

The Role of Anthroponymic Commemoration on Wine Labels in South Africa

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South Africa is a prominent wine-producing country. The focus in this contribution will be on anthroponymic commemoration whereby a name of a person, singular or plural, and of both genders, is selected for a particular wine in South Africa. This selection is often linked to historical figures, but also sometimes uses invented or fictional names. Others may simply commemorate the winemaker, or family members. Being a multilingual country the language choice also will be discussed. The contribution therefore will outline the various categories and the possible impact of the name as well as the design of the label, the description of the name, and the language used for the description.

KEYWORDS: BRAND NAMES, ANTHROPONYMIC COMMEMORATION, WINE LABELS, MULTILINGUAL AND MULTICULTURAL ASPECTS, VARIETY OF CHOICES

Introduction

Names in the economy (often known as NITE) constitute a vital aspect of any product or service and its success in an economic context. Regardless of the particular product, it takes careful consideration and planning before a name is selected. The motivations for various products are often fascinating, intriguing, and unusual (see, *inter alia*, Bugheşiu 2012, Danesi 2011, Mihali 2012, Nuessel 2010, and Siserman 2012). Brands in the liquor context all across the world are also characterized by their labels, including the name as well as the design. Before a brand name becomes popular and fixed, the name and design are selling points, particularly for new products.

South Africa is a prominent wine-producing country. Wine producers range from huge companies, fairly prominent estates, smaller cellars, and eventually to those wine producers who own no land with vineyards, but buy grapes and make their own wines on a small scale. They are often known as “garagistes.” Because of the large number of

wine producers, the competition is fierce. Wine is also regularly produced on an annual basis, and every new wine carries the year in which it was produced on the label. Many wines, particularly red ones, age well, and it is often recommended that they should not be drunk before a certain number of years have lapsed. The name assigned when the wine appeared for the first time obviously then will not change. By contrast, white wines do not last long, and ideally should be drunk early, often in the year in which they were produced. Consequently, the emphasis on receiving new names and new label designs is obviously greater in the case of white wines.

The number of options regarding the selection of a new name for a wine, often also linked to a new label design, is therefore vast. Besides the cultivar of the wine, e.g. Merlot, Chenin Blanc, Cabernet Sauvignon, Shiraz, etc., a particular name in addition to the name of the producing cellar is often chosen. In this contribution the focus will be on anthroponymic commemoration whereby a name, of either gender, is selected. This selection is often linked to historical figures, but also sometimes uses invented or fictional names. At times only the gender, e.g. “lady,” would figure as “the name,” with an explanation on the back label of who is being referred to. Hagiographical names, real or fictional, also feature. Others may simply commemorate the winemaker, or family members of the winemaker. South Africa is a multilingual country and the language choice also will be discussed. The contribution will attempt to discuss the possible impact of the name as well as the design of the label, the description of the name, and the language used for the description. One or all of these aspects may attract the attention of a would-be consumer, sometimes also through internet websites. In the case of historical persons, the role they played in society also could be briefly outlined if space allows.

Wine production in South Africa

Wine has been an acceptable drink in many contexts over a very long period of time and its usage in fairly informal and contemporary public places is an excellent example. Wine is, of course, also used on a large scale in more formal contexts such as at official receptions, but is probably more acceptable in social interaction in relatively informal contexts, such as at home, among friends, in restaurants, and at informal events, including wine-tasting events.

South Africa is by far the biggest wine-producing country in Africa. The focus of the industry is in the Western Cape province, the province with a huge coastline in the far south, where the Indian and the Atlantic oceans meet. Within a bigger context based on 2010 data (Van Zyl 2012), South Africa finds itself in eighth position on the list of top wine-producing countries in the world in terms of the volume of wine produced. Italy (17.9 %) is at the top, followed closely by France (17.1 %), with Spain (12.2 %) in third place. South Africa currently produces 3.7 % of global volume, although there are indicators that the industry is economically under pressure. There are currently some 3,596 grape growers and 573 grape crushers, i.e. those making wines. An interesting fact is that smaller microcellars producing fewer than 100 tonnes still constitute ± 46 % of all producers, which demonstrates the “power of passion over economics” (Van Zyl 2012, 38).

In terms of export, the total amount of South African wine going to other countries in 2010 was 378.5 million liters or 48.5 % of the total production, which means that the

other half is for consumers in South Africa. The top five markets for South African wine, whether packaged or in bulk, are, in descending order, the United Kingdom, Germany, Sweden, the Netherlands, and Denmark. Consumers do not readily buy wines with brand names and information they do not understand, but fortunately most of them in the top five countries are comfortable with English. For packaged wine only, these five countries remain at the top, with the USA coming in below them. According to Van Zyl (2012, 40), the USA is considered to be the “holy grail” by many exporters (Van Zyl 2012, 40).

South Africa has to compete with the so-called “New World” winegrowers, like Australia, Chile, and Argentina. New markets for South Africa appear to be African countries like Kenya, Tanzania, and Nigeria, but also those in South America like Brazil, and, in Asia, notably China.

It seems to be clear then that South African winemakers need to keep an eye on the export market, including the brand name used, and need to try to improve the volume of wine leaving South Africa. Winemakers also have the opportunity to expand the market for local consumers. Wine ($\pm 12\%$) is still some way behind the consumption of beer ($\pm 46\%$) in South Africa, so there is room for improvement (Van Zyl 2012, 38).

Multilingual and multicultural aspects

In wine-producing countries that are essentially monolingual like the top three on the list, *vis-à-vis* Italy, France, and Spain, it is likely that anthroponymical commemoration as well as the accompanying information on the label are important but probably in one specific language only: Italian, French, or Spanish. In a multilingual country like South Africa, that situation is more complex and challenging. It might be worth the effort to produce wines with a “South African” name in some or all of the languages spoken in South Africa — there are 11 official languages. There are, however, a number of aspects that militate against this. The indigenous people of South Africa are not traditional wine drinkers and, despite attempts by winemakers to introduce wine names from the traditional indigenous Bantu languages (see Neethling 2009), this has not been very successful. Although this is difficult to assess, such wines are not prominent and it looks as if the attempt has largely failed. Winemakers realize that they should perhaps focus more on the English and Afrikaans speaking people who traditionally are more regular wine drinkers. When considering persuading indigenous wine drinkers through an indigenous wine name to start drinking wine, winemakers recognize that same name might not be as attractive to the English or Afrikaans speaking wine drinkers. Another very common argument is that the speakers of the indigenous Bantu languages, as they progress in life in the “new” South Africa after 1994, tend to embrace English as the empowering language in South Africa. It therefore looks as if there is a return to English and, to a lesser degree, also Afrikaans names.

A significant proportion of winemakers and even owners of wine estates have Afrikaans as their first language or mother tongue. Recent complaints in the press, mostly from consumers, suggest that even the Afrikaans winemakers are turning to English, not only for the export market which might be understandable, but also for the local market which is often Afrikaans speaking. The general Afrikaans speaking community, which is mostly fully bilingual (Afrikaans and English), experiences this as a great loss and another setback for the promotion of Afrikaans, a battle that is currently

being severely fought between protagonists and antagonists of the Afrikaans cause. In an earlier publication, Jenkins (2006) refers to calques in South African placenames that were at the center of a popular controversy concerning names in the wine industry, and refers to a number of letters in the Afrikaans daily newspaper *Die Burger* on this issue (2006, 117–119). These all concerned the placename category (e.g. *Breederivier* or *Breërivier* becoming *Wide River*).

Wine label choices

The options for selecting a wine label name (aside from the specific cultivar) are manifold, and every year after the grapes have been harvested and fermented, and the new wine is ready to be released, new names appear. Seemingly, no limitations exist and winemakers exploit this readily. Joubert (2015) describes the “problem” as follows:

There have never been so many choices as to what to eat, what to drink, what to wear, and what to drive. When it comes to wine, the choice will be a product with a prominent brand. Only after that will the wine be checked whether it is white or red, sweet or dry
(My translation from Afrikaans).

A very distinct category that has been in existence for a very long time is still popular today. It is the commemoration of a person or persons, real or fictional, and, as far as gender goes, male or female names appearing on wine labels. These names may refer to the wine estate owner or their family, the winemaker himself, be “invented” names — hence fictional — or names of historical significance. Sometimes human, notably female, depictions are used (not actual names) but, for the purposes of this contribution, will be included although they are not true anthroponyms.

Methodology of data collection

The data were collected mainly from the media, as well as from websites. Newspapers are fond of regularly publishing a “wine catalogue” or “advertisement” featuring many wines. A local newspaper, *Die Burger*, has a supplement on Wednesdays called *Versnit* (Afrikaans for “blend”) in which various wines, also those with anthroponymic commemoration, often feature and are discussed. The websites of the wine estates were then visited for extra information and, at times, there was personal communication with the winemakers or owners via email or telephone. Many visits to wine shops with a notebook were also made.

It was difficult to assess the quality of the wines carrying an anthroponymical name. When a wine estate owner links their own personal name to a wine, one can be reasonably sure that it is a good wine. In other categories this is not as clear. From a quantitative perspective, it is clear that it is a reasonably popular category, although competing with many other options.

In some of the categories following below, like a) wines named after the present-day wine estate owner or winemaker, there are many more examples than those included in this study, and simply listing many more becomes somewhat tedious. The historical category, i.e. d) does not appeal to all consumers and is relatively scarce. So is category e), the invented or imaginary names, which are unusual meaning there are currently only a few examples. The most interesting examples were selected if there were many

to choose from. The focus will be on the various options mentioned above with a short explanation where necessary. Columns will be used if the data examples are similar, e.g. for categories a), f), and g). The wine cultivar will only be mentioned if it forms an integral part of the wine name. Many anthroponyms are linked to more than one cultivar.

Categories

(a) *Wine estate owners/winemakers*

These are straightforward first names followed by a family name (surname). Some were original owners while others were current owners or winemakers. One would be forgiven for thinking this is somewhat boring, being examples of personal (self) commemoration. Some owners were Afrikaans speaking (A) and others English speaking (E). There were many examples, and this is merely a random selection.

Niel Joubert (A)

Graham Beck (E)

Frans Malan (A)

Douglas Green (E)

Kosie du Toit (A)

Ken Forrester (E)

Neil Ellis (A)

Bouchard Finlayson (E)

Paul Hugo (A)

Miles Mossop (E)

Paul Sauer (A)

Kevin King (E)

Louis Nel (A)

Catherine Marshall (E) — the only female

Etienne le Riche (A)

John B (A)

Myburgh (A) & Milner (E) — combination of just surnames

These names appeared prominently on the front label. All the individuals mentioned were bilingual (Afrikaans and English) although it is probably fair to say that the Afrikaans speakers were more comfortable speaking in English than the other way round.

Although there are female wine estates/farm owners, they usually prefer other types of names, often because they are more than one in a particular setup. Only one female winemaker was listed.

An unusual example in the category is *John B*. The family name, Burger, was simply shortened to “B” on the label and the wine, i.e. *John B Chenin Blanc*, has become well known as such (see Rietvallei 2015). Also unusual is the combination of just surnames, i.e. *Myburgh & Milner* (see De Meyer Wines 2015).

(b) *Commemoration of patriarch/matriarch/ancestor*

Many wine estates (represented in bold) recognize the contribution that the early patriarchs, matriarchs, and ancestors made towards establishing the concern by honorably naming their wines after them.

Muratie Wine Estate

Laurens Campher: a young German soldier who became the first owner of Muratie.

Ansela van de Caab [lit. “Ansela from the Cape,” a Dutch version]: a slave girl. Campher fell in love with her and married her.

George Paul Canitz: a later owner of Muratie.

Ronnie Melck: last owner, family patriarch, and winemaker. His wife is still actively involved with the estate.

Opstal Wine Estate

Carl Everson: fourth generation descendant.

Nederburg Wine Estate (Heritage Heroes)

Nederburg Wines decided to honor their so-called *Heritage Heroes* by linking them to their wines. The name was accompanied by a further nominal description and image that the person was known for or connected with (see Nederburg 2015).

The Anchorman (image of plough + name = *Philippus Wolvaart*). He bought the farm in 1791.

The Young Airhawk (airplane image + name = *Arnold Graue*). He signed up as a trainee air gunner, but his life was cut short after a crash with another aircraft.

The Motorcycle Marvel (motorcycle image + name = *Günther Brözel*). The German-born Brözel surveyed the vineyards from his 250 cc BSA motorcycle.

The Beautiful Lady (piano image + name = *Ilse Graue*). She played the grand piano and was wife to Johann Graue and mother to Arnold Graue.

The Brew Master (barrel image + name = *Johann Graue*). He was the winemaker.

Hartenberg Wine Estate

The *Eleanor* Chardonnay:

this wine was named after the matriarch of the Finlayson family who, with her husband Maurice, owned Hartenberg Wine Estate (then known as Montagne) from 1948 to 1977.

The Mackenzie wine pays homage to the Mackenzie family which headed the development of the new era at the Hartenberg Wine Estate.

Warwick Wine Estate

The First Lady: Norma Ratcliffe is recognized as the lady doing pioneering work at Warwick.

Neethlingshof Wine Estate

The Maria (Magdalena Marais) Weisser Riesling Noble Late Harvest: she was the wife of the first owner who took over the building of the manor house.

Van Loveren Wine Estate

Christina van Loveren: she was an ancestor whose bridal chest was kept by the Retiefs and was the first to marry a Van Zyl who arrived in the Cape in 1699. The Goudmyr farm was renamed Van Loveren after her, and the restaurant on van Loveren is also named Christina. Thus the estate, a wine, and a restaurant were all named after her (see van Loveren 2015).

Doolhof Wine Estate

1712 Jacques Potier Tercentennial 2009: Jacque Potier (1674–1739) was one of the Cape’s early pioneer stock farmers and had a license to graze his cattle in a narrow valley between the Groenberg and Limietberg mountains. The valley became his home and, in 1712, he received Doolhof as an official land grant; by 1719 he had established a small vineyard of 3,000 vines. The Jacques Potier Tercentennial pays tribute to Doolhof’s first winemaker and three centuries of winemaking (see Doolhof 2015).

Phizante Kraal Wine Estate

Anna de Koning: she married Olof Bergh, a well-known personality in the early wine industry.

(c) Family names/relationships/children

Many wine estates are proud to display a name or names that commemorate a family member or members who initially started activities on a given wine farm or are still strongly active on the farm. In many cases the actual reference on the label is not an actual name, but may refer to the position or vocation which the family member had on the farm, or to specific relationships among them. One may argue that this is, strictly speaking, not anthroponymic commemoration. It certainly is revered commemoration simply expressed by way of another clear reference to a human being. It depends therefore, on how one defines “anthroponymic commemoration.” The individual(s) referred to was well known and loved by all the other family members, and the relevant information on the actual label is listed on the back or in smaller letters on the front. Names of (grand)children are sometimes used, often in combination.

Van Loveren Wine Estate

Four Cousins: Hennie, Bussell, Neil, and Philip Retief are the third generation cousins on the estate.

Bon Courage Wine Estate

Like father like son: Andre and Jacques Bruwer. On the label there is also “A tale of 2 minds,” quoting from William Wordsworth (Anecdote for Fathers).

Seven Sisters Wines

Seven Sisters: this wine estate is run by seven sisters at Paternoster. They are *Odelia*, *Twena*, *Yolanda*, *Dawn*, *June*, *Carol*, and *Vivian*, and each has a wine named after her. The label is also linked to Greek mythology by referring to the seven daughters of Atlas and Pleione. The wine emblem is reminiscent of the Greek mythology engraving of the “Dance of the Pleiades.”

Muratie Wine Estate

Alberta Annemarie: daughter of G. P. Canitz, later owner of Muratie.

Teddy Hall Wines

Doreen (Delicate, Delectable): she is the wife of the wine estate owner, Teddy Hall.

Eikendal Wines

Janina: the estate is owned by two Swiss brothers, Prof. Rudolph Saager and Hans-Jurg Saager. *Janina* is the eldest granddaughter of Rudolph Saager.

Vondeling Estate Wines

Sweet Carolyn: friend of the winemaker and, at the same time, jesting with the popular song by Neil Diamond called “Sweet Caroline.”

Delheim Wine Estate

Vera Cruz: Vera is the wife of Spatz Sperling at Delheim. He added “Cruz” to her name on the wine label implying that she had to bear a cross since her marriage to him in 1965.

Bramon Wine Estate

The estate is named after “*Bram*” (son, 18) + “*On*” (> daughter *Manon*, 9) = *Bramon* (two children).

Luka Wines

The estate is named after “*Lu*” < Luke (son, 12) + “*Ka*” < Kate (daughter, 9) = *Luka* (two grandchildren).

Miles Mossop Wines

Saskia < Saskia-Jo (daughter), *Max* (son), and *Kika* (daughter): all three are children of Miles Mossop (winemaker).

Groenland Wines

Antoinette Marie: two daughters of the wine estate owner and his wife.

Boschendal Wine Estate

Rachel's Chenin Blanc: Rachel was the daughter of Abraham de Villiers, the first owner of Boschendal.

Boplaas Wines

Ouma (>Eng. “Grandma”) *Cloete* Straw wine.

Boland Cellar

Granny Smith Nouvelle: an ambiguous combination of a fictitious image of a “Grandma” with the surname “Smith” holding a Granny Smith apple, suggesting wine with apple flavors.

(d) Historical figures

Some winemakers or estate owners prefer to choose characters from history worthy of commemoration. Some of these characters played an active role in the early years, and others in later times, but most of them had nothing to do with the viticulture

industry. One may argue that winemakers or estate owners want to be “different” in their approaches to naming, hence they turn to history. A geospatial location also plays a role.

Somerset Wines

Lord (Charles) *Somerset*: Governor of the Cape, in early South Africa.

Lady (Elizabeth) *Somerset*: his wife.

Welmoed Wine Estate (now operating as Stellenbosch Vineyards)

Heyden's Courage: the farm Welmoed was granted to early settlers in 1690. It was inherited in 1696 by Jacobus van der Heyden who is historically recognized as a man with courage. On the back label one finds the following text: “Tribute to one of the Cape’s first dissenters, Jacobus van der Heyden. He was a local farmer (vryburgher) and the only one in the district who refused to detract allegations against the Governor, W. A. van der Stel, who sanctioned and supplied his own produce to visiting fleets undercutting the local farmers. Van der Heyden stood by his principles, and was gaoled. Upon his release many years later, the citizens proclaimed: ‘Deze vent heeft wel moed!’ (‘This chap does have courage!’).” The language used was Dutch, and became the original name of the estate (see Stellenbosch Vineyards 2015).

Vivino Wines

Leipoldt: 1880: C. Louis Leipoldt (1880–1947) was an excellent medical doctor, writer, poet, chef, journalist, and botanist.

Simonsig Wine Estate

Mr Borio's Shiraz: Alessandro Borio was an Italian Prisoner of War from World War II, who stayed on as master in “cemento” and masonry skills. He had a pleasant personality and became a good friend of the Malan family which owned the estate. He started every day by cooking his breakfast on a spade, and built the first cement wine tanks that are still used today.

Warrick Wine Estate

Professor Black: Professor Malcolm “Blackie” Black was a pomologist at the University of Stellenbosch tasked with developing an early ripening peach. Apparently Prof. Black was very successful in doing just that and the peach he developed carried his name. The experimental plantings were on a farm that eventually became Warwick Wine Estate. This is a case of recognizing an individual who excelled in cultivating another product, but eventually on the same terroir.

Rustenberg Wine Estate

Ida's White is named after a lady rumored to have been a particularly close friend of Simon van der Stel, the first Governor of the Cape.

Teddy Hall Wines

This wine estate owner “honors” historical characters who are known for their disreputable behavior, being unsavory, and “anti-hero” activities. His wine estate is in the

Stellenbosch region and he consults old diaries in search of these characters who became known in Stellenbosch.

Hendrik Biebouw, Jan Blanx, Dr Jan Cats, and Hercules van Loon: all of these have unusual stories connected to them, and they were all characters from the early Dutch occupation of the Western Cape after Jan van Riebeeck set foot there to establish a refreshment post for passing ships; they are all Dutch names.

Eva (or *Krotoa*) was a significant and important character representing the Khoi people from the southern tip of Africa. She worked in the household of Jan van Riebeeck, learnt Dutch, and became an interpreter (see Teddy Hall 2015).

Botanica Wines

Mary Delany: the female winemaker, Ginny Poval, visited the Yale Center for British Art and was inspired by an exhibit of Mary Delany's (1700–1788) work of botanical collages. She was fortunate to have licensed a series of collages as her primary focal point for her wines (see *Botanica Wines* 2015).

(e) Invented/imaginary/metaphorical names

Jordan Wines

Sophia: she was the legendary mother of Faith, Hope, and Charity.

Du Preez Wine Estate

Martinique wine: on the label one finds: “Martinique is an enchantress, a wine filled with mysterious scents. She will seduce you and steal your heart with her soft, yet full flavours. Refined yet untamed, she will captivate you.”

Iona Vineyards

Sophie te' Blanche: a female name playing on a wine cultivar name, i.e. Sauvignon Blanc, as well as on a family (sur)name “Terblanche” present in the family. On the back label she was called “the most famous woman never to exist.”

(f) Hagiographical (real or fictional)/godlike characters

Douglas Green

St Augustine: saint born in Africa.

St Vincent, St Anna, St Raphael, St Celine, St Morand, and St Claire: these are all fictional saints.

Juno Wines

Juno: an ancient Roman goddess.

(g) Fictional (non-anthroponymical) depictions

Val du Charron Wines

The estate chose to produce a “Girlfriends Wine” series. Each bottle from every chosen cultivar had a different depiction of a young girl representing a characteristic feature through her “name” and looks.

Classy Girl, Good Girl, Crazy Girl, Romantic Girl, Wild Girl, Party Girl: These are essentially non-anthroponymical depictions or sketches of fictional females not carrying names, but fit well into the overall framework of the contribution, and add a colorful aspect to the wines. The range is clearly intended for a younger market. One may, of course, argue that this sole category from one estate should not be included because of its “namelessness,” but a counterargument could be that the term “girl” is often used as a form of address when a young girl is spoken to.

Doolhof Wine Estate

This estate produced *Dark Lady, Lady in White, and Lady in Red*. Strictly speaking these also are not anthroponymical names, but the descriptions of the wines clearly point to females. The color aspect contained in the names refers to white or red wines. In the South African context, the *Dark Lady* may refer to a black African woman.

The *Lady in Red* wine is described as a lady who is seductive, sophisticated, and elegant. This is a good example of how qualities of the female gender are transferred to wines.

Carnival Wines

Some wine producers use box packaging, ranging from two to three or five liters. These are usually intended for the local market. A recent innovation celebrates three females, each shown with a glass of wine in one hand and a seductive look. Two of the very lively and colorful portraits on the boxes appear to be white ladies, while the third is a dark skinned lady. They do not carry names, but it is clear that the wine producer has taken great care in portraying on the packaging very sexy and seductive ladies, wearing somewhat old-fashioned clothing. All three have appealing and inviting looks, and if the purpose of the wine producer was to attract consumers, particularly males, then it probably has been successful. These are also non-anthroponymical depictions that fit well into the framework of the contribution.

Conclusion

The wine industry in South Africa is one of the strongest components in the agricultural context and continues to produce excellent wines every year. Every wine is part of a brand name reflecting its owner, origin, cultivar, packaging or bottling, and a label on the front and back part of the bottle. The competition is fierce and choosing the correct brand name and appearance is of vital importance. New wine enters the market every year and requires new names. It is clear that innovation is necessary to take matters forward. At times certain names have established themselves as keynote players in the industry and the producers remain loyal to original brand names. Other younger wine-producing estates are continuously looking for new creations or choices.

The data for this contribution suggest that anthroponymical commemoration is a popular choice for various reasons. Humanlike depictions or sketches as well as descriptive features of these “characters” were also considered as anthroponymic even if they were of a different kind.

The popular categories are:

- (a) “Self” commemoration by estate owners or winemakers who are well established;
- (b) Acknowledgement and recognition of roles of early patriarchs, matriarchs, or ancestors. It is a kind of revered commemoration;
- (c) Modern commemoration through sheer enjoyment of using family names, relationships and, particularly, names of (grand)children;
- (d) Historical figures, often not directly linked to wine or vineyards;
- (e) Fictional/invented names, often linking a woman to wine;
- (f) Hagiographical or godlike names, real or fictional; and
- (g) Fictional/sketchlike depictions of females, e.g. “girls” or “ladies,” aimed at the younger market. It would be interesting to see if other incentives develop regarding brand names in the wine industry. The scope is so large that it would not be surprising. The multilingual and multicultural South Africa may also come to the fore again, despite complexities in that context.

Seeing that many smaller wine concerns consist of families, anthroponymic commemoration is likely to continue, whereas in bigger concerns, homage is still often paid through anthroponymic commemoration to those who played vital roles, often initially, in managing those concerns. Anthroponymic commemoration is likely to remain an important choice in the future.

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