A Toponymical Study of Place Name Heritage in Mossel Bay (Western Cape)

A dissertation submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree MA (Linguistics) in the Department of Linguistics and Language Practice in the Faculty of the Humanities at the University of the Free State

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July 2015

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

SUMMARY

After 1994, name changes in South Africa have formed an important part in the reflection of the new democracy. The semiotic landscape needs to be representative of South Africa's diverse inhabitants. The importance of this is that it creates a sense of belonging to previously marginalised groups. It is also a way to show political change from a previously hegemonic regime. This study set out to determine if in a typical South African town such as Mossel Bay the toponymic corpus reflect the heterogeneous community. This reflection does not only focus on the post-1994 era, but also on representation throughout the town's history, i.e. the study aimed to see if the town's heritage is captured in the toponymic corpus as well.

To determine this, a database of toponyms was created using maps, books, archive documents, interviews and fieldwork. The study used both intensive and extensive methods of research. Intensive methods refer to the micro-study of each individual toponym – the name, previous names, approximate dates, language, type of name and additional information (origin). The extensive method focuses on pattern analysis. In this case, more emphasis was placed on the extensive approach, as the aim of the research was to get an overall view of the naming practices of Mossel Bay.

Demographic factors such as ethnic and language groups were also included in the findings, as this was needed as a background against which to test the heterogeneity of the toponymic corpus. The findings show that Mossel Bay's toponymic corpus does largely reflect its inhabitants. The findings also show that English and Xhosa toponyms have increased in the past few decades, as opposed to Afrikaans toponyms. The correlation between spoken language and the language of the toponym shows that 1) to some degree, Afrikaans is underrepresented in the toponymic corpus, as the majority of the inhabitants are Afrikaans speaking; 2) Xhosa has the closest correlation between the spoken language and language of toponym; and 3) English is overrepresented, although some of the names that make up the aggregate percentage stem from the English era of occupation. The new trend to name places in English thus has the potential to undermine representation in future.

Further analysis showed that even though Mossel Bay's toponymic corpus is overall representative, it is not *universally* representative. In other words, toponyms are still closely

linked to the previously demarcated areas under the segregation policy. This is an area where reparation might be necessary.

However, in order not to lose the heritage inherently bound to toponyms, it is recommended that places of high visibility be created with names commemorating previously marginalised groups. Furthermore, Mossel Bay has a naming policy that encourages politically neutral names that commemorate important figures in Mossel Bay's history.

The conclusion of the study is that Mossel Bay represents its heterogeneous community, but there are areas where reparation is needed to enhance the prestige and representation of previously marginalised groups. Resultant from this it is recommended that naming authorities in South Africa adopt the kind of corpus-based approach demonstrated in this study for further toponymic management in order to balance the tension between heritage conservation and representivity in name change.

Key terms: toponymy, toponymic research, intensive research approach, extensive research approach, toponymic corpus, semiotic landscape, representivity, representation, reparation, critical place-name study, commemoration, place names.

OPSOMMING

Naamsverandering in Suid-Afrika na 1994 het 'n belangrike deel uitgemaak van die weerspieëling van die nuwe demokrasie. Die semiotiese landskap moet verteenwoordigend van Suid-Afrika se diverse inwoners wees. Die belangrikheid hiervan is dat dit 'n sin van samehorigheid aan voorheen gemarginaliseerde groepe verleen. Verder is dit ook 'n manier om politieke verandering vanaf 'n voorheen hegemoniese regime aan te toon. Hierdie studie het gepoog om te bepaal of die toponimiese korpus die heterogene gemeenskap in 'n tipies Suid-Afrikaanse dorp soos Mosselbaai weerspieël. Hierdie weerspieëling fokus nie net op die post-1994 era nie, maar ook op verteenwoordiging dwarsdeur die dorp se geskiedenis. Die studie strewe met ander woorde daarna om te bepaal of die dorp se erfenis ook in die toponimiese korpus vasgelê word.

Om dit te bepaal, is 'n databasis van toponieme met behulp van kaarte, boeke, argiefdokumente, onderhoude en veldwerk geskep. Die studie het intensiewe sowel as ekstensiewe navorsingsmetodes gebruik. Intensiewe metodes verwys na 'n mikrostudie van elke individuele toponiem – die naam, vorige name, benaderde datums, taal, tipe naam en bykomende inligting (oorsprong). Die ekstensiewe metode fokus op patroonanalise. In hierdie geval het die klem meer geval op die ekstensiewe benadering, aangesien die doel van die navorsing was om 'n oorsig te bied van die naampraktyke van Mosselbaai.

Demografiese faktore soos etniese en taalgroepe is ook in die bevindings ingesluit, aangesien dit as agtergrond waarteen die heterogeniteit van die toponimiese korpus getoets kon word, nodig was. Die bevindings toon aan dat Mosselbaai se toponimiese korpus wel tot 'n groot mate sy inwoners weerspieël. Die bevindings toon verder dat Engelse en Xhosa-toponieme oor die afgelope paar dekades toegeneem het, in teenstelling met dié van Afrikaans. Die korrelasie tussen die gesproke taal en die taal van die toponiem toon aan dat 1) Afrikaans tot 'n mate onderverteenwoordig is in die toponimiese korpus, aangesien die meerderheid inwoners Afrikaanssprekend is; 2) Xhosa toon die nouste verband tussen die gesproke taal en taal van die toponiem; terwyl 3) Engels oorverteenwoordig is, alhoewel sommige van die name wat die gemiddelde persentasie uitmaak 'n oorblyfsel van die era van Engelse besetting is. Die nuwe neiging om plekke in Engels te benoem het daarom die potensiaal om verteenwoordiging in die toekoms te ondermyn.

Verdere analise het aangetoon dat, selfs al is Mosselbaai se toponimiese korpus oor die algemeen verteenwoordigend, dit nie *universeel* verteenwoordigend is nie. Toponieme is met ander woorde nog steeds sterk gekoppel aan die voorheen afgebakende gebiede onder die segregasiebeleid. Hierdie is 'n area waar verandering moontlik nodig is.

Om egter nie die erfenis wat inherent aan toponieme verbonde is te verloor nie, word dit aanbeveel dat plekke met 'n hoë sigbaarheidsvlak geskep word en name daaraan toegeken word wat voorheen gemarginaliseerde groepe herdenk. Verder het Mosselbaai 'n naambeleid wat polities-neutrale name aanmoedig, wat belangrike figure in Mosselbaai se geskiedenis gedenk.

Die gevolgtrekking van hierdie studie is dat Mosselbaai wel sy heterogene gemeenskap verteenwoordig, maar dat daar areas is waar verandering nodig is om die prestige en verteenwoordiging van voorheen gemarginaliseerde groepe uit te bou. Voortspruitend hieruit word dit aanbeveel dat liggame in Suid-Afrika wat met naamgewing werk die tipe korpusgebaseerde benadering aanvaar wat in hierdie studie vir verdere toponimiese bestuur aangetoon is ten einde die spanning tussen erfenisbewaring en verteenwoordiging in naamverandering te balanseer.

Sleutelterme: toponimie, toponimiese navorsing, intensiewe navorsingsbenadering, ekstensiewe navorsingsbenadering, toponimiese korpus, semiotiese landskap, verteenwoordiging, herstel, kritiese pleknaamstudie, herdenking, plekname

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CHAPTER 1:
GENERAL INTRODUCTION

1.1   Introduction

Chapter 1 presents the background to the study and the statement of the research objectives as well as the rationale of the study. It also provides the contribution of the study and an overview of the research methodology.

1.2   Background to the study

Over the ages, changes in place names have been a common phenomenon in most countries (Jenkins, 2007: 193) and are often a method of showcasing the political regime of a country (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56).

In South Africa, name changes have formed an important part in the reflection of the new democracy after 1994; however, long before this time, name changes started to take place in South Africa (Jenkins, 2007: 140, 193). Toponyms are usually politically motivated and are often the catalysts for unifying and dividing a nation (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56-57). Former President Nelson Mandela understood this concept and was loathe stepping on Afrikaner nationalism by changing prominent names. However, with the presidency of Mbeki, this gradually started to change and Mbeki's initially inclusive term "African" soon degraded to exclusively one group of Black Africans (Lubbe & Du Plessis, 2013: 56). This led to tempers flaring up amongst different groups over toponymic changes and, instead of unifying, caused division.

This unification or division factor is one of the reasons that place names are often viewed more from a symbolic perspective than from the denotative function of the name (Jenkins, 2007: 193; Matheolane, 2013). Thus, by changing a toponym, the entity changing the toponym can often be said to have the intention of changing or modifying the identity of the place. This is especially true in the post-apartheid era where the government seeks to use name changes as a tool for territorial restructuring in a nation-building context. This nation-

building context revolves mostly around "ethnically defined nationalism", but at the same time seeks to unify South Africa into "one nation within a multicultural environment" (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 55, 57). The problem is that no toponym can be completely neutral – it will always have a (political) connotation to a group or groups because of authenticity.

Since toponyms transcend their original meaning over time (Nienaber & Raper, 1983: 1), it is often argued that place name changes are a moot point (Jenkins, 2007: 193). Especially in South Africa, place name changes are often viewed as a waste of resources, distracting discourses, lack of proper consultation and disregard of (especially White) culture and heritage, regardless of ethnicity or race (Felix & Zigomo, 2007; Liou, 2011; Matheolane, 2013). Because of this, name changes are usually debated and heavily disputed (Lubbe & Du Plessis, 2014: 48).

To date, most of the debate on whether toponyms should be changed or not has focused mainly on man-made features such as cities, towns, streets, suburbs and buildings (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56), while changes made to natural features usually only constitute a small percentage of the actual toponymical changes (Jenkins, 2007: 193) and are rarely commented on in the media.

When looking at the current debate, two very important themes can be found to have reoccurred in South Africa concerning name changes – those of renewal (renaming) and conservation.

Toponymic renewal refers to the restoration (redress), reparation, renaming and standardisation of place names (Du Plessis, 2009: 215-216, 228). The link between identity and toponyms is more pronounced in this area, as described in a study by Guyot and Seethal (2007), where toponyms are used as a political-territorial tool to display the 'dominance' of the prominent political party while at the same time correcting past injustices, thereby trying to create a 'new' identity or representation of previously marginalised groups. However, in a multicultural (heterogeneous) setting, this is sometimes very difficult to create, since some groups may feel slighted when toponyms are changed, believing that their heritage is being discarded and not considered equal to that of the 'dominant' group (Lombard, 2012: 55, 56). Yet these groups sometimes fail to see that the area may have been named something else in another language before they (re)named it. This introduces the issue of authenticity.

Authenticity refers to the functionality of a place name (Lombard, 2012: 56). Toponyms are given because they serve as a point of reference to a specific locality (denotative function); however, the functionality of toponyms encompasses more than that – it also refers to the identity, emotive connotations and mental associations with the particular name (connotative function) (Lombard, 2012: 56; Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 55). Where place name changes occur, it is an indication of multiple identities in an area.

According to the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) handbook, redress and reparation refer to a situation where a toponym is changed because of historical considerations. This leads to problems with authenticity, since names given at a certain point in time can all claim some form of authenticity. As Jenkins (2007: 194) indicates, this may lead to questions regarding what should be done when older names, such as those of the Khoikhoi and Bushman, have already been superseded. As the SAGNC Handbook (2002: 6) also points out, the SAGNC wishes to preserve the historical, cultural and linguistic heritage of a multicultural (heterogeneous) country and society. It would almost appear as if the SAGNC is contradicting itself when it says it wishes to preserve the heritage, but at the same time, wants to change names based on historical considerations.

This leads to the question of toponymic conservation. Toponymic conservation argues to keep current names in order to preserve the heritage associated with those particular names, especially in the case where toponyms are named after people. These names serve as commemorations of people – whether they were named after heads of state, prominent people, landowners, or whoever (Raper & Möller, 2011: 4).

Once again, both authenticity and identity come into play in this area and South Africa is a good example. As Raper (2004) has shown, most names in South Africa have an indigenous origin and they were often translated from the original into the coloniser's languages. This meant that the 'original' place names were replaced and the heritage or history associated with those names got lost. It can then be argued that the 'restoring' of place names is also an act of preservation, but at the cost of a newer 'layer' of names.

It is often difficult to see those layers, as they require intensive study of toponyms to answer *wh-* questions; however, by using a combination of intensive and extensive study it is

possible to determine naming patterns and representation in the semiotic landscape of older layers of names.

It should be noted that some studies differentiate between place names and geographical names (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 55). According to the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names' (UNGEGN) *Glossary of Terms* (2002: 18), a geographical name is "a toponym or name applied to a feature on earth", regardless of the type of feature – man-made or natural. In this study, when referring to 'place names', the UNGEGN definition will apply, meaning the term will include all types of geographical features, both natural and man-made. Because this study does not make this distinction between the terms, they will be used interchangeably.

Whereas current studies on toponymic changes in South Africa do pay attention to the cultural and ethnic dynamics (Guyot & Seethal, 2007; Du Plessis, 2009), the study of a comprehensive corpus of names demarcated in terms of a small, typical South African magisterial space of historical importance do not get much attention. This study will seek to contribute further to the existing corpus of these valuable studies.

To the onomastician such a corpus could present the scientific basis for studying the different variables that play a role in the naming traditions or conventions of such a place. Conclusions could then be drawn in terms of the cultural representation of the names corpus of the place. A town such as Mossel Bay presents such an opportunity, as it has a rich and layered historical past characterised by various influences, from the first Bushmen (San) dwelling in the area (Lubbe, 2011) to a range of diversified inhabitants, up to contemporary times. Its value as a tourism destination is also a contributing factor.

A brief overview of the history of Mossel Bay will be given, followed by a description of some of the geographical name standardising agencies of importance to the toponymic field.

1.2.1 The history of Mossel Bay

Mossel Bay's written history dates back to the 15th century. However, prior to that time it was inhabited by indigenous Khoisan[1] groups, as shown by archaeological findings at various

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[1] The term 'Khoisan' is used as a collective term for both the Khoikhoi and the Bushman tribes.

caves along the Southern Cape. Unfortunately, insufficient information exists on the Mossel Bay inhabitants prior to European contact because of a lack of written language.

1.2.1.1 Early inhabitants

For thousands of years, the earliest inhabitants of the Southern African subcontinent had been the 'Bushmen'[2] (the San) and the 'Hottentots' (the Khoikhoi) (Nienaber & Raper, 1977: 1). The word 'Khoisan' was used as a broader term to describe both the Bushman and Khoikhoi; however, there were cultural differences between these groups.

The Bushmen were mainly hunter/gatherers who lived in smaller groups, while the Khoikhoi were nomadic herders and lived in larger groups or clan systems (Brand, 2014).

Archaeological evidence suggests that Bushmen were among the first to inhabit the African subcontinent (Raper, 2011: 5) and in Mossel Bay archaeological findings indicate the presence of Bushmen as far back as 164 000 years ago (Lubbe, 2011). Up until about 2 000 years ago, the Bushmen and Khoikhoi were the only inhabitants of the subcontinent (Parkington, 2007: 77).

1.2.1.2 European inhabitants

The first expedition by the Portuguese to circumnavigate Africa was led by Diego Cão between 1482 and 1486 (Muller, 1981: 5). Upon his return from his first expedition, he reported that the land south of the tropics (Central Africa) mainly comprised desert lands, but since the circumnavigation of Africa had become an immediate objective of the Portuguese in their search for profitable trade routes to India, Cão was sent again. He never returned from his second voyage and it is believed that his ship sank near Cape Cross, where he had left his fourth and last *padrão* early in 1486. It was decided that Cão's work was to be continued by an expedition led by Bartolomeu Dias de Novaes.

Dias left Tagus at the beginning of August 1487. His progress can be tracked chronologically, since he had taken to naming places according to the festivals of saints on the Catholic calendar (Muller, 1981: 6).

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[2] The term 'Bushmen' was at one point regarded as derogatory and the term 'San' preferred; however, recent studies show that the term 'Bushmen' is the preferred term.

In a bid to avoid the strong southeastern winds, Diaz intentionally turned away from the land and headed out to sea in a southern direction, unknowingly passing Cape Point. He later turned the ship and headed north where, for the first time in known history, Europeans had passed the southernmost point of Africa to arrive at what is today known as Mossel Bay (Botha, 1926: 19; Burman, 1964: 26; Muller, 1981: 6).

Diaz named the bay where he landed in 1488 *Angra dos Vaqueiros*, or the Bay of the Herdsman, because of the numerous cattle and sheep he saw along the coast that belonged to the Khoikhoi (Botha, 1926: 19; Burman, 1964: 26).

On a later expedition, since Diaz saw it on the day dedicated to St Blaize, the bay was renamed to Agoada de São Bras (Botha, 1926: 19; Muller, 1981: 6) or as Vasco da Gama referred to it, *Angra de São Bras* (Burman, 1964: 26).

In 1501, João de Nova built a small chapel at Mossel Bay. This was the first European building erected in Southern Africa, although its physical remains have disappeared (Burman, 1964: 28).

The bay remained the main Portuguese watering place on the South African coast and a place where the sailors could trade cattle with the Khoikhoi.

In 1601, Dutch Commander Paulus van Caerden of the ship *Verenigde Provintien* (Mossel Bay Municipality, 2014) renamed Cape St Blaize (sailors' name for *São Bras*) (Burman, 1964: 29) to that of Mossel Baaij, since according to legend, the only refreshment besides water to be had at the bay were mussels. The bay was continually used as a refreshment centre until 1652, when Jan van Riebeeck established a halfway station at the Cape of Good Hope for the Dutch East India Company, after which the focus shifted to the Cape and Mossel Bay lay mostly forgotten.

With the loan grant system in 1729, Mossel Bay once again appeared and a military post was established around 1781, which granted it official status (Mossel Bay Municipality, 2014).

In 1786, three Commissioners of the Dutch East India Company arrived at Mossel Bay and entered into agreements with a number of farmers in the area to produce and supply grain (Burman, 1964: 28). After a plentiful wheat harvest, Governor Cornelis van de Graff ordered

the construction of a granary in 1787. This was a pivotal point in Mossel Bay's history, because it provided the momentum for the development of Mossel Bay as a port and town (Mossel Bay Municipality, 2014).

The town was founded in 1848 by Sir Harry Smith, who named it Aliwal South in honour of his victory over the Sikhs in Aliwal, India. However, the locals continued to use the name 'Mossel Baai', and thus the former name was kept, with the exception of changing the 'Baai' to 'Bay', and dropping Aliwal South (Botha, 1926: 16; Burman, 1964: 27; Mossel Bay Municipality, 2014). In 1956, the town of Mossel Bay was officially established because of the proclamation of a separate magisterial district (Mossel Bay Municipality, 2014).

1.2.1.3 Contemporary Mossel Bay

In contemporary times, Mossel Bay is a sprawling town home to approximately 60 000 people from three major race groups: Coloured, Blacks and Whites. The development of industries such as PetroSA and tourism has contributed to the expansion of the town and the town has seen unprecedented growth since the late 1960s and 1970s. The fastest-growing ethnic group in the town according to Kruger (2014) are the Xhosa people.

The dominant languages spoken by these groups are Afrikaans, Xhosa and English, but more information on the demographics of the town will be given in Chapter 4.

1.2.2 Regulating bodies of toponyms

Since 1820, efforts to standardise geographical names came into effect with an attempt in the Member States of the UN to use the same script or alphabet as a standard for international use. This was to convert other scripts such as Arabic, Russian Cyrillic, Japanese and Hebrew using scientific principles into Roman script to make geographical names available world-wide for practical purposes such as navigation (Raper, 2011: viii).

In pursuance of Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) Resolutions 715 A (XXVII) of 23 April 1959 and 1314 (LXIV) of 31 May 1968, the United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names (UNGEGN) was established to further the standardisation of geographical names at both national and international levels.

After standardisation processes had been set in motion, a number of toponymic organisations or agencies such as the International Civil Aviation Association and the Pan American Institute of Geography and History came into being.

The following two sections will highlight some important aspects concerning the most important international and national toponym regulating bodies, namely UNGEGN and the South African Geographical Names Council (SAGNC) that are important to the foundation of this study.

1.2.2.1 United Nations Group of Experts on Geographical Names

In 1959, the UNGEGN was established in pursuance of the United Nations Economic and Social Council resolutions. This group was to provide technical recommendations on standardising geographical names as decided by the UN Conference on Standardization of Geographical Names held in Geneva in 1967 (UNGEGN, 2014). They agreed that national standardisation should be the basis of international standardisation. This implies that the sovereign state (or rather agencies working in those states) should make its decisions on the standardisation of names by using guidelines recommended by UNGEGN. These standardised names are known to the rest of the international community especially because these standardised names are used by other countries when referring to the sovereign state (Raper & Möller, 2011: 7; Raper, 2014: 51-52).

Member States of the UN delegate experts from fields such as cartography and linguistics who then participate in the UNGEGN sessions (Raper & Möller, 2011: ix).

The main purpose of UNGEGN is the "continuous coordination and liaison between countries to further the standardization of geographical names" (Raper & Möller, 2011: ix). The resolutions that are passed and the recommendations adopted at the various UN conferences serve as guidelines for various entities on both international and national level working with or playing a role in the standardisation of geographical names.

1.2.2.2 South African Geographical Names Council

The SAGNC came into being in 1998 in accordance with the South African Geographical Names Council Act of 1998 (Act No. 118 of 1998). It is responsible for the standardisation of

geographical toponyms (names of man-made and natural, populated and unpopulated features), establishing the policies and principles for the naming of features, recommending standardised names to the Minister for approval, receiving and recording approved toponyms, and the liaison with the UN and other agencies concerned with the standardisation of toponyms (SAGNC, 2002: 1-2).

The SAGNC does not have control over juristic, private or cadastral names. Neither do names nor features under the control of local authorities fall under its jurisdiction. Rather, these names fall under the local authorities themselves, but they are advised by Provincial Government Names Committees (PGNCs) to ensure that they apply the principles of the SAGNC to the toponyms under their jurisdiction (SAGNC, 2002: 3).

PGNCs are established by provincial departments responsible for arts and culture after consultation with the SAGNC, which is in accordance with Section 2(2)(a) of the South African Geographical Names Council Act, 1998. Apart from advising local authorities, they are also responsible for making recommendations to the SAGNC on toponyms in their province, seeing that local communities/stakeholders are adequately consulted on new names/name changes, and lastly for promoting research and ensuring the collection of unrecorded names (SAGNC, 2002: 3).

In the end, though, it is up to the individual municipalities to ensure naming and renaming are in accordance with the SAGNC guidelines.

1.3   Statement of the research problem and research objectives

Toponymy captures a part of the history of various people who name geographical features. Thus, toponyms serve as a method to preserve both historical happenings and a particular language that was spoken in that area and era by a certain group of people (Botha, 1926: 14; Nienaber & Raper, 1983: 1). Because of this, place names can serve the function of preserving the history of cultural communities that may have existed in that place. It even does so through many layers of names, or name strata, where each name showcases something of importance, such as situational setting, usage, historical events and the stakes involved to the ruling people at that time in history (Georgiou, 2010: 142; Algeo & Algeo,

2000: 272). Place names can thus become a record of both what is remembered, and what has been forgotten (Algeo & Algeo, 2000: 271).

Toponyms, in a current heterogeneous community, should therefore reflect both the historical and contemporary diversity of that area. This leads to the research question in this study whether in a heterogeneous community such as that of Mossel Bay its toponymic corpus represents the diversity of its inhabitants and their respective histories.

The aim of this study therefore is to compare different name types of toponym(s) collected in the magisterial locality (town) of Mossel Bay in order to determine if the total collection of toponyms represents the heterogeneous community of this prominent town of the Garden Route in the Western Cape. The total collection of names would specifically include names for geographical features, such as rivers, beaches, suburbs, streets and other natural features (Raper, 1977: 1). (The names of buildings are excluded.) These names vary typically and would reflect the naming patterns of different people over time.

1.4   Rationale and significance of the study

Traditional toponymy is primarily of a linguistic nature, but is also important from a historical point of view, considering the antiquity of indigenous toponyms and the cultural value of the toponyms of all the people of the country, and as such, research into toponyms necessitates research into the historical background of the area (Raper, 1977: 1-2). Toponyms serve as a method to preserve historical happenings, evidence of flora and fauna that thrived in areas, and of a particular language that was spoken in that area and era by a certain people, among other factors (Botha, 1926: 14; Nienaber & Raper, 1983:1). Toponyms have the ability to survive for ages, because the words from which the names derive have a specific meaning in the context of the situation. As Coates (2006: 378) expounds in his theory of 'properhood', proper names do not necessarily fall into a lexical category, but rather "a type of referring that discounts the sense of any lexical items (real or apparent) in the expression that is being used to do the referring". This means that toponyms have referential meaning – they denote individual geographic features (Derungs, Wartman, Purus & Mark, 2013: 4). The name therefore bears referential meaning even though it has lost its lexical meaning (Nienaber & Raper, 1983: 1) and because of this, place names may survive even the

extinction of a language. Place names therefore become an information hub of a community's history, beliefs and perspectives that contribute to the cultural heritage of an area (Raper, 2011: 7-8).

The value of the current study therefore lies in contributing to the preservation of a multicultural heritage of an important tourism town such as Mossel Bay, while at the same time adding to the toponymic database in South Africa. It also lends authenticity to the names given in contemporary times. Authenticity of a name refers to the meaning of that name at the time when it was given. It includes the content meanings that were in the minds of the people who first gave and used the name (Sedgefield, 1929: 1, 3). This study will also add to the critical research of toponyms in South Africa by focusing on pattern analysis of name-giving practices in a typical town.

The study provides reliable information for ancillary disciplines. It can thus be used as a basis from which other branches of science can gain valuable information (Raper, 1977: 3). As such, the study will lay the foundation for similar onomastic studies in South Africa and should stimulate further research in the toponymic field.

1.5   Overview of research design and methodology

The research design follows an empirical design. Each toponym will be counted as a unit of analysis. Both secondary and primary data on Mossel Bay place names will be collected. Because of the nature of this study, the type of data will be textual and the researcher has little control over the secondary data, since these data are already on record. This secondary data will include place name dictionaries and toponymic lists. Primary data will include existing documents, archives, topographic maps, fieldwork and interviews with knowledgeable people.

The collected names data will then be categorised to include the name, the feature type, sub-place, type of feature, type of name, information on the origin and meaning of the toponym and previous names. These categories are based on the minimum information on place-name requirements set out by UNGEGN (Raper & Möller, 2011: 24).

These categorised names will then be compared according to their established origin, language and name(s) type in order to establish its relation, if any, with different naming communities. This type of comparison should reveal unique naming patterns and trends that will provide a substantiated basis for drawing conclusions on the heterogeneous nature of the place-name corpus of the town of Mossel Bay.

1.6   Conclusion

The languages spoken by various groups that inhabited the Southern Cape contributed to the multilingual treasure trove of Southern African place names (Raper, 2004: ix, Raper, 2011: 5). Language contact resulted in adaptations, alterations, translations or mutilations of names in languages unknown to the later arrivals (Raper, 1977:2). Thanks to the standardisation of place names since 1936 (Raper, 2004: x), this multilingual place name heritage has mainly been preserved and officially documented. The publication of official maps, place name lists and place name dictionaries has played a defining role in the preservation of (historical) place names.

Place name dictionaries such as the *Dictionary of Southern African place names* (Raper *et al.*, 2014) have already contributed profoundly towards place names in a given area. However, they provide a broad overview, rather than detailed information regarding place names in, for example, an area such as the Karoo, or place names originating from a specific language group such as Dutch. It therefore falls to the toponymist to do further research to expand the body of place names available using both the intensive and extensive approaches. This also applies to the study of toponymy of a tourism-important and historical town such as Mossel Bay. The study of toponyms in Mossel Bay will therefore serve to enhance the knowledge base of place names as well as provide a record for standardised toponyms in a region with a very rich historical background as well as a high tourism value, thereby adding to the toponymic field.

It is hoped that this study would inspire research into pattern detections within the toponymic field.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW

> To name something is to notice it. The unnamed has no place within the human cognitive and communication processes. Thus, when something is named, it is given purpose; it is *made* (Algeo & Algeo, 2000: 265).

2.1   The field of onomastics

Although not recognised as a science until the late 19th/early 20th century (Hajdu 2006: 12, 30-31), onomastics has been a part of human history since ancient times and were often shown special attention in myths, legends of ethnogenesis and literature works, as evidenced by explanations and etymologies given to names.

The Egyptians were who first distinguished between proper nouns and common nouns by drawing circles or *cartouche* around the hieroglyphics and later by writing them in red on papyrus paper (Hajdu, 2006: 7). The field of naming was largely ignored as a subject of interest until the Grecian period. Toponyms were a popular topic among the Greeks, and today evidence of ancient books on toponyms of rivers and mountains can still be found (Hajdu, 2006: 7-8). However, the recording and study of toponyms were not seen as a separate science, but rather fell under the general umbrella of philosophy, and not all philosophers dedicated their time to the studying of names (including toponyms). One notable character that did have a large interest in onomastics was Plato (Hajdu, 2006: 8), whose Kratylos dialogue is still looked upon as one of the definitive works of onomastics.

The ancient Romans duplicated many of the Greek arts, sciences and mythologies. Marcus Terentius Varro was the first to organise these fields into more systemised activities and divided it into grammar, rhetoric, logic, arithmetic, geometry, astronomy and music theory (Lindberg, 2007: 137) during the 1st century B.C., Varro was a pronounced linguist. He was also among the first to delve into the origin of Roman family groups (Hajdu, 2006: 8).

Little is known about further developments in the field until the Middle Ages, where, although onomastics was not mentioned within any of the sciences, new results were presented because of scholastic debates between 'realists' and 'nominalists' concerning the

denotative capability of language. The realists, who followed Plato's teachings, argued that common nouns were given before they became proper nouns (Hajdu, 2006: 9), whereas nominalists argued to the contrary, namely that people living in nature do not refer to persons and things, but rather refer to them by name. Medieval chroniclers also found it important to explain the names in their historiographical works (Hajdu, 2006: 13).

From about the 16th century onwards, nomenclatures (onomasticon – a special genre of dictionaries containing rich material of proper names) became current and various authors published on the subject (Hajdu, 2006: 14). According to Hajdu, The earliest works can be traced back to 1537, and authors on the subject include Georg Witzels (1540), Ambrosius Calepinus (1544), Conrad Gessner (1546), who was the first to refer to the notion of 'proper name', and Nicodemus Frischlus (1556). During the 17th and the 18th century, other works on nomenclature were also written, including lists of names of countries and settlements in those countries (Hajdu, 2006: 16). All this can be regarded as a transition to the investigation of names in the scientific sense.

In spite of the sporadic studying or rather investigation of (place) names throughout history, it was only since the 19th century that scholars started to study names according to scientific methods (Aurousseau, 1957: 2; Hajdu, 2006: 22). The Hungarian periodical *Tudományos Gyüjtemény* (Collection of Scholarly Studies, 1817-1841) is often considered the starting point of various researches within the onomastic field. Thereafter, journals such as the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* (1925), later to become the *Zeitschrift für Namenforschung* (1937), showed that interest in the field was increasing. This was further demonstrated with an assembly of an international congress of persons interested in toponyms in Paris in 1938 (Aurousseau, 1957: 2-3). In 1949, the Third International Congress of Toponymy and Anthroponomy recommended the establishment of a Centre International d'Onomastique. In 1952, the American Name Society was founded and in 1954, the *New Century Cyclopaedia of Names* was published. In 1959, the UNGEGN was established to help regulate and standardise place names, an ongoing effort since the 1820s. The first references to the subject of onomastics in encyclopaedias were articles referring to "Names, Proper, Place-names and 'Onomastik'", with the first entry in *The Penny Cyclopaedia* in 1940 (Hajdu, 2006:22).

The study of onomastics focuses mainly on toponyms (place names) and anthroponyms (personal names). The theoretical development of this field will be discussed in the next section.

2.2   Name and place-name theory

Proper nouns consisting of more than one word cannot be considered a sub-branch of proper nouns. In other words, for example, "Table Mountain" is equal to one noun, not two. The 'Mountain' cannot be placed as a secondary noun or a sub-branch of proper nouns or any other part of speech. The proper title or name of an entity (person, place, animal, etc.) cannot be subcategorised as a noun in the system of the parts of speech, even though it constitutes only a single noun, prepositions, verbs, etc. Partridge (1949) first proposed and applied this formal approach and it was then taken up by Stewart (1953), Van Langendonk (1978; 1979), Pamp (1982; 1985; 1989) and Barabás, Kálmán and Nádasdy (as quoted in Hajdu, 2006: 21). This view was thoroughly debated by various participants and the conclusion was that proper nouns were recognised to behave grammatically as nouns (regardless of length). However, the parts of speech they belong to can be a "meaningless flow of sounds, verbs, adjectives, numerals, pronouns, adverbs, interjections, etc., or a phrase, a full sentence as well as a text consisting of several sentences" (Hajdu, 2006: 21). What he means is that a name can comprise verbs, adjectives, numerals and so forth, but when it assumes the status of a proper name, it is inherently a noun.

Thus, even though proper nouns act like nouns, unlike common nouns, they do not convey thoughts based on their lexical or descriptive meaning (Raper *et al*., 2014: xxix), but rather identification (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56). What is meant with 'thoughts' is that when people hear the name 'Table Mountain', they identify it with the natural feature situated at Cape Town; not with a 'table' and a 'mountain' as per the definitions of those nouns. It can therefore be said that nouns constitute a special system besides the other parts of speech, with an entirely autonomous linguistic sign. In other words, common nouns (means of communication) and proper nouns (means of identification) need to be treated as separate units. This has led to names mostly being studied as separate entities and focused the field on linguistic aspects. In the case of toponyms, the focus of studies has been mostly on the 'sense

of place' that is denoted by the noun use of place names (Bekker & Prinsloo, 1999; Palmberg, 1999; Dixon & Durrheim, 2000; Low & Lawrence-Zuniga, 2003; Reid, 2004; Ryan, 2005).

During the classical and medieval eras, toponymic names were not really studied to determine their original meaning or even their lexical properties (Hadju, 2006). Lists of names were compiled to keep record, and maps and charts were of special importance to merchantmen, explorers and military forces. Thus, more importance was accorded the denotative function of toponyms rather than on the connotative function.

This was especially true during the Age of Exploration, when 'new' countries were discovered and (re)named by explorers (Tent & Slatyer, 2009: 15-18). Most of the indigenous names were left unaccounted for by officials, and were mostly recorded by missionaries, travellers and surveyors (Botha, 1926: 11-14).

In 1849, the Admiralty (England) published instructions for the collection of place names and recording of foreign geographical names by its surveyors in *A Manual of Scientific Enquiry* (Aurousseau, 1957: 76). The Royal Geographical Society (RGS) system eventually became the basis of rules for the collection and recordings of toponyms. However, the problem with surveyors was that they were not linguistically trained to decipher (especially) non-English names. This led to an inaccurate collection of indigenous names. In an attempt to curb this, the RGS sent experts in the linguistic field who had knowledge of the languages, and who were instructed to check with native speakers on the accuracy of the names (Aurousseau, 1957: 76-77).

In the 1900s, toponymic studies began to take on a more scientific approach. At the same time, methods of collection were developed. During the 1920s and 1930s, place names were classified under three main categories (Sedgefield, 1929: 1), namely Descriptive, Proper and Intermediate.

In the Descriptive class, names consisted of word(s) used by people in everyday life and thereby were readily understandable, such as North Sea, Beaumont, Grandville, etc. The second category, Proper, were not part of everyday vocabulary and thereby carried no 'present' meaning or connotations, like Paris, for example. In other words, Proper names had transcended their original meanings. The Intermediate class was a combination of the first two classes, where the name consisted of more than one element, where the one bore

meaning and the other had lost its meaning over time due to different spelling forms, language evolution and language shifts (Sedgefield, 1929: 1). Various typologies were proposed throughout the past century.

Because they realised that the original meaning was of importance, scholars took an interest in the names and started to study them. Thus, the different spelling forms were usually examined carefully in search of the original meaning of the name, especially those in the Proper class. Thankfully, the various spelling forms were recorded in archival documents and were analysed according to the method laid down by British professor Walter William Skeat in the 1920s. He declared that the method of investigating the original meaning of a word was identical to that of an etymologist searching for the origin of a word (Sedgefield, 1929: 2). Thus, the focus was on an analysis of toponyms that was more etymological (Tent & Slatyer, 2009: 5)

The first step in the method proposed by Skeat was to collect all the early forms of place names, standardised and non-standardised, official and non-official. These could be collected in old archival documents. He also suggested that all names of similar construction or those with the same or similar elements as those of the name under consideration needed to be grouped together and studied so that the researcher would be better equipped to deal with any given name. Only after this had been done could one move to the second step, where all the names were arranged and the older forms grouped under the relevant name in chronological order. The spelling could then be compared and naming trends established within an era or over a timespan (Sedgefield, 1929: 3). It was also preferable that names be grouped topographically, so that it could be determined if the part played by topographical features had an impact on naming, such as an ocean, mountain range or other bodies of water.

The next step was interpretation of the names. According to Skeat (Sedgefield, 1929: 3-5), it was easy to determine the original meaning of some names, based on the old form of the name. He held that it was usually the name of a prominent person with a normal, everyday word attached, which was descriptive by nature. Other names fell into the category of 'obscure' or 'doubtful'. With obscure names, the earliest forms were not readily recognisable and were often thought to originate from another language or socialisation, and were subsequently adopted into the 'new' language or society without an explanation of the name. The obscure category names were not capable of immediate, certain and complete

examination, and their original meanings or origins could only be deduced by following up on every detail or information on the name and by sticking to a strict scientific method. However, these obscure names were usually given only one or two possible explanations.

Even though there is merit in comparing the study of place names with that of etymology, there are some differences. According to Sedgefield (1929: 5), the etymologist "deals with words which have retained a definite meaning for their users right up to the present" or when they were dropped from everyday vocabulary. Etymologists are also concerned with the development of word meaning and changes in pronunciation and spelling. Toponymists, on the other hand, deal with words that (may) have lost their everyday (word) usage and meaning years ago, but are still used today as place names. Furthermore, toponymists are concerned with the original meaning of the name as well as what the first users had in mind when assigning it (Sedgefield, 1929: 1, 3; Nienaber & Raper, 1983: 1).

During the past century where toponyms were collected it could be said that the interest lay mainly in creating lists of names and collecting details on the origin and meaning of toponyms with emphasis placed on etymological aspects (Wright, 1929: 140) instead of analysing the socio-spatial aspects of place names (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu 2010: 456). Stated differently, due to the toponymic field mainly focusing on cataloguing names and other linguistic aspects, a holistic approach to toponyms – viewing not only their origin and meaning, but also the circumstances in which they were given – has been largely neglected.

This neglect has been changing in recent years as the field of toponymy has expanded from focusing mainly on the traditional etymological and taxonomic concerns to include the topics of 'toponyms and identity' and 'toponyms and politics', or rather the 'politics of toponyms' (Rose-Redwood *et al*., 2010: 455, 459). Therefore, the emphasis has not necessarily moved from studying the toponym itself but, depending on the purpose of study, emphasis has been placed on the cultural politics of naming; that is, how "people seek to control, negotiate and contest the naming process as they engage in wider struggles for legitimacy and visibility" (Rose-Redwood *et al,*. 2010: 457). For purposes of standardisation, for example, the name, its structure, written form, orthography and so forth are paramount. UNGEGN, national geographical names authorities, mapping agencies, publishers, etc., are primarily interested in names and how to deal with them. Questions of identity and socio-spatial relations are a

given. Different people and different population groups may have different perceptions with regard to connotative meaning. A discussion of the names themselves is therefore necessary to form the basis of reliable scientific study within a subjective environment. The ruling parties or governmental authorities usually promote particular conceptions of history and national identity by constructing new regimes of toponymic inscriptions (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 457). This is why many toponymic changes usually accompany major ideological struggles and power shifts, as can be seen in the case study of South Africa (Guyot & Seethal, 2007), along with many other case studies on different countries (Azaryahu, 1992;, 1997; Myers, 1996; Faraco & Murphy, 1997; Azaryahu & Golan, 2001; Robinson, Engelsoft & Pobric, 2001; Azaryahu & Kook, 2002; Light, 2004; Gill, 2005).

Especially these street-name studies are of interest to scholars because they demonstrate the power naming has in constituting the taken-for-granted spaces of everyday life (Rose-Redwood, 2010: 457). Street names are used on an everyday basis by people without them even realising or paying attention to their historical meaning, or without realising they belonged to a (ruling) structure of power (Azaryahu, 1996: 321).

For this reason, scholars within the toponymic field debate the legitimacy of using toponyms as tools or mechanisms for 'naturalising' the ruling party by pointing out that, with every regime change, changes in the topographical layout of the state normally also occur (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010: 257). This implies that using toponyms to demonstrate the ruling hegemonic power is not an 'enduring' way of commemorating that regime.

However, toponyms, especially if one takes into account the linguistic landscape of a country, are text embedded within a larger system of meaning and discourse (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 258). These place names are read, interpreted and socially acted upon by people in different ways (Duncan, 1990; Pinchevski & Torgovnik, 2002).

Therefore, despite the historical instability and contingency of place-name regimes, the giving of place names by ruling authorities can still act as a politico-territorial tool (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56), which can be used for nation-building by creating a 'new' identity for the people.

However, this is easier said than done, as has been shown in studies (Myers, 1996; Davidson. Bondi & Smith*,* 2005; Kearney & Bradley, 2009). Toponyms transcend their value as simply

a means of referring to space to that of people learning to think 'with' the landscape and not just about it. Toponyms therefore have the ability to create and maintain emotional attachments with the people that occupied that area, whether or not they still reside in that area (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 458).

Because of the shift of perspective from the traditional approach to the critical approach, toponymic research has experienced a growth in interest to a variety of thematic concerns. This has raised the need that toponymic research should have a solid grounding in critical theories of space, place and landscape (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 258).

It should be noted that in this study the main emphasis was on the perceived, subjective political attachment to toponyms, rather than on only compiling a list of toponyms, as well as whether those toponyms reflect the heterogeneous community of Mossel Bay, as required by the SAGNC. The approach to the research mainly used the extensive approach.

2.3   Theoretical frameworks used in toponymic studies

Two basic ways exist to research toponyms (Tent, 2015: 65). One concentrates on the etymology, meaning and origin of toponyms (referred to as the intensive approach in this study) and the other focuses on the toponyms in a region and the patterns created by those names (referred to as the extensive approach).

However, the approach taken by the researcher may vary according to the goal(s) of the research, whether on a macro- or a micro-level. Macro-level research focuses on an overall approach, while micro-level research focuses on parts of the whole. This contrast between micro- and macro-levels can be seen in the generic terms 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' (Tent, 2015: 65). Qualitative techniques in toponymy can also be termed 'intensive', because this approach looks at an [object] more intensively, trying to determine its degree of intrinsic strength, depth or fullness. Quantitative techniques, on the other hand, can also be termed 'extensive', because it denotes a large number of [objects] and has the effect of extending the scope (Tent, 2015: 66). The terms 'intensive' and 'extensive' will be used in this study as substitutes for 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' techniques, following the Australian National Placenames Survey's (ANPS) example, because the former terms are more accurate in terms of the 'actual process and practice of the kind of research conducted' (Tent, 2015: 66).

In other words, intensive research of toponyms is more focused on the individuality of a toponym and strives to answer the questions of *who, when, why, what* and *where* (Tent & Blair, 2011: 68; Tent, 2015:66). Who named the place? When was it named? Why that name? What does it mean and what kind of feature is it? Where does the name come from or where is it located? The intensive research approach also answers questions such as if the place or feature had a previous name and questions about the toponym's identification, documentation and interpretation. It is often associated with micro-toponymic studies. Traditional, or rather, Old World studies focused more on intensive research approaches, which aimed to answer the '*wh-*' questions.

Quantitative (extensive) research, on the other end of the scale, lends itself to an aggregate approach to the research of toponyms, based on datasets, gazetteers, maps, databases, and so on.

This study uses the mixed-method or bilateral approach, but more focus is placed on the extensive approach than on the intensive approach.

Various theoretical frameworks exist for the studies of toponyms related to identity and cultural politics. Most of the (contemporary) frameworks have developed from cross-disciplines such as geography, political studies and history.

The theoretical frameworks that will briefly be dealt with in this section are i) political semiotics; ii) the production of spaces; and iii) social justice, symbolic resistance and place naming as a cultural arena (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 458; Jongerden, 2009). These three aspects are by no means mutually exclusive; neither are they exhaustive. However, for this case study, it presents the theoretical framework of politics and toponyms.

2.3.1 Political semiotics

Names and the nomenclature they belong to occupy a central place in any cultural system. Semiotics (the study of signs) (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 458) explore the cultural communication of meaning and how messages that are disseminated in the sphere of social communication are encoded and decoded by its users.

When researching or analysing commemorative toponyms, namely places, features or entities usually named after prominent or influential people/figures, a semiotic approach will usually provide the best course. This is because the semiotic association between place naming and political power can be traced back throughout history, since place names are usually recorded in archival documents and thus form part of a "city-text" (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010: 459).

In studies by Azaryahu (1996) and Eco (1986), two main functions for toponyms can be found – the utilitarian function (denotation) and the symbolic function (connotation) (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 459). The utilitarian function refers to the practical function of toponyms as a means to "designate different 'places' as part of a general system of spatial orientation" (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 459). The symbolic function involves "cultural values, social norms and political ideologies" (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 459) associated with the symbolic message of the sign. In other words, toponyms can become immersed with ideological meaning and political significance within a socio-political order.

The negative side effect of involving toponyms with politics is that toponyms are liable to change when a regime change occurs. This is because the writers of the city-text often demonstrate in the given toponyms the mind-set of the group responsible for the naming. Often it is through those responsible that the 'political concerns' and 'ideological commitments' (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 460) are revealed and engraved into the semiotic landscape.

Even though commemorative toponyms are deliberately given with the goal of remembering or commemorating the person/event over an indefinite period (Rose-Redwood, Alderman, & Azaryahu, 2008: 161), the toponym may lose this commemorative function as it moves from "who" to the "where". Stated differently, even though they were originally given in remembrance of (deceased) people or events, as time progresses they increasingly become connected or associated with the geographic location. This results in the commemorative meaning receding into the background to form part of the 'familiar' landscape. It renders an official discourse of history in a shared cultural experience that is embedded into everyday life and practices (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010: 459), in such a sense that the everyday person does not even realise their use, i.e. they become part of the natural order.

2.3.2 The production of spaces

Apart from its connotative meaning, place naming has always formed part of a broader history of spatial identification (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 461; Hećimović & Ciceli, 2013:2). It is an integrated process, which not only affects the actual 'place', but also auxiliary inscriptions related to geo-coding. Governments are 'responsible' for creating space – i.e. space is socially produced (Unwin 2000: 11, 12; Jongerden 2009: 3). According to some studies (Unwin, 2000; Jongerden, 2009; Jordan, 2012), the notion of space can only exist where it has been (humanly) constructed or broken down into a set of distinct features. 'Natural' space can therefore be argued to be the result of mental processes – a process that includes naming the area according to certain distinguishing factors (Jordan, 2012: 126). Name and concept are thus closely linked (Alderman, 1996: 53; Jordan, 2012: 125), insomuch as that it can be difficult to separate a toponym from a perceived mental connection (connotative function) associated with an identified space. As Jordan (2012) argues, spaces, even if real natural barriers such as oceans, basins, mountain ranges or climatic regions exist, are only formed by the way man interprets his/her environment. This is proven by the "projections of ideas onto a certain geographical space" (Jordan 2012: 126) such as cultural traditions, common history or political units that distinguish one region from another. This mental shaping of spaces and toponyms does not have a direct impact on the cultural landscape (denotative function), but it does have an indirect impact (connotative function) on how its inhabitants perceive the area and accordingly fashion their (cultural) lifestyle.

Naming has to some extent the power of defining the identity of a place due to both the denotative and connotative functions. As symbols, toponyms reflect and exemplify ideologies (Alderman, 1996: 54). It thus causes controversy when a place, entity or feature is renamed because of the perceived loss of identity (Jordan, 2012: 127-128). However, on the opposite side of the spectrum, one has to take the loss of identity in a region of those who have no or very little presentation in the semiotic landscape. However, this 'emotional tie' only applies to people very familiar with the areas. Language strengthens this emotional tie in that it gives recognition to a certain group if the semiotic landscape is reflected in their own language (Jordan, 2012: 129). It gives them a sense of 'belonging' and recognition for their part in the region's history – it creates in them a joint identity.

The space or area a toponym occupies plays a major role in how identity is perceived (Alderman, 1996: 53-54). The prominence of the area indirectly affects the emotional connotation of 'good' or 'bad'. For example, when a street in a dangerous, run-down area is named after a prominent person, over time, the connotation with the name becomes negative, not necessarily positive, as the visible evidence conflicts with the perceived, for example, Mahatma Ghandi Street in The Point area in Durban. Since toponyms become part of everyday life without intentional notice, the visible evidence of 'dangerous' and 'run-down' forms an emotional connotation with the toponym. For these reasons, especially in situations of marginalised groups, the appropriate space is of pertinent importance. It is for this reason too that in the case of 'reparation' and 'restoration', toponyms need to be placed in prominent areas, and not only limited to previously demarcated areas. This not only has the potential of changing the social atmosphere, but also the attitudinal atmosphere surrounding the marginalised group (Alderman, 1996: 55).

This leads to the politics of place naming – the idea that toponyms reflect the interwoven ideologies of the ruling elites (Alderman, 1996: 54; Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010: 462, Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56-57), whether they are former or present. Thus, a regime change also leads to the need to 'correct' history to include the marginalised or ruling groups through commemorative means. Many ways of commemoration exist in the public sphere (Schwartz, 1991:302, as quoted in Alderman, 1996: 55-56). These include museums, parks, monuments, toponyms, holidays and institutions. The reconstruction of memories brings conflict because, in essence, it has the power to change history through how it is perceived. It is important for social groups to have control of the past due to the influence history has on contemporary social and political orders. As toponyms are seen as a method to construct collective memory, the toponymic corpus now has the potential to become a toponymic arena (Alderman, 1996: 56; Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010: 462).

2.3.3 Social justice, symbolic resistance and place naming as a cultural arena

Even as toponyms can be used as a political tool, so too can naming be used as a tool for advancing or hindering social justice (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 465). Social justice refers to the equal distribution of wealth, opportunities and privileges in a society. This includes symbolic recognition in the semiotic landscape because landscapes are the spatial form social justice adopts (Mitchell, 2008: 45).

The identity and ideology of the ruling elites or hegemonic social groups is reflected in the toponymic corpus (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 462). Yet, in this sphere, the potential also exists to challenge the control of the semiotic landscape and the representation of identity and ideology. This challenge can be both confrontational and symbolic. The symbolic resistance refers to the allowance to take certain artefacts/features from one (dominant) culture and transform it into symbolic forms that acquire new meaning and significance for previously marginalised groups (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 463) so that their history and significance may also be visually demonstrated in the landscape. However, (re)naming is confined and resisted due to the other party (the previously 'dominant' or hegemonic group) also wanting to define the collective memory and want representation of their collective memory (Alderman, 1996: 56). Thus toponyms can become an 'arena' where ideologies and identities are challenged not only by the marginalised groups who crave to have their collective memory reflected in the toponymic corpus, but also by those previously 'privileged' groups who fight to maintain their mark on the semiotic landscape. It therefore becomes a type of toponymic 'cold war' fought subtly through various means such as protests, demonstrations, counter-naming and using informal or unofficial names (or in South Africa's case, reverting to the use of previous official toponyms instead of the [renamed] official toponyms).

Yet, aside from informal, subtle (or not so subtle) methods, formal, political methods to challenge toponyms also exist and are used (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 463-464). The conflict or debate arising in this section of the arena has to do with deciding who has a right to determine what is remembered and what is forgotten. Place naming, as a strategy or political tool (Guyot & Seethal, 2007: 56), is used to restore the exclusion and misrepresentation of marginalised groups through inclusion and representation in the semiotic landscape. The easiest way to achieve this goal is through the renaming or naming of streets because of its potential to connect disparate groups as well as become part of every-day usage (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 464). However, this is not always as easily done as said. Commemorative toponyms, when changed or given to commemorate people/events from the previous marginalised group, are usually relegated to smaller, insignificant streets located within the boundaries of suburbs/communities usually inhabited by these groups. This practice only serves to reinforce traditional racial, economic and/or social boundaries instead of overcoming those (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 464).

The (re)naming of places can thus still result in uneven social relations, which can be used either to advance or obstruct opportunities for greater equality (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 465). Therefore, the concept of distributive justice should be given more consideration on exactly *how* the semiotic landscape should be reconstructed so that it reflects and gives voice to previously marginalised histories and identities (ibid). Thought should be given to how the toponym will be able to raise the perceived public status and legitimacy of the marginalised group when placed in a certain space in an urban setting. The relation between an urban area's spatial distribution of race, gender and class should be taken into account when (re)naming as the empowerment generated by those toponyms is only truly exercised when they are in prominent and appropriate places (Raento & Watson, 2000: 728; Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 465).

2.4   Conclusion

Over the centuries, the field of onomastics has developed significantly into a recognised scientific field. From this have sprung several branches, among these the field focused on the names of geographical features – toponyms. While the toponymic field initially focused mostly on the linguistic aspects of toponyms, socio-onomastics has become popular.

Within this newer leg of research, emphasis has been placed on the relations between toponyms and socio-political functions. Theory on aspects such as political semiotics, the production of spaces, and the social justice, symbolic resistance and place naming as a cultural arena have been explored.

Political semiotics explores the cultural communication of meaning, submerged ideology and political significance and how messages that are disseminated in the sphere of social communication are interpreted by its users. It acknowledges that toponyms have both a utilitarian (denotative) and a symbolic (connotative) function. Yet, despite original intentions, toponyms eventually become more associated with the space they occupy than the commemoration of past heroes or events.

As shown in various studies, the production of spaces is a human construct. In fact, studies claim that 'space' can only exist where humans have demarcated areas according to certain distinguishing factors and then named them after those factors. This causes toponym and

concept to be closely linked. This mental association does not necessarily add to the denotative function of toponym, but it does bear significance on the connotative function. For this reason, the location or setting of a commemorative toponym can either add to or subtract from the prestige of a name.

The location of the toponym can be linked to social justice in the sense of representivity not only of the dominant group, but also of marginalised groups. Often, previously marginalised groups will insist the semiotic landscape represents their history, and will offer symbolic resistance in the form of protests, demonstrations, counter-naming and using informal or unofficial names. In this sense, the semiotic landscape can become a cultural arena, where marginalised groups fight for representation of their collective memory, and the dominant group may fight for retaining the toponymic commemoration of their collective memory.

The (re)naming of geographical spaces should not simply be a matter of political correctness, but rather used as a vital tool to achieve fair cultural and political representation, while at the same time preventing the loss of social groups and historical identities, especially in the wake of regime change (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 465-466).

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY

A mixed-method approach lends itself more to a consideration of toponymic space not only as a 'text', but also as resulting from a set of 'performative' practices.
(Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 466)

3.1   Introduction

This chapter discusses the research methodology of the case study. The issues discussed in this chapter includes 1) the background to collection methods; 2) the background to research design and methodology; 3) the research design; 4) the research method; and 5) the problems encountered during the toponymic collection.

3.2   Background to collection methods

For the purpose of this study, the Australian National Place Names Survey's (ANPS) terms and definitions are used with regard to 'qualitative' and 'quantitative' approaches. The term 'intensive approach' would be used to denote the 'qualitative method approach', while the term 'extensive approach' would be used to denote the 'quantitative method approach' (Tent, 2015: 65-66).

Collection methods vary, depending on the kind of approach the researcher utilises. If the focus of the study falls more towards a linguistic/intensive study, the methodology will differ from that of a critical/extensive focus. The mixed-method approach draws from both forms to encompass a broader perspective of toponyms and their meanings as part of both connotative and denotative value (its usefulness as a tool for spatial orientation) (Rose-Redwood *et al.,* 2010: 466-467).

The mixed-method (bilateral) approach was used in this study – with more emphasis placed on the extensive approach than the intensive approach, as the goal of the study is to see if heterogeneity is reflected in a toponymic corpus.

The following two sections will look at the intensive and extensive collection methods. The intensive collection methods will start by explaining what qualitative methods are, how they are applied in the field of toponymy, and how those methods were applied to this study. The same will be done for the extensive method of research in toponymy.

3.2.1 Intensive toponym collection methods

Qualitative research is one of two methods of research in the social sciences, the other being quantitative research. Qualitative research aims to gain an in-depth understanding of a particular phenomenon, issue or case (Tent, 2015: 65) by analysing and making sense of unstructured data. The term 'qualitative research' is used to refer to a "collection of methods and techniques which share a certain set of principles or logic" (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270), and includes the elements of qualitative methods of collecting data, gaining access to research subjects and analysis.

With qualitative studies, research is usually conducted in the natural setting of social actors and it follows the natural progression of events. Simply put, the case is not reconstructed in retrospect, but the researcher rather tries to gain the actor's perspective in its natural environment (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 270-271).

Qualitative research can be validated by means of triangulation, member checks, extensive field notes, peer review and so forth (Babbie & Mouton, 2001: 275). Triangulation is the method of cross-referencing sources of data by combining multiple methods and investigators (Denzin, 1989: 236).

With regard to the field of toponymy, qualitative research can be said to focus on "micro-levels of research" (Tent, 2015: 65). This leads to a more intensive study of each individual toponym and looks at origin, meaning, former names, reasons as to why the name was given, what kind of feature it is, where it is located, etymological factors, and so forth. Intensive toponymy often precedes extensive toponymy.

In this study, as mentioned earlier, less emphasis was placed on the intensive approach; however, there were certain aspects that were important for this study, such as the type of feature and where the feature was located. This was important mainly because of the SAGNC's policies of representation. The feature, such as street name, beach name, or natural

feature, was important in terms of location because of the visibility it lent to the name in terms of the community. In other words, as Rose-Redwood *et al.* (2008: 2010) indicate, the location of the toponym plays an important part in the positive or negative perception attached to that toponym, especially if it was given as a personal commemorative toponym.

3.2.2 Extensive toponym collection methods

Quantitative research methods comprise the systematic empirical investigation of observable phenomena via statistical, mathematical or computation techniques. It is often used to validate qualitative research. In essence, quantitative research is able to generate numerical data that can be converted into numbers. According to Mouton and Marais (1996), quantitative research has a higher level of formalization and control, and the range or area is defined or demarcated in a more exact manner.

This study focuses more on pattern analysis of a toponymic corpus, or 'extensive' research and looks at the 'broader picture'. The toponyms are the independent variables, while the categories in which they fall are the dependent variables such as type of feature, sub-place the feature falls in, and so forth. The cross tabulation of these variables enables the researcher to draw conclusions with regard to the research question.

3.3   Background to the research design and methodology

In the study of place names it is important that the study area is carefully selected and/or demarcated and that all the toponymic information appearing in that specific area is collected by means of relevant documentation, literature and toponymic lists.

This was done before fieldwork was conducted to determine which names needed to be further researched or which gaps needed to be filled. This was also helpful to see if older versions of the same name as well as official/non-official names were listed (Raper & Möller, 2011: 22).

According to the United Nations Training Course on Geographical Names, (Raper & Möller, 2011: 22), a few basic steps need to be followed in the collection of toponyms. These are:

1. Selection/demarcation of research area,

2. Selection of sources and information databases,

3. Collecting, collating, cataloguing and systemisation of data, followed by verification of the data,

4. Standardising the information into acceptable presentation, dissemination and publication format for/of relevant output, and

5. Recommendations, ratification or ministerial approval and implementation of findings (officialisation process).

In this study, since the researcher focused more on pattern analysis than on the etymological function of toponyms, the emphasis fell on steps 1 to 4. The areas were demarcated (see 3.5.2 and Figure 7 under Section 4.4) according to suburb divisions given to the researcher by the Town Planner of the Mossel Bay Municipality, Mr Eddie Kruger.

The research design will now be explained in further detail, followed by the research methodology.

3.4   Research design

A mixed-method approach was followed in this study. Extensive study allowed for observations about the toponymic corpus and the reflection on the semiotic landscape and allowed for the creation of a defined corpus. Intensive study allowed the understanding of the background to the toponyms, as well as allowed for the division into categories that make up the dependable variables.

The research design followed an empirical design (content analysis), working mostly with existing data (Mouton, 2001: 165) and consisted of two main components.

The first component was the literature review, which was covered in Chapter 2. The goal of the literature review was to attain a theoretical understanding of the toponymic field, while at the same time reviewing the latest trends in research in the area of toponymic studies, which would allow for insights into the case study of Mossel Bay. The literature started with a broad overview of the onomastic field, and then narrowed down to the toponymic field and recent developments in those fields. Special attention was paid to the changes of power and

authority, as well as how that affected the semiotic landscape with regard to toponyms (extensive approach).

The second component consisted of the case study. Mossel Bay was chosen for various reasons, as discussed in Chapter 1. The case study approach was regarded as relevant, as the aim behind the research question was to gain insight into the representivity of a typical South African town.

Because of the nature of this study, the type of data was textual and the researcher had little control over the secondary data, since these data were already on record. This secondary data included place-name dictionaries and toponymic lists. Primary data included existing historical scripts such as travel journals, official documents, archives and topographic maps, fieldwork and surveys with knowledgeable people if a place name has been given recently. Modes of observation included firstly going through existing lists before going to places such as museums and municipalities that have stored archival documents. Relevant documents were studied to obtain toponyms and former toponyms, if any. Furthermore, interviews were conducted with locals who are knowledgeable about the area. The interviews were unstructured.

The collected toponyms and relevant data were then categorised based largely on the minimum information place name requirements set out in the UNGEGN manual (Raper & Möller, 2011: 24). The categories in the UNGEGN manual were: 1) the kind of feature; 2) the description of the location and point position reference; 3) provision for parts of natural features to be additionally defined by reference to the whole; 4) information on administrative or regional areas as considered necessary with reference to a map in which the feature lies; 5) all standardised and historical names of the same feature; and 6) information on the origin and meaning of the toponym. The categories into which the names were divided are listed in Section 3.5.4.

These categorised names were compared according to their established origin and names type in order to establish its relation, if any, with different naming communities. This type of comparison revealed unique naming patterns and trends that provided a substantiated basis for drawing conclusions on the heterogeneous nature of the place name corpus of the town of Mossel Bay (see Chapter 4).

The errors for this particular study included possible inaccurate information given by individuals and incomplete documentation. Where possible, triangulation using documents and gazetteer lists was used to verify the claims of locals. However, incomplete documentation was a major concern with this study, as the municipality did not see the need to document information regarding the toponyms (especially street names) that would be able to answer the *wh-* questions. In addition, dates were hardly ever recorded in the documentation, and therefore the researcher was only able to establish estimates of the decade in which the names were given. Unfortunately, none of the interviewees was able to supply the researcher with accurate dates, including those working at the municipality.

3.5   Research method

3.5.1 Unit of analysis

Each toponym was counted as a single unit of analysis. Where there was a previous name for the same feature, it was listed under the official name in the category table, and was therefore not counted as an additional unit of analysis. Instead, it was analysed for its qualitative worth. Each unit was placed into a category according to its type, for instance, suburb, street, beach, hill, river, etc. (See Annexure 1).

The research was both extensive and intensive (discussed in Section 3.2). It was extensive, because each toponym was counted as a single unit of analysis and was added to a database. The database was used to determine whether the names of the entire town reflected a pattern of naming. This pattern was used to answer the research question of whether or not, in a heterogeneous community such as Mossel Bay, its toponymic corpus reflected the diversity of its inhabitants. It was intensive, because some emphasis was placed on the individual toponym itself with regard to type, location and language.

3.5.2 Survey area

The survey area was the municipal town area of Mossel Bay, including its suburbs and beaches. The total Mossel Bay Municipal area extends over 2 007 km^2, making it impractical for this level of study; therefore, it was decided to focus on the town itself with its sub-places

(see Table 1 below), which amounts to approximately 45,94 km^2 (Frith, 2013; AfriGis, 2014). The sub-places were determined by using maps provided by the municipality and online.

Table 1: Sub-places that make up the area of Mossel Bay under study (own compilation)

Name
Bay View
Boland Park
Boplaas
Da Nova
D'Almeida
Dana Bay
Die Bakke
Die Voorbaai
Fairview
Heiderand
Isinyoka
JCC/Joe Slovo
KwaNonqaba
Linkside
Mossdustria
Mossel Bay Central
Mossel Bay Golf Estate
New Sunnyside (Ext 6)
Pinnacle Point
Santos Bay
Tarka
Vyf Brakke Fonteinen

Many of the sub-places are racially 'divided', not because of policy, but rather because of the way the town developed under the influence of the apartheid policy of segregation. This has not yet been rectified, as the gap between 'rich' and 'poor' also contributes to this factor. However, as the divide between the previously advantaged and previously disadvantaged equalises, changes ought to occur. The demographics of the town are expounded on in Chapter 4.

3.5.3 Sources and information databases

The sources were mostly existing documents because of the nature of this study. Both primary and secondary sources were used to gather data. Primary sources are sources taken

from the actual event – i.e. it provides direct or first-hand evidence about events, people, objects, etc. Secondary sources are sources that use original research (where primary data have already been used to base results on). The primary data were collected by means of fieldwork and analysing journals and other archival documents. The toponyms were also collected from maps, including Google maps and municipal maps, surveyor lists and field collection. Personal interviews also fall under primary data.

Personal interviews were held with knowledgeable people, including people from the municipality, the museum and respected elders of the community. The 'snowball' effect was utilised by asking interviewees whom they could recommend that was also very familiar with the town's history. Questions asked included what they knew of the names, why the names were given, when the names were given, and what the names meant (to them – subjective). Questions varied according to with whom the interview was held. Questions asked included:

- The procedures to name places (asked to municipal workers),

  o Which documents are used for guidelines on how to name places,

  o Who suggests names for new areas or extensions,

  o Who decides which names will be accepted (council),

- The dates places were named,

- How commemorative names are decided on,

- How are records kept of name changes, and

- General knowledge (anecdotes) on toponyms.

Individuals were also asked what they knew of the area, what their thoughts were on current names, whether they felt they were represented through street names, and what they did know about the toponyms in their area.

Secondary data included toponymic studies already conducted in the area. These included place-name dictionaries and old toponymic lists compiled by staff members of the Diaz Museum.

3.5.4 Cataloguing and analysis

The following table represents the typology that was used to capture the relevant data under each unit. Most of the categories are taken from the *United Nations Training Course on Geographical Names* (Raper & Möller, 2011), while some have been added specifically for this study. As Bright (2002: 330) puts it, typologies are not cast in stone. They only have value to the extent that they are helpful in research and any proposed typology needs to be tested continually for its usefulness.

Table 2: Categories into which toponymic data will be entered (own compilation)

Toponym	Area within which the feature falls / Subplace	Approximate Date given	Language origin	Man-made/ natural	Type of feature	Type of name	Additional information

The categories can be explained as follows:

- Toponym: the unit of analysis

- Sub-place: one of the 21 areas the name is located in, demarcated according to municipal areas

- Approximate date: the decade the toponym is presumed to be given

- Language: the language the toponym was written in (Afrikaans, English, Xhosa, Portuguese, Latin and Other). In some cases, only the root (no generic term such as street, avenue or road) was written on the street sign, an example being the street 'Nagtegaal' located in Vyf Brakke Fonteinen, which does not have a generic attached. In this instance, the root word was used to determine the language of origin. Where the generic was attached to the root, both were taken into consideration. If the root is in Afrikaans, but the generic is in English (or vice versa), the name was seen as bilingual. The name was also seen as bilingual if the spelling was the same in Afrikaans and English and the generic (if present) was in English or Afrikaans.

- Man-made/natural: whether it is a natural feature such as a hill or man-made

- Type of feature: what kind of feature it is, i.e. street, beach

- Type of name: the typology used to determine what kind of name it is –

- o Descriptive: reflects a characteristic of the feature or the immediate environment

- o Fauna: named after native fauna such as birds and fish

- o Flora: named after native flora

- o Commemorative Object: named after inanimate objects relevant to that area

- o Commemorative Transfer: a toponym named after or 'transferred' from an existing toponym

- o Commemorative Personal: named after prominent people

- o Commemorative Historical: named after historical events that happened in the area

- Additional information: any information that could have been gathered directly related to the toponym

  - o Previous name: recording of any older, recorded toponyms of the same unit of analysis

The collected data were entered into the above categories by using a Microsoft Excel database, so that the information was easily accessible and so that cross-referencing could be done to limit data capturing errors.

An inductive approach was taken to analyse the data, since the researcher aimed to look at observations and detect patterns in it (Babbie, 2010: 52). The research was approached without a specific conceptual framework, and after having obtained the data, relationships or patterns were identified with regard to the naming patterns in certain areas as well as the whole.

3.6 Problems encountered during research

Problems encountered during the research included missing archival documents, not enough information on commemorative names, lack of succession training and lack of toponymic recording in previous decades.

In many cases information on commemorative names were lacking, and the researcher could only verify that the toponyms were named after people; however, not for whom they were, or their significance for the community. This holds especially true in the informal settlements (sub-places) of KwaNonqaba, Boplaas and JCC/Joe Slovo.

One of the biggest problems the researcher experienced was the lack of dates associated with the individual toponyms. According to Kruger (2014), there are various reasons for this, including that the stores holding the documents burned to the ground before the names could be digitised. There was no real interest in recording toponyms and the given dates, and no succession training was given to municipal workers involved with the name-giving process. In addition, many of the streets were named unofficially (especially in the informal settlements), and residents (including municipal workers) questioned were unable to give dates as to when the names were officialised. These reasons resulted in a loss of data, and thus only approximate dates could be given. The dates were given per the decade, and were calculated by looking at real-estate sales and the earliest sales recorded on a street/region. It is therefore necessary to state that the dates cannot be guaranteed their accuracy.

The researcher also found it difficult to acquire previous names of features, once more due to a lack of data. In this case historical lists and books were analysed to see if there were any discrepancies in newer data, and interviews held with elder community members in relevant areas also helped to gain this data. The data were then captured under the unit of analysis. An example of a feature's previous name not being recorded was Gys Smalberger Street. The street was officially known as Lower-Cross Street, but unofficially as 'Kastrolstraat' by the local Coloured community. As the story goes, the street was notorious for the location of numerous shebeens (bars), and when the men had drunk more than their fair share, the wives would often go out and 'clobber' them all the way home with a pot or pan – a 'kastrol' in Afrikaans. Thus, the name 'Kastrolstraat' was unofficially given, but was officially changed to Gys Smalberger Street when the segregation laws came into effect and the Coloured community was moved.[3]

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[3] Gys Smalberger was a businessman and entrepreneur responsible for large-scale renovations on that street.

3.7   Conclusion

In conclusion, the research methodology in this chapter provided the framework for gathering, processing and analysing the data gathered.

The research design follows an empirical design. The mixed-method approach was used, but more emphasis was placed on extensive research approach than intensive. This is in line with pattern recognition of the toponymic corpus of the town. Each toponym is seen as a single unit of analysis, categorised according to the typology set out in 3.5.4.

The survey area was the town of Mossel Bay, which spans roughly 46 km^2. There were 22 sub-places demarcated according to municipal maps and online maps. The inductive approach was used to analyse the data collected from the demarcated areas.

Chapter 4 will discuss the findings and interpretations of the analysis as they pertain to the research question.

CHAPTER 4:

FINDINGS

After the collection of the data, the analysis was completed to determine the representivity of the toponyms for Mossel Bay and its community. However, before one can look at the findings specifically aimed at representation, it is important to look at the background of Mossel Bay and its growth over the centuries.

4.1 Language and race distribution

As part of the background for this study, and the basis for interpreting the results, it is important to look at the demographics of the town. Given the town's layered history, demographics is important to show whether heterogeneity referring to the various ethnic groups can be found in Mossel Bay's toponymic representation. This includes both the present and past populations. The present-day racial and language distributions are displayed in the following two figures.
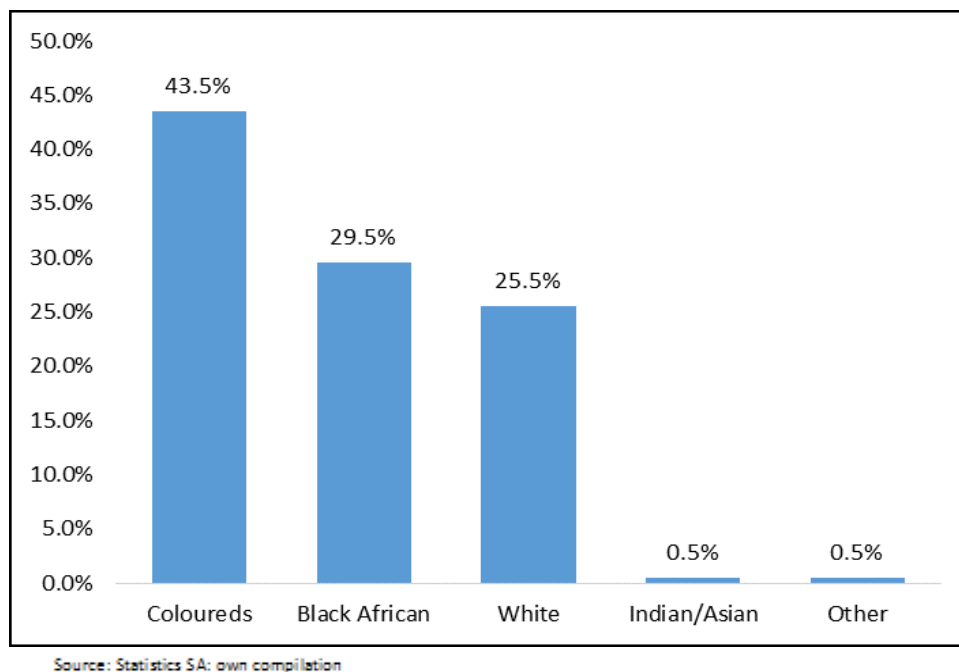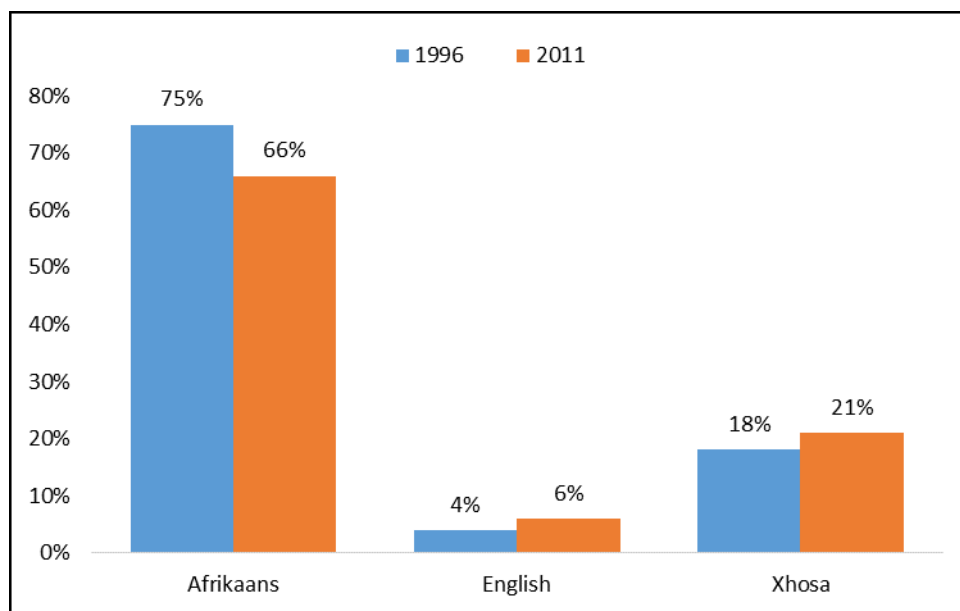

Source: Statistics SA: own compilation

Figure 1: Racial distribution of Mossel Bay inhabitants according to 2011 census data

In terms of race the so-called 'Coloureds'[4] (44%) comprise the largest race group, followed by Black Africans (29,5%) and Whites (25,5%). During the past 18 years, Black Africans, mostly of Xhosa origin, have been the fastest-growing group, increasing from 20% in 1996 (WCG 2003) to 30% in 2011. This is mainly due to the creation of job opportunities by the development of Petro SA.

Given the present racial composition of the town, it comes as no surprise that Afrikaans, as the mother tongue of most Coloureds and Whites, is the dominant language, as displayed in Figure 2. Figure 2 also compares the 1996 census of mother-tongue language with the census of 2011. A substantial decrease in first-language speakers from 75% in 1996 to 66% in 2011 has been recorded in Afrikaans. English and Xhosa have simultaneously risen as first languages, with English increasing from 4% in 1996 to 6% in 2011, and Xhosa from 18% in 1996 to 21% in 2011 (WCG 2003). This gives an idea of the changing demographic composition of the town, but it also reflects the history of the town – namely that Afrikaans was dominant during the late 20th century, and remains so at present.

Source: Statistics SA: own compilation

Figure 2: Comparison of language growth/decline in Mossel Bay taken from the 1996 and 2011 census data

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[4] The terms 'Coloureds', 'Black African', 'Whites', and 'Indian/Asian' are terms used by Statistics South Africa to mark race. The term 'Coloureds' is an ethnic label that refers to people of mixed ethnic origin in South Africa. The term 'Black African' is an ethnic label that refers to people of Black decent, no matter which culture or ethnic groups they stem from. 'Whites' is an ethnic label for South Africans of European decent, and 'Indian/Asian' is an ethnic label for people of Indian/Asian descent.

Looking at the representation of the toponyms in Mossel Bay, one would therefore expect a correlation between the racial and language composition of the population and the toponyms given over different periods. For example, one expects more Afrikaans (Dutch) toponyms allocated during the early history of the town, followed by an increase in English toponyms after 1806 when the British occupied South Africa. Next, one would expect a further increase in Afrikaans during the latter half of the 20th century, and lastly an expected increase in Xhosa toponyms with the regime change and migration of Black people to the town. Kruger (2014) indeed points to an increase in the number of new toponyms in different languages in conjunction with the population expansion of Mossel Bay in recent years.

To appreciate this in full, the relationship between language and the different ethnic groups needs to be explained. Language is part of what defines an ethnic cultural group (Mahadi & Jafari, 2012). Ethnic groups in South Africa have different cultural conventions; for example, not all Black Africans are Xhosa people; other groups exist, such as Zulus, Tswana, Venda and so forth. *Collin's English Dictionary* (2003) defines culture as follows:

> [it] encompasses the total range of activities and ideas of a specific group of people with common and shared traditions which are conveyed, distributed and highlighted by members of the group.

In Mossel Bay, the main groups are Afrikaners (White), English (White), Coloureds, Xhosa people (Black African) and other minor groups, including Indian/Asian. Afrikaans is the mother tongue mainly of Afrikaners and Coloureds, while English is spoken by English Whites, and Xhosa is spoken by Xhosa people. Thus, Afrikaans can be said to represent both Afrikaners and Coloureds, who comprise the largest percentage of the population of Mossel Bay, followed by Xhosa people. Unfortunately, this research is unable to state the exact percentage of the Afrikaner community and the English community in Mossel Bay, because Statistics South Africa does not differentiate between White Afrikaans South Africans and White English South Africans. When comparing Figures 1 and 2, one should be able to deduce that, for Mossel Bay's toponymic corpus to be representative in the present era, Afrikaans toponyms should make up the majority percentage of the toponyms, followed by Xhosa and lastly English.

However, due to Mossel Bay's development since the 1500s, with different groups (Portuguese, Dutch, English and Afrikaners) in 'dominant' or hegemonic positions, the town should also reflect this aspect of its heritage.

The findings on the toponymic corpus will be discussed in the next few sections.

4.2   Findings on Mossel Bay toponyms

The following section shows the naming trends from the 1600s up to the 1950s and from the 1960s to the 2000s. As mentioned in Chapter 3, the researcher experienced problems collecting accurate dates, especially relating to this timespan. No documents could be found to determine the dates accurately and thus it was decided that the names recorded in the database would be assigned the century date in which they first appeared in written records. The names are mostly restricted to Mossel Bay Central, or to what is known as the 'Old Town'. Unfortunately, in this area, there is margin for error and further research is recommended. Yet despite this, historical trends can still be drawn and compared to recent times.

Figure 3 below shows the types of names bestowed on features during the 300 years since Paulus van Caerden (re)named the bay. The features include mainly streets, beaches and streams. The largest percentage of names (around 50%) were given in the late 19th and early 20th century, most likely due to Mossel Bay officially being declared a town in 1848 and a municipality in 1852.
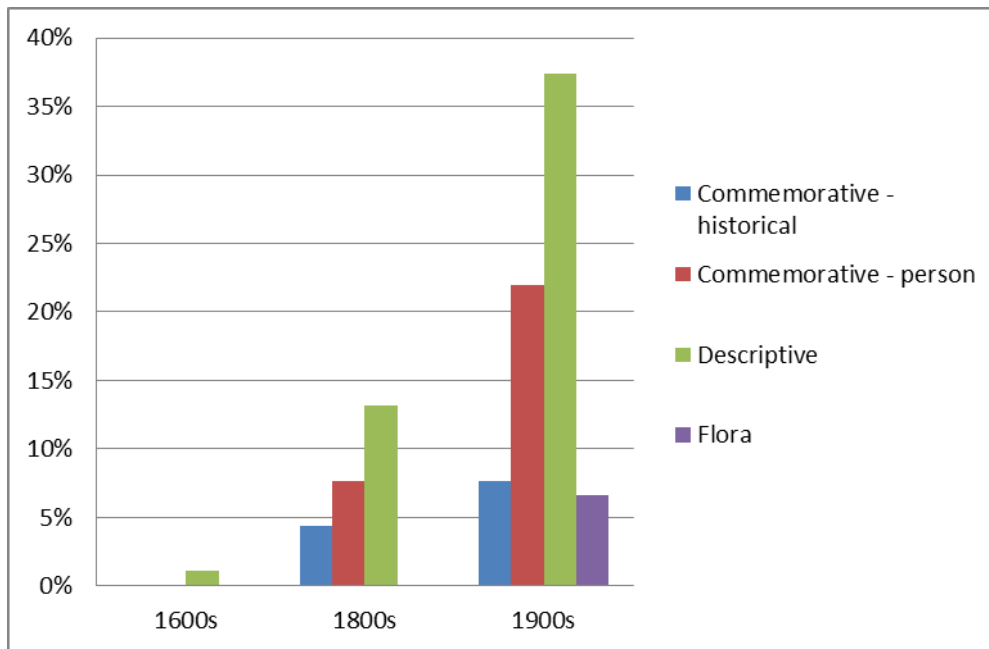
Figure 3: Types of names given over the period 1600 to 1950s

An interesting trend to note is that during this time, descriptive (an aggregate of 52%) and commemorative names (an aggregate of 30%) were favoured. The Afrikaans, or rather, the Dutch inhabitants, preferred giving descriptive names, while the English favoured commemorative names – especially those commemorating town councillors or other people important to the development of the town. Few names were given to commemorate people from outside Mossel Bay. Overall, English was the most dominant toponymic language, both in descriptive and commemorative categories. Descriptive names included names such as Station Street, Point Street, High Street, Kerkstraat, Die Punt and Die Poort. Personal commemorative names included Cornwall Street, Hudson Street, Rodger Street and Riley Street.

The municipality was able to supply dates for when some of the extensions after 1960 were approved by city planners. As also mentioned in Chapter 3, proper documentation was not kept of the street names and the dates they were assigned. A further setback was that the building housing archival documentation that had reference to toponyms and their dates was destroyed in a fire in the 1970s (Kruger, 2014). Because of this, toponyms were assigned to a decade rather than individual year, based on deed and real-estate documentation.

An increase in toponym allocation started in the 1960s. At its peak in the 1980s, the toponymic corpus was increased by 202 names out of 679 names given during those 50 years.
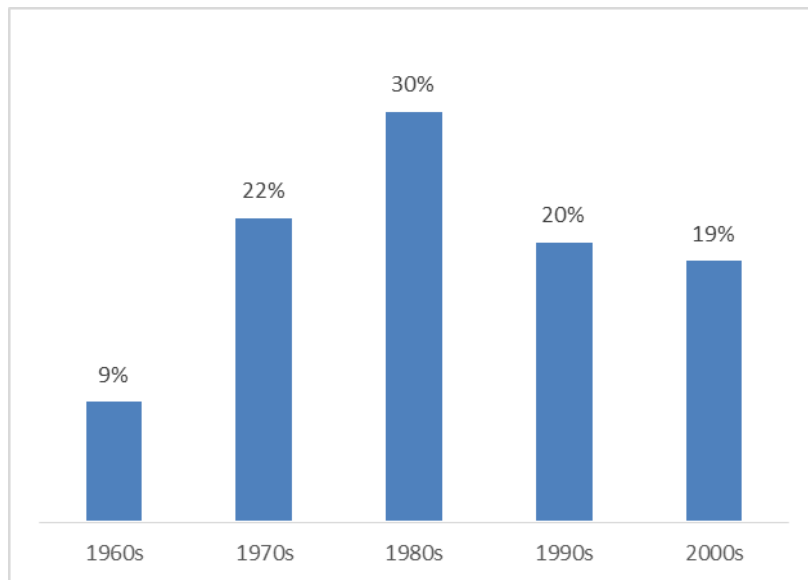
Figure 4: The percentages of toponyms given in the period 1960s to 2000s by decade

Over the past five decades, the development of industry contributed significantly to the town's growth. This has resulted in a rather recent reflection of the semiotic landscape. In other words, it is possible to see naming trends in the contemporary era and how they were (are) affected under both the apartheid regime and the democratic regime.

Figure 3 shows the naming trend over the past 50 years (1960s–2000s).

Figure 5: Naming trends over the past 50 years in Mossel Bay

Overall, it can be seen that personal commemorative toponyms have dominated the semiotic landscape, except in the 1970s with the development of Dana Bay and its internal policy to use flora names. However, looking at aggregate figures, personal commemorative toponyms have made up the largest percentage (41%) over the past 50 years, followed by flora (27%) and descriptive (14%) toponyms.

A further breakdown of Figure 3 yields the following results:

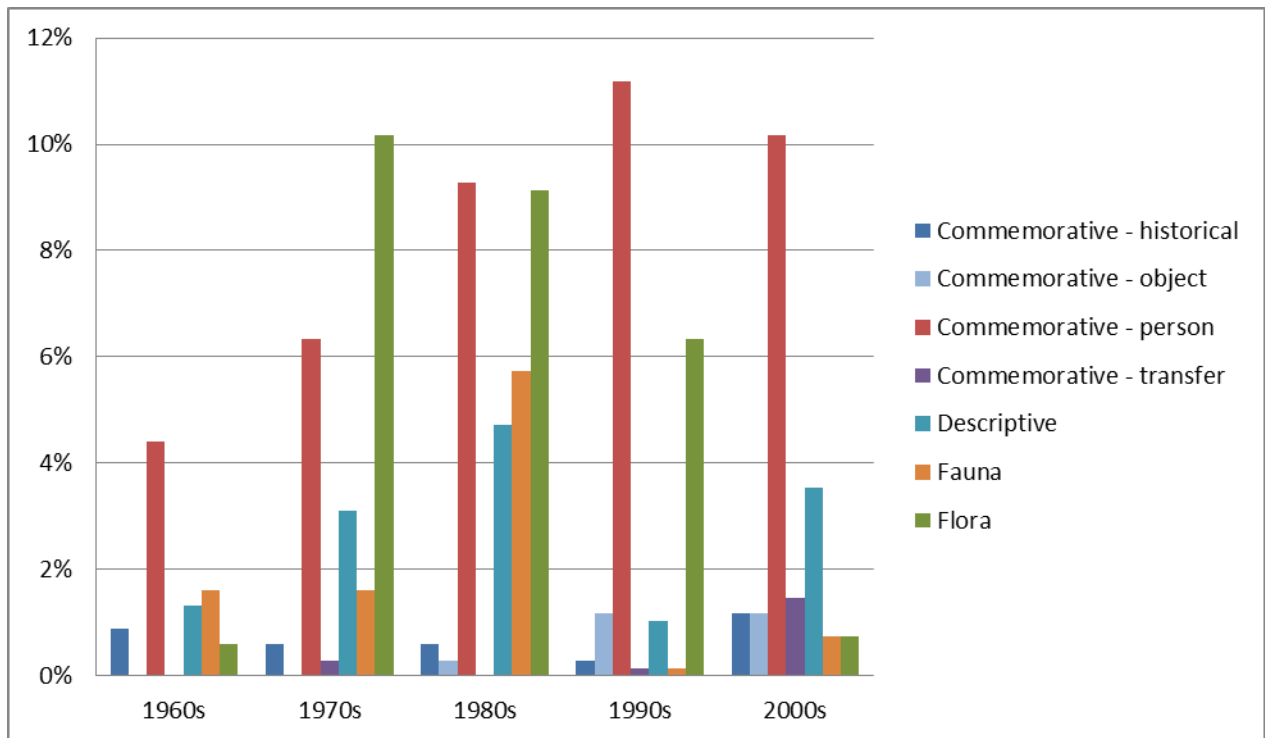- Commemorative – person: personal commemorative names had seen a steady increase up until 1990, when it began tapering off in the 2000s. During the 1960s, the majority of personal commemorative toponyms were given in JCC/Joe Slovo (such as P Hoyi Street, Witboy Street, Daniels Street, and Terrance Ndanda Street). During the 1970s, Linkside came out on top by naming the streets after its developers or contributors (Vincent Street, Fanie de Jager Street, and Frankie Green Street). In the 1980s, Bayview was established and the streets in that suburb renamed after Mossel Bay council members (Awie Dodd Street, Dudley Harris Street and Stephen van der Westhuizen Street). After the end of apartheid, KwaNonqaba experienced rapid growth and dubbed 71 streets with personal commemorative names. Names included

Thembani Street, Sijaji Street and Mzamomhle Street. This trend continued into the 2000s, with 55 toponyms added to the corpus in KwaNonqaba.

- Commemorative – historical: allocation of historical commemorative names has been relatively constant throughout the past five decades. However, before 1994, these toponyms tended to commemorate the Age of Exploration, with streets named after Da Nova, Van Riebeeck and Diaz. After the regime change, names commemorating heroes of apartheid were given in especially the KwaNonqaba suburb. These names included Chris Hani Street, Liberty Street, Biko Street and Freedom Street. (The names were seen as historically commemorative because, although most were named after prominent people, they did not play an active part in Mossel Bay's development.)

- Commemorative – transfer: transfer names are the names of towns or areas already given to another feature. In 1980, two transfer names – Port Natal Ave and Nooitgedacht Ave – were given in Bayview. In the 2000s, nine transfer commemorative names were given in the suburb of KwaNonqaba. These are Willowmore Street, Uniondale Street, Umtata Street, Pretoria Street, Sneeuberg Street, Matroosberg Street, Kanonkop Street, Franschhoek Street and Calitzdorp Crescent. There is some controversy surrounding the naming of these streets, with some stating that it was a political move to name streets after 'Afrikaner places', while others hold that it was done out of spite because alternative names were not suggested fast enough. However, both views agree that the motivation behind the names was political by nature.

- Commemorative – object: the old Mossel Bay Airfield used to be situated in KwaNonqaba before it was moved to Vyf Brakke Fonteinen to make way for the expanding residential area. To commemorate this, the town decided to name streets in that area after planes. Names include Cherokee Street, Cessna Street, Aerostar Street, and Piper Colt Street.

- Descriptive: Most of the descriptive names given during the 1960s to 2000s were given in expanding areas and were used unofficially before they became officiated.

Names included Waterkant Street, Stadion Street, New Street, Skool Street, Sea View Lane, Beach Boulevard and Loop Street.

- Fauna: Fauna toponyms are restricted to themed suburb areas and mostly comprise avian and aquatic animal names. Names include Barracuda Street, Cob Street, Pikkewyn Street, Duif Street and Stompstertjie Street.

- Flora: Flora toponyms constitute the second-largest category in Mossel Bay. However, recent years have seen a reduction in the number of flora toponyms given.

According to Kruger (2014), the municipality actively encourages 'neutral' names such as fauna and flora names. With the extensions of Dana Bay and Heiderand in the 1970s and 1980s, this preference was mostly adhered to, but in the post-apartheid era, previously marginalized groups prefer to name features, especially streets, after prominent people in their race groups. Representation in the semiotic landscape can thus be seen to be important to previously marginalised groups.

Toponyms in Mossel Bay have not undergone many changes in the past few decades. The researcher could find only 14 names that have been changed, with the majority centred round Mossel Bay Central (MBC). These are listed in Table 1.

Table 3: Compilation of toponyms that have been renamed in Mossel Bay (excluding the name of Mossel Bay itself)

Current toponym	Previous toponym	Sub place	Additional information
Santos Beach	Madiba	Santos Bay	The name was changed from Santos to Madiba, but after protests was reverted back to Santos.
Harry Giddey Park	Victoria Park	MBC	Named in honour of Queen Victoria, but then changed to commemorate the designer of the park.
Cape St. Blaize Cave	Bat Cave	MBC	Named after the thousands of bats that used to live there.
Gys Smalberger St	Laerkruisstraat or Lower-Cross Street / Kastrolstraat	MBC	1880-1900: (official) the name 'Laerkruisstraat' was translated incorrectly from English 'Lower-Cross Street' (according to Mr A Green and Mr E Kruger): (Unofficial) Most of the street going East was occupied by people from the coloured community until apartheid legislation moved them out of town. At the time it was known as "Kastrol Street", but was then 'renovated' by an entrepreneur named Gys Smalberger.
Boplaas	Blêrrie Vêr	Boplaas	The area was known to be 'very far' (blêrrie vêr) from the harbour, which was where most of the Coloured community was employed.
George St	Boomstraat / Dickinson St	MBC	Road that leads towards the town of George. Both Dickinson and Boomstraat were renamed/rebuilt into George street. Dickinson was a shop owner/mayor in ~1900-1920.
Danabaai	Oude Duinzigt / Droogfontein	Danabaai	In 1821 the farm "Oude Duinzigt" was allocated to Hendrik Petrus Pienaar. In 1972, "Sentraalwes Personeel Ondernemings" bought the farm Droogfontein to develop the area as a retirement village for retired farmers. These two areas made up the total area of Dana Bay.
Die Bakke	De Bakke	Die Bakke	Translated from Dutch to Afrikaans.
Voorbaai	Voor-die-Baai	Voorbaai	Adaptation of previous name.
Fairview	Ext. 22 / Uitbreiding 22	Fairview	All extensions were/ are being renamed.
Heiderand	Ext. 12 / Uitbreiding 12	Heiderand	All extensions were/ are being renamed.
Linkside	Ext. 4 / Uitbreiding 4	Linkside	All extensions were/ are being renamed.
D'Almeida	Ext. 6,7,8 / Uirbreiding 6,7,8	D'Almeida	All extensions were/ are being renamed.
Da Nova	Ext 5 / Uitbreiding 5	Da Nova	All extensions were/ are being renamed.

As can be seen in the table, most of the names that were changed stayed in the same language. Only a few names were changed to a different language:

- Oude Duinzigt: Dutch name was changed to an Afrikaans name,

- De Bakke: Dutch form was translated to Afrikaans,

- Santos Beach: (Portuguese name given to a German schooner) name was changed to Madiba (Xhosa), but then changed back to Santos, and

- Boomstraat: Afrikaans name changed to English name.

Two names of note are 'Boplaas' and 'Gys Smalberger Street'. Boplaas was the name of the farm on which the contemporary suburb is located. It is descriptive by nature, being literally

situated 'on top' of the hill. Coloureds who were moved from Mossel Bay Central (MBC) due to apartheid legislature called the farm 'Blêrrie Vêr', because the farm was located not only on top of the hill, but also approximately 6 km away from the harbour, which was where the majority of the Coloured community worked. However, this name was never officialised, and the name 'Boplaas' was given as its official name. The second name change of interest is that of Gys Smalberger Street. This street was (previously) officially known as 'Laerkruisstraat', which is a translation of the name 'Lower-Cross Street'. To the local Coloured community, the street was known as 'Kastrolstraat', where they had taken up residence before apartheid legislature moved them. According to local stories, the street was littered with shebeens or pubs where well-meaning husbands would enjoy an evening off after fishing. After a while, the boisterous men would take to the streets and street brawls would ensue, after which the women, usually the wives, would take their pans and 'sort out' the men. Thus, the street became known as 'Kastrolstraat'. This area was later purchased by Gys Smalberger, who upgraded many of the buildings. To honour his contribution to that section of the town, the street was officially named 'Gys Smalberger Street' (Green, 2014).

It should be noted here that some of the sub places were named 'Extension xx' or 'Uitbreiding yy' according to how the town developed, however, these names have been replaced by suburb names such as Fairview, Heiderand, D'Almeida and Linkside. Some of the suburbs, however, still use the extension name as part of the newer name, for example, New Sunnyside (Ext. 6).

It is interesting to see that the names have mostly remained in the same language even when they have undergone changes. One observation is that the toponymic corpus points to a reasonable spread of toponyms in terms of language of origin, particularly between bilingual (Afrikaans/English) toponyms, English toponyms and Xhosa toponyms. In relation to this relatively equal spread, the proportional prominence of Afrikaans as language of origin of toponyms (35%) is notable, as seen in Figure 6.
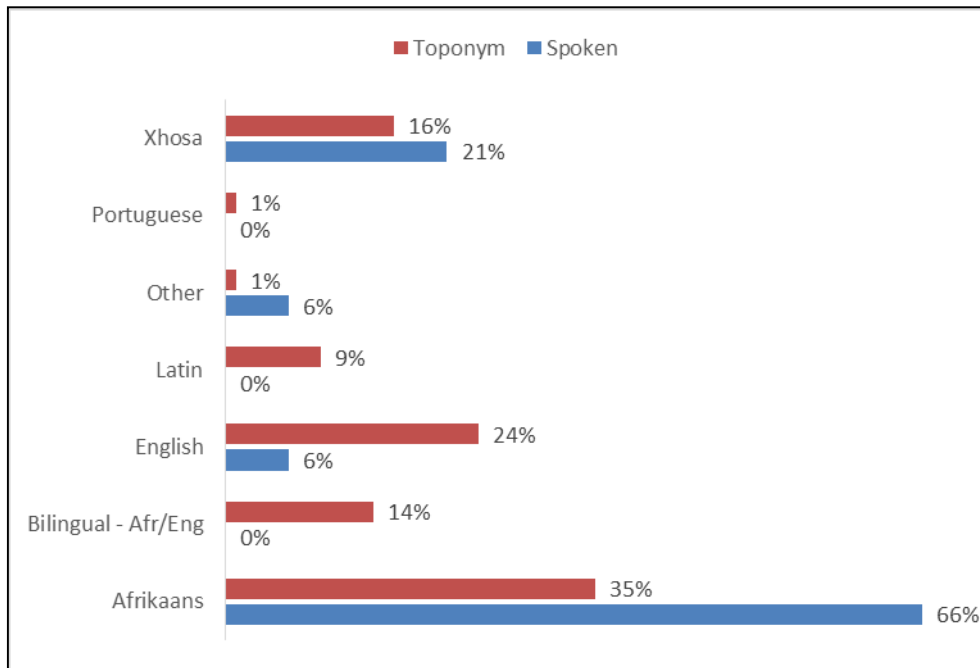
Source: Statistics SA: own compilation

Figure 6: Comparison of language of origin and language of toponyms derived from SA statistics (2011 census data) and own research[5]

The comparison in Figure 6 between language of toponym and the people's mother-tongue language gives a better graphic presentation of how representative the toponymic corpus is. Given its prominence as first language (66% mother-tongue speakers), it is noticeable that the spread of Afrikaans toponyms still seems relatively unrepresentative in the toponymic corpus; only 35% of toponyms have an Afrikaans origin. This representivity is somewhat improved if one takes into account that 14% of the toponyms are bilingual. The term 'bilingual' refer to toponyms that have the same spelling in Afrikaans and English (in other words, the root word is the same, but the administrative suffix such as 'street', 'avenue', 'crescent', etc., are in English, or both the root word and the generic suffix is translated from one language to the other), and thereby cannot be discerned by language alone – they can be seen as either Afrikaans or English or as bilingual.

By comparison, the 24% English toponyms are, albeit not statistically significant, indicative of the fact that English is the second most-used language in naming. This is interesting, considering that only 6% of inhabitants are mother-tongue English speakers. One can

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[5] Note: A 0% allocation is given to bilingual spoken language, because Statistics SA does not have a category of 'bilingual spoken language' as a mother-tongue language; however, this does not mean to say that duel-language families are not present in Mossel Bay.

attribute the discrepancy between the ratio of English toponyms and English-speaking people to be mainly due to three reasons or factors. Firstly, for a large part of its history, Mossel Bay was under British rule due to the British occupation, with Mossel Bay being part of the Cape Colony. It was also during this time that Mossel Bay was declared a town. Most of the council members after whom streets were named in the following decades were of English descent. Secondly, one of Mossel Bay's main economic veins is tourism. According to the municipality (Kruger 2014; Mbandezi 2014), English is to be the tourism language of choice, since it is considered the *lingua franca* of most local South African tourists as well as international tourists. Thirdly, according to the local municipality and estate developers (Kruger 2014; Mbandezi 2014), it is considered a 'politically neutral language' that enjoys prestige in South Africa.

Xhosa toponyms rank third, with 16% of toponyms from Xhosa origin. This is actually a proportionally better spread in comparison with the two previous cases, considering that 21% of inhabitants are mother-tongue Xhosa speakers. However, Xhosa toponyms outside the suburbs of KwaNonqaba and JCC/Joe Slovo (a name that evolved from the acronym for the 'Junior Cape Corpse' division stationed in Mossel Bay during World War I and II) are almost non-existent (see Figure 7). This illustrates the segregative nature of pre-1994 naming practices and how naming actually correlated with the overall ideology of separate development, a trend which is to a large degree still followed today, even though it is no longer an official policy. Representivity can therefore not be established on a quantitative basis only without taking cognisance of the overall distribution and prestige of toponyms with different language origins.

Figure 7 demonstrates the distribution of toponyms with different language origins throughout all the suburbs.
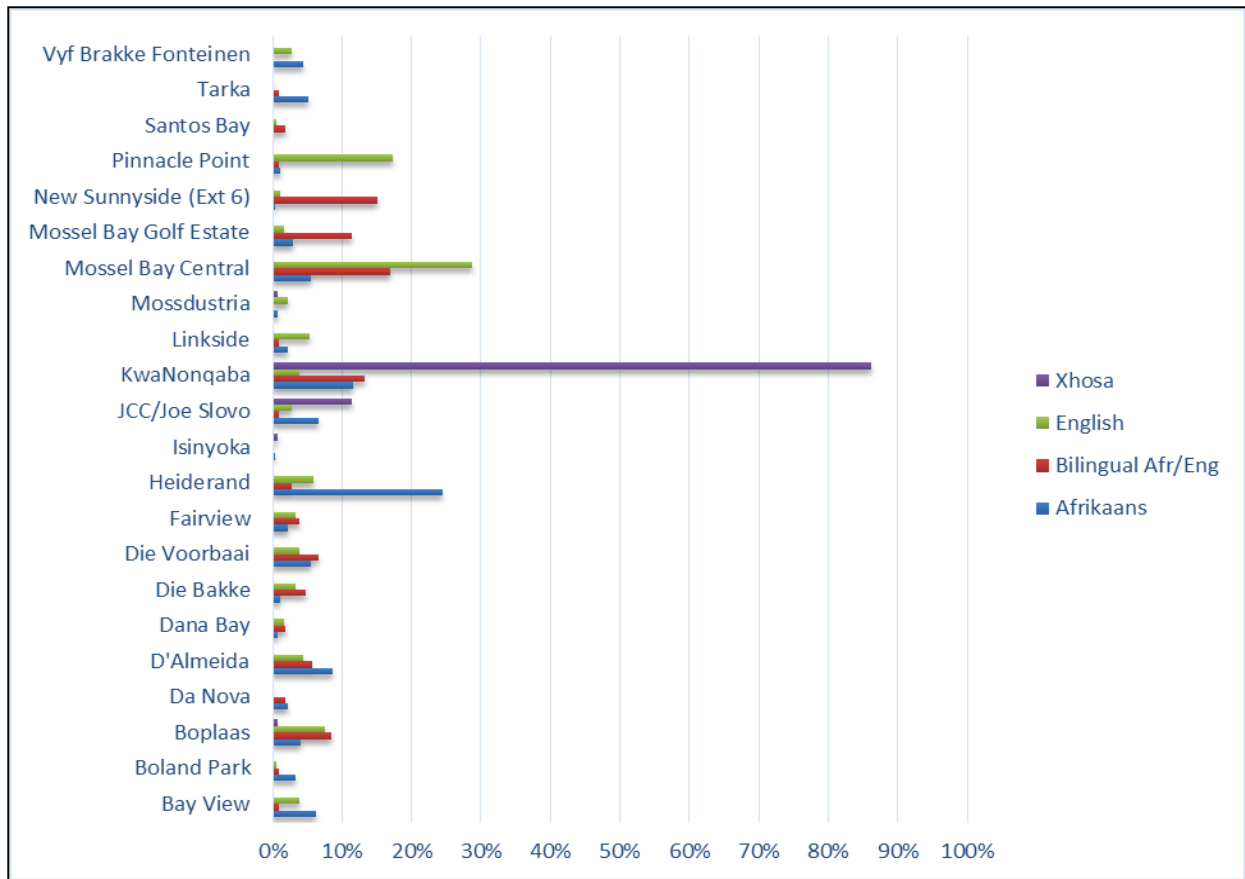
Figure 7: The overall distribution of toponyms with different language origins in Mossel Bay

Other language categories of prominence include Latin and Portuguese, but these languages are limited to one or two suburbs, and are not displayed on the figure. Latin is mainly found in Dana Bay and fall under the 'flora' category, while Portuguese is found in Da Nova, D'Almeida and Die Voorbaai and fall mostly in the 'historic-commemorative' category.

What is interesting, though, is that the semiotic landscape differs from the cartographic 'landscape' in some instances. For example, '15de Laan' (see Figure 8) is written, accepted and used by Mossel Bay's inhabitants in Afrikaans; yet on Google Maps and other Mossel Bay maps (see Figure 9) only the English rendition of the toponym is available. If one enters the Afrikaans version of the name, it says 'location not found'. Even though Google Maps are not the total authority on topographic maps, it is one often used by tourists and inhabitants. The English version of the toponym thus has the potential to have a 'stronger influence' on the everyday life of users.

Figure 8: Photos of toponyms written in Afrikaans language at street level as opposed to English toponyms of the same feature on maps

Below are two examples, one from the Mossel Bay tourist office and the other from Google Maps, to demonstrate the differences in the semiotic landscape and the cartographic 'landscape'.

Source: Mossel Bay tourism   Source: Google Maps
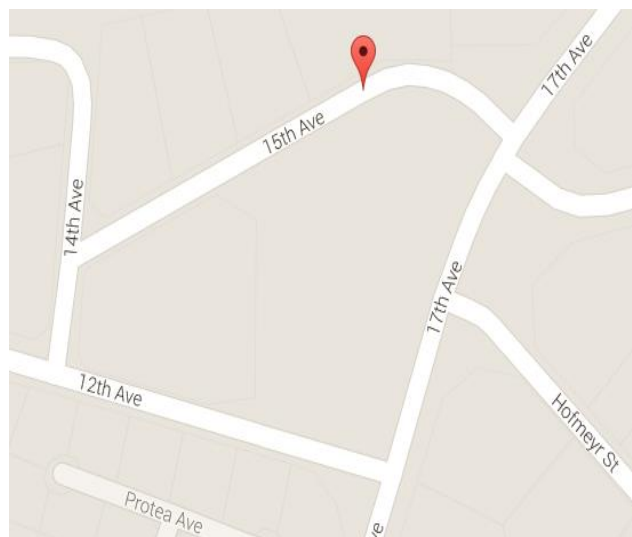
Figure 9: Maps showing English language used for denotative function instead of Afrikaans or bilingual

This confirms in part what Kruger states, namely that the Mossel Bay Municipality prefers to use English toponyms for the sake of tourism and because it is considered politically correct.

As can be seen in Figure 7, Afrikaans and English are represented throughout the whole of Mossel Bay, with toponyms in those languages in all the suburbs, regardless of race dominance (see Section 4.4). Xhosa toponyms, on the other hand, are only located in five of

the twenty-two areas: KwaNonqaba (86%), JCC/Joe Slovo (11%), Boplaas (1%), Mossdustria (1%) and Isinyoka (1%). As can be seen from the percentages, they are concentrated around KwaNonqaba and JCC/Joe Slovo.

Considering the date of origin of the recorded toponyms, an interesting trend can be noted, namely that English and Xhosa toponyms increased in the 1970s and 1990s; English mostly in the 'descriptive' and 'commemorative' category and Xhosa toponyms in the personal commemorative category. Afrikaans toponyms have shown a consistent growth over the centuries, with the majority of toponyms in the late 1900s being neutral toponyms falling in the 'fauna' and 'flora' categories. Figure 10 demonstrates the categories in which the toponyms fall. These toponyms will be discussed in more detail in their respective areas.
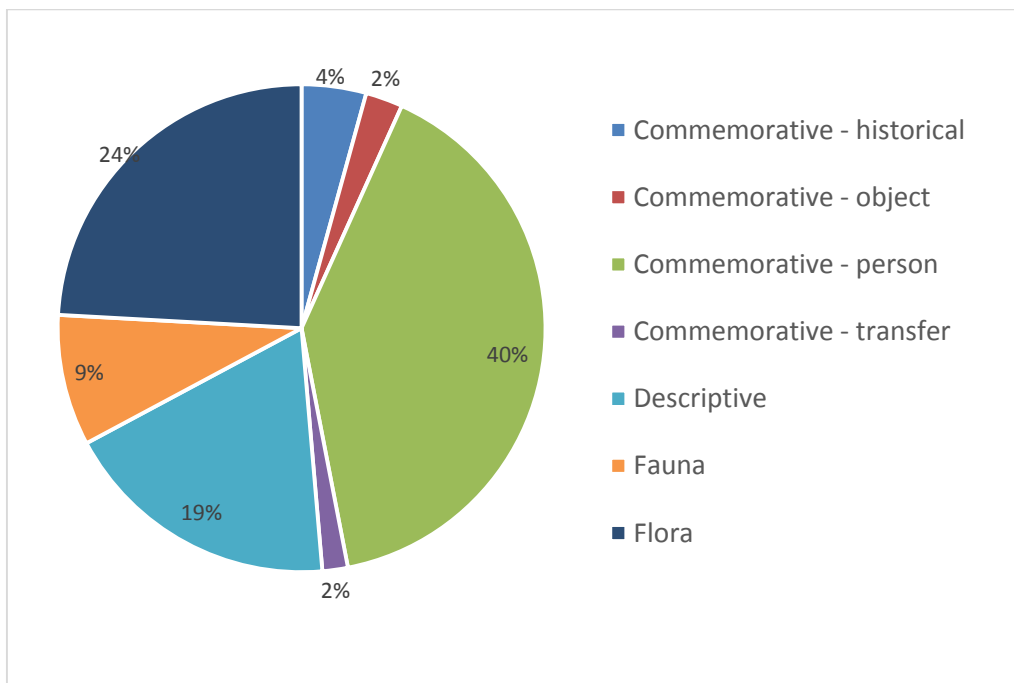
Figure 10: The aggregate percentage of toponyms divided into their respective categories

It is important to note that 48% of toponyms fall in the 'commemorative' category. This category is divided into four subgroups:

- Historical: these toponyms refer to historical figures that played a role in either Mossel Bay or South Africa's history. Historical figures such as Steve Biko, although they can be listed under 'commemorative people' names, have rather been added to this category, as they did not have a *direct* influence on the development of Mossel

Bay. They include toponyms such as St Blaize Hiking Trail, Da Gama's Kop, Biko Street, Baartman St, Voortrekker St, etc.

- Transfer: these are toponyms named after existing place toponyms. They are, according to Kruger (2014) and Mbandezi (2014), somewhat controversial by nature. The toponyms are mostly located in the suburb of KwaNonqaba and, according to the different political parties, are named for different reasons. According to one party, it was named to commemorate places in South Africa so that that history might be portrayed and preserved in the streets (Kruger, 2014), while the other political party felt it was done out of spite because of a minor feud that erupted amongst council members, and was therefore not supposed to be commemorative (Mbandezi, 2014). These toponyms include Pretoria St, Port Natal St, Sioux St, and Umtata St.

- Object: 'object' is a broad term used when the commemorative toponym is given due to past historical influence on an area, but the toponyms itself are those of objects. For example, an area in KwaNonqaba was previously the site of Mossel Bay's small landing strip before this was moved to Vyf Brakke Fonteinen. To commemorate the site, the streets close to that area are named after aircraft, such as Cessna St, Pawnee St, Piper Colt St, and Aerostar St. Thus, the toponyms are commemorative by nature, although they are named after inanimate objects.

- Person: personal toponyms comprise by far the largest sub-category and constitute 40% of the aggregate total of all the categories (see Figure 5). Personal toponyms are mostly those commemorating past town councillors or people who made a significant contribution to the development or well-being of Mossel Bay (Kruger, 2014, Marx, 2014). The municipality encourages toponyms, especially those commemorating people, to be related to Mossel Bay and its growth. This policy has largely been adhered to, with a few exceptions.

The other categories include fauna, flora and descriptive toponyms. Suburbs are themed (Kruger, 2014) and thus the toponyms of the suburbs are named according to the general theme.

- Fauna: fauna toponyms are mainly native avian toponyms. These toponyms include Kiewiet St, Duif St, Oyster Catcher Bay and Seemeeu St.

- Flora: features named after flora include the names of species indigenous to that area of the Garden Route, particularly fynbos species and other floral species found in South Africa. However, preference is given to species indigenous to that area. Examples include Apiesdoring St, Hyacinth St, A. Ferox St, and Cynaroides St.

- Descriptive: these toponyms simply describe something or a feature in the vicinity. Examples include Die Poort swimming hole, Klipheuwel St, Danger Point, and Sunset Drive.

As can be seen by the description above, most of the toponyms are in some way related to Mossel Bay, whether in commemorating its history, describing the surrounds, or in preserving the native flora toponyms that are indigenous to the area. It therefore reflects the heterogeneity of Mossel Bay, not only of its people, but also of its natural environment.

The following sections go into detail pertaining to the areas in which the toponyms are found.

4.3 Language spread and type of toponym according to race-based suburbs (White, Black, Coloured and Mixed)

Figure 5 demonstrates the different locations as demarcated by the researcher and their geographical positions in Mossel Bay. The population areas are divided into White, Mixed, Coloured and Black areas. These areas were determined by using statistics from the 2011 census and were created for the purpose of this study only.

The White areas include Bay View, Boland Park, Dana Bay, Die Bakke, Linkside, Mossel Bay Central, Mossel Bay Golf Estate, Pinnacle Point and Santos. They are mostly situated alongside the coast. The Mixed suburbs consist of Boplaas, Da Nova, Die Voorbaai, Heiderand, JCC, KwaNonqaba, Mossdustria and Vyf Brakke Fonteinen. The Coloured and Black areas include D'Almeida, Fairview, New Sunnyside, Tarka and Isinyoka.

Although these racial divisions no longer exist in the democratic era, some race groups apparently still prefer staying in the communities where they were raised. This trend might

change, as South Africa's democracy becomes older and economic changes start setting in. However, looking now, it is clear to see that most areas in Mossel Bay are so-called 'White' or 'Mixed' areas. Breaking this map down further, the statistics of the 'White', Mixed, Coloured and Black areas will be pointed out briefly.
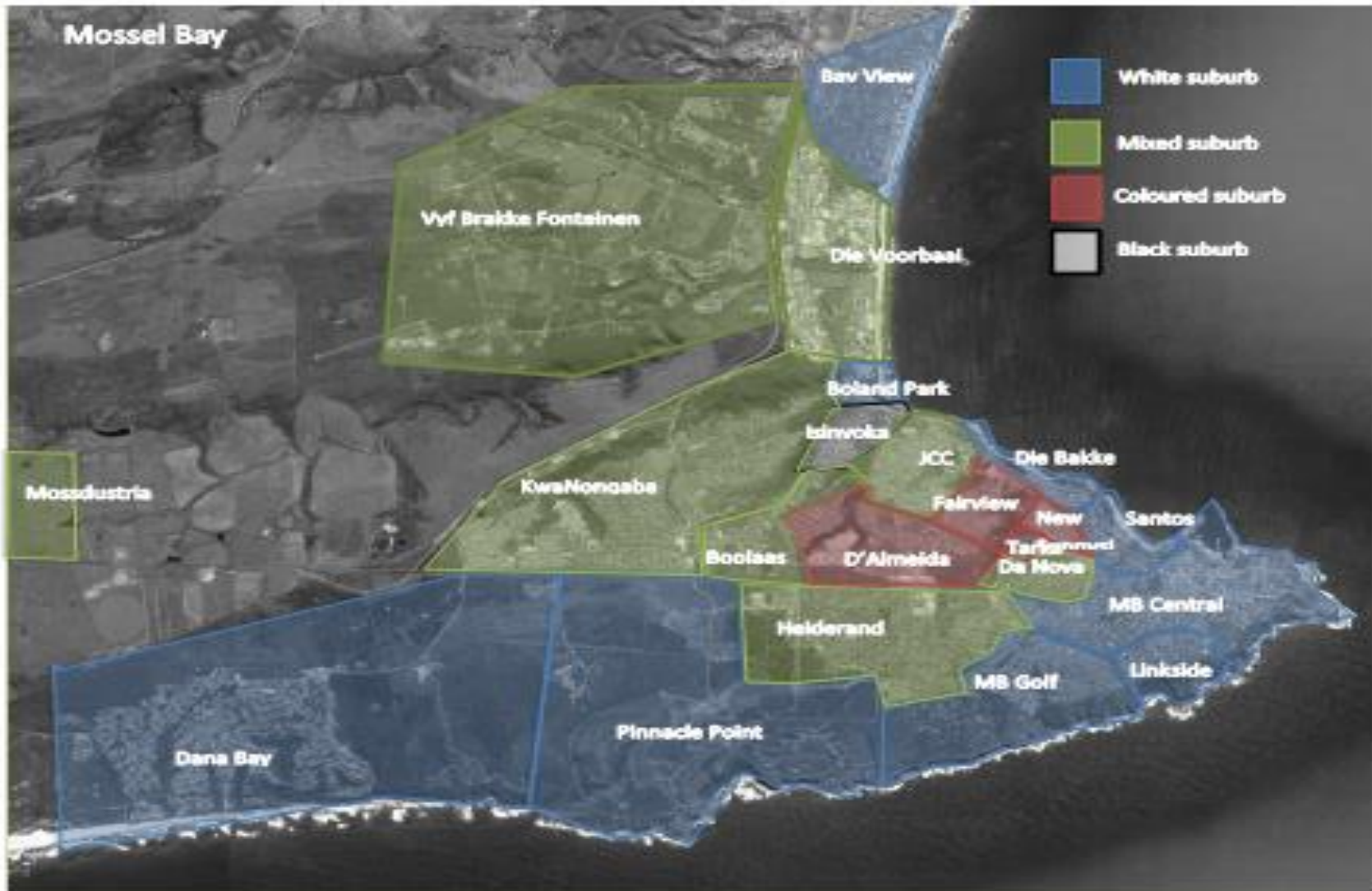
Figure 11: Map representing the different suburbs of Mossel Bay

4.3.1 Toponyms of White areas

In the so-called nine 'White' areas, Afrikaans is the predominant language and an overall average of 79% of the inhabitants is mother-tongue speakers. An interesting trend, however, is that although Afrikaans is the dominant language in these 'White' areas, an average of 35% of toponyms are of English origin, while only 30% are of Afrikaans origin. Bilingual Afrikaans and English toponyms form the third group (18%), followed by Latin toponyms (10%), as displayed in Figure 12.
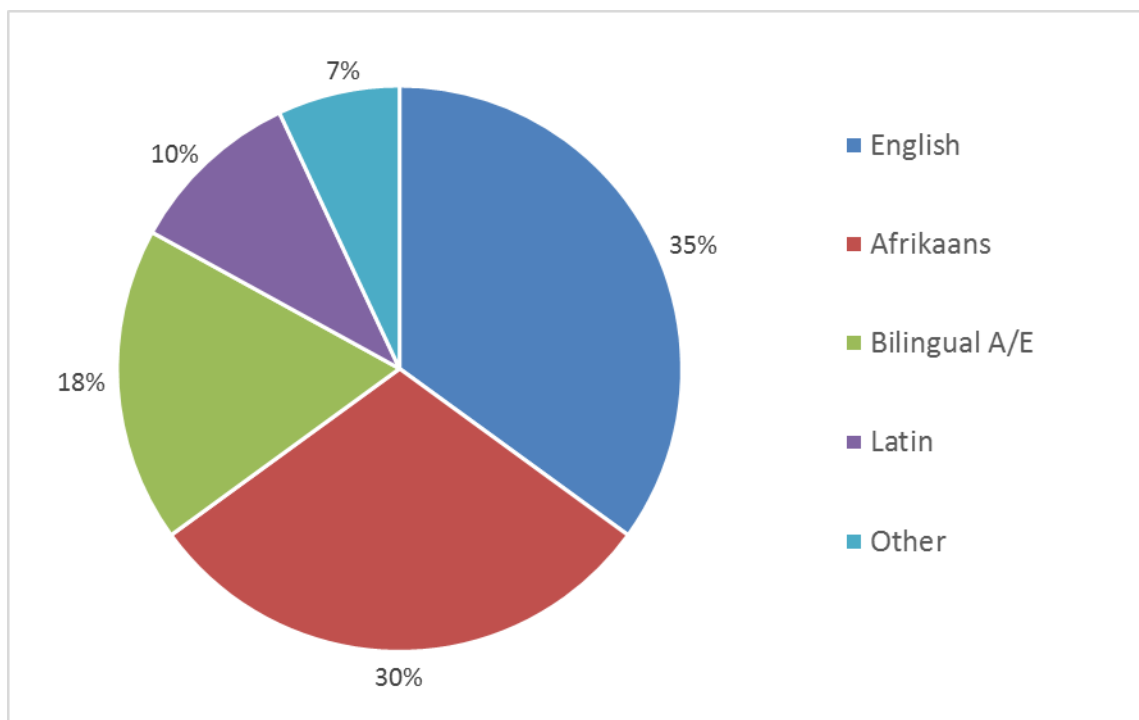
Figure 12: Aggregate language of toponyms in 'White' areas.

As mentioned previously, many of these toponyms in the older areas are named in English, either because of historical or tourism value. Historical value refers to the previous town councillors, many of whom were of English descent, after which the streets were named, while tourism value refers to those toponyms, usually descriptive, fauna or flora types of toponyms, that would be considered 'neutral' and tourism friendly. The golf courses, for example, prefer English toponyms, since it is of importance to the many foreign tourists visiting the golf courses. A breakdown of the percentage of toponyms relative to the spoken language in each area can be viewed in Table 4.

Table 4: Mother-tongue language vs language of toponyms in 'White' areas

Suburb	Afrikaans		English		Xhosa		Other		Latin	
	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.
Bay View	91%	68%	7%	28%	1%	0%	1%	0%	0%	0%
Boland Park	81%	82%	18%	9%	1%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Dana Bay	80%	3%	16%	4%	1%	0%	3%	0%	0%	91%
Die Bakke	77%	20%	20%	40%	0%	0%	3%	7%	0%	0%
Linkside	81%	35%	15%	59%	2%	0%	2%	0%	0%	0%
Mossel Bay Central	78%	17%	19%	61%	0%	0%	3%	1%	0%	0%
Mossel Bay Golf Estate	76%	35%	18%	13%	1%	0%	5%	0%	0%	0%
Pinnacle Point	76%	8%	6%	89%	10%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%
Santos Bay	59%	0%	41%	17%	0%	0%	0%	50%	0%	0%

The English, Afrikaans and bilingual toponyms are largely commemorative by nature to honour past town councillors, while the second-largest type of toponym category is flora. Most of the flora toponyms derive from Latin and flora indigenous to the area. More than 90% of these floral toponyms are found in Dana Bay and Mossel Bay Golf Estate. A further breakdown can be seen in Figure 13.
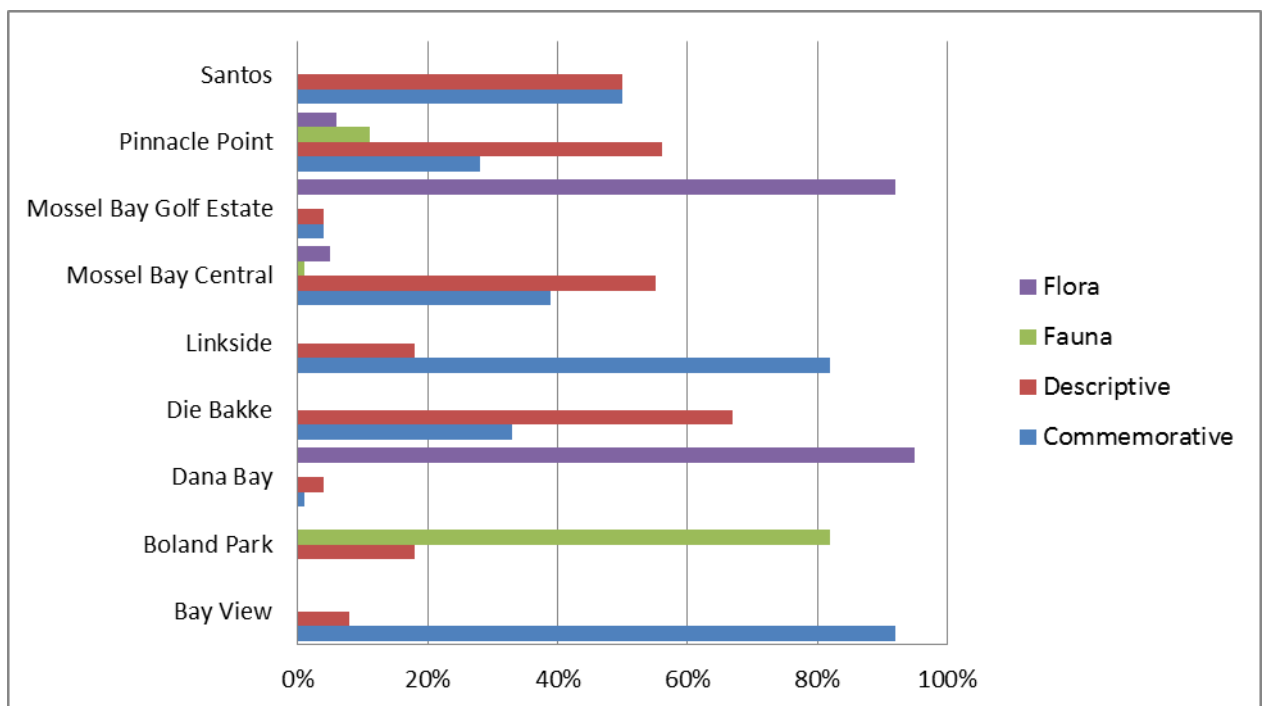

Figure 13: Type of toponyms in the 'White' areas

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4.3.2 Toponyms of Mixed areas

The term 'Mixed area' refers to a racially mixed single suburb. In Mossel Bay, these suburbs can be older areas to which Non-whites were moved during the apartheid era (Black Africans and Coloureds living in the same suburbs), or more recent suburbs such as Die Voorbaai and Heiderand, where the new and older areas intersect (White, Black Africans and Coloureds living in the same suburb).

Toponymic representivity in these areas varies, as can be seen in Table 1. In some cases, a high correlation between the spoken language and the language of toponym is found such as in Heiderand, where the majority of the people speak Afrikaans and 75% of toponyms in that suburb are of Afrikaans origin. The same trend follows in KwaNonqaba, where the majority of inhabitants speak Xhosa (53%) and 59% of toponyms are of Xhosa origin.

Table 5: Comparison of language spread and toponym spread in Mixed areas

Suburb	Afrikaans		English		Xhosa		Bilingual		Portuguese		Other		Latin	
	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.
Boplaas	89%	31%	6%	40%	3%	3%	0%	26%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Da Nova	91%	46%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	15%	0%	31%	0%	8%	0%	0%
Die Voorbaai	89%	45%	6%	21%	1%	0%	0%	21%	0%	3%	0%	6%	0%	3%
Heiderand	70%	83%	19%	14%	6%	0%	0%	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
JCC/Joe Slovo	19%	47%	3%	13%	75%	37%	0%	3%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
KwaNonqaba	35%	17%	5%	4%	53%	59%	0%	8%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Mossdustria	91%	29%	6%	57%	3%	14%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	55%	67%	9%	28%	30%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%

Low correlations are found in areas such as Boplaas, where the majority of people speak Afrikaans, but English toponyms (fauna category) are dominant, and JCC, where the majority of people speak Xhosa, but where the toponyms are of Afrikaans origin (personal commemorative and fauna category). Overall, though, the area is well represented, with the majority of the speakers being Afrikaans, and the majority of toponyms (aggregate 46%) are Afrikaans. Table 5 is broken down to show the comparison of the percentage of language spread and language of toponym in Mixed areas.

Most of the toponyms in these Mixed areas, especially in KwaNonqaba, are personal commemorative toponyms of previous town councillors, people of importance to the

community or anti-apartheid heroes (people who assisted to end the apartheid era) (see Figure 14 below).
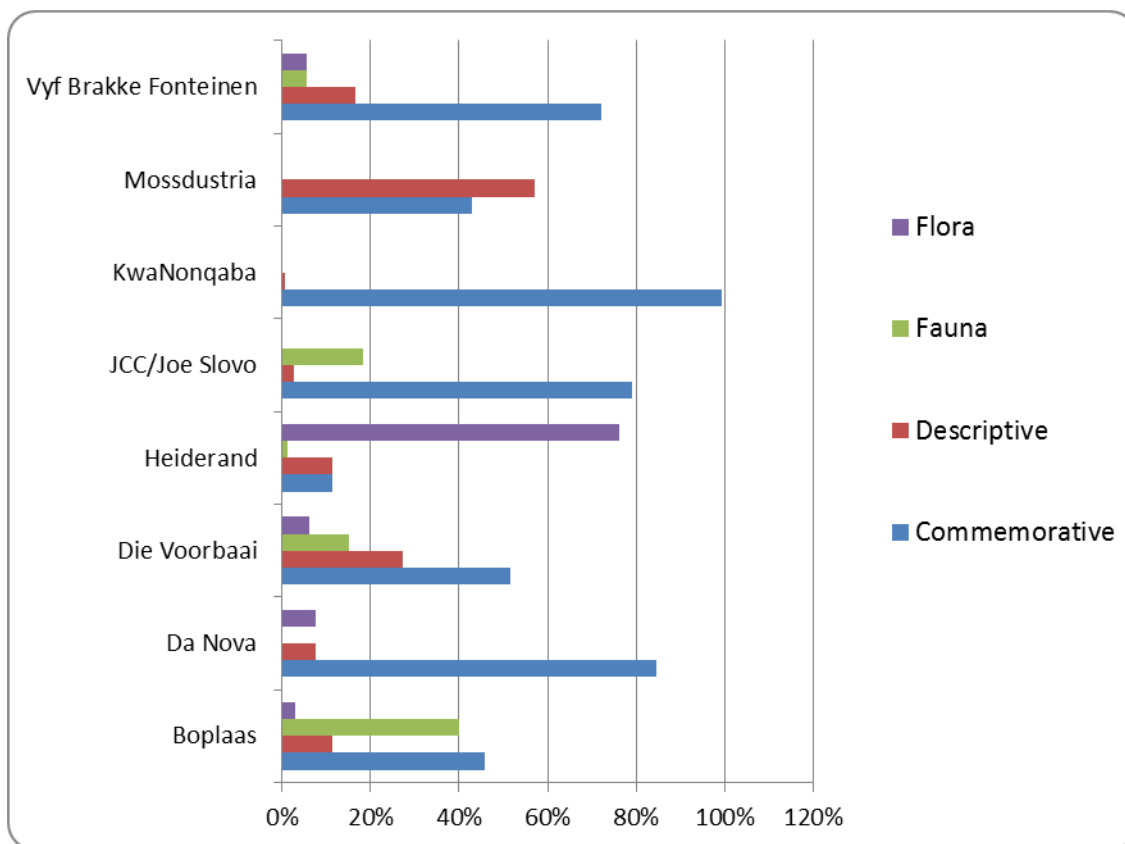
Figure 14: Type of toponyms in 'Mixed' areas

4.3.3 Toponyms of Coloured and Black areas

Table 6 shows the language distribution in Black and Coloured areas and how this correlates with the languages spoken in the areas.

Table 6: Comparison of language spread and language of toponyms spread in Black and Coloured areas

Suburb	Afrikaans		English		Xhosa		Bilingual		Portuguese		Other	
	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.	Lang.	Top.
D'Almeida	96%	59%	2%	21%	0%	0%	0%	15%	0%	5%	2%	0%
Fairview	53%	38%	5%	37%	38%	0%	0%	25%	0%	0%	4%	0%
Isinyoka	1%	33%	2%	0%	94%	33%	0%	0%	0%	0%	3%	33%
New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	93%	5%	5%	11%	1%	0%	0%	84%	0%	0%	1%	0%
Tarka	91%	88%	7%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	0%	0%	3%	6%

Four of the five areas in the Coloured and Black areas are Afrikaans speaking. The areas are largely "representative", with 40% of the toponyms being of Afrikaans origin and a further 29% being bilingual Afrikaans and English toponyms (see Table 6). The second-largest Xhosa-speaking community resides mainly in the joint Isinyoka and Fairview suburbs. However, Isinyoka is a recently developed informal settlement adjacent to JCC/Joe Slovo; thus, official street names have not yet been allocated to some of the dirt roads. The suburb is also situated on a very steep hill, restricting further development. However, because the municipality recognises it as an extension, it was included in this study.

The Coloured and Black areas tend to favour neutral toponyms such as fauna, flora and descriptive toponyms (see Figure 15) over commemorative names.
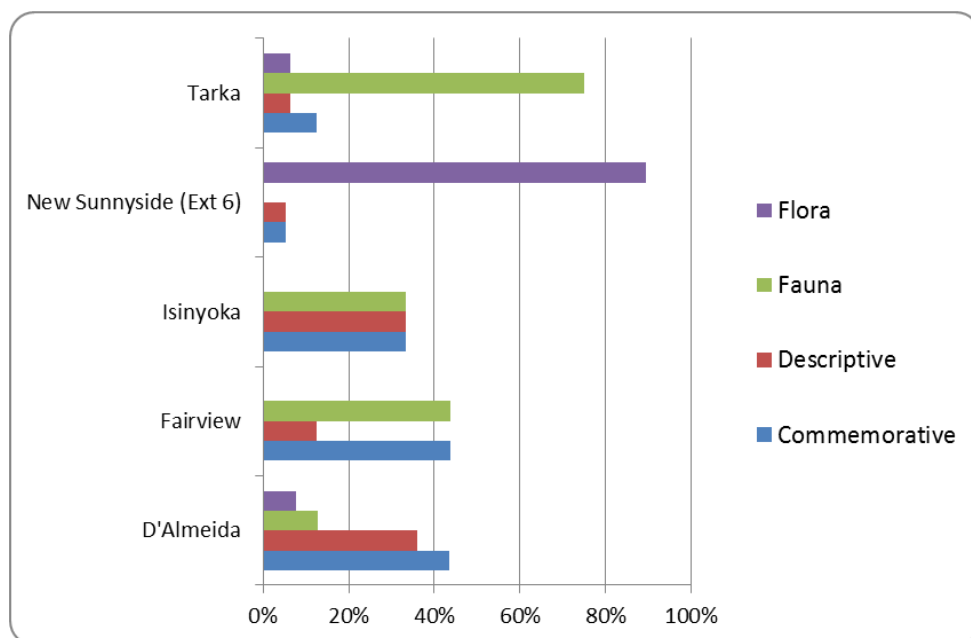
Figure 15: Type of toponyms located in Coloured and Black areas

The commemorative toponyms are mostly personal commemorative toponyms and are mainly found in D'Almeida and Isinyoka. They are toponyms of important members of the community, including elders as well as toponyms of municipal council members.

The tables in this chapter were compiled with a view to focusing only on those factors that would prove or disprove representivity and what this might mean for the future of place names in Mossel Bay.

The frame of reference within which this analysis was done was based on Mossel Bay's history and development. The demographic components have changed over the years, with new ethnic groups populating the area and thereby bringing in new languages. A breakdown was also given of the naming trends over the past 500 years.

Observations prove that the toponyms not only display Mossel Bay's demographic representivity, but also its historic representivity, including its Portuguese, English, apartheid and post-apartheid era history. These toponyms were mostly given during the last 100 years.

Name changes have been very limited and have mostly remained within the same language group. Yet a further observation noted is that the presentation of toponyms in the semiotic landscape differs from their presentation on maps. This mostly affects Afrikaans street names and shows the administrative bias of toponyms to a universal (English) language.

The findings in this chapter show that Mossel Bay's corpus of toponyms presently reflects its heritage. However, the most important finding is that, although Mossel Bay does represent its population in its toponymic corpus including, from a historic perspective, the language spread of toponyms, especially that of Xhosa, it is not evenly distributed throughout the town. In essence, this means that at present the influence of apartheid – where ethnic groups were separated into different suburbs – still has lingering effects on the semiotic landscape and equal representivity. Rarely will a Xhosa toponym be found outside the 'Black' or 'Mixed' suburbs, even though Afrikaans and English toponyms are found in those suburbs.

According to the Mossel Bay Municipality, commemorative names (especially those of people) are not actively encouraged, but rather toponyms of 'neutral' origin. In other words, those that fall in the category of descriptive, fauna and flora are encouraged. Despite this well-meaning endeavour, figures have shown that commemorative toponyms have actually increased in the past 20 years since the end of apartheid, mainly in the previously segregated areas. This demonstrates that previously marginalised groups find importance in being represented in the semiotic landscape. It also demonstrated that Mossel Bay is attentive to that matter and that toponyms are currently given to represent the marginalised groups.

CHAPTER 5:
RECOMMENDATIONS AND CONCLUSION

5.1   Introduction

Since the beginning of recorded history, toponyms have changed due to influences such as wars, resettlements and regime changes. It has served as a tool having both denotative and connotative functions – denoted in that it serves a utilitarian purpose, and connoted because of its sublime, symbolic message of cultural values, political ideologies and social norms – to display regime change, and with every new layer added to a name, the question of authenticity becomes harder to answer. Yet, aside from authenticity also comes the responsibility of the new ruling party to be representative of the current regime.

In South Africa, the SAGNC requires toponyms to be representative of the heterogeneous community of South Africa while at the same time respecting the heritage of its diverse cultures. This is why the SAGNC has implemented the 'restoration and reparation' of toponyms. This 'restoration and reparation' serves a two-fold goal – to unify the nation through representing them in the toponymic corpus as well as to reflect the regime change to democracy.

The aim of this study was to identify if there was a need for change through analysis of a case study – in this case Mossel Bay's corpus of toponyms. This was done by determining whether the toponymic corpus of this place represents its heterogeneous community and if 'restoration and reparation' were necessary. This was achieved through compiling and then analysing a database focusing on the toponyms in a demarcated area (the town proper of Mossel Bay).

5.2   Literature review

The field of toponymy developed out of the onomastic field and at present still falls in the onomastic field. Traditional methods of studying toponymy relied on a very thorough knowledge of linguistics as the researchers studied the etymology and meaning of toponyms in their search for authenticity. In recent years another branch of research has developed, mainly that of a critical approach. This critical approach includes the overlapping fields of

geography, politics and sociology to view toponyms not only in their denotative function, but also in their larger, connotative function in society. The research could be said to be 'extensive' and focuses on pattern analysis. The more traditional and older method focused on an intensive approach – seeking to answer *wh-* questions such as who, what, when, why, etc., with regard to each individual toponym.

The goals of the research largely determine the approach taken in a study. For the purposes of, for instance, map compilations and toponymic databases, the intensive approach is more appropriate, as this focuses on each individual toponym, trying to determine the etymology and meaning of toponyms. The extensive approach is more suited to the purpose of identifying patterns and practices in naming, as it allows for the testing of dependent and independent variables using quantitative techniques.

With the background of the goals of both intensive and extensive research approaches, three main areas were used as framework for this case study: semiotic politics, creation of space, and social justice, symbolic resistance and place naming as a cultural arena.

Semiotic politics explores the cultural communication of meaning, as well as how people interpret the message within the sphere of social communication. In addition, it looks at toponyms from both denotative and connotative functions. Denotative functions involve the utilitarian use of toponyms as geospatial indicators, while the connotative function looks at commemorative toponyms from an emotional viewpoint (connotative perception). This connotative function of toponyms usually forms part of a 'city-text', which is the historical and archival records of toponyms given over the years and often reflects the political ideologies of the ruling authority.

The creation of space holds to the visible arena in which toponyms function in a subliminal manner. The notion of 'space' only exists within the cognitive comprehension of humankind. Thus, space is 'created' by people when value, significance or importance is given to the area. This is usually accompanied with the practice of naming an area. Toponyms therefore form part of everyday life and, over time, they become part of a broader history of spatial identification.

This spatial identification can be linked to the connotative function of a name. For instance, the location of a toponym influences the perception (or concept) of the named feature and often forms an emotional connection with the user. It creates a sense of 'belonging' among

the community in an area. Thus, the renaming of spaces in the languages of or after members representing previously marginalised groups can have the effect of creating a sense of 'belonging', but this has to happen in the appropriate places where visibility and prestige play a role. However, the opposite is also true – where the one group 'gains an identity' in the semiotic landscape, and another 'loses its identity'. Yet this loss has to be weighed against the loss of identity the marginalised group experienced during their time of being unrepresented. It is for this reason too that in the case of 'reparation' and 'restoration' toponyms need to be placed in prominent areas, and not only limited to previously demarcated areas. This not only has the potential of changing the social atmosphere, but also the attitudinal atmosphere surrounding the marginalised group.

This goal of representivity ties in with the concept of social justice, which is the distribution of wealth, opportunities and privileges in a society, and includes symbolic recognition in the semiotic landscape, since landscapes are the spatial form social justice adopts. Yet, the identity and ideology of the ruling elites or hegemonic social groups are reflected in the toponymic corpus, and it is in this arena where the potential exists to challenge the control of the semiotic landscape and the representation of identity and ideology. Symbolic resistance can take the form of demonstrations, petitions, counter-naming and the use of unofficial names. It is also in this arena that the authorities decide who has a right to be remembered and to be forgotten, and this choice is often debated.

Place naming thus becomes a cultural arena where groups can be marginalised or represented fairly. It is also on this 'fairness' that this case study focuses. The restoration and reparation of toponyms should not occur with the loss of heritage, since that would theoretically cause division and not unity of different cultural groups. Yet, the restoration and reparation should occur where necessary so that the previously marginalised groups can be represented in the semiotic landscape.

5.3   Methodology

The mixed-method approach was used in this study using both the intensive and the extensive approach, as described by Tent (2015). However, since this study focuses on pattern recognition, more emphasis was placed on the extensive approach.

The intensive approach places more focus on individual toponyms and answers the *wh-*questions such as *who* named the feature, *where* is it located, *what* is its history, *why* was it thus named, and so forth. The individual toponyms were each seen as a single unit of analysis and were divided into categories as set out by the South African UNGEGN manual.

The extensive approach focuses on naming patterns in an area. Maps, lists and other sources of toponyms were analysed to see if patterns could be found in naming or, more specifically, if the toponymic corpus of Mossel Bay reflected the various languages dominant in the area and the type of toponyms most commonly used in those languages.

Each toponym counted as one unit of analysis and it was entered into the following main categories:

- Toponym: the unit of analysis

- Sub-place: one of the 21 areas the name was located in, demarcated according to municipal areas

- Approximate date: the decade the toponym is presumed to be given

- Language: the language the toponym is written in

- Man-made/natural: whether it was a natural feature such as a hill or man-made

- Type of feature: what kind of feature it was, i.e. street, beach

- Type of name: the typology used to determine what kind of name it is –

    o Descriptive: reflects a characteristic of the feature or the immediate environment

    o Fauna: named after native fauna such as birds and fish

    o Flora: named after native flora

    o Commemorative Object: named after inanimate objects relevant to that area,

    o Commemorative Transfer: a toponym named after or 'transferred' from an existing toponym

    o Commemorative Personal: named after prominent people

    o Commemorative Historical: named after historical events that happened in the area

- Previous name: recording of any older, recorded toponyms of the same unit of analysis

  o Additional information: any information that could have been gathered directly related to the toponym

This part the fieldwork constituted the intensive research approach. As much information as possible was gathered on each toponym with the help of using archival documents, maps, history books, place-name dictionaries and personal interviews. Where possible, the triangulation method was used to verify the information.

The next part of the research consisted of analysing the data to try to discover patterns in the naming practices. This was done by drawing pivot tables from the Excel database created during the fieldwork, which were then analysed and interpretations given.

5.4   Findings

Demographic factors such as ethnic and language groups were also included in the findings, as this was needed as a background against which to test the heterogeneity of the toponymic corpus. The findings show that Mossel Bay's toponymic corpus does largely reflect its inhabitants. The findings also show that English and Xhosa toponyms have increased in the past few decades, as opposed to Afrikaans toponyms. The correlation between spoken language and the language of the toponym shows that:

- Afrikaans is to a degree underrepresented in the toponymic corpus, as the majority of the inhabitants are Afrikaans speaking,

- Xhosa has the closest correlation between spoken language and language of toponym, and

- English is overrepresented, although some of the names that make up the aggregate percentage come from the English Occupation era.

The new trend to name places in English thus has the potential to undermine representivity in the future. However, Mossel Bay is a very popular tourism destination and, according to the municipality, the municipality prefers to use English as a *lingua franca* for the sake of tourism.

When this correlation is taken into account, Mossel Bay does reflect its history and heterogeneity in its toponymic corpus through commemorative names honouring important people in the development of Mossel Bay and by naming features after indigenous fauna and flora found in the area. The toponyms in the different suburbs are also closely correlated to languages spoken in those areas. However, the use of English descriptive toponyms has been on the rise, even though the majority of the inhabitants are Afrikaans or Xhosa speakers. In part, according to Kruger (2014), this is because English is seen as a 'politically neutral' language that enjoys prestige in South Africa.

In that sense, the 'restoration' and 'reparation' of toponyms in this community are not really applicable since, to a great extent, Mossel Bay has named places according to its own history, including the history of those that were previously disadvantaged during the apartheid regime. Thus, the semiotic landscape represents those that contributed to the town's development as well as those that contributed to the fall of apartheid (mostly in the KwaNonqaba suburb).

However, this semiotic reflection is confined to the traditionally separated suburbs (White, Coloured, Black and Mixed). What that means is that even though the heterogeneity is reflected in the applicable suburbs, it is not reflected universally throughout the town. This, however, is a trend that is not only limited to South Africa, as can be seen by the renaming of streets in, for example, the United States (Rose-Redwood *et al.*, 2010). This is an area where 'reparation' may be applied. As mentioned in Chapter 2, the creation of spaces in prominent areas is important for previously marginalised groups, because it gives them a sense of belonging. However, the community is not very willing to change established names (symbolic resistance in the form of petitions was handed to the municipality). One such example was when *Santos Beach* was changed to *Madiba Beach*, in commemoration of former president Nelson Mandela. The residents, including the previously marginalised community members, demanded that the name be reverted to 'Santos', named after a German schooner which sank in the bay in 1874, since the name formed part of Mossel Bay's history and was already an established tourism name. The residents felt that this name was 'politically neutral' and therefore, even though the location was in a prominent area, they felt it better to leave the name as Santos and find a different way to commemorate apartheid heroes (Kruger, 2014).

In line with the sentiments of the community, the Mossel Bay Municipality prefers not to rename streets or other geographical features, but rather to encourage the community to nominate names for new streets or areas not previously named, such as new or expanding areas. They encourage people to nominate names after indigenous flora and fauna, and (local) people who have contributed to the development of Mossel Bay. This shows that the Mossel Bay Municipality not only strives to reflect its community and what is important to it through toponyms, but to respect the heritage of names already established as well. However, in order to represent previously marginalised groups throughout the entire town, this makes the need to create new places even more important. New public places in prominent areas can be named after previously marginalised groups. In this way, heritage of former areas can be preserved, but heritage not previously reflected will also receive an area of prominence. Thereby the symbolic recognition (social justice) of all of the town's inhabitants will be represented.

The value of this study lies therein that it shows that the toponymic corpus of Mossel Bay is overall representative. However, it also shows that representivity is clearly demarcated in terms of the previously race-based suburbs. Given the potential of people starting to cross the boundaries of traditional residential areas, this previously defined form of representivity might become challenged and eventually require a different approach to names management in Mossel Bay.

This study proves the value of compiling a names corpus per town or city before embarking upon large-scale 'restoration and reparation' of a names system that is perceived to be "under-representative". It also underlines the importance of understanding the names management approach of the authorities concerned and how it relates to the challenge of conserving and extending the historical-cultural heritage of all inhabitants in an inclusive manner. It is therefore recommended that similar studies be conducted in other small towns and cities to verify the representivity of the contemporary town's heterogeneity. This will help to have a constructive impact on the naming debate in South Africa.

5.5   Conclusion and recommendations

One of the biggest challenges of the current study was the lack of accurate data as to the origin of the toponyms and their dates. As mentioned previously, care has been taken to

ensure that the most accurate meaning of the name was recorded. As to dates, it is recommended that a more in-depth study be conducted to ensure that the most accurate dates are used, as the researcher was only able to add the decade in which the toponyms had first been recorded. An extended historical and archival investigation of the toponyms (i.e. more focus on the intensive approach) will allow for a deeper analysis of the naming strata. A similar study conducted in future might reveal more about the continuation of changes or the reparation of inequality in naming practices post 1994.

Mossel Bay is a typical example of a South African town and its development. Due to the historic importance of the town to the Khoisan and as a refreshment stop not only for sailors, but in later years for Trekkers as well, the town's growth and establishment have been influenced by diverse groups such as the Khoisan, Portuguese, Dutch, English, Afrikaners, Coloureds and Xhosa people. Except for the Khoisan group, the footprint of the other groups is reflected in the toponymic corpus.

It should be remembered that this study is meant as a case study, and therefore the results should be verified against similar case studies, wherever possible. It is recommended that the study's findings be complemented with further research in other towns using both the intensive and extensive approach.

Within those lines, this study will hopefully spark interest and promote further research in the toponymic field in South Africa. Not only does this kind of study record toponyms in a town for both historic and contemporary reasons, but it also contributes to the social understanding of transformation within the semiotic landscape in the post-apartheid era, especially with regard to representation of previously marginalised groups and the effect politics has on naming policies.

This study concludes that Mossel Bay's toponymic corpus is overall representative of its heterogeneous community, except in that its representivity is limited to previously segregated areas. To establish if this is an ongoing trend, it is recommended that studies be undertaken in small towns similar to Mossel Bay. Should this be the case, it is recommended that new suburbs or extensions' toponymic landscape should be diversified so that the previously marginalised groups may be represented equally or better throughout a town. This would require a more nuanced approach to toponymic management by naming authorities.

Resultant from this study it is recommended that naming authorities in South Africa adopt the kind of corpus-based approach demonstrated in this study for further toponymic management in order to balance the tension between heritage conservation and representivity in name change.

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ANNEXURE A

ID	Toponym	Area in which the feature falls/ Sub-place	Approximate Date given	Language origin	Man-made/ natural	Type of feature	Type of name	Previous names of same feature	Additional information
1	Bay View	Bay View	1980s	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		Looks out on the bay
2	Awie Dodd St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor; 1960-1963
3	Bell Steele St	Bay View	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Manager C.P. Nel's Garage. Town Councillor 1955-1956.
4	Benton Rd	Bay View	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
5	Berthold Alheit St	Bay View	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Afrikaans teacher at Point High School. Town Councillor, Deputy Mayor 1964.
6	Bertie Anderson St	Bay View	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Business women (J. Mudie Shipping Agents) Town councillor (1933-1946), Deputy Mayor 1936
7	Bob Bouwer Cres	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Accountant, Town Councillor, Deputy Mayor 1962
8	Con Vivier St	Bay View	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Medical practitioner; Town Councillor, Deputy Mayor 1970-

									1971
9	Cunliffe St	Bay View	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
10	Dudley Harris St	Bay View	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Owned Mineral Waters Factory. Town Councillor 1950-1954
11	Eenton Rd	Bay View	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
12	Eric Warner St	Bay View	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor 1947-1949
13	Freddie Marais St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Butcher, Town Councillor 1935-1943, 1951-1955.
14	G Honiball St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Shop owner Point Supply and later Electrical Goods. Town Councillor 1934 - 1939
15	Hannes Pienaar St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Shop owner De Bakke. Town Councillor 1957-1969; mayor 1968-1969
16	Harry Holtzhausen St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Transvaal businessman, MPC Retires to Mossel Bay. Town Councillor, Mayor, 1972-1974
17	Hendrik Herbst St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor n.d.

18	Jan Crafford St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Commercial teacher at Point High School, Town Councillor 1965-1966
19	Johan Scholtz St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Son of Robbie Scholtz, lawyer. Town Councillor 1964-1972; Mayor 1970-1972.
20	Jooste Steinberg St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
21	Nooitgedacht Ave	Bay View	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after Nooitgedacht Estate in Stellenbosch
22	Port Natal Ave	Bay View	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the old Port Natal (Durban). The language of the toponym is originally Portuguese.
23	Sam de Swart St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after shoemaker Sam De Swardt who was also town councillor 1955-1956
24	Stephen van der Westhuizen St	Bay View	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town councillor 1947-1954 and deputy mayor 1954
25	Boplaas	Boplaas	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		Was named "Blêrrie Vêr" because of the long distance the Coloured community had to walk to get to their occupations
26	Arniston Clus Terrace	Boplaas	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information

									available/given
27	Bill Geffery Ave	Boplaas	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
28	Bill Jeffery St	Boplaas	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Local manager of Scarles Ltd. Town Councillor, Mayor 1923
29	Disa St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
30	Duncan St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
31	Duthie St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
32	Josephs St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
33	Marlin St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
34	Mayixhale St	Boplaas	1980s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
35	Miller Cres	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor and deputy mayor 1957-1962
36	Morkel St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
37	Nicolaai Cres	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

38	Sampson St	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
39	Van Mersch St	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
40	Varing Cres	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
41	Western Rd	Boplaas	1990s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Road on the western side
42	D'Almeida	D'Almeida	1960s	Portuguese	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
43	Abraham St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
44	Alhof Dr	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
45	Aloe St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Flora		
46	Anker St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Refers to one of the caravel's anchors
47	Appollus St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
48	Bluebell St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Flora		
49	Brown St	D'Almeida	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
50	Cupido St	D'Almeida	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
51	Domingo St	D'Almeida	1980s	Portuguese	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

							Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
52	Fortuin St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
53	Fradie St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
54	Frans St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
55	Gelbloem St	D'Almeida	1980s	Other	man-made	street	Flora		Named after the Gele Bloem flower
56	Groenewald St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
57	Hermanus St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
58	Heunis St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
59	Hope St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Virtue name
60	Keerom St	D'Almeida	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
61	Kiewiet St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
62	Levendal St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		H Levendal, deputy mayor
63	Loop St	D'Almeida	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
64	Malgas St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
65	Mossel St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
66	New St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
67	Oester St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
68	Oktober St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor

69	Parade St	D'Almeida	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
70	Perel St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	fauna		
71	Petersen ST	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
72	Rand St	D'Almeida	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
73	Robben St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Named after the view of Seal Island
74	Rosebud St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Flora		
75	Sinkfontein St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
76	Skool St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
77	St Blaize St	D'Almeida	1980s	Portuguese	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after one of the former historical names of Mossel Bay
78	Stadion St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
79	Strand St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
80	Taylor St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
81	Titus St	D'Almeida	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
82	Burg St	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
83	Valley St	D'Almeida	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
84	Van Zyl St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		C.J. van Zyl; town councillor 1964-1966
85	Waterkant Cres	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		

86	Dana Bay	Dana Bay	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	suburb	Commemorative – person	Oude Duinzigt/Droog-fontein	In 1821, the farm "Oude Duinzigt" was allocated to Hendrik Petrus Pienaar. In 1972, "Sentraalwes Personeel Ondernemings" bought the farm Droogfontein to develop the area as a retirement village for retired farmers. Two reasons are given for the name Dana Bay;
87	1st Beach	Dana Bay	1970s	English	natural	beach	Descriptive		
88	A. Ferrox St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
89	Aalwyn Rd	Dana Bay	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	flora		
90	Acerosa St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
91	Acuta St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
92	Africana St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
93	Albida St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
94	Angelica Rd	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
95	Arborea St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
96	Aristata	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
97	Armata St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
98	Blenna St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
99	Capitata St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
100	Castanea St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
101	Collina St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
102	Colorans St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
103	Comosa St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
104	Compacta St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		

105	Conica St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
106	Cordata St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
107	Cynaroides St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
108	Dana Bay	Dana Bay	1970s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Describes the main road leading into Dana Bay
109	Decora St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
110	Distans St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
111	Distorta St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
112	Dominelia St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
113	Dubia St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
114	E. Albens St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
115	East Casta St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
116	Erika Rd	Dana Bay	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	flora		
117	Excelsa St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
118	Eximia St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
119	Flora Rd	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
120	Fontana St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
121	Grandiceps St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
122	Grata St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
123	Heide Rd	Dana Bay	1970s	English	man-made	street	flora		
124	Humiflora St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
125	Lanata St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
126	Limosa St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
127	Lineare St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
128	Lineata St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
129	Longifolia Cres	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
130	Lorea St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
131	Lutea St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		

132	Macra St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
133	Malva Rd	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		After the Malva (Latin) family (Common mallow in English)
134	Maritima St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
135	Mellifera St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
136	Micranda St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
137	Minima St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
138	Minor St	Dana Bay	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
139	Mira St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
140	Modesta St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
141	Nana St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
142	Nerifolia St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
143	Nerina Rd	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
144	Nervata St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
145	Nutans St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
146	Odorata St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
147	Ovina Cres	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
148	Pendula St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
149	Pinea St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
150	Pinifolia St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
151	Plena St	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
152	Protea Rd	Dana Bay	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	flora		
153	Pulchra St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
154	Regia Cres	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
155	Repens St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
156	Retorta St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
157	Scabra St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		

158	Scarta St	Dana Bay	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
159	Speciosa St	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
160	Striata Rd	Dana Bay	1980s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
161	Zeerina Rd	Dana Bay	1990s	Latin	man-made	street	flora		
162	Da Nova	Da Nova	1960s	Portuguese	man-made	suburb	Commemorative – historical		Named after Da Nova, a Galician explorer of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans in the service of Portugal
163	9th Ave	Da Nova	1960s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
164	Con Van Der Wath St	Da Nova	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Retired farmer; Town Councillor 1952-1966; mayor 1961-1965
165	Da Gama St	Da Nova	1960s	Portuguese	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		In honour of Vasco da Gama
166	Diaz St	Da Nova	1960s	Portugese	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		In honour of Bartholomeus Diaz
167	MJ Harris St	Da Nova	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Machiel Johannes Harris-lawyer and author of six published Afrikaans books. Town councillor 1955-1956
168	Protea St	Da Nova	1960s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
169	Ryk Tulbach St	Da Nova	1960s	Other	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after Cape Governor Ryk Tulbach
170	Sao Bras St	Da Nova	1960s	Portuguese	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named in memory after one of the first names given to

									Mossel Bay by Portuguese explorers
171	Schoeman St	Da Nova	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
172	Scholtz St	Da Nova	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Attorney and town councillor -Robbie Scholtz
173	Van Der Riet St	Da Nova	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Rev. T. J. van den Riet was the first local D.R.C. Minister 1845-1857.
174	Tarka	Tarka	1800s*	Other	man-made	suburb	Commemorative – person		According to oral history, the descendants of this neighbourhood were Scottish masons, thus also the unique stone cottages located at this area. Tarka is also a Polish/Scottish surname. Street names in this sections were given in the 1960s onwards, according to E. Kruger
175	Bokmakierie St	Tarka	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
176	Deale St	Tarka	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
177	Duif Cres	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
178	Houtkapper St	Tarka	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
179	Jangroentjie St	Tarka	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		

180	Kanarie St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
181	Malva Ave	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
182	Mossie St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
183	Pikkewyn St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
184	Sekretaris St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
185	Spreeu St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
186	Stompstertjie St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
187	Suikerbekkie St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
188	Tinktinkie St	Tarka	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
189	Die Bakke	Die Bakke	1800s*	Other	man-made	suburb	Descriptive	De Bakke	Place where oxen would be given water in two iron troughs before the travellers continued on their journey eastwards. It was called De Bakke, but only later became officialised. The date is unknown.
190	4th Ave	Die Bakke	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
191	5th Ave	Die Bakke	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
192	6th Ave	Die Bakke	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
193	George Rd	Die Bakke	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		Road that leads to George
194	Grant St	Die Bakke	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		David Grant; owned shoe factory at Die Bakke. Destroyed by fire early 1920s.
195	Lang St	Die Bakke	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town councillor

196	Louis Van Wyk St	Die Bakke	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Garage owner, town councillor 1961-1963; mayor 1963.
197	Plaza Ave	Die Bakke	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
198	Rudie Bernard St	Die Bakke	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor
199	Sea View Ln	Die Bakke	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
200	Wiggett St	Die Bakke	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Samuel J. Wiggett 1887. Shipping agent, town councillor and mayor
201	Die Voorbaai	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	suburb	Descriptive	Voor-die-Baai	
202	Bally Cres	Die Voorbaai	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
203	Beach Boulevard West	Die Voorbaai	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
204	Beach East Blvd	Die Voorbaai	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
205	Beach Rd	Die Voorbaai	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
206	Bleshoender St	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
207	Blouvalk St	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		Owner of Twee Kuilen development assigned fauna names to streets within the development.
208	Boekenhout Av	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	flora		

209	Bolton Rd	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
210	Deacon St	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
211	Depot Rd	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
212	Diaz Beach	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	beach	Commemorative – historical		Named after Portuguese explorer Diaz
213	Edelvalk St	Die Voorbaai	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
214	Garret St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
215	Gericke Rd	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Cecil Francois Gericke; prominent farmer of Voorbaai
216	Industrie Rd	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
217	Karveel Cres	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after the ships that were used by the Portuguese to explore
218	Lofty Nel St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
219	Louis Fourie Rd (R102)	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Louis Fourie was the manager of S.W. Ko-op (agri-centre). Graan Mpy. Town councillor 1943-1950; mayor 1953/4 - 1960

220	Mascador St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Other	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		No additional information available/given
221	Naguil St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
222	Parson Ln	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
223	Patrick St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
224	Reier St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
225	Rooken Smith St	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
226	Sioux St	Die Voorbaai	1990s	Other	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Native American people / language
227	Via Appie	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Latin	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		(Supposedly) Named after Appian of Alexandria, a Greek Historian
228	Voorbaai Cres	Die Voorbaai	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	descriptive		
229	Watson Ave	Die Voorbaai	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
230	Fairview (Ext 22)	Fairview	1970s	English	man-made	suburb	descriptive	Extension 22 / Uitbreiding 22	
231	Eiland St	Fairview	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Named after the view of the island in the bay
232	Starling St	Fairview	1970s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
233	Robbe St	Fairview	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		

234	Dolfyn Cl	Fairview	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
235	Weston St	Fairview	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
236	Bakker St	Fairview	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
237	Lourie St	Fairview	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
238	Plover St	Fairview	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Fauna		
239	Curlew St	Fairview	1970s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
240	Toryn St	Fairview	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
241	Walvis St	Fairview	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
242	Cuckoo St	Fairview	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Fauna		
243	George Bendle St	Fairview	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Government building contractor 1920-1953.
244	Canty St	Fairview	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		S. Kanty (Kanterowitz) owned and ran the Park Hotel approx. 1920-1932. Town Councillor and Mayor (Spelling was later adapted to 'Canty' (Marx, 2014)
245	Hall St	Fairview	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		E.B. Hall of Divine Hall & Co. Town Councillor

246	JCC/Joe Slovo	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s	English	man-made	suburb	Commemorative – historical		JCC - Junior Cape Corpse: during the World Wars, the JCC often used the hill as a lookout point. Joe Slovo was a political leader against apartheid. The area was named in honour of him. It is still being debated whether to change the name or not.
247	Van Zyl St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town councillor 1964-1966
248	Daniels St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		D.P. Daniels, municipal manager 2006
249	Baker St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Harold Widcomb Baker, town Clerk early 1920s
250	James St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
251	Jansen St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
252	Witboy St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
253	J Peter St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
254	TK Qoqo St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

255	J Songca St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
256	N Mfundisi St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
257	N Tyiwa St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
258	J Finiza St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
259	D Elles St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
260	Terrence Ndanda St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
261	Z Zono St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
262	C Hani St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Chris Hani: Apartheid hero: leader of the SACP and Umkhonto we Sizwe
263	H Dangatye St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
264	S Mpoki St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
265	J Welman St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
266	N Mantingana St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information

									available/given
267	L Mpetshwa St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
268	F Sam St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
269	P Hoyi St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1960s*	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
270	Isinyoka	Isinyoka	1970s	Other	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		Zulu word for 'snake'; apparently lots of snakes in the area
271	Walvis St	Isinyoka	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
272	Dugong St	Isinyoka	1970s	Fauna	man-made	street	Fauna		Sea animal
273	Heiderand	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	suburb	Descriptive	Ext 12 / Uitbreiding 12	Two possible definitions; 1) refers to 'heide rand' on the verge of, 2) or most likely, it refers to the Heide Fynbos that is known to be indigenous in the area
274	Schoeman St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
275	Edgar St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
276	Zeta St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
277	Epsilon St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		

278	Sigma St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
279	Omega t	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
280	Omicron	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
281	Horison St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
282	11th Ave	Heiderand	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
283	McKinnery St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		J McKinnery: mayor 1920, 1922-1923
284	Christiaan St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Christiaan van Zyl; railway worker, Town Councillor n.d.
285	Tienie Botha St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town councillor 1964
286	Beldon St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		William Burt Pope Beldon. Town Clerk, n.d. Secretary Hospital Board. n.d.
287	Barlow St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Barlow; plumber and Town Councillor
288	Nettie Thatcher St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town councillor 1940-1941
289	Frik Pienaar St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		F.J. Pienaar; builder, Town councillor – 1952-1954, 1958-1963. Deputy mayor 1960.
290	Melkhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
291	Seemeeu Rd	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
292	Maroela St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
293	Stinkhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
294	Kremetart St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
295	Rooiels St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		

296	Wilger St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
297	Keerboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
298	Kiepersol St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
299	Swarthout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
300	Rooipeer St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
301	Kershout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
302	Apiesdoring St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
303	Waboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
304	Kokerboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
305	Erika Hof	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
306	Kafferboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
307	Broodboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
308	Soetdoring St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
309	Mopanie St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
310	Boekenhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
311	Olienhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
312	Sering St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
313	Assegaaibos St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
314	Kameeldoring St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
315	Koraalboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
316	Seder St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
317	Tolbos Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
318	Peperboomsingel	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
319	Ysterhout Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
320	Hardekool Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
321	Vuurdoring St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
322	Karee St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
323	Essenhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
324	Blombos St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		

325	Kreupelhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
326	Saffraan Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
327	Sisal St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
328	Salie St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
329	Diosma St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
330	Moepel St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
331	Nieshout Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
332	Fynbos St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
333	Num Num Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
334	Jasmyn St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
335	Gousblom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
336	Kasuur St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
337	Raasblaar St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
338	Privet St	Heiderand	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
339	11th St	Heiderand	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
340	Mirte St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
341	Boekboom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
342	Sandolyf St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
343	Sekelbos St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
344	Boegoe Cres	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
345	Bitou St	Heiderand	1970s	English	man-made	street	Flora		
346	Plataan St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
347	Tierhout St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
348	Kiaat St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
349	Vlamblom St	Heiderand	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
350	Suurvy St	Heiderand	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
351	Sterkbos St	Heiderand	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		

352	Spekboom St	Heiderand	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
353	KwaNonqaba	KwaNonqaba	1970s	Xhosa	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		KwaNonqaba is a Xhosa word with three different definitions by the community over the last 7 years. "Place in a Hollow", "Place of Need" and "Place without a View". Most of KwaNonqaba's streets are named after council members (usually part of the ANC) or after prominent community members
354	Adriaans Ave	KwaNonqaba	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Mossel Bay councillor Adriaan, who died in a car crash. It was also the old airstrip of the former small airport before it was relocated.
355	Aerostar St	KwaNonqaba	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
356	Anda St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
357	Baartman St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		In commemoration of S. Baartman
358	Bambatha St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

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359	Barnard Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
360	Beechcraft St	KwaNonqaba	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
361	Belu St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
362	Beyi St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
363	Biko St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after Steve Biko
364	Blaauw St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
365	Blom St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
366	Blou St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
367	Bokwe St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
368	Bonanza St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
369	Bongani St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
370	Boyana St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
371	Calitzdorp Cres	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the town Calitzdorp

372	Carelse Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
373	Carelse St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
374	Cedile St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
375	Cedras Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
376	Cekiso St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
377	Cessna St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
378	Cherokee St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
379	Chris Hani St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after Chris Hani, political figure
380	Clans St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
381	Crotz St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
382	Dadoo St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Other	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after Yusuf Dadoo
383	Deale St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
384	Dube St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
385	Dubula St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information

									available/given
386	Dunjwa St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
387	Dyabaza St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
388	Dyosi St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
389	Dyusha St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
390	Dywili St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
391	Egugwini St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
392	Elundi St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
393	Emasakhane Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
394	Emdeni St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
395	Enkuluekweni Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – transfer		No additional information available/given
396	Faku St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

397	Fikile St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
398	Fischer St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
399	Flores Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
400	Frans Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
401	Franschhoek St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the town Franschhoek
402	Freedom St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Commemorating the fall of apartheid
403	Gcotyana St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
404	Gentswana Dr	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
405	George Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
406	Gqunu St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
407	Graan St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
408	Grootboom St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
409	Gubayo St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
410	Hector Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named in commemoration of Hector Pieterson, a young boy killed in

									the 16 June 1976 uprisings
411	January St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
412	John Mapiso St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
413	Johnson St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
414	Kanonkop St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the hill in Cape Town from which cannons were fired to signal ships entering the bay.
415	Ka-Seme St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
416	Khanya St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
417	Kotane St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
418	Kunana St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
419	Learjet St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
420	Leeubekkie St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
421	Liberty St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Commemorative name in honour of the fall of apartheid

422	Lichabas Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
423	Lindela St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
424	Lingelethu Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
425	Luthuli St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Albert Luthuli: Apartheid hero
426	Mabhida St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
427	Mabolo St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
428	Makhubalo St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
429	Mali St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
430	Malusi St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
431	Mamase St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
432	Manjingolo St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
433	Maqabangqa St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

434	Maseko St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
435	Matayoyo St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
436	Mateza St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
437	Matoku St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
438	Matroosberg St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the Matroosberge
439	Mawawa St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
440	Maxham St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
441	Mayekiso St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
442	Mayixhale river	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	river	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
443	Mayixhale St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
444	Mbandezi St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
445	Mdoda St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

446	Megan Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
447	Mendi Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Ship sank during WWII with many black South African soldiers drowning
448	Mfuleni St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
449	Mfundisi St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
450	Miti St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
451	Mongolwane St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
452	Moodien Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
453	Moodolo St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
454	Mooney St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
455	Mpela St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
456	Mtshalala St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
457	Munyu St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

458	Mutile St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
459	Myezo Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
460	Mzamomhle St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
461	Mzathi St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
462	Mzola St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
463	Nantwembi Cres	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
464	Naude St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
465	Ndanda	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
466	Ndibaniso Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
467	Nicks Cir	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
468	Nkosana Mbangi St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
469	Nobuhle Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

470	Nofemela St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
471	Nonzame St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
472	Notinana St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
473	Nxasana St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
474	Nyibiba St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
475	Oliphant St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
476	Ouland Cres	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
477	Pakathita St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
478	Pawnee St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
479	Piper Colt St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
480	Plaatjie St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Council member
481	Pretoria St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after Pretoria city
482	Queen St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Elder of KwaNonqaba
483	S Fneca St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information

									available/given
484	Sakile St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
485	Sampson St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
486	Sange St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
487	Scholtz St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Lawyer who assisted in the establishment of KwaNonqaba
488	Sekhukhuni St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Bogosi Sekhukhuni, a young South African artist
489	Sibawu St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
490	Sijaji St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
491	Sithela St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
492	Sivuyile St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
493	Sixaxeni st	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
494	Sneeuberg St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Refers to the highest peak in the Cederberg mountains in the WC.

495	Solomons Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
496	Sonneblom St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
497	Sono St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
498	Stageerwing St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		In commemoration of the airstrip
499	Stimela St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
500	Stuurman St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
501	Sukula St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
502	Thembani St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
503	Thembelihle Ave	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
504	Umtata St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the town of Umtata in the EC
505	Uniondale St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the town of Uniondale in the WC
506	Van Wyk Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
507	Vukani St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information

									available/given
508	Watson Ave	KwaNonqaba	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
509	Willowmore St	KwaNonqaba	2000s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		Named after the town of Willowmore in the WC
510	Zingisa St	KwaNonqaba	1990s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
511	Linkside	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive	Ext 4 / Uitbreiding 4	"Links" is a golf term used for a golf course situated along a stretch of coastline.
512	21st Ave	Linkside	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
513	Bruns St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		C.H. Bruns, well-known wholesaler in advertiser. Builder
514	Cecil Shepherd St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Hotel and extensive property owner. Managed Grand Hotel, later owned Park Hotel and Marine Hotel (1932-1968). Town Councillor, Mayor 1952-1953.
515	Danie De Jager St	Linkside	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Science Master Point School, ~1930-1950. Town Councillor, Mayor 1955-1956.
516	Frankie Green St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

517	Frederick St	Linkside	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Johan Frederick; mineral water manufacturer with factory in Marsh Street, town councillor, mayor, n.d. (Frederick's Lane)
518	Harry Miller St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Lawyer; Town Councillor, Mayor 1958-1959
519	Hofmeyr St	Linkside	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Adrian Louw Hofmeyr. Town Clerk 1941-1972. Did much to further the interest of sport
520	Hogarth St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Howard Hogarth. Town Councillor, Mayor 1920. Prominent business man
521	Hudson St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		George Hudson of Hudson Uncle & Co Wholesalers ~1851-1928
522	JB Muller St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		John Benjamin Muller, retired magistrate; Town Councillor 1955-1960, 1964-1966; Mayor 1966
523	Kerk St	Linkside	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Street in which church is located
524	Mudie St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		John Mudie, shipping agent in Bland Street

525	Rodger St	Linkside	1970s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
526	Van Riebeeck St	Linkside	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after Jan van Riebeeck
527	Vincent St	Linkside	1970s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Alwyn Ignatius M.P. Town Councillor, Mayor 1903-1906
528	Mossel Bay Central	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		Situated in the centre of Mossel Bay
529	10th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
530	11th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
531	12th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
532	13th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
533	14th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
534	15th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
535	16th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
536	17th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
537	18th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
538	19th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
539	1st Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
540	21st Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		

541	22nd Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
542	6th Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
543	Bergh St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Benjamin George Peter Berg(h). Stationer and bookseller in Marsh St. Town Councillor 1935-1942, Deputy Mayor 1937, 1939.
544	Beta St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
545	Blombos Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
546	Cape Rd	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Road that leads towards the Cape
547	Cornwall St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Capt. Joseph James, town clerk, n.d. From Cornwall
548	Delta St	Mossel Bay Central	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
549	Duke St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		In honour of the Duke of Connaught
550	Erica Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Flora		
551	George Rd	Mossel Bay Central	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive	Dickinson St/Boomstraat	Road that leads towards the town of George. Both Dickinson (town councillor, mayor. Shop owner ~1900-1920) and Boomstraat were renamed/rebuilt into

									George street
552	Grave St	Mossel Bay Central	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		leads to Malay and other graves uncovered during pipe laying
553	Heide Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Flora		
554	High St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
555	Hofmeyr St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
556	Hudson St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
557	Iota St	Mossel Bay Central	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
558	Kerk St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Street in which the church is located
559	Lambda St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Eleventh letter of Greek alphabet
560	Milner St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Lord Alfred Milner, governor of Cape Colony
561	Protea Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
562	Schoeman St	Mossel Bay Central	1960s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Stephanus J. Schoeman was town councillor 1952

563	Seemeeu Pl	Mossel Bay Central	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
564	Spring St	Mossel Bay Central	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Leads towards the Spring in the Park
565	Suikerbos Ave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
566	Wassung St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Other	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Andrew Anton Wassung - businessman, town councillor, property owner and mayor
567	11th St	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
568	Barracuda St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
569	Bonito St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
570	Cob St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
571	Dassie St	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
572	Grunter Rd	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
573	Harder St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		South African mullet fish, called a harder mullet.
574	John Brown St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
575	Marlin St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
576	Oktober St	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Council member
577	Pilchard St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
578	Roman St	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Fauna		
579	Salmon St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
580	Sardine St	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
581	Sole Ave	Boplaas	1980s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		

582	Stompkop St	Boplaas	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
583	Tuna Ave	Boplaas	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Fauna		
584	JCC/Joe Slovo	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	English	man-made	suburb	Commemorative – historical		JCC stands for Junior Cape Corpse which was stationed on that hill. Joe Slovo was an apartheid hero
585	Aal St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
586	Steenbras St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
587	Kreef St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
588	Leervis St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
589	Snoek St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
590	Galjoen St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
591	Koningklip St	JCC/Joe Slovo	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
592	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		Named after the town
593	Myrica St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	English	man-made	street	Flora		
594	Pardew St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
595	Komynbos St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
596	Bietou St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		

597	Wildekamfer St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
598	Vygie St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
599	Strandsalie St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
600	Prumbas St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
601	Kruisbessie St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
602	Num-Num St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
603	Buchu St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
604	Mathola St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
605	Argyle St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
606	Silene St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
607	Maranatha St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
608	Galatea	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
609	Hellmuthia St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
610	Carissa St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
611	Zara St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
612	Aristea St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		

613	Bulbine St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
614	Nantekara St	Mossel Bay Golf Estate	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
615	Mossel Bay Central	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		The central part of Mossel Bay
616	Adam St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after the mother of Josiah Benjamin Adam Bland
617	Andrew Joss St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Town Councillor 1934-1935
618	Bayview St	Mossel Bay Central	1990s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
619	Beach St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
620	Bird St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Capt. Bird - 1882
621	Bland St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Josiah Benjamin Adam Bland built the first jetty in Mossel Bay 1850
622	Bruns St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
623	Crook St	Mossel Bay Central	1960s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		According to A. Green, the street originally had a bend, but was straightened in about 1965.
624	Cuff St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Joseph Cuff, well-known business man and shop owner. Town Councillor, Mayor. n.d. Originally

									Cuff's Lane, opened as a street 3rd Sep 1933
625	Daley St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Owned W.M. Daley Bicycle shop, Town Councillor and prominent in the town's activities 1882
626	Dolphin Heights St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
627	Field St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
628	Gys Smalberger St	Mossel Bay Central	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person	Laerkruisstraat / Kastrol St	1880-1900, was translated incorrectly from English 'lower-Cross': Most of the street going East was occupied by people from the Coloured community until apartheid legislation moved them out of town. At the time it was known as "Kastrol Street", but was then 'renovated' by an entrepreneur (Gys Smalberger).
629	High St	Mossel Bay Central	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
630	Hill St	Mossel Bay Central	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		

631	Huckle St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Claud Hamilton Huckle, dentist in DRC Chambers. Town Councillor 1912-1924, Mayor 1916-1919.
632	Kerk St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Street in which the church is located
633	Klipper St	Mossel Bay Central	1980s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
634	Kloof St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Leads to the Pickering Kloof - named after the owners of a fishery who hunted in the kloof
635	Market St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Markets were held regularly inside and outside Reik Hall and Municipal offices
636	Marsh St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		George Marsh, first Resident Magistrate 1848-1864.
637	Meyer St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Henry Oostenwald Meyer, town Councillor 1935
638	Mitchell St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		William Mitchell - town clerk appr. 1880 (founding of the local Park)
639	Montagu St	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		John Montagu - colonial Secretary of Cape of Montagu Pass, 1860s

640	Muir St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Sir Thomas Muir, Superintendent of Education - opened Point High School
641	Point Rd	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Road that leads to the Point
642	Point Village Rd	Mossel Bay Central	1990s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		Road that runs alongside/leads to Point Village
643	Powrie St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Joseph Powrie – town clerk; or named after Ebenezer Powrie, a property and land owner in the area
644	Queen St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named in honour of Queen Victoria
645	Riley St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Carpenter in Mossel Bay around the 1900s*
646	Rodger St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
647	St. Sebastian St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after St. Sebastian
648	Station St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
649	Uit Bruns St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		Street coming out of 'Bruns Street'
650	Upper Cross St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		According to A. Green and E. Kruger, named after a 'Mr Cross'. No additional information available/given

651	Wallace St	Mossel Bay Central	1990s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
652	Zietsman St	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Louis Mostert Zietsman 1880-1900. Owner of the Grand Hotel
653	Boland Park	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		
654	Cape Robin St	Boland Park	1960s*	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
655	Fisant Dr	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
656	Kiewiet Cres	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
657	Kwartel St	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
658	Kwikkie Av	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
659	Loerie Av	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
660	Park Cres	Boland Park	1960s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
661	Rooibekkie Av	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
662	Swaeltjie Av	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
663	Wewer St	Boland Park	1960s*	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
664	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1960s	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		
665	Alhof Dr	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Adrian Louw Hofmeyr (Hofmeyr St). Assistant Town Clerk 1935-1941.
666	Arum Dr	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
667	Carnation Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		

668	Christmas Rose St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
669	Dahlia Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1960s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
670	Dial Brand St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1960s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
671	Freezia St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1960s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
672	Gardenia Dr	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1970s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
673	Gladiola Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
674	Heather St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1990s	English	man-made	street	Flora		
675	Hibiscus Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
676	Hyacinth St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
677	Jacaranda Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
678	Pansy Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		

679	Papawer St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1990s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
680	Roselind Av	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
681	Towerblom St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
682	Zinnia St	New Sunnyside (Ext 6)	1980s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
683	Santos Bay	Santos Bay	1800s*	Portuguese	man-made	suburb	Commemorative – historical		Named after a German schooner that sank in 1874 at the bay
684	Kerk/Church St	Santos Bay	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Descriptive		
685	Market St	Santos Bay	1800s*	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
686	Munro St	Santos Bay	1900s*	Other	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Munro, who owned the whaling station.
687	Mossdustria	Mossdustria	1990s	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		The industrial park in Mossel Bay, located near MOSGAS
688	Mossel Bay	Mossel Bay Central	1600s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	town	Descriptive	Angra or Aguado de Saõ Bras, Mossel Baaij, Aliwal South	
689	Border St	Mossdustria	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
690	Mkuzi St	Mossdustria	2000s	Xhosa	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information

									available/given
691	Ridge St	Mossdustria	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
692	Voorloper Cres	Mossdustria	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named after the oxen that usually led the other oxen when pulling a wagon
693	Voortrekker St	Mossdustria	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – historical		Named in memory of the "Trekkers" or the European (descendants of) farmers that explored and settled in South Africa. / OR named after one of the ships that sank off the Mossel Bay coastline
694	Da Gama's Kop	Da Nova	1800s*	Other	natural	hill	Commemorative – historical		Named after Da Gama (Bilingual Portuguese and Afrikaans)
695	Diepsloot	Tarka	1900s*	Afrikaans	natural	ravine	Descriptive		Named after the depth of the ravine
696	Harry Giddey Park	Mossel Bay Central	1980s	English	man-made	park	Commemorative – person	Victoria Park	Named after Harry Giddy who was in charge of parks and recreation in Mossel Bay. It was decided to change the name from Victoria Park due to the custom of naming streets after people who were part of the town council or who

									contributed to the town.
697	Alwyndal	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	1990s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
698	Santos Beach	Santos Bay	1800s*	Other	natural	beach	Commemorative – historical	Santos/Madiba Beach	Named after a German schooner that sank in 1874 at the bay
699	Seal Island/Robbe Eiland	Die Voorbaai	1800s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	natural	island	Descriptive		Named after the seals inhabiting the small island
700	St Blaize Hiking Trail	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	natural	trail	Commemorative – historical		Named after the original day of the landing of Diaz, also one of the previous names of the Bay
701	Twee Kuilen Rivier	Die Voorbaai	1800s*	Other	natural	river	Descriptive		Dutch for 'two pits'. No other information was available or found.
702	Die Punt	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	Afrikaans	natural	beach	Descriptive		Situated at the 'point' of Mossel Bay
703	Die Poort	Mossel Bay Central	1800s*	Afrikaans	natural	Rock pool	Descriptive		Small swimming area buffered naturally from the sea by rocks. Popular swimming pool.

704	De Bakke Beach	Die Bakke	1800s*	Afrikaans	natural	beach	Descriptive		Named after the suburb it is located in. Place where animals were watered before the trek across the Outeniqua Mountains
705	Diaz Beach	Die Voorbaai	1900s*	Portuguese	natural	beach	Commemorative – historical		Named after Bartolomeu Diaz.
706	Mystery Reef	Die Bakke	1900s*	English	natural	surf spot	Descriptive		
707	Danger Point	Die Bakke	1900s*	English	natural	surf spot	Descriptive		
708	Dolosse	Santos Bay	1900s*	Bilingual Afr/Eng	natural	diving spot	Descriptive		Located next to the harbour and the dolosse sheltering it
709	Outer Pool	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	natural	surf spot	Descriptive		
710	Inner Pool	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	natural	surf spot	Descriptive		
711	Onkruid	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	Afrikaans	natural	diving spot	Descriptive		The reef looks like weeds according to local surfers
712	Beneke's Klip	Bay View	1900s*	Afrikaans	natural	diving spot	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
713	Dan River	D'Almeida	1980s	Afrikaans	natural	river	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
715	St Blaize Peninsula	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	natural	peninsula	Commemorative – historical		Named after the bay's original European name
716	Cape St Blaize Cave	Mossel Bay Central	1900s*	English	natural	cave	Commemorative – historical	Bat Cave	Named after the bay's original European name

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717	Pinnacle Point Caves	Pinnacle Point	1990s	English	natural	cave	Descriptive		
718	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	1900s*	Other	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		Named after the farm Vyf Brakke Fonteinen, which refers to the 'brak' or salty water in the area
719	Pansy River	Die Voorbaai	1900s*	English	natural	river	flora		Named either after the flower or after the shell - A. Green, previous town secretary, believes it rather to be the flower.
720	Klipheuwel St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
721	Suikerkan St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		Afrikaans for *Protea burchelli*
722	Nagtegaal St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		No additional information available/given
723	Rooikat St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Fauna		
724	Toulon St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – transfer		Named after a town in France
725	Lefebvre St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
726	Ettiene St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
727	Henning Rd	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

728	Kruger St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
729	Henra St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
730	Steinberg St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
731	Deacon St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
732	Roper St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
733	Hop Slot St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
734	Highbury St	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given
735	Pinnacle Point	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	suburb	Descriptive		
736	Oyster Bay Beach	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	natural	beach	Fauna		
737	White Waters Bay	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	natural	beach	Descriptive		
738	Pinnacle Point Bay	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	natural	beach	Descriptive		
739	Eden Bay Beach	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	natural	beach	Commemorative - transfer		Name taken from the municipal area of Eden.
740	Land's End Bay	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	natural	beach	Descriptive		
741	Rooikrans	Pinnacle Point	2000s	Afrikaans	natural	beach	Descriptive		Named after the red cliffs that form part

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									of the plateau
742	Eastwood Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
743	Wedgewood Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - transfer		taken from Wedgewood Golf Estate in Port Elisabeth
744	Divot Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
745	Fairways Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
746	Eagle Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
747	Bogey Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
748	Birdie Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
749	Rooikrans Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Descriptive		
750	Course Cres	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
751	Albatros Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative - object		golf term
752	Ocean View Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
753	Breakers Blv	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
754	Water Edge Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
755	Sunset Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
756	Point View Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		

757	Eden Bay Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
758	Lookout Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
759	Protea Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	Bilingual Afr/Eng	man-made	street	Flora		
760	Erika Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Flora		
761	Westwood Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		Named after Lee Westwood, a famous golfer
762	Pinnacle Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
763	The Valleys Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
764	Thicket Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
765	Bushbuck Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
766	White Water Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
767	Oyster Bay Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Fauna		
768	Dune Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
769	Land's End Dr	Pinnacle Point	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
770	Barrier St	Mossdustria	2000s	English	man-made	street	Descriptive		
771	Immelman Slot	Vyf Brakke Fonteinen	2000s	Afrikaans	man-made	street	Commemorative – person		No additional information available/given

Dates marked with * could not be verified due to lack of documentation. The date was therefore rounded off to the closest decade/century.