South African Telugu Surnames:
A Linguistic Analysis

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Introduction

In Andhra Pradesh, India, every Telugu speaking person (also called *Āndhra*), possesses a family name called '*inṭi pēru*' (lit. 'house name' in Telugu). Of all the linguistic groups, *Āndhras* are the only ones who possess these unique house names and they attach great importance to them. These Telugu family names have a syntactic role. They appear to stand in an adjectival relation to the given names. That is, as an adjective in the Telugu language precedes the noun it qualifies, so too the family/house name (*inṭi pēru*) precedes the given name, which is a noun.

The Telugu population in Andhra Pradesh is heterogeneous in its caste composition and comprises ±25 endogamous castes. They can be arranged into clusters according to their mutual functional habits, prohibitions or associations in sharing food and drink, and participation in marriage and other ceremonies. There is no synonym for caste in any Indian language (Prabhakaran 1997:165). The Indian words that 'caste' supposedly translates, is *jāti*, which means a large kin-community or descent group, and *varṇa*, which implies a classification based on function (Kak 1993:118). Prabhakaran (1997:180f) lists caste variables in Indian Telugu society and their caste name endings. Most Telugu castes have certain suffixes attached to their names to indicate their caste hierarchy. Thus, unlike in western or African contexts, Indian (e.g. Telugu) family names are derived from their caste system, among various other sources. This has been dealt with in detail elsewhere (Prabhakaran 1998:62f). In the South African situation, however, Telugu speakers have lost this unique possession of having a house name. Like all other South African, they have a surname which is written at the end of their given names. These surnames derive from personal names, caste names and titles, and nicknames.

In this contribution, an attempt is made to linguistically study South African Telugu surnames. In the South African context, very little attention is paid to the linguistic aspects of onomastics and Indian names are not an exception.

The article is divided into two parts *viz.* a) the history of Telugu surnames in South Africa and methodology—how data was collected for this study; and b) a linguistic analysis of the data. The data analysis demonstrates various linguistic variations and changes that occurred due to the Telugu language's contact with 'in-group' and 'out-group' languages *viz.* Tamil and English respectively.

Telugu Surnames in South Africa

It is interesting to note that when the indentured Indians arrived from India, the patterns of their surnames started changing (Prabhakaran 1998b:56). Some points of importance are reiterated in this article. It is observed from the ships' lists that during the initial stages of their immigration the Telugu *inṭi pēru* (house name or family name) had not been documented by the British emigration authorities in India or even in the colony of Natal. The authorities recorded the fathers'/ mothers' names along with other details such as their caste names, birth marks, given names, place of birth and the *kūlī* (labourer) number given to the Indians. Thus, the whole concept of having a separate identity as Telugu speakers had already been destroyed at the time of their embarkation. Above all, all *Āndhras* along with *Tamils* were regarded as *Madrāssis* (people coming from Madras, India) due to the common port of their embarkation at Madras (Prabhakaran 1992:142f). Tamil speakers do not have a separate house name but they use their fathers' names as their first names, (which always precede the given names). Although matrilineal naming practices among the Dravidians were in use during ancient times, such practices disappeared after the medieval period. Tamil and Telugu speakers do not use their mothers' names as their first names any more.

South African Indians (particularly the *Āndhras* and the *Tamils*), however, use both patronymic and matronymic names as their surnames (last names) at present. Similarly, due to their upward social mobility (Prabhakaran [1999]) many Telugu and Tamil speakers use their caste titles such as *nāidoo/naidu, reḍḍi, paday-āchī* and *gavender* (always with upward mobility) (cf. Prabhakaran 1997:180-182).

Methodology used for Data Collection

Over the years, a sample consisting of ±1000 Telugu and Tamil surnames were collected of which 446 are Telugu surnames. The data for this article comes from various sources including surnames taken from telephone directories, R.K.Khan and St.Aidens hospitals' patient records, from various doctors' surgery records and from local (Indian) newspapers. I have also collected surnames from various clothing industries and from shoe factories where the lower-class Indian surnames could be obtained. The Metropolitan voters' list, student records from various schools, and students' registration records from the University of Durban-Westville were further

sources for my data. I have also gathered data from fieldwork conducted within KwaZulu-Natal, from a questionnaire survey and lastly from formal and informal interviews conducted by my research assistants and by myself.

While selecting the sample, if a surname was considered to be very frequent (e.g. *nāidioo*, 'a caste title given to certain Telugu caste people') or very rare (e.g. *adakāthavan*, a Tamil name given to a male which means 'a person who is difficult to subdue or to defeat') one example of each was included in the sample. Special attention was given to the surnames which were known to have different variations (e.g. *nāidoo* is considered to be a Tamil/ Telugu surname whereas *nāidu* is considered to be a 'pure' Telugu surname) and meanings; and those which had notable linguistic features such as grapheme and phonemic variations.

The surnames thus collected were computed, analyzed and semantically divided. Since the aim of the study was to explore South African Telugu surnames, objective judgement was made as far as the surnames were concerned. Various telephonic interviews, along with formal interviews, were also conducted to establish phonetic change and semantic processes that occurred in the data.

Data Analysis
The second part of this article focuses on linguistic analysis of the STe -surnames. This section is sub-divided into two parts *viz.* a) phonological and graphical observations; and b) semantic process noticed.

1 Phonological observations
In this sub-section, an attempt is made to statistically analyse the frequency of vowel and consonant usage in the STe surnames. However, before analysing the data, it is important to mention certain phonological rules of the Telugu language.

1.1 Vowel-Consonant frequency
In the Telugu language (as in Zulu/ Xhosa), almost all words end in vowels. The only consonant endings are in /m,w,y/ (Kostic et al 1977:62). However, even these can be optionally followed by predictable vowels, *viz.* /u/ after bilabial /m,w/ and /i/ after the palatal /y/. Other consonants like plosive stops, retroflexes, affricates etc. occur initially and medially (single, geminated or as members of clusters). The vowels /i,e,a,u/ occur in all the three positions (initially, medially, finally), whereas the vowel /o/ has limited distribution in final position (Sastry 1984:70).

When meaningful elements (morphs) are strung together in continuous speech, certain changes take place among the Telugu vowels and consonants which combine. This phenomenon is called *sandhi* (Krishnamurti 1957:179). Unlike English, Telugu (and other Dravidian languages) have many *sandhi* processes. If the

change takes place within a word, then it is called internal *sandhi*; but if it takes place between words, it is called external *sandhi*. Lastly, it is important to mention that *sandhi* includes such processes as loss, assimilation and simplification.

The following vowel-consonant frequency (both phonological and graphemic) is observed in the data (see tables 1-3).

TABLE 1 - Vowel-Consonant frequency of the South African Telugu Surnames

	Relative frequency % Position		Rank Position	
Phoneme	Initial	Final	Initial	Final
Vowels	17.7%	54.5%	80	244
Consonants	82.3%	45.5%	366	202
Total	100.0%	100.0%	446	446

The Vowel-Consonant frequency of the South African Telugu surnames above is further sub-divided into the following tables (see tables 2-3) for more clarification.

TABLE 2 - Vowel frequency in South African Telugu (STe) surnames

	Relative frequency % Position		Rank Position	
Phoneme	Initial	Final	Initial	Final
a	12.3%	19%	55	84
ā	3.5%	----	16	--
i	----	10.3%	--	46
u	0.2%	13.9%	1	62
e	1.3%	1.6%	6	7
ĕ	----	2.7%	--	12
o	----	0.4%	--	2
ŏ	0.2%	6.5%	1	29
æ:	0.2%	----	1	--
ai	----	0.2%	--	1
Total	17.7%	54.5%	80	244

TABLE 3 - Consonant frequency in South African Telugu (STe) surnames

Phoneme	Relative frequency % Position		Rank Position	
	Initial	Final	Initial	Final
p	5.8%	----	26	--
d	1.4%	----	6	--
b	4.5%	----	20	--
c	9.1%	----	41	--
d	2.5%	----	11	--
g	7.0%	----	31	--
j	1.8%	----	8	--
k	7.4%	0.4%	33	2
l	3.2%	2.7%	14	12
m	8.1%	10.7%	36	48
n	9.3%	2.7%	41	12
h	----	15.2%	--	68
r	7.2%	1.1%	32	5
s	4.7%	1.4%	21	6
t	2.0%	----	9	--
v	4.1%	----	18	--
y	1.1%	11.2%	5	47
dh	2.3%	0.2%	10	1
dw	0.2%	----	1	--
gn	0.2%	----	1	--
sw	0.2%	----	1	--
vy	0.2%	----	1	--
ay	----	0.2%	--	1
Total	82.3%	45.5%	366	202

Table 2 illustrates that vowel /a/ has the highest frequency at both initial (12.3%) and final positions (19%). It is surprising to note that the vowel /i/ is not represented in the initial position because it is one of the four vowels which occur in all three positions of Telugu words (which include surnames and names). Similarly, the commonly found vowel in the initial position viz. /u/ is very poorly represented in STe surnames (cf.Sharma 1975:56). It is also interesting to note that the long

vowels /ŏ/ and /ĕ/ which have no final positions in the Telugu words have a considerable percentage of relative frequency in the final position. Lastly, the diphthong /ai/ is found in the final position due to Tamil language influence on STe.

Table 3 reflects that almost half of the surnames (45.5%) in the data have consonant endings, including plosives. This contradicts the above mentioned Telugu phonemic rules. A considerable percentage viz. 15.2% of the data consists of glottal /h/, the highest frequency of the consonants in the final position. It is pertinent, however, to add that this glottal /h/ is mostly not pronounced. The writer hypothesizes that this occurred due to the distorted spellings written by the authorities at the time of registration during the indentured period or may be even later during the post-indentured period. It is worth of note that /h/, unlike Indian Telugu surnames and names, has no initial representation in the STe surnames. The highest frequency in the initial position is for /n/ (9.3%) followed by /c/ (9.1%). The relative frequency in the final position (11.2%) of /y/ although permitted optionally by the grammatical rules, is highly significant. These tables illustrate phonetic (including graphemic) changes noted in STe surnames. Lastly, /m/ has a notable percentage of representation in the final position.

It is necessary to mention in this context that all South African Telugu surnames could be divided according to the etymology of the root prefixes and/or suffixes. Those aspects of the Telugu surnames are not focused in this contribution.

1.2 Phonological and Graphemic Changes

Due to the Telugu language contact with other dominant 'in-group' languages like Tamil and 'out-group' languages like English and Zulu, one can observe various phonological and semantic changes in the data. It is interesting to note that while some of these changes confined to STe surnames and names only, some of them are also found generally in STe. The language change is reflected in semantic shift, loan blends, widening or restriction of meaning, amelioration and pejoration (Prabhakaran 1994: 69-72). This contribution, however, does not focus its attention on such aspects. In this sub-section an attempt is made to analyze commonly found phonological and graphemic changes. In certain cases rarely found changes are also included. It is important to note that although various examples are found for phonological changes the researcher provided only a few examples in each category.

In this article phonological changes (both phonemic and graphemic) mean the changes that are found in general usage of the surnames in relation to their respective original forms found in Indian Telugu (ITe).

1.2.1 Vowel changes
Vowel /a/ being the mostly occurring vowel in all three positions, many types of changes are observed in this vowel. They are listed below.

1.2.1.1 /a/
a)   *a- > a-*
In the initial position the vowel /a/ remains unchanged.

e.g.	*abbāyi*	>	*abhāi*
	abbāyi	>	*abōy*
	akkayya	>	*akiah*

However, only in one entry the initial /a/ found to be changed (phonemic change) as /æ:/.

e.g.   *appalaswāmi*   >   *æ:ppelsāmy*
This change is due to Anglicization of the Telugu surnames.

b)   *-a: > -æ:*
In the medial position (particularly after the first syllable)
/a:/ changed into /æ:/. It is relevant to mention that this change occurred not only in STe but also in other Indian languages (e.g. *pānday > pæ:nday, gāndhi > gæ:nd(d)hi*). English being the dominant 'out-group' language to the Indians almost all the Indians have shifted their mother tongue to English and their ethnic mother tongues are heavily influenced by South African English.

e.g.	*āyānna*	>	*ayæ:nna/ayæ̆:nna*
	ayyāswāmi	>	*ayæ:sāmy/ayæ̆:sāmy*
	rāmuḍu	>	*ræ̆:mdu*

c)   *-a- > -ϕ-*
In consistence with the rules of STe, *-a-* is dropped in the medial position (cf. Prabhakaran 1996:122), in *sandhi* or without *sandhi*. It is pertinent to add that this change is optional in ITe, but usually noticed in STe.

e.g.	*basavayya*	>	*basviah* (with *sandhi*)
	daḍayya	>	*d(ḍ)aḍiah* (with *sandhi*)
	rāmadās	>	*ræ̆:m/rāmdās* (without *sandhi*)

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d)   *-ay > -ia*

In the process of *sandhi*, *-a-* becomes *-i-* as noticed in the above and foregoing examples, thus making all the surnames which have the kin suffix *-ayay* into *-iah*. This change is noticed in all surnames without any exception.

e.g.

erra + ayya	=	*erriah*
gaddi + ayya	=	*gaddiah*
guruvu + ayya	=	*gurviah*
kista + ayya	=	*kistiah*

e)   *-a- > -â-*

This vowel change is optionally noticed in the following examples.

e.g.

lingadu	>	*lingâdu*
gangau	>	*gangâdu*
gangalu	>	*gengâlu*
chengau	>	*chengâdu*

f)   *-a- > -u-*

This type of change is noticed in medial positions (particularly in the first syllable) in many surnames. However, in some places this change is optional.

e.g.

bangâru	>	*bungâru*
gangalu	>	*gengâlu*
gangamma	>	*gungamma*
lakka	>	*lukka*

g)   *-a- > -e-*

This vowel change in medial position is noticed in many surnames.

e.g.

alamĕlamma	>	*alemĕlamma*
appalasâmi	>	*æ:ppelsâmy*
arunâchallam	>	*arnachellam*
changadu	>	*chengâdu*

h)   *-a > -a or Λ*

In the final position vowel /a/ although remains unchanged in many surnames, some STe speakers pronounce the final /a/ either as /a/ or /Λ/ as noticed in the following examples.

e.g.			
	bullamma	>	*bulamma*
	achchanna	>	*atchnΛ*
	ellappa	>	*ellapΛ*
	gurappa	>	*gurappa*

i)   *-a > -o*

Similarly, /a/ also becomes /o/ in the medial positions.

e.g.			
	campāmaṇi	>	campāmoni
	candramaṇi	>	candermoney
	subrahmaṇi	>	sōbramony/money

It is important to note in this context that these are more changes in forms of spelling. They haven't influenced actual pronunciation of the STe surnames.

1.2.1.2 /ā/

a)   *ā- > -a*

In the initial and medial positions /ā/ optionally becomes /a/ as observed in these examples.

e.g.			
	āḍāri	>	*aḍāri*
	āyanna	>	*ayanna*
	nāgappa	>	*nagappah*

However, it does not change in these examples.

e.g.			
	ācāri	>	*āchāri(y)*
	ādiprasād	>	*ādipersādh*

b)   *-ā- > -ō-*

In the medial position, after labial nasals, /ā/ becomes /ō/ as follows:

e.g.			
	ammāyi	>	*ammōyi*
	ammāyamma	>	*ammōyama*

1.2.1.3 /ē/

a)   *-ē > -ā*

This type of vowel change in the medial position is noticed in the following examples.

e.g.			
	děvanāgi	>	*dāvanāgie*
	děvarājulu	>	*dāvarājulu*
	děvasahāyam	>	*dāvasagāyam*
	taṅgavēlu	>	*taṅgavālu*

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1.2.1.4 /u/ > /ŏ/

In the final position the vowel /u/ graphemically written as /ŏ/ as noticed in various examples. Sometimes this change occurs phonologically also.

e.g.	nāyuḍu	>	nāiḍŏ
	vēnugāḍu	>	vēnugāḍŏ
	subbu	>	sŏbŏ
	subbayya	>	sŏbiah

However, /u/ is sometimes retained in the final position.

e.g.	kannigāḍu	>	kannigāḍu
	kāśigāḍu	>	kāsigāḍu
	kṛṣṇuḍu	>	kistaḍu
	gaṅgaḍu	>	geṅgaḍu

1.2.1.5 Shortening of long vowel

There are many examples where the length of the vowel has been shortened and the long vowel changed into a short vowel. This change occurred due to the influence of South African (Indian) English.

e.g.	ŏ > o	kŏya	>	koya
	ā > a	nāgappa	>	nagappa
		doravāḷḷu	>	doravaloo etc.

1.2.2   Consonant changes

a)   *-g- > -k-*

Due to heavy Tamil influence on STe the medial /k/ is changed into /g/ as observed in a few examples. However, as mentioned elsewhere (Prabhakaran 1997:14) the STe speakers have borrowed this rule and reversed this process in the initial and medial positions where they substitute /g/ with /k/.

e.g.	dhanabāgiam	>	d(h)anabākiam
	chockkalingam	>	chocklink(g)um

In some examples the borrowed rule is followed without any reversal as observed here. The surname (taken from personal name) akamma is pronounced and written as agamma resulting in semantic shift of the word (see semantic shift for more details).

b)   *-h- > -φ-* (Procope)

Most of the present-day South African Indians tend to drop the glottal fricative /h/ in all the three positions of a word. The fricative /h/ is present in the educated

speech of the Telugu speakers. Although graphically represented and aware of the glottal fricative /h/ as a phoneme in STe words, most of the STe speakers avoid it in their speech context.

e.g.

dhanabhāgyam	>	*danabākiam*
dharmaliṅgam	>	*darmaling(k)am*
harijan	>	*arijan etc.*

It is necessary to add an interesting note: that, due to Tamil influence, many STe speakers substitute the glottal /h/ with a /g/ in the medial position.

e.g.

ahalya	>	*agalya*
maharāj	>	*magarāj*

It is worth noting that many STe speakers along with other South African Indians unnecessarily add (to make hyper correction) /h/ in all three positions in many surnames and names as observed in these examples. This change took place both graphemically and phonologically.

e.g.

anurādha	>	*hanurād(h)a*
mutyālu	>	*moothālu*
manthri	>	*mundhree*
guravayya	>	*gurviah*

c)   -r > ϕ

Due to English influence the consonant /r/, which is phonemic in the final position of ITe, is silent in STe and STe speakers tend to drop it even in (Indian) Telugu words. This is another common feature observed amongst STe speaking community.

e.g.

prabhākar	>	*prabkā*
nāgūr	>	*nāgū*

They add it unnecessarily as hypercorrections in many places.

e.g.

nāikar	>	*nāikā*
kista	>	*kirsta*
pulligādu	>	*pulligrādu etc.*

d)   Lengthening the vowel before /r/

As just mentioned the STe speakers drop /r/ and tend to lengthen the previous vowel before /r/ (as observed before). They following examples also demonstrate such change.

e.g.

prabhākar	>	*prabākā*
nāikar	>	*nāikā*

e)   *d-* or *-d* > /ḍ/
This change also takes place due to English influence. Many present-day STe speakers and South African Indian English (SAIE) speakers tend to substitute the unaspirated voiced dental stop /d/ with voiced retroflex /ḍ/ as observed in the following examples.

e.g.	*dēvadās*	>	*dēvḍās*
	dās	>	*ḍæ:s*
	daṇḍayya	>	*ḍaṇḍiah*
	dāvasahāyam	>	*dēvasagāyam*

There are other various minor phonological changes noticed in the data. However, they are not discussed here as they are not consistent.

1.3   Morphophonemics

1.3.1   Sandhi
As discussed earlier, the term *sandhi* covers interfaces between phonetics and phonology and between phonology and morphology (Sastry 1994:181). The term *sandhi*, however, is a cover-term for many divergent phenomena which include assimilations or dissimilations, allomorphic or morphophonemic alternations (Jayaprakash 1991:69). In this sub-section an attempt is made to illustrate such *sandhi* processes observed in the data.

1.3.1.1 a + a > a or -v + -v > φ
(cf. Jeevarathnachary 1988:42)

e.g.	*appa + anna*	>	*appanna*
	cinna + appa	>	*c(h)inappah*
	anna + ayya	>	*anniah*

1.3.1.2 a + a > ā or -v + v- > vv

e.g.	*kannika +*	*amba*	>	*kannikāmba*
	nāga +	*amma*	>	*nāgamma*

1.3.1.3 i + a > i + y + a

e.g.	*kanni + ayya*	>	*kanniyah*
	kanni + amma	>	*kanniyama*
	jōgi + ayya	>	*jogiyah*

1.3.2. Syncope

In this process trisyllabic words are reduced to dissyllabic words.

e.g.
rāmuḍu >	*rāmḍu*	
raṅgaḍu >	*raṅgḍu*	
rāyaḍu >	*rāiḍu*	
nāyuḍu >	*nāiḍu*	
arua >	*arna*	

1.3.3 Compensatory lengthening

e.g.
nāgūru +	*vāḍu* >	*nāgūrōḍu (nagooroodoo)*	
pilāni +	*vāḷḷu* >	*pilānōloo*	

1.3.4 Loss of syllable

e.g.
anjamma +	*talli* >	*ajmathally*	
appa +	*rāvu* >	*appāvoo*	
aruṇa +	*giri* >	*arnagiri*	

1.3.5 Loss of gemination

Loss of gemination is a usual feature of uneducated and lower caste speech patterns in ITe. The educated lower caste ITe speakers, however, tend to retain geminations in their formal and informal speech contexts. However, it is mostly not found in STe surnames. This could be attributed to illiteracy and low caste background of the indentured immigrants between 1860-1911.

e.g.
ammāyi +	*amma* >	*ammōyama*	
aṅka +	*amma* >	*aṅkama*	
cinna +	*appa* >	*cinnapa*	
chokka +	*lingam* >	*choklingum*	

1.3.6 Metathesis

The distorted spellings written by the emigration authorities resulted in various funny surnames, unusual surnames and derogatory surnames. In India, metathesis is usually observed in a few occurrences, and that also only among uneducated speakers. In STe, however, it is usually found in uneducated speech but sometimes in educated speech too. Due to a lack of understanding of the Telugu language and also due to language shift, many educated STe speakers do not even realize that

their surnames are written wrongly as indicated in the following examples.

Original form	STe surnames
nāidu	*naidoo* (only two entries were found)
chicocheṭṭi	*chioccheṭṭi*
prakāsamlu	*paraskamloo*
perumāḷ	*perulām*
chinnamma	*chianma*

It is relevant to add in this context that in Telugu and Tamil languages (like Zulu and unlike English), two vowels can not be written in one place i.e. the Telugu grammatical rules do not allow a cvvc or vvcc etc. order. If someone studies the above examples one finds that many of the STe surnames do not follow this grammatical rule.

2 Semantic Shift

Although various semantic processes viz. loan blends, loan translation, widening or restricting meanings, amelioration, pejoration etc. have been observed in the data, the researcher limits her discussion only on the semantic shift observed in the data. It is interesting to note that these semantic shifts occurred in the STe surnames due to misspellings and that STe speakers are not aware of such meaning shifts in their surnames. In many cases, the original meaning of the source term has undergone 'semantic shift' with an accompanying change in gender of the surname too. It is interesting to note that many of these misspellings occurred at the time of the immigration of the Indians to Natal.

There are almost 35 such entries found in the data. As it is impossible to discuss all these entries within this contribution, the author limits her focus to a few examples.

2.1   *ajmathally*. The ITe source word for this is anjammatalli in which anjamma means 'mother of Lord Hanumān' (the monkey God of Hindus) and talli 'mother' (duplication) - lit. 'the mother of Lord Hanumān. STe surnames with a distorted spelling ajmathally literally means 'mother of a male goat' (ajma means 'male goat').

2.2   *cheṭṭu*. The original ITe source word for this is *chiṭṭu* which means 'small boy' or 'coarse bran'. The vowel change from -*i* > -*e* resulted in semantic shift, giving *cheṭṭu*, which in Telugu means 'a tree'.

2.3   *gaddiah*. This is taken from the ITe term *gaddayya* in which *gadda* means 'an island, a lump, bank, brink' etc. and ayya means 'father' (lit. 'the man born on an island'). The vowel change from *-a > -i* resulted in semantic shift because the term *gaddiah* literally means (*gaddi* 'grass') 'man who eats grass'.

2.4   *nagadu*. The original ITe term is *nāgadu* which means 'lord of snakes'. However, this surname has changed into *nagadu* which means 'a person who does not smile' when the vowel change from /ā/ to /a/ took place.

2.5   *nāidu/naidoo*. The original ITe term *nāyudu* means 'a caste title given to the *kāpu* caste people'. However, in the STe and South African Tamil (SAT) context this term has many meanings such as *nāvādu* 'my (caste) fellow', 'a high caste man', 'a rich man', 'a Tamil surname', 'a Telugu surname' etc. (Prabhakaran 1998b:65).

2.6   *dāddi*. The original source word is *dādi* which is a Telugu house name of a *gavara* caste person. In ITe *dādi* means 'fight, attack, war, battle'. This house name is derived from the achievement of a *gavara* person who 'defeated his enemy in a fight' and his successors used that name as a house name. However, due to Anglicization of this ITe word, *dādi* became dāddi which means 'father'.

Summary and Conclusion

In this article various aspects of linguistic analysis of these surnames such as semantic classification, morphology and syntax are not discussed owing to the vastness of the subject.

      In earlier research on onomastics in South Africa, little attention has been paid to the linguistic aspects of onomastics and its contribution to linguistic and sociolinguistic descriptions. In his detailed study on naming in the Kashmiri Pandit community, Kachru (1998:3) draws attention to the linguistic component of onomastics and the neglect of this field by linguists. South African Indian names are no exception. The author feels that all aspects of the scientific study of Indian names in South Africa have been neglected owing to a lack of understanding of the Indian community in general and of the Indian languages in particular. In this article, an attempt was made to demonstrate one aspect of the linguistic process evinced in the STe surnames.

      During research, various aspects of these Telugu and Tamil surnames, names, nicknames (e.g. phonemic, syntactic and semantic aspects) etc. were noticed which could be topics for future investigation. Many South Africans (including the

Indians themselves) not realising the traditional derivations, distort Indian names resulting in unintentional derogatory meanings. Some names have even been adapted phonologically from English into Telugu giving rise to quite comic meanings to the Indian names. It is pertinent to add that this contribution on linguistic analysis of the Indian surnames should not be seen as a final word on the topic.

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