Dharula Sarammah, an ex-indentured immigrant, to teach Telugu in Stanger. This lady was already familiar to the Andhra community in the Stanger area because of her efforts to teach Telugu to the ladies and young girls who lived in the vicinity of Mr.A.P.Naidoo's house in Stanger. Mr.A.P.Naidoo was the founder of the Stanger District Andhra Sabha. Mrs.Sarammah taught Telugu between 1943-1946 and then ceased teaching because of ill-health and she was replaced by Mr.Joe Samuel who taught Telugu for many years and is the present teacher in Stanger. However, Mr.Joe Samuel did not teach Telugu for almost thirty years since his career required him to

reside in various places for different periods of time (Interview : Joe Samuel : 1991).

By 1946 there were many successful patasalas in existence at various places such as Stella Hill, Rossburgh, Puntans Hill, Sea View, Clare Estate, Malvern, Umlass, Pietermaritzburg, Stanger, Melville, and Durban Central. There were also some small patasalas at Illovo, Greenwood Park and Mt.Edgecombe (Source : AMSSA Sixteenth Annual Secretarial Report : 1947). It is interesting to note that as early as the 1940's in the Overport area a Telugu-Tamil society called the Overport and District Tamil and Telugu Protective Association, was in existence and it taught both Tamil and Telugu in the community (Source : letter from the office of the Governor-General of South Africa : 23 February 1946).

By 1960, one hundred years after the arrival of the Andhras in South Africa, the AMSSA had almost 30 branch sabhas, almost all of which had patasalas teaching Telugu to both young and old.

It becomes apparent that in the early twentieth century the Andhra community was very active in promoting the Telugu language via the patasalas and they were well attended. However, after 1960 the number of pupils attending the patasalas declined and due to a lack of student numbers and proper support from the Andhra com-

munity, and the insufficient assistance received from the AMSSA, the 'parent body', most of the patasalas became inactive and were forced to close. There were many factors which influenced the decline of the student numbers at these patasalas and they are discussed in chapter four and five. However, the writer attributes the closing of the patasalas to the apathy of the Andhras towards their Mother Tongue (MT).

### 3.4.2 LANGUAGE PROMOTING ACTIVITIES OF THE PATASALAS

#### 3.4.2.1 ACADEMIC ACTIVITIES OF THE PATASALAS

One salient feature of the early patasalas was that they conducted classes every day from Monday to Friday, like the English schools. Classes were held between 15 h 00 and 17 h 00. These patasalas had several religio-cultural and social activities.

The main aim of any Telugu patasala under a branch sabha was to teach the Telugu language to the South African Andhras, to facilitate the maintenance of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa. Almost all of these Andhra patasalas were run by a single teacher and pupils joined at any time of the year and left the patasala at any time of the year, as they pleased (Rambiritch 1960 : 67). This shows that the patasalas did not have proper control by the 'parent organization'.

The patasalas, which wanted more students, unlike the state schools, encouraged admission at any time of the year.

Rambiritch (1960 : 67) furnishes a crystalline picture of the early vernacular schools that existed in Natal. According to him the Hindu students, in some cases, were initiated to studies by the performance of Upanayanam (Yagnopavitam). The teachers in large vernacular schools mostly depended on senior students for imparting knowledge to the beginners. However, promotion from beginner's level to senior level depended on the successful completion of the prescribed readers, and the student's ability to recite assigned poems and verses.

In every patasala the main didactic activity was reading and writing in Telugu as well as reciting Hindu religious compositions (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991). The Telugu alphabet was taught to the beginner, starting with a prayer "Om Namassivaaya Siddam Namaha" (O, Lord Siva, I am praying to You for a fruitful education). The fresher was initiated to write these letters in rice with his fingers, after which he was expected to write his alphabet on his slate. This is the typical Andhra custom of initiating a beginner to the MT, which has been continued from time immemorial. This is called Aksharabhyaasam in Telugu. It is evident here that the Andhras in the early period of their immigration followed the traditional

Andhra method of initiating the children in the Telugu alphabet.

By 1940, the AMSSA bought Telugu readers such as Pedda Bala Siksha and later Sahitya Readers up to book 6, and these books were used as text-books for the different standards. The AMSSA sold these books to the branch sabhas. The completion of each book depended on the ability of the pupils and not on any specific time period.

The students were taught verses selected from the book and some simple poems taken either from Vemana Satakam or Sumathi Satakam. The bright students were also taught verses from *Ramayanam*, *Mahabharatam* and *Bhagavad Gita*.

In the initial stage of this patasala education the children were taught rudimentary English vocabulary. However, within a few decades Telugu was taught through the medium of English due to the Telugu language erosion and the language shift of the Andhras (See Chapter five). In the later years the education was merely a process of teaching how to read and write Telugu but not the teaching of other subjects such as Mathematics, History, etc through the medium of Telugu. Consequently, by the 1950's Telugu was taught as a second language to the Andhra students who were already exposed to English in English schools.

By 1940 the AMSSA realised that the teaching methods and syllabus in these patasalas needed to be made uniform and controlled by officials to ensure academic, standardised teaching in all the patasalas. The AMSSA felt that some schools such as the Stella Hill District patasala and the Pathmajurani Patasala in Clairwood were more active and dynamic than the other patasalas where the students were not taught more vigorously. In order to survey the conditions of the patasalas and introduce uniformity in the curriculum of the various patasalas, the AMSSA established an Andhra Education Board in 1942 and elected Mr.D.V. Naidoo (from Sea View Sabha) as the chairman (AMSSA Annual Secretarial Report : 1948 : 2). This board faced considerable difficulties in bringing uniformity in the patasala curricula and it did a remarkable amount of work. Mr.D.V.Naidoo, with the help of Pandit Varadacharyulu, had set an examination in 1947 for standard six students. Successful candidates were issued with certificates and were recognised by the sabhas as having fully qualified to teach Telugu in any patasala. Only four patasalas from Stella Hill, Sea View, Durban Central and Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha entered for these examinations. These examinations were conducted between 1947-1953, after which they were discontinued due to a lack of interest from the branch sabhas and parents. Between 1940-1960 the Andhra Patasalas, despite having flourished over the years, displayed apathy towards writing the examinations which were conducted by the AMSSA. Moreover, the

officials of the AMSSA did not properly motivate the patasalas to enter for the AMSSA examinations.

During the mid-twentieth century some schools such as Pathmajurani, Stella Hill and Sea View had large student enrolments, consequently they had to appoint two teachers in each patasala. According to an interviewee (Narismulu : 1991) there were four teachers at Pathmajurani pata-sala for some years due to the enrolment exceeding 250 students. It was documented by the Pathmajurani Sabha that in 1945, the sabha patasala had 260 students and the teachers were unable to cope with the numbers (Source : Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha Minutes: 1954). They conducted three sessions at 8 h 30, 13 h 00 and 17 h 00 hours. Mr.B.V.Simon was appointed as the first full-time teacher (Source : Pathmajurani Golden Jubilee Brochure 1983 :18). The total student enrolment in all the branch patasalas exceeded one thousand during the 1950's.

Regrettably, the once overcrowded Pathmajurani Andhra Patasala, became defunct after 1960 owing to various reasons such as the effects of the Group Areas Act and the resettlement of the Andhra community in various townships a distance from Clairwood. This was aggravated by the apathy of the Andhra parents who were becoming westernized and did not wish their children to learn Telugu. The student enrolment consequently declined drastically. At one stage the Pathmajurani patasala had

a student enrolment of less than 15.

Telugu teaching in the Patasala was enhanced with the arrival of Pandit Varadacharyulu, an Ubhaya Bhasha Praveena, in 1937. Pandit Varadacharyulu was well versed in Hindi, Sanskrit, Telugu and also possessed a command of Tamil. He taught Telugu at various sabhas and at various places such as Tongaat, Stella Hill, Sea View and Clairwood. He went from district to district, home to home, after teaching in patasalas, to teach Telugu to those who could not afford to come to their local patasalas.

Pandit Varadacharyulu was appointed as the principal of Pathmajurani patasala for two and half years between 1954-1956. He resigned from the service of his own accord in 1957. He taught Telugu in Sea View and maintained a close relationship with D.V.Naidoo, the sabha chairman. In Sea View, he taught Telugu once a week in three groups: one for women, a children's extra-mural class and an adult evening class (Interview : Narismulu : 1991).

Almost all the patasalas followed the same routine, viz. teaching the Telugu alphabet, reciting religious songs, training students to take part in the Andhra annual eisteddfod, and organizing fund raising concerts. However, very few of the patasalas maintained any regular

records such as attendance registers and progress of the pupils. Prior to 1960, the AMSSA requested the patasalas to submit a monthly report on the progress and activities of each sabha. However, there is no documentary evidence in the possession of the AMSSA Education Committee of such records; and it was reported that those records were misplaced by some officials.

#### **3.4.2.2 EISTEDDFOD TRAINING**

The major activity of the Andhra Patasalas was to train the students to compete in the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod. The seeds of the Andhra Eisteddfod were sown in 1932 when the pupils of Stella Hill performed beautiful musical items at the first annual general meeting of the AMSSA. Since the official inauguration of the Andhra Eisteddfod in 1939, each patasala takes part in the Eisteddfod very enthusiastically up to the present time.

The patasala teachers, besides teaching the Telugu language, provide rigorous training to their pupils in the Eisteddfod syllabus. The pupils of various age groups are trained for various items, including sketches, storytelling and public speaking. The preparation for the Eisteddfod by the young men, women and children, and their untiring efforts are crowned with certificates, trophies and praises from the AMSSA. The Eisteddfod is the result of the combined endeavour of many people;

viz.the pupils, teachers, musicians, composers, organizers, scenario-setters, dance teachers, costumiers, make-up artists and others. Each patasala provides the amateur participants to represent its own sabha which competes with other sabhas.

#### **3.4.2.3 DRAMAS AND SKETCHES**

Many patasala teachers who were proficient in the language wrote Telugu sketches and dramas. The sketches were written with the aim of winning in the annual Eisteddfod.

A remarkable Telugu drama performance staged by one of the branch sabhas was "Yavari Karmamu" (One's Fate) in 1950. This was a social drama written by Mr.S.Vengatas and Mrs.R.Lutchmamah, patasala teachers at Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha, Clairwood. It was produced by the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha patasala students and ex-students under the joint production of Mr.Vengatas and Mrs.Lutchmamah. This drama was not only a highlight in the history of the above branch sabha but also in the history of Andhras in South Africa. It was a spectacular and outstanding dramatic event organised by the Andhras which not only benefited the sabha financially but also brought great credit to the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha and Patasala (Source : Pathmajurani Golden Jubilee Brochure 1981 : 20).

#### 3.4.2.4 PATHMAJURANI ANDHRA STUDY GROUP

In 1946, through the initiative of Mr.S.Vengatas, assisted by Mr.P.B Mariah, the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha established an Andhra Study Group with the intention of providing a medium whereby the ex-scholars of their pata-sala would continue to take an interest in the Telugu language and affairs of the Andhra community and further their Telugu knowledge by reading more Telugu literature (Source : Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha brochure 1954 : 22).

The Andhra Study Group made it possible for the ex-scholars to meet regularly and to take part in group discussion, debates, lectures, public speaking, quizzes and in-door games to foster good relations among the Andhras. They held many friendly debates against the other Andhra sabhas. The students were given a fine opportunity to further their Telugu knowledge through reading of suitable Telugu literature. This coordination between the sabha and the ex-students led to the success of the renowned drama Yavari Karmamu. This group met regularly every Sunday afternoon with 30-40 students in attendance.

In the 1950's, the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha opened its Study Group to all linguistic groups and the Study Group very soon became an important training ground for character building in the youth and developing a sense of

fellowship with one another. However, after 1960, this Study Group became defunct due to the uprooting of the Indians from the Clairwood area by the Group Areas Act.

### 3.5 CONCLUSION

The early immigrant Andhras did not place too much emphasis on teaching their Mother Tongue to their children during the first half century of their arrival in Natal. This was due to various reasons mentioned in this chapter. However, during the early years of the present century, they realised that it was essential to preserve their language in order to maintain their culture. This demonstrates their understanding of the inter-relationship between language and culture. This realisation led to the formation of various sabhas and Telugu patasalas in Natal.

The formation of the AMSSA and the branch sabhas was stimulated by various factors. The reasons for the founding of organized sabhas and their activities promoting language and culture are discussed in the next chapter.

## CHAPTER FOUR

### THE EMERGENCE OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS AND THEIR LANGUAGE PROMOTING ACTIVITIES

#### 4.1 ABSTRACT

This chapter deals with the formation of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa (AMSSA) and its branch sabhas, as well as their language promoting activities. The historical stimulation necessitating a 'parent body' to promote Andhra culture and the Telugu language in South Africa is reviewed (4.2). The formation of the AMSSA (4.3) and the various affiliated sabhas and the Andhra Youth Movement are dealt with (4.4) separately. The language promoting activities of the various Andhra institutions are also discussed briefly (4.5). Lastly, it is suggested that after 1960 there is a decline in the interest of the AMSSA and the Andhra community towards their language retention. It is also suggested that the Telugu language has suffered erosion in South Africa since 1960.

#### 4.2 STIMULATION FOR AN ORGANIZED BODY TO PROMOTE THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA

In chapter three it was noted that the immigrant Andhras were aware of the relationship between language and

culture, and concerned about the fact that the loss of their Telugu language would affect their cultural status and advancement in South Africa. However, the early Andhras, owing to a lack of sound finances, and also because of their being a minority ethnic group in South Africa, did not create any formal organization for their cohesion.

The Tamils, who were the majority among the Indian immigrants in Natal, had already organized themselves into Sungams (organisations) as early as 1905, such as the Natal Tamil Sungam (1905) and the Young Men's Vedic Society (1912) and the Hindu Tamil Institute (1914) (Ariyan 1989 : 135). Many Andhras, who lived as a small group among the Tamils in various areas, affiliated themselves to one or other of the Tamil institutions, for various reasons, such as their common port of embarkation (see chapter five). They assisted the Tamils in maintaining and expanding Hindu culture in general and Tamil culture in particular. However, many of the immigrant Andhras had a love for their particular language and maintained their particular cultural traits.

By the beginning of 1920, many Andhras were free of their indentureship, and had gained minimal economic stability. Due to a lack of educated people among the Andhras, Telugu teaching was hindered. The Andhras were concerned about this impediment. As years passed, the informal

patasalas, which existed in Natal, were unable to achieve better results in their vernacular teaching owing to a lack of proper organization. Although the people participated in bhajans and took part in dance and natakamu (dramas) occasionally, these activities were not adequate to maintain the language and culture in an alien environment.

By 1920, many Andhras had become bilingual (in English and Telugu) and some were even multilingual (Tamil or Hindi, English or Zulu and Telugu). To aggravate the situation, the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 made many tempting offers such as Union citizenship to those Indians who followed western habits and way of life. Calpin comments on the Cape Town Agreement thus (1949 : 64) :

**The Union Government would recognise those Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to western standards of life.**

The Indians, the Andhras being no exception, began showing an increasing degree of interest in the English language and western culture, in accordance with the upliftment clause of the Cape Town Agreement.

According to one of the provisions of the Cape Town Agreement, Indian children were allowed admission to Government schools, on condition that they adhered to the western mode of dress and western lifestyle. Many Andhras whose goal was socio-economic advancement, took advantage

of this provision of the Cape Town Agreement by sending their children to English schools. Westernization, which was a prerequisite for admission into English schools, affected the traditional Andhra (Indian) habits and culture, and became, to a large extent, a threat to Hinduism in South Africa. The Hindu Indian children were more affected by this Cape Town Agreement than the Christian Indian children due to the lack of instruction in their cultural or religious practices in schools at that time. This led to religious and cultural alienation of the Hindus.

Thus, their own mother tongue Telugu became an alien language to the Andhra children in South Africa. This led to young Andhras questioning the basics of Hinduism and Andhra culture. Some felt that Telugu was inappropriate to their lives and were apathetic towards their language and culture. By 1930 association with the English medium became more essential.

Many Andhras were alarmed by this deterioration in the interest of the Andhras towards their language and culture. They became concerned about the future and doubted the survival of the Andhra culture in general and the Telugu language in particular in South Africa.

This situation continued up to the time of the arrival of the second Agent-General of the Government of India in

South Africa, the late Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi, an Andhra, in 1929 (Nowbath 1960 : 115). As the present President of the AMSSA states (Interview : Naidoo, B.A : 1991) :

**for almost sixty years there was hardly any organized attempt to get the Andhras together nor were there any properly organized systems under which they were able to propagate the Telugu language and Andhra culture.**

The visit by Mrs.Sarojini Naidu, an Andhra by marriage, to Natal in 1924 and her fluent speech in Telugu, influenced the Andhras and ignited their sense of group identity. However, her visit provided only an initial impetus, which was further stimulated by the arrival of Sir Kurma Reddi in 1929.

Sir Kurma Reddi, being an Andhra by birth, made some of his public speeches in "pure" Telugu regarding the Telugu language and Andhra culture. He discussed at length the value of Education in general and mother tongue education in particular. His utterances stimulated enthusiasm amongst the Andhras toward the attainment of their group identity and maintenance of their language and culture. He described how glorious Andhra history is, how old Andhra traditions are and showed how sweet the Telugu language is by quoting simple Telugu literature and reciting religious poems. His fluent addresses in Telugu inspired the Andhras to take stock of their language proficiency, thus making them realize that they had grossly neglected their own mother tongue (MT) (Nowbath

1960 : 115).

Sir Kurma Reddi arrived in South Africa at a time when the Andhras were already experiencing concern regarding their identity in the new environment. His arrival stirred them to such an extent that within one or two years of his arrival in Natal, the Andhras decided that they ought to do something to preserve their Andhra group identity and their Telugu language.

#### **4.3 FORMATION OF THE ANDHRA MAHA SABHA OF SOUTH AFRICA AND THE VARIOUS BRANCH SABHAS**

##### **4.3.1 ANDHRA MAHA SABHA AND THE FOUNDER MEMBERS**

The realisation of their neglect of their MT led to a mass meeting of the Andhras on Thursday 14 May 1931 at 10 h 00 in the Hindu Dravida Education Institution in Cross Street, Durban (Source : AMSSA minutes May 1931). This important event was due to the active initiative of loyal Andhras such as Mr.V.M.Naidoo and Mr.A.J.Naidoo, among others. Invitations to this mass meeting were distributed among the Andhras living in the Durban area and almost two hundred loyal Andhras attended the meeting. They discussed the absence of group identity of the Andhras in South Africa, and the erosion of the Telugu language. They compared themselves with the Tamils who had organized themselves into sabhas and had proper

patasalas. At this meeting they initiated the proposal to organize the community into one sabha (organization). The minutes taken at this meeting clearly show that the presence of Sir Kurma Reddi in South Africa acted as a stimulant for their decision.

The other prominent Andhras who took the initiative for the founding of this sabha were : Mr.A.B.Naidoo, Mr.B. Naidoo, Mr.V.M.Naidoo, Mr.V.G.R.Naidoo, Mr.M.R.Naidoo, Mr.S.M.Naidoo, Mr.S.P.Appalaswami Naidoo, Mr.T.Munuswami Reddi, Mr.V.C.Nayana Rajh, Mr.C.Dalayya Naidoo, Mr.P. Abbayi Naidoo and Mr.A.J.Naidoo among many others. The meeting was opened with a prayer and a Havan (Hindu sacred ritual) performed by Mr.V.C.Nayana Rajh. At this meeting the Andhras agreed that it is necessary to have an organized sabha for the improvement of Telugu language education in South Africa.

The meeting selected Mr.V.M.Naidoo as the chairman. The chairman spoke in fluent Telugu and later translated some of the complex sentences into English for the benefit of those who could not comprehend his speech (Source : AMSSA minutes May 1931). This need for translation highlights the extent of the deterioration of the Telugu language and the status of the language among the Colonial born Andhras in the Union of South Africa.

Mr.V.C.Nayana Rajh nominated Mr.A.Jagannayakulu Naidoo (i.e Mr.A.J.Naidoo) as the secretary at the meeting. At this meeting the Andhra Maha Sabha (AMS) was formally established by the Andhras and later in 1936 it was constituted as the "Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa" (AMSSA).

According to the minutes of the first AMS meeting, the patrons of this sabha were : Sir Kurma Reddi, Mr.Venkata Ratnam Raj, and Mr.B.Naidoo. Mr.V.M.Naidoo was nominated as the first President of the AMS by Mr.M.Sooboo Naidoo and his nomination was seconded by Mr.M.R.Naidoo. The Andhras unanimously supported this nomination. Messrs. A.B.Naidoo, Mr.M.Sooboo Naidoo, Mr.G.Venkataswami Naidoo, Mr.V.G.R.Naidoo and Mr.Ragavulu Naidoo were elected Vice-Presidents. The General Council, consisting of several Andhras, was also elected.

#### **4.3.2 CONSTITUTION OF THE AMSSA**

The Andhra Sabha, which was registered under the name of "Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa", was referred to as the "Sabha" or the "Parent Body". It was deemed to be the "Parent Organization of the Telugu people, embracing all other Andhra Bodies" (AMSSA Constitution 1936 : 1). Later, in 1957, it was decided that the headquarters of the Maha Sabha should be at the "Andhra House", which was built by the AMSSA in 1957, at 43 Leopold Street, Durban.

#### 4.3.3 AIMS AND OBJECTS OF THE AMSSA

According to the first constitution of the AMSSA, the main aims and objects of the 'Parent Body' were as follows (Source:1934 Constitution of the AMSSA):

1. To promote brotherhood amongst its members and the Andhra community in general.
2. To promote the Educational, Social, Moral and Religious advancement of the members of the Andhra community and the Hindus in general.
3. To encourage, aid and foster the study of the Telugu language and literature, and the study of the Vedas and other literature appertaining to the Vedic Religion.
4. To establish branches of the sabha, schools or classes in Telugu or in English and/or other necessary institutions deemed desirable for these purposes.
5. To organize, and establish libraries, reading rooms, for the use and benefit of its members and the Hindus in general.
6. To organize, provide for and conduct meetings, debates, lectures, discourses, prayers and study groups, stage plays, and to invite teachers, preachers, and actors necessary for these purposes from India and/or other countries.
7. To establish and conduct newspapers and periodicals, books and brochures, pamphlets and leaflets, in

Telugu, English and/or other languages as may have been deemed necessary.

8. To establish Printing Presses specialising in printing in Telugu, English and/or other languages as may have been deemed necessary for the purpose of carrying out these objects.
9. To create bursary funds and grant bursaries to indigent students.

In order to fulfil its aims and objects, the AMSSA has convened many general and council meetings, organized patasalas, established various branch sabhas and celebrated various religio-cultural activities, and built a cultural hall and a temple at Havenside, in Chatsworth.

#### **4.3.4 THE COUNCIL AND EXECUTIVE MINUTES OF THE AMSSA**

With the main aim of nurturing and promoting the Telugu language in South Africa, the AMSSA held monthly general meetings and Executive meetings. To assess its progress and to discuss its success in fulfilling the aims and objects, the AMSSA also held annual general meetings to which it invited all the Andhras who were interested in the preservation of the Telugu language and Andhra culture. The secretaries kept records of the meetings.

The AMSSA minutes between the years 1931-1939 were written completely in Telugu by the then secretaries,

Mr.A.J.Naidoo and Mr.D.V.Naidoo. Telugu was gradually replaced by English because of a lack of proficiency in the MT among the secretaries who succeeded the first secretaries. While the minutes written in Telugu show the language proficiency of the first generation South African born Andhras, the minutes written in English display not only the language shift (see chapter five on language shift) of the Andhras from their MT to English but also the erosion of the Telugu language due to a lack of command in written and spoken Telugu. At present, the minutes of all the AMSSA meetings are wholly written in English, except for the Aum symbol (see chapter six for more details) which is written in Telugu.

#### **4.3.5 THE ANDHRA HOUSE**

The Andhras felt that to achieve the aims and objects of the AMSSA and to further the various activities of the AMSSA and its branches, it was necessary to have an Andhra Socio-cultural Hall. In 1937, the then President of the AMSSA, Mr.V.M.Naidoo, influenced the General Council to purchase property for the Sabha and the proposal was unanimously accepted by the Andhras. They decided to purchase a plot of land (Source : AMSSA minutes July 1937). The General Council, after great difficulty, was able to raise the required amount of money from the public and the Andhras purchased land in Leopold Street, Durban.

However, the AMSSA could not build the proposed Andhra House immediately on account of dire financial difficulties. After much effort, the AMSSA was able to erect the Andhra Bhavanamu (House) between 1955-1957. On Sunday, the 23 June 1957, the Andhra House was officially opened by Mr. Boomireddy Akku Naidoo (B.A. Naidoo) of Stella Hill, the founder member and the first patron of the AMSSA. He was given this honour in recognition of his generous contributions towards the building. The ceremony was witnessed by a large Andhra crowd (Source: AMSSA Minutes of July 1957). The building consists of a main hall, gallery and offices and has provision for a library and shops. There is a dining hall on the upper floor.

In the early years of the establishment of the AMSSA, it maintained a very active Telugu library which consisted of various religio-cultural books imported from India. However, in later years, the library became inactive due to improper organization, and to a lack of interest from the members of the Andhra community in reading Telugu books, demonstrating once more the erosion of the Telugu language. There is no documentary proof that the members of the present-day AMSSA did make sincere efforts to re-establish the Andhra library. What was once an active library, is now defunct solely because of the apathy of most of the Andhras towards their language and culture.

#### **4.4 ESTABLISHMENT OF VARIOUS BRANCH SABHAS BETWEEN 1931-1991**

As mentioned in chapter two, the Andhra settlements in Natal were widely scattered from Port Shepstone in the South to Kearsney in the North. It is difficult for the AMSSA, as the 'parent body', to adequately cater for and successfully serve the Andhras living in this vast geographical area. Thus, the AMSSA established many branch sabhas in these areas, all of which are affiliated to the AMSSA. The first few pioneer branch sabha establishments are discussed below.

##### **4.4.1 STELLA HILL ANDHRA SABHA**

The first of these branch sabhas was formed in Stella Hill in October 1931, within a few months of the formation of the AMSSA (Source : AMSSA minutes November 1931). This sabha was inaugurated by Sir Kurma Venkata Reddi on 11 October 1931.

At a general meeting held in September 1931, while discussing the establishment of a Telugu patasala at Stella Hill, Mr.A.J.Naidoo, the secretary of the AMS, suggested that since there were many Andhras living in that area it was advisable to establish a branch sabha which could efficiently cater for the future needs of the community. His ideas were supported by Mr.D.V.Naidoo, the joint

secretary. The president of the AMS, Mr.M.V.Naidoo, appointed a committee consisting of A.J.Naidoo, G.S. Pakiri, and A.L.Naidoo, to meet the Andhras living in the Stella Hill area and discuss the issue with them (Source : AMS minutes : September 1931).

A mass meeting of Indians of Stella Hill and District, under the auspices of the AMS, was held at the Stella Hill Government Aided Indian School on 11 October 1931 for the purpose of forming the branch of the AMS and to establish an Andhra Patasala in that district. The Agent-General Sir Kurma Reddi was also present at that meeting, which was attended by over one hundred Andhras. The necessity for MT education in the Stella Hill area was the main item on the agenda. The Andhras were asked to donate funds, in the names of their beloved ones, which could be utilised for the Andhra cause.

Inspired by the discussion and Sir Kurma Reddi's speech, Mr.B.Naidoo suggested the AMS officials could discuss with him the necessary issues such as finance and a site for the establishment of a patasala. He stated that **'he is an Andhra who loves his MT and is prepared to give assistance in the upliftment of the MT education in South Africa'**. Sir Kurma Reddi, the guest of honour, insisted on the importance of Telugu literacy for the Andhras.

After these inspiring speeches, it was proposed by Mr.C. Dalayya that a branch sabha be established in Stella Hill immediately, and other Andhras unanimously supported the formation of the "Stella Hill and District Andhra Sabha". It was decided that by paying 2 shillings, the Stella Hill branch would be affiliated to the AMS. This sabha did great service in maintaining the Telugu language in that district. However, this sabha was disbanded after the 1960's due to the Group Areas Act which declared the Stella Hill area a "white group area".

#### **4.4.2 SPRINGFIELD ANDHRA SABHA**

The formation of the first branch sabha at Stella Hill inspired the formation of other sabhas in various areas. The second branch sabha was formed at Springfield in March 1932. A mass meeting was again convened on 6 March 1932 at the Springfield Andhra informal patasala, near Puntans Hill, to discuss the possibility of the establishment of a branch sabha in the area. The main issue was the formation of a formal patasala which would be controlled by the district sabha.

According to the available documentation, more than one hundred and fifty Andhras gathered under the chairmanship of V.M.Naidoo, where Mr.G.M.Naidoo, a learned Andhra from that area, eloquently discussed Andhra education and the necessity to maintain the Telugu language amongst the

Andhras in that area (Source : AMS minutes March 1932). Many other prominent Andhras, such as M.R.Naidoo, S.P. Appala Swami Naidoo and E.V.Naidoo, also spoke about the dire need for MT education in the Union of South Africa. Motivated by these stirring speeches, the Andhras, living in the Springfield area, unanimously agreed to establish an Andhra sabha, which would be affiliated to the AMS.

Motivated by the formation of these two Andhra Sabhas within one year of the establishment of the AMS, a few more prominent and active branch sabhas were established between 1932-33. The Andhra Vidya Sabha (AVS), in Puntans Hill was established in 1932, the Stanger and District Andhra Sabha was established in 1933 and the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha (hereafter PAS), in Clairwood was also formed in 1933.

#### **4.4.3 PATHMAJURANI ANDHRA SABHA**

At the time of the establishment of the AMS in 1931, the only person from the Clairwood District serving on the AMS Council was Mr.M.L.Nydoo. M.L.Nydoo, having seen the establishment of two branch sabhas affiliated to the AMS, was eager to form a branch sabha in the Clairwood area, to cater for the needs of the Andhras living in that district. He influenced another prominent Andhra, Mr. M.A.Nydoo and together they approached the other Andhras living in the Clairwood area with a view to forming a

sabha (Source : PAS Golden Jubilee Brochure 1983 : 8).

A meeting was held at Sri Siva Soobramanian Temple Hall, Clairwood on 2 April 1933. The meeting was fully supported by prominent Andhras such as M.A.Nydoo, L.Nydoo, N.Venkatarathnam, M.R.Naidoo, K.A.Philip, among many others. The purpose of the meeting was outlined by M.A. Nydoo and the foundation of the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha (PAS) was laid immediately with Mr.M.R.Naidoo as the first chairman. The PAS immediately affiliated itself to the AMS and started its own patasala. The PAS became a very active sabha and an asset to the AMS because of its language and culture promoting activities. It strengthened the AMSSA in its pursuit of language and culture promotion activities. It is very sad to note that even this sabha, like the Stella Hill District Sabha, was disbanded following the Group Areas Act. However, the Pathmajurani Andhra Halayamu (hall) still exists and is used as a cultural centre.

#### **4.4.4 OTHER BRANCH SABHAS BEFORE 1960**

Owing to the perseverance of the AMSSA and through the initiative of the local residents in various districts, the number of Andhra sabhas increased between 1931-1960. The following is the list of branches of the AMSSA prior to 1960 and their year of establishment is given in brackets where available:

Stella Hill Andhra Sabha (1931), Springfield Andhra Sabha (1932), PAS (1933), Andhra Vidya Sabha in Puntans Hill (1932), Clare Estate Vishnu Sabha, Sea View Andhra Sabha (1939), Tongaat Andhra Sabha (1951), Stanger Andhra Sabha (1933), Melville Andhra Sabha, Mt.Edgecombe Andhra Sabha, Greenwood Park Andhra Sabha, Malvern Saraswathi Andhra Sabha, Durban North Andhra Sabha, Merebank Andhra Sabha, Durban Central Andhra Sabha (1950), Pietermaritzburg Andhra Sabha (1936), Illovo Andhra Sabha (1958), Umlaas Andhra Sabha, Sydenham Andhra Sabha (1950), Mayville Andhra Sabha, Maidstone Andhra Sabha, Port Shepstone Andhra Sabha (1955), Selborne Andhra Patasala, Darnall Andhra Sabha (1948) and Chatsworth Andhra Sabha (Nowbath 1960 : 116).

There were many Andhra women's institutions which were also affiliated to the AMSSA prior to 1960. These are as follows: Pathmajurani Andhra Mahila Manula (ladies') Sabha in Clairwood, Sydenham Andhra Stree (woman) Sungam (association), Puntans Hill Andhra Stree Sungam, Stella Hill Andhra Stree Sungam, Sea View Andhra Stree Sungam, Durban Central Andhra Stree Sungam, Port Shepstone Andhra Stree Sungam.

Some of these Sabhas and almost all of the Stree Sungams, however, are not functioning at present for a variety of reasons, such as the apathy of the present-day Andhras towards their language and culture, the erosion of the

Telugu language in South Africa, (see chapter five), the effects of the Group Areas Act (1950) and the Andhra resettlements after 1960. However, as recently as 1980, several old sabhas were re-established while new sabhas were also formed. At present there are 24 branch sabhas, which are affiliated to the AMSSA and there is also an Andhra Sabha in Transvaal, which was established in 1986.

#### **4.4.5 SOUTH AFRICAN ANDHRA YOUTH MOVEMENT (SAAYM)**

An interesting new development in the Andhra community recently was the formation of a Youth Movement. The South African Andhra Youth Movement (SAAYM) was formed in December 1989, and, unlike the branch sabhas, it is not affiliated to the AMSSA but exists as a 'sister body' to the AMSSA. This formation of the SAAYM was influenced by a resurgence of interest amongst the Andhra Youth in preserving their language and culture from complete erosion. The SAAYM functions actively, and has its own constitution, with youth bodies affiliated to it.

At the time of the formation of the SAAYM the officials of the AMSSA and the SAAYM did not agree over some clauses in the SAAYM constitution, such as the autonomous nature of the SAAYM and its decision to be a separate organization. Fearing that the AMSSA might treat it as a branch sabha operating in a particular area, the SAAYM wanted to be an independent body. The SAAYM aims to

cover a wide area and draw the Andhra youth into its organization through catering for the needs of the youth by organizing youth programmes, picnics and cultural events (Interview : Naidoo, N : 1991). According to the present President of the SAAYM (Interview : Naidoo, N : 1991), the AMSSA feared that the SAAYM might draw all the youth from the branch sabhas to its organization and compete separately against the branch sabhas during the Eisteddfod. Some members of the SAAYM feel that the AMSSA is afraid that the SAAYM might dominate the 'parent body'. However, this is not the case at present. The SAAYM exists and functions as a separate "sister organization" to the 'parent body', while at the same time respecting and consulting the 'parent body' (Interview: Naidoo, Ashwin : 1991). Many of the AMSSA youth are also members of the SAAYM and vice versa.

An interesting fact about the formation of various branch sabhas and the SAAYM is that some Andhras have thus far evinced undivided support towards AMSSA. This demonstrates the respect of the Andhras towards the parent organization and also that the AMSSA is progressing towards binding the Andhras into one socio-cultural organization..

It was noteworthy, though, that, during interviews with some elder members of the Andhra community and some young generation academics, who are not members of the AMSSA,

it emerged that there is discontentment over the present functioning of the AMSSA and people therefore avoid the organization. However, the writer maintains that the misunderstandings should be resolved, and that all Andhras should unite as a single group if they wish to maintain their language and retain their Andhra group identity in South Africa. This could be achieved by a "forgive and forget" attitude on the part of the Andhras involved which would facilitate reconciliation.

In a language study of this nature, not all aspects of the AMSSA, the formation of each branch sabha, the activities of the women's organization and the Youth Movement are relevant to the discussion. This would be an interesting topic for further research on Andhras in South Africa. In the present study, limited by the scope of the topic, only the language promoting activities of the AMSSA and the branch sabhas, even though not intensive, are discussed briefly.

#### **4.5 THE LANGUAGE PROMOTING ACTIVITIES OF THE AMSSA AND THE BRANCH SABHAS**

##### **4.5.1 THE ANDHRA PRINTING COMPANY**

One of the most important aims and objectives of the AMSSA at the time of its formation was to keep the Telugu language alive by nourishing and promoting it through the

study of Telugu literature. It also aims at organizing Telugu libraries, printing newspapers, books and brochures, pamphlets and leaflets in Telugu. In order to achieve these aims, the Andhras have established an Andhra printing press, which specialises in printing Telugu and English literature. At the same time, being indigent and removed from their homeland the Andhras had no facilities for regular contact with India, unlike the Gujarati-speaking community who had a sound financial background. This lack of contact with their relatives or other Andhras was a handicap which impeded their cultural and linguistic growth in South Africa, which moved the Andhras to establish their own printing press in South Africa.

The initiative for the Andhra printing press was motivated by the AMSSA, which felt that there was a dire need for a Telugu printing press to save the Telugu language from erosion. For seventy-five years there was no-one to propagate the Telugu language and many loyal Andhras were distressed at this. Many of them felt that it was a betrayal of their own MT. The AMSSA appealed to the community to preserve the language from erosion and to save it for posterity (Source : AMSSA Minutes September 1932).

Mr.B.Naidoo, an Andhra, who was very much inspired by the speeches made by Sir Kurma Reddi, donated the Telugu metal types to the AMSSA in 1932. Mr.B. Naidoo brought

these Telugu metal types, which were worth 20 shillings at the time of his donation, from India. His dedicated services were highly appreciated by the Andhras in general and the AMSSA in particular.

These Telugu metal types became the sole topic of discussion for many years to come in the AMSSA meetings. A general appeal was made to all the Andhras to donate money, which would be utilized to register and establish a Telugu Printing Company under the AMSSA.

The first Telugu print, under the able efforts of Mr.A.J. Naidoo, was made in October 1932. A Telugu Aum sign and the name Andhra Maha Sabha on an official letter-head of the Sabha were printed. The letter-head was used for the first time on 15 October 1932 for inviting the general public and the Andhras in particular, to attend an honouring-cum-thanks-giving reception for Mrs.and Mr.B. Naidoo (the donor of the types) at the Hindu Tamil Institute, Cross Street, Durban (Source : AMSSA minutes October 1932).

In July 1933, for the first time, in accordance with the aims and objects of the AMSSA, a bilingual Telugu and English pamphlet, announcing the AMSSA's second anniversary celebration and Annual General Meeting to be held at the Tamil Institute in Cross Street, Durban, was printed. More than 500 copies of the pamphlets were distributed

among the Andhras.

In July 1934, the Andhra printing company, which was not registered thus far, printed 200 copies of the AMSSA constitution, in both Telugu and English, which the AMSSA sold at 2 shillings per copy. It was recorded that the AMSSA made some profits out of this venture. The Telugu printing facilities were also hired by the branch sabhas. For example, in 1932-3 the Stella Hill Andhra sabha hired the printing press for its function for £ 2 and 6 shillings. The Andhras of the Durban region also hired the printing facilities for their children's wedding invitation cards or invitations for their family functions and general gatherings and even printed Telugu greeting cards.

The presence of Pandit S.N.C.Varadacharyulu in Natal enabled the publication of many Telugu articles in the South African Andhra Patrika, which was first published in January 1948.

Due to a lack of funds, the AMSSA could not register the company by September 1935, so it was decided to close the company (Source : AMSSA Minutes October 1935). The situation was saved by the decision to register the Andhra company under the name of two or three individuals rather than under the AMSSA. This issue was postponed to August 1936, when the AMSSA appointed a trust consisting

of three people viz. Mr.B.Naidoo, Mr.A.P.Naidoo, and Mr.V.M.Naidoo. To continue the Telugu printing, a "Printing Control Committee" was appointed, which consisted of seven members along with the three trustees, and the members were given full permission to establish the Andhra Printing Press.

During this early period the types were kept with the Acme printing press owned by Mr.Jaddhunandhan, who was fluent in Telugu due to his birth and residence in Puntans Hill, although his MT was Hindi. He did great service to the Andhra community by printing Telugu wedding cards and other pamphlets for the Andhra community. After 1950 this type set became worn through twenty years of use. Therefore, in early 1950, another set of Telugu metal types were brought from India by Mr.C.Naidoo and donated to the AMSSA.

It is evident that this Telugu printing company not only brought some income to the AMSSA, but helped the AMSSA to keep the Telugu language alive in South Africa. The Andhra Printing Press, although not very profitable, was maintained until the early 1960's by Mr.A.J.Naidoo and Mr.Sannasy Naidoo. Mr.Sannasy Naidoo had his own printing press called Clairwood Printing Press and the AMSSA transferred the new Telugu type set to his press and made use of his press for all the Andhra activities. Following the death of Mr.Sannasy, these metal types are in the

possession of Mr. Reggie Naidoo, the son of late Mr. Sannasy Naidoo and the present owner of the Clairwood Printing Press.

This printing press helped to keep Telugu language alive in South Africa due to the use made of it by the AMSSA and its branch sabhas. However, the interest of the Andhra community in their MT was declining due to their language shift, and a lack of trained personnel to use those "out-dated" metal types led to the demise of the press. This metal type-setting is time consuming and laborious, and above all too expensive. The writer finds that after 1960 the Andhra community and the AMSSA did not make proper use of the Telugu type-setting and at present, due to language shift, there is no demand for the Telugu print in South Africa.

It is regrettable that after the 1960's the AMSSA itself did not make use of the Telugu print as it ought to have done. The change in the leadership of the AMSSA, absence of financial gain and the rapid political changes might have also added to the apathy towards the use of the printing press. The AMSSA could have imported the latest print from India. It is true that the political situation in South Africa, which resulted in socio-economic and cultural boycotts imposed by India, was not conducive to the further development of the Andhra Printing Press. However, the other Indian languages such as Hindi, Tamil,

Gujarati and Urdu have improved their publishing facilities while Telugu regressed in this respect. It is clearly evident that the AMSSA made no use of this Telugu press after 1970.

#### **4.5.2 PUBLICATIONS MADE BY THE AMSSA AND THE BRANCH** **SABHAS**

Although the AMSSA possessed Telugu type sets as early as 1932, it does not have any specific book publications in the Telugu language to its credit apart from the few bilingual prayer books and children's song book, which were published in India. The AMSSA had made use of the Telugu print in the 1940's and 1950's only to print pamphlets, letter-heads and notices to the Andhra community, and helped the Andhras to print wedding cards and invitations in Telugu.

Between 1969-70 the AMSSA printed many Deepawali greetings cards in Telugu and sold them to the Andhra community which brought insignificant profits to the AMSSA. According to the 1971 minutes of the AMSSA, the organisation with the help of Mr. Mariah Naidu and Pandit Varadacharyulu, printed more than 5,000 greeting cards in Telugu portraying deities. As recently as 1983, one year before his death Mr. R.S.Naidoo, the then president of the AMSSA, used the Telugu print and Andhra Ugaadi cards were printed in his name which he sent to all his friends

(see appendix).

The AMSSA, in accordance with its objectives, has published prayer books such as "Common Funeral Prayers for the Hindus", originally compiled by Dr.N.P.Desai, a Hindu scholar, and translated into Telugu by the late Pandit Varadacharyulu, and "Prardhanavali" (Select Prayers). The Select Prayer book was compiled by Dr.P.S.R.Appa Rao, the then Director of International Telugu Institute, India and was published by the AMSSA in 1978. However, both these books are bilingual in Telugu and English. It is clear that the AMSSA was more interested in printing religious books than academic reading material, e.g readers or beginners' books in Telugu.

#### **4.5.2.1 THE ANDHRA PATRIKA**

In order to maintain the Telugu language in South Africa and to satisfy the long-felt need for a journal, which would represent the aims and aspirations of the Andhras living in South Africa, the AMSSA ventured to undertake the publication of the "South African Andhra Patrika" (Andhra monthly journal) in 1948. The publication of the Andhra journal depicting the various trends of the Andhra life in social, cultural and educational matters was regarded as a great achievement. There had been a lack of a journal for the Andhras for the past eighty-seven years and the initiation of the South African Andhra

Patrika was considered a great achievement since there were very few newspapers for the Andhras even in India upto 1948.

The first issue of the Andhra Patrika was published in January 1948, with the help of the Universal Printing works, in Durban (Source : Andhra Patrika January 1948). This issue had articles about the Andhras in Telugu, English and Tamil. This demonstrates the multi-lingualism of the Andhras in South Africa.

The South African and the Indian Andhras felt that the Andhra Patrika would serve as a link between the Andhras of both countries. The AMSSA could not continue publication of this Andhra Patrika regularly due to inadequate financial resources. A lack of fresh news and material from India owing to the cultural boycott imposed on South Africa by the Indian government further impeded the progress of the Patrika. Thus, it continued as an irregular publication, at times published once or twice a year, and at other times on a quarterly basis.

However, after the 1960's and up to 1989 the Patrika remained a monolingual English newspaper for the Andhras. The failure to find an editor for the Patrika resulted in a complete halt of the publication of the paper in 1989. The Council meetings attended by the writer during 1989-1990 revealed the fact that the AMSSA is once more trying

to revive the publication of the Andhra Patrika. A suggestion was made by the AMSSA, at a Council meeting in October 1990, that the re-publication of the newspaper be commissioned and the Patrika be distributed to the Andhras during the 1991 Annual Andhra Eisteddfod. As decided, the Andhra Patrika was once more published in August 1991 through the strenuous efforts of Mr.V.Lat-channa, the present secretary of the AMSSA.

#### **4.5.2.2 OTHER PUBLICATIONS**

The greatest achievement of the AMSSA, under the late President of the AMSSA, Mr.R.S.Naidoo, was the publication of Balala Patalu (Songs for Children), in 1979, along with a Long Playing record, pressed in India. The year 1979 was dedicated to the children in keeping with the proclamation made by the U.N designating 1979 as the "Year of the Child". The song book, which contains colourful illustrations, is a bilingual book in Telugu, with English transliteration. This book consists mostly of Hindu prayer songs and verses for young children. The book and the Long Playing record, which were dedicated to children in general and to the Andhra children in particular, were sold to the Andhra community by the AMSSA.

In 1979 the Andhra Maha Sabha was also privileged to publish the book Raam Bhajans with the help of Mr.N.C. Naidoo, an Andhra who is bilingual in Tamil-Telugu. The

bhajan book consists of many Rama Bhajans which were written in Telugu and transliterated into English. This book was accompanied by an audio-cassette, the funding of which was made possible by the generous donations of Mr. P.M.Naidoo. All these AMSSA publications were sold to the Andhra community and the AMSSA made some profits out of this venture.

The AMSSA has many small pamphlets to its credit such as the pamphlet which consists of Prathakaala Prardhana, Saayamkaala Prardhana, and Subhakaarya Prardhana (see appendix). To keep the language and culture alive in South Africa, the affiliated branch sabhas of the Andhra Maha Sabha also made some important publications in South Africa. They published various brochures and booklets. For example, the PAS published its Fiftieth Anniversary Brochure in 1983, outlining its achievements during the past fifty years. Similarly the AMSSA published its Golden Jubilee Brochure saluting the pioneer Andhras in South Africa. The AMSSA also published the Golden Jubilee Brochure to celebrate the successful fiftieth Anniversary of the Andhra Eisteddfod in 1989. Many branch sabhas have published brochures celebrating their Tyagaraja Music Festival or their sabha anniversaries, and have recorded their achievements therein. However, all these publications are in English and this clearly illustrates the language shift of the Andhra community towards English.

However, two recent publications in Telugu and English by the Tongaat Andhra Sabha, which was established in 1951, deserve mention. They reflect the efforts to maintain the Telugu language in South Africa. Both books, being Prayer-song books for the Hindus, were compiled and published in Andhra Pradesh, India. Publication of these books not only demonstrates the language loyalty (which is discussed in chapter six) of the Andhras but also the influence of the Telugu language on their religio-cultural lives.

#### 4.5.3 BOOKS IMPORTED FROM INDIA

The AMSSA did not publish any Telugu Language books or readers because of a paucity of qualified persons to write them, at least in the early years. This could also be attributed to a lack of interest on the part of the AMSSA in the language, because there was a well-versed Telugu Pandit, Kaviraj Varadacharyulu, in their midst for more than four decades, whose services could have been utilized in this regard.

To compensate for the lack of publications, the AMSSA, initially with the help of the then Agent-General Sir Kurma Reddi, imported Telugu readers from India and sold these readers to the Andhras and various patasalas already in existence (Source : AMSSA minutes February 1932). The AMSSA also requested those Andhras who were

visiting the Indian subcontinent to bring Telugu readers and other material on Andhra culture and religion to South Africa. Some of the Telugu readers imported and used by the AMSSA and the branch sabhas were the Pedda Bala Siksha, Sahitya Readers and the Macmillan Andhra Readers. These books were distributed free to all the patasalas. The importation of these books was undertaken during the 1940's and continued up to early 1960's. The AMSSA has not recently imported any readers which are available in India, which again demonstrates a lack of demand on the part of the Andhras and a lack of an effort on the part of the 'parent body'. The Andhra community, the AMSSA and the branch sabhas still make use of the old, out-dated Readers, which are no longer appropriate in the South African context. The Andhras are not aware of the recent developments which have taken place in the standard Telugu, such as in respect of the formation of tenses, the modern vocabulary, and the use of case-endings. The books presently in use are lacking in this respect.

#### 4.5.4 DRAMAS

Drama is a vehicle which reflects the culture of a particular community and also acts as the preserver of a language in a foreign environment. Drama was central to Andhra culture for many centuries. In the mid-sixteenth century the Yakshagaanam (a type of dance accompanied by

singing) became very popular in the Andhra country along with the Veedhi Natakam (drama performed on the streets with no stage and curtains). The most popular themes for these dramas were the *Ramayanam*, *Bharatam*, *Bhagavatam* and other religious stories taken from the *Basava Puranam*. There are also some artists who perform Pagati Vesham (day-time dramas) which have been popular from the seventeenth century. The themes of all the dramas were mostly religious during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, during the present century, social dramas dominate the Andhra stage, followed by the religious dramas.

Another important feature of the Andhra drama is the Toolu Bommalaata (puppet show). There is literary evidence to show that these have been in existence since the third century A.D. The puppet show is one of the independent contributions of the Andhras to the realm of Indian culture and Hindu heritage. The puppets were made with two types of animal skins - the deer skin to depict good character and the goat skin to depict negative characteristics. There is no evidence that the immigrant Andhras brought these puppet shows to South Africa. However, according to an aged interviewee (Rapiti, Manikamma : 1991) her parents used to discuss puppet shows which were enacted in the sugar cane farms at the time of Sri Rama Navami and the Dasara festivals.

From the information given by some of the elder members of the present-day Andhra community, it becomes evident that the Pravasandhras brought the religio-cultural dramas with them and performed them in various places where they settled. Many elderly informants claim that during the "barrack days" the Andhras passed their free time by enacting the Telugu dramas, which were also performed on special occasions to entertain their visitors or friends. At no time were they conscious that these dramas, if nourished properly, could easily maintain the Telugu language in South Africa. The dramas were enacted mostly for fun and the participants never seriously thought of treasuring them for posterity.

The AMSSA, at the time of its establishment made the same mistake as the immigrant Andhras in that it put pecuniary interest above language and culture. In order to raise funds for the organization, it was suggested that a dramatic association be formed. This could charge fees for plays produced. The formation of such a Drama Association was proposed in February 1932 by the AMSSA. The AMSSA appointed a special committee under Mr.T.Tammayya, Mr.A.J.Naidoo, Mr.S.P.Appala Swami Naidoo, Mr.Y.M.L. Naidoo and Mr.E.V.Naidoo, to discuss the feasibility of the enterprise.

On 17 February 1932 the Committee met under the chairmanship of Mr.S.P.Appala Swami Naidoo and decided to esta-

ublish an Andhra Drama Association (Source : AMSSA minutes February 1932). At that meeting Mr.Venkatachalam Naidu was appointed the training teacher with a salary of £ 5 a month. An agreement was reached to train the Andhras to perform the famous Andhra religious drama, Puroorva Chakravarthi, within three months. The members estimated that the AMSSA needed approximately £ 25 for the stage production of the drama. The members of the AMSSA agreed to stage the drama, which would stir the interest of the Andhras in their language and culture.

To involve the Andhra youth in the activities of the AMSSA, the Association decided to establish the children's Drama Association. It was estimated that another £ 10 p.a was required for the maintenance of the children's drama company. Finally, the AMSSA decided on the establishment of one company, called the "Andhra Maha Sabha Children's Drama Company". The children, who were trained by Mr.Venkatachalam Naidu, staged the drama, Puroorva Chakravarthi successfully in November 1932. According to the minutes of the AMSSA, the organization made a profit of £ 40 (Source : AMSSA minutes December 1932). The AMSSA expressed its gratitude to the company for the huge profits it gained.

Although that drama was a success, it is sad to note that no further plays were staged by the Drama association after the Puroorva Chakravarthi. This showed a lack of

awareness, which hindered the growth of the Telugu language in South Africa. It was not realised that the maintaining of this Drama Company was necessary to ensure the survival of the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

From this we can deduce that the primary function of this dramatic society was to raise funds. There was no cultural purpose, other than entertainment, since the status of the Telugu language in the 1930's was still stable. There is little wonder that they disbanded the company after the first and only performance, considering the profits it generated.

The first branch sabha under the AMSSA, the Stella Hill Andhra Sabha, performed the Bhakta Prahallada, a religious drama in 1938. The South African Andhras, who are mainly Vaishnavaites, enjoyed this performance and the Stella Hill Andhra Sabha gained popular praise on account of this drama.

Similarly many more religio-cultural dramas were staged by the Andhra branch Sabhas during the 1940's and 1950's. For example, the Puntans Hill Andhra Vidya Sabha staged two religious dramas viz. Damayanthi and Chenchu Lakshmi between 1940-1945 (Interview : Naidoo, Bapanamma : 1991). The small Andhra group living in the Rossburgh area performed Balanagamma and Gulebakavali, two religious dramas under the guidance of the AMSSA between 1940-1945.

In 1945, the AMSSA organized a live Telugu concert in Pietermaritzburg to cater to the needs of the Andhras living in that area. This live show consisted of Telugu verses, film songs, gobbi (the Andhra traditional folklore) dance and many other cultural items. According to an interviewee (V.K.Naidoo : 1991) it was one of the most successful concerts ever organized by the AMSSA.

The famous social drama Yavari Karmamu performed by the Pathmajurani Andhra patasala students in 1950 was not only an effort to keep the language and culture alive, but also to raise money for an educational fund for their sabha. One of the main aims of staging this social drama was to exhibit the talents of the aforementioned patasala students and to promote the language in South Africa. This drama, Yavari Karmamu, was immensely popular amongst the Andhras and it brought the sabha both financial and social gain. It was an outstanding stage show, which won the appreciation of the South African Andhra community. The play was in great demand and was presented on two occasions. Another drama, Shakuntala, was performed by the Central Andhra Patasala students in 1948. This famous drama was written and produced by Mrs.G.J.Naidoo, an Indian-born Andhra married to a South African (Naidoo, T.P 1990 : 1).

It is evident that during the early years of its formation the AMSSA had capable Andhras who could organize and

perform Telugu drama productions. However, the AMSSA did not foresee the need to nurture these artists, and after the death of the immigrant Andhras, without active encouragement, these dramas and puppet shows gradually faded in South Africa. This was one of the major setbacks in the promotion of the Telugu language in South Africa, a fact which the AMSSA failed to realise timeously.

#### 4.5.5 INITIATION OF GITA WEEK

An outstanding religio-cultural activity of the AMSSA was the recitation and exposition of the sacred *Srimad Bhagavad Gita*, the teachings of Lord Krishna. For the purpose of the recitation and explanation of the *Gita*, the Education Board of the AMSSA convened a gathering on 3 August 1958 at the Andhra Bhavanam (Source : AMSSA minutes August 1958). The function commenced with a prayer and the then chairman D.V.Naidoo, informed the Andhras of the importance of the *Gita* to the Hindus. The *Gita* class was formally opened by Dr.N.P.Desai, the former chairman of the Hindu Maha Sabha of South Africa, well known to the Andhras through his endeavours in formulating a "Common Prayer Book for the Hindus" in 1947. Dr.Desai, in opening the *Gita* class, elucidated the glorious teachings of the *Gita* which is a sacred book to the Hindus throughout the world. Pandit Varadacharyulu rendered an eloquent speech about the *Gita* and

quoted several slokas, explaining them thoroughly in Telugu. The audience enjoyed the session and gained much fresh insights about the *Bhagavad Gita*.

In order to keep the Telugu language alive and to enlighten the Hindu Andhras about the *Gita*, the AMSSA continued these *Gita* classes every Sunday from 15 h 00 to 16 h 00. These classes, however, were soon discontinued due to a lack of general interest on part of the Andhras. By this time many Andhras were westernized in their outlook and had shifted their language preference to English. This leads to the conclusion that even when the AMSSA made efforts in promoting language and culture, its endeavours were made futile by the community's apathy as well as socio-economic factors.

#### **4.5.6 UMA BHARATHI SHOW**

In order to promote the Andhra culture and the Telugu language in South Africa, the AMSSA organized a well liked, and well received Andhra show in 1976 viz, the Uma Bharathi Show. Mr.B.D.Naidoo, the then trustee and Mr.P.B.Sannasy, the General Secretary of the AMSSA, had represented the AMSSA in the First World Telugu Conference which was held in Hyderabad, the capital city of Andhra Pradesh, India. At this conference these representatives were impressed by the performance given by young Uma Bharathi at one of the cultural evenings. Her

performance, a traditional Andhra dance-drama, Kuchipudi, impressed the two South African delegates and they realised that the South African Andhras had not thus far witnessed such a traditional Andhra cultural feature. That realization motivated their negotiation with Miss Uma Bharathi and her father Major Satyanarayana, to invite them to perform in South Africa (Source : AMSSA Golden Jubilee Brochure 1981 : 32).

It was decided that a tour of South Africa by the young artist Uma Bharathi and her troupe should be arranged. The AMSSA assigned the task of bringing Uma Bharathi and organizing the show to Mr.T.P.Naidoo, the then member of the Merebank Sabha and to Mr.B.D.Naidoo, who went to Hyderabad to make final arrangements.

The Uma Bharathi troupe, consisting of seven artists, arrived in South Africa on 1 May 1977 and performed in many major centres of Natal. The shows were well received by the Indian South Africans in general and the Andhras in particular. The programmes consisted of Telugu songs, Andhra dances, music, and a few items of mimicry performed by Mr.Venu Madhav, the famous Andhra mimicry master. The dances rendered by Uma Bharathi excelled all the shows organized by the AMSSA from the time of its formation in 1931.

The Uma Bharathi show made a lasting impression on the minds of some of the loyal Andhras. It was the first time that they were exposed to Andhra artists and to the Andhra cultural dance. It motivated some Andhras to send their children to learn techniques of dance in India. Many were thrilled to discover that they have a traditional dance of their own, which generated a self-esteem, and encouraged the growth of their loyalty towards their culture.

It is unfortunate, however, to note that the AMSSA did not organize any other cultural shows with Indian Andhra artists after the Uma Bharathi show. The writer assumes that this situation was due to the sanctions applied by the Government of India on South Africa, or a lack of interest on the part of the AMSSA, and also financial problems faced by the AMSSA. It is true to some extent that the political situation between the two countries did not favour any commercial groups visiting South Africa as such troupes were not given permission by the Indian government to enter South Africa. As an exercise in cultural promotion, the Uma Bharathi troupe obtained permission to visit South Africa. However, from the beginning of 1991 many Indian artists have been brought into the country by various culture promotion organizations. This is the appropriate time for the AMSSA to initiate similar moves in order to nurture the Telugu language and Andhra culture.

An interview conducted with Major Satyanarayana by the writer in 1990 in Hyderabad, India, revealed the fact that Uma Bharathi is prepared to come with her troupe once more and perform free of charge in South Africa. The financial condition of the AMSSA, at the time of writing this thesis, is not conducive to the organization of any cultural show such as the Uma Bharathi Show. However, if they decide to organize a show, they need not invite Uma Bharathi again, as there are many other budding artists who have their own cultural organizations, and are willing to perform in South Africa in order to spread Andhra culture abroad.

#### **4.5.7 ANNUAL ANDHRA EISTEDDFOD**

The term "eisteddfod" is derived from Welsh, and means "sessions". The root word is "eistedd" which means to "sit". The Concise Oxford Dictionary defines the word "eisteddfod" as "congress of Welsh bards" or "national or local gathering for musical competitions" and others.

The Andhra Eisteddfod was introduced to the South African Andhra community by the AMSSA in 1939 and it was the result of the serious efforts made by L.Kris Naidoo who headed the committee for many years (Source : The Andhra Eisteddfod Golden Jubilee Souvenir Brochure 1989 : 10). The Andhras in South Africa were the first among the Indian linguistic groups to introduce this Annual

Eisteddfod on a regional level and present-day Andhras are proud of this fact.

The Annual Andhra Eisteddfod is an event conducted by the AMSSA, in which all the affiliate branch sabhas/patasalas take part competitively for trophies and certificates in Telugu song, Telugu music, Andhra dance such as gobbi and kolatam, and Telugu drama and speeches. This eisteddfod contributed towards the AMSSA effort in maintaining the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa.

The origins of the Andhra Eisteddfod date back to 1932, when, in the first annual general meeting of the AMSSA, the Stella Hill patasala pupils were requested to render some musical items. This rendition provided the necessary impetus to organize the Eisteddfod in 1939 under the distinguished patronage of Lady Rama Rao, wife of the Indian High Commissioner in South Africa, at Gandhi Library, Queen Street, Durban (Source : Andhra Eisteddfod Golden Jubilee Brochure 1989 : 10). Since then, under the capable administration of the AMSSA, this Eisteddfod became an annual Andhra event which later inspired the other linguistic groups to organize their own Eisteddfod. The Andhra Eisteddfod has survived in South Africa in the midst of turmoils of the past and in 1989 successfully celebrated its golden jubilee. The present-day Andhras feel that the Eisteddfod has survived due to the steady determination and endeavours of their pioneers in South

Africa and salute them whenever possible (see chapter six).

The activity which beyond doubt brought success to the AMSSA, in the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture, is the Annual Eisteddfod. The success of the eisteddfod not only indicates the loyalty of the Andhras towards their MT and culture, but also the efforts made by the AMSSA in trying to preserve the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa.

#### **4.5.8 ANDHRA CULTURAL AWARDS DAY**

In 1988 the AMSSA resolved to present cultural awards in recognition of dedicated service rendered by loyal Andhras in keeping the Andhra culture alive in South Africa. A cultural awards function was held and five loyal Andhras, who were nominated by the members of the AMSSA were presented trophies, before an Andhra congregation. The first recipients of these cultural awards were Mrs.M.L.Nydoo, Mrs.A.V.Ellaurie, Mr.P.M.Naidoo, Mr.S.Reddy and Mr.Joe Samuel. All the awardees, except Mr.S.Reddy, are patasala teachers who dedicated their lives and time to the promotion of Telugu language and Andhra culture. Mr.S.Reddy, as the president of the AMSSA and an active member of the Hindu Maha Sabha, did commendable service to Hindu culture in general and Andhra culture in particular. This cultural awards

function is continued even today.

#### **4.5.9 EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES OF THE SABHAS EXCLUDING THE BRANCH PATASALAS**

##### **4.5.9.1 DAILY FREE TELUGU CLASSES**

During the 1940's and 1950's the AMSSA, for the advancement of Telugu literacy, conducted free, open Telugu classes, daily between 15 h 00 and 17 h 00. For example, in the 1950's the free Telugu classes were conducted daily at Leopold Street, Durban under Shree Hari Prathana and Andhra Bodhana Sabha, and Telugu prayer services were conducted every Sunday at 10 h 00. In the beginning, many Andhras took advantage of the situation and acquired Telugu literacy. As the years went by, however, the general interest of the Andhras declined and these classes were discontinued.

##### **4.5.9.2 ADULT CLASSES AND NIGHT SCHOOL**

Many sabhas and the AMSSA, in order to keep the language alive, conducted adult classes and night schools for the Andhras from as early as the 1930's. These classes were conducted by the first generation South African born Andhras, (and in some cases immigrant Andhras) who learnt the language from the immigrant Andhras. By the 1950's the adult classes, were conducted once a week, at the

AMSSA's Andhra House in Leopold Street, Durban. According to the present Chairman of the Education committee of the AMSSA, (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991) many adult Andhras of the AMSSA and the community learnt Telugu. These classes were initially conducted by Mr.D.V.Naidoo, Mr.Mariah Naidu, Mr.A.J.Naidoo and Pandit Varadacharyulu and later by Mr.P.M.Naidoo.

These classes were divided into two levels. The first level was for the beginners who were taught basics in reading and writing the language; and the advanced class was for those who could read and write, but needed to improve their communication skills. With the arrival of Pandit Varadacharyulu, Telugu grammar was introduced in these schools. He was paid a minimum wage by the AMSSA. According to the AMSSA minutes, these adult classes were held twice weekly with more than 30 students attending regularly. Similarly, in Merebank Mr.S.Mariah conducted adult classes and elderly Andhras took advantage of this opportunity and learnt Telugu from him.

The AMSSA conducted adult classes at M.L.Sultan Technical college for three years in the late 1960's. The classes were conducted during the day by Pandit Varadacharyulu. He also conducted classes at various places such as Clairwood, Stella Hill and Tongaat. As recently as 1973-76 various officials of the AMSSA, such as Mr.B.A.Naidoo (present president of the AMSSA), Mr.V.K.Naidoo (present

deputy president of the AMSSA), Mr.S.Reddy (Ex-president of the AMSSA), and a few ladies attended these adult classes conducted at Andhra House. These adult classes under the AMSSA disbanded due to a lack of interest on the part of the officials and the members of the community.

The Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha earned distinction by organizing the Women's Adult classes in 1954. These women's adult classes commenced with 15 ladies who were taught Telugu literacy, prayers, Bhajans and religious verses by Pandit Varadacharyulu. Classes were held from 13 h 30 to 16 h 30 on Tuesdays. The sabha paid a salary to Pandit Varadacharyulu. However, these classes were also disbanded due to a lack of interest on the part of the ladies, which resulted in poor attendance (Source : Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha Minutes 1983 : 20).

Before 1960 many branch sabhas held adult classes and many Andhras acquired Telugu literacy in those sabhas. At present more than 8 branch sabhas are conducting adult classes in their districts. However, the attendance at these classes is low, demonstrating a lack of interest on the part of the Andhras. The AMSSA is not making any serious efforts to assist or improve these adult classes, neither does it run any adult classes of its own. The lack of support as well as real interest on the part of the AMSSA resulted in a further deterioration of the

adult classes. At present the existing adult classes are in jeopardy.

In October 1935, in order to facilitate Telugu literacy for the working class Andhras, the AMSSA established a Telugu Night School and named it the "Andhra Maha Sabha Andhra Patasala". This school was conducted every night between 18 h 00 to 21 h 00 by Mr.Yashayya. The students were expected to pay 1 shilling a month and the AMSSA paid a salary of 10 shillings per month to the teacher out of the tuition fees collected from the students. Initially the AMSSA did not have accommodation for this class and the situation was saved by the generosity of G.Appala Swami Naidoo, who kindly offered his premises for three months free of charge, as well as the free use of electricity. Later, the class was moved to Mr.R.M. Naidoo's residence.

This night patasala started with 10 students initially. To supervise and guide the activities of this patasala, the AMSSA appointed Mr.A.J.Naidoo as the inspector or supervisor. More than 1,000 pamphlets were distributed to the community advertising the inauguration of this school. However, only ten students were motivated to join this class which proves that as early as 1935 there was a lack of real interest amongst the Andhras in acquiring their language. It is sad to note that as early as 1936, within one year of its existence, the

Andhra Maha Sabha Andhra Patasala's enrolment dropped from ten students to three (Source : AMSSA minutes March 1936). At this stage the AMSSA showed much concern about the drop-out rate because it could not pay the salary of ten shillings to the patasala teacher. Thus, by April 1936, the AMSSA closed this school permanently.

#### **4.5.9.3 ANDHRA EDUCATION BOARD**

A significant step taken by the AMSSA towards the promotion of the Telugu language in South Africa was the establishment of an Andhra Education Board to conduct examinations in Telugu. This Board was established in 1943 under the chairmanship of Mr. A.J.Naidoo. This Board was in existence up to 1960, when the Educational issues were incorporated into the Andhra Eisteddfod Committee.

In order to bring uniformity in the teaching by various patasalas and adult classes, the AMSSA requested the Education Board to devise a syllabus and conduct examinations. The Board had appointed various inspectors (see 3.4) to guide and help the branch sabhas to upgrade their teaching of Telugu. The Board had drawn a common syllabus and prescribed methods of instruction which were distributed to the various sabhas. The examinations, based on the new syllabus, from class one to six, were conducted between 1943-1953 under the supervision of Pandit Varadacharyulu. The successful candidates were

all given merit certificates by the AMSSA (Source : AMSSA Annual Secretarial Report 1947).

In order to exercise control, assess the progress of the patasalas under the various branch sabhas, and to establish more branch patasalas in the Durban region, the Education Board appointed a committee consisting of educated Andhras. From amongst these Mr.A.J.Naidoo was asked to cover the Malvern area, Mr.D.M.Naidoo to cover the Sea View area, Mr.V.C.Nayana Rajh and Mr.T.M.Reddy to cover the Umgeni area. These gentlemen travelled to their respective areas, discussed the possibilities of new patasalas in these areas, motivated the local Andhras and reported back to the Education Board. If there was a patasala already in existence in a particular area, the inspectors assisted in solving their problems (if any) and helped them with reading materials and books. In general, the Board made a survey of the conditions prevailing at each patasala.

This Andhra Education Board was also responsible for conducting various language competitions and organizing many Andhra religio-cultural functions such as Ugaadi, Andhra New Year Celebrations, and even assisted the Eisteddfod Committee for many years. In 1947 the Board held a prayer competition amongst all the pupils representing various patasalas on Andhra New Year's Day. To stimulate interest in the competition, various trophies

were awarded by this Board. These trophies were kindly donated by various generous Andhras.

In order to improve the quality of existing Telugu teaching, the Andhra Education Board, with the help of various prominent Andhras such as A.B.Naidoo and Mr.B. Naidoo, imported Telugu books from India. The Education Board was responsible for the sale and distribution of these books. The Chairman of the Education Board Mr.D.V. Naidoo, who succeeded Mr.A.J.Naidoo, wrote a Telugu Reader in 1948 for the use of the various patasalas. However, this book was never published because of a lack of educational funds.

In 1944, a bursary scheme was devised by the Educational Board whereby students from South Africa would be enabled to study in India. In 1948 the Andhra Education Board established an Andhra Bursary Fund to be used for children, who would be sent to India. Later, however, this scheme was temporarily suspended due to the complaints and allegations made by some loyal Andhras and due to a lack of proper funds.

In 1949 it was decided by the AMSSA that endeavours should be made to import Telugu teachers from India to South Africa. However, as a result of the strained relations between the Governments of the Union of South Africa and the Republic of India, the matter was post-

poned and it was hoped by the Andhras that the relations would soon normalise. However, relations between the two countries have remained strained up to the recent times. The lifting of cultural sanctions would open new possibilities in the foreseeable future.

In 1960, for the sake of financial convenience and also on account of the erosion of the Andhra interest in the Telugu language, the AMSSA disbanded the Education Board and incorporated the Educational matters into the Eisteddfod Committee which had been in existence as a separate Committee since the 1940's.

The Andhra Education and Eisteddfod Committee, formed in 1960, requested the patasalas to keep a record of the activities of their respective schools. To maintain uniformity, the Committee required a monthly report form to be filled and sent to the AMSSA by each branch pata-sala, in which the attendance of the pupils and the number of pupils attending each week in each class for the month were reflected (see appendix). Subsidies or teachers' grants were withheld to penalise those sabhas or patasalas which failed to submit the necessary monthly progress reports.

This idea of obtaining a monthly report from each branch patasala was applied to ensure uniformity and strict control by the 'parent body' over the patasalas. How-

ever, interviews with the elderly patasala teachers and the ex-patasala teachers and the present officials of the Education Committee, formed in 1986, revealed that those monthly reports are not available, due to a lack of proper documentation or proper organization. It is disappointing that the writer was unable to see even one such report. This reflects poorly on the recent AMSSA officials vis-a-vis their management of the patasala affairs. However, the PAS, one of the then active branch sabhas, kept a record of its patasala's progress from its formation in 1933 up to the present by means of its brochures.

In 1970, the Education and Eisteddfod Committee held a patasala teacher's conference for the purpose of establishing a uniform teaching method in all the patasalas. Under the chairmanship of the then inspector, Mr.V. Mariah, all the teachers present participated in a group discussion regarding the correct teaching methods, uniformity of prayers and other related matters (Source: AMSSA A.G.M Minutes : 1970). It was anticipated by the AMSSA that there would be similar regular conferences in the future, but little progress in that direction was made. This again points to a lack of general interest in the language, and the further erosion of Telugu.

The Education and Eisteddfod Committee continued up to 1986, when the Committee was separated into an Education

Committee and an Eisteddfod Committee following the introduction of the Indian vernaculars in the state schools in 1984. In 1986 the AMSSA felt that Education ought to be regulated separately from the Eisteddfod, which was becoming more and more popular. The AMSSA also felt that, as a result of the introduction of Telugu in the school curriculum, the Andhras need more patasalas and more adult classes for the training of teachers to teach in state schools (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991). The first Chairman of the Education Committee was Mr.V.K. Naidoo.

The Education Committee decided to devise its own Reader since there were no appropriate Telugu readers in South Africa. In 1986, the Education Committee invited all the Patasala teachers to a general meeting and discussed the problem. It was immediately decided that a reader be compiled with the assistance of three or four Andhras. They compiled a reader, using extracts from old readers which were available in the country. This reader which is basically just a replica of what was in the old readers, was not published by the AMSSA, however, due to a lack of printing facilities and finances. In 1991, two readers Telugu Velugu 1 and Telugu Velugu 2 which are suitable to South African students, were written and published by the Telugu lecturer at the U.D-W. These readers are accompanied by a user's guide, with more teaching and learning materials to help the beginner.

With the publication of these Telugu Readers in 1991, and with the availability of the services of the Telugu lecturer in the community, the AMSSA Education Board launched its "second phase" of the Telugu Examinations, viz. the introduction of elementary and the intermediate examinations in Telugu. The Examiner is the writer herself and the examinations are conducted twice a year. Only ten candidates, all aged over forty, wrote the elementary examination and one elderly person wrote the intermediate examination. These examinations proved a success and the candidates passed with good marks. The successful candidates were awarded certificates during the 1991 Eisteddfod. More students ventured to write these examinations in October and passed with good symbols.

The Chairman of the Education Board expects many more candidates to sit for the future examinations. The writer feels that unless the youth take part in the written and oral examinations these examinations will have a brief existence. The AMSSA and the Education Committee should give more attention to the propagation of the language. These examinations should be encouraged and Andhras of all age groups motivated to write them. The researcher is of the opinion that the efforts thus far made by the Education Committee are inadequate to halt the erosion of the language.

#### 4.5.9.4 ANDHRA QUIZ PROGRAM

In 1983 the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha, while celebrating its Golden Jubilee, dedicated 17 April to the children and organized appropriate celebrations. Many interesting programs such as cultural dances, sketches and songs were rendered by different branch sabhas. Woven into the other programs of the children's Day celebration was an exciting and well-patronized quiz program with Mr. Sannasy as the quiz master.

All the branch sabha patasalas were encouraged to take part in this quiz program, held at the Majestic Cinema in Chatsworth. The program had conversational topics and oral questions in Telugu. The successful candidates were given certificates and trophies. This Telugu Quiz program was the first and thus far the only one to be held among the Andhra community. It is unfortunate to note that after 1983 neither the AMSSA nor the branch sabhas were motivated to hold such language promoting activities. This demonstrates a lack of an organized effort towards language promoting activities for the benefit of the Andhras.

#### 4.6 CONCLUSION

It is evident from this chapter that the main purpose for the formation of the AMSSA and the branch sabhas was that

of keeping the Telugu language and the Andhra culture alive in South Africa. The AMSSA, during the early years of its existence, showed much concern about achieving its aims and objectives. It established many patasalas in various places and founded the Andhra Education Board. The branch sabhas, particularly the PAS did grate service in keeping the Telugu language alive in South Africa. It clearly emerges that the activities of the PAS, due to its affiliation and loyalty towards the parent body, buttressed and strengthened the language promoting activities of the AMSSA. The AMSSA and the branch sabhas nurtured the language by conducting examinations, producing publications, organizing quiz programs, competitions and Eisteddfods.

However, it is also evident that after the 1960's the interest of the Andhra community, of the AMSSA and of formerly active sabhas such as the PAS, the Sea View Sabha and the Stella Hill Sabha in actively nurturing the Telugu language, diminished. After 1970 the language promoting activities of the AMSSA were not vigorous and at present the AMSSA is not expending sufficient funds on the patasalas and the teaching of Telugu in the country. The Telugu language is therefore rapidly eroding in South Africa. There are reasons for this erosion, both internal and external. The reasons for the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa are identified and discussed comprehensively in chapter five.

## CHAPTER FIVE

### LANGUAGE SHIFT AND THE GRADUAL EROSION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### 5.1 ABSTRACT

The purpose of this chapter is to show the extent to which the use of the Telugu language has declined amongst the Andhras and the factors which facilitated or accelerated the shift towards English. The "Language Loyalty" and "Language Maintenance" efforts of the Andhra community are discussed in chapter six. This chapter applies the sociolinguistic phenomenon of language Shift (LS), to determine the status of the Telugu Language. The ideas of a few prominent sociolinguists like Joshua Fishman (1966, 1971), Demos Vasikile (1988) and Ralph Fasold (1984) are discussed in order to limit the scope of the study.

The contents of this chapter are largely based on the findings of the survey conducted among the Andhras living in the Durban and surrounding areas (see chapter 1.3). According to the interview and questionnaire findings, the language shift from Telugu is mainly linked to the dominant official status of the English language, as well as various other factors, which have an eroding influence

on the Telugu language.

The terms " Language Shift", and "Sociolinguistics" are defined hereunder. In conclusion, the ideas of various sociolinguists are critically discussed.

## **5.2 FACTORS EXERTING "LANGUAGE SHIFT" AND GRADUAL EROSION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE**

### **5.2.1 DEFINITION OF THE TERMS "SOCIOLINGUISTICS" AND "LANGUAGE SHIFT"**

According to Hymes (1972 :14), sociolinguistics is **"the study of language in relation to social conditions"**.

However, to Pride (1970 : 22), **"it is not simply an amalgamation of linguistics and sociology but it embraces, in principle, every aspect of the structure and use of language that relates to its social and cultural functions"**. Bright (1975 : 11) simply defines the term sociolinguistics as a subject which **"deals with the relationship between language and society"**.

Fishman defines sociolinguistics as (1970 : 4) :

**the study of the characteristics of language variety, the characteristics of their functions, and the characteristics of their speakers as these three constantly interact, change, and change one another within a speech community.**

After careful consideration of these statements, sociolinguistics could simply be regarded as the study of language in the matrix of the social and cultural behaviour of a community.

Prominent sociolinguists have discussed "Language Maintenance" and "Language Shift" (LMLS) (Fishman, Fasold, Dorian, Gal) of minority language groups in foreign environments. Before discussing the actual language shift of the Andhra community from Telugu to English, the term "Language shift" needs to be defined clearly.

Fasold (1984 : 207) defines "language shift" simply as **"the process of a community giving up a language completely in favour of another one"**. He further states that **"when the shift occurs, the community has collectively chosen a new language where an old one was used before"**. Similarly Weinreich (1979 : 68) defines it as **"the change from the habitual use of one language to that of another"**.

According to Hauptfleisch (1983 : 5) language shift should also imply not only a shift in language identity but also in the value system of a particular group. However, here it is not clear whether he meant spiritual or cultural value system.

Although there are no specific sets of predictable causes for the language shift of a speech community, the sociolinguists roughly group them as follows: economic changes; status; demography, and institutional support (Mesthrie : to appear in Pergamon Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics). However, there are many other

causes underlying the shift of the Telugu language in South Africa. Each cause is discussed under a separate subheading in this chapter. In order to understand the shift, it is necessary to see such shift within the framework of sociolinguistic phenomena.

### 5.2.2 LANGUAGE SHIFT - A SOCIOLINGUISTIC PHENOMENON

Various sociolinguists have identified several factors that facilitate or accelerate language shift (Fishman, Fasold, Gal, Vasikile and others). Causes for language shift are always numerous and sometimes interrelated and vary from one situation to the other. Language shift occurs when a new language is acquired by a community with the concomitant loss of its erstwhile primary language (Mesthrie : Pergamon Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics). 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.

Situations like military conquest, changes in the national boundary (Gal 1979 : 3) or emigration from one country to another (Fishman : 1971) can all create ethnic-linguistic minorities which are prone to language shift. Once viable 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 (unlike Srilankan Tamils settled in Tamilnadu, India) 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 because she states that the language shift still 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 (Gal 1979 : 3).

Thompson states (1974 : 58) 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 (Lieberson and Curry 1971 : 134).

According to Pandit (1977 : 9) :

**A second generation speaker in Europe or America gives up his native language in favour of the dominant language of the region; language shift is the norm and language maintenance an exception. In India language maintenance is the norm and shift an exception.**

Pandit, discussing the survival of indigenous Indian languages in immigrant situations within India (such as Bengali and Punjabi in Delhi, Malayalam in Madhya Pradesh, Telugu in Tamilnadu), states that within the Indian immigration situations maintenance is the norm and shift an exception. However, in certain Indian linguistic contexts (such as Bhojpuri and Maithili dialects which have shifted towards Hindi) Pandit's statement is incorrect. Several Indian tribes such as Bhil, Gond, Ho, Lodha among others either have already completely given up their indigenous language or are currently in the process of language shift.

According to the 'bilingual functioning and domain overlap' theory of Fishman (1971 : 306), in the first stage, the immigrant learns the new language (in this case English) through his mother tongue (Telugu). 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 immi-

grants are bilingual. However, in the fourth stage, the acquired language (English) displaces the mother tongue (Telugu) from all the domains of communication, and the mother tongue is mediated by English.

To conclude, language shift denotes that the main language of the place or country where the immigrants settled permanently exerts a decisive influence on the immigrants' mother tongue. This language shift, however, occurs only in a minority language group like the Andhras in South Africa. 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 government policy towards the Indian languages in South Africa.

Thus far in white dominated South Africa many indigenous languages, though they have numerical majority, were not accorded any official status. This government policy towards the Indian languages and the various African languages created several minority languages. Zulu in South Africa, with its vast number of speakers, is still regarded as a minority language because of the lack of official recognition by the government (Aziz 1988 : 11). When a language has not received any official encouragement or ranks low in social status of the community, the speakers of that language are prone to shift their mother tongue in favour of the dominant language. Thus lack of

official status also leads to language shift along with various other factors.

In the light of the phenomena mentioned above let us consider the factors that exerted significant influence on the language shift of the Telugu speaking Hindus towards English.

### **5.2.3 THE SUPERSEDING OF TELUGU BY ENGLISH**

When the Andhras arrived in Natal as indentured workers in 1860 English was already very firmly established because of the arrival of the British immigrants in 1820. The very fact that the indentured Andhras had the English-speaking South Africans as their employers from the time of their arrival in South Africa, exerted great influence on the economic and social aspects of the lives of the Andhras. As years passed by the need for English as a means of communication in the commercial and social spheres increased. As indentured labourers, the Andhras began learning English through the medium of Telugu. Initially, they learnt 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, during research it was evident that some Indians learnt Fanagalo

and used it for communication purposes with other linguistic groups, including their employers.

However, 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 only Telugu. As a result, in later years as freed immigrants, their need to learn English for communication purposes became an economic and social issue. At this stage they needed English both as a *lingua franca* and as a passport to social and economic advancement.

Because of the nature of the indentureship, most of the Andhras were compelled to live in Natal, where the influence of English is greater and stronger than Afrikaans which is mostly spoken in the Orange Free State, Transvaal, and Cape Province.

As Bughwan states (1970 : 12) :

**surrounded by, and dependent upon English as the Indians in Natal are, in every aspect of their living, it is no wonder that it has taken precedence over their own languages.**

Some of the Indians (Andhras) did not resist English; in fact some immigrant parents forced their children to learn English as soon as possible (Interview : Naidu, J.G : 1990) and discouraged them from learning Telugu or any

other vernacular. Very few Andhras resisted the adoption of the English language, and as Aziz states (1988 : 48), **"the resistance to English was however, an individual effort"** and as Bughwan notes (1970 : 16), it was not a strenuous effort. This occurred largely because the social identity associated with English became more desirable for the Andhras during this period. Those who were proficient in English, made greater economic progress than the others in South Africa and even became models to be emulated in the immigrant homes and immigrant organizations (Prabhakaran, 1990 : 3). At this stage, in consonance with Fishman's dictum (1971 : 306), although bilingualism continued, the use of English became more dominant than that of Telugu. The immigrants, whose main concern was to identify with the socio-economic group, raised their children by communicating with them in the English medium (Fishman 1966 : 147). The Andhras of South Africa were no exception to this norm.

The Andhras, who were more fluent in English became bilingual in Telugu and English, this phase being characteristic of the third stage of Fishman's theory. At this juncture in the history of the Andhras in South Africa both Telugu and English functioned independently. Once the immigrant becomes bilingual, he is prone to shift his language in favour of the acquired language. Since there was no domain in which the non-English ethnic language (Telugu) alone was required for membership in the commu-

nity, the Andhra children, who had become bilingual in the family, became more and more monolingual English speakers. According to Thompson (1974 : 58), at this stage of bilingualism the mother tongue usually disappears. Lieberson and Curry both agree with this statement of Thompson (Lieberson and Curry 1971 : 134). Those Andhras who gave up their mother tongue (Telugu) in favour of English display 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"**. According to the interviews conducted in Natal, not even a single present-day Andhra in South Africa is monolingual in Telugu, but many are monolingual in English (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1990). In response to the question in the questionnaire 'how often do you speak Telugu with your parents, spouse, siblings and children?' a very low incidence was recorded of the use of the Telugu language for the purpose of communication by the respondents.

The education policy of the South African Government also accelerated the language shift 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 (Interview : Ellaurie : 1990). 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 Immigrant School Board was established by Act 20 of 1878. During this period the state made no provision for the Indian children to study their own language and culture (Hofmeyr and Oosthuizen 1979 : 21). Above all, 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, which also implied insistence on the use of English. At this stage, as Hofmeyr and Oosthuizen state (1979 : 21), **"Education was used as an instrument to destroy the customs of the Indian child"**.

As a result of the Union of South Africa Act of 1909, English became one of the official languages, along with Dutch. Later, the Cape Town Agreement of 1927 made many tempting offers, such as the Union citizenship to those Indians who followed western habits and way of life. As Calpin (1949 : 64) states, **"The Union Government would recognise those Indians domiciled in the Union who are prepared to conform to Western standards of life"**. Those 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.

Many Andhras became indifferent about the future of the Andhra culture and Telugu language. As Hilda Kuper (1960 : 9) notes, **"the uplift clause of the Cape Town Agreement marks a stage in Indian development in South Africa - the capitalization of western education"**. The promises made in this agreement provided sufficient incentive to some Andhras to abandon their mother tongue and Andhra culture in favour of English (Bughwan 1970 : 16-17. Also cf. Bhana and Pachai 1984 : 242-3).

English became the medium of instruction in Natal as early as 1927 and **"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"** (Hofmeyr and Oosthuizen 1979 : 23) (Also cf. Kuppusamy 1946). Due to this after 1940 for many Indians their own mother tongue became an alien language.

The status of English became much more consolidated by the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. Section 108 of the Constitution Act 32 of 1961 states **"English and Afrikaans shall be the official languages of the Republic"**. This accelerated the language shift towards English. Act 76 of 1984 consolidated English as the medium of instruction in all Indian

schools and stipulated that the mother tongue shall be the medium of instruction for every pupil. However, the unfortunate part of this Act is, the principal is given the right to determine the first language of a child at the time of his admission to school (Aziz 1988 : 54).

According to the survey conducted in 1990 by the Telugu subject committee under the House of Delegates (HoD), many principals are choosing English when determining the pupil's mother tongue because act 76 of 1984 states that **".. the mother tongue shall be the official language in which the pupil is more proficient..."**.

Thus as Aziz states (1988 : 55) :

**In a school situation the first language of an Indian child is indirectly legislated to be English, the second language is Afrikaans and Urdu (or any other vernacular language) is the third language.**

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

In response to the questions "did/do you find it easy to speak in Telugu with your parents?" many of the respondents gave negative replies which clearly demonstrated the language shift. This is reflected in the table below:

**TABLE 5.1**

**DID/DO YOU FIND IT EASY TO SPEAK TO YOUR PARENTS IN  
TELUGU?**

D.N.A	YES	NO	TOTAL
9	90	47	146
6.2%	61.6%	32.2%	100%

D.N.A = Did not answer

The above table illustrates that 32.2% of the total respondents do not find it easy to communicate in Telugu with their parents and 6.2% of the respondents did not answer the question. The high (61.6%) response towards positive answers could be attributed to the average mean age of the respondents (40.4 years) who did communicate with their parents in Telugu.

To conclude the superseding of Telugu by English is apparent in the domain of daily communication within the circle of family and friends due to the language shift of the Andhra community.

#### **5.2.4 GENERATION AS A FACTOR IN LANGUAGE SHIFT**

A number of 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 the opinion of Vasikile (1988 : 63 and cf. Fishman 1966 : 132), with each

succeeding generation, there is less EMT retention.

Children are generally brought up in the social group to which their parents and immediate family circle belong. They learn the dialect and speaking styles and religio-cultural habits of that group in which they are born and raised. Their attitudes and subcultural behaviour traits are mostly influenced by the language they learn as children because that language is the store-house of knowledge for that particular linguistic group. This learning of the mother tongue (MT) is largely an unconscious and involuntary process of acculturation.

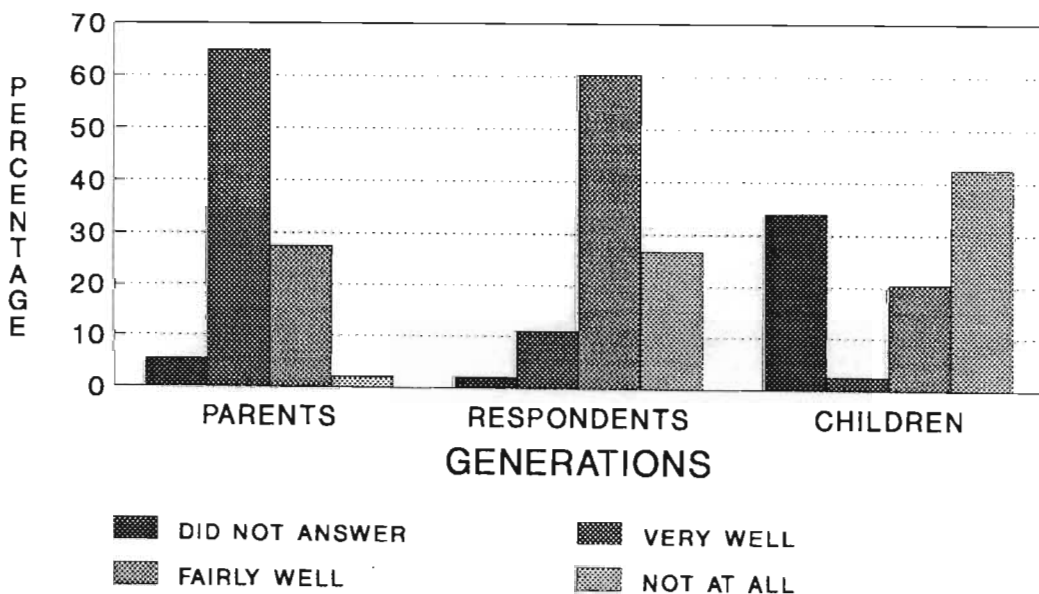
However, the situation is not always the same with every group of people. The immigrants, when they arrive in a new environment, as a first generation, earnestly try to retain their mother tongue. However, as Bughwan states (1979 : 480) faced by stark realities, they have to learn the dominant language of the new environment. As a minority group, they very soon realise that their MT lacks social status in their new life and 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 disappears and the

dominant language of the host country is more favoured. This is true in case of the immigrants in the United States, United Kingdom and many more Eastern as well as Western countries, including South Africa.

Responses to the questions about the proficiency in Telugu of the respondent, his parents and his children, clearly showed that with each succeeding generation proficiency in speaking, reading and writing the Telugu language declines. Working on the descriptive analysis, a comparison is made to show the speaking ability between the three generations of the Andhras as depicted in a graph (see graph 5.1).

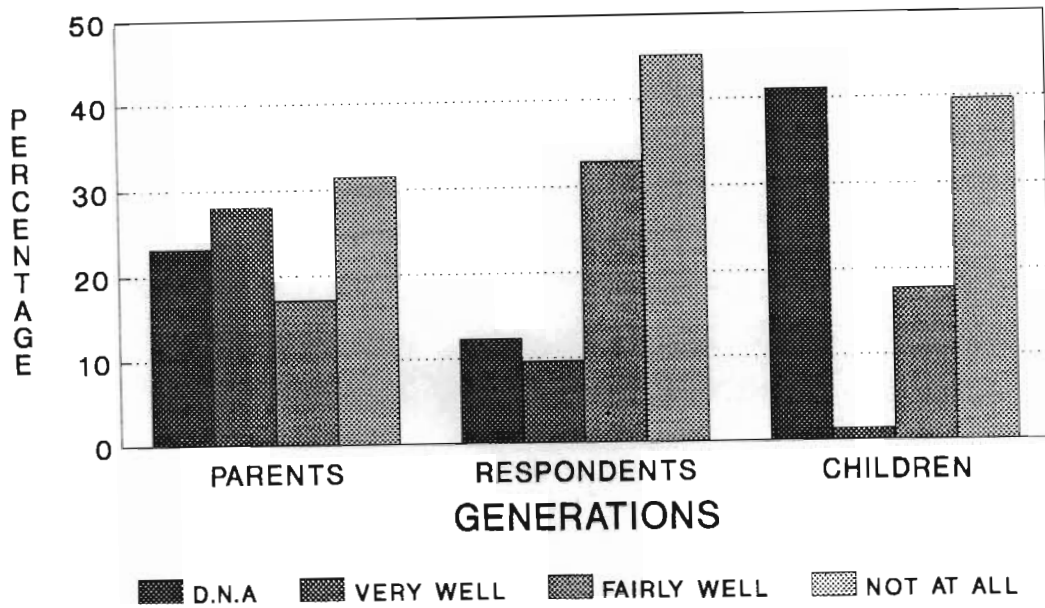
## TELUGU SPEAKING ABILITIES OF THE ANDHRAS - GRAPH 5.1



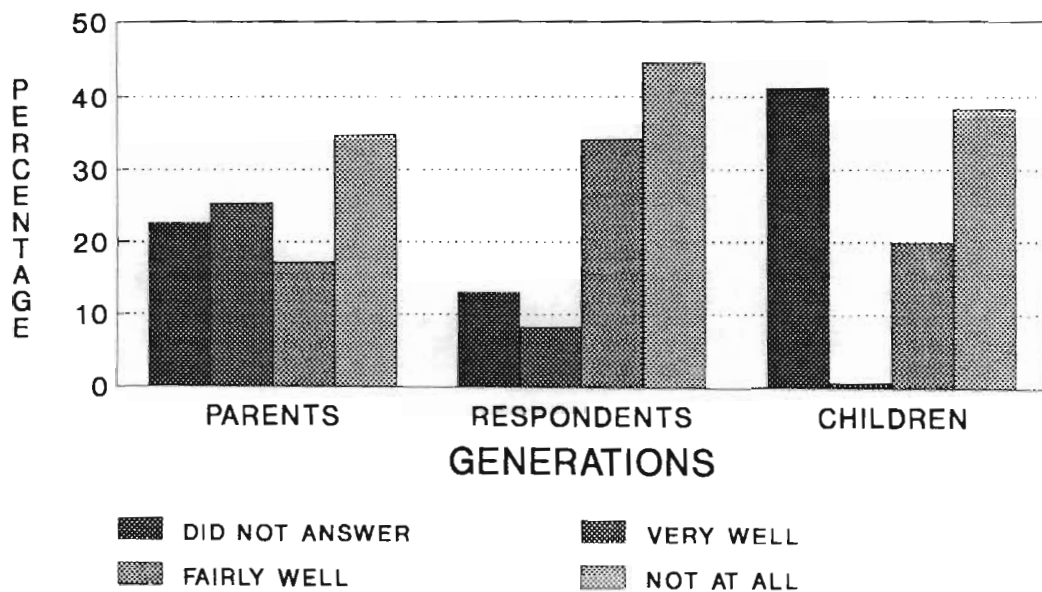
The graph (5.1) shows the deteriorating speaking ability of the Andhras as the generations progress. 65% of the respondents' parents can speak Telugu very well, 27.4% can speak fairly well and only 2.1% cannot speak Telugu at all. However, in the respondents' generation only 11% can speak Telugu very well, 60.3% fairly well, but 26.7% 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 2.7% of the children can speak Telugu very well, 20.5% fairly well, 34.2% did not answer and most of them, i.e 42.5%, cannot speak Telugu at all.

Similarly, the reading and writing abilities of the three generations show less retention of EMT (See graph 5.2 and 5.3). 28.1% of the respondents' parents can read Telugu very well, 17.1% can read Telugu fairly well and 31.5% cannot read Telugu at all. However, only 9.6% of the respondents can read Telugu very well, 32.9% can read fairly well but 45.2% cannot read Telugu at all. In the respondents' children's generation, only 1.4% can read Telugu very well, 17.8% fairly well, 39.7% cannot read Telugu at all and 41.1% did not answer.

## TELUGU READING ABILITIES OF THE ANDHRAS - GRAPH 5.2



## TELUGU WRITING ABILITIES OF THE ANDHRAS - GRAPH 5.3

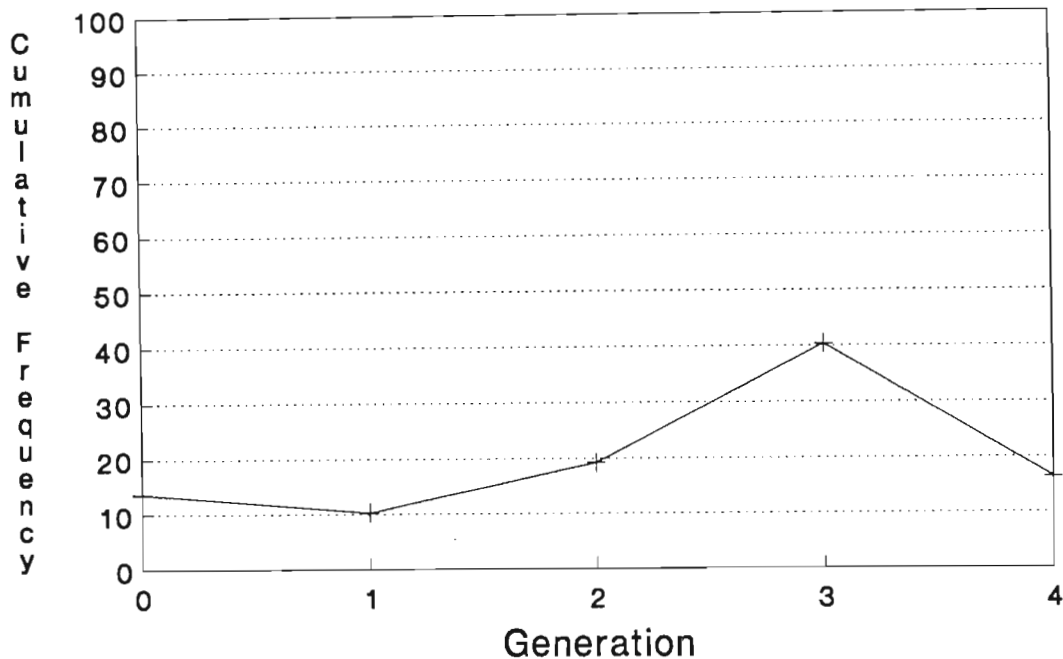


The above three graphs (5.1, 5.2, 5.3) clearly show that the respondent's parents' reading, speaking and writing skills in Telugu are much higher than those of the respondents themselves, and the respondents' proficiency in the EMT is higher than that of their children. They also show that there is less retention of the EMT in the succeeding generations of the Andhra community. These findings are consistent with the opinions of Fishman and Vasikile.

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 personal advancement, in a foreign environment, forced the Andhras to abandon their MT in favour of English.

Another interesting fact that emerged from the questionnaire survey is that with the death of most of the first generation South African Andhras, Telugu is superseded by English in areas of communication amongst many of the present-day Andhras. Only 10.3% of the respondents are first generation South Africans, 19.2% are in the second generation, 40.4% of them are in the third generation, and 16.4% of them are in the fourth generation. However, 13.7% of the respondents did not indicate their generation (see graph 5.4).

## GENERATION OF THE RESPONDENTS GRAPH 5.4



### 5.2.5 ANDHRAS AS A MINORITY GROUP IN SOUTH AFRICA

The Encyclopaedia of Social Science describes the minority group as (1968 Vol 10 : 365):

**A group of people differentiated from others in the same society by race, nationality, religion and language - who think of themselves as a differentiated group with negative connotations.**

South Africa has a 'colourful cultural mosaic' and thus there are several such minority groups each having its own ethnic culture. In South Africa the term "minority group" is more politically oriented because even though some cultural groups have a numerical majority, they are still regarded as a minority group because of a lack of

political status. For example, the native Africans in South Africa, even though they comprise 80% of the South African population, are regarded as a minority group (Zaman 1980 : 200) because of white domination and total discrimination against Blacks in South Africa. The Indians in South Africa, who number almost one million, are also a minority group.

The South African Indian population census figures obtained between 1936 and 1970, which indicate the home languages of the Indians, show the Andhras as a minority group within the Indian population.

**TABLE 5.2**

**THE INDIANS AND THEIR HOME LANGUAGES BETWEEN 1936 - 1970**

LANGUAGES	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%	18.5%
TELUGU	11.8%	9.4%	9.1%	4.9%
GUJARATI	11.9%	11.3%	12%	7.3%
URDU	6.5%	6%	7.7%	--

(Source : South African Statistics between 1936-1970 as compiled by the Central Statistical Service, Pretoria).

The census taken in 1980 shows that only 0.2% of the Andhras speak Telugu as their home language, and another 0.1% of the Andhras are bilingual, speaking English and Telugu as their home language with predominant Telugu usage. After considering these figures it is evident that:

1. The Indians are a minority group in South Africa and the Andhras are a minority within that minority group.
2. Up to 1951 there was not even a single Andhra who considered English or Afrikaans as his home language, but the situation changed drastically by 1970. This language shift could be attributed to the Group Areas Act and to many other factors.
3. There is extensive erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa and English has superseded Telugu as the home language of most of the Andhras.

Henning (1989 : 11) estimates the Indian South African population at 850,000 i.e 3% of the total South African population. We do not have any documentary proof to support his estimate. Similarly, the estimate made by Poovalingam (Post : April 1991) which states that the Tamils comprise 37% of the total Indian South African population, the Hindi-speaking 33%, the Andhras 14%, the Gujaratis 14% and the Urdu 2%, also cannot be taken as reliable because there is no proper statistical data available on the Indian South Africans separately

according to their linguistic backgrounds.

However, this estimate of the Indian population in South Africa reinforces the fact that the Andhras are a minority within the minority (Indian) community. As a minority group their language, Telugu, was not accorded any status in the South African milieu and most of the Andhras were willing to adjust in the host environment both culturally and linguistically. Most of the Andhras submitted completely to the language and to the culture of South Africa. Some Andhras, according to Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1991) even fear that they will lag behind in the mainstream by following the Andhra culture. Various interviews conducted with the "marginal Andhras" reveal that they do not even regard themselves as Andhras because of the said fear. The 1980 census report confirms that most of the Andhras have already either assimilated or are assimilating with the main stream and have shifted or are shifting their home language to English.

### 5.3. FACTORS WHICH INFLUENCED THE EROSION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### 5.3.1 GOVERNMENT LANGUAGE POLICY

According to Kloss (1968 : 69-70), there are six types of governmental attitudes towards any language in any country. They are :

1. Sole official language - There is only one language in a country used as official language e.g Chinese in Taiwan or French in France.
2. Joint official language whereby the government has two official languages of equivalent status. For example, both English and Afrikaans were declared the official languages in South Africa in 1961 and in India Hindi and English are the official languages of the country.
3. Regional official language - whereby each region is allowed to have its own official language e.g Telugu in Andhra Pradesh and Tamil in Tamilnadu, both in India.
4. Promoted language - which lacks official status, but is utilised by government agencies. The degree of use may vary from situation to situation. e.g Fanagalo is used on the South African mines.
5. Tolerated language - which is neither promoted nor denounced by the authorities (cf. Bell 1976: 182) e.g the languages of the immigrants in the United States or United Kingdom.
6. Discouraged language - which is proscribed or banned to some degree and discouraged to some extent e.g Scots Gaelic was banned after the 1745 uprising, and the Norman-French was banned during the German occupation of the Channel Islands in the Second World War.

All the Indian languages, including Telugu, fall under the category of "tolerated language group" in the South African context because they are neither promoted nor proscribed. However, since 1984 the status of the Indian languages has changed in South Africa because they have been introduced in the state schools as teaching subjects and since 1991 they are being promoted by the appointment of the Indian Language Promoters by the department of Language and Culture under the HoD.

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

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.

The first evidence of official interest in the education of Indian children was noted in 1879 when an Indian Immigrant School Board was appointed by the Government.

This Board took steps to obtain a school inspector who was also qualified to teach and to supervise the teaching in Tamil, Hindi, and English (Source : Minutes of the Indian Immigrant School Board : 1879). However, Telugu is not mentioned here, which confirms 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 which terminated the teaching of the vernacular languages in Natal (Kuppusamy 1946: 10). According to Kuppusamy (1946 : 68), no Indian language was taught, even as a subject of the school curriculum in any Indian school in Natal under government supervision. It is true that the Indians, the Andhras being no exception, favoured English as the medium of instruction, but they did not oppose the introduction of an Indian language in the school curriculum. On the contrary, they agitated for its inclusion in the school curriculum.

In 1950, the Director of Education (Report - Natal Witness 1950 : 42), laying emphasis on 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 receive all their instruction through the medium of English...**

As recently as 1960 the main home language of the Indians was their own ethnic language. According to the 1960

census 34,484 i.e 7.21% of the total Indian South African population, spoke Telugu as their home language. During this period it is evident that the Andhras were anxious to learn Telugu. In 1960's prominent community leaders such as 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 Education in the Republic in 1964 (Source : The Graphic, 1964) that Indian languages should be included in the Indian school curriculum. However, no provision was made to teach Telugu (or any vernacular) in any state school. Many vernacular patasalas existed under the auspices of private organizations, which received no assistance, financial or otherwise from the Government.

The 1980 census shows a decline in the number of Andhras with Telugu as their home language (30,690 in 1970) to 1,875. This is a striking indication of the language shift of the Andhras.

Many Indian community leaders of all linguistic groups brought pressure on the government to introduce Indian languages at state school level. After one hundred and twenty four years of its existence in South Africa, Telugu, along with the other Indian languages, was introduced in the state schools in 1984 due to the pressure brought by the various cultural organizations in Natal. However, as Mesthrie (1985 : 17) comments:

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. At the same time the circular of 1984 (I.E.Circular No 51) stated that the teaching of any Indian language must be warranted by economic viability (cf.I.E. Circular No 29 of 1983). The circular stated 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 is the rapid assimilation of the Andhras into the Tamil community (see 5.3.3). There are less 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 are learning Tamil (Source : Indian Languages Promoter-HoD : 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 the other Indian languages, had been introduced in the government schools 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.

### 5.3.2 ASSIMILATION OF THE ANDHRAS WITH THE TAMILS

One of the most important reasons for the erosion of the Telugu Language in South Africa is the unconscious assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamil community. The Tamil community, being the majority component of the Indian community, exerted great influence on the Andhras as the minority within the minority Indian community in South Africa. However, while identifying the Tamil domination over the Andhras, it is very important to note the circumstances in which this occurred and to examine the areas of domination and assimilation.

In order to understand the Andhra assimilation with the Tamil community, it is necessary to trace the origins of this assimilation process prior to 1860. In this subsection an attempt is made to show briefly the sociological aspects of the behaviour of the minority groups (e.g the Andhras) towards the dominant "out-group" (e.g the Tamils). Here the Tamil community, although an "in-group" language, is referred to as the "out-group" because it has dominance over the Andhra community in South

Africa. The various reasons for Andhra assimilation with the Tamil community are explained in the South African context.

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 cease to exist as a distinct entity.**

Here it is necessary to mention that the Andhras were formerly a part of Tamildesa (country of the Tamils) and arrived in South Africa along with Tamils (2.7).

Brand uses the terms "absorption" or "assimilation" to describe the process of minority identifying with the dominant group (in this instance the Andhras identifying with the Tamils) and states that this assimilation takes place under different stages. The groups with resentful attitudes slowly move into a stage where they are on the margin between two groups. In this stage their attitude is very 'typically ambiguous' and 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 and according to Brand (1966 : 31) this stage might lead to intermarriages. However, it need not necessarily be assumed that intermarriage is the natural result of advanced assimilation between any two groups because in

the South African context the intermarriage between the Tamil community and the Andhras took place for various other reasons (see 5.3.4).

According to sociologists, e.g. Barron (1957 : 452), intermarriage is the final stage of assimilation. He states that intermarriage 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.

Following Brand and Barron, we can conclude that intermarriage acts as a mediating variable usually resulting in accelerated assimilation and it might occur in an immigrant situation like South Africa.

In the South African Indian context, the Andhras assimilated with the Tamil speaking Indians since their arrival in South Africa. According to Naidoo (Naidoo, B.A 1990 : 8), **"absorption with the Tamil speaking people has facilitated the loss of the use of Telugu"**. He also states that many eminent Tamil scholars in South Africa today are of Andhra background. Most of the Andhras learnt the Tamil language and culture, and were very soon absorbed into the Tamil community. They intermarried mostly with the Tamils, learnt their cultural habits and abandoned their own cultural habits.

According to the questionnaire survey the Andhras inter-married more with the Tamil community in comparison to the other linguistic groups. The response elicited to the question "which language group did/does your spouse belong to?" is as follows:

**TABLE 5.3**

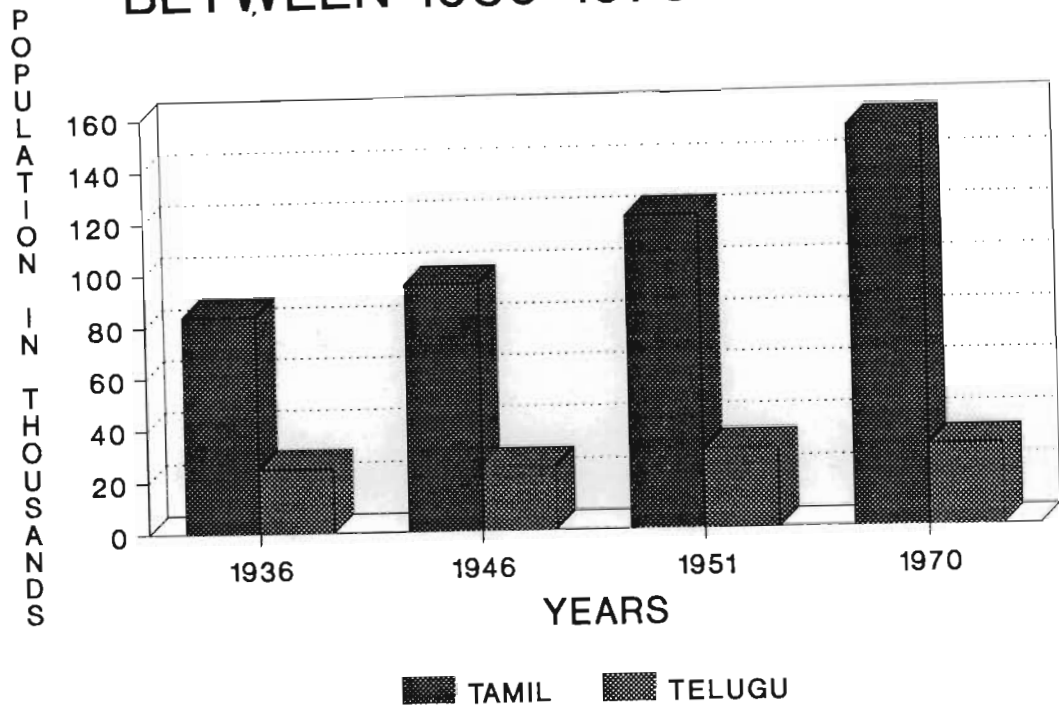
**WHICH LANGUAGE GROUP DID/DOES YOUR SPOUSE BELONG TO?**

N/A	TELUGU	TAMIL	HINDI	GUJARATI	TOTAL
32	86	24	4	-	146
21.9%	58.9%	16.5%	2.7%	-	100%

Similarly to the question "which language group did/ do your parents belong to?", the respondents' answer demonstrated that the Andhras mostly intermarried with the Tamils.

Additional significant evidence for the Tamil absorption of the Andhra people is the statistical population data available between 1936 to 1970 (see graph 5.5).

## TAMIL AND TELUGU POPULATION BETWEEN 1936-1970 - GRAPH 5.5



The Tamil population increased from 83,731 to 153,645 within a short period of 34 years. This increase is to an appreciable degree 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 decreased (see table 5.4).

**TABLE 5.4**

**PERCENTAGE OF TAMIL AND TELUGU SPEAKING COMMUNITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA BETWEEN 1930 - 1970**

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

(Source : Government Population census between 1936 - 1970).

Similarly the percentage of Hindi and Gujarati speaking Indian populations also decreased to a small degree due to language shift. The only linguistic group which experienced a great fall in the percentage of the population between the period 1936-1970 is the Andhra community which had a sharp negative growth from 11.8% to 4.9%. However, the Tamil numbers, though reduced as a percentage of the total population, appear more stable than those of the Andhras. The reasons for the big ratio difference in the growth 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 group.

In the foregoing subsections it has been shown that the Andhras assimilated only with the Tamils but 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 assimilated with the Tamils? In response to this it may be pertinent to quote Brand (1966 : 34):

**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, racial and cultural features, are the most likely to become assimilated to each other.**

The Andhras in many ways resemble the Tamils, for example in their cultural habits, and the similarity of their languages (see 2.4). At the same time, they share the same "Dravidian race" feeling as against the "Aryan race" of the Gujarati and Hindi-speaking Indian communities of South Africa. They also feel 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 for the Tamil and Andhra community. Even though they shared the common concept of "indentured Indian" with the Hindi-speaking Indians, and the common religion, Hinduism, with the Gujarati Indian community, they assimilated with the Tamils more than with any linguistic group because of the same common port of embarkation which made them feel that they were from the same Dravidadesa (Country of the South).

Today, for most of the non-Indian South Africans, as well as some of the Indian South Africans and some of the Andhras, there is not much difference between the Tamils and the Andhras due to the reasons mentioned below (cf. Meer, Kuper). In view of the foregoing assumption, let us now analyze the circumstances which led to the Tamil domination over the Andhras in South Africa and Andhra assimilation with the Tamil community which also led to the erosion of Telugu in South Africa.

#### **5.3.2.1 NO SEPARATE IDENTITY FOR THE ANDHRAS**

When the Andhras arrived in Natal, there was no separate identity for the Andhras, unlike the Tamils (Naidoo, B.A 1990 : 3) because at the time of their departure from India the whole Andhra country was under the British Crown and the Tamils and the Andhras were governed by a common Presidency namely 'the Madras Presidency'. Madras, in Tamil country, was the capital city of the Presidency. The British did not bother to recognise the Andhras as a distinct linguistic group but grouped them together with the Tamils and coined the term "Madarasees" to refer to both Tamils and Andhras. This was also due to the numerical strength of the Tamils over the Andhras. 'Madrassis' (the term as pronounced in South Africa which was used for Madarasees) means people coming from the Madras Presidency.

As Venkatappayya Pantulu states (1982 : 6) :

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 power in the South... new acquisitions, one after another, were added on to 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 and language and different from the Tamils and the Kannadiqas (Kannada speaking people of present day Karnataka State in India), were forced to be united with all the people under a single British rule in 1857. This led to the lack of self-identification for the Andhras who were regarded as the 'Madarasees' by the British, by the native South Africans, as well as by the other South African Indians like Hindi, Gujarati and Urdu speaking Indians. As Kuper (1960 : 6) states, **"Madrassis is applied locally to all immigrants from the South, and 'Calcuttias' to immigrants from the North, thereby adding to other ethnic distinctions the port of embarkation as a new identity"**.

To further exacerbate the situation, many Andhras came to Natal as bilingual Telugu-Tamil speakers. Their bilingualism led to more confusion among the British. They could not make any linguistic difference between these two separate language groups, and they never felt the urge to distinguish between these two linguistic groups. This very fact hastened the Andhra assimilation with the Tamils in South Africa.

Another factor which led to the Tamil domination over the Andhras was the foundation of the Natal Tamil Sungam in 1905 and the Hindu Tamil Institute which was established in 1914 (Ariyan 1989 : 135) with the aim of uniting all the Tamils into one cultural group. The Andhras, as a minority group were scattered among the other language groups, already lacking separate group identity. As a consequence, many Andhras joined the Tamil Sabhas. In order to be accepted in those sabhas, they learnt Tamil and communicated in Tamil with the Tamils. Many of the Andhra migrants also learnt Hindi and Fanagalo and communicated with others either in Hindi or Fanagalo.

The first independent Andhra Sabha was established only in 1931. The growth of Andhraism was the natural result of the arrival of Sir Venkata Kurma Reddi, the Agent-General from India. His arrival exerted great influence on the Andhras to form their own Maha Sabha by which they could retain their own group identity.

However, by this time most of the Andhras were either absorbed by the dominant Tamil group, or as Brand states (1966 : 29), were on the margin between these two groups. As recently as 1989 the Tamils and the Andhras of South Africa got together and established the United Dravida Council of South Africa (UDCOSA) with the main purpose of uniting all the South Indian language speaking Indians in South Africa into one socio-cultural and political orga-

nization (Interview : Padayachee : 1991).

#### 5.3.2.2 ANDHRA MIGRATION TO TAMILNADU PRIOR TO 1860

There is historical evidence to show that the Andhras migrated to Tamilnadu (Tamildesa) and settled there even as early as the eighth century i.e during the reign of the Pallava Kings (Chopra 1979, Vol.1 : 68). During the regimes of the Cholas and the Chalukyas (9-12 centuries), more Andhra immigrants went to Tamilnadu because of the matrimonial alliance which took place between these two kingdoms. The rule of the Nayaka Kings (sixteenth century) in Madurai and Tanjore districts in Tamilnadu, accelerated the Andhra immigration to Tamilnadu. During the eighteenth and twentieth centuries, when the British ruled South India, many Andhra families settled in and around Madras (Velayutha Raja 1975 : 1) because the industrialization accompanying British rule brought many new factories and industries to the Madras area. Their inhibiting policy towards the small-scale industries and discouragement of agricultural industries resulted in many Andhras being attracted towards the apparently bright future offered by the Madras area.

Even to this day there are more than five million Andhras in Tamilnadu who settled in the Madras Presidency during British rule. In Tamilnadu the chief centres of Andhra settlement are Chengalput, North Arcot, Northern South

Arcot; in the main Tamil Kingdom, Andhras occupy areas such as Madurai, Tanjavur, Rajapalayam and Tirunelveli (Interview : Prabhakaran, N : 1991). As many as 40% of Telugu speakers inhabited Aruppukkotai, a small town near Madurai as recently as 1970 (Elangaiyan 1973 : 6). Rajapalayam in the Ramanathapuram district, in present Tamilnadu is named after its Raju inhabitants. The Rajus were Telugu speakers who migrated during the Vijayanagara conquest of the Tamildesa (1333-1565) (Source : Encyclopaedia Britannica Vol.9 1990 : 908).

The major temples like Tiruchy, Madurai, Chengalput, Tanjore, Tiruvarur and others had Telugu priests who were very proficient in Vedic rites and rituals and in the Sanskrit language. The Telugu language was well maintained by these families in the Tamil environment because of the closeness in terms of vocabulary between Telugu and Sanskrit, and because of the need for Sanskrit in their daily religious observances.

According to the 1981 linguistic survey of India, there were 5,000,000 Telugu speaking people in Tamilnadu (See the map 5.1) (Source : the Data of Population (approx) as supplied by Telugu Associations to International Telugu Institute, Hyderabad).

The Andhras who settled in Tamilnadu as early as the eighth century became bilingual and spoke a mixture of



**EXPLANATORY NOTE REGARDING FIGURES ON MAP:**

The lac (or lakh) is the standard unit equalling 100,000 and a crore equalling 10 million.  
 Thus, 7,00,000 = 7 lacs = 700,000  
 5,34,03,600 = 5 crores, 34 lacs, 3 thousand and 600  
 i.e. 53,403,600.

the Tamil-Telugu language as their home language. These Andhras, because of their migration to Tamilnadu, did not have any cultural contact with the other Andhras in Andhradesa. As Pillay (Interview : Pillay, P : 1991) states, "**... already the cross pollination of the two cultures and languages took place in India**". The Andhras mostly identified themselves with the Tamils but retained their surnames (Inti Peru). Thus many Andhras assimilated with the native Tamils in their religio-cultural and social habits even before they arrived in South Africa.

The ships' lists of indentured Indians between 1860-1902, show that most of the immigrants who arrived from the Madras Presidency hailed from North Arcot, South Arcot, Chengalput and other areas. It is very difficult to ascertain the exact number of the Andhras who came from these Tamil districts. However, it should be remembered that the Andhras who arrived from these districts had already been exposed to the Tamil language and culture in addition to their native Telugu language and Andhra culture. Most of them already regarded themselves as Tamils because their association with the Tamil culture was much stronger than that with the Andhra culture. Such Andhras, according to Brand's minority phenomenon, had already assimilated with the dominant Tamil group.

It is the author's hypothesis that the ancestors of some of the Tamil "Naidoos" or the Tamil "Reddys" in South Africa must have been the Andhras who migrated from the Andhra country to Tamilnadu from the 8-19 centuries, and that they had already assimilated with the Tamils in India before arriving in Natal calling themselves the Tamil "Naidoos". If one carefully considers the social history of the Andhras and the Tamils prior to 1860 in India, there were no Tamil speaking Naidoos who were pure Tamils in Tamilnadu, but they were the Andhras who had migrated and assimilated with the local Tamils by inter-marrying (Interview : Pillay, P : 1991).

The geographical position of the Andhra region is one of the reasons for the assimilation of the Andhras with the Tamils. The Andhra region, being the interface between the Aryan and Dravidian cultures, was exposed to various political and cultural invasions, indeed, more so than was the Tamil kingdom (Chatterji 1978 : 625). The Tamil kingdom was able to resist the various invasions because of the presence of the Andhra region as a 'buffer state'. The Andhras, being exposed to various cultures, became an assimilative type (Interview : Sivaramamurthy : 1990) and thus easily assimilated with the Tamils. Due to this assimilating nature, heightened by various other factors such as the exposure to various foreign traders who traded with the Andhra country and visitors who visited the Buddhist and Jain cultural centres, the Andhras had a

predisposition to assimilate easily with the Tamils in South Africa.

Another factor which facilitated the assimilation between the Andhras and the Tamils in South Africa was the necessity for the Andhras to learn Tamil. Being a minority surrounded by Tamils or Hindi-speakers, the Telugu-speakers were obliged to learn Tamil or Hindi in the early years of their "barrack days". Later generations also learnt Tamil and Hindi. This was demonstrated by the answers given to the question viz. "which language did/do your parents speak?". Many respondents answered that their parents can speak Telugu, Tamil, Hindi, Zulu (probably Fanagalo) along with English. When interviews were conducted with many important officials of the AMSSA and elder members of the Andhra community in South Africa, they claimed that they could read, write and converse in Tamil, Hindi and Zulu (Fanagalo).

To learn Tamil rather than Hindi was a necessity for the Andhras in South Africa because most of the Andhras wanted to identify themselves with the Tamils, which gave them a group identity in a foreign environment. However, because of their numerical strength, it was unnecessary for the Tamils to learn Telugu, because they would not lose their language or their culture by not identifying with the Andhras (Interview : Prabhakaran, N : 1991).

In South Africa the Tamils and the Andhras intermarried freely. One interviewee (Naidu, J.G : 1991) states that, when intermarrying the Tamils insist that their future daughter-in-law learn to speak Tamil. There is no documentary proof to support the above claim, but many Andhras feel the same way about the intermarriage between the Tamils and the Andhras (cf. Interviews Naidoo. L, Naidoo, A.A and also Naidoo, B.A). However, a Tamil-speaking interviewee (Padayachee, S : 1991) states that **"it may be true in one or two individual cases that the Tamils insist their future daughter-in-law should learn Tamil but this did not happen always"**. Approximately 5% of respondents to the questionnaire survey stated that they are learning Tamil because their mother or father is Tamil. We can assume that it is possible that Tamil is the dominating force in some marriage alliances between the Andhras and the Tamils to the detriment of the Telugu language.

#### 5.3.2.3 THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE TELUGU AND TAMIL SCRIPTS

Another reason which made many Andhras learn Tamil instead of Telugu is the difference between the Telugu and Tamil script. The numerical Telugu alphabet (with thirteen vowels, three vowel-consonants and thirty-six consonants) with its various combinations and clusters (504 vowel combinations with consonants and many more

hundreds of subscribed consonants), makes the beginner assume that Telugu is very difficult to learn thereby discouraging the beginner from learning the language (Arden 1873 : 3). According to the interview conducted with the Tamil lecturer at the U.D-W, the Tamil language has a simple alphabet with its limited number of letters and with few hard consonants (Source : Murugan : 1991). It therefore appeals to the South African beginner.

In the South African context there are no properly qualified teachers to teach Telugu. Due to that fact and availability of the Tamil teachers the Andhras preferred to learn Tamil, if they wished to learn a South Indian vernacular.

The researcher is of the opinion that if taught by using modern teaching methods, Telugu is not a difficult language when compared to other Indian languages existing in South Africa.

Furthermore, during the beginning of the immigration the qualified Telugu teachers were Christians. These included Baptist Church ministers at Kearsney : Rev.Rangiah and, later, Prof.John Jeevaratnam. The Hindu Andhras were reluctant to learn Telugu from them because they feared religious interference from the Christian Telugu teachers (Interview : Naidoo, A.A : 1991). They preferred to be taught by the Hindu Tamil teacher in Tamil

than by the Christian Telugu teacher in Telugu. This religious insecurity of the Hindu Andhras in the early years of the immigration also led to the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa.

#### **5.3.2.4 VISITS TO INDIA**

When the Indians arrived in Natal as indentured immigrants, they did not have the financial security or economic prosperity to maintain contact with their families in India or with their place of origin. It took them many decades to gain a stable economic status. However, many contemporary Indians can afford to visit their place of origin. The Andhras are no exception.

According to Vasikile (1988 : 64), 'a trip back to the old country' certainly helps to retain the ethnic identity and language retention. However, according to the questionnaire survey, many Andhras do not know their origins in India i.e the area of origin of their forefathers as in most cases, they have no contact with their relatives in India. This was verified by the answers given in response to the questions - "do you know your place of origin in India?" and "do you know your family in India?" The responses were tabled as follows (see tables 5.5 and 5.6):

**TABLE 5.5****DO YOU KNOW YOUR PLACE OF ORIGIN IN INDIA?**

D.N.A	YES	NO	TOTAL
10	60	76	146
6.8%	41.1%	52.1%	100%

**TABLE 5.6****DO YOU KNOW YOUR FAMILY IN INDIA?**

DID NOT ANSWER	5.5%
KNOW VERY WELL	7.5%
KNOW THEM	8.9%
DO NOT HAVE CONTACTS	74.7%
NOT INTERESTED	3.4%
TOTAL	100%

The Andhras who do not have contacts, do not know where they came from, or are not interested in knowing, have never visited Andhra Pradesh and are not inclined to do so. When interviewed, many people answered that they had visited Madras, the port of their ancestors' embarkation, but had not visited Andhra Pradesh. Madras city, being the main centre of tourist attraction with an appealing beachfront and numerous ancient Hindu temples, attracts the Indian South Africans more than Hyderabad city which has a higher Muslim than a Hindu population.

The Madras film industries, which produce hundreds of films every year, are well known and attractive to many South African Andhras. The temples and places of cultural interest like Mahabalipuram and V.G.P Golden and Silver beaches also attract the South African tourists more than remote places such as Anakapalli and Visakhapatnam in Andhra Pradesh (Interview : Dadi, S : 1991). Therefore most South African Andhras prefer to visit Madras rather than Hyderabad or other parts of Andhra Pradesh. An added disincentive is the lack of luxurious facilities such as good hotels and reliable transportation to the districts of their families' origin.

As Vasikile hypothesizes the lack of 'a trip to the original home' also facilitates the Telugu language shift in the South African Andhra community, whereas a trip to Madras facilitates Tamil influence on the Andhras because they visit and explore Madras and its environs.

#### **5.3.2.5 TAMILS' LOYALTY AND ANDHRAS' FLEXIBILITY TOWARDS THEIR LANGUAGES**

Another reason for the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa is the flexibility of the Telugu language. Telugu absorbs words freely from other languages and makes use of them as if they are Telugu words. 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. As Narayana Reddi (1985 : iii) states, "**it can assimilate the words of any language**" into its vocabulary. Usually languages are prone to be mutually influenced due to socio-cultural factors through bilingualism. Telugu accepts this fact and freely borrows from other languages.

From the 1950's, in Tamilnadu, colloquial Tamil usage was encouraged by some of the prominent Tamil magazines like 'Kalki', 'Ananda Vikatan', and later by 'Kumudam', and 'Dinatanti' (Interview : Prabhakaran, N : 1991). Even the Tamil film industries encouraged the use of the colloquial or modern spoken Tamil and as a result modern spoken Tamil is freely used in Tamil films. But this situation did not have any profound impact on the South African Tamil situation because the South African Tamils insist on 'language purity' and try to avoid such language contact. This is evident from the interview conducted with Vidwan Gounden, the author of a Tamil book entitled "The Sanskrit words used in Tamil" (Interview : Gounden : 1991), who insists on the language purity of the Tamils. This was also supported by information given by the priest at the Cato Manor Hindu Temple who states that Tamils are requesting him not to use Sanskrit mantras in that temple (Interview : Gurukkal : 1991).

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 (Interview : Sivaramamurthy : 1990). The Andhras in South Africa make use of 'loan words' in their daily usage, and in code-mixing, to a great extent, Tamil predominates in conversation. For example, talking about their daughter's or son's father-in-law, the South African Andhras say:

1. "Repu maa sambandi vastunnaadu".  
(Tomorrow our in-law is coming.)
2. "aayanku da naanu murugunqa rasam, inji pachchadi vesi saapadu pedthaanu".  
(I will serve (one kind of) tomato soup with drumsticks, and ginger chutney for his lunch.)
3. "repu da maa ammayi pelli nalunqu".  
(Tomorrow itself is our daughter's wedding initiation.)

In these examples, the underlined words indicate the Tamil usage, whereas the Andhras are unaware of the fact that they are using Tamil words. They do not even know the Telugu equivalents of such Tamil words and they are not prepared to learn and use the correct Telugu words because they feel more comfortable with these Tamil words. Other South African languages such as Hindi and Zulu or Fanagalo are likewise freely used in their daily spoken Telugu.

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

#### 5.3.2.6 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. Even though the Telugu film industry produces over 200 films per year (Fakir Hassan Sunday Tribune : March 1991) more than the Tamil film industry, the Telugu video films are very rarely available in South Africa. The reason given by the AMSSA secretary for the non-availability of Telugu films in South Africa is that 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 (Interview: Latchanna : 1990). He states that as the Andhras can understand Tamil they comfortably watch Tamil films. At the same time, almost every video shop which caters for Indian films, has numerous Tamil or Hindi films for hire. The Andhras hire and watch the Tamil films, thus they are more exposed to the Tamil language than to 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. It seems the AMSSA or the Andhra community have not made strenuous efforts to obtain a variety of Telugu films from India.

The "unfair time distribution" for the Indian languages on Radio Lotus, SABC and East-Net broadcasts is also influencing the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa. Radio Lotus, the only Radio broadcasting station for the Indians, continuously plays Indian music or Indian songs. To any Radio Lotus listener, it is obvious most of the air-time is spent on the Tamil and Hindi languages. Telugu is given scant attention by the broadcasting station. Even those Telugu songs which are played are not broadcast in the prime time (Interview : Naidoo, A.A: 1991).

As Naidoo states (Naidoo T.P, 1990 : 2) :

**Though there are three Andhras on this station ... Telugu programmes do not merit more than an hour a week and an odd song here and there on the other programmes.**

Very few Telugu songs are played on Radio Lotus except on Friday evenings between 19 h 00 and 20 h 00. Officials of the AMSSA, who questioned this practice of Radio Lotus about not giving fair time-share to Telugu, were told that because of a lack of popular demand, Telugu songs are not broadcast (Source: AMSSA AGM minutes : 1991). According to Fakir Hassan, the station manager of Radio Lotus, the Indian music or songs are broadcast according to the statistical census ratio between each language

group. He explains that Radio Lotus plays more Tamil and Hindi music because of the relative dominance of these two linguistic groups in South Africa compared to Gujarati and Telugu (Source: personal conversation with Fakir Hassan in 1990). According to Fakir Hassan another factor which does not facilitate the broadcasting of more Telugu songs is that **"there is no severe demand for the Telugu songs from the Andhra community"**. However, it was noticed by the writer that most of the Andhras in South Africa, apart from the loyal few, listen to Radio Lotus continuously without complaining about the lack of Telugu music on the air. It is also assumed that the efforts of the AMSSA are not concerted and the onus lies with the Andhra community, rather than with the Radio broadcasting station.

Similarly there are no Telugu films or features, sketches or dramas shown on SABC or on East-Net thus far in South Africa whereas Tamil receives much attention, along with Hindi, because of their numerical majority. The Andhra listeners and viewers are thus deprived of their own mother tongue on Radio Lotus and also on television broadcasts.

#### 5.3.2.7 CONCLUSION

The Tamils, being the majority among the minority Indian language groups, exert great influence on the Andhras.

The Tamil domination was evident as early as 1857. The assimilation between the Andhras and the Tamils was partially attributed to the lack of a separate identity for the Andhras. Various other reasons which accelerated the Tamil influence on the Andhras are discussed in the South African context.

The Tamil domination over the Andhras 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. However, they observe the Saivite festivals because of the influence of the Tamils. For example, the 'Puratasi Prayers', a Tamil oriented prayer, is sincerely performed by the Andhras of South Africa which is not the practice amongst the Andhras even in Tamilnadu. Similarly, many Andhras attend and take part in the Kavady festival which is popular amongst the Tamils. The other Tamil festivals observed by many Andhras in South Africa are 'the Porridge Prayer', 'the Draupadi Amman Fire Walking' better known as the 'fire walking festival' and 'Karthigai Deepam' (Interview : Padayachee, S : 1991). These are all mainly observed by the Tamil-speaking Hindu community of South Africa.

At the same time the traditional Andhra religious festivals like Vijaya Dasami, Maharnavami, Naaqula Chavithi, Sankranthi and others have been over-shadowed by the

Tamil festivals because of the Tamil influence. Even the traditional Andhra custom of having an "Inti Peru" (surname) has long been forgotten by the Andhras in South Africa and most of the Andhras assumed the term "Naidoo", or "Reddy" as their surnames.

Further discussion about the changes in the cultural value system of the Andhras because of the influence of the Tamils could be an interesting sociological topic for research in South Africa. Similarly, how the Telugu language underwent some semantic changes because of Tamil influence and also the code-mixing patterns of the Telugu language constitute linguistic topics for further research in South Africa.

### **5.3.3 ANDHRAS AND CAUSES FOR INTERMARRIAGE**

In the foregoing subsection it was demonstrated how the intermarriages between the Tamils and the Andhras led to the erosion of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa. In this subsection the causes which "forced" the Andhras to intermarry with other linguistic groups are discussed briefly.

According to one informant (Interview : Chetty, R : 1991) one of the reasons for the intermarriages between the various linguistic groups was the circumstances of their indentureship. He states that when a ship-load of inden-

tured 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. However, it is unfortunate to note that no documentation is available to support his view.

According to Naidoo (B.A 1990 : 8), at the time of the arrival of the Indian immigrants the caste system played an important role in intermarriages. The immigrant Andhras, like other linguistic groups, observed the rigid caste system and they were very conscious of their caste. They considered it more important than language. An Andhra, when establishing new family relationship through marriage, chose a bride of the same caste or of an equal caste from other linguistic groups (Interview : Pillay, P: 1991). This situation was aggravated by the imbalance in the male-female sex ratio of the indentured Indians. Chetty (interview : Chetty, R : 1991) states that, **"the ratio was never properly balanced and the female ratio was always lower than it was supposed to be"**.

In 1860 it was stipulated that women should be thirty-five percent of the total number of the indentured

labourers brought to Natal and later the proportion was raised to fifty percent (Ferguson-Davie 1952 : 13). However, that quota was not maintained in most years (Kuper 1960 : 5).

Another important factor which led to intermarriages in the early years of their settlement was the 'class factor'. Even though most of the Andhras arrived as indentured labourers, some of them, because of their knowledge of English and management skills, were appointed as Sirdars (Supervisor) within a plantation. According to Chetty (Interview : Chetty R : 1991) the sirdar, earning a better salary, ranked himself as upper class. Such sirdar while seeking a bride for himself or for his son, naturally looked for another sirdar's daughter to match his class. If he could not find a suitable bride from his own Andhra community, he did not hesitate to get a bride from other linguistic groups. Thus, in the early years of immigration both caste and class played major roles in facilitating intermarriages between the Andhras and the other linguistic groups.

Since then, the situation has changed rapidly 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 other linguistic groups, absorbed and incorporated certain beneficial elements of Western culture

into their Andhra (Indian) culture. In the South African context, thus, the caste system is not as rigid as it is in the Indian subcontinent. In the modern period, intermarriages still took place, but for other reasons, as enunciated hereunder.

Higher education brought the Andhras into contact with peers of other linguistic groups at University level or at Training College level. There, personal encounters develop into romantic associations which lead to intermarriage. In these marriages, the differences in linguistic background are ignored or considered unimportant. Similarly, in the westernized South African context, the concept of compatibility also plays an important role. A doctor or other professional of an Andhra background may seek a spouse who can coexist or be mutually tolerant of his/her profession rather than a spouse who is merely an Andhra. An Andhra spouse who cannot accommodate their profession is not considered desirable.

To conclude, the various reasons mentioned above played a very important role in accelerating the intermarriage between the Andhras and the other linguistic groups. The couple who intermarried in the early days of their immigration communicated in the dominant language (e.g Tamil or Hindi) and later in English. Such couples, as Fishman states (Fishman 1966 : 147) later raised their children

using English as a medium. Thus, intermarriage directly led to the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa.

#### 5.3.4 LACK OF ACADEMICALLY QUALIFIED TEACHERS TO TEACH TELUGU

One highly significant 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 in the western sense. As Naidoo states (Naidoo, V.R 1986 : 115) :

**At no time did the country receive a truly representative cross-section of Indian society viz.. scholars, industrialists, administrators, leaders etc. This has materially affected every facet of Indian life in this country.**

However, the immigrant Andhras were literate in the religious sense and many of them were able to recite the *Ramayanam, Mahabharatam, Bhagavad Gita* and other sacred Puranas from the Vedic literature. Some of them were academically literate in the sense that they had some basic school training. The Andhra children were instructed orally in the Telugu language, the Andhra culture and the Hindu religion. Because of the exhausting working conditions on the plantations, the Andhras, most of whom were indentured labourers, did not have the facilities, time or energy to teach their children formally.

With the death of the immigrant generation, the first generation South African born Andhras bore the responsibility for language teaching. It should be remembered that they themselves were taught either by their parents or by the patasala teachers, who were not academically qualified.

The contemporary Andhra community makes many statements about Pandit Varadacharyulu, the first well-qualified Telugu teacher, linking him with the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa. The Andhras state that Pandit Varadacharyulu's negative attitude towards teaching Telugu did not inspire any Andhras to pursue the acquisition of Telugu. They claim that he did not encourage anyone to progress beyond learning the basics of Telugu, claiming that they would be unable to cope with advanced studies in the language (Interviews : Naidoo, A.A : 1991 and Naidoo, L : 1991).

According to Sitaram (Interview : Sitaram, R : 1991) **"he taught them grammatical, literary, Brahmanical Telugu with high Sanskrit words"**. Pandit Varadacharyulu discouraged colloquial and dialect variance which is very common in South African Telugu (Vide : old records found in the Department of Indian Languages at U.D-W). Sitaram, the head of the department of Indian Languages at the U.D-W states, **"if there was any reason for the small number of Telugu students at the University it was**

possible that the high standard which he brought from India could be one of them".

Some Andhras state that Pandit Varadacharyulu's caste conscious behaviour made him very unpopular among the Andhra community. It seems that Pandit Varadacharyulu's personal segregation, because of his Brahman caste, resulted in many Andhras turning away from the Telugu language. Many felt that he alienated them and was not freely approachable.

According to an interviewee (Naidoo, L : 1991) he did not get enough encouragement from Pandit Varadacharyulu. He states that he wanted to study Telugu at the University at third year level but could not do so because of the attitude of his teacher. To quote Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1991):

**There is not a single person who has gone beyond Telugu one. Many people were committed to learn Telugu. But the spirit of those people who wanted to study further in Telugu was suppressed by the teacher.**

According to another interviewee (Naidoo, T.P : 1991), the fault was with the Andhra community itself, rather than with Pandit Varadacharyulu. He comments that the Andhra community did not provide Pandit Varadacharyulu with enough students to teach Telugu and thus could not maintain him. He claims that the Andhra Maha Sabha should have provided bursaries for the students to study Telugu and should have given a more attractive salary to Pandit Varadacharyulu. The research findings indicate

that Pandit Varadacharyulu had struggled in various other ways to earn a living like running a shop in the Umgeni area, and even practising Ayurvedic Medicine. The interviews conducted with Sitaram and Pandit Nardev Vedalankar (Vedalankar : 1991) reveal the fact that because of the small number of students learning Telugu at Patasalas and also at the University of Durban-Westville, Pandit Varadacharyulu did not get enough support from the Andhra community. He had to abandon teaching Telugu and teach various other subjects like Hindi, Sanskrit, and Oriental Studies in the community (Interview : Sitaram : 1991).

However, the Hindi community provided him with a reasonable salary and students to teach Hindi. He was very proficient in Hindi and Sanskrit and conducted Hindi examinations such as the Pradhamika, and Madhyamika (Interview : Pandit Vedalankar : 1991) in Hindi. However, according to Sitaram (Interview : 1991), "**Pandit Varadacharyulu's interest in the Telugu language did not die because he even taught Telugu to the Hindi-speaking students**".

After careful judgement of these various controversial statements about Pandit Varadacharyulu by different people it can be concluded that the fault lay in both the Andhra community which did not support him with enough students and also with Pandit Varadacharyulu himself. The negative attitude of the Andhras towards him was not

justifiable because they had brought him to the country and should have provided the necessary support morally and materially. They should have realised that he was a foreigner in South Africa and thus at the mercy of the Andhra community for his livelihood. Accordingly they should have made use of his presence in this country in a diplomatic way.

However, documents available at the Department of Indian Languages at U.D-W show that although Pandit Varadacharyulu lectured at that University for several years, he did not produce a single Telugu student who graduated with Telugu as a major subject. If he had only trained some graduates in Telugu, the University of Durban-Westville would not have been deprived of a Telugu lecturer after his retirement in 1980. His demise created a vast vacuum in the teaching of Telugu in South Africa and the post at U.D-W was not filled until 1989. This gap of almost ten years was also one of the reasons for the erosion of Telugu language in South Africa.

In comparison with the other Indian linguistic communities, the Andhra community did not have any academic achievement in their MT. There are many scholars in the Indian community who studied their vernacular in India. For example, Dr.R.Sitaram and Mrs.Veena Lutchman in Hindi, Mr.C.Gounden and Mr.Kisten Chinappan in Tamil, Mr.B.Rambilass in Sanskrit, Mrs.Usha Desai in Gujarati.

They went either on their own or were sponsored by the University of Durban-Westville to study in India. However, from the Andhra community, no one tried independently, nor was anyone sponsored by the AMSSA.

According to Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo,L : 1991), who taught Telugu at U.D-W for a short period (to fill the gap created by the retirement of Pandit Varadacharyulu), he was approached by the University of Durban-Westville to do a B.A degree or even a M.A degree in Telugu either at London or in India. However, Naidoo says he refused due to the following reason (Interview : Naidoo,L : 1991):

**I was already committed to Music, a subject in which I have developed a keen interest. Thus, help to learn Telugu came too late in my career.**

Here his comments make reference to his desire to learn Telugu at a very early stage which was thwarted by the refusal of the Andhra Maha Sabha to sponsor his studies in India. The Andhras who went to study Telugu academically in Andhra Pradesh, India, were Prof. John Jeevarathnam, a Christian, and Mrs. Anuradha Naidoo, a Hindu. Prof. John Jeevarathnam was the first South African Andhra graduate to get a degree in Telugu, but his decision to settle in Andhra Pradesh, India, was a great disappointment to the Andhra community in South Africa.

Anuradha Naidoo went to Hyderabad in October 1981 and returned to South Africa in 1986 without any academic qualifications in Telugu after 5 years of study in

Hyderabad. According to her, the reason for this (Interview : Naidoo, Anuradha : 1991) was that she could not cope with the level of Telugu in Andhra Pradesh because she did not have a strong basic knowledge of the language. The language seemed new to her because the medium of instruction was in Telugu.

After her long stay in India, when she arrived in South Africa she did not show much interest in imparting the knowledge she had gained during her stay in India. She has conducted only two workshops in Telugu between 1986 to 1991. She taught Telugu in a primary state school for one year, then resigned. At present she is organizing a patasala in her area i.e Isipingo.

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

The survey made in 1990 by the Telugu Subject Committee under the House of Delegates (HoD) indicates that there are very few teachers who are capable of teaching Telugu (even though their qualifications are very low) in South Africa. Only 4.8% of the teachers from 417 state and state-aided schools have some qualifications to teach Telugu at primary level. There are only 1.2% of educa-

tors who are capable of teaching Telugu in those schools. To the question "why is Telugu not offered in your school?" 20.4% of the schools identified the reason as the lack of qualified teachers. The questionnaire survey conducted reveals that presently no person in the Andhra community is academically qualified to teach the language.

According to Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1991) the principals who are in a position to establish a Telugu class in a state school rely on someone from the community to teach Telugu. However, those who are at present teaching the language either at state schools or at pata-salas do not have any qualifications beyond the basic knowledge and this is once again observable in the statistics taken from the survey conducted by the HoD : 2.6% of the teachers possess basic qualifications, 1.6% possess standard six qualifications and 0.6% possess University qualifications in Special Telugu gained under Pandit Varadacharyulu.

The teachers who are teaching Telugu at present are themselves unaware of the latest developments and changes that have occurred in the Telugu language. They are ignorant of its modern usage, grammar and the latest teaching methods (Vide: research findings). There is little or no contact with new forms of expression, spelling and vocabulary which are commonly used in India

(Andhra Eisteddfod Golden Jubilee Souvenir Brochure 1989 : 8). Lack of communication skills in the Telugu language is creating havoc because they cannot revitalise the subject. As Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, L: 1991) states, **"Maybe they are bilingual in English and Telugu, but they are not good in teaching Telugu"**.

Telugu, as an eroding ethnic language in South Africa, needs more of the modern teaching methods, more teaching material and books written in the South African context. Teachers are still using the old traditional teaching methods and books which are very outdated in Andhra Pradesh, India. The Telugu books available in the country were published mostly in the 1950's in India and are not appropriate to the South African context. No audio-visual aids were available to teach the language up to 1990.

The situation would be better if the U.D-W or any other University trained students to teach Telugu at primary and secondary level. However, this situation is not possible unless some students study up to course 2 or course 3 in Telugu and then take a teacher's diploma with Telugu as a subject.

The other Indian linguistic groups have had their own trained teachers to teach their own language either at patasalas or at state or state-aided schools in South

Africa. However, Telugu is not one of them because of the various reasons mentioned above. Thus, those Andhra children who were willing to learn Telugu but could not learn Telugu, are now learning either Hindi or Tamil languages at schools (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1991). Thus, lack of trained or qualified teachers in the Telugu language has also led to the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa.

This raises the question, if there are no trained Telugu teachers, why did not the South African Andhras or the University of Durban-Westville try to bring qualified teachers from India? There is sufficient documentary proof available with the AMSSA and U.D-W to show that their efforts to bring teachers were fruitless because political relations between India and South Africa were strained after 1947. This is discussed in the next subsection.

### 5.3.5. THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### 5.3.5.1 THE POLITICAL SANCTIONS INSTITUTED BY INDIA AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA

The political situation in South Africa after the Second World War also contributed to the erosion of the Telugu language locally. Various oppressive laws were enacted to suppress the Indians in South Africa.

The Indian Government, which gained its independence from the British yoke in 1947, took up the matter of the segregation of the Indians, along with the issue of the ill-treatment of Indians in South Africa, with the United Nations Organizations (U.N.O) and openly opposed South African political discriminations. The Smuts Government (1939-1948) refused to comply with the directions given by the U.N.O and walked out of the U.N.O.

With the National Party coming to power in South Africa in 1948 a new, much-hated and widely opposed system of segregation called "Apartheid" was introduced in the Union of South Africa. This was meant to segregate the so called non-whites from the whites. Then India, along with the Afro-Asian Bloc, strongly condemned the Apartheid system of the South African Government. In order to demonstrate its opposition to the unjust political situation in South Africa, the Indian Government imposed political, economic and cultural boycotts against the South African Government in 1948. From 1948 up to the present (1991) the Indian Government has maintained its trade, as well as cultural boycotts against South Africa very rigorously.

The intention of the Indian Government in imposing this boycott against South Africa, is not to punish the Indians in South Africa but to help the millions of South Africans by bringing pressure on the White Government to

remove the various Apartheid laws. However, the Indians in South Africa suffered religio-culturally because of the ban on Indian trade with South Africa, and Indian goods did not flow freely into the South African market. Religious items like various Pooja materials, religious books, and other religious literature were not imported to South Africa. Similarly, the importation of the priests and teachers ceased.

Cultural items such as sarees, Indian male dress such as Dhoti and Turbans, language books, language audio-visual tapes, films, and musical instruments such as Veena, Tabala (Tabla), Sitara (Sitar) and others were not exported to South Africa. The importation of Hindu religious Moorthies, brass and silver vessels, glass bangles and other important day-to-day commodities, which are essential to maintain Hindu culture in South Africa, have not been imported freely since the trade boycott. The Hindus were robbed of the charm of the Deepawali festival by the Indian Government sanctions because the fireworks which are made in India and exported cheaply were also banned.

To aggravate the situation, the suspension of the two passenger ships S.S.Karanja and S.S.Kampala, two British India Ships carrying passengers between India and South Africa also affected the free flow of religio-cultural goods into South Africa. When these shipping services

were in operation, many Indians travelled to India frequently, often staying a minimum of five to six months in India and subsequently transmitting Indian culture and languages to South African Indians. The importation of cultural and religious objects halted, which destroyed the spirit of "pilgrimage" to India in order to preserve cultural connections. Legislations regarding air freight disallow the transport of many goods by plane; also, passengers were required to pay heavy cargo charges on goods.

The injecting of new blood into the community by marital alliance was stopped because both the Indian and South African Governments did not permit Indians to enter South Africa. Many Andhra brides who were married to South African Andhras had problems in joining their grooms soon after their marriage because of the visa problems created by both Indian and South African Governments. The community became hesitant to bring brides from India because of the visa problem.

The importation of teachers, which was common before 1945, was completely stopped because of the sanctions imposed by the Indian Government. Those who were able to come to South Africa from India were given only a temporary visa, which could be later extended by the South African Government, because of the political tensions between India and South Africa.

Because of these sanctions the Andhra Community was also adversely affected. After the death of Pandit Varadacharyulu the U.D-W could not obtain the services of any qualified lecturers from India to teach Telugu. Also, the Andhras were unable to bring academics or any "Andhra Celebrities" to South Africa after the imposition of sanctions by the Indian Government.

Two incidents show that Indian passport holders were unwilling to risk entering South Africa because of the political tensions between India and South Africa. 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. The South African Andhra community claim that they have made various unsuccessful efforts to bring him to South Africa. The AMSSA made many requests to the Andhra Pradesh Government as well as to the Indian Government to send Dr.Sivaramamurthy to South Africa, but these requests were refused. According to the interview conducted with some of the elder members of the community it was evident that Y.C.Naidoo, one of the patrons of the AMSSA, even volunteered to provide air tickets to Dr. Sivaramamurthy and his family to come to South Africa. During a personal interview with Dr.Sivaramamurthy in India (1990), he indicated to the researcher that the Andhra Pradesh Government refused him permission to go to

South Africa.

However, Sitaram (Interview : Sitaram : 1991), the Head of the Department of Indian Languages at the U.D-W comments that, **"the efforts made by the Andhra community were not strong enough and it did not help to get Dr. Sivaramamurthy between 1981-1989"**. The researcher assumes that if Dr.Sivaramamurthy had wanted to work in South Africa, he might have been able to come on his own initiative, but he refused to resign from his post as Registrar of a University and wanted to come on three years' leave from the Government of India. It appears that he was not prepared to risk losing his permanent job to assume a temporary post in South Africa. However, the Indian Government's refusal was the prime factor which prevented his coming to South Africa.

Similarly, the University of Durban-Westville offered an appointment to Jugalam Dass who was working in Transkei between 1981-1984. However, Dass expected the U.D-W to settle his contract problems in Transkei and to obtain a work permit for him, but he finally declined the post.

#### 5.3.5.2 THE GROUP AREAS ACT ENACTED BY THE SOUTH AFRICAN GOVERNMENT

Between the years 1860 to 1950, the Indian community in South Africa were well settled, being firmly established

economically, and religio-culturally. At the time of their arrival in South Africa, most of the Andhras had settled according to their castes and near to other linguistic groups, and thus created close-knit socio-cultural units. For example, the Puntans Hill pioneer Andhra settlers were mostly the Gavaras. The Andhras established their religious and cultural institutions, Patasalas, and schools.

The "Ghetto Act" (1947) passed by the Smuts Government and the "Group Areas Act" (1950), passed by the Malan Government both had very serious effects on the Indian community. The **"Ghetto Act was intended to place the Indians into confined areas in every town and village and, since they had no vote, to allow them to stagnate in the neglected 'ghettoes'"** (Singh, J.N - Sunday Tribune : March 1991).

The Group Areas Acts, Act 41 of 1950 and Act 77 of 1957, uprooted and dismantled the well-established Indian community. A Group Areas Board was appointed to report to the Government on the allocation of full group areas in the various towns and villages for members of different racial groups (Horrell 1963 : 24). This Act had two aspects of segregation for the Indians. Firstly, by the Pegging Act of 1943 (Trading and Occupation of Land Act) the forerunner of the Group Areas Act, land demarcation occurred and the Indians were prohibited from buying land

outside the so-called "Indian area". The second aspect of this Act was that the Indians were asked to vacate the areas where they had settled which they had developed well over the previous ninety years.

The Indians living in areas like Sydenham, Mayville, Sherwood, Cato Manor, Rosburgh, Riverside, Bellair, Hillary and Rosebank were given between one to three months' notice to vacate these areas. The Andhras were living in small pockets in these areas. However, the strong Andhra settlements in areas like Sea View, Stella Hill, Clairwood and Puntans Hill were also severely affected, as these were declared "White Areas". Of those, the Puntans Hill area was less adversely affected than the others.

According to Singh (Sunday Tribune : 1991) the principle behind this law was **"to make the conditions under which Indians lived so unbearable that they would leave South Africa"**. The entire country was demarcated as White, Coloured, Indian and Black areas. All the central, industrialised, urban and well-developed areas were declared white and coloured areas, while the hilly, barren, under-developed areas were allocated to Indians and Blacks.

In most cases the Andhras (Indians) were given one month's notice to vacate their large ancestral homes and

given small, new houses in the areas like Chatsworth and Phoenix as compensation. The compensation paid for the homes taken from the Indians was very low, and they were actually compelled to accept whatever compensation was offered. Horrell (1963 : 27) adopted the view that those subjected to forced removal often benefitted, because **"housing schemes are provided for people in the lower income groups, often of better quality than the accommodation they had occupied"**.

However, according to Schlemmer (1967 : 19):

**the properties are usually valued long before the families are required to move. In some cases market values of properties presently being vacated were assigned as long ago as 1958. The owners are therefore paid out at prices far below what the current market values would be if they were able to sell to other Indians.**

His statement corroborates the writer's views on compensation. Similarly, the experience of an Andhra who recalls how his family was uprooted by the Group Areas Act supports the writer's views. Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo L.V : 1991) remarks that:

**In Sydenham, where we lived, we had a seven room house which was valued at R 7,000. The Government showed us a two room house in Chatsworth and asked us to move there immediately. In Sydenham we had a lot of sporting facilities like soccer ground, cricket fields, tennis courts, cinemas, shopping centres. We had to move into new places where there were no facilities and essentials, let alone luxuries. We did not have any friends, no relatives in the same vicinity. It was very difficult to socialise with different levels of people and different language groups suddenly. People became handicapped and children adopted bad habits and were influenced by delinquent tendencies causing havoc. It demoralised us, decentralised us, and above all it impoverished us spiritually because we were taken out of our well-established temples, mosques and churches. Economically we were not given adequate compensation for the loss of our free hold properties, and houses.**

Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo L,V : 1991) also narrates how the Act affected his spiritual life. He states that when he was staying in Sydenham he used to travel by a bus to

Reservoir Hills to attend the Divine Life Society prayer services on a regular basis, and performed his religious duties. However, once dispersed to Chatsworth, which is a considerable distance from Reservoir Hills, he could not continue his devotional duties and he claims that he lost touch with his religion because of the effects of the Group Areas Act in displacing him and his family.

The above anecdotal evidence contradicts Horrell's claims and suggests that the quality of the homes provided by the Government was not superior, let alone equivalent, to the quality of the homes many of the Andhras had previously occupied. During the interview survey it was reported that the semi-detached homes allocated by the Government lacked privacy. The walls were not plastered with cement but just "bag washed" and would crack easily under the impact of a nail hammered in. Initially there was no proper infrastructures in these areas.

This uprooting also affected the Telugu patasalas of the Andhra community. Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, P : 1991), who was a resident at Bellair before the Group Areas Act, states that her family was also uprooted and forced to live in Chatsworth. She narrates her experience of how she used to attend the Telugu patasala in Bellair along with thirty other Andhras and how that school was shut down because of the dismantling effects of the Group Areas Act. Similarly, the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha

patasala, which had more than 250 students at one stage, was forced to close due to the dispersal of the Andhras from the Clairwood area. The Stella Hill Andhra patasala and the Sea View Andhra patasala were also closed due to the uprooting of the Andhra community by the Group Areas Act.

The Ramakrishna Centre had a branch in Bellair the "Riverview Branch" which was a fully-fledged centre frequented by a vibrant active Indian community with a good number of Andhra devotees. According to Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, P : 1991) they used to attend the prayers regularly every Sunday. However, once her family had left Bellair it was impossible to return to that service or meet the familiar people regularly.

These two examples are characteristic of the experience of large numbers of Indians affected by the Group Areas Act. This act had uprooted half a million Indians, three million Coloureds and many more millions of Blacks.

The Andhras, being the lowest income group amongst the Indians in South Africa (Kuper 1960 : 60), did not have enough funds to rebuild or extend their new homes. According to the 1951 census the per capita income of the Andhras was £ 33.25 and the Annual mean Income was £ 144.95. Since they were unable to rebuild their own homes, they could not think of building or organising new

patasalas, cultural centres or temples in their new areas. It took at least another twenty years to accomplish the rebuilding or developing their own homes and institutions in Chatsworth, Phoenix, Mobeni Heights and Umhlatuzana Township. During these twenty years of resettlement the language efficiency of the Andhras deteriorated because of the new unexpected problems created by the Group Areas Act.

Many Indians claim that they were arguably the most severely affected race group because no other group was subjected to the disruption caused by the Group Areas Act in the manner that the Indians were, in the sense that they were compelled to leave religio-culturally well established areas for new areas which were not of their choice. However, this claim is debatable because many Africans feel the same way.

The Indians wanted their own religious centres at which to worship. In the newly allocated areas these facilities were lacking, which led to the erosion of the Hindu culture also. When the government allocated homes to the Indians no efforts were made to resettle people. There were no attempts to preserve or co-locate established groups and communities. This disregard for social units produced alienation and the disintegration of group identity. As Chetty (Interview : Chetty, R : 1991) states, if offered a choice, the Andhras would have chosen an

Andhra as a neighbour wherever possible. However, this choice was denied them.

**5.3.5.3 BREAKDOWN OF THE JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM AS A RESULT OF THE GROUP AREAS ACT**

One of the common features of Hindu Andhras in India is the maintenance of a joint family system (UmmadiKutum-bamu). The immigrant Andhras, like other Indians in South Africa, maintained a joint family system for many decades. The joint family system traditionally means a family consisting of a male head, his wife, unmarried younger brothers, sisters and children, married sons and daughters-in-law and grand children. In such families, naturally, the grand children are more exposed to their MT due to their continuous interaction with the various members, and follow their religio-cultural traits.

However, in the South African Indian context, several factors both internally and externally, influenced the breakdown of the joint family system. External forces such as the socio-political and economic situation in South Africa have undermined the traditional joint family system. Internally, the present younger generation Andhras, influenced by various reasons, preferred the nuclear family system to a joint family system.

According to Schlemmer (1967 :20):

The process of resettlement of Indian families in Municipal housing schemes has serious implications for these traditional ways of life. 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 in the Indian middle-class family from the 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. The Andhras, who used to live in a joint family system, were, due to the Group Areas Act, forced to leave their parents upon marriage. Thus, the grandchildren were deprived of their chance to learn their mother tongue from the older generation.

The response given to the question "Do you think that the Group Areas Act has militated against the preservation of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?", is tabled below.

**TABLE 5.7**

**DO YOU THINK THAT THE GROUP AREAS ACT HAS MILITATED AGAINST THE PRESERVATION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

D.N.A	YES	NO	TOTAL
24.7%	50%	25.3%	100%

The table 5.7 shows that 50% of the Andhras responded positively to the question, 24.7% did not answer, probably because they are not certain and only 25.3% replied negatively. The responses of 50% of the Andhras indicate

that they believe that the Group Areas Act has affected the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. Thus, it can be concluded that the political situation in South Africa to some extent eroded the Telugu language and Andhra Culture.

The response given to the question "do you think that the breakdown of the joint family system has influenced the erosion of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?" is tabled below.

**TABLE 5.8**

**DO YOU THINK THAT THE BREAKDOWN OF JOINT FAMILY SYSTEM HAS INFLUENCED THE EROSION OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

D.N.A	YES	NO	TOTAL
38.4%	44.5%	17.1%	100%

The table 5.8 shows that 44.5% of the respondents agree, 38.4% did not answer because they are uncertain, and only 17.1% of the respondents think that the breakdown of the joint family system did not affect the erosion of the language and culture in South Africa.

During empirical research some Andhras stated that the joint family system is not important in preserving the Indian languages and Indian culture and state that language erosion is not caused by the breakdown of the joint

family system in South Africa.

However, sociolinguistic research shows that language maintenance is achieved through the joint family system where the adult members of the family communicate with children in the EMT and insist that they maintain their language and culture. Once the extended Andhra families were disrupted and the members dispersed, the younger generation did not have the opportunity to communicate regularly in Telugu with the elder family members and were thus deprived of their chance to learn their EMT in their own family environment.

#### **5.4. CONCLUSION**

It has been shown in this chapter that various factors have influenced the shift of the Telugu language in South Africa. The main causes are attributed to the dominant official status of the English language, the language policy of the Government, the assimilation between the Andhras and the Tamils and the uprooting of the well settled Andhra community from areas like Clairwood, Sea View, Stella Hill and others by the Group Areas Act.

However, an underlying reason which is not discussed separately but which is implicit in this chapter is the negative attitude of the Andhras towards their language. The whole Andhra community did not make any serious

efforts to save their MT from attrition, but left this responsibility to a small number of 'custodians' who tried to preserve and propagate the language. Above all, those who can speak the language have a very low opinion of the language they themselves speak as was evident from the responses in the interviews conducted by the writer. Many claim that the Telugu they speak is "Kitchen Telugu" (cf. Mesthrie 1985 : 166) and do not show any respect for or pride in the language.

There is no appreciation of the language because it is not used for regular communication purposes in South Africa today. For many years the Andhras, along with the other Indians in South Africa, were regarded as the "Coolies" and their language was branded as a "Coolie language" by the Africans as well as the Europeans. As freed immigrants their socio-economic status changed but it took many years for the South African community to discontinue referring to the Indians, including the Andhras, as "Coolies". Some of the present-day Andhras have a low esteem for the Telugu language because it was associated with the word "Coolie" and hence they avoided the use of the language (Vide : interview findings). Thus, the lack of social status for the Telugu language is also a cause of the erosion of the language in South Africa.

Mesthrie in his study on Bhojpuri in South Africa (1985 : 165), in discussing the causes for the decline of Bhojpuri attributes a lack of prestige as one of the causes for Bhojpuri erosion in South Africa. Mesthrie states (1985 : 166) :

**While the prestige of Hindi is to be expected, the accompanying negative attitude towards SABh (South African Bhojpuri) is surprising in its intensity and pervasiveness. The average native speaker's knowledge of the background to his language is, not surprisingly, nil. Lacking a strong tradition and education associations, Bhojpuri is disparaged by its own speakers - lay and learned alike - as being not just a poor, second-cousin to Std Hn (Hindi), but a debased form of it, lacking the subtleties of grammar and a sophisticated vocabulary. The attitude by elderly and youthful speakers throughout Natal was a uniformly apologetic one.**

Mesthrie's comments not only summarise the situation of Bhojpuri in South Africa, but also the status of the Telugu language amongst the present-day Andhras in South Africa. It is evident that the Telugu language is being gradually eroded in South Africa. As Bughwan (1970) and Aziz (1988) show, along with the other Indian languages, Telugu is markedly on the decline.

The Telugu language is the language of the minority of the Indians in South Africa, hence one expects it to be an obsolescent language because of the reasons mentioned above. However, Telugu is not obsolete in South Africa although it has eroded considerably. The factors governing the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa are discussed in Chapter Six.

## CHAPTER SIX

### FACTORS GOVERNING THE MAINTENANCE OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA

#### 6.1 ABSTRACT

Thousands of Indian and other immigrants arrived in South Africa during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The South African sociolinguists could have taken the opportunity to undertake research on problems of language contact and its social correlates. Studies of language loyalty and language maintenance could have been conducted in one of the best 'natural' sociolinguistic laboratories available in the world, viz. South Africa. Unfortunately, as Grimshaw (1971 : 109) points out **"sociologists, studying the experience of the new immigrants were interested almost exclusively in problems of the assimilation or separation of ethnic minorities"** rather than in their language problems.

Although sociolinguists have conducted studies on ethnic minorities in other parts of the world, unfortunately very little research has been undertaken thus far in South Africa, which has a 'cultural mosaic' of various cultural groups, each having its own ethnic identity. Mention should be made of the academic studies completed thus far on the Indian languages in South Africa which includes "A History of the Bhojpuri (or "Hindi") Language

in South Africa" by Rajend Mesthrie (1985), and "An Investigation into the factors governing the persistence of the maintenance of the Urdu language in South Africa" by Aziz (1988).

Having been brought to South Africa by the Andhras over one hundred and thirty years ago, and being a minority language in South Africa with limited cultural contacts with the Indian subcontinent, how did the Telugu language, like the other Indian languages, survive in South Africa?

In chapter five the various factors which have exerted an influence on the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa were discussed. In this chapter the factors governing the maintenance of the Telugu language are discussed in the light of sociolinguistic phenomena, e.g that of Fasold (1984) and Fishman (1978).

The chief factor governing the maintenance of the Telugu language is the "language loyalty" demonstrated by a small group of "custodians", and their efforts in keeping the language alive. The means, the vehicle by which the language is being maintained, are discussed, and the areas where Telugu is being maintained, are identified. It is the researcher's hypothesis that the Telugu language has thus far been kept alive in South Africa because of the religio-cultural activities of the Andhra

community.

Finally it is suggested that there is a resurgence of enthusiasm in the Andhra community for the retention of their ethnic mother tongue. The statements of Fishman regarding language maintenance are debated. At the conclusion of this chapter it is shown that the Telugu language will be maintained in South Africa mainly for the religious and cultural purposes by the South African (Hindu) Andhra community.

Before the factors that govern the maintenance of the Telugu language are discussed, it is necessary to define the terms "Language Loyalty", and "Language Maintenance" as understood in the field of sociolinguistics.

## 6.2 DEFINITIONS OF THE TERMS "LANGUAGE LOYALTY" AND "LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE"

According to Fasold (1984 : 207) " Language Shift" and "Language Maintenance" are two sides of the same coin and are both **"really the long-term, collective results of language choice"** of a group of people. It was Fishman who called attention to language maintenance and language shift as a phenomenon worthy of study as early as 1964. However, the topic has inspired very few sociolinguists until very recently. In this study the term maintenance technically indicates the factors which actually govern

the survival of the Telugu language in the South African context.

Maintenance is often a characteristic of bilingual or multilingual communities found in such countries as India and South Africa.

According to contemporary sociolinguists like Fasold (1984 : 207) and Fishman (1978 : 308), the language-maintaining multilingual communities reserve each language for certain domains with very little encroachment of one language on the domains of the others. For example, the present-day Andhras in South Africa use English as the medium of communication, learn Afrikaans as the second language in schools, use Fanagalo for the purpose of household management like communicating with the household help (domestic servants, gardeners etc) and use Telugu for the purpose of their Andhra culture and Hindu religion.

According to Fasold (1984 : 214) **"the choice made by the members of a particular speech community, reflecting their cultural values, add up to shift or maintenance in that community"**. Thus, the term "language maintenance" refers to the extent to which an individual, or a group of individuals or a whole community, as immigrants, continue to use their EMT in a foreign environment. As stated earlier the study of any language maintenance can

be undertaken only in the countries where immigrant groups have settled (Richards et al 1985 : 158).

This study analyses the efforts previously made or presently being made by a small group of Andhras to preserve their language in South Africa. In addition, it identifies the means, ways and areas in which the Telugu language is being maintained. The Andhras's positive attitude towards the Telugu language and their continuous efforts to save it from attrition could be defined as "Language Loyalty". Weinreich (1979 : 99) defines language loyalty as:

**a principle, in the name of which people will rally themselves and their fellow speakers consciously and explicitly to resist changes in either the functions of their language (as a result of a language shift) or in the structure or vocabulary (as a consequence of interference).**

Thus, if a small group in any community shows resistance towards the cultural or language change either lexically or phonetically and tries to prevent its language from becoming obsolete, then it is displaying loyalty towards that particular language. However, this language loyalty or maintenance occurs only when the minority language is being threatened by a dominant language. In South Africa, English is the dominant language and Telugu, along with the other Indian languages (and other minority languages), is threatened by English. Because it is under threat the loyal Andhras are trying to save Telugu from attrition.

In this study, those Andhras who formally tried, or are now trying, to preserve the language are referred to as "the custodians" or "the guardians" of the Telugu language. To these custodians, language is an important issue related directly to their cultural identity and to the existence of the Andhras as a cultural group in South Africa. However, as indicated in chapter five, only a 'small pocket' of the Andhras display that loyalty towards the Telugu language and their efforts are not intense.

Although the Andhra participation in South African activities like politics, economics, sport and education indicates that the South African Andhras have become assimilated into the South African society, many retain an ethnic value system and self-identification that is still associated with Andhra culture (Prabhakaran, 1990 : 5). The first generation Andhras, as 'Pravasandhras' brought their beliefs, customs, social habits, religious rituals, cultural heritage, and above all their language to South Africa. They were not attracted to South African sports or entertainment; neither did they participate very actively in the local or national politics because most of the Andhras wanted to return to India. Like the first generation of many other immigrant groups elsewhere, the Andhras were ambivalent about settling in their land of immigration. Many Andhras returned to India when an opportunity presented itself (source :

ships' list available at the U.D-W Documentation Centre).

The Andhras participated actively in their religio-cultural activities, such as Indian dance, music, Bhajans, folk dance and other forms of entertainment, making extensive use of their language, Telugu, in all these activities.

Some of the present-day Andhras, being third or fourth generation South Africans, though westernised in many ways, are still earnestly trying to save their EMT from attrition in the face of various socio-economic pressures including the dominant position of English and Afrikaans as official languages.

### **6.3 LANGUAGE LOYALTY AND THE ATTITUDES OF THE PRESENT DAY ANDHRAS TOWARDS THE TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA**

The response to the questions on the attitudes of the Andhras towards their language indicates the language loyalty of the Andhras in South Africa. The responses to questions such as "what is your attitude towards the Telugu language?", and "what is the attitude of your spouse and children towards the Telugu language?" clearly demonstrate the positive attitude of the respondents towards the Telugu language (see table 6.1).

**TABLE 6.1**

**LANGUAGE ATTITUDES OF THE RESPONDENT, SPOUSE AND THE CHILDREN.**

	RESPONDENT	SPOUSE	CHILDREN
N/A	--	24%	34.2%
PROUD OF IT	80.9%	58.1%	40.5%
POSITIVE	17%	14.4%	20.5%
NEGATIVE	--	1.4%	4.8%
ASHAMED OF IT	2.1%	2.1%	--
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

Table 6.1 indicates that 80.9% of the respondents are proud of their language and 17% of the respondents have a positive attitude towards their language. However, the table reflects that 2.1% of the respondents are ashamed of their language due to their apathy towards their language. The attitude of the respondents' spouses towards the Telugu language shows much variation because 24% of the respondents are not married. 58.1% of the respondents' spouses are proud of the language, 14.4% have a positive attitude. However, 1.4% of them have a negative attitude towards the language, whereas 2.1% of them are even ashamed of the language because of its low social status in South Africa as a "coolie" language. Only 40.5% of the respondents' children are proud of their language, 20.5% of them are positive towards their

language, but 4.8% of them are negative towards their language once again due to their apathy towards their EMT. These percentages show that although the language loyalty of the Andhras towards their mother-tongue is still positive, there is a decline in the positive attitudes of the next generation, i.e (children's generation). However, it is shown in chapter seven that the third generation Andhras are gradually moving towards their EMT.

In response to the question "Do you know your relatives in India and if not, would you like to know them?" reveals a positive attitude towards relatives in India. 15.8% did not answer, the majority, i.e 76.7% would like to know their relatives but only 7.5% are not interested in knowing them. These answers again show the positive attitude of the respondents regarding their roots in India which is a governing factor in the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa. Those who know their origins in India maintain contact with their families by means of correspondence and pay visits. In order to communicate with their families who do not understand English, some of the South African Andhras tend to learn to read and write Telugu.

Another example of the respondents' attitude towards their language could be elicited from the answers given to the questions "What is your reaction when you hear

Telugu being spoken in South Africa?" and "What is your reaction when Telugu is not being spoken by the Andhras in South Africa?".

**TABLE 6.2**

**RESPONDENTS' REACTION TO HEARING TELUGU BEING SPOKEN**

VERY HAPPY	HAPPY	EXCITED	CONFUSED	NONE	TOTAL
48.7%	24.7%	13%	8.1%	5.5%	100%

Table 6.2 shows that most of the Andhra respondents have a positive reaction towards their language. The response to the question "What is your reaction when Telugu is not being spoken by the Andhras?" shows that 68.5% of the respondents would be disappointed, 6.2% would think it is unfair, 8.8% of the respondents think it is excusable, 6.2% are surprised that people are not talking Telugu, whereas 10.3% have no reaction at all. The first two categories of the respondents represent the custodian group of the Andhras showing much loyalty towards their language.

Another good example indicating the language loyalty of the Andhras in South Africa is elicited from the response given to the question asked about their reaction when they hear Telugu being spoken by an Andhra from India. 65.8% of the respondents indicated that they wished they could speak it as fluently, 22.6% indicated their plea-

sure in hearing it. However, 11.6% of the respondents feel it is too sophisticated for them to understand.

Responses to the question "More than 90% of the third/ fourth generation South African Andhras speak and write English only. Is there any need to perpetuate Telugu in South Africa?" are tabulated here, providing an indication of the language loyalty of the Andhras in South Africa.

**TABLE 6.3**

**IS THERE ANY NEED TO PERPETUATE TELUGU IN SOUTH AFRICA?**

D.N.A	YES	NO	TOTAL
23.3%	70.5%	6.2%	100%

23.3% of the respondents did not answer and it is assumed that they are unsure about their own response to the question. However, the majority of the respondents feel that the Telugu language should be perpetuated in South Africa because they regard it as their mother tongue. Affirmative responses included such examples as **"To identify with our cultural heritage and roots we need our ethnic language"**, **"Telugu language is essential to keep our Andhra culture alive in South Africa"**. These answers display language and cultural loyalty. However, 6.2% of the respondents feel it is unnecessary to perpetuate the Telugu language in South Africa, believing that **"most of us are born here in South Africa and we should**

**try to form new roots as South Africans".** It is assumed by the researcher that they have already shifted their language emphasis towards English and do not have any loyalty towards their ethnic mother tongue because they even lost their Indian identity.

All these responses to the above questions indicate the positive, neutral and negative attitudes of the Andhras towards their language. Many of the respondents indicated their loyalty towards their ethnic language. It is a known fact that none of the South African Andhras are monolingual in Telugu (see chapter five). However, many of them display loyalty towards their EMT and want to save it from attrition and want to maintain it for the sake of their religion and culture. In the light of the various attitudes, it is now necessary to examine the areas where Telugu is being maintained in South Africa.

#### **6.4 AREAS WHERE TELUGU IS USED IN SOUTH AFRICA BY THE PRESENT ANDHRA COMMUNITY**

##### **6.4.1 AS THE HOME LANGUAGE AND IN PERSONAL DOMAINS**

Until the mid-twentieth century Telugu was spoken by almost every Andhra in South Africa (Source : Population census between 1931 - 1970). Due to the various reasons discussed in the previous chapter, English has superseded Telugu in almost all areas of communication. However,

Telugu is still spoken in South African Andhra homes by 4.9% of the total Indian population according to the census figures of 1980. This is further demonstrated in the response to the question "do you consider Telugu to be your home language?". 69.2% of the respondents replied positively, 25.3% of them replied negatively and 5.5.% of the respondents did not answer the question.

It is assumed by the researcher that the respondents who did not answer either positively or negatively are the "marginal Andhras" who are in the process of shifting their language loyalty and identifying with the dominant language.

To the questions "while praying alone which language do you use?" or, "did/do your parents speak to you in Telugu?", in many cases the responses, which are tabulated (see table 6.4 and 6.5), clearly show the use of Telugu in certain domains.

**TABLE 6.4**

**DO YOU USE TELUGU WHEN PRAYING ALONE?**

YES	NO	TOTAL
81	65	146
55.5%	44.5%	100%

**TABLE 6.5**

**DID/DOES YOUR PARENT SPEAK TO YOU IN TELUGU?**

D.N.A	YES	NO	TOTAL
5	104	37	146
3.4%	71.3%	25.3%	100%

The above tables reflect the retention of the Telugu language in some private domains as indicated by Fishman.

Finally it is necessary to say that at present there are some Andhras who can express themselves eloquently in the Telugu language. There are some, when angry, "can scold or curse in Telugu".

**6.4.2 WITHIN THE FAMILY CIRCLE**

There is evidence to show that many of the present-day Andhras use Telugu while communicating with elder members of the family and community : with grandparents, parents and authority figures for example the Telugu lecturer at U.D-W. 13.7% of the respondents speak Telugu to their grandparents, 25.3% of them speak in Telugu to their parents, 50.7% of them speak in Telugu to the elder members of the community. During research some interviewees indicated their desire to be interviewed in Telugu. During the research it was noted that there is a general feeling in the Andhra community that young people

cannot communicate in Telugu because the Indian South African younger generation associate Indian languages with elder members of the community only. Those Andhras who maintain a joint family (Ummadikutumbamu) system are imparting the mother tongue to the younger generation. However, their number is small.

#### **6.4.3 KINSHIP TERMS**

However, during research, it was noted that even those who state that they cannot speak Telugu, use various Telugu words in their everyday conversation despite knowing the equivalent English words for some of the Telugu words. For example, the kinship terms such as Amma (mother), Peddamma (mother's elder sister), Pedda-naayana (father's elder brother), Maama (mother's brother), Akka (elder sister), Anna (elder brother), Aththa (aunt), naayana (father) Chinnayana (father's younger brother) and many other words are used freely in their daily conversation. The interesting fact about these kinship terms is that they use these terms not only within their household circle but also in the presence of the non-Telugu speaking community (Vide : research finding).

#### 6.4.4 HOUSEHOLD ARTICLES, FOOD AND VEGETABLES

The Telugu names for household articles such as cheta (winnowing basket), pasupu (turmeric powder), chintapandu (tamarind), kurchii (chair), pusthakam (book), danda (chain) and many other words are commonly used by the Andhras in their daily lives.

It was noted by the researcher that some of the Andhras do not even know the English equivalents for Telugu words such as cheta, bellam (jaggery), sarupulu, boormokkulu, laddu, chinnapaakulu, gaarulu, boorulu, mittayilu, and pachchadi. During the research it became evident that some of these Telugu words and ignorance of equivalent English words hindered the users' command of English (cf. Bughwan : 1970).

Many Andhras, in their daily lives, use Telugu names for almost all the vegetables available in Durban, as well as for some Andhra foods. For example, beerakai (loofahs), bendakai, (lady's fingers), Kaakarakai (bitter gourd), Kooraaku (green herbs), mirapakaayalu (chillies), Karive-paaku (curry leaves), Sorakai (calabash), Gonggoora (sour leaves used for cooking). Some of the traditional Andhra food items which are in common usage are pappu koodu (dhall and rice), ambali (one type of porridge), vadalu (a type of savoury cooked by the Andhras and Tamils), paayasam (pudding cooked with milk), chepa kooora (fish

curry), koodi koorā (chicken curry) and many others.

#### 6.4.5 ANDHRA JEWELLERY

Many Andhras own traditional Andhra jewellery and identify them in Telugu. The following is a list of some of the names of Andhra jewellery most commonly known and used by the community. They are Kaasula danda (a type of big golden chain), Teeqi (a type of necklace), Kaapu Gaaḷulu (bangles), Bulaaku (nose rings), Ginni Bottu (for the neck), Kammalu (for the ear), Savaram (for the hair), Taali (Hindu Andhra wedding symbol), Mattelu (toe rings), and Uṅḡaram (ring).

Even though born and raised in South Africa and surrounded by English as a dominant language, local Andhras do not have any equivalent English terms for these Telugu words and it is very difficult to translate these names into English. When interviewed, an eighty-three year old lady argued that **"when we have our own Telugu names why should we have English names for these Andhra jewellery?"** (Interview : Rapiti Manikkamma : 1991). This argument illustrates the language loyalty and preservation rather than a forced use of Telugu terminology.

#### 6.4.6 TELUGU VERBS IN COMMON USE

Many Telugu verbs are in common use amongst the present day Andhra community. For example, raa (come), poo (go), Normoosko (shut up), Tongo (sleep), Oggeyi (let it be, leave it/ignore it) Tantaanu (I will/shall beat you) etc. The commonly used verb is podaamaa (shall we go?) chepu-tanu (I will/shall tell) and parigeththu (run). When reprimanding their children in the presence of other adults the Andhras often say "intikiraa, nee pani chepu-tanu" (come home I will teach you a lesson). Another expression commonly used by the Andhras is "maharajulaa pooyi raa" (go well and come back happily like a king). This expression is used to bless someone who is taking leave from the conversation or leaving the country for some reason.

#### 6.4.7 TRADITIONAL ANDHRA GREETINGS

The common means of Andhra identification with another Andhra is by using the traditional Andhra greeting of bringing both hands together and saying Namaskaram. Most of the Andhras, even though they cannot speak or communicate in Telugu, greet another Andhra in the traditional Andhra manner of greeting by saying "namaskaramandi" (greetings with respect). For example, in response to the question "how do you greet another Andhra person?", the response elicited showed that 62.4% of the Andhras

employ the traditional Andhra way of greeting and only 37.6% greet in English (like "Good morning", "Hello", and "Hi"). As Fasold (1984 : 236) states, if the people greet others in their own language, in some cases it may simply be due to the fact that they do not understand English. However, in the South African context, if the Andhras greet others in Telugu it is so because it is culturally appropriate to address other Andhras in Telugu. Linked with the cultural importance of such manners is the question of Andhra identity (Prabhakaran, 1991 (b) : 10). Thus, to identify themselves as Andhras, 62.4% of the South Africa Andhra respondents and many non-respondents use the Andhra greeting (Vide: research findings).

To the question "how do you respond to somebody when they address you in Telugu?" the response showed that 70.5% of them reply in Telugu. 13% of the respondents stated that they reply in English, 12.5% said that they do not respond at all whereas 4% said they respond in other forms which are not specified. The high percentage of respondents who reply in the mother tongue demonstrate the language loyalty of the Andhras because they prefer the use of Telugu instead of English in this cultural domain.

Research showed that most of the Andhras use Telugu while conversing with other Andhras at least for the first few sentences, before switching to English owing to a lack of

command of Telugu. For example, Telugu is used to greet, to enquire about the well being of the family, and while introducing or identifying themselves in telephonic conversations. Although the conversation continues in English, Andhras still commonly take leave of each other by saying Namaskaram or Vandanam or manchidi (the traditional way of saying 'good-bye' in Telugu).

Another observation is that there were people who could communicate continuously with the researcher in Telugu, conveying their messages very clearly, although using a combination of English and Telugu on occasions. At the same time there are some purists who found fault with the researcher for communicating in English or mixing English during the interviews.

#### **6.4.8 FAMILY GATHERINGS - JOKES AND RIDDLES**

Many Andhras use Telugu at family gatherings such as birthday parties, weddings, naming ceremonies, and family poojas (prayers) conducted at homes (e.g the Puntans Hill Andhras). Some interviewees indicated that they use Telugu in family jokes, asking riddles of each other and answering them for fun, teasing each other while cooking in the kitchen or at the dining table. There are some people who can "spin various riddles" in Telugu and challenge others. The interview conducted with an Andhra (Interview : Naidoo, Jogie : 1990) indicated that he

could "spin" Telugu riddles to challenge anyone, and claims that he can solve any riddle. He states that he learnt Telugu from his parents and is not a member of any branch sabha or the AMSSA.

According to one informant (Interview : Naidoo S.R : 1991) the Puntans Hill Andhras use Telugu on many other occasions such as the singing of traditional Andhra songs during the nalugu (preparation of the bride and the groom for the wedding according to the Hindu Dharma) ceremony, during or after the wedding; jesting with the bride and the groom. They also sing Telugu songs while pounding rice in the home (the traditional Andhra behaviour), bathing the baby, and on many other such occasions.

Some Telugu students at U.D-W stated (Naidoo, S.R : 1991 and Naidoo, J : 1991) that they converse with their husbands in Telugu in the presence of their children so that their children do not understand what was being discussed. This statement gives an impression that they will not teach their children Telugu, to keep Telugu as their secret language but it is not the norm. In many homes the situation motivates the children to learn Telugu so that they can comprehend their parents' conversation.

#### 6.4.9 ANDHRA NAMES AND SURNAMES

Another area where the Telugu language is being used is in the authentic Andhra names given to children, and in the use of Andhra caste names as surnames. Most of the Andhras and the "marginal Andhras" also use Telugu names and Telugu surnames. Names like Appanna, Latchanna, Veerasamy, Giddayya, Gangayya, Nagiyya, Vishnu, Saroja, Trimoorthy, Appalraju, Komalangi, Subhadramma, Dhanam, Mahalakshmi, Bangaram, Abbhayi, Vajram, and Rani although spelt differently, stand out as good examples of Telugu names locally. Similarly, the surnames like Reddy, Naidoo or Naidu, Chetty, and Naicker also exemplify the use of Telugu in South Africa.

#### 6.4.10 TELUGU INTI PERU

The use of Telugu Inti peru (family names which are used as surnames in India) maintains both the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa. When questioned "Do you know what is your Inti peru?" 51.4% of the respondents said yes, 36.3% said no, and 12.3% did not answer. However, it should be noted here that the term Inti peru was not translated into English in the questionnaire, in order to test their understanding of the Telugu term. The response might have been otherwise had the term inti peru been translated.

The most commonly used inti peru in South Africa are Dadi, Bisetty, Rapiti, etc (Source : Official letter written by Dadi Sangamayya to the AMSSA in 1988). The language and culture loyalty of the Andhras is evident from the continuing use of these Telugu Inti peru in South Africa. The extreme loyalists like Dadi Sangamayya insist that all South African Andhras should change their surnames, which are usually Naidoo or Reddy, to their proper Inti peru (Source : the letter written by him to AMSSA in 1988). Some Andhras state that in the South African situation it is not possible for all the Andhras to change surnames easily because of the expenses and practicalities involved. However, there is no documentary proof to say that Andhras have tried to change their surnames into their inti peru. It would appear that they are reluctant to initiate a change. However, in the South African context some loyal Andhras are determined to recover what has been lost during the course of time, viz the Inti Peru.

#### **6.4.11 USAGE OF TELUGU BY THE "MASTER OF CEREMONIES"**

In the present-day Andhra community, Telugu is used by the Master of Ceremonies at the Andhra Sabha functions, in the religio-cultural activities and family functions of the Andhra community. The function begins with an opening prayer which is always conducted in Telugu. The Master of Ceremonies usually opens the meeting with the

following Telugu address viz. "Sodara, Sodaree Manulaara! mee yavan mandiki na namaskaram cheputunnanu. Ee rooju manam andaram ee karyakrama kootamunaku cheriyunnamu".

(Ladies and gentlemen my greetings to you all. Today we have all gathered here to celebrate this function). He also concludes the function by stating the following in Telugu "Ippudu manamandaram santhi pattamunakai leechi nilabadadam" (now we all will rise for the Shanthi prayer, the traditional Hindu way of closing a function). However, there are some Andhras, who are capable of announcing every event in Telugu and can also commentate in Telugu. For example, Daya Naidoo, as Master of Ceremonies, conducted the entire 1991 Andhra Ugaadi function in Telugu at Dhoorga Hall, in Mobeni Heights, Durban. The Master of Ceremonies during the annual Andhra Eisteddfod also announces all the events bilingually.

#### **6.4.12 HINDU ANDHRA PRIESTS**

During research it became evident that Hindu Andhra priests conduct Andhra weddings mostly in Telugu (Interview : Naidoo, K.M : 1990). They chant the Telugu/Sanskrit mantras, pray in Telugu during the Havan (no Andhra knows that the Telugu word Homamu is synonymous with the Sanskrit word Havan), and cause the bridal couple to take wedding vows in Telugu.

The Andhras perform Havans when moving into a new house or starting a new business, opening a surgery, or opening a new shop. During these auspicious moments the priest usually blesses the people, who are involved in the prayers or functions, in Telugu. Similarly, while laying the foundation (punaadi) in the construction of a new house or building the priest uses Telugu in the ceremony.

Even during an Andhra engagement ceremony, the priest instructs the parents to take the oath in Telugu as follows : "maa ammayi ee rojununchi mee inti kodalu" (from today onwards our daughter will be your daughter-in-law) uttered by the bride's father and in response, the groom's father utters "ee roju nunchi mee ammayi maa kodalu" (from today onwards your daughter is our daughter-in-law).

The Andhra priests also use Telugu at Andhra funerals and in most homes the funeral prayer songs are sung only in Telugu. To the question "do you use Telugu in the funeral services?" the responses elicited showed that the respondents use mainly Telugu during the ceremony. 71.2% of them said "Yes"; 1.4% did not answer, and the rest said "no". When asked why they use Telugu in funeral services 3.4% said "because others were using it", 4.1% said because "they feel like using it", 24% stated "Telugu is appropriate to express their feelings" and the majority of them, i.e 59.6%, indicated that they use

Telugu because "it is their language". Using the mother tongue in sentimental situations, such as a funeral, a wedding ceremony or any family gathering, demonstrates that many of the Andhras are loyal towards their Telugu language. It is clearly evident that although Telugu is superseded by English as their medium of communication, many Andhras, due to their language loyalty and adherence to identity, use Telugu as the language for funeral services. It was noted that many Andhra families insist on the services of an Andhra priest during important occasions such as weddings, and funerals. This insistence also demonstrates their group identity and loyalty towards their Andhra culture rather than it being a necessity.

It was observed by the researcher that many of the present-day Andhras follow the Andhra traditions strictly when conducting family or religious functions as taught to them by their parents or forefathers. As an example, the answers to the question "while menstruating do you take part in religious acts like lighting the prayer lamp?" indicated that most of the Andhra women do not partake in religious acts during menstruating because they were told by their mothers not to do so and also because they feel they are not "pure". It is customary for an Andhra woman not to partake in Hindu prayers even in present-day Andhra Pradesh because of the unhygienic connotations of menstruation. This demonstrates that the

present-day Andhras, though westernized in many ways, still follow the traditional Andhra custom in South African environment.

#### 6.4.13 THE ANDHRA COMMUNITY AND THE SACRED AUM

The sacred Hindu word Aum written in Telugu is most commonly used among the Hindu Andhra community in South Africa. To the question "Do you use the Telugu Aum sign?" 76.7% of the respondents replied affirmatively, 20.5% of them replied negatively, and 2.8% of them did not answer the question. This shows not only the maintenance of the Telugu language but also its influence on the religious lives of the Hindus in South Africa. In this context it is appropriate to mention the fact that 95.9% of the respondents are Hindus, 3.4% of the respondents are Christians and 0.7% of the respondents claim other religious affiliations which are unspecified. The Hindu South African Andhras use the sacred Aum in different ways and in different places. Many use Telugu Aum stickers in their cars, on their front doors, in their prayer rooms, in the office, on religious books, on letterheads, in the letters they write, in an ornament on the wall, on a golden locket, wedding cards, etc.

#### 6.4.14 THE AMSSA AND THE TELUGU AUM

The AMSSA in 1987 created an emblem of its own with a Telugu Aum which consists of three sacred Hindu words in Telugu viz, Satyam, Santham and Daya (Truth, Patience and Kindness). This emblem was created by V.Latchanna, the secretary of the AMSSA, in 1987. The AMSSA makes extensive use of the Aum emblem in South Africa.

The AMSSA uses this Aum extensively, eg. on its official minutes, on its correspondence, on its brochures, on the wall as a decoration at any Andhra function, on the invitations to its religio-cultural activities, as an emblem for the AMSSA, on its official ties, etc. This emblem is used even on the rubber stamp for documents.

The branch sabhas also use the Telugu Aum sign on their sabha banners. The Asherville Branch of the Andhra Sabha has its own Telugu Aum banner which it created around 1983 and uses as its symbol (Interview : Latchanna : 1991).

In Leopold Street in Durban, a Telugu Aum sign on the Andhra House which belongs to the AMSSA is displayed. The AMSSA also has the Telugu Aum sign on the wall of the Andhra Hall in the building. Many Andhra Halls have plaques on which the Telugu Aum is inscribed.

#### 6.4.15 USAGE OF AUM IN OTHER AREAS

The Telugu Aum is also used on Andhra wedding cards, in the wedding halls, in the form of Muggulu (sacred paintings done in front of the Hindu houses, called Rangoli in Hindi) in the front yard or in the prayer room of almost every Hindu Andhra house.

It is interesting to note that some Andhras have the Telugu Aum as a tattoo mark on their arms. According to a medical practitioner (interview : Prabhakaran. N : 1991), some Andhra patients have a tattoo on their forearms inscribed in the Telugu language. The examples given by the informant are Telugu names like Raamulu, Appanna, Yerranna, and also the Telugu Aum. The above examples indicate the various places where the sacred Hindu Aum is used in Telugu. The extensive use of the Telugu Aum sign indicates that the Hindu Andhras use it to promote group identity in South Africa. In other words, the Telugu Aum sign is a symbol with profound philosophical significance for Hindu Andhras in South Africa.

#### 6.4.16 STREET NAMES

The naming of places, e.g streets, also illustrates the common usage of Telugu in South African communities. For example, there are streets called Warrangal Road and Golkonda Road in Merebank, Kasimkota in Puntans Hill,

Naidoo Road in Pietermaritzburg, Sir Kurma Reddi Road and Sastri Road in Clairwood. Names of some schools, such as Naidoo Memorial School and Nizam school reflect the Telugu influence in South Africa.

#### 6.4.17 BUILDINGS AND TEMPLES

The names given to some temples like Sri Raamulu temple in Puntans Hill, or Sri Andhra Vishnu Temple in Reservoir Hills, Sri Venkateswara Devasthanam (temple) in Haveside, and Sri Naarayana Swami Temple in Newlands also indicate Telugu name usage. In Umhlatuzana Township, in Collier Avenue, there is an Andhra Hall and Temple on which the name of the Hall i.e Padmajurani Andhra Sabha is written and the Telugu Aum is inscribed in Telugu. Similarly, the Hindu centre at the University of Durban-Westville also has the Telugu Aum sign on it, which stands as a symbol of the Hindu Andhras in South Africa.

During research it was found that a former private temple in Clairwood called the Bodi family temple, had a Telugu inscription. However, this temple was one of those destroyed by the Group Areas Act. Similarly, the Umbilo Andhra temple, which was also destroyed by the Group Areas Act, also bore some Telugu words (Interview : Latchanna : 1991). In Puntans Hill the name of the Sri Raamulu temple is written in Telugu which stands as a symbol of the Telugu language maintenance in the Puntans

Hill area.

#### 6.4.18 THE AMSSA, BRANCH SABHAS AND TELUGU

The name of the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa is always written in Telugu as Dakshinaafrica Andhra Maha Sabha. The AMSSA always uses its name both in Telugu and in English. The extensive use of the Telugu typewriter by the community further ensures the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa. At about the time of the establishment of the AMSSA, the Andhras had the privilege of having a Telugu printing press in South Africa (see 4.5.1). It was used extensively in the mid-twentieth century, but with the death of B.D.Sannasy who was responsible for the printing, the Andhras had no one to maintain and utilise these facilities.

The AMSSA has always commended the Andhra ancestors who did yeomen service in the retention of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa by writing in Telugu "Yendaroo Mahaanubhaavulu, vaarandariki maa vandanamulu" (there are so many great people and we greet them all). Usually these greetings are used in printing the brochures for cultural functions of the community and are mostly handwritten. Many AMSSA members quote this phrase in their daily lives, thus maintaining the language.

Another area in which Telugu is commonly used in South Africa is in the names of the branch sabhas. For example, the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha writes its name in the Telugu script and the name of its hall is also written in Telugu as Pathmajurani Andhra Halayam (the house of Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha) (Source : the Golden Jubilee brochure of the sabha 1983). The Pathmajurani Sabha also makes use of the words the "Andhra Jyothi" (Telugu Light) in Telugu. Similarly, the other branch sabhas write the names of their sabhas in Telugu, for example, the Reservoir Hills Andhra Sabha, and the Merebank Andhra sabha. They also make extensive use of the slogan "Andhra Jyothi The Torch of Andhraism - Keep it Glowing for ever". This slogan illustrates the language and cultural loyalty of the Andhras in South Africa.

Recently, the Andhra Maha Sabha started using the Maa Telugu Talli (our Telugu Mother) song on the brochures and official minutes of the sabha (Source: the Annual Report of the AMSSA, 1991). This Telugu song, written by Sankarambaadi Sundaraachari, is used by millions of Andhras in India daily as a national anthem. There are some Andhra loyals who insist that this song be sung by all the South African Andhras in their meetings and sabha activities (Interview : Naidoo, T.P : 1991).

#### 6.4.19 COMMUNITY DRAMAS

The Telugu language was also used in dramas performed by the Andhras from the very beginning of their immigration to South Africa. Early in the immigration period, the dramas like Baalanaagamma, Nala Damayanthi, Satya Hari-chandra and later Yavari Karmamu and many others were performed by Andhra artists. It was reported that these dramas were popular among the Andhras up to the mid 1950's.

There are some present-day Andhra artists who can perform religious dramas like Lakshmana Moorcha (Lakshmana's swoon - performed by Illovo Andhra artists : 1990) and many other sketches written and dramatised by amateurs during the Andhra Eisteddfods (see subsection 6.6.2.4 for more details).

#### 6.4.20 MEDIA - RADIO LOTUS

Another area where Telugu is widely used is on Radio Lotus. Radio Lotus broadcasts Indian film songs and Telugu gets its share of broadcasting time every Friday evening from 19 h 00 to 20 h 00. The purpose of this Radio station is the revitalisation and maintenance of Indian culture and languages in general. Many Andhra listeners unfailingly tune in during this time to enjoy the music selected by Amaravathi Maistry, the highly

competent and fluent Telugu announcer of Radio Lotus. Old and new film songs are broadcast during this hour every week, with preference generally being given to Hindu religious songs. According to an interviewee (Naidoo, A.A : 1991) recently, a few new Telugu songs have been broadcast each afternoon. However, because these songs are broadcast during working hours, they are missed by most Andhras.

Radio Lotus also contributed to the advancement of Telugu language in South Africa through the two series of language lessons given in Telugu along with the other Indian languages. The basic Telugu language lessons, compiled by the members of AMSSA, were broadcast in 1987. Series one comprised eleven lessons viz:

Lesson One	: greetings
Lesson Two	: numbers
Lesson Three	: colours
Lesson Four	: fruits and vegetables
Lesson Five	: clothing
Lesson Six	: animal sounds
Lesson Seven	: crockery and cutlery
Lesson Eight	: months and days
Lesson Nine	: directions
Lesson Ten	: seasons and climates ; and
Lesson Eleven	: time

(Source : the brochure published by Radio Lotus in 1987).

This series of Indian language lessons was broadcast twice a day and the Telugu language was aired every Tuesday between 6 h 15 and to 6 h 30 and 18 h 15 and 18 h 30. The presenter was a well-known Andhra, Joe Samuel from Stanger.

Radio, being a popular mass communication medium in any country, is presently playing a very important role in maintaining the Telugu language in South Africa. Radio Lotus also provides an opportunity to the Andhras to listen to their language by broadcasting Telugu speeches of about three to five minutes on special Andhra religious occasions like Ugaadi, Sri Rama Navami, and others. Knowledgeable Andhras from the community are invited to give talks at the various functions.

#### **6.4.21 AUDIO-VIDEO CASSETTES**

The other source of Telugu music available in South Africa is audio and video cassettes. However, most Andhras depend on Radio Lotus to hear Telugu songs because of the scarcity of Telugu songs in South Africa. Again, supply depends on the demand made by the Andhras for their language tapes. The prominent Indian merchants, Roopanand Brothers, in Durban, have a small collection of Telugu audio cassettes in stock. To the question "what is your source of the Telugu songs you hear?" 84.2% of respondents indicated Radio Lotus as the main source. Research indicated that there are Andhras who collect Telugu video films, Long Playing (L.P) records, and audio cassettes (Interview : Latchanna : 1990).

One Telugu video documentary on Andhra Pradesh is currently being sold in South Africa by T.P.Naidoo, an Andhra who is the director of the Indian Academy. Called "Andhra Pradesh, Annapoorna" (Andhra Pradesh, the Land of Plenty), the film is executed in Telugu and translated intermittently into English. The few Telugu films which are in circulation in South Africa are not translated into English, compelling the Andhras to become acquainted with the Telugu language. The most popular films are Maya Bazaar, Sitarama Kalyaanam, Pandava Vanavaasam, Pooja and others.

Thus, audio-video material also helps to keep the Telugu language alive in South Africa. However, some of the Andhras prefer religious films to the new social movies, perhaps because they commonly associate the Telugu language with Hindu religion (Vide: research findings) and are not aware of the cultural changes taking place in India.

#### **6.4.22 CONCLUSION**

Many present-day Andhras, though bilingual, use Telugu extensively when communicating with others (Interview : Rapiti Manikamma : 1991). This demonstrates their language loyalty. The frequent references to the death of the Telugu language in South Africa made by Dadi Sangamayya, and his warning that the Andhra community's

neglect of the Telugu language would result in the demise of Telugu, illustrates language loyalty and concern for its survival.

The interview conducted with one interviewee (Manthrie, D : 1991) also indicates her loyalty when she comments on the negative attitude of some of the Andhras leading to the death of the Telugu language in South Africa.

Andhras who feel this way do not want the Telugu language to be eroded in South Africa, displaying their language loyalty. However, the number of such loyalists is very small in South Africa.

In assessing such comments, the writer assumes that the Telugu language in South Africa is maintained on a small scale by loyal Andhras. It is also evident that the efforts of the community are not sufficient to maintain the language because Telugu is not consistently used anywhere, except in a few domains thus resulting in its gradual erosion in South Africa. However, the Telugu language is thus far maintained in South Africa through the loyalty of the custodians who undertook the task of saving the Telugu language from attrition.

6.5 MEANS BY WHICH TELUGU IS BEING MAINTAINED IN SOUTH AFRICA

6.5.1 TELUGU VERNACULAR EDUCATION AT PRESENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

6.5.1.1 PATASALAS

Telugu is being maintained in South Africa by means of the teaching of the vernacular language in the patasalas run by the branch sabhas. Even though there is a serious decline in the student numbers in the patasalas compared to the mid-twentieth century patasala enrolment, it is still a place of learning for the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa.

The questionnaire survey indicates that due to a lack of interest from the Andhras and the lack of proper organization by the AMSSA, very few Telugu Patasalas are in existence in Natal when compared with educational and cultural centres catering for the other Indian linguistic groups in the province (cf. Aziz 1988 : 83) (Interview : Sitaram, R : 1991). However, there is enough evidence to show that the Telugu language is being taught in these patasalas.

The branch sabhas establish and run patasalas in various places in Natal. However, the number of patasalas is

very small when compared to the number of the branch sabhas. This is due partly to a lack of trained teachers, and partly to the growing apathy of most of the parents towards learning their language. Very few sabhas have well-established and well-organised patasalas, and many loyal Andhras are not content with the number of the patasalas and the numbers of children attending the patasalas.

In response to the question "Do you have a Telugu patasala in your district?" 63.7% of the respondents indicated that they do have a patasala in their district whereas 10.3% did not respond to the question and 26% stated no. The percentage of the respondents who indicated that they have a patasala is contradicted by the researcher's personal findings.

During visits to sabhas and patasalas, the researcher noted that very few patasalas exist in Natal. Thus, it is assumed by the researcher that many of the respondents probably came from the areas where they have a sabha as well as patasala. The questionnaire survey indicated that a very small number of children attend the patasalas.

**TABLE 6.6**

**NUMBER OF CHILDREN ATTENDING THE PATASALAS**

D.N.A	N/A	1-10	11-20	21-30	ABOVE 30	TOTAL
8.2%	34.2%	13.7%	20.5%	16.4%	7%	100%

Table 6.4 illustrates that very few students attend the patasalas because 13.7% of the patasalas have student enrolment between 1-10, 20.5% have between 11-20 students, 16.4% of them have between 21-30 students and only 7% of them have above 30 students. These statistics contrast strikingly with the student numbers before the 1960's in many areas (see chapter 3.4.1) and show the degree of erosion of interest amongst the Andhra community in their EMT.

During the research it became evident that the Education Committee of the AMSSA does not keep any record on student numbers in the Andhra Patasalas. This shows a lack of proper organizational control over the patasalas and also indicates the apathy of the sabhas which run the patasalas.

The patasalas, despite their paucity, have some language and culture promoting activities such as teaching the vernacular, teaching Telugu songs, and training the pupils to take part in the Eisteddfod. The questionnaire survey indicated that 56.2% of the patasalas teach the

Telugu language to the children. However, teaching of language skills is rudimentary, and many of them concentrate on the Eisteddfod training and teaching the prayers, bhajans and songs. According to the chairman of the Andhra Eisteddfod committee (Interview : Naidoo, A.A: 1991) many patasalas cease to function after the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod which again illustrates the apathy of the Andhras.

It is amazing to note that 8.2% of the respondents indicated that the patasalas in their district do not have any language or culture promoting activities. It is assumed that these respondents are either unaware of the existence of a patasala in their district or are not interested in the activities of the existing patasala.

According to Fishman (1985 : 368):

**good Ethnic community mother tongue (ECMT) schools, properly oriented toward language maintenance, can make a significant independent contribution towards language maintenance task.**

He states (1985 : 372) that the ethnic community schools can contribute to language and cultural maintenance through teaching literacy, morality and leadership. He warns that although the schools are needed for the maintenance of the language, they cannot accomplish this unaided. Community support is vital to foster the language-maintenance role of the ECMTS.

In South Africa negative parental attitudes are a major setback to the language maintenance activities of the

ECMT schools. This was revealed by the questionnaire survey and also by interviews conducted with the patasala teachers. In response to the question "What interest do the parents show towards the patasalas?" 8.9% of the respondents did not answer, 24% did not have patasalas in their districts, 26.7% indicate a positive attitude, 10.3% indicate a negative attitude, 23.3% are neutral, and 3.4% state that the parents show no interest. The fact that so few of the respondents indicate a positive attitude towards the patasalas points to the fact that the language loyalty of the Andhras is not sufficient to maintain the language (cf. Fishman 1985 : 375).

Furthermore, the questionnaire survey and interviews conducted with the patasala teachers indicate that the AMSSA, either due to a lack of funds or to apathy towards the EMT, is not showing enough interest in the vernacular education and thus the patasalas are not receiving enough funds or books from the AMSSA to maintain the schools.

**TABLE 6.7**

**THE BUDGET OF THE AMSSA FOR 1989 AND 1990**

YEAR	INCOME	EXPENSES	SURPLUS
1989	R 27 284.01	R 18 687. 48	R 8 596. 53
1990	R 75 414.48	R 40 217. 94	R 35 196. 54

(Source : Income statement for the year ending 31 December 1990 of the AMSSA)

The main items under expenses are for pursuits other than education. When questioned about the reason for not spending money on education, the AMSSA president explained that the 'parent body' does not have any steady income to be utilised for education. A lack of trained teachers prior to 1989 also contributed to the neglect of vernacular education. However, in 1989 the AMSSA, due to the introduction of Telugu academic teaching at U.D-W, spent R 2000.00 on education by giving bursaries to the students who were studying Telugu at U.D-W.

The response to the question "Do the patasalas have suitable books to teach Telugu?" shows that most of the patasalas do not have books to teach the language. 12.3% of the respondents did not answer this question, 30.1% said that the question was not applicable because they do not have a patasala in their district, and 21.2% of them responded positively. However 36.3% of them responded negatively. In response to the question "why do they not have suitable books?", some respondents stated that there are no suitable books available in South Africa and some said the AMSSA could not import Telugu books from India due to the absence of relations between India and South Africa. Many of them even blamed the AMSSA for not supplying the books or reading materials to teach Telugu.

At present there are sufficient Telugu readers (Telugu Velugu Part One and Part Two), suitable for the South

African child and adult. These have been available in South Africa since the beginning of 1991 (AMSSA Annual General minutes 1991 : 4). Regrettably, very few branch sabhas have purchased copies of these books for use in their respective patasalas which again demonstrates a lack of general interest in learning the language. According to the AMSSA it is the duty of the branch sabhas to purchase books, since there is a lack of funds in the coffers of the Parent Organisation. (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991). This suggests that vernacular education cannot receive the desired attention from the AMSSA at present. The patasala teachers are not paid by the AMSSA, or subsidized by the branch sabhas and do not receive private remuneration from parents. The Council and General meetings of the AMSSA attended by the researcher indicate that there are some philanthropists who are prepared to import Telugu teachers from India at their own personal expense. However, there is no evidence thus far that such philanthropists are prepared to help the patasala teachers by way of payment of a teacher's salary or by providing readers and other educational materials. This lack of help makes one doubt the validity of the statements made by such philanthropists. However, a few loyal Andhras are imparting their knowledge voluntarily to the community even in these unfavourable situations.

According to the custodians of the Telugu language the patasalas are playing an important role in preserving the Telugu language in South Africa. At present there are 12 patasalas in Durban and the surrounding areas teaching Telugu literacy to juveniles and adults.

#### **6.5.1.2 THE TEACHING OF TELUGU AT STATE SCHOOLS**

The introduction of Telugu as a teaching subject in state primary schools since 1984 opened another avenue for maintaining the language in South Africa. The introduction of the Indian languages including Telugu was made possible by Section 21 of the Indian Education Act, 1965; and I.E Circular No 29 of 1983 facilitates the introduction of the Indian languages in the state schools. At present there are 24 state schools in Natal, (the number being high due to the introduction of an Andhra as a language promoter and the consideration given by the HoD) which offer Telugu at primary level and 651 students, out of 33,500 pupils learning Indian languages, are studying Telugu at these schools (Source : B.A. Naidoo, one of the Indian language promoters - HoD 1991).

According to Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1990) it is because of the introduction of Telugu at the state school level that the number of the patasalas is declining. This suggests that the community feels that now it is the duty of the state to maintain Telugu teaching in the

country. However, as discussed in chapter five, it is not possible to improve Telugu teaching in state schools without qualified teachers, unless the state schools receive help from the community. The state cannot and will not import teachers for the community. The situation could be improved if there is a demand for the language from the Andhra parents, because pressure from the community would motivate teachers who know Telugu to volunteer to teach the language.

The survey conducted by the Telugu Subject committee under the HoD in 1990 reveals the fact that there is no real demand for the Telugu language to be taught in the State schools (Survey made on Indian Languages - Telugu by the HoD in October 1990 : Ref No I.E D U of 1990). The loyal custodians feel that parental interest is very important in uplifting the Telugu language in South Africa. As a response to the question "do you think parental interest is important in uplifting the language?" 8.9% of the respondents did not answer, 84.2% of the respondent feel strongly that it is important, only 1.4% of them feel that is not important, and 5.5.% did not comment (see table 6.6)

**TABLE 6.8**

**TOTAL NUMBER OF PUPILS IN STATE SCHOOLS**

1986	1987	1988	1989	1990	1991
239	266	325	261	310	651

(Source : the Pupil Statistical data available from the HoD between 1986-1991)

The main aims of the Telugu curriculum as mentioned in the Telugu syllabus are as follows :

By the end of Standard 5 the pupils should be able to:

1. read with fluency and understand passages of simple prose, simple verse and simple songs;
2. understand simple talks on subjects within their range of experience;
3. use the language correctly in speech and writing;
4. appreciate various aspects of Telugu/Andhra culture through their grasp of the language and their readings in Telugu/Andhra literature and history.

With these aims and some other specific objectives, the HoD holds annual in-service training courses for the Telugu teachers to upgrade and update their language and teaching skills in the South African context (Source : Telugu Orientation Workshops conducted between 1986 - 1991).

However, the major setback to Telugu teaching in South Africa is the lack of academically qualified teachers. Those currently engaged in the teaching of the language, and language planning are teachers whose knowledge of Telugu is very basic as noted in chapter five.

In compiling the new Telugu syllabus in August-September 1989, the relevant authorities did not consult the Telugu lecturer at U.D-W, who was also a member of the Telugu Subject committee representing the University of Durban-Westville. The suggestions and the corrections made by the lecturer were not implemented because the approved syllabus cannot be amended for another five years (Interview : Naidoo, L : 1991). According to one of the members of the syllabus committee, (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991) **"the draft syllabus was prepared in 1988, however, they did not consult the Telugu lecturer"**. This reflects the apathetic attitude of some of the members of the Telugu subject committee who presided over the structuring of the Telugu language syllabus.

Whatever the problems, the introduction of Telugu teaching at schools is advancing Telugu literacy amongst Andhra students. Each year, increasing numbers of students are opting to study Telugu at the state schools. Telugu is taught on the basis of three teaching periods per week at all the 24 schools and it is a governing factor for Telugu language maintenance in South Africa.

Above all, the new text books, Telugu Velugu 1 and Telugu Velugu 2, which make the teaching of Telugu much easier than previously, are available in South Africa (Interview : Chetty, Rani : 1991). These books are a further asset to the community (Interview: Naidoo, V.K : 199). Some young state school as well as patasala teachers are receiving guidance from the Telugu lecturer at U.D-W and attending Telugu courses at the University.

Thus, the state schools are potentially another source of support in the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa, although it remains a minority language, when compared with the other Indian languages in South Africa.

#### **6.5.1.3 TELUGU TEACHING AT U.D-W**

Telugu was the first Indian language to be accepted and recognised for a university examination in 1948 at the University of Natal. Bungaree Naidoo was permitted to offer Telugu as a language subject for a Social Science Degree at that University (Source: Andhra Eisteddfod Golden Jubilee Brochure 1989: 20). According to an interview conducted with Mr. Bungaree Naidoo, he stated that he had chosen Telugu to fulfil the requirements of the course where he had to be proficient in two languages. Being an Andhra proficient in Telugu, and owing to his love for the language, he chose Telugu. According

to Naidoo (Interview : Naidoo, Bungaree : 1991), it was only a language proficiency oral test but not a written test and he did not do any specific academic course for that test. He did the test under the supervision of Pandit Varadacharyulu. However, after that candidate no one else took Telugu as a subject either at the University of Natal or even at the University of Durban-Westville until 1972 which again shows a lack of demand from the Andhras.

Telugu was introduced at the University of Durban-Westville in 1972 with Pandit Varadacharyulu as the sole lecturer. He continued to teach Telugu at the U.D-W until his retirement in 1981. After the long absence of a qualified lecturer for almost ten years Telugu has been re-introduced in the Department of Indian Languages with the appointment of a lecturer who qualified in India.

In 1989 the appointment of a full time lecturer at U.D-W made it possible for Andhras to study Telugu as an academic subject at the University. At present Telugu is being offered at Course one, two and three levels at the University, and at the doctoral level. Thus, the teaching of Telugu at U.D-W is presently a significant factor in Telugu language maintenance. The syllabus for the Telugu course is on a par with those in the other Indian languages, and aims chiefly to promote the language and culture in South Africa. The state school and patasala

teachers who are Telugu students at U.D-W encourage the promotion of Telugu in their respective domains.

According to Sitaram, (Preface : Telugu Velugu 1991):

**Telugu has for long been a deprived language in this country, although it was offered as a degree course at the University until 1980. The arrival of a new lecturer at this University in 1989 heralded a new era of Telugu learning and general advancement of Andhra Culture in South Africa.**

The lecturer started in 1989 with only three students who took Telugu as a degree course. Now there are twenty five students who are learning Telugu at different levels. See table 6.7 for the number of students taking Telugu at U.D-W.

TABLE 6.9

TELUGU STUDENTS' NUMBER AT THE UNIVERSITY OF DURBAN-WESTVILLE

	1972	1974	1978	1980	1989	1990	1991
SPECIAL	2	10	13	7	-	-	-
COURSE 1	1	1	-	-	3	7	19
COURSE 2	-	-	-	-	-	2	5
COURSE 3	-	-	-	-	-	-	1
TOTAL	3	11	13	7	3	9	25

(Source : Student enrolment available at U.D-W student affairs - June 1991)

One interesting feature of the student registration in 1991 is the age distribution of the students which ranges between 20 to 60 years. Most of the students paid a considerable amount in fees just to do one course and attend the lectures every day without fail. The students consist of principals, and teachers of state primary and secondary schools, traders and patasala teachers. The wide range of their professions demonstrates the language loyalty of different sectors of the community towards their language. The main contribution of these students is that they learn from the University and spread their knowledge to the other members of the community.

The increase in the number of students keen to learn Telugu also indicates the language loyalty of some of the Andhras which will contribute to the maintenance of Telugu language in South Africa.

#### **6.5.1.4 TELUGU ADULT LITERACY CLASSES**

Many Andhras lost their EMT completely because of the various reasons mentioned in chapter five. However, to help those Andhras, adult literacy classes were again introduced in the Andhra community in 1985, at the branch sabha level.

There was a general interest in learning the language amongst some Andhras, and with the arrival of Prof. Jeevarathnam John in 1989, adult classes were established in Chatsworth. Prof. John, the only South African born Andhra thus far to obtain an academic degree in Telugu from India, was brought to South Africa for a short period by Y.C. Naidoo, a philanthropist. Prof. John conducted adult classes for those who have some basic knowledge of the Telugu language. He taught communication skills by teaching how to substitute Telugu for English expressions or words. The classes were held on Saturdays between 14 h 00 and 15 h 00 for three months. However, there was no specific syllabus, no specific grammar was taught, and he refused to teach beginners on the ground that he could not cope with the beginners' level (Source : the HoD Telugu Subject Committee minutes : 1990 and Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991). After his return to India the classes were discontinued and the voluntary services of the University Telugu lecturer were not exploited which again shows a lack of general interest in the community and illustrates the lack of organizational support from the 'parent body'.

At present some sabhas have adult classes in their districts. Mention should be made of the Puntans Hill Sabha, Effingham/Greenwood Park Sabha, Reservoir Hills Sabha, and others. Very few adults attend these classes due to a lack of general interest and the language shift

of the community. There are only four adults in the Reservoir Hills patasala according to the patasala teacher at that sabha. There is no particular syllabus for these adult literacy classes; thus it is not an academically planned course.

#### 6.5.1.5 CONCLUSION

Even though the Telugu patasala education is not very effective at present, the patasalas are promoting Telugu language maintenance in South Africa. The Telugu vernacular education, to a certain degree, is contributing to the maintenance of Telugu which has been able to survive over the past one hundred and thirty years in South Africa. However, when compared with the religio-cultural activities, which dominate the Telugu language usage in South Africa, the Telugu vernacular education did not play a prominent role in keeping the language alive in South Africa as was the case with the Urdu, Gujarati, and Hindi languages.

As Fishman states (1985 : 368), beyond the family, the maintenance of a language in a foreign environment needs the support of a school system. However, the school system of Telugu language education, at both the state school level or at the patasala level, is very weak. It needs more support from the Andhra community and from the AMSSA because the survival of the language depends on the

promotion (see chapter 7 for more details) of the vernacular which at present is in jeopardy.

## 6.6. RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE ANDHRAS WHICH GOVERN THE TELUGU LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

### 6.6.1 RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES OF THE COMMUNITY

In consonance with Bughwan's finding, and in the spirit of religio-cultural adherence, the South African Andhras observe many festivals and rituals which provide opportunities for the use and preservation of the Telugu language.

#### 6.6.1.1 UGAADI

Although all festivals, whether small or large, are auspicious and sacred, Ugaadi has a specific significance for the Andhras because it nobly inaugurates the new year of the Andhras, who follow the 'Salivahana Saka' (era) and the lunar calendar. The Telugu word 'Ugaadi' is the combination of two terms, 'Uga' meaning the year and 'Adi' meaning the beginning. Thus, 'Ugaadi' is an Andhra new year festival, occurring in March/April, the month of Chaitra. Ugaadi is celebrated with great eclat in Andhra Pradesh.

According to the Hindu tradition there are sixty years in an age and every year has a specific deity as its ruler (Laxmikantha Mohan 1988 : 8). The Andhras have specific names for every Telugu year like Prabhava, Vibhava, Shukla etc. An oil bath, the wearing of new clothes, plus the preparation of special food for a family lunch are the usual features of any Hindu festival in India. However, a special item, Ugaadi Pachchadi (New Year chutney), is prepared specifically for Ugaadi with the tender flowers of mango, jaggery or sugar, new tamarind, small pieces of raw mango, salt, sugar-cane pieces, tender flowers of neem and ghee (melted butter). The Ugaadi pachchadi, which is a delightful mixture of different tastes, is first offered to the deity, and after the prayer, is consumed as prasaadam by the Andhras. This pachchadi has much significance for the Andhras. Different tastes reflect different experiences in human lives and the Andhras believe that those delights and distresses the new year might bring will be reflected by the pachchadi.

In the evening the Andhras gather for panchanga sravanam (listening to the Hindu almanac), when a priest explains the almanac of the new year, the planetary position which signifies the prospects of crops, weather forecasts, socio-political changes and international relations. Unlike the other Andhra festivals the Ugaadi is more secular in nature because it celebrates the changing season.

The Andhras of South Africa celebrate the Ugaadi festival with much pomp and glory and it is a great religio-cultural event for them.

In South Africa the Andhras celebrate Ugaadi as a community function rather than as a family function due to urbanisation, since they do not have any farms or carry out harvesting. The AMSSA conducts this festival every year unflinchingly in one of the Andhra cultural halls in Havenside or in Mobeni Heights and invites the Andhras and other linguistic groups to attend. Usually, the function commences with a Telugu prayer, or a Sanskrit prayer, thereafter religious bhajans are rendered in Telugu, followed by a speech delivered by the guest of honour on the significance of the Andhra Ugaadi. New Year resolutions are taken, the implementation of the previous year's resolutions are discussed in the meeting. The speech is followed by cultural programmes which include Andhra dances like gobbi and kolaatam and Telugu songs.

The traditional Andhra folk dances such as Gobbi, Kolaa-tam, and the traditional Indian dance, Bharata Naatyam, are performed by various artists from the Andhra community. Finally the prasaadam is distributed to the audience (Source : the AMSSA annual general meeting minutes, 1988).

Extensive use is made of Telugu in the Ugaadi function because the Andhras associate their new year with their Andhra culture. One very interesting factor noticed by the researcher is that the Andhras (AMSSA) do not celebrate their new year along with the Tamils, whose new year falls in April/May, one month later than the Andhra new year. This shows the Andhra desire to retain their Andhra identity in the face of Tamil domination. This also illustrates the fact that the Andhra identity is being maintained by loyal Andhras who are concerned with the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa.

The AMSSA profiles a press coverage for the function inviting people to attend. Usually Ugaadi attracts a large crowd of Andhras, many of whom are not even members of the AMSSA or any other branch sabhas. The newspapers such as the Graphic in the 1960's and the Leader in the present time, cover the Andhra Ugaadi. The Ugaadi messages are written both in Telugu and English.

The arrival of the Telugu lecturer and her Telugu speech at the 1989 Ugaadi brought the flavour of Ugaadi pachchadi into the South African Andhra Ugaadi scenario. On the 1990 Andhra new year day the Ugaadi pachchadi was prepared and distributed by the AMSSA and in many South African Andhra houses the Andhras have started to prepare the Ugaadi pachchadi like the Andhras of India. This

incident demonstrates that, once aware of the Andhra cultural habits in India, the South African Andhras would like to incorporate these into their local cultural practices.

The branch sabhas also celebrate the Ugaadi festival on a small scale. Various Telugu bhajana songs are rendered by the Andhras. The most important song among them is Andhra Ugaadi vachchindi, ooriki kala kala chechindi (The Andhra New year has come and brought glory and pomp to the Andhras). The Andhra Ugaadi celebration is the symbol of the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa and it can be assumed that this will remain as a factor of Andhra identity in South Africa.

#### **6.6.1.2 SRI RAMA NAVAMI**

Ugaadi also marks the beginning of the nine-day celebration of Sri Rama Navami, the birth anniversary of Lord Sri Rama, one of the most popularly worshipped Hindu Deities. The Andhras in India celebrate these nine days with Harikatha Kalakshepam (narrating the story of Rama), and Ramayana Paarayanam (reading the Ramayanam), where the moving story of Rama is told and enacted. On the ninth day the wedding of Sri Rama to Sita is celebrated. The Andhras in India prepare paanakam, a beverage which is made with a mixture of jaggery, cardamoms, black

pepper powder and water. This paanakam is an essential in Rama Navami because of the hot summer weather and is distributed along with Vada Pappu, prepared from split green gram soaked in water to which a pinch of salt, onion and ghee are added, as prasaadam. Sri Rama Navami is celebrated in Andhra Pradesh with songs, drama, dance and other entertainments, thus happily blending religion and culture in one celebration.

However, the present-day Andhras in South Africa celebrate Rama Navami as a family or a sabha function. Unlike Ugaadi, the Rama Navami is not celebrated as an AMSSA function and is purely religious in nature. The Andhras in South Africa mostly join the Hindi-speaking community to celebrate the Rama Navami for the nine days. The services are conducted at various temples and ashrams and the Andhras attend the service individually. During the nine days Rama Bhajans are rendered in Hindi and mostly Telugu; religious discourses on any specific topic from the Ramayanam are delivered. Each day a speaker delivers a talk on the Ramayanam after which prasaadam is distributed.

There is no proper documentation available to ascertain how the early Andhra settlers performed the Rama Navami in South Africa. However, the interviews conducted with various elder members of the community revealed that the early immigrant Andhras celebrated Sri Rama Navami as the

Andhras in India celebrate it today. The present-day Andhras celebrate Rama Navami at their own homes with Rama bhajans, services and religious talks including the Sita-Rama Kalyanam (wedding).

#### 6.6.1.3 TYAGARAJA MUSIC FESTIVAL

After the fall of the Vijayanagar Empire in the Andhra country there was a great decline of arts, sculpture and literature due to a lack of royal patronage. During this period many religious and spiritual music composers were born. They produced numerous exalting religious songs in popular musical style. Some of the great musicians of this era are: Purandaradasa (Kannadiga), Jayadeva (Andhra), Bhadrachala Ramadas (Andhra), Muthu Swami Dikshitar (Andhra) and Swami Tyagaraja (Tamil), the last being the greatest of them all.

Swami Tyagaraja was born on 4 May 1767 in the city of Tanjore in Tamilnadu. The atmosphere in which he was raised was literally musical and he had his own mother and father as his first gurus to teach him music. At an early age he realised that to develop his musical talents and to shine as a great composer he must acquire a sound background of Sanskrit and Telugu which are suitable for musical composition. He very soon mastered the two languages and started composing his kirtanas in Telugu which could be understood by the lay as well as the elite in

the community. He composed over 24,000 highly inspiring bhakti songs in praise of Lord Rama. He has outshone every other musical composer by his devotional songs and became a saint with musical knowledge to be emulated by other composers. His kritis (compositions) are being sung even today in every Andhra house (as well by the Tamils) and every year the Andhras and Tamils in India pay tribute to his great contribution to Dravidian music in India.

Swami Tyagaraja, composed soul-elevating Telugu Kirtanas (songs) in praise of Lord Rama and Sita. He derived great spiritual and devotional solace from his musical creations and believed that one can communicate with God through the medium of pure music, called the Sangita Marqa. In South India, Tyagaraja will always be remembered as the genius who composed Bhakti (devotional) songs called Kriti, a highly evolved musical composition. He also composed many Bhajans. All his Kritis and Bhajans are dedicated to Lord Rama and written in Telugu.

The immigrant Andhras who brought their cultural habits and practices also brought Tyagaraja Kritis with them to South Africa. They celebrated music festivals where the Kritis of Swami Tyagaraja were sung by the Andhra artists. The pioneers in presenting the Tyagaraja Music Festival in South Africa were the Ranjeni Troupe founded by Soobramoney Naidoo between 1930-1940. However, since

1960, the AMSSA, with the help of its branch sabhas, presents the Annual Tyagaraja Music Festival on a magnificent scale. According to Reddy (Reddy, S : Tyagaraja Music Festival Brochure 1987 : 5) this music festival is the high-water mark of the South African music calendar as it honours and pays tribute to the greatest composer ever born in the Carnatic music tradition.

The South Indians (the Andhras as well as the Tamils) celebrate the Tyagaraja Music festival on the fifth day of the dark half of the month of Pushya (January) every year. This was the day when the saint's soul left his body and united with Lord Rama. However, in South Africa, the Swami Tyagaraja Music Festival is usually celebrated in May by the South African Andhra community as well as by the Indian Academy of South Africa.

The AMSSA organised the first Tyagaraja Music Festival in 1960 to commemorate the centenary of the coming of the Andhras to South Africa (Reddy, S : Tyagaraja Music Festival Brochure 1986 : 3) and continues to celebrated the festival up to the present time. Various Andhras as well as Tamil musicians are invited by the AMSSA to render music, viz. the Tyagaraja Kritis and bhajans. The prominent feature of this festival is that all the music is rendered only in Telugu. 57.5% of the respondents stated that they attend the Tyagaraja Music Festival which is organised by the AMSSA every year.

In 1991, inspired by the success of the Third World Telugu Conference held in Mauritius, in 1990, the Andhras joined the Indian Academy of South Africa and hosted a joint Tyagaraja Music Festival at the Durban City Hall. Many Tamil artists from Sri Lanka were invited to present musical items and thousands of music lovers witnessed the series of Tyagaraja Music Festivals in 1991 rendered by these artists at various places like Tongaat, Durban Central, Phoenix, Pietermaritzburg, and the Springfield College of Education (Source : Joint Message given by the President of AMSSA and the President of Indian Academy of South Africa in the Tyagaraja Music Festival Brochure 1991 : 7). Nowhere else in the world besides India is so much prominence given to the Swami Tyagaraja Music Festival.

The Tyagaraja Music Festival not only contributes to the propagation of South Indian music but also to the maintenance of Hindu culture and the Telugu language in South Africa. The increasing popularity of this festival, as evinced in the recent festivals, leads one to conclude that the Tyagaraja Music Festival will survive in South Africa.

#### **6.6.1.4 ANNUAL ANDHRA EISTEDDFOD**

The Andhra Eisteddfod is the main preserver of the Andhra culture and Telugu language in South Africa. Children as

well as adults representing different branch sabhas take part in this annual cultural function. The patasala teachers teach and train their candidates in music, dance and other items such as sketches, speeches and operetta all rendered exclusively in Telugu. The syllabus, which is revised every three years, is prepared well in advance and distributed by the Eisteddfod committee to the various branch sabhas. Vigorous training takes place for two or three months, when each candidate is given personal attention.

The syllabus usually comprises padyamulu(verses), for boys, girls and adult males and females. Balala paatalu (children's songs), film/devotional songs, keertanalu (traditional musical compositions), choir, Bhajanalu (bhajans), Aadhunika Sangeethamu (modern music), musical solos, open operetta, story-telling, sight reading, and speech competitions form part of the programme. Hindu prayers, Andhra folklore dances like gobbi and Kolaatam, and classical dance like Bharata Naatyam and Kuchipudi also comprise the major part of the syllabus (Source : 1991-1993 Andhra Eisteddfod Syllabus prepared by AMSSA). It must be emphasised that only Telugu is used in all these items. Much emphasis is given to correct pronunciation and the correct expression of the language.

Various adjudicators are invited to assess the items in the Eisteddfod. For example, the Telugu lecturer at U.D-

W is requested, to adjudicate the language section of the Eisteddfod along with other Andhras who are thoroughly conversant with the language. Similarly, ladies who are skilled dancers are invited to adjudicate the dances. If there are no suitably qualified personnel to adjudicate a particular item then the Eisteddfod committee invites people from other linguistic groups of the Hindu community for this purpose.

Many Andhras take part in these Eisteddfods and their language and cultural loyalty is revealed by their participation. To assess the reasons for their participation the researcher posed the question "why do you and your family take part in the eisteddfod?". 67.1% of the respondents replied that they take part in the Eisteddfod because they want **"to keep the Telugu language and Andhra culture alive in South Africa"**, whereas 32.9% replied that they participate because they "like to participate". Many respondents also indicated that "it is fun to learn Telugu" and that is why they participated. To the question "do you regard the Eisteddfod as being the preserver of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?" 70.5% of the respondents stated "yes", 1.4% of them stated "no", 21.3% did not comment and 6.8% did not answer this question. Some of the supporting statements of those who mentioned that the eisteddfod is the preserver of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa are as follows:

"During Eisteddfod training, efforts are made to learn our language and culture. The public hear the Telugu language being used on that day..", "the Andhras learn to speak Telugu and participate in the competition". One respondent stated that the Eisteddfod is "getting the Andhras from various places together and encouraging them to learn the language and culture".

Many people feel it helps to acquaint the younger generation with the Telugu language and Andhra culture. The writer's personal participation in the past three Eisteddfods leads her to concur that the Eisteddfod is a means of preserving the Telugu language and culture, because even those who cannot communicate in the language participate, wearing traditional Andhra dress and reciting poems and dialogues in Telugu. Being from India herself, the researcher is amazed at how Andhras are able to maintain their language and culture so actively in this country. However it is sad to note that after the Eisteddfod the same Andhra parents show apathy towards their children learning Telugu in the patasalas.

It is not necessary to mention all the details of the Andhra Eisteddfod in this chapter. However, some of the issues which deserve mention here are, the sacrifice made by the patasala teachers who train the candidates and the organizing skills of the Eisteddfod committee of the AMSSA which ensures the success of the Eisteddfod. The

funds made available by the HoD, the co-operation given by the candidates and above all the support extended by the Andhra community to make the function a grand success are commendable.

The Telugu language is extensively used in the Eisteddfod, and during the Eisteddfod many families of the Andhra community become involved in the Eisteddfod. It is noteworthy in this context that the Andhra Eisteddfod syllabus emphasizes the Hindu religion and therefore attracts candidates only from the Hindu Andhra community of South Africa.

Numerous interviews conducted illustrated that the popular Andhra Eisteddfod will continue in South Africa for years to come. Thus, it is assumed that the Telugu language will continue to be sustained as long as the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod along with the other Andhra religio-cultural activities are preserved in this country.

#### **6.6.1.5 DRAMAS**

It is mentioned in chapters three and four that the Andhras performed various religio-cultural dramas. According to the memoirs of Eugene Millar in his "The Sugar Industry in Natal", he had a Kamma caste gentoo who played the flute magically and who regaled the guests

with his music (Source : Naidoo, T.P 1990: 4). According to the information given by an interviewee (Naidoo, T.P : 1991) in South Africa the first known Andhra drama and dance troupe was formed in the 1890's by Subba Naidoo. They called themselves the Venkatachala Samarasa Natya Sabha. It seems Subba Naidoo, being a sirdar at the La Mercy Sugar Mills, was in a position to organise time off for the members of his troupe and performed many Telugu dramas on Rudrama, Bala Nagamma, Apoorva Chintamani and excerpts from the *Ramayanam* (Naidoo, T.P 1990 : 1). According to the elder members of the community there were many dramas performed on a regular basis during the 1930's. An elderly informant (Interview : Rapiti Manikamma : 1991) claims that most of the dramas were performed during the weekends. The stories of *Ramayanam*, *Bharatam*, *Bhagavatam* were the main themes of these activities. Most of the immigrant Andhras were well versed in these religious texts and relied on memory to enact the Telugu dramas, having no need of written scripts.

With the westernisation of the Andhra community, and due to a lack of general interest, the drama was neglected after the 1950's. However, until the mid-twentieth century many dramas were enacted by the South African Andhras. Mention should be made of some of the dramas which were enacted, viz. Baala Naagamma, Harischandra Katha, Nala Damayanthi, Chenchu Lakshmi and Prahallada. As recently as 1990, the Illovo drama group enacted a

four to five hour religious drama called Lakshmana Moorcha (Lakshmana's swoon) in Telugu. This illustrates the continuity of the old Hindu Andhra tradition by the present-day Andhras of South Africa.

The famous Telugu social drama Yavari Karmamu (every one is responsible for his own Karma) was enacted in 1950 by the Pathmajurani Andhra Sabha patasala students (see 3.4.2.3).

The amateur artists who take part in the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod also enact minor sketches in the eisteddfods. The scripts are written in Telugu, mostly by the artists themselves. They learn the dialogues and perform the sketch in Telugu. However, it was noticed that in the South African context, mostly religious dramas and sketches are written and they prove more popular than the social sketches because most of the Andhras associate the Telugu language with Hindu religion. These dramas, being religious in nature, also perpetuate Hindu culture in South Africa.

#### **6.6.1.6 DANCE - BHARATA NAATYAM, KUCHIPUDI GOBBI AND KOLAATAM**

Every linguistic group has its own cultural legacy, identity and a synthetic community, which has evolved through its history. Dance is generally one of the

earliest forms of artistic expression, through which the cultural legacy of a community is expressed. Bharata Naatyam, the purest and the oldest form of Indian classical dance evolved by Bharata, the great sage, became crucial to the identity of Indian culture. It is the classical dance of India and has for centuries been patronised by Indians of all linguistic groups, including the Andhras.

During the reign of the Andhra Satavahanas, the Indian dance Yakshagaana was reformed and improvements were made using the Bhaqavatha literary source. This led to the formation of the Kuchipudi Bhagavatha dance in the Andhra country. From the third century the Kuchipudi, a type of dance-drama, became the symbol of Andhra culture in India. During the reign of the Vijayanagara Emperors, the Kuchipudi became famous because of the royal patronage it received. For the past four centuries Kuchipudi has attracted the Andhra people, humble and elite alike.

However, it is very surprising to note that the South African Andhra community is barely aware of the Kuchipudi Bhagavatam because they refer to Bharata Naatyam as Kuchipudi. It is very unfortunate that South African Andhras are missing something which is unique to Andhra culture alone. Young South African Andhra artists are aware of the Bharata Naatyam: they learn it and perform it on various occasions at various venues. The first

Indian girl to qualify in India in Bharata Naatyam was an Andhra Kumari (Miss) Sulochana Naidoo in the 1970's. She was later followed by the Nydoo sisters: Rani and Prema Nydoo, the daughters of the late Mr.M.A.Nydoo who was one of the presidents of the AMSSA. Many Andhras are keen for their children to learn Bharata Naatyam, but no one is keen to learn the Kuchipudi because there is no academic dance class which can teach the artists the Kuchipudi in South Africa. This is due to a lack of trained Kuchipudi dancers and to a lack of its popularity among the Indian community.

However, according to an interviewee (Interview : Naidoo, A.A : 1991), recently a few dance academies have begun teaching the Kuchipudi and some young Andhra artists are learning it. Similarly, the situation has changed with the attempts made by a very young Andhra artist from Tongaat, who went to Andhra Pradesh for one year to learn Kuchipudi. One year is insufficient to learn Kuchipudi, which is reputed to be far more difficult than Bharata Naatyam. However, Kumari Dhana Segri Naicker studied the basics in Kuchipudi and performed her first dance in the Andhra Ugaadi function held in Dhoorga Hall in Mobeni Heights in 1991. Kumari Segri not only learnt Kuchipudi at Hyderabad, but also learnt basic communication skill in Telugu. The eagerness of the parents to support the young artist and her ambition to learn the dance are encouraging signs of loyalty towards Andhra language and

culture.

While Bharata Naatyam and Kuchipudi reflect the classic taste of the Andhras, Gobbi and Kolaatam stand for Andhra folklore in South Africa. The term "Gobbi" has its origin in the Andhra custom of young girls and ladies making gobbemma (made out of cow pats) representing mother Gouri and placing them on the muggulu, singing and dancing around the gobbemma praying for their good future or asking for good husbands. The dance they perform became the gobbi dance and was exclusively an Andhra dance. Among the South African Andhras the Gobbi has much significance because they identify their culture with the gobbi dance. The ladies perform the gobbi dance on almost all religio-cultural festivals or functions and even during the Andhra Eisteddfod.

In Andhra Pradesh, Telugu being the native language of the state, the women sing gobbi songs based on commonplace occurrences in their daily lives. There are many such songs written by the folklorists. However, in the South African context, the Andhra artists use the Telugu film song, which appeals to them, with a rhythmic music which is suitable for their steps. Some of the young Andhra girls and ladies perform the gobbi dance in the competition organized by the Indian Academy of South Africa and for television. Today the gobbi is performed by the Andhra artists at Folk Dance festivals and Indian

variety shows.

It was observed during certain functions that some songs from the films are inappropriate to the gobbi dance and are unsuitable because of the age of the dancers. This situation not only shows a lack of availability of Telugu cultural songs in South Africa (because of the cultural boycott imposed by the Indian Government) but also the language inadequacy of the Andhra community. Thus, a lack of understanding of the Telugu language is eroding the Andhra culture in South Africa.

The term "Kolaatam" (May-pole dance) is used as a symbol for Andhra culture in India because all the regions of Andhra Pradesh perform the Kolaatam dance. While the gobbi is purely a girls' or women's dance, the Kolaatam is performed by both males and females. Every dancer ties anklet bells to the ankles, holds two sticks in the hands and strikes those of the others while singing Kirtanas, bhajans or religious songs. As in the case of the gobbi dance, the Kolaatam is also performed by the Andhra community to the accompaniment of film songs, and at all the religio-cultural functions of the community.

In India there are many more Andhra folklore dances which have existed for centuries, but only the gobbi and kolaa-tam survive in South Africa. It will be an interesting research topic to identify the reasons for the survival

of these two folklore dances in South Africa. However, it is assumed by the writer that the reason is that they are easier to perform than Kuravanji, Veedhi Naatakam, Bommalata and Burra Katha and thus survived in this foreign environment.

Whatever the drawbacks, the Gobbi and Kolaatam are performed by Andhra artists with great enthusiasm and enjoyment and they became a compulsory feature in most of the Andhra functions. As long as these religio-cultural activities of the Andhra community remain an active component of their lives the Telugu language will continue to be used.

#### 6.6.1.7 BHAJANA FESTIVALS AND BHAJANA GROUPS

Bhajana is solely an expression of devotion by a Hindu devotee towards God. While musical knowledge is required to sing Carnatic Music and Tyagaraja Kruthulu (Kritis), to render Bhajans the only prerequisite is devotion to God. Any humble or lay person can render Bhajans and Telugu Bhajans are no exception.

The indentured Andhra immigrants, once freed, established within a few years various bhajana groups, offered their services to the community freely and sang the bhajans in Telugu. They laboured between sunrise and sunset on farms and then found solace in singing bhajans praising

Lord Rama or other Hindu deities at night and over weekends. The early bhajana groups were very popular and were regarded not only as loyal custodians of Hindu religion but also as the custodians of the Telugu language.

One of the earliest bhajana groups, the Rossburgh Sri Rama Bhajana Group, which was established in the late 1920's, still exists. This group was founded by Boddadi Bala Rama Swami, who came as an indentured labourer to Natal in 1897. This group, in the earlier days of its existence, used to hold services freely for families who had taken special prayer oaths. It is a common Andhra custom to offer up special prayer to Lord Venkateswara, promising to perform Venkateswara pooja and distribute prasadam if one's problem is resolved. At present this group is frequently hired either in January (at the time of the ancestral prayers) or at the time of Sri Rama Navami, to render bhajans in Telugu. One of the informants (Interview : Naidoo, Bobby : 1991) who is the son of the late Boddadi Bala Rama Swami and a member of the present Rossburgh Bhajan Group, informed the writer that the group wears a specific outfit consisting of green pants and a white shirt with a Telugu Aum sign, in red, as a monogram, on the pocket.

There are many other bhajana groups in and around Durban at present. Some of the prominent groups are the Mt. Edgecombe Bhajana Group, the Illovo Bhajana Group, Sri

Ramulu Bhajana Group in Puntans Hill, Venkateswara Bhajana Group of Umhlatuzana Township and others. These bhajan groups are the preservers of the Telugu language because all the bhajans rendered by them at various places are sung exclusively in the Telugu language. They either use the Telugu Bhajana books which were brought to South Africa by their forefathers from India or the bhajans which they have composed during the years of their existence as a bhajan group (Interview : Naidoo, Bobby: 1991).

Since 1982, the AMSSA celebrates the Annual Bhajana Festivals, usually at Sri Venkateswara Cultural Centre in Havenside either in September or October. The AMSSA sometimes invites the various linguistic groups among the Indian community and they render items in their respective languages. In 1985 the Bhajana Festival was held on a competitive basis. The ex-president R.S.Naidoo donated some trophies to the AMSSA as prizes to the winner of the festival. However, because only some sabhas participate in the competition, and because the Reservoir Hills Andhra Sabha which has a proficient choir invariably won the trophy, the AMSSA decided to convert the Bhajana Festival into a purely religious, rather than a competitive, festival.

The branch sabhas take part in the Bhajana festival which culminates in a programme of bhajans rendered by them.

Usually the festival is well supported by the community and the artists have a full audience (Source : AMSSA fifty-fifth A.G.M Minutes : 1987). The participants render bhajans in chorus on Rama, Krishna, Vishnu, Venkateswara, Vinayaka and other deities.

When questioned "which of the AMSSA gatherings do you attend and which one of them do you find most enjoyable?" 61.6% of the respondents stated that they attend the Bhajana festival. However, only 50.7% find that the Bhajana festival is most enjoyable. The data illustrates that the cultural items such as gobbi and kolaatam are more popular than the religious festival. It is assumed that dances are more popular because bhajana songs are readily available on audio cassettes and are commonly rendered at religious functions, whereas gobbi dance is performed only at the cultural festival.

Through this annual bhajana festival the AMSSA is not only contributing to the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa but also contributing to Hindu culture as well.

In this context it is most appropriate to mention the Andhra musicians who have contributed to the maintenance of the Telugu language by singing Telugu songs. According to an informant (Interview : Naidoo, T.P : 1991) the Andhras have always been involved in singing and music.

Some of the out-standing Orchestras in South Africa, Gajja Muga and Ranjeni Troupe, being Andhra groups, rendered classical music and sang in Telugu including the works of Swami Tyagaraja, Purandara Dasa, Jayadeva and others. The Ranjeni Troupe, which was founded by Soobramoney Naidoo, always rendered outstanding musical items up to the 1950's (Naidoo, T.P : 1990: 2). Some other well known Orchestras are the Hari Narayan Orchestra, National Eastern Orchestra, Young India Orchestra and Lingam Orchestra. According to the information given by one interviewee (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991), during the late 1940's there was an Orchestra in Puntans Hill called the Puntans Hill Andhra Youth Orchestra. This was unique at the time since the band sang only in Telugu. At about the same period, there was another band, which consisted only of Andhra girls from Tongaat, who played only Telugu music. However, according to the informant, they played for a short period of two or three years before the band was dismantled due to financial problems.

The outstanding Telugu musicians, and stalwarts among the present-day Andhra community, are Lutchamma James, Kamala James, Jayadevi, Ramachandra, Balakrishna Giddiah, Subba Lakshmi Naidoo and several others. The researcher had an opportunity to interview Balakrishna Giddiah, who is capable of composing modern Telugu songs, and of singing them. He composes different songs for different situations and renders them at various functions (Interview :

Balakrishna Giddiah : 1990).

The Padmini Music Salon, which was established and run by late Kris Naidoo between 1964-1969 also facilitated the maintenance of the Telugu language. Kris Naidoo, who was an active member and an important official of the AMSSA at that time, imported Telugu music, Telugu films and Telugu books from India and sold them in his shop. However, according to his son (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991), he soon closed the shop because of a lack of demand from the community for Telugu books and Telugu films and it was expensive to import cultural items from India due to the sanctions imposed by India.

#### **6.6.1.8 CONCLUSION**

It is clearly evident from this subsection that Telugu is used extensively by the Andhra community in its religious-cultural activities. This practice raises the question as to why do they use only Telugu in these functions instead of English which is a dominant "out-group" language. Is it out of compulsion that they use Telugu or is it on a voluntary basis?

It is evident that the Andhras reserve Telugu for the purpose of religion and culture and guard against the overlapping of English in this domain. The present-day Andhras are in the fourth stage of Fishman's (1971 : 396)

"domain overlapping" theory and reserve the EMT for the purpose of their group identity which they hope to achieve through their religio-cultural activities.

## 6.7. OTHER RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES OF THE ANDHRA COMMUNITY

### 6.7.1 SANKRANTHI

According to the Hindu calendar, when the sun passes from Dhanus (Sagittarius) to Makara (Capricorn), the transition is called Makara Sankranti in Telugu as well as other Indian languages. This means that the sun enters the constellation of Makara. The Sankranti is a very prominent Andhra festival of great spiritual value and is celebrated for three days, as Bhogi, Sankranti and Kanumu. This is a joyful festival for the agriculturist because it signals the gathering of the harvest. In Andhra Pradesh it is also an occasion for ancestral worship and a time when many Andhras give generously to charities (Laxmikantha Mohan 1988 : 52).

During the whole Dhanurmasam (fourteenth December to fourteenth January) the young girls and womenfolk rise very early in the morning, wash their front yards and decorate them with large, colourful muggulu, competing with each other. They make gobemma, decorate them with marigolds and other flowers, and place them on the muggulu. These gobemma are called Gouri, the wife of

Lord Siva. The women folk and the young unmarried girls sing and dance, clapping their hands around the gobemma, asking for good health, wealth and good husbands. This is the traditional custom in every Andhra house.

In the contemporary South African Andhra community, the Sankranthi festival is fast disappearing due to urbanization and cultural erosion. Most members of the community are not agriculturists. Many Andhras are not familiar with the Telugu word Sankranthi pertaining to the harvest festival. However, they know the Tamil term Pongal for the same festival due to the language contact with Tamil and Tamil domination over Telugu (see 5.3.2).

The early immigrant Andhras performed the Sankranthi for many years. Very few Andhras at present celebrate the Sankranthi during January. Some of the families in Puntans Hill, being involved in farming and vegetable cultivation, celebrate the Sankranthi with great earnestness on all three days. The decline in the observance of the sankranthi festival observance demonstrates the erosion of Andhra culture in South Africa.

#### **6.7.2 "DISTRICT PRAYERS" OR "PORRIDGE PRAYERS" PERFORMED BY THE ANDHRAS**

In Hinduism there are various forms of worship and worshippers are free to choose their mode of worship.

Many Hindus from various linguistic groups partake in rituals and fasts. The Hindus worship the Divine Power as Father or as Mother. The Mother form of the Divine Power is called Sakthi (Power) with different names such as "Amma", "Ganganamma", "Maridamma", "Nookalamma" etc. In Telugu the word "Amma" means mother; the term "Ganganamma" means the mother of water and the term "Nookalamma" means the mother of food grains. Water and food are the basic needs of human beings and many prayers are performed by the Hindu Andhras for rain and food.

In India the changing of the seasons from spring to summer or from summer to the rainy season brings many diseases such as chicken-pox, measles, mumps and, previously small-pox. The Andhras perform prayers asking the Divine "Mother" to protect them against such diseases. These prayers are conducted at various towns and villages by the Andhras where they sacrifice a rooster to the district deity in the belief that if a sacrifice is given, "Mother" will provide protection against such diseases.

The South African Andhras perform these prayers called "Maridamma Prayer" (Puntans Hill Andhras), or with little variation as "Porridge Prayer" (by the marginal Andhras) or as "Ganganamma Prayers". The origin of this prayer dates back to the period of the Kanchi Pallavas (550-888 A.D) where a reference is made to the mass feeding of the

poor in commemoration of the memory of the late kings and queens (Source : Nandikkalambakam by an anonymous author in 888 A.D - quoted by Chopra 1979) and hoping their souls would rest in peace.

According to the information provided by an interviewee (Naidoo, K : 1991), the early settler Andhras used to perform these prayers near the Umgeni River in the Springfield farming area. According to another informant (Interview Naidoo, A.A : 1991), the entire district used to contribute money for the prayer. All the poor people from the area are fed on that day with porridge decorated with seringa leaves, vegetable curries etc. However, according to the same informant, these prayers are becoming extinct in many places among the Andhra community in South Africa except in the Puntans Hill area. The decline of these prayers is probably due to the economic prosperity of the Indian community in general. Only the Puntans Hill Andhras continue to perform this district prayer owing to their ardent adherence to their customs and Telugu is used in these prayers.

### **6.7.3 DAILY PRAYERS AND SHANTI PAATAM**

The daily prayers the Andhras offer as Hindus also foster Telugu language maintenance. It is the injunction of the Hindu Dharma first to clean the body every day and then pray to God. However, many Hindus believe in the power

of the Sun as the sole energy source of the Universe and worship him as Surya Bhagavan (Sun God). The Andhras are no exception. Having taken a bath and dressed, many of the South African Andhras go out to the back yard, where they usually have a Tulsi (Basil) plant. It is a common Hindu belief that the Tulsi plant symbolises Lord Vishnu. The plant is also medicinal, as its leaves can be used as an antiseptic agent.

Some of the Andhras (eg.in Puntans Hill), while performing their morning prayers take a small copper bowl (chembu) of water with them and chant Rashmi mantram (Surya mantram) and pray to the Sun God. They light camphor and offer arathi to the Tulsi tree. This prayer and chanting of Telugu mantras not only maintains Andhra culture but also preserves Hindu culture in South Africa.

Another area in which Telugu is used extensively by the Andhras in South Africa is in the traditional Andhra prayers. The Andhras have their own traditional prayers which have been transmitted from one generation to another and are still recited in Telugu.

The members of the AMSSA recite the "shubhakaarya Pradhana" (auspicious prayer) "Saayankaala Pradhana" (evening prayer) and Prathahkaala Pradhana (morning prayer). All these three Telugu prayers are used by the AMSSA and branch sabhas during Eisteddfod and other

gatherings. Each prayer, 12-15 lines in length, is recited in chorus or singly and also forms part of the weekly services of the branch sabhas. The sabhas start their religio-cultural functions with one of these prayers and conclude with the traditional Hindu prayer Shanthi Paatam.

#### 6.7.4 WEEKLY PRAYER SERVICES CONDUCTED BY VARIOUS SABHAS

Another factor which influences the Telugu language usage in South Africa is the weekly services conducted by the AMSSA branch sabhas. Weekly prayers are a customary feature of the lives of the members of the branch sabhas where bhajans, and songs are sung in Telugu, and these keep the Telugu language alive.

Each branch sabha has a specific day of its own where the members of that branch meet in a temple or a hall for one hour at a fixed time and conduct prayer services. The Andhras commence the prayer with chanting of the sacred Aum three times and then they recite the Guru Mantram, and Suklambaradharam. They pray to Saraswathi, the Goddess of Education and Knowledge and then invoke Lord Vishnu with their songs. During the service many bhajans are sung to various deities and the congregants also recite the shubhakarya pradhana along with the bhajans. To end the prayer they sing arathi, again the traditional

Andhra way of ending a prayer. Lastly they recite Shanthi paatam and then distribute the prasadam. This routine may change from one sabha to another with a little variation.

The weekly service is mandatory in almost all the branch sabhas and most of the members of the branch sabhas regularly attend these prayer services. Even those who are not interested in learning and speaking the Telugu language also sing the bhajans in Telugu, and sing and recite the prayers in Telugu.

#### 6.7.5 NAGULA CHAVITHI OR PUTTALO PAALU

The Telugu word "Nagulu" means cobra, the king of the snakes. The Andhras associate the snake with Lord Vishnu, due to the Hindu Puranas which state that the Naga is the carrier (Shayana) of Lord Vishnu, just as the Saivites regard Nandi (the Bull) as the carrier of Lord Siva.

There are two festivals at which snakes are worshipped by the Andhras in India: Naga Panchami, in Sravana month (June), and Suddha Chavithi in the month of Kartika (October-November). This is essentially a women's festival and children also participate in it. The ladies prepare typical Andhra offerings such as Chimmili (a round laddu made of sesame grains and jaggery) and Chalimidi (a

sweet cake made with pounded rice powder with jaggery) and offer it to the image of a seven-headed cobra which represents Sesha (snake) the Shayana (carrier/bed) of Lord Vishnu. The image is mounted on a mandapam (platform), which represents Vaikunta (the home of Lord Vishnu according to the Puranas), in the prayer room. Later the ladies and children take their offerings and milk to a nearby anthill which has visible holes. They place all these offerings before the anthill and pour milk into the holes for the snake to drink. These offerings are done with the belief that if they please Naga Raja (cobra king) the snakes will not harm them. It should be remembered that the Andhra country being a hot country has many different types of snakes and thus snake bites are common. The early Andhras being animists (see 2.6) worshipped snakes and the tradition continued in many Andhra castes. The Telugu term for this pouring milk into the anthill is puttalo paalu poyadam.

Some of the South African Andhras, particularly the Puntans Hill Andhras, perform this Naagula Chavithi and entitle the prayer puttalo paalu pooja. To the question "which of the house/district prayers do you perform/take part in?" only 39.7% of the respondents said they perform the puttalo paalu prayer. During the prayer they sing the Telugu song puttaloni naaganna lechi raavayya, swami lechi raavayya (O God from the anthill, please come out and bless us).

The age-old tradition of Andhra animism is still being maintained in the South African context. The Puntans Hill Andhras whole-heartedly believe that performing this prayer annually will provide protection from cobras or other snakes.

#### **6.7.6 DEEPAWALI**

The term "Deepawali" means a cluster of lights and it is one of the most lavishly celebrated Hindu festivals in India as well as in South Africa. This festival is observed as a joyous celebration of the victory of good (Sri Rama and Lord Krishna) over evil (Demons Ravana and Narakasura) respectively. Deepawali is celebrated on amavasya, the new-moon day in the month of Aswayuja (October/November) with an abundance of sweet meats and fireworks.

During research it was noted that some of the South African Andhras, like the Andhras in India, sing various religious songs in Telugu during the Deepawali festival while setting off the fireworks.

#### **6.7.7 CONCLUSION**

It is evident that the Andhras use Telugu extensively in their religious activities which facilitates language maintenance in South Africa. The findings support the

hypotheses of Fishman (1978 : 308) and Fasold (1984 : 207) who state that a multilingual community (such as the Andhras in South Africa) reserve different languages for certain domains with little encroachment (see 6.2).

## 6.8. RESURGENCE IN THE ANDHRA COMMUNITY

### 6.8.1 DEFINITION OF "RESURGENCE" AND IDENTIFICATION OF THE FACETS OF RESURGENCE

According to the Concise Oxford English Dictionary "resurgence" means rising again. During research many informants (Interviews : Naidoo,A.A, Ellaurie: 1990, Dadi,S : 1991 and Manthrie : 1990 and others) indicated that there is a resurgence in the interest among the Andhra community in keeping their Telugu language and Andhra culture alive in South Africa.

Many new branch sabhas have been recently established within a short period of ten years and there is a revival in the interest of the South African Andhra youth, which led to the establishment of the Andhra Youth Movement in December 1989. Within the past three years many branch youth movements have been established and all these Youth Movements are affiliated to the SAAYM and coexist as a sister organization, with the AMSSA.

As recently as 1991, a Telugu Examination Board was established under the Education Committee of the AMSSA. This Board conducts Telugu examinations twice a year for the beginners at elementary and intermediate levels with the Telugu lecturer at U.D-W as the Examiner.

Many new branch sabhas are participating in the Annual Andhra Eisteddfod. For example six new branch sabhas including the Transvaal Andhra Sabha took part in the 1991 Andhra Eisteddfod. The number of the candidates participating in each item is growing and the high standard of performance makes adjudication a demanding task. New Andhra Cultural Halls are being built at various places such as Port Shepstone and Havenside.

As recently as 1989, many Andhras claimed that they were hearing more Telugu being spoken among members of the Andhra community compared with the early years of the previous decade. More young Andhras are aware of their cultural heritage and are trying to preserve it. All these developments indicate that there is a revival of Andhra interest in the retention of their language and culture in South Africa, which is attributable to a variety of causes.

## 6.8.2 CAUSES FOR THE RESURGENCE

### 6.8.2.1 THE ARRIVAL OF THE TELUGU LECTURER AT U.D-W IN 1989

During research many Andhras stated that there is a resurgence among the Andhra community due to the arrival of the Telugu lecturer at U.D-W in 1989. The newly appointed Telugu lecturer at U.D-W was born and raised in Andhra Pradesh and is a graduate in Telugu of the Andhra University, India. The Andhras, who had wearied of waiting for a Telugu lecturer, unexpectedly obtained a new lecturer to teach at the University. Her appointment to fill the vacuum created by the death of Pandit Varadacharyulu, inspired the Andhra community who were deprived of Telugu teaching at the University. Her humble behaviour and ability to communicate with people at their own levels of competence impressed the Andhras (Interview : Naidoo, V.K : 1991). As the present president of the AMSSA states (Interview : Naidoo, B.A : 1991), "**her (your) arrival has provided an impetus to the country because you have provided the guidance and leadership which the community is ready to accept**". Many Andhras (Interview : Dadi, S : 1991, Naidoo, T.P : 1991, Manthrie, D : 1990) state there is a renaissance in Telugu language learning in South Africa due to her arrival. According to Naidoo (Naidoo, P : Herald : March 1989) :

**the Andhra community can now rest assured by the fact that with Srimathi Varija Prabhakar's qualifications and experience the propagation of Telugu language will be elevated to further heights.**

The loyal Andhras welcomed the new Telugu lecturer with staunch support and she very soon became an integral part of the South African Andhra community. On her arrival she analyzed the status of the Telugu language in South Africa and realised that one of the reasons for the erosion of the Telugu language is a lack of suitable Telugu text books to teach the language. She has conducted various free in-service workshops for the state school and patasala teachers and in early 1991 she launched a set of Telugu books, consisting of two text books and three others containing teaching material. These books are devised for South African Telugu beginners and set in the South African context. Some young as well as adult Andhras have become motivated to use these books because they were impressed by the new method of teaching. However, due to a lack of general interest and apathy of many Andhras these books are not purchased by most of the sabhas and the members of the community. However, the situation is gradually changing due to the acceptance of these books by the HoD.

Her arrival led to the rise in the student numbers in Telugu at the University of Durban-Westville. At the time of the research there are nineteen students who have registered for Telugu Course One, a number higher than that of any other Indian Language at course one level in

1991 at the University. In 1991, for the first time, a student registered for Telugu at Course Three level. According to an interviewee (Naidoo, B.A : 1991) **"the Telugu lecturer has brought Telugu back on the University curriculum map"** and this inspired many Andhras to learn Telugu.

With the realisation that there are no suitably qualified teachers to teach Telugu in the country, and with the aid of some members of the AMSSA and the Telugu Subject Committee under the HoD, the Telugu lecturer has started to teach Telugu to the young teacher-trainees at the Springfield College of Education in Durban.

The appointment of the Telugu lecturer also facilitated the re-introduction of a Telugu Examination Board under the Education committee of AMSSA in 1991. A new syllabus, almost similar to the state school syllabus, was devised and examinations have been conducted as from June 1991. The elementary examination enables the candidate to master the vowels and consonants, which are very numerous in Telugu, oral work and other conversational topics. The Intermediate examination facilitates learning of all the secondary forms of the vowels, the subscribed consonants, conjunct consonants and the combinations of vowels with consonants. Emphasis in both examinations is laid on reading, writing, understanding and the speaking abilities of the candidates (Source : AMSSA

Exam Board Syllabus prepared by Prabhakaran : 1991).

When the Telugu lecturer commenced the present research many Andhras congratulated her, appreciated her efforts and wrote encouraging letters concerning the research on the Andhra community. They stated that the project inspired interest as well as curiosity within the community concerning the research findings (Source : Letters written by Ellaurie and Dadi, S in August 1990 to the researcher), and aroused the enthusiasm of the community to retain their language and culture.

Thus, the arrival of the Telugu lecturer, coupled with her numerous Telugu speeches at various places, stimulated a general interest among the Andhras. Many Andhras are now exposed for the first time to the Modern Spoken/ Standard Telugu (MST) which is very much easier to learn compared to the old grammatical Telugu, which was introduced into the country more than one hundred and thirty years ago. The MST was introduced in Telugu literature in the 1960's whereby the usage of Sanskrit words and literary Telugu words was discouraged, in the interests of the laity and to improve the literacy rate among them. The old Telugu which was mostly grandhikam (literary Telugu - like Shakespearean English) was gradually replaced by MST. MST was introduced to bridge the gap between all the regional and caste dialects existing in India.

As discussed earlier (5.3.2.4), due to a lack of cultural contact with India and trained teachers in the country, the Andhras are virtually ignorant of the changes taking place in the Telugu language in India. It is a sociolinguistic phenomenon that language keeps changing by contact with other languages and Telugu is no exception. The South African Andhras are not exposed to these changes.

#### **6.8.2.2 THE THIRD WORLD TELUGU CONFERENCE HELD IN MAURITIUS**

The Third World Telugu Conference held in December 1990 in Mauritius had a great impact on the South African community. Fifty-two South African delegates, under the banner of the AMSSA, attended the Conference, where they met immigrant Andhras from other parts of the World. This provided the South African Andhras with the opportunity to compare themselves with their counterparts settled in the Telugu diaspora.

Since 1960, the Andhras in India and abroad felt that the conditions for the preservation of their language and cultural heritage are deteriorating and that the propagation of the Telugu language should therefore be undertaken. They voiced the need for a World Conference and the idea was welcomed. The First World Conference was held in Hyderabad in 1975. Only two South African dele-

gates, Mr.Sannasy, (secretary) and Mr.B.D.Naidoo (a trustee) of the AMSSA, attended on behalf of the AMSSA. The Second World Conference was held in 1981, in Malaysia and only three South African Andhras were present as representatives of the AMSSA.

However, when the Third World Telugu Conference was held in Mauritius a large number of Andhras attended the Conference in which four South African Andhras presented papers on different themes. The general theme of the conference was " The Telugus - Cultural and Historic Evolution".

The cultural programme at the Conference featured some of the leading Andhra artists from Andhra Pradesh's film industry, drama, dance and music, and local artists from Mauritius. The South African Andhras created a significant impression on the other Andhras. Their traditional South African Andhra behaviour of draping sarees on the right hand side as well as on the left hand side, and their communication in "South African Telugu" were noted with interest. The South African Andhra delegates were well received and the papers read by them were highly rated.

According to the chairman of the Andhra Eisteddfod Committee of AMSSA (Interview : Naidoo, A.A : 1991) the South African Andhras were very impressed by the cultural

activities presented in Mauritius by the Indian artists and they felt that they were seriously deprived by not enjoying cultural links with India. For example, most of the South African Andhras were exposed for the first time to composers like Narayana Reddy who used Modern Spoken Telugu in his poetry. They were also very impressed by his speech. Similarly, they encountered the musical compositions of Purandara Dasa, Annamaacharya and many others for the first time. The impact of this exposure was so great that as soon as they returned to South Africa, the Eisteddfod Committee introduced these musical items into the Andhra Eisteddfod syllabus.

One of the resolutions taken at the Third World Telugu Conference was that the Fourth World Telugu Conference be held in Durban in close liaison with the Government of Andhra Pradesh, provided that the political situation in South Africa is normalised and facilitates the visiting of the Andhra artists from India. It was also agreed that the AMSSA should notify the Andhra Pradesh Government by June 1992 of this decision. At present, the South African loyal Andhras are optimistic about that conference owing to the positive political changes taking place after the O.A.U conference in October which facilitated the "man to man contact". Furthermore, India has opened its cultural doors for South Africa by lifting its cultural ban on South Africa. The AMSSA already started negotiating with the Andhra Pradesh Government regarding

the conference which could be held in 1994 in Durban. This conference could boost the revival of the Andhra culture and Telugu language in South Africa.

#### **6.8.2.3 THE POSITIVE CHANGES TAKING PLACE IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN POLITICS**

Since February 1990 many positive changes have taken place in South Africa which exerted an influence on the Indian South African community along with the other oppressed groups. The positive changes occurred due to external pressures exerted by the international community in the form of boycotts and sanctions, and internal political pressures such as non-cooperation and national unrest fuelled by various political groups, eg. the ANC, UDF and PAC. Pressures from both sides led to the following changes in South Africa:

1. The National Party decided to unban the various political organizations mentioned above.
2. Nelson Mandela, the then Deputy President of the ANC was released after almost 30 years of imprisonment along with the other prominent political leaders amongst whom were two Indians.
3. The ANC President visited various countries exposing the South African Government's oppressive policies and encouraged other nations to help to accelerate the positive changes. His successful visit to India

restored many cultural ties and people to people contacts especially after the Commonwealth Meeting in Zimbabwe, in October 1991.

4. ANC discussed the human rights issue at the O.A.U Conference and the main theme of it is the protection of the individual's culture and upholding the language and religious practices.
5. A proposed all party negotiation conference is planned (at the time of the writing not held) in November/December giving hope to all the oppressed in the country.

Within the changing political climate described above, freedom of expression in the cultural and religious spheres is becoming possible. The influence of various troupes of artists, religious groups and academic celebrities coming to South Africa gives the Andhra community hope for the revival of their cultural ties with India.

A greater expectation is evident in the following areas:

1. The future Andhra ties with the Andhras of India.
2. Fourth International Telugu Conference to be held in Durban.
3. Importation of Andhra celebrities and Telugu teachers.
4. Importation of Telugu media and teaching material.
5. Above all the Andhra community can hope to enjoy cultural exchange not only with the mother country

but also with the Telugu diaspora.

6. Possibility of (Andhra) student exchange and staff exchange with India and other countries where Andhras have settled.

**6.8.2.4 APPOINTMENT OF ANDHRAS AS THE LANGUAGE PROMOTERS BY HoD IN 1991**

In April 1991 the Department of Education and Culture under the HoD appointed four Indians to promote the Indian Languages in South Africa. The AMSSA hopes that Mr.B.A Naidoo's (present AMSSA president) appointment as one of the language promoters will advance the AMSSA's objective of promoting and propagating the Telugu language in South Africa (Andhra Patrika 1991 : 14).

The appointment of B.A.Naidoo and Joe Samuel as co-educator (October 1991) for the Department of Education and Culture resulted in the increase of students taking Telugu at state schools. Their appointments in the Department of Education and Culture also facilitate promotion of Andhra culture in South Africa. They travel widely and discuss with school pupils, teachers and the principals the importance of Indian Culture in general and Andhra Culture in particular and motivate them to introduce Indian dance, drama, music and vernacular in the state schools.

Various discussions with Mr.Naidoo revealed that the formation and continuation of an Indian language class is dependant upon satisfactory enrolment. He states that the conditions of Circulars No 29 of 1983 and 51 of 1984, which insisted on a compulsory student enrolment of 15 to form a class in any Indian language, has been modified, and the teaching of Telugu in state schools has been facilitated. He states that many parents appear apprehensive of allowing their children to pursue an Indian language (eg.Telugu) due to the fear that religious doctrines will be propagated through language teaching.

However, he reveals that the apathy of the Andhra parents is generally evident during his field work and it supports the writer's assumption that one of the causes for the erosion of the language is the apathy displayed by the community.

Mr B.A.Naidoo has requested the local Andhra sabhas to conduct a survey into the number of children from Telugu families, and to encourage them to study Telugu between standards 2 and 5. He also makes an appeal to the community to provide for full-time or part-time teachers to teach Telugu in various areas. He personally teaches Telugu at three different schools each week.

Due to his persistent efforts by September 1991 the number of state schools teaching Telugu rose from 11 to

24. This is a great achievement not only for Mr.Naidoo but also to the Andhra community in general.

## 6.9 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

In this chapter the factors governing or influencing the maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa have been discussed in detail. The terms "language maintenance" and "language loyalty" have been defined (6.2) and the language attitudes of the Andhras towards their language have been analyzed (6.3). The areas where Telugu is being used or maintained at present are identified (6.4) and the means by which the language is being used are discussed (6.5, 6.6 and 6.7). Finally it has been suggested that there is a resurgence of interest in the preservation of the language and culture in the Andhra community and the various reasons for such resurgence in the South African context, including the influence of the Third World Telugu Conference, as well as the various positive political changes taking place in the country are identified and discussed (6.8).

From this chapter it is evident that the Telugu language, having been brought into South Africa more than one hundred and thirty years ago, is still used in the country as a medium of communication, although on a small scale. The Telugu language is maintained for symbolic purposes in South African context as against its steady erosion as

a medium of everyday conversation.

It is also apparent that the language loyalty of a small group (in which the AMSSA and the Branch Sabhas are included) of Andhras has maintained, thus far, the Telugu language in South Africa through the religio-cultural activities of the Andhra community.

Kloss (1966 : 78) discusses a series of factors which contributes to language maintenance. One of them, religio-societal insulation, is sufficiently powerful that groups so endowed can resist assimilation. It is, however, to be found only among small minority groups such as the Andhras of South Africa. A small pocket of the Andhras of South Africa have resisted complete assimilation through their religio-cultural activities. The domination of Tamil on the Telugu language has also not been able to supplant the Andhra identity. The separate celebration of the Ugaadi by the Andhras bears testimony to this. Telugu is mainly kept alive in South Africa because of the various religio-cultural activities of the community.

Even though Telugu is still being maintained in South Africa, the "South African Telugu" is an isolated dialect, a speech community island cut off from other dialects of the modern spoken Telugu of Andhra Pradesh, India. Telugu in isolated pockets in South Africa is

characteristically poorly valued even by its own speakers. Attitudes of most of the Andhras towards the Telugu language tend to be apologetic and negative.

After one hundred and thirty years of its existence Telugu is being eroded to a great extent in South Africa. However, the researcher, born and raised in Andhra Pradesh, having witnessed the attitudes of the Andhras in the Indian sub-continent, feels that if the Telugu language, with all the problems surrounding it, could have survived thus far in South Africa, will continue to survive in the foreseeable future in South Africa, if only for the purpose of religion and culture.

There are many present-day young Andhras who still feel that 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 language (Source: various informal and formal interviews conducted with young Andhras at U.D-W, Springfield College of Education and members of the SAAYM : 1989-1991). It is also evident that the Telugu language has great influence on the religio-cultural lives of the Andhra community of South Africa.

When asked "what is your opinion about the future status of the Telugu language in South Africa?" the responses elicited are tabled as follows (see table 6.8):

TABLE 6.10

RESPONDENTS' OPINION ABOUT THE FUTURE STATUS OF THE  
TELUGU LANGUAGE IN SOUTH AFRICA.

It will disappear soon from S.A	5.5%
It will be kept alive for the purpose of religion and culture	66.5%
It will be neglected	4.8%
The present status will be maintained	15%
There will be a resurgence	8.2%
Total	100%

Table 6.8 indicates that only 10.3% of the respondents feel negatively about the future status of Telugu in South Africa, whereas the majority i.e 66.5%, feel that Telugu will be preserved for the purpose of religion and culture. At the same time it is very interesting to see that 8.2% of the respondents are optimistic in their attitude because they feel that there will be a resurgence in the language. With regard to the majority view above Fishman has the following remark to make (1966 : 399):

**In general, ethnicity and culture maintenance appear to be much more stable phenomena than language maintenance.**

This dictum appears to be true with regard to the Andhras of South Africa.

## CHAPTER SEVEN

### CONCLUSION

#### 7.1 ABSTRACT

This chapter discusses the hypotheses of the study and the phenomena within the framework of which this study is conducted. Statistical data given in this chapter hypothesizes the future of Telugu in South Africa. Lastly, some possible suggestions are made to upgrade the level of the Telugu language in South Africa.

#### 7.2 THE HYPOTHESIS

If plotted on a graph, the status of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa would indicate a sharp decline in the early years of the Andhra migration to the country due to the various reasons discussed in chapters 2-5. However, after the beginning of the twentieth century many Andhras, owing to the interrelation between language and culture, have been aware of the importance of the retention of their EMT for the purposes of their culture.

In the light of the problem of the study and with the two objectives given in chapter one in mind it was hypothe-

sized that some of the present-day Andhras retain a cultural value system which is quite traditionally Andhra as evinced by their religio-cultural activities. It follows that the Telugu language remains alive through their religio-cultural activities.

### **7.3 THE NEGATIVE INFLUENCE OF ENGLISH ON TELUGU IN SOUTH AFRICA**

During the early years of immigration the main concern of the Andhras was to satisfy their physical needs and they virtually ignored serious nurturing of the Telugu language. To achieve economic stability they had to learn the dominant language (English), and the influence of English was so profound that most of the Andhras did not take care to transfer their EMT to their succeeding generation (cf. Thompson : 1974). Within a few decades after their immigration, English superseded Telugu in all domains of communication and in keeping with Lieberman and Curry (1971 :134) English became the MT for most of the Andhras. This finding supports Fishman's 'bilingual functioning and domain overlap' (1971 : 306) theory where he indicates that during the 'fourth stage' a complete language shift occurs because the acquired language (in this case English) displaces the EMT. According to Indian sociolinguists (Pandit : 1977 and Sridhar : 1988) who have studied the Indian immigrant situation in the United States of America, language shift in an alien

environment is a norm but maintenance is an exception.

#### **7.4 THE LOYAL ANDHRAS' ATTEMPT TO RETAIN TELUGU IN SOUTH AFRICA BY RELIGIO-CULTURAL ACTIVITIES**

Although language shift of the Andhras towards English has taken place or is taking place, the bilingual or multilingual Andhras maintain their EMT in certain domains as stated by Fishman. This also supports the statement made by Fasold (1984 : 214) that the choice made by the Andhras reflects their cultural values and adds to the maintenance of their EMT. In consonance with Weinreich (1979 : 99) the Andhras resist changes in the usage of their language in religio-cultural domains and that resistance governs the language maintenance.

The specific nature of the religio-cultural life of the Andhra community is documented in chapter six and it demonstrates the degree of preservation and/or erosion of the Andhra culture in South Africa. Chapter six also shows the influence of the Telugu language on the cultural lives of the present-day Andhras. Thus, chapter six, which is data-oriented, shows that two major factors viz, religion and culture, tend to maintain the Telugu language in South Africa. The data obtained illustrates that the young Andhras may be westernized in their outlook yet they retain a cultural value system which is traditionally Andhra and establishes the hypothesis of the study.

## 7.5 FUTURE OF TELUGU IN SOUTH AFRICA

To discuss the future of Telugu in South Africa, the researcher based her argument on the sociolinguistic phenomenon of the interrelation between language and culture using the data analysis of her findings.

In the context of statistical analysis, researchers usually talk about null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) and alternative hypothesis ( $H_a$ ). These are chosen before the sample is drawn. The null hypothesis usually represents the hypothesis the researcher is trying to reject and the alternative hypothesis represents all the other possibilities. However, the researcher is supposed to take a specific hypothesis as null hypothesis. While testing the hypothesis a (usually 5%) percentage should always be chosen with thought and reason (Kothari 1985 : 257). According to Kothari (1985 : 257), if one takes the significance level at 5 percent, then that implies that  $H_0$  will be rejected when the sampling result has a less than 0.05 probability of occurring if  $H_0$  is true.

Based on the model values derived from the questionnaire survey which represent the largest frequencies, it is shown in table 7.1 that the religio-cultural practices of the Andhra community are eroding in South Africa, generation by generation.

TABLE 7.1

RELIGIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THREE GENERATIONS OF  
ANDHRAS

GENERATION									
1	36	31	36	30	20	30	20	26	15
2	56	79	59	60	114	80	98	98	119
3	54	36	51	36	22	36	28	22	12

To analyze the data the researcher took the null hypothesis ( $H_0$ ) and hypothesis ( $H_a$ ).

( $H_0$ ) - there is no erosion in the religio-cultural practices of the Andhras generation by generation.

( $H_a$ ) - there is an erosion in the religio-cultural practices of the Andhras generation by generation.

The level of significance is taken at 5%.

To determine the status and the degree of erosion of Andhra religio-cultural practices amongst the present-day Andhra community the Kruskal-Wallis Test is conducted with the data. The researcher chose the Kruskal-Wallis Test because this test is appropriate for any multiple sample test viz. testing the hypothesis with three different generations.

TABLE 7.2

RELIGIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES OF THE PRESENT-DAY ANDHRA  
COMMUNITY - MODEL VALUES

Data Value	Tally	Rank Value	Data Value	Tally	Rank Value
12	G3	1	54	G3	18
15	G1	2	56	G2	19
20	G1	3.5	59	G2	20
20	G1	3.5	60	G2	21
22	G3	5.5	79	G2	22
22	G3	5.5	80	G2	23
26	G1	7	98	G2	24.5
28	G3	8	98	G2	24.5
30	G1	9.5	114	G2	26
30	G1	9.5	119	G2	27
31	G1	11	36	G3	14
36	G1	14	36	G3	14
36	G1	14	36	G3	14
51	G3	17			

$G_i$  = Generation (i)

$i$  = 1,2,3

$R_i$  = Sum of ranks of Generation (i)

R1 = 74, R2 = 207, and R3 = 97

n = 27.

With the above values using the formula given below it is calculated that:

$$K = \frac{12}{n^2+n} \left[ \sum \frac{R_i^2}{n_i} \right] - 3(n+1)$$

$$= \frac{12}{27 \times 28} \left[ \frac{74^2 + 207^2 + 97^2}{9} \right] - 3 \times 28$$

$$= 17.824$$

This result thus obtained is highly significant.  $H_a$  is accepted, which means that there is an erosion in the religio-cultural practices of the Andhras generation by generation.

The present-day young Andhras realise that there is an erosion in their religio-cultural practices and are aware that cultural erosion would lead to erosion of their group-identity in South Africa. Thus, they are returning to their EMT.

However, according to the high model values it is shown in table 7.3 that the survival of Telugu depends on the interest in promoting and learning the language.

TABLE 7.3

SURVIVAL OF TELUGU IN SOUTH AFRICA THROUGH PROMOTION AND LEARNING OF THE LANGUAGE

SURVIVAL OF TELUGU (X)	INTEREST IN PROMOTING (Y)	LEARNING TELUGU (Z)
16	11	9
9	10	7
19	17	12
36	40	24
17	14	15

According to statistical calculation :

$r_{xy}$  - means the correlation between the x (survival of Telugu) and y (interest in promoting the Telugu).

$r_{xz}$  - means the correlation between the x and z (Learning Telugu). It can be calculated with the formula as given below:

$$r_{xy} = \frac{n\sum xy - \bar{x} \cdot \bar{y}}{\sqrt{(n\sum x^2 - \bar{x}^2)(n\sum y^2 - \bar{y}^2)}}$$

The value thus obtained is 0.972. Similarly, the coefficient between the survival of Telugu and learning Telugu is derived by using the same formula but by

substituting  $y$  with  $z$ . The value obtained here is 0.841. From the results of the statistical data we can derive two conclusions:

1. Survival of Telugu certainly depends on the interest in promoting and learning Telugu.
2. Since  $r_{xy} > r_{yz}$ , it is evident that interest in promoting Telugu is more important for the survival of Telugu in South Africa.

To conclude, it is appropriate to mention here that the Andhras choose to promote the language through their religio-cultural activities as delineated already in chapter six due to the relation between language and culture.

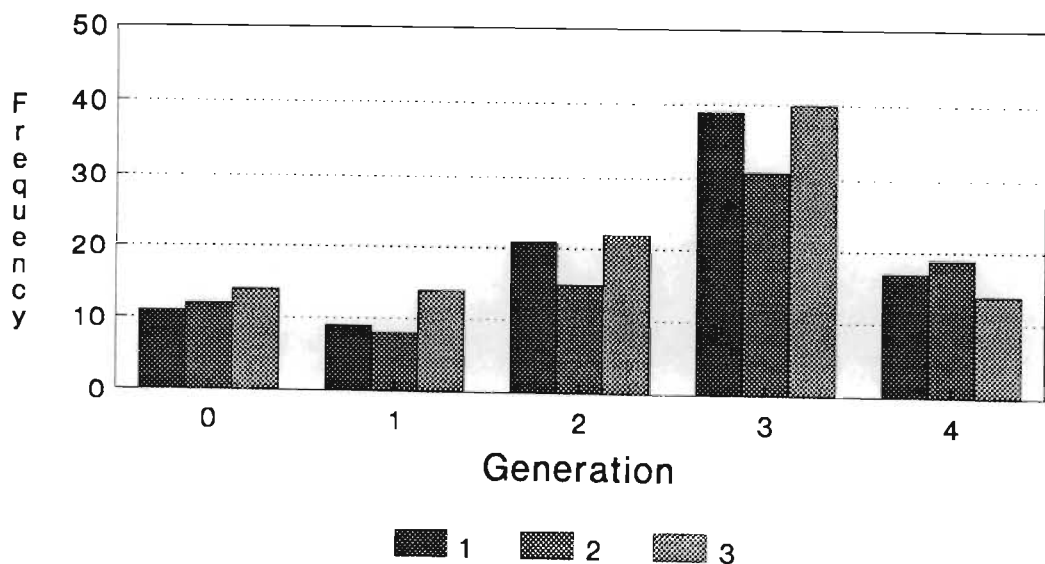
In chapter five, while identifying the factors which exert an influence on the language shift of the immigrants, the researcher was influenced by Vasikile (1988) and Fishman (1966) who have found that generation is the most important variable in the linear prediction of EMT retention. Following others Vasikile opined that with each succeeding generation there is less EMT retention.

Vasikile, who suggests seven major variables which may predict EMT maintenance among Greek Orthodox Americans, hypothesizes that generation in America is a negative predictor of EMT retention. However, his data indicates that EMT retention among Greek Orthodox Americans is

higher than that which has been documented among most other language groups in the United States, where a shift to English is complete by the third generation. His data also shows that generation has a negative effect upon the extent to which speaking ability of the Greeks is maintained.

This opinion of Vasikile is taken into account to develop the hypothesis of the study, viz. the young present-day Andhras, although westernized in their outlook still retain their cultural value system which includes language retention. The response of the respondents regarding their activities connected with the Telugu language are plotted on a graph (see graph 7.1).

## Generation - Learning Telugu Graph 7.1

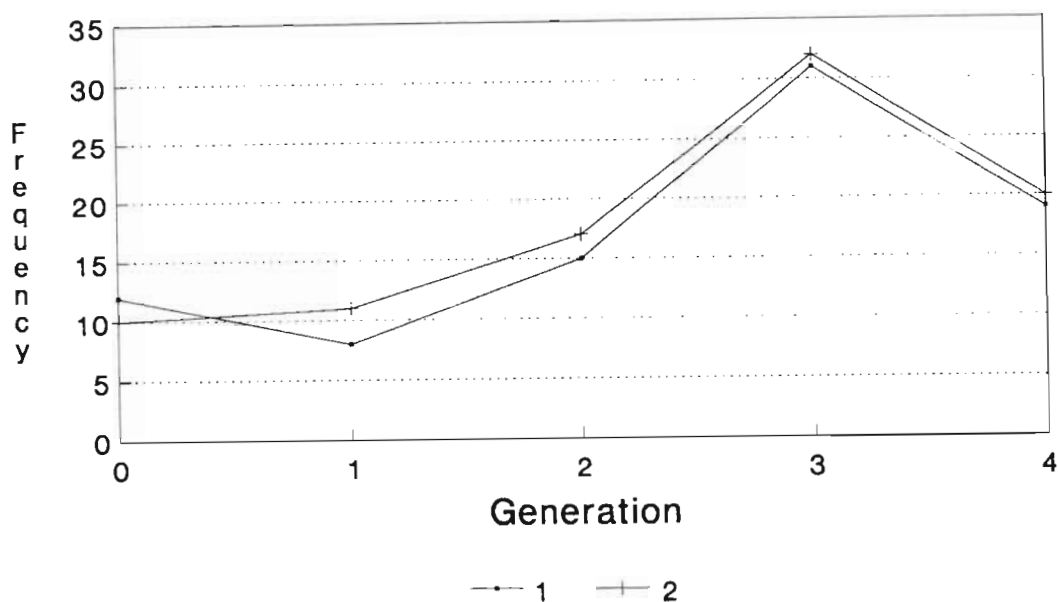


- 1 - Attend Telugu classes
- 2 - Encourage child to learn
- 3 - Parents communicate in Telugu

It is evident from graph 7.1 that even though there is a lack of interest in learning the vernacular in the first and second generation South African Andhras, the highest response for learning and retaining the language comes from the third generation Andhras. Thus, this data illustrates that the opinion of Vasikile, although correct in the case of immigrants in the United States, is not totally pertinent in the case-study of the Andhras in South Africa. It shows that the status of the Telugu language and Andhra culture had a sharp decline among the first and second generation Andhras in consonance with the views of Vasikile and Fishman with regard to EMT retention by different generations. However, due to the fear that they are losing their language and culture, the present third and fourth generation Andhras, influenced by various positive factors, are moving towards their EMT.

In chapter five various reasons for the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa were discussed. Many present-day Andhras feel that the most important reason for the erosion of the language is the absence of the teaching of Telugu in South Africa. The response to the questions "Do you think the absence of teaching Telugu at the state schools up to 1984 played a role in the erosion of the language in South Africa?" and "do you encourage your child to take Telugu as a subject at U.D-W?" are shown in a graph (see graph 7.2).

## Frequency Polygon-Absence of teaching Telugu led to erosion graph 7.2



1 - encourage child to learn Telugu  
2 - absence of teaching

The Graph illustrates that for the both questions the highest positive response came from the third generation. These findings once again deviate from Vasikile's contention that generation by generation there is less interest in the MT.

We can conclude here that the case of the immigrant Andhras in the South African situation may be an exception to the common norm where, by the second generation,

the immigrants are absorbed by the dominant host culture; resulting in language and cultural shift (Pandit 1972 : 89). The case of the Andhras in South Africa displays an upward swing in their interest towards the retention of their EMT and the researcher contends that this may be indirectly attributed to the "Apartheid" laws enacted by the Government of South Africa. The Apartheid system directly prevented the Indians (which includes the Andhras) from merging with the dominant African culture and politically dominant western culture. Due to Apartheid, the Andhras, along with other Indians, could not socially identify with the whites despite having adopted English. They remain members of a minority group viz. Indian group. It means that Apartheid indirectly contributed to the maintenance of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa (cf. Aziz : 1988). However, in the South African linguistic situation it should be remembered that the dominant Indian languages such as Tamil and Hindi and Fanagalo also posed a threat to the maintenance of Telugu and exerted a negative influence on Telugu.

The study of LMLS of the Andhras in the South African situation is a new contribution to the development of sociolinguistic theories. This area needs to be further researched. The language maintenance efforts of the South African Indian linguistic groups could bring further developments and contribute to sociolinguistic

studies. Similarly, the LM efforts of the immigrant Andhras in the diaspora (example in Mauritius and in Malaysia among others) could provide fruitful material for further studies.

## 7.6 RECOMMENDATIONS

Many sociolinguists state that it is difficult to predict the future of sidestream ethnic phenomena. Fishman (1985 : 514) states that 'the ethnic phenomenon carry within them the seeds of their own regeneration'. According to Fishman (1985 : 514), it is easy to assume that the ethnic phenomena have ceased to exist merely because they are not outwardly visible to the non-ethnic observer. This statement implies that the subcultural ethnicity remains as a sidestream or understream. The future of such a sidestream language and ethnicity in any foreign environment depends on the community itself.

Analyzing the conditions in the case of Gaelic-speaking East Sutherlanders, Nancy Dorian (1987 : 60-61) opines that **"the languages struggling to survive have often had to make heroic efforts"** in an alien environment. She further states that (1987 : 61): 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.

With these sociolinguistic factors in mind, the writer ventures to make some suggestions to the Andhra community in general and to the AMSSA in particular which might help the Andhra community to nurture their language and facilitate the Telugu language maintenance in South Africa.

1. According to the research findings it was observed that the South African Andhras undervalue their language, which lacks a social status in the country. The dismissive attitude displayed by the young Andhras towards the Telugu language when they ask "Is Telugu for speaking?" should change. Telugu in South Africa is merely regarded as a religious language (like Sanskrit in India) or as a "dead language", which is not correct.

According to Nancy Dorian (1987 : 61) the principal reason for the failure of language maintenance efforts is 'the negative attitudes internalized by the speakers or

potential speakers themselves'. The Andhras should be proud of the success of their language maintenance efforts thus far in South Africa and should regard the Telugu they speak as 'South African Telugu', a dialect which developed on its own by making 'language contacts' with other South African languages such as Zulu, Fana-galo, Tamil, Hindi and English.

2. The young Andhras who are concerned about the erosion of the language and culture should be recognised by the Andhras and their efforts should be rewarded. The AMSSA should allow the youth organizations to participate in the AMSSA administration and should welcome their constructive criticism in the day-to-day administration of the 'parent body'. The youth should be given key administrative positions which enable young ideas and "modern tendencies" to nurture the language and culture.
3. According to Fishman (1985 : 368) the Ethnic Community Mother Tongue Schools (ECMTS) can play major roles in language maintenance. If properly organized, the ECMTS can function constructively in the EMT retention efforts. However, the South African Andhra vernacular education system is very weak, leading to language erosion. It should be remembered that, due to the complex inter-relation

between language and culture, the erosion of the Telugu language entails the erosion of the Andhra culture. The AMSSA, if it wants to retain the Andhra culture in South Africa, must immediately upgrade its vernacular system at the patasala level by implementing strict supervision and by providing adequate books and reading material. It should channel adequate funds into the salaries of the patasala teachers. It should organize workshops, in-service courses for teachers and provide audio-visual materials to the patasalas. The present efforts of the Education Committee of the AMSSA towards the maintenance of the language are not sufficiently vigorous.

The AMSSA should also support the Telugu subject Committee under the HoD and share the responsibility of organizing quiz programmes, group discussions and debates in Telugu for the patasala and the state school Telugu students, and award trophies and certificates.

4. There are no academically qualified teachers in the community to teach the language. The AMSSA should finance Telugu academic study at U.D-W by providing bursaries to the scholars. This would provide the AMSSA with leverage to persuade academics to impart their knowledge in the patasalas and in the state

schools.

5. There is a dire need for Telugu reading material in the country. India has long maintained a 'love-hate' relationship with South Africa: a love due to the Indian population, compounded with a hatred towards the political inequalities in South Africa. At present in the rapidly changing South African society, various oppressive laws that dismantled the Andhra community (along with the other minority groups) and its traditional cultural values are crumbling. This is the appropriate time for the Andhras and the AMSSA to solicit aid from the Andhras and the Andhra Pradesh Government in India to import the latest reading materials, audio-video teaching aids and above all young artists who could perform cultural dances and render Telugu music. Similarly, they should bring academics to teach and propagate Telugu.
6. During research it was observed that, due to personality and ideological clashes, some prominent Andhras disassociated themselves from the AMSSA and the branch sabhas. There is a general impression created among the Andhras that the AMSSA is being monopolised by a handful of families and it seems that certain administrative posts are reserved for certain persons, due to hereditary claims, even

though they are not capable of performing the required duties adequately.

The AMSSA and the branch sabhas must shed this image and open their doors to all the Andhras who have the commitment of preserving the Telugu language and Andhra culture (Andhraism) in South Africa. Similarly, it was noticed that some of the branch sabhas have negative attitudes towards the 'parent body'. This hinders the proper administration of the AMSSA. These personality clashes must be eliminated in the cause of 'Andhraism' and the expertise of all those Andhras willing to assist must be utilised without bias or prejudice.

7. The expertise of the Telugu lecturer and the other academics in the Department of Indian Languages at U.D-W should be used to upgrade the language. The Education Committee should actively organize adult classes at regional level and ensure that the classes are conducted on a weekly basis. Separate Education funds must be made available for this purpose.
8. Modern teaching methods must be introduced in the patasalas, state schools and U.D-W to nurture the interest of the students. To maintain the language in this country, the introduction of Modern Standard

Telugu (MST) is necessary. The introduction of MST would bridge dialect differences (if any) which in turn could enlist the sympathy of the speaker population as a whole.

9. The Eisteddfod committee should also cater for the Andhras of other faiths and other races in their syllabus. Religion, which is personal, should not hinder the growth and maintenance of the Telugu language in the South African situation. Similarly, if other linguistic groups or race groups show interest in the Telugu language and Andhra culture, the AMSSA should make provision for such groups.
10. It is commonly asked by the young Andhras (Indians) in South Africa: "What are we going to gain by learning Telugu (or any vernacular)?" This negative attitude should be reversed and the Andhras should start asking "What are we going to lose by learning Telugu?". 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 all the Andhras already have mastered spoken English.
11. Last but not least the parents should have a positive attitude towards their EMT. Due to a lack 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 of their EMT and explaining the interrelationship between language and culture. Those parents who are studying Telugu at the U.D-W should impart their knowledge to others, rather than aiming purely at self-improvement.

The researcher is of the firm belief that if the foregoing positive suggestions are given careful consideration and implementation, the Telugu Language and Andhra Culture will continue to play a meaningful role in the cultural mosaic of South Africa.

## SUMMARY

CHAPTER ONE focuses on the pertinence of the study viz. the Telugu language in South Africa as well as the aims and objectives of the study; and it also discusses the limitations of the study. This chapter explains the methodology employed in the research and the difficulties encountered during the study.

CHAPTER TWO extrapolates the historical origins of the Andhras as a race and the position of the Telugu language among the Dravidian languages. The study of the Telugu language in South Africa is incomplete without reference to the Andhra community prior to 1860. The concept of "culture" is discussed and a synopsis of the Andhra culture is provided. This chapter also elucidates the historic migration of the Andhras to South Africa, their early settlements and the early language obstacles confronted by them as 'Pravasandhras' in Natal.

CHAPTER THREE contemplates the relationship between language and culture and assesses the status of the Telugu language in the early years of the Andhra immigration to Natal. The conditions of indenture ship which influenced the early status of Telugu in South Africa are briefly delineated. The Andhras' perspectives towards learning the Telugu language and their initial informal attempts to teach the Telugu language are reviewed. The

establishment of organized patasalas and their activities are reviewed briefly.

**CHAPTER FOUR** focuses on the emergence of the AMSSA as the 'parent body,' the other branch sabhas and the Andhra Youth Organization, and surveys the role played by the Andhra Maha Sabha of South Africa (AMSSA) as a 'parent body' in promoting the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa. This chapter also focuses on the language promoting activities of the individual branch sabhas, which are affiliated to the Andhra Maha Sabha, and their problems, successes and failures.

**CHAPTER FIVE** deals exclusively with the Language Shift of the Telugu language in the light of sociolinguistic theories. The terms sociolinguistics and language shift are defined, the phenomena of a few prominent sociolinguists, like Fishman, Fasold and Vasikile, are considered. The various factors which exert an influence on the language shift of the Telugu language, including the dominant positions of English as an "out-group" and of Tamil as a dominant "in-group", are identified. Finally, the chapter suggests that Telugu has not been totally eroded in South Africa. This chapter also suggests some sociolinguistic topics for further research on the Telugu language in South Africa.

**CHAPTER SIX** deals with the sociolinguistic theory of Language Maintenance of the Telugu language in South Africa. The terms Language Maintenance and Language Loyalty are interpreted in the light of various definitions of the contemporary sociolinguists. The areas where Telugu is used, the means by which Telugu is being conserved are identified. Finally, it is suggested that there is a resurgence in the concern of the Andhra community for the retention of their Telugu language as a primordial link to their Andhra culture.

**CHAPTER SEVEN** reflects the conclusions derived from the study and statistical data are used to establish the hypotheses. Various sociolinguistic theories are reconsidered while making recommendations to the Andhra community to upgrade the level of the Telugu language in South Africa.

QUESTIONNAIRE TO THE ANDHRA COMMUNITY OF NATAL

**A. PERSONAL**

1. Address \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_ Code \_\_\_\_\_

2. Age in years

0-14 1	15-19 2	20-29 3	30-39 4	40-49 5	50-59 6	60+ 7
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3. Sex

Male 1	Female 2
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4. Marital Status

Single 1	Married 2	Divorced 3	Widowed 4
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5. Your place of birth : city and as well as suburb:  
\_\_\_\_\_

6. Religious Affiliation

Hindu 1	Christian 2	Muslim 3	Other (specify) 4
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7. Education

None 1	Primary 2	Secondary 3	Tertiary 4	University 5
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8. Are you ambitious to study further?

Yes 1	No 2
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9. Occupation

Professional	Educational eg. teacher, lecturer	01
	Medical and Related eg. doctor, nurse	02
	Technical eg. in laboratory, electronics	03
	Legal eg. attorney	04
	Other eg. engineer, scientist	05
Managerial and Clerical Workers eg. clerk, company director, accountant		06
Salesworker eg. shop-assistant, insurance salesman		07
Transport and Communication workers eg. bus driver, postman, telephone operator, taxi driver, stoker		08
Service, Sport and Recreational Work eg. chefs, waiters, hairdressers, police etc.		09
Mining and Quarry Workers		10
Artisans and Semi Skilled workers eg. painters, plumbers, motor mechanics, supervisors, foreman		11
Labourers (except farm labourers)		12
Farmers, farm labourers		13
Social Workers		14
Businessman (self-employed)		15
Housewife		16
Student		17
Unemployed, seeking employment, unfit for work, retired		18
Priest		19
Telugu Teacher in state schools		20
Other (Please specify)		21

**B. YOUR HERITAGE AS AN ANDHRA**

1. Your generation in South Africa:

First 1	Second 2	Third 3	Fourth 4
------------	-------------	------------	-------------

2. Do you know your place of origin in India?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

3. If your answer is yes, mention where from

Visakhapatnam Dt 1	Anakalpalli Dt 2	Godavari Dt 3
Nellore Dt 4	Chittor Dt 5	Others (specify) 6

4. Do you know your family in India?

Know very well 1	Know them 2
Do not have contacts 3	Not interested 4

5. If no, would you like to know?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

6. Which language group did/does your father belong to?

Telugu 1	Tamil 2	Hindi 3	Gujarati 4	Others (specify) 5
-------------	------------	------------	---------------	-----------------------

7. Which language group did/does your mother belong to?

Telugu 1	Tamil 2	Hindi 3	Gujarati 4	Others (specify) 5
-------------	------------	------------	---------------	-----------------------

8. Which language did/does your father speak?

Telugu 1	Tamil 2	Hindi 3	Gujarati 4	English 5
-------------	------------	------------	---------------	--------------

9. Which language did/does your mother speak?

Telugu 1	Tamil 2	Hindi 3	Gujarati 4	English 5
-------------	------------	------------	---------------	--------------

10. Did you inherit any Telugu books from your parents?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

11. If the answer is yes, what are they:

N/A 1	Religious Books eg. Ramayanam 2	Prayer Books 3
Cultural Books 4	Others (specify) 5	

**C. MARRIAGE SYSTEM/SPOUSE**

1. Which language group did/do your spouse belong to?

N/A 1	Telugu 2	Tamil 3	Hindi 4	Gujarati 5
Others (specify) 5				

2. What is your attitude towards Andhraism (Andhra Culture)?

I am proud of it 1	Positive 2	Negative 3	I don't care 4
-----------------------	---------------	---------------	-------------------

3. What is (was) your spouse's attitude towards Andhraism (Andhra Culture)?

N/A 1	Proud of it 2	Positive 3
Negative 4		Doesn't care 5

4. What is your attitude towards the Telugu language?

I am proud of it 1	Positive 2	Negative 3	I don't care 4
-----------------------	---------------	---------------	-------------------

5. What is your spouse's attitude towards the Telugu language?

N/A 1	Proud of it 2	Positive 3
Negative 4		Doesn't care 5

D. CHILDREN

1. What is your children's attitude towards Andhra culture?

N/A 1	Proud of it 2	Positive 3	Negative 4	Ashamed of it (Very negative) 5
----------	------------------	---------------	---------------	---------------------------------------

2. What is their attitude towards the Telugu language?

N/A 1	Proud of it 2	Positive 3	Negative 4	Ashamed of it (Very negative) 5
----------	------------------	---------------	---------------	---------------------------------------

3. Are they learning the Telugu language?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

4. If your answer is yes, where?

N/A 1	At home 2	Patasalas 3	State school 4	UD-W 5
----------	--------------	----------------	-------------------	-----------

5. If your answer is 'no' to question 3, why are they not learning Telugu?

N/A 1	No facilities to learn 2	Nobody to teach 3
It is difficult to learn Telugu 4		Not interested in the language 5
Other (specify) 6		

6. Do they take part in the Andhra Religio-Cultural Activities?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

7. Would you/do you insist that your children participate in Andhra religio-cultural activities?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

**E. RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES AND THE TELUGU LANGUAGE**

1. What are the family gatherings observed in your family? Tick all applicable answers.

Naming the baby	1
Birthday Party	2
Engagement ceremony	3
Wedding	4
First time showing the baby to the sun	5
Girls coming of age ceremony	6
Others (specify)	7

2. Which language do you use in prayers and family gatherings?

Telugu 1	Tamil 2	Hindi 3	English 4	Sanskrit 5	Other (specify) 6
-------------	------------	------------	--------------	---------------	----------------------

3. Do you use Telugu when praying alone?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

4. Do you use Telugu in funeral ceremonies?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

5. If yes, state why?

Because others were using	1
Because you feel like using it	2
Because Telugu is appropriate to express your feelings	3
Because it is your language	4
Others (specify)	5

6. How did you feel about being involved in the Telugu speaking experience?

Happy 1	Proud 2	Sense of belonging 3	Not happy 4	Indifferent 5
------------	------------	-------------------------	----------------	------------------

7. If Telugu is used in these activities do you understand the meaning of these activities/prayers?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

8. If your answer is no, would you like

To learn and propagate Telugu for religious purposes	1
To replace Telugu with English	2
To replace Telugu with some other language	3
To continue as it is	4

9. If you wish Telugu to be replaced by any other language in these activities can you explain why?

N/A	1
Telugu is rarely used	2
Telugu is difficult	3
Telugu is irrelevant	4

G. AMSSA AND THE BRANCH SABHAS

1. Are you a member of AMSSA/the Branch Sabha?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

2. If yes, which Sabha? \_\_\_\_\_

If no, state why? \_\_\_\_\_

3. What was your reason/s for joining the AMSSA/Branch Sabha?  
Tick all appropriate reasons.

General interest in Indian Culture	1
Specific interest in Hindu Culture	2
Specific interest in Andhra Culture	3
To learn the Telugu language	4
To provide community service	5
To participate in religio-cultural activities	6
To show I am proud of my Andhra heritage	7
Other reasons (specify)	8

4. Has being a member of the AMSSA/Branch Sabha influenced your attitude towards the Telugu language and Andhra Culture?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

5. How would you describe the contributory role of AMSSA as the 'parent body' of the Andhras.

Excellent	1
Very Good	2
Good	3
Satisfactory	4
Fair	5
Not satisfactory	6
Poor	7
No Comment	8

6. Are you satisfied with the administration of AMSSA?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

7. If yes, please explain how. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If no, please explain why. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. Did AMSSA/Branch Sabha enable you to learn the Telugu language and Andhra culture?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

9. If your answer is no, please explain why.

\_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

10. Is AMSSA able to help your district patasala (if you have one) with sufficient books, literature and prayer books?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

H. ACTIVITIES OF THE AMSSA

a. Religio-Cultural Gatherings

1. Which of the following SAAMS gatherings do you attend? Tick all applicable answers.

Ugaadi Festival	1
Swami Tyagaraja Music Festival	2
Annual Eisteddfod	3
Bhajana Festival	4
Andhra Awards and Cultural Concert	5
Others (specify)	6

2. Which of these do you find most enjoyable? (Tick all applicable items)

Ugaadi Festival	1
Swami Tyagaraja Music Festival	2
Annual Eisteddfod	3
Bhajana Festival	4
Andhra Awards and Cultural Concert	5
Others (specify)	6
None	7

b. Language

3. Do you wish the AMSSA to hold some group discussions to promote the Telugu language and Andhra Culture?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

4. If you have a Patasala in your district do you wish the AMSSA to hold some orientation courses/programmes for the Patasala teachers to improve the standard?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

5. If yes, please explain how. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

If no, please explain why not. \_\_\_\_\_

6. Do you encourage the AMSSA to give bursaries for those who study Telugu at University level?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

c. Eisteddfod

7. Are you aware of the fact that the Andhras were the first language group to organize the Eisteddfod in S.A?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

8. Why do you/your family take part in the Eisteddfod? Tick all the reasons.

N/A	1
To keep the Telugu language and Culture alive	2
To win in the competitions	3
You like to participate	4
It is your tradition to participate	5
It is fun to learn the language	6
Because others urge you to take part	7
Other reasons (specify)	8

10. Do you regard the Eisteddfod as being the preserver of the language and culture in S.A.?

Yes 1	No 2	No Comment 3
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11. If yes, in which way is it helping? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

If no, state why. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

I. TELUGU AND YOU

a. About the language

1. How proficient are you in the Telugu language?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not at all
Speak	1	2	3
Read	1	2	3
Write	1	2	3

2. If you can speak Telugu, how did you learn?

N/A	1
From Grand parent/s	2
From Parent/s	3
From Relatives	4
From Friends	5
From others (specify)	6

3. Do you attend Telugu language classes any where?

Yes	No
1	2

4. If no, state why. \_\_\_\_\_

If yes, state who organized these classes? \_\_\_\_\_

5. What vernacular education have you received? Please indicate all levels.

Basic: learnt at home	1
Patasala education	2
Primary	3
University	4
Others (specify)	5
None	6

6. If married, how proficient is/was your spouse in the Telugu language?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not at all
Speak	1	2	3
Read	1	2	3
Write	1	2	3

7. How proficient is/was your parent/s in the Telugu language?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not at all
Speak	1	2	3
Read	1	2	3
Write	1	2	3

8. How proficient is your child/children in the Telugu language?

	Very well	Fairly well	Not at all
Speak	1	2	3
Read	1	2	3
Write	1	2	3

9. If you or one of the family members are not proficient in the Telugu language, would you or they like to learn the language?

N/A	Yes	No
1	2	3

10. What is your opinion concerning the abilities of the Telugu patasalas in teaching the language?

Good	Very fair	Fair	Poor	None
1	2	3	4	5

11. Is your child attending a state school where Telugu is offered/taught?

N/A	Yes	No
1	2	3

12. If the answer is yes, is your child taking Telugu as one of the subjects?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

13. If the answer is no, explain why. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

14. Do you think the Telugu language should be taught to all Andhra students in English medium school?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

15. If yes, how should this be effected?

Voluntarily 1	Legislatively 2
------------------	--------------------

16. Should Telugu replace Afrikaans as their second language for Andhra students?

Yes 1	No 2	No Comment 3
----------	---------	-----------------

17. Do you encourage your child to take Telugu as a subject at U.D-W?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

18. Do you think Telugu is a difficult language to learn?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

19. If yes, explain why. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

If no, state why. \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

B. The Status of the Telugu language in your house

1. Did/do your parents speak to you in Telugu?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

2. If yes, how often?

N/A 1	Everyday 2	Often 3	Sometimes 4
----------	---------------	------------	----------------

3. Do you find it easy to communicate with your parents in Telugu?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

4. If yes, how often do you communicate in Telugu?

N/A	Everyday 2	Often 3	Sometimes 4	Rarely 5
-----	---------------	------------	----------------	-------------

5. If no, state why. \_\_\_\_\_

6. Do you communicate with others in the community in Telugu?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

7. If yes, with whom?

Grand parent/s	1
Parent/s	2
Elder members of community	3
Siblings	4
Spouse	5
Children	6
Friends	7
Patasala teacher	8
UD-W Telugu lecturer	9
Others (specify)	10

8. Do you consider Telugu to be your home language?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

9. When do you hear Telugu being spoken/used?

Cultural meetings	1
Prayer gatherings	2
Services	3
Family gatherings and functions	4
Eisteddfod	5
Bhajans	6
In the class room situation	7
Others (specify)	8

10. What is your reaction when you hear Telugu being spoken?

Very happy 1	Happy 2	Excited 3	Confused 4	None 5
-----------------	------------	--------------	---------------	-----------

11. What is your reaction when Telugu is not being spoken by the Andhras?

Disappointed 1	Think it is unfair 2	It is excusable 3
Surprised 4	None 5	

12. What is your reaction when you hear Telugu being spoken by an Andhra from India?

I wish I could speak like that	1
It is very sweet to hear	2
It is too sophisticated	3
None	4
Others (specify)	5
N/A	6

13. How many Telugu books do you have at home?

Many 1	Few 2	None 3
-----------	----------	-----------

14. How often do you use them?

N/A 1	Everyday 2	Often 3	Sometimes 4	Rarely 5	Not at all 6
----------	---------------	------------	----------------	-------------	-----------------

15. Do you watch Telugu films?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

16. Do you feel that the language used in the films is difficult to understand?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

17. Do you listen to Telugu songs?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

18. If yes, what are the sources?

Radio Lotus 1	Tapes 2	L.P.Records 3	Films 4	Others(specify) 5
------------------	------------	------------------	------------	----------------------

c. Patasalas and you

1. Do you have a Telugu Patasala in your district?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

2. If yes, how many children attend it?

N/A 1	1-10 2	11-20 3	21-30 4	30 and above 5
----------	-----------	------------	------------	-------------------

3. Are you content with this number of children attending Patasala?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

4. what are the language and culture promoting activities of the patasala in your district? (Tick all applicable activities)

Teaching the language	1
Taking part in Eisteddfod	2
Religious services	3
Prayers and Bhajans	4
Drama	5
Folk dances	6
Songs	7
Others (specify)	8
None	9

5. Is your patasala teacher proficient in Telugu?

N/A	Yes	No	No Comment
1	2	3	4

6. Do the patasalas have suitable books?

N/A	Yes	No
1	2	3

7. If no, explain why? \_\_\_\_\_  
\_\_\_\_\_

8. Are there any regular tests and examinations at the Patasalas?

N/A	Yes	No
1	2	3

9. If no, do you consider them to be important for the language teaching?

N/A	Yes	No
1	2	3

10. If you are attending a patasala in your area what are your reasons for that:

I like Telugu language	1
I want to learn my language	2
It is fun to learn Telugu	3
I am forced to attend	4
Others(specify)	5
No comment	6
N/A	7

11. What interest do the parents show towards the Patasala?

N/A 1	Positive 2	Negative 3	Neutral 4	None 5
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12. Do you think parental interest is important in uplifting the language?

Yes 1	No 2	No Comment 3
----------	---------	-----------------

13. If you are a patasala teacher, would you like to pursue academic studies at UD-W in Telugu?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

14. What is your opinion about the future of the Telugu Patasalas in S.A.?

N/A 1	Positive 2	Negative 3	No comment 4
----------	---------------	---------------	-----------------

d. Telugu Books and Literature

1. What is your reaction to Telugu magazines and story books from foreign countries? (not from India).

Excited 1	Surprised 2	Happy 3	None 4
--------------	----------------	------------	-----------

2. What type of Telugu magazines and story books have you seen in South Africa?

None	1
Children's books	2
Children's magazines	3
Family magazines	4
Andhra Patrika	5
Others (specify)	6

3. If they were available, would you like to read simple Telugu magazines and newspapers?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

4. If they were available, would you like to read (Telugu or English) books on Andhra Culture?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

5. What is your opinion about the standard of the Telugu readers imported from India?

No Comment 1	Very high 2	High 3	Manageable 4	Low 5
-----------------	----------------	-----------	-----------------	----------

6. Do you have sufficient Telugu readers in circulation?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

7. In which year were the readers in circulation published?

1920-1940 1	1941-1960 2	1961-1980 3	1981-1990 4
----------------	----------------	----------------	----------------

J. ABOUT ANDHRA CULTURE

1. Do you know your Inti Peru?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

2. If yes, what is it? \_\_\_\_\_

3. How do you greet another Andhra person?

Namaskaram Andi 1	Good morning 2	Hello 3	Hi 4
----------------------	-------------------	------------	---------

4. How do you respond to somebody when they address you in Telugu?

Respond in Telugu	1
Respond in English	2
Do not respond	3
Respond in other forms (specify)	4

6. Do you use a Telugu Om sign?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

7. If yes, where? (Tick all applicable answers).

In the car	1
On the front door	2
In the prayer room	3
In the office	4
On the religious books	5
On letter heads	6
In the letters you write	7
In an ornament form on the wall	8
Others (specify)	9
N/A	10

**K. RELIGIO-CULTURAL PRACTICES**

1. Do you observe these religio-cultural practices? Tick all applicable answers.

	Yes	No
a. Not to cut nails in the house		
b. Not to sweep the front yard after sun set.		
c. Not to comb hair in the house or sweep the house when there is a dead body in the house.		
d. Do not light lamp in the prayer room until 11,13 days death ceremony is over.		
e. Not to fry anything with flour in oil until one year death ceremony is over.		
f. Not to perform a wedding in the house until the one year death ceremony is over.		
g. Not to give any offerings to any temple until the one year death ceremony is over.		
h. Not to lend or borrow salt.		
i. Not to cook meat on some specific occassions.		

**L. ANDHRA YOUTH AND THE SOUTH AFRICAN ANDHRA YOUTH MOVEMENT**

1. How do you as the Andhra youth view the Telugu language and Andhra culture?

You are conscious of them	1
You like to get involved in them	2
You are indifferent to them	3
You are ashamed to talk about them with others	4
You are involved in propagating them	5
Other (specify)	6

2. Are you aware of the existence of the South African Andhra Youth Movement (SAAYM) and the branch movements in Natal?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

3. If yes, are you a member of it?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

4. Would you like to see the survival of the Telugu language and Andhra culture in the changing South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

5. If yes, state why. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

If no, explain why not. \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

6. Do you see the establishment of SAAYM and the branch youth movements as a resurgence in the Andhra community/culture?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

7. Are you a student at UD-W?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

8. If yes, would you like to take Telugu as one of your subjects?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

9. What is your opinion about the future of the Telugu language and culture in rapidly changing South Africa?

Positive 1	Negative 2	Neutral 3
---------------	---------------	--------------

10. If your answer is negative are you interested in actively involving yourself in language and culture promoting activities of the community?

N/A 1	Yes 2	No 3
----------	----------	---------

M. POLITICAL AND GENERAL

1. Is there any need for so many languages in a rapidly changing South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

2. If yes, explain why? \_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

If no, explain why not? \_\_\_\_\_

3. Almost 90% of the the third/fourth generation Indian South Africans Andhras speak and write English only. Is there any need to perpetuate Telugu in South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

4. What is your opinion about the future status of the Telugu language, along with the other Indian languages, in South Africa?

It will disappear soon from South Africa	1
It will be kept alive for the purpose of Religion and 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

5. Do you think that Government legislations have militated against the preservation of Indian languages and culture in South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

6. Do you think that the breakdown of joint family system (partly by the Group Areas Act) has eroded the Telugu language and Andhra culture in South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

Justify your answer. \_\_\_\_\_

---

7. Do you think the absence of teaching Indian Languages at state schools up to 1984 played a role in the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

8. Do you think the implementation of Telugu at state schools will result in a revival of the language?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

9. Do you think it is important to retain your Andhra cultural identity in South Africa?

Yes 1	No 2
----------	---------

Justify your answer. \_\_\_\_\_

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

GOD BLESS YOU.

## 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, date of interview, did he/she answer my questionnaire (to save some questions).
- 2) Personal details: age, generation in South Africa, place of birth etc.
- 3) Do you know your origins in India? Do you have contact with original family in India?
- 4) Have you visited India? /Andhra Pradesh? If no, do you want to visit? If yes why did you visit?
- 5) Interviewee's role in the South African Andhra Community.  
e.g: member of any sabha, organiser of a cultural organisation, patasala teacher, an interested observer of the activities going on.. etc.
- 6) Ability to speak/understand/read/write Telugu.
- 7) Attitude towards the Telugu language and Andhra culture.  
e.g: do you regard Telugu as your Mother Tongue ? or your home language?
- 8) How do you define the Andhra culture in South Africa? Can you compare and contrast it with the Tamil culture in South Africa?
- 9) Did you acquire any vernacular education? How, when, where, and from whom?

#### B. ABOUT THE ANDHRA ANCESTORS

- 1) When did your ancestor/s come to Natal? Why?
- 2) What things did they bring with them?  
eg: books, utensils, jewellery etc.

- 3) Where were the early Andhra settlements in Natal? Was there any specific pattern and if yes what were the reasons?
- 4) What were their food habits, social habits, and cultural habits?
- 5) Did they experience any cultural/ linguistic shock? If yes, explain how and why? If no, explain why not.
- 6) Did they show any resistance to English?
- 7) What were their language maintaining and promoting activities in those days?  
  
e.g: early Telugu teaching patasalas, bhajan groups, religious services and dramas among others.
- 8) Can you give some names of the important personalities who, in your opinion, upheld the Andhra interests in South Africa. Explain their contribution briefly.
- 9) When do you think that the awareness of the community for the retention of the language and culture had started? Is there any specific event which motivated them to organise themselves into cultural bodies? Explain.
- 10) In early years did they try to retain their Andhra identity or did they assimilate with the Tamil community? Discuss both aspects.
- 11) Can you comment on their attitudes and the present generation's attitudes towards the Telugu language and Andhra culture?

**C. ABOUT PATASALAS - THEN AND NOW**

- 1) Can you name the early patasalas established in Natal? Are they still existing?
- 2) How many students used to attend and now how many students are attending at present?
- 3) Comment on the patasala activities then and now.
- 4) Can you compare between the patasala teaching of those days and at present?  
e.g: medium of instruction, discipline of the students, attitudes of the parents/students, how many times a week they teach etc..

- 5) What were the problems encountered in the past. And what are the present draw backs in teaching Telugu in these patasalas?
- 6) What are the methods of teaching in your patasala?  
eg: old traditional teaching methods, modern teaching methods etc..
- 7) What are the present needs of the patasalas?
- 8) What are the future plans of the patasalas?
- 9) How can we improve the level of the Telugu language in South Africa?
- 10) How can we motivate the community to send their children to learn the Telugu language at the patasalas, state schools and also at U.D-W?

**D. LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AND LANGUAGE SHIFT OF THE TELUGU LANGUAGE**

- 1) Do you understand the causes for the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa? Why is the shift taking place?
- 2) How is the language shift taking place? What are the means and vehicles? Which are the areas in which shift has occurred?
- 3) Do you think that the Telugu language is being maintained in South Africa? If yes, what are the causes for the maintenance?
- 4) If Telugu is maintained in South Africa how is it maintained? What are the means, vehicles and areas in which Telugu is being maintained.
- 5) Is there any resurgence in the Telugu language in the recent years? If yes, explain since when? how? why?
- 6) What is your personal contribution to the language maintenance in South Africa?  
eg: speaking Telugu to the family, to children, to other members of the community, reading Telugu books, papers, magazines, or teaching Telugu to others etc...

**E. THE LANGUAGE PROMOTING ACTIVITIES OF THE AMSSA/  
BRANCH SABHAS/ YOUTH MOVEMENT**

- 1) Discuss how the AMSSA/Branch Sabhas/Youth Movement trying to promote the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa.
- 2) What were the problems and set backs in your efforts?
- 3) What are the achievements of your organisation in fulfilling your goals?
- 4) Can you discuss the relations between the Andhra Community of South Africa with other Andhras of the world?

**F. THE FUTURE OF TELUGU LANGUAGE AND ANDHRA CULTURE IN  
SOUTH AFRICA**

- 1) Comment on the future of the Telugu language in South Africa.
- 2) If you think it is going to be negative, do you want to see the survival of the Telugu language and the Andhra culture in South Africa?
- 3) If yes, what are/what will be your contributions towards the cause?
- 4) If your answer is positive (for question two) how is it going to be?
- 5) What can be done to stop the erosion of the Telugu language in South Africa?
- 6) Is it important for any particular group to retain its ethnic language and culture.? If yes explain why?
- 7) In the South African context, can the Andhra culture survive without the Telugu language? Justify your answer.

**THANK YOU FOR THE CO-OPERATION AND GOD BLESS YOU.**



**APPENDIX NO : 5**

**ANDHRA PRAYER**

**శుభకార్య ప్రార్థన**

శ్రీ కృష్ణా! నీవు విజయనారథివి. నీ పరమభక్తుడగు ప్రాణులకు కలెనే నీయందు నిశ్చలభక్తి గలవారి కందరిని గూడ సకలారంభములందును విజయము ధ్రువముగా గలుగుచున్నది. ఓ మహాత్మా! నీ సంస్మరణ మాత్రమునే ఆపద లంతరించును; కుభములు గలుగును; విఘ్నములు పోవును; విజయము సనుకూరును. నేడు మే ముపక్రమించిన కుభకార్యము నిర్విఘ్నముగా పరిసమాప్తి నొందుటకు గుప్రసన్నుడ వగుము. మేము ప్రారంభించిన కార్యములలో, లాభనష్టములను, కష్టసుఖములను, జయాపజయములను పాటింపక, కర్మయోగారూఢులమై పనిచేయగలుగుటకు మహాయోగీ శ్వరుడవైన నీకు నమస్కారములను జేయుచున్నాము. మే మందరమును పవిత్ర హృదయాలమై పగిప్పుర విశ్వాసము గలిగి మా కార్యములను నిర్వహింపగలుగున ట్లనుగ్రహింపుమనియును, మా కార్యకర్తలను ప్రసాదింపుమనియును నిరంతరము ప్రార్థించుచున్నాము.

హరిః ఓమ్

ఓం శాంతి శాంతి శాంతి,

కా. నాగేశ్వరరావు

**APPENDIX NO : 6**

**TELUGU YEW YEAR GREETING**

ఈ రుధిరోద్ధారి ఉగాది వేళ  
 మీ అందరికి మా శుభాకాంక్షలు

ఈ నూతన సంవత్సరమంతా మీ కుటుంబం  
 ఆయురారోగ్యాలతో తుల  
 తూగాలని కోరుతూ,

ఆర్. యస్. నాయుడు  
 శ్రీమతి ఆర్. యస్. నాయుడు  
 చర్రను, చక్షిడాప్రికా

# APPENDIX NO : 7

## MONTHLY REPORT OF THE ANDHRA EDUCATION COMMITTEE

### ANDHRA MAHA SABHA OF SOUTH AFRICA

[Est. 14th May 1931]

'A PARENT ORGANISATION OF THE TELUGU PEOPLE EMBRACING ALL OTHER ANDHRA BODIES'

Andhra House—43 Leopold Street, Durban. P.O. Box 2255, Durban.

Monthly Report of progress of Patasalas as required by the  
Andhra Education and Eisteddfod Committee.

Report for the month of.....

1. This report of progress must be submitted by each Sabha or Patasala on the last school day of each month and all information as required therein must be clearly and properly completed in detail and forwarded immediately to the committee.
2. A class contains an average of twenty or more pupils, teachers must maintain this average number daily.
3. Name of Sabha or Patasala.....
4. Postal address.....
5. Patasala conducted at.....
6. Time of classes—daily from..... p.m. to..... p.m.
7. Additional tuition if any.....
8. Name of teacher 1. .... 2. ....
9. Attendance of children as per school register.

days.	Mon.	Tue.	Wed.	Thur.	Fri.
First week					
Second week					
Third week					
Fourth week					
Additional					

10. Total attendance for the month.....

11. Children attended school in each class for the month.

Class or Std.	Class I	Std. I	II	III	IV	V	VI
First week							
Second week							
Third week							
Fourth week							
Additional							

12. Number of children on roll in each class for the month according to your school register.  
..... Boys. .... Girls..... Total.
13. Did your Sabha or Patasala receive a subsidy or teachers grant from the Parent Organisation for the last month?  
Yes/No .....
14. Subsidy or teacher's grant will be withheld if any Sabha or Patasala fails to submit regularly this monthly progressive report.
15. One copy of this report must be submitted immediately to the Andhra Education and Eisteddfod Committee and the second copy to the Secretary of your Sabha or Patasala. The teachers shall be responsible for this service.
16. Remarks if any in brief .....
17. Signature of Teacher/s. 1. .... 2. ....
18. Signature of any one Official.....  
(State—President, Secretary, Treasurer, School Manager, etc.)

Date.....

'ANDHRAJYOTHI, THE TORCH OF ANDHRAISM, KEEP IT GLOWING FOR EVER AND EVER.'

## APPENDIX NO : 8

### TELUGU STORY FROM TELUGU VELUGU 2

#### దు రా శ గ ల ము స లి ది



ఒక ఊరిలో ఒక ముసలిది ఉంది. ఆమెకు ఒక కోడిపెట్ట ఉంది. ప్రతి రోజు ఒక గ్రుడ్డు పెట్టేది. ఆమె ఆ గ్రుడ్డును తీసుకొని అమ్మి, డబ్బు చేసుకొనేది.

ఒక రోజు ఆమె ఇలా అనుకొంది. “చూడు. ఈ కోడి ప్రతి రోజు ఒక గ్రుడ్డు ఇస్తోంది. దాని పొట్టలో మొత్తం ఇంకా ఎన్ని గ్రుడ్లు ఉన్నాయో కాదా? అన్నీ ఒకేసారి తీసుకొని, అవి అమ్మి ఒకేసారి చాలా డబ్బు చేసుకుంటాను.”

అలా అనుకొని ఆ దురాశ గల ముసలిది ఒక కత్తి తీసుకొని కోడి పొట్టను కోసింది. దాని పొట్టలో ఒక్క గ్రుడ్డు కూడా లేదు. అంతేకాక, ఆ కోడి వెంటనే చచ్చింది. ఆమె తల పట్టుకొని ఏడ్చింది.

నీతి : ‘దురాశ దుఃఖానికి దారి తీస్తుంది.’

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## GLOSSARY

Aadhunika	modern
achcha	pure
akka	elder sister
ambali	one type of porridge
Amma	mother
Anman	mother Goddess
Annapoorna	mother of food (Goddess)
arathi	waving light before the deity
astadiggajas	eight eminent poets
aththa	aunt
Aum	Hindu sacred sign/sound
avatars	various manifestations of God
ayurvedic	ancient Indian medical system
Balala	children's
beerakai	loofahs
bellam	jaggery
bendakai	lady's fingers
Bhagavad Gita	Hindu sacred book
Bhagavatham	Hindu scared book
bhajanalu	bhajans
bhajans	prayers
bhakti	devotion
Bharatam	Hindu scared book
boormokkulu	Andhra sweet
boorulu	Andhra savoury
bulaaku	nose rings
burrakathalu	Andhra music dance
Calcuttias	Calcutta people
Chaitra	April
chembu	vessel
chepa koora	fish curry
cheputanu	I will/shall tell
cheta	winnowing basket
chinnapaakulu	Andhra sweet
chintapandu	tamarind
cooloies	indentured labourers
Daanimma	pomegranate
Dakshinaafrica	South Africa
danda	chain
dasami	tenth day
daya	Kindness
deepam	light
Deepawali	festival of lights
desi	local
devasthanam	temple
Dhanus	Sagittarius
dharma	Hindu moral law
dhoti	male dress
Dravida	South
Firturis	outbreaks of local tribes

gaarulu	Andhra savoury
Ganganamma	mother of water
gavaras	one Andhra caste
gentoos	gentleman
ginni bottu	Andhra necklace
gobbemmas	lumps of cowdung
gobbi	Andhra dance
gongoora	sour leaves
guru	teacher
Harikatha	story of Rama
havan	Hindu ritual (fire sacrifice)
homamu	Havan
Inti peru	family name
intikiraa	come home
Itihasas	Hindu sacred literature
Jaativaalu	whites or any other race
Jyothi	Light
Kaakarakai	bitter gourd
kaapu Gaajulu	bangles
kaarthagai	October/November
kaasula danda	big golden chain
kalakshepam	to pass time
kalyanam	wedding
kammalu	ear-ring
karivepaaku	curry leaves
karma	destiny
keertanalu	musical devotional compositions
kirtanas	songs
kolaatam	May-pole dance
koodi kooru	chicken curry
kooraaku	green herbs
kriti	musical devotional composition
kshatriya	warrior
kurchii	chair
Laddu	sweet meat
Maama	mother's brother
madarasees	Madras people
madhyamika	intermediate
madrassi	Madras people
maha	great
Mahabharatam	Hindu sacred book
maharajulaa	like a king
maharnavami	Andhra festival day
makara	Capricorn
manchidi	good
manthrie	minister
mantras	holy chantings
marga	way
mattelu	toe rings
mirapakaayalu	chillies
mittayilu	sweet meats
moorthies	shrines/images in shrines
muggulu	sacred paintings
Naagula chavuthi	Andhra festival

naayana	father
namaskaram	greetings
namaskaramandi	greetings
natakam	drama
Nookalamma	mother of food grains (Goddess)
normoosko	shut up
Oggeyi	let it be/leave it
Paanakam	sweet bevarage
paarayanam	reading
paatalu	songs
paatam	lesson
paayasam	pudding cooked with milk
pachchadi	chutney
padyamulu	verses
pagati Vesham	day time dramas
pakka	real or pure
panchangam	almanac
pandit	Professor
pappu koodu	dhall and rice
parigeththu	run
pasupu	turmeric powder
patasalas	vernacular schools
peddamma	mother's elder sister
peddanaayana	father's elder brother
podaamaa	shall we go?
pongal	rice pudding
poo	go
poojas	prayers
prabandha	Telugu poetical composition
pradhamika	elementary
pradhana	prayer
prasaadam	sanctified food/fruit
pravasandhras	immigrant Andhras
punaadi	foundation
puranas	Hindu sacred texts
puratasi	Tamil festival
pushya	January
pusthakam	book
Raa	come
Ramayanam	Hindu sacred book
rangoli	sacred paintings
Sabha	organisation/gathering
saka	era
sakthi	Power or strength
samppangi	gold flower tree
samskruthi	culture
sangeethamu	music
sangita marga	Musical way
santham	patience
sarupulu	Andhra food
satakam	hundred poems
sati	widow burning
satyam	truth
savaram	jewel for hair
seetaphalam	custard apple

sepoy	soldier
shanthi	peace
shubhakarya	auspicious work
sirdar	supervisor
sorakai	calabash
sravanam	listening
subedar	ruler
sungam	association
Surya Bhagavan	Sun God
swami	saint/religious master
Taali	Andhra wedding symbol
talli	Mother
taluk	district
tamboora	musical instrument
Tamildesa	Tamil country
tantaanu	I will/shall beat you
teegi	necklace
tongo	sleep
toolu bommalaata	Puppet show
tulsi	Basil plant
Ubhaya Bhasa Praveena	Proficient in two languages
ugaadi	New Year
ungaram	ring
upanayanam	sacred initiation to education
Vada Pappu	gram dhall
vadalu	Andhra savoury
vandanam	greetings
veedhi	street
veera	powerful
velamas	one Andhra caste
velugu	light
vivaahamu	wedding
Yakshagaanam	music-dance
Zamindars	landlords