

isiXhosa names of South African land mammals

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The isiXhosa colloquial names of 86 taxa of South African land mammals recorded in three mammalogical works and three isiXhosa dictionaries are tabulated and discussed. This reveals several ambiguities, discrepancies, inconsistencies and uncertainties, as well those species and groups of species for which the names are not in doubt. Resolving the doubts would benefit the administration of environmental law, and would assist fieldworkers doing mammal/biodiversity surveys in isiXhosa-speaking areas. Improving the accuracy and consistency of information provided in the standard works would also be beneficial. Such a resolution would best be done by zoologists working with lexicographers. Consequently, the paper is written with both zoologist and lexicographer in mind, and information is given that may be common knowledge to one but not the other.

Key words: mammals, names, isiXhosa, Eastern Cape.

INTRODUCTION

During my service in the environment departments of the former government of Transkei and the present government of Eastern Cape Province, from 1989 until retiring in 2000, I was concerned with ascertaining the isiXhosa names of wild animals and plants in the formulation of laws. I found that there have been strong differences of opinion about some names – even among such eminent isiXhosa-speakers as Nelson Mandela and some of his fellow prisoners on Robben Island with regard to that well-known and distinctive animal *ingwe* the leopard (see Table 1 for binomials of all species mentioned in the text, and Table 2 for comment on some species). It was also apparent that other uncertainties exist that need to be resolved in order to develop a standard set of isiXhosa names for general use, research and in environmental law. Some of the confusion seems to have resulted from specialists in different fields working separately rather than cooperating. Consequently, this paper reviews existing information, comments on it and makes recommendations for resolving the problems. It is written with both zoologist and lexicographer in mind, thus information is given that may be common knowledge to one but not the other.

One important consequence of such a resolution would be a significant decrease in the 'grey areas' in environmental law. For its administrators and enforcers this would be a decided benefit, especially in a case where an animal's identity is in dispute. Another would be to assist fieldworkers doing

mammal/biodiversity surveys in isiXhosa-speaking areas, especially in the Eastern Cape Province. Furthermore, improving the accuracy and consistency of information given in the standard works would be a decided advantage. In addition, the capturing of such information would contribute to preserving the indigenous knowledge of the isiXhosa-speaking peoples.

METHODS

The most authoritative zoological works consulted, in which isiXhosa names are given, were: Hewitt (1931), Roberts (1951) and Skinner & Chimimba (2005), with further reference also being made to Shortridge (1934) where necessary. The first two are notable for providing names of mammals compiled by the isiXhosa language authorities R. Godfrey and N.J. van Warmelo working together with the zoologists J. Hewitt and A. Roberts, respectively. The isiXhosa texts consulted were the standard isiXhosa/English and English/isiXhosa dictionaries, i.e. Kropf & Godfrey (1915), Fischer (1985), Pahl *et al.* (1989), Mini *et al.* (2003), and Tshabe & Shoba (2006). In addition, the multilingual draft list of names of indigenous mammals compiled by the National Terminology Services of the Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology and the National Zoological Gardens of South Africa in Pretoria in 1996, was consulted. Unfortunately this does not give references.

The broader Eastern Cape (described in Skead 2007) covers the historical settlement distribution of isiXhosa speakers (Shaw & van Warmelo 1972),

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and defines which species they would have been likely, or unlikely, to have encountered. An extension of this is that no attempt was made to identify names for mammals that did not occur within this region.

RESULTS

The results for land mammals are set out in Table 1. Since some names require further comment, this is provided in Table 2. Of the 86 taxa for which there is an isiXhosa name, 60 are identified to species, five to genus, six to family, and two to suborder/order. The remainder consist of: 1) two monotypic genera (meerkat, yellow mongoose) lumped under one name; 2) six species never historically recorded in or near the Eastern Cape to which isiXhosa names for Eastern Cape species (in brackets) have recently, and inappropriately, been ascribed by Skinner & Chimimba (2005), i.e. bush squirrel given the name for Cape grey mongoose, African civet (genet cat), side-striped jackal (black-backed jackal), white rhino (black rhino), sable (vaal rhebok), red duiker (common duiker); and 3) five which are uncertain. The results also reveal a number of further ambiguities, discrepancies, inconsistencies and uncertainties (commented upon in Table 2) that need to be resolved, especially between the current standard works on mammals (Skinner & Chimimba 2005) and isiXhosa (Pahl *et al.* 1989; Mini *et al.* 2003; Tshabe & Shoba 2006).

The names provided do not cover all the mammals that occurred historically, or that now occur, in the Eastern Cape. This probably reflects the fact that many of these species are difficult to distinguish, are infrequently encountered, or are recently introduced aliens on a few private properties. Furthermore, colloquial names in many languages either ignore or lump together taxa that are similar, or have no apparent value and hence no need for a name (Diamond 1963).

DISCUSSION

It is clear that the isiXhosa names of mammals that became extinct in the Eastern Cape during the 19th century, are being forgotten by isiXhosa speakers today, e.g. plains zebra *iqwarha*, and warthog *inxagu*. In addition, it seems that the names of some others that are happily not extinct have recently been lost, i.e. tree hyrax *umqha*, ratel *ichelesi*, spring hare *ingqumeya*, porcupine *incanda*, Cape grysback *ingxungu*, oribi *iula*, and klipspringer *igogo*, that are not given in Skinner & Chimimba

(2005). The name of another seems to have changed during the 20th century, i.e. kudu, formerly *iqudu* now *iqhude* (*iqudi* must be a misspelling). Conversely, two species that were not historically recorded in the region generally inhabited by isiXhosa speakers before the 20th century, nevertheless have historically recorded isiXhosa names, i.e. giraffe *icowa*, gemsbok *inkukhama*.

For a number of species, and groups of species (genera, families, orders), one name is given, e.g. elephant *indlovu*, hippo *invubu*, buffalo *inyathi*, springbok *ibhadi*, hare (*Lepus* spp.) *umvundla*, bat (Chiroptera) *ilulwane*, golden mole (Chrysochloridae) *intuku*, so for these there is no doubt. For another, black wildebeest, two names are known: *inqu* and *inxu*, the latter seemingly borrowed via the name of a river from an extinct Bushman language and used only in the place-name (see below under onomatopoeic names). Unfortunately the sources are silent on this.

Several species have more than one name; e.g. antbear *ibhenxa* and *ihodi*, porcupine *incanda* and *inkosazana*, spring hare *inqumeya* and *unziphonde*. These may reflect dialectical differences between isiXhosa spoken in different regions in the Eastern Cape. The different spellings of others might result from dialectical differences in pronunciation, e.g. aardwolf *inchi*, *ingci*, *iyongci*; Cape grysback *ingxungxu*, *inxunxu*; steenbok *itshabanqa*, *itshabangqa*. These would all be worth further study. Conversely, the differences between earlier and later sources in the spelling of some names result from changes in orthography during the 20th century, described by Pahl *et al.* (1989), e.g. vervet monkey *inkau*, *inkawu*; genet cat *inywagi*, *inyhwagi*; mountain zebra *idauwa*, *idawuwa*.

The recent use of *umkhombe* for white rhino in isiXhosa (Skinner & Chimimba 2005) follows isiZulu (Roberts 1951, *pace* Skinner & Cimimba 2005). In consequence, the two rhino species have now become synonymized in isiXhosa when historically this could not have happened, since its speakers would have been familiar with black rhino alone. Furthermore, the alternative meaning of *umkhombe* in isiXhosa (Mini *et al.* 2003) is explicable if it alludes to black rhino, but not white (see comment 22 in Table 2). Thus, to deal with the recent introduction of white rhino to the Eastern Cape it would be more appropriate to borrow from a language other than isiZulu.

For ground squirrel, no name was given by any source prior to 2003 but I was able then to discover

Table 1. isiXhosa names of South African land mammals. Genera, families and orders in bold face (except in species names), isiXhosa sources listed from latest to earliest. (1, 2, ...) = comment no. in Table 2. (Z) = isiZulu only. An unlisted species has no isiXhosa name in the quoted sources.

English	Scientific	isiXhosa	Pahl <i>et al.</i> (1989), Mini <i>et al.</i> (2003), Tsiabe & Shoba (2006)	Fischer (1985)	Roberts (1951)	Hewitt (1931)	Kropf & Godfrey (1915)
Golden mole, any sp (mole-rat below)	Skinner & Chimimba (2005)	isiXhosa Skinner & Chimimba (2005)	Pahl <i>et al.</i> (1989), Mini <i>et al.</i> (2003), Tsiabe & Shoba (2006)	Fischer (1985)	Roberts (1951)	Hewitt (1931)	Kropf & Godfrey (1915)
Giant golden mole	Family Chrysochloridae (1)	intuku	intuku	intuku	intuku	intuku	intuku
Antbear, aardvark	<i>Chrysoxalax trevelyani</i>	intuku-yehlati	ibhenxa, ihodi (2)	ibhenxa, ihodi	ibhenxa, ihodi	intuku yehlati	ibhenxa, ihodi
Rock hyrax (dassie)	<i>Orycteropus afer</i>	imbila	imbila	imbila	imbila	ibhenxa, hode	imbila
Tree hyrax (dassie)	<i>Procavia capensis</i>	umqha	umqha	umqha	umqha	um'qa	umqha
African elephant	<i>Dendrohyrax arboreus</i>	indlovu	indlovu	indlovu	indlovu	indlovu	indlovu
Hare	<i>Loxodonta africana</i>	umvundla	umvundla, itenetya	umvundla	umvundla, intenetya	umvundla, uholweni	umvundla
Red rock rabbit (hare)	<i>Lepus</i> sp.		umvundla, intenetya (3)	iboni (4)	ingqaba, intenetya,	intenetya, tenekwa	ingqaba
Mole-rat (blesmol)	Family Bathergidae		incanda	incanda	incanda	incanda, inkosazana	iboni
SA porcupine	<i>Pronolagus</i> sp.		incanda	incanda	incanda	incanda, inkosazana	iboni
Greater cane rat	Family Bathergidae		incanda	incanda	incanda	incanda, inkosazana	iboni
Spring hare	<i>Hystrix africae-australis</i>		incanda	incanda	incanda	incanda, inkosazana	iboni
Bush squirrel	<i>Thryonomys swinderianus</i>	idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Ground squirrel (6)	<i>Pedetes capensis</i>	ingqumeya, unziphonde	ingqumeya, unziphonde	idwele	ingqumeya, unziphonde	ingqumeya, unziphonde	ingqumeya, unziphonde
Dormouse, any sp.	<i>Paraxerus cepapi</i>	unomatse (5)	unomatse (5)	idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Vlei otomys, any sp.	<i>Geosciurus inauris</i>	unomatse	unomatse	idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Rat, mouse, any sp.	Family Myoxidae			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
House rat	<i>Otomys</i> sp.			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Pygmy mouse	Family Muridae			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
House mouse	<i>Rattus rattus</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Four-striped mouse (7)	<i>Mus minutoides</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Chacma baboon	<i>Mus musculus</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Vervet (grivet) monkey	<i>Rhabdomys pumilio</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Samango (Syke's, white-throated, blue) monkey	<i>Papio hamadryas</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Shrew, any sp.	Family Soricidae			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
SA hedgehog	<i>Cercopithecus pygerythrus</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Bat, any sp.	<i>Cercopithecus albogularis</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Fruit bat, any sp.	Family Soricidae			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Aardwolf	<i>Atelerix frontalis</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Brown hyaena (strandwolf)	Order Chiroptera			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
Spotted hyaena	Suborder Megachiroptera			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
	<i>Proteles cristata</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
	<i>Parahyaena brunnea</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele
	<i>Crocuta crocuta</i>			idwele	idwele	idwele	idwele

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Table 1 (continued)

English	Scientific	isXhosa	Pahl <i>et al.</i> (1989), Mini <i>et al.</i> (2003), Tshabe & Shoba (2006)	Fischer (1985)	Roberts (1951)	Hewitt (1931)	Kropf & Godfrey (1915)
Wild cat	<i>Felis silvestris</i>	ingada, ichtataza, imbodla	ingada, imbodla	ingada, imbodla	ingada, ichtataza, imbodla	ingada, icataza	ichtataza, ingada, imbodla
Black-footed cat	<i>Felis nigripes</i>	ingwe yeziduli	ingwe yeziduli			ingwesiduli	
Serval	<i>Lepailurus serval</i>	ihlosi, inhlosi, indlozi, ingwenkala	ihlosi, inhlosi, indlozi, ingwenkala		indlozi, ingwenkala	indlozi	inhlosi, indlozi, ingwenkala
Caracal lynx	<i>Caracal caracal</i>	ingqawa, ngada (10)	ingqawa	ingqawa	inqhawa		ingqawa
Leopard (= tier/tiger in SA)	<i>Panthera pardus</i>	ingwe (11)	ingwe (hlonipha; inalana)	ihlosi	ingwe	ingwe, ihlozi	ingwe
Lion	<i>Panthera leo</i>	ingonyama (12), ibhubesi	ingonyama (12), ibhubesi	ingonyama ihlosi	ingonyama, ibhubesi ihlozi (?)		ingonyama, ibhubesi
Cheetah	<i>Acinonyx jubatus</i>	ihlosi	ihlosi		inyhwagi		inyhwagi
Genet cat, any sp.	<i>Genetta sp.</i>	inyhwagi	inyhwagi				
African civet	<i>Civettictis civetta</i>	inyhwagi (13)					
Large grey (Egyptian) mongoose, ichneumon	<i>Herpestes ichneumon</i>	umhlangala	umhlangala	umhlangala (any mongoose)	umhlangala, ilitse	umhlangala, ilitse, umvuzi, nomake	umhlangala, ilitse
Slender mongoose (14)	<i>Herpestes sanguinea</i>		unomatse (15)		ilitse, unomatse		ilitse
Cape grey mongoose	<i>Galerella pulverulenta</i>		igala (16)		igala	igala	igala
Yellow mongoose	<i>Cynictis pencilata</i>		igala			igwagwagwa	igwagwagwa
Suricate, meerkat	<i>Suricata suricata</i>	umhlangala (17)	igala	igala	ivuzi	ivuzi, isithebe	ivuzi, isithebe
Water mongoose	<i>Atelax paludinosus</i>	ingqwalashu (18)	ingqwalashu		ingqwalashu	ingqwalashu	ingqwalashu (species uncertain)
White-tailed mongoose	<i>Ichneumia albicauda</i>					impungutye	impungutye, udyakalashu
Black-backed jackal	<i>Canis mesomelas</i>	impungutye	impungutye, udyakalashu (19)	udyakalashu	impungutye	impungutye	impungutye, udyakalashu
Side-striped jackal	<i>Canis adustus</i>	udyakalashu (20)					
Bat-eared fox	<i>Otocyon megalotis</i>	impungutye (21)					
African wild (hunting) dog	<i>Lycoron pictus</i>	ixhwili	ixhwili	impungutye (any fox)	ixhwili	ixhwili	ixhwili
African striped weasel, snake mongoose	<i>Poecilogale albinucha</i>			inyengelezi	inyengelezi	inyengelezi	inyengelezi
Honey badger, ratel	<i>Mellivora capensis</i>	intini (Aonyx capensis only)	ichelesi	intini	ichelesi	icelesi	ichelesi
Otter, both spp.	Family Lutrinae		intini	intini	intini	intini	intini
Striped (Cape) polecat, zonilla	<i>Ichonyx striatus</i>		iqaa	iqaa	iqaa	iqaa	iqaa
Black (hook-lipped) rhino	<i>Diceros bicornis</i>	umkhombe (22)	umkhombe	umkhombe	umkhombe (Z ubhejane, isibhejane)	umkhombe	umkhombe
White (square-lipped) rhino	<i>Ceratotherium simum</i>	umkhombe (23)	umkhombe (23)		(Z ubhejane, isibhejane)		
Plains zebra (extinct quagga & Chapman's zebra)	<i>Equus q. quagga</i> & <i>E. q. chapmani</i>	iqwarha, iqwarhashe	iqwarha, iqwarhashe	iqwarha	iqwarha, idube (24)		iqwarha
Cape mountain zebra	<i>Equus z. zebra</i>	idauwa	idawuwa, iqwarha (25)	iqwarhashe	idauwa	idauwa	idauwa

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Table 1 (continued)

English	Scientific	isiXhosa Skinner & Chimimba (2005)	Pahl <i>et al.</i> (1989), Mini <i>et al.</i> (2003), Tshabe & Shoba (2006)	Fischer (1965)	Roberts (1951)	Hewitt (1931)	Kroff & Godfrey (1915)
Hartmann's mountain zebra	<i>E. z. hartmannae</i>	iqwarhashe (26)	ingulube	ingulube	ingulube	ingulube	ingulube
Bushpig	<i>Potamochoerus porcus</i>	ingulube	ingulube	inxagu	ingulube	ingulube	inxagu
Warhog, both spp. (27)	<i>Phacochoerus</i> sp.	ingulube	imvubu	imvubu	imvubu	imvubu	imvubu
Hippopotamus	<i>Hippopotamus amphibius</i>	imvubu	indulamthi	indulamthi	icowa, umcheya	icowa	icowa
Giraffe (28)	<i>Girafa camelopardalis</i>	icowa, umcheya, indulamthi	indulamthi	inyathi	inyathi	inyathi	inyathi
African buffalo	<i>Syncerus caffer</i>	inyathi	imbabala	imbabala	imbabala, umgece (♂), unkonka (♂)	imbabala	imbabala
Bushbuck	<i>Tragelaphus scriptus</i>	imbabala, umgece, unkonka	imbabala, imbabata (♀)	imbabala	imbabala, umgece (♂), unkonka (♂)	imbabala	imbabala
Greater kudu	<i>Tragelaphus strepsiceros</i>	iqudi	iqhude (29)	iquda, iqudu	iqudu	iqudu	iqudu
Eland	<i>Tragelaphus oryx</i>	impofo	impofo	impofo	impofo	impofo	impofo
Blesbok	<i>Damaliscus pygargus philipsi</i>	ilinga	ixhama	iling'a	ilinga	ilinga	ilinga
Red hartebeest (kongoni)	<i>Alcelaphus buselaphus</i>	ixhama	ixhama	ixhama	ixhama	ixhama	ixhama
Blue wildebeest (30)	<i>Connochaetes taurinus</i>	inkonkoni	inqu	inqu	inqu	inqu	inqu
Black wildebeest (white-tailed gnu)	<i>Connochaetes gnou</i>	inqu (31), imbuthuma (32)	inqu	inqu	inqu	inqu	inqu
Sable	<i>Hippotragus niger</i>	iliza (33)	iliza	iliza	iliza	iliza	iliza
Gemsbok (southern oryx)	<i>Oryx gazella</i>	inkukhama (34)	inkukhama	inkukhama	inkukhama	inkukhama	inkukhama
Common (grey) duiker	<i>Sylvicapra grimmia</i>	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi
Blue duiker	<i>Cephalophus monticola</i>	iphuthi	iphuthi	iphuthi	iphuthi	iphuthi	iphuthi
Red duiker	<i>Cephalophus natalensis</i>	impunzi (35)	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi	impunzi
Grey (vaal) rhebok	<i>Pelea capreolus</i>	iza, iliza	iliza	iliza	iliza	iliza	iliza
Mountain reedbuck (rooi ribbok)	<i>Redunca fulvorufula</i>	inxala	inxala	inxala	inxala	inxala	inxala
Southern (common) reedbuck	<i>Redunca arundinum</i>	intlangu	intlangu	intlangu	intlangu	intlangu	intlangu
Springbok (36)	<i>Antidorcas marsupialis</i>	ibhadi	ibhadi	ibhadi	ibhadi	ibhadi	ibhadi
Impala (37)	<i>Aepyceros melampus</i>	impala	impala	impala	impala	impala	impala
Klipspringer	<i>Oreotragus oreotragus</i>	igogo	igogo	igogo	igogo	igogo	igogo
Cape grysbok	<i>Raphicerus melanotis</i>	ingxungxu (38)	ingxungxu	ingxungxu	ingxungxu	ingxungxu	ingxungxu
Steenbok (stembok)	<i>Raphicerus campestris</i>	itshabanqa	itshabanqa, itshabangqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa
Oribi	<i>Ourebia ourebi</i>	itshabanqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa	itshabanqa
		ilula	ilula	ilula	ilula	ilula, iwula	ilula

Table 2. Comments on selected species. (numbers from Table 1)

No.	English name	Comment
1	Golden moles, any sp.	Mini <i>et al.</i> (2003) give the family as Talpidae, which comprises non-African moles. The term <i>intuku</i> also refers to a golden-brown colour (Mini <i>et al.</i> 2003), probably that of the Hottentot golden mole (<i>Amblysomus hottentotus</i>), common in the Eastern Cape.
2	Antbear	<i>ihodi</i> is recorded for warthog but not antbear in Skead (2007) (see comment 27 under warthog below).
3	Red rock rabbit	<i>itenetya</i> is the only name in some areas, although its similarity to a hare <i>umvundla</i> is acknowledged (M. Makosonke pers. comm.), as it is in isiZulu in parts of northeastern KwaZulu-Natal (Feely 1962).
4	Mole rat, any sp.	The name <i>iboni</i> is also given to a 'large dun-coloured grasshopper' by Kropf & Godfrey (1915); whereas Tshabe & Shoba (2006) apply <i>ibhoni</i> only to an indeterminate grasshopper, but not a mole-rat.
5	Bush squirrel	Never recorded in or near the Eastern Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005); thus it is improbable that <i>unomatse</i> , ascribed to the Cape grey mongoose in the other sources, would indeed be so used.
6	Ground squirrel	See comment 16 under yellow mongoose regarding the use of <i>igala</i> for ground squirrel. The other sources ascribe <i>unomatse</i> to Cape grey mongoose (a solitary animal), not ground squirrel (a colonial animal).
7	Four-striped mouse	Simelane (1995) also gives <i>unomgcana</i> .
8	Hedgehog	<i>umahau</i> is probably a misspelling; see earlier sources.
9	Spotted hyaena	<i>impisi</i> is isiZulu (Roberts 1951), and must be a recent borrowing although clearly unnecessary as it has a long-standing isiXhosa name.
10	Caracal	<i>ingada</i> is used only for the wild cat in the other sources, therefore this use is probably erroneous.
11	Leopard	It is nowadays widely, though mistakenly, believed by isiXhosa speakers that <i>ingwe</i> refers to Asiatic tiger (<i>Panthera tigris</i>) not leopard, and that therefore tigers occurred in Africa. This led to a famous debate amongst isiXhosa-speaking prisoners on Robben Island – between Nelson Mandela and his fellows who held the belief and those who did not (Mandela 1994; Schrire 2002). The belief has led also to the assumption that the only names for leopard are <i>ihlosi</i> or <i>ihlozi</i> (D. de Villiers, pers. comm.). It may derive from an early isiXhosa dictionary using 'tiger' as the English equivalent of 'leopard' following the Afrikaans 'tier' for 'luiperd', which has for long been common practice among whites of both language groups, especially in the Eastern Cape (Fitzpatrick 1907; Hewitt 1931; Silva 1996; Eksteen 1997; Schrire 2002; see <i>ingwe</i> in Mini <i>et al.</i> 2003, and 'tiger' in Fischer 1985). There is an example of such use in Kropf & Godfrey (1915) under <i>nqwa</i> , i.e. ' <i>ndathi nqwa nengwe</i> , I had an unexpected meeting with a tiger'. The hlonipha term <i>inalana</i> (little spotted one), normally used as a term of respect only by women or initiates to manhood, is also used by hunters so that a leopard within earshot does not learn that it is being spoken about, thereby not inciting it to attack (Mini <i>et al.</i> 2003). No other hlonipha term is recorded as being used by men, or is applied to a wild animal.
12	Lion	<i>ingweyama</i> is given by Coetzee (1979), and is probably a misspelling of <i>ingonyama</i> rather than a derivative of <i>ingwe</i> .
13	African civet	The name <i>inyhwagi</i> is recorded for genet cats alone in the other sources, and since it has never been recorded in or near the Eastern Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), this is an implausible use.
14	Slender mongoose	In addition, <i>ilitse</i> and <i>unomatse</i> are used in some parts of the Eastern Cape (M. Makosonke, pers. comm.).
15	Cape grey mongoose	The name <i>unomatse</i> is ascribed to ground squirrel (a colonial species) by Skinner & Chimimba (2005), and not this mongoose (a solitary species) as in all the other sources.
16	Yellow mongoose	In July 2003 elderly abaThembu men at Qoqadala Mission near Queenstown, when questioned by Arnold Fischer (<i>cf.</i> Fischer 1985) in my presence, unanimously identified a freshly killed ground squirrel as <i>igala</i> . isiXhosa-speaking staff at the Mountain Zebra National Park near Cradock also use <i>igala</i> for this squirrel (J. de Klerk, pers. comm.). Thus, some isiXhosa speakers do not distinguish between yellow mongoose, surricate (meerkat) and ground squirrel. This must be because the squirrel resembles the yellow mongoose in appearance, frequently consorts with it and the meerkat in communal burrows, all three species sit or stand upright to survey their surroundings, live colonially, and have similar distributions in the Eastern Cape. No other African species of the squirrel family Sciuridae occurs south of the Orange and Thukela Rivers. The North American grey squirrel (<i>Sciurus carolinensis</i>) found in the south-western Cape was introduced early in the 20th century (Smithers 1983); no isiXhosa name for it is recorded in the sources quoted.
17	Water mongoose	The other sources give <i>umhlangala</i> for large grey mongoose alone, not water mongoose. <i>ivuzi</i> is the only name used for water mongoose in some areas (M. Makosonke, pers. comm.).
18	White-tailed mongoose	<i>iGqwalashu</i> is given by Coetzee (1979) for bat-eared fox, probably in error, and not this mongoose as given in all the quoted sources. He also gives <i>ugqeleba</i> or <i>ugqelema</i> for the Cape fox (<i>Vulpes chama</i>) that are not in the quoted sources.
19	Black-backed jackal	This name is derived from Afrikaans, and thus must be more recent than <i>impungutye</i> ; it is also named <i>udyakalasha</i> ' <i>onkone</i> in some areas (M. Makosonke, pers. comm.).

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Table 2 (continued)

No.	English name	Comment
20	Side-striped jackal	Never recorded in or near the Eastern Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), so unlikely to have been confused with black-backed jackal.
21	Bat-eared fox	Probably confused with black-backed jackal.
22	Black rhino	<i>umkhombe</i> has the alternative meaning of: 'a fierce, savage person; a person who is furious or in a towering rage' (Mini <i>et al.</i> 2003), which must be a metaphorical allusion to the black rhino's characteristically fierce behaviour towards humans. Hence its recent use also for the inoffensive white rhino is inappropriate (Feely 2007) (see following comment). When pronounced differently <i>umkhombe</i> means a canoe or rowing boat, or a hollowed-out log used as a feeding trough (Mini <i>et al.</i> 2003).
23	White rhino	Did not occur historically in the Eastern Cape. Consequently, isiXhosa-speakers would have been familiar only with black rhino, once widely distributed in the drainage basins of rivers flowing to the Indian Ocean from the Keiskamma and the upper part of the Black Kei westward, and of rivers flowing to the Atlantic Ocean (Skead 2007). However, the white rhino has recently been introduced, and the black rhino re-introduced, into the Eastern Cape. Furthermore, both species occur naturally together in the northeastern parts of KwaZulu-Natal, where they are distinguished in isiZulu as indicated (<i>pace</i> Skinner & Chimimba 2005). This entry is included to show the contrasting usage of <i>umkhombe</i> between isiXhosa and isiZulu (Roberts 1951; <i>pace</i> Skinner & Chimimba 2005). Thus <i>umkhombe</i> would not be used in isiXhosa for white rhino as it is in isiZulu (<i>pace</i> Skinner & Chimimba 2005, see black rhino comment). To deal with the present situation, it would be preferable to borrow an unambiguous name for white rhino from a language other than isiZulu. Both species once occurred together northward of the Orange and Vaal Rivers in parts of the Northern Cape, North West, Limpopo and Mpumalanga Provinces and in neighbouring countries. The isiZulu name <i>ubhejane omhlophe</i> recorded for white rhino in Skinner & Chimimba (2005) is new, and surely erroneous (see Roberts 1951; Doke & Vilakazi 1953).
24	Plains zebra	There was a wide gap in its historical distribution in the basins of rivers draining to the Indian Ocean, extending from the Great Kei and Tsomo northeast to the Thukela (Skead 2007). Northward of the Orange and Thukela Rivers, <i>E. q. chapmani</i> (formerly <i>burchelli</i>) occurs where its isiZulu name is <i>idube</i> . This sub-species has been introduced recently to the Eastern Cape (Skead 2007). The isiZulu name was not used in isiXhosa for the extinct <i>E. q. quagga</i> when it was found westward of the Great Kei and Tsomo Rivers (<i>pace</i> Roberts 1951), and its onomatopoeic name was <i>iqwarha</i> .
25	Plains zebra/Cape mountainzebra	The calls of both subspecies of plains zebra in South Africa – extinct quagga <i>Equus q. quagga</i> and Chapman's zebra <i>E. q. chapmani</i> – were the same (Shortridge 1934). For the former it was rendered onomatopoeically as <i>qwarha</i> in isiXhosa, <i>quaha-quaha</i> in Cape Khoe, quagga in English, kwagga in Afrikaans (Chapman's = bontkwagga) (Pettman 1920; Shortridge 1934). Cornwallis Harris (1840, in 1986 reprint) described the sound uttered by the extinct animal as: 'a shrill barking neigh, of which its [English] name forms a correct imitation', which applies equally well to the extant, recently introduced sub-species. The call of the mountain zebra (<i>Equus zebra</i>) is very different. Consequently, it is implausible that both the plains and mountain zebras were named <i>iqwarha</i> . It is much more likely that, following Kropf & Godfrey (1915), the name for: 1) mountain zebra was <i>idawuwa</i> (<i>pace</i> Pahl <i>et al.</i> 1989), and 2) quagga was <i>iqwarha</i> (with <i>iqwarhashe</i> referring to its horse-like appearance as a recent variant, <i>pace</i> Fischer 1985; Skinner & Chimimba 2005; Tshabe & Shoba 2006). What was once clear to those who knew both animals in life, has become cloudy now that one is gone, despite the recent introduction of another sub-species.
26	Hartmann's mountain zebra	This subspecies was never historically recorded in or near the Eastern Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005; Skead 2007), but has recently been introduced from Namibia. To borrow a name <i>iqwarhashe</i> for plains zebra and distinguish it thus from Cape mountain zebra is inappropriate (see preceding comment).
27	Warthogs	Cape warthog (<i>Phacochoerus ae. aethiopicus</i>) have been extinct in South Africa (Eastern, Western and Northern Cape Provinces) since the late 19th century (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), although another subspecies (desert warthog <i>Ph. ae. delamerei</i>) still lives in the Horn of Africa (Kingdon 1997). A separate species, common warthog (<i>Ph. africanus</i>), occurs further north in South Africa and elsewhere, but not historically south of the Orange River (Skinner & Chimimba 2005). It has, however, been introduced recently in the Eastern Cape where it is spreading (Skead 2007). There is little outward difference between the two (d'Huart & Grubb 2005; Culverwell <i>et al.</i> 2008). The name <i>inxagu</i> must have referred to the extinct animal, and seems no longer to be known to isiXhosa-speakers – for it is not in Pahl <i>et al.</i> (1989), and Coetsee (1979) states that there is no name known for it. <i>INxakhwe</i> in Skead (2007) might be a variant. Nevertheless, <i>inxagu</i> would be appropriate for both warthogs. However, the name <i>ihodi</i> suggested in Skead (2007) must be incorrect since it is applied only to antbear in the other sources (see comment 2 above). The use of antbear holes by warthogs as sleeping places at night, shelters for the new-born, and refuges from pursuit during the day might explain this. Confusion of warthog with bushpig has resulted in the use of <i>ingulube</i> for both (Skead 2007).
28	Giraffe	Were not historically recorded in the drainage basins of rivers flowing to the Indian Ocean south of the Ngwavuma River in northern KwaZulu-Natal close to the Moçambique border, or south of the Orange River (Skead 2007). Nevertheless, Bushman rock paintings are recorded in the Great Kei River basin that have been thought to depict this animal. However, Victor Biggs has seen the paintings and disagrees with the identification (in Skead 2007; pers.

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Table 2 (continued)

No.	English name	Comment
		comm.). The name <i>indulamithi</i> is used in both isiXhosa and isiZulu, of which isiXhosa <i>indulamthi</i> is a variant spelling with the same meaning ('it towers above the trees'). Their speakers may formerly have come across them when travelling to the north of their respective domains, perhaps while trading in copper, iron and dagga, as is recorded between amaXhosa and Batswana in North West Province (Peires 1981). Alternatively, this may stem from the migration of small groups of amaXhosa into the Northern Cape in the 18th/19th centuries (Peires 1981).
29	Greater kudu	In the Eastern Cape, kudu were historically confined to the drainage basins of the Groot, lower Sundays, Great Fish and Keiskamma Rivers (Skead 2007), until their recent spread and translocation beyond them. In consequence, only western speakers of isiXhosa historically would have been familiar with the living animal. Others to the east would have known its horns because of their traditional use as a trumpet (<i>isigodlo</i> , <i>ixilongo</i>) for signalling in war and summoning people to the chief's place (Shaw & van Warmelo 1988; Pahl <i>et al.</i> 1989). The name <i>iqude</i> is presently used along the Baviaans River, a tributary of the Great Fish (G. Pringle, pers. comm.), and <i>iqhude</i> alone is given by Pahl <i>et al.</i> (1989), of which <i>iqudi</i> in Skinner & Chimimba (2005) must be a misspelling. But the Afrikaans name, and from it the English, would have been derived from <i>iqudu</i> (as given in the earlier sources) during the 18th/19th centuries. Perhaps the earlier forms of the name have become archaic.
30	Blue wildebeest	Were not formerly recorded south of the Orange River, or in the drainage basins of rivers flowing to the Indian Ocean south of the Mhlatuze in northeastern KwaZulu-Natal (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), i.e. they were absent from the areas historically inhabited by isiXhosa speakers. Furthermore, their call would not be rendered onomatopoeically as <i>nqu</i> , as is that of black wildebeest which were once common in the Karoo and the foothills on both sides of the Drakensberg (Skead 2007). Consequently, it is probable that the use of <i>inqu</i> for both species has occurred only with the recent introduction of blue wildebeest to the Eastern Cape. <i>inKonkoni</i> is isiZulu for blue wildebeest (Roberts 1951), so the name must have been imported with the animal and is more appropriate.
31	Black wildebeest	The Inxu River, a tributary of the Tsitsa in Tsoilo district, is translated as Wildebeest where it flows from its source through Maclear district to the Tsoilo border (1:50 000 sheet 3128AB, Chief Directorate: Surveys & Mapping, Mowbray). This is probably a borrowing from !Gã !Ne the now extinct Bushman language once spoken along this river as recently as the 1930s (Bushman Cuttings, near Ncengane, Anders 1935). It is also onomatopoeic. Unfortunately, the brief vocabulary recorded of this language contains only its names for eland and leopard, but not any other large wild animal (Anders 1935). In the Seroa language formerly spoken by Bushmen in the eastern Free State and Lesotho the name was recorded as <i>gnu</i> (Pettman 1922), as it was also in Cape Khoe (Harris 1986) the source of the scientific and English names. Both Kingon (1916; 1919) and Skead (2001) believed the spelling of the river's name to be an incorrect transcription of <i>inqu</i> , and that therefore it should be changed. However, given the probable alternative such a step should be avoided.
32	Black wildebeest	Mini <i>et al.</i> (2003) give <i>imbuthumana</i> (diminutive of <i>imbuthuma</i>) as meaning: '1) weak, undersized baby, person or animal; weed; 2) term of contempt or abuse applied to any person irrespective of size'. Consequently, it is an improbable name for black wildebeest, and is given only in Skinner & Chimimba (2005).
33	Sable	Were never recorded in or near the Eastern Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), therefore this is an improbable use of the name <i>iliza</i> for vaal rhebok.
34	Gemsbok	Were historically recorded only in the very westernmost parts of the Eastern Cape Province (Skead 2007), beyond the historical settlement areas of amaXhosa (Peires 1981). Thus, the isiXhosa name <i>inkukhama</i> must be borrowed from Setswana <i>kukama</i> (Shortridge 1934; Roberts 1951; Skinner & Chimimba 2005), possibly as a result of the historical trade in copper, iron and dagga between their speakers, or of the emigration of small amaXhosa groups to the Northern Cape some two centuries ago (Peires 1981). Coetzee (1979) stated that there is no isiXhosa name for gemsbok.
35	Red duiker	Have never been recorded in or near the Eastern Cape (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), therefore this is an improbable use of the name <i>impunzi</i> for common duiker. They do not resemble each other.
36	Springbok	The archaic name <i>tzebe</i> was recorded in 1833 but not subsequently, except possibly in the place-name Ndzebe in Tsoilo district (Kingon 1919; also Ndezebe in Skead 2001).
37	Impala	Historically, did not occur south of the Orange and Thukela Rivers (Skinner & Chimimba 2005), so this isiZulu name must have been imported with the animal when it was introduced recently to the Eastern Cape.
38	Cape grysbok	The name <i>ingxungxu</i> is used in both the coastal and Drakensberg sectors of its range (in the Drakensberg) (Feely 1992).

the local use of *igala* (Queenstown, Cradock districts), earlier recorded only for yellow mongoose and meerkat (suricate) (see comment 16). Subsequently, the name *unomatse* – previously attributed only to Cape grey mongoose – has been applied

inappropriately to both the ground squirrel and the bush squirrel and not to the mongoose (see comments 5 and 6).

It is interesting that the names of some mammals are also applied to insects and birds, e.g. three

butterfly species, i.e. *imbabala* (bushbuck), *ingwe* (leopard), *inyathi* (buffalo); a general name for butterflies *ibhadi* (springbok); a grasshopper *ibhoni* (mole-rat); and an ant-lion imago *umhlangala* (large grey mongoose) (Kropf & Godfrey 1915; Tshabe & Shoba 2006). In one instance the mammal, butterfly and bird have yellow and black colouring in common, i.e. *ingwe* is also the citrus swallowtail butterfly (Kropf & Godfrey 1915; Mini *et al.* 2003)*, as well as the yellow bishop (yellow-rumped widow, Cape widow bird, *Euplectes capensis*) (Kropf & Godfrey 1915; Mini *et al.* 2003; *ingwe* not given in Maclean 1993). Another species, *imbabala*, is a 'red [butterfly] with white spots' (Kropf & Godfrey 1915) like a female bushbuck, and is possibly the African monarch (*Danaus chrysippus*) (J. Ball, pers. comm.), also a common and conspicuous insect.

A further source of confusion is the recent combination and interchanging of names that were formerly distinct, e.g. *idawuwa* and *iqwarha* (with *iqwarhashe* as a variant) now being used for both mountain zebra and extinct quagga (Afrikaans: kwagga) (Pahl *et al.* 1989). The latter is an onomatopoeic term in all languages, consequently its application to the mountain zebra with its very different sound is unwarranted. The recent and inappropriate use of *inqu* for blue wildebeest (Mini *et al.* 2003) is another example of an onomatopoeic name being applied to an animal that does not utter the sound from which the black wildebeest's name is derived. Once the call has been heard, the name *qwarha* or *nqu* (together with *nxu* and *gnu*) is clearly appropriate to one species alone, and not another, whatever their biological relationships or similarities in appearance.

CONCLUSION

The problems would best be resolved by zoologists combining with lexicographers. The work of Roberts and van Warmelo (Roberts 1951) is a good example; and for birds that of Maclean and Pahl (Maclean 1993). In this regard, Godfrey's unpublished 1946 revision of Kropf & Godfrey (1915), housed at the University of Fort Hare (Pahl *et al.* 1989), would be an indispensable starting point. Robert Godfrey was that rarest of persons, if not unique: an isiXhosa lexicographer who was also an acknowledged authority on the natural history of the Eastern Cape (Hewitt 1931).

**Papilio demoleus* is given in Kropf & Godfrey (1915) and Mini *et al.* (2003), but in Africa where it is widespread and common in the south the species is now known as *P. demodocus*, and the other is confined to Asia (J. Ball, pers. comm.).

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