DEVERBAL NOMINALS IN XITSONGA

BY

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PROMOTER: PROF. M. VISser

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DECLARATION

By submitting this dissertation electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own, original work, that I am the owner of the copyright thereof (unless to the extent explicitly stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Date: March 2012
ABSTRACT

The study investigates the nature of Xitsonga deverbatives that are derived from three types of syntactic verbs, namely intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs. The aim is to determine the classes in which nominalisation occurs as well as to determine the semantic features which occur with these deverbatives in various noun classes. The three types of verbs are further distinguished into agentive verbs and non-agentive verbs. The deverbatives that are examined in this study are arranged in terms of Levin (1993)’s semantic classification of verbs. The focus of this study is on the verbs without derivational suffixes. However, few deverbatives with derived verbal forms have been included. The nominal morphology of Xitsonga is also examined in this study.

The study is conducted within the framework of four assumptions in morphology and lexical semantics, namely lexeme-based theory, X-bar syntax, lexical semantic properties of verb classes advanced by Levin (1993), and the Generative Lexicon theory advanced by Pustejovsky (1995), specifically the assumption about the meta-entry for a lexeme. The study illustrates that nominalisation in Xitsonga, in particular, and in African Languages in general occurs through the affixation of the class prefix and the nominal suffix onto the verb stem.

The study found that the deverbal nominals occur in a similar morphological structure to that of non-derived nouns. It was also demonstrated that Xitsonga deverbatives may be classified in terms of Busa’s view of distinguishing between stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals. The study has established that nominalisation in Xitsonga is a phenomenon that occurs in classes 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 14 with both agentive and non-agentive verbs as verb stems. It however, found that the most productive classes are 1, 3, 5, 7, and 14. The study demonstrated that class 1 deverbatives refer strictly to humans, while deverbatives in other classes refer to various things. The data examined in this study revealed that in general, Xitsonga deverbatives exhibit the following semantic features across various noun classes: [Actor], [Experiencer], [Theme], [Patient], [Result], [Event], [Act], [State], [Artifact], [Instrument], [Excessive act], [Excessive state], [Place], [Expert], [Excessive actor], [Excessive experiencer], [Excessive theme], and [Excessive patient].
OPSOMMING

Die studie ondersoek die aard van deverbatiewe naamwoorde in Xitsonga wat afgelei word vanaf drie soorte werkwoorde, naamlik, intransitiewe, enkel-transitiewe en dubbel-transitiewe werkwoorde. Die doelstelling van die studie is om te bepaal in watter naamwoordklasse nominalisering kan voorkom, en wat die semantiese kenmerke is van die deverbatiewe wat in die verschillende naamwoordklasse voorkom. Die drie tippe werkwoordklasse word voorts onderskei in terme van agentiewe en nie-agentiewe werkwoorde. Die deverbatiewe naamwoorde wat in die studie ondersoek word, word verder onderskei volgens die klassifikasie van semantiese werkwoordklasse van Levin (1993). Die studie fokus op naamwoorde afgelei van werkwoorde sonder afleidingsagtervoegsels. Nietemin is enkele werkwoordvorme met afleidings-agtervoegsels ingesluit. Die studie ondersoek ook die naamwoordmorphologie van Xitsonga.

Die studie is onderneem binne die raamwerk van vier breë weergawes van morfologie, sintaksis en leksikale semantiek, naamlik morfeem-lekseem gebaseerde teorie, X-balk sintaksis, Levin (1993) se semantiese werkwoordklas klassefikasie, en Generatiewe Leksikon Teorie van Pustejovsky (1995), in die besonder die aanname van die meta-inskrywing vir die lekseem. Die studie bevestig dat nominalisering in Xitsonga, soos in die Afrikatale in die algemeen, manifesteer deur die affiksering van 'n prefiks en 'n suffiks aan die werkwoordstam waarvandaan die naamwoord afgelei word.

Die studie het bevind dat afgeleide naamwoorde in 'n soortgelyke morfologiese struktuur voorkom as nie-afgeleide naamwoorde in Xitsonga. Daar is ook bevind dat Xitsonga deverbatiewe geklassifieer kan word in terme van Busa se onderskeid tussen fase-vlak en individuele-vlak nominate. Die studie het bevind dat nominalisering in Xitsonga voorkom in klasse 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9 en 14, afgelei van sowel agentiewe as nie-agentiewe werkwoord stamme. Daar is bevind dat die mees produktiewe klasse, klas 1, 3, 5, 7 en 14 is. Die studie het voorts aangetoon dat klas 1 deverbatiewe slegs mens-verwysing het, terwyl die deverbatiewe in ander klasse na 'n verskeidenheid semantiese entiteite verwys. Volgens die data wat ondersoek is, volg dit dat Xitsonga deverbatiewe in die algemeen, die volgende semantiese kenmerke vertoon oor die verschillende naamwoordklasse: [Akteur], [Ervaarder], [Tema], [Pasiënt], [Resultaat], [Gebeurtenis], [Aksie], [Toestand], [Artifak], [Instrument], [Oordrewe aksie], [Plek], [Ekspert], [Oordrewe akteur], [Oordrewe ervaarder], [Oordrewe tema] en [Oordrewe pasiënt].
NKOMISO

Dyondzo leyi yi kambisisa xivumbeko xa mavitimpfelelo ya Xitsonga lama ya pfelelaka ya suka eka tinxaka tinharu tu ta maendli ma le ka vulongoloxamarito, ku nga, maendli yo pfumala xiendliwa, maendli ya xiendliwa xin’we, na maendli ya swiendliwa swimbirh. Xikongomelo i ku lava ku kumisisa mitlawa ya maviti leyi pfumelelaka mpfelelo wa maviti ku humelela ni ku kumisisa swihlawulekisi swa tinhlamulose leswi kumekakaka eka mavitimpfelo eka mitlawa yo hambanahambana. Tinxaka tinharu tu ta maendli ti tlhela ti hambanyisiwa ku ya hi maendli ya nghingiriko ni maendli yo pfumala nghingiriko. Mavitimpfelo lama kambisisiwaka eka dyondzo leyi ma longoloxiwa hi ku ya hi maavelo ya maendli ya Levin (1993). Mhakankulu leyi dyondzo leyi yi langutanaka na yona yi le ka maendli mo pfumala swilandzi swa mpfelelo. Hambiswiritano, mavitimpfelo ma nga ri mangani lama nga na swilandzi swa mpfelelo ma katsiwile eka dyondzo leyi. Mofoloji ya Xitsonga ya kambisisiwa na yona eka dyondzo leyi.

Dyondzo leyi yi endliwa hi ku landza endlelo leri katsaka mavonelo ma mune eka mofoloji ni le ka semantiki, ku nga Lexeme -based theory, X – bar syntax, lexical semantics properties of verb classes leyi tumbuluxeke hi Levin (1993), na Generative Lexicon theory leyi tumbuluxeke hi Pustejovsky (1995), ku kongomisiwa ngopfu eka meta-entry ya rito.Dyondzo leyi yi kombisa leswaku mpfelelo wa maviti eka Xitsonga, hi ku kongomisa, na le ka tindzimi ta Xintima hi ku angarhela, wu va kona hikokwalo ke ka kunhuleriwa ka xirhangi xa ntlawa na xilandzi xa riendli eka nsinywa ri riendli.

Dyondzo leyi yi kumile leswaku mavitimpfelolo ma tirhisa xifaniso xa murhi xo fana na xa maviti mo ka ma nga ri ma mpfelelo. Ku tlhelo ku kombisiwa leswaku mavitimpfelo ya Xitsonga ma nga aviva hi ku landza vonelo ra Busa (1996) ro hambanyisa exikarhi ka mavitimpfelelo lama thiwyaka munhu hi ku landza mhaka leyi humelelaka hi nkari wolowo ni lama ya thiwyaka munhu hi ku ya ha mhaka leyi fambelanisiwaka na munhu wa kona, hambi a nga ri ku yi endleni hi nkari wolowo. Dyondzo leyi yi kumile leswaku mpfelelo wa maviti eka Xitsonga I mhaka leyi humelelaka eka mitlawa ya maviti ya 1,3,4,6,7,8,9, and 14 eka maendli ya nghingiriko ni yo pfumala nghingiriko. Hambiswiritano, ku kumekile leswaku mitlawa leyi mpfelelo wu humelelaka ngopfu eka yona I ya 1,3,5,7, and 14. Dyondzo leyi yi kombisile leswaku mavitimpfelelo ma le ka ntlawa wa 1 ma kongomisa eka vanhu, loko mavitimpfelo ma le ka mitlawa yin’wana ma kongomisa eka swilo swo hambananambana.Vuxokoxoko lebyi kamberiweke eka dyondzo leyi byi paluxile leswaku hi ku angarhela mavitimpfelelo ma humesa swihlawulekisi leswi landzela ka swa tinhlamulose eka mitlawa ya maviti yo hambanahambana: [Muendli], [Mutokoti], [Nkongomelo], [Mutwisiwa ku vava], [Mbuyelo], [Xiendleko], [Nghingiriko], [Xiyimo], [Ximakiwa], [Xitirho], [Nghingiriko wo tlurisa], [Xiyimo xo tlurisa], [Nhawu], [N’wawuswikoti], [Muendli wo tlurisa], [Mutokoti wo tlurisa], [Nkongomelo wo tlurisa], na [Mutwisiwa ku vava wo tlurisa].
DEDICATION

I dedicate this study to my beloved wife, Tshembani Laurah Hlungwani, who painstakingly and efficiently looked after our children while I was away at Stellenbosch doing this study, and our four children, Nsovo, Nhletelo, Nseketelo and Ntwalo, who embraced the lonely moment of staying without a father figure in the family for the duration of my stay at Stellenbosch University.
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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1. PURPOSE AND AIMS OF STUDY

The purpose of this study is to conduct a comprehensive and systematic investigation of the semantic and morphological nature of deverbatives in Xitsonga. Such a study has not been undertaken in Xitsonga, although similar investigations have been conducted in other languages.

This study has six interrelated aims. First, it aims to explore the nominal morphology of Xitsonga with special reference to noun classes, locative affixes, and the morphological structure. On the matter of nominal morphology in Xitsonga, the study examines in detail the nature of the class prefixes and the semantic features that occur in each noun class. On prefixes, the focus is on their forms, including the allomorphic variation. The study also investigates the various phonetic forms of the allomorph n-. The study identifies and examines the locative affixes which occur with the noun in Xitsonga. The study also presents the general morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun within the ambit of the X-bar theory.

Second, this study aims to determine the range of noun classes in which deverbatives occur in Xitsonga as regards regularity and irregularity of occurrence. Noun classes range from 1 to 21 in Xitsonga. The aim is to determine which of these noun classes allow deverbative nominalisation and which of them do not allow nominalisation at all. Some noun classes occur in pairs, that is, in singular forms and plural forms. In this study however, focus is on noun classes that are in singular forms since generally the noun classes that are in pairs exhibit similar semantic features, the difference being that one has a singular prefix while the other has a plural prefix. However, in the case where the two classes seem to exhibit different behaviour, both such noun classes will be examined. The noun classes which occur in pairs are the following: 1/2, 3/4, 5/6, 7/8, 9/10/, 11/10.

Thirdly, the study aims to explore the role of affixation in the nominal process and the interactions of affixation and argument structure, especially with noun classes. The study aims to identify and examine the affixes which occur with the range of deverbatives under investigation in each noun class. Furthermore, the study will investigate the regularity and irregularity of the occurrence of such suffixes with deverbatives in various noun classes. In addition, the study will determine the roles played by such suffixes with respect to the assignment of semantic features, that is, whether the occurrence of a particular affix with deverbatives assigns the interpretations such as human, non-human, animate, inanimate and so forth. Regarding argument structure, the study will investigates whether Xitsonga deverbal nominals exhibit similar arguments number of arguments to that of their verbal counter parts from which they are derived.
Fourthly, the study aims to explore the range of semantic verb classes along the lines of Levin (1993) that regularly forms the basis for the derivation of nominals. Levin classified verbs in general into a number of semantic verb classes. The verb classes are further distinguished into sub-verb classes. This study concentrates on the main verb classes, although to a lesser extent, sub-verb classes are also taken into account. The study will arrange deverbatives in terms of Levin’s classification since the focus of the study is on nominals derived from verbs.

Fifthly, the study aims to undertake a systematic investigation of the possibilities of deverbal nominalisations in respective verb classes and explores the semantics of these deverbatives utilising theoretical assumptions of the Generative Lexicon Theory across noun classes. The aim is to investigate whether the orthogonal parameter structure which represents four levels of meanings, namely argument structure, event structure, qualia structure, and lexical inheritance structure, can also be a useful device in the capturing of the senses exhibited by Xitsonga deverbatives. The focus will however, be on the first three levels of meaning. Thus, the contribution of the lexical inheritance structure will not be a concern in this study.

Sixthly, this study aims to examine the similarities and dissimilarities/correspondences within and across the various semantic verb classes. Thus, it will determine whether the semantic features exhibited by various deverbatives derived from the range of verbs in the semantic verb classes contained in a specific chapter are similar or dissimilar. In addition, the study aims to determine the (dis)similarity of the semantic features displayed by deverbatives derived from different verbs in the entire semantic verb classes, from both agentive and non-agentive verbs, including all deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs, and ditransitive verbs.

1.2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

The study is conducted within the assumptions of morphology and lexical semantics. The version of morphology which is followed in this study is concerned with a lexeme-base theory of morphology (see i.a. Aronoff 1994, Beard 1995). This theory assumes as a basic assumption that there are two independent processes in morphology namely derivation and morphological spelling. One finds two types of derivation namely lexical and inflectional derivation. This study concentrates on one specific type of derivation which is concerned with nominals. The focus of the study is further delimited to concentrate on the morphological spelling component or the morphological realization of formatives.

Another morphological assumption which is tendered in this study is concerned with lexeme formation or word formation. Within lexeme formation the focus is on the syntactically defined level of the minimal projection of X-bar syntax. Lexeme formation deals with the inner linguistic structure
of lexical formatives which are also known as minimal projections in X-bar theory, or syntactic atoms (Di Sciullo and Williams 1987) or lexemes (Mathews 1991, Aronoff 1994, Beard 1995).

There is another theoretical perspective that this study adopts to the investigation of deverbal nominals in Xitsonga, which assumes the approach to the study of lexical semantic properties of verb classes advanced by Levin (1993). Regarding the issue of the employment of semantic verb classes in this study, the approach which the study adopts is that of concentrating on the main verb classes. In this way, twenty eight main verb classes are taken from Levin’s classification of semantic verb classes. However, the study includes four semantic verb classes which according to Levin’s classification are subclasses of other verbs. Such subclasses are verbs of Modes of Beings Involving motion, verbs of Sound Existence, which fall under verbs of Existence. The other two semantic verb subclasses are verbs of Obtaining, and verbs of Possession, of which both fall under verbs of Change of Possession. There are also three subclasses of Motion verbs which do not occur in Levin’s verb classification, but which are important for this study, namely Motion verbs with the locative argument denoting location, Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting source, Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting direction.

Levin (1993) describes the rationale for classifying verbs into classes when she asserts that “verbs that fall into classes according to shared behaviour would be expected to show shared meaning components”. According to Levin, knowing the meaning of a verb can be a key to knowing its behaviour. Levin argues that several studies such as (Fillmore (1967), Guerssel et al. (1985), Hale and Keyser (1986, 1987)) have examined verbs closely and found that their members share certain aspects of meaning. Levin further contends that these characterizations are not intended to exhaust the meaning of these verbs; rather simply capture those aspects of meaning that serve minimally to distinguish the verbs. In this study, the verbs which display the same meaning components have been classified together. According to Levin, the class members have in common a range of properties, including the possible expression and interpretation of their arguments, as well as the existence of certain morphologically related forms. Levin asserts that the meaning of a verb will clearly have a place in its lexical entry, but it is possible that the entry will need to contain little more.

Although in this study each of the verbs is classified under one semantic verb class, some verb meanings cut across the classes identified in this study. In terms of Levin’s classification some verbs are classified in more than one verb class. This happens because the notion of “verb class” is an artificial construct. Levin argues that verb classes arise because a set of verbs with one or shared meaning components show similar behaviour. In that case, the most dominant meaning is the one that determines its classification. However, an effort was made in this study to ensure that each verb is classified in only one class. It should be borne in mind that the important theoretical construct in this study is the notion of meaning component, not the notion of verbs. (Levin, 1993). According to Levin,
the set of verbs listed as belonging to any given class does not necessarily exhaust the membership of that class. It would then not be surprising to find disagreement over the inclusion of a certain verb in a particular class. In Levin’s view, what is important is the existence of core sets of verbs with specific sets of properties. Levin argues that the verbs belonging to the same class are syntactic “synonyms”, that is, they are able to be substituted in the same set of syntactic frames.

Within a separationist lexicalist framework, inflectional derivational morphology is distinguished from a lexical derivational morphology. Lexical derivational morphology deals with the bound realization of categories and elements that are internal to minimal projections, namely the morphology of lexeme formation, while inflectional derivational morphology deals with the bound realization of syntactic categories and elements that lie above the minimal projection, namely the morphology of syntax.

The other theoretical assumption that is adopted in this study is concerned with the lexical semantic representations of the range of deverbatives which is examined. Such an assumption follows the format of lexical semantics which is advanced by Pustejovsky’s Generative Lexicon Theory (1995) which employs the levels of representation of the argument structure, the event structure, and the qualia structure to account for the meanings of the deverbal nominals. In this theory, word senses are represented in such a way that all and only the intended meanings can be assigned to lexical items in a text. It is argued that inferencing is possible only when both word and world knowledge is available. The generative lexicon enriches the lexicon with information that has previously been considered to lie out the scope of lexicon. Pustejovsky argues that Generative lexicon interfaces lexical knowledge with common sense pragmatic inferences. The issue that is raised in this theory is that words do not have fixed, enumerable number of senses but rather that their meanings are potentially infinitely flexible and depends in the contexts which they occur.

Pustejovsky (1995) uses meta-entry or type cluster called lexical conceptual paradigm (lcp) which limits the size of the lexicon and conflate the different senses of a word into it. The meta-entry encodes semantic regularities. In terms of this theory, lexical items are decomposed not to features but into templates with four levels: argument structure, event structure, qualia structure, and lexical inheritance structure. These levels are connected by generative devices, namely type coercion, selective binding, and co-composition. According to Pustejovsky, the most important of these is coercion, which captures the relatedness between syntactically distinct expressions. He contends that the semantic type system presents the four levels of meaning representation. He asserts that there are four types of arguments, namely: true argument, default argument, shadow argument, and true adjunct. He argues that events, their subevents, and their ordering restrictions are represented in the event structure. He introduces the notion of headedness so as to filter the competing events. He argues that qualia structure contains the following aspects of word’s senses: constitutive, formal, telic, and
agentive. According to Pustejovsky, qualia structure displays the qualia structure of lexical items and phrases, showing how it affects the mapping of arguments into the syntax.

In nominal derivation in Xitsonga, the property of noun class features strongly. All nouns are specified for a certain noun class and these noun classes are recognized through noun class prefixes. In the structure of a noun, the noun class prefix functions as a nominal derivation and an inflectional category. This specific nominal structure gives rise to two research questions: the first question is concerned with the presence of two noun class prefixes. This issue is addressed because all other African languages in South Africa express noun class through one prefix. This will especially be of interest to lexical derivation because in some cases one of the prefixes is a derivational affix which appears together with an inflectional prefix. The second question concerns the problem of dual function of the noun class prefix namely as inflectional and lexical derivational prefix. No study has however been done within a theoretical framework, and therefore this study will be the first one with such an approach. This has necessitated a fresh look at the data. A morphological and semantic scheme has been developed to capture the necessary data related to the research problem above.

The identification of Xitsonga verbs in the range of semantic verb classes was done both through two morphological strategies; firstly through introspective knowledge of the researcher as a first language Xitsonga speaker secondly, empirical data was obtained in consultations with colleagues and students about their intuitions about the acceptability of the data in this study. The testing of the empirical data was done through some Xitsonga students at the University of Venda, both undergraduate and post graduate students as well as Xitsonga lecturers at the very University. The data on deverbatives in this study are divided into three major sections namely, deverbatives from intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs. In this study, deverbal nominals occur in sentences, taking the subject or object positions in order to bring out the meanings of such nominals since the main aim of this study is to investigate the semantic behaviour of the types of nominals that are discussed. Generally, the data on Xitsonga deverbatives presented in this study is of deverbatives that do not occur with stems taking verbal suffixes. The occurrence of verbal suffixes with the stems of deverbatives may constitute another independent study. However, there may be few instances where deverbatives occur with verbal suffixes, especially in cases where such deverbatives occur as independent words in English. It was noted in this study that the meanings of some deverbatives are actually the same in most if not all the languages.

1.3 SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

This study will serve as a significant contribution to the linguistic knowledge domain in the areas of morphology, semantics and syntax in Xitsonga, specifically, and in African Languages more generally. It should be pointed out that the area of nominalisation which cuts across morphology, semantics and syntax is receiving a considerable attention among linguistic scholars worldwide as
such this study into the deverbatives of Xitsonga will also be a contribution at that level, illustrating how nominalisation occurs in Xitsonga. This means that this research will afford scholars from around the world to know and comment about nominalisation in Xitsonga.

This study also serves as a useful material for fields in the applied language studies such as lexicography, translation terminology and editing. Lexicographers will get systematically arranged glosses for their dictionaries. In Xitsonga there is yet to be a dictionary that contain adequate words with clear meanings, let alone deverbatives, for both monolingual and bilingual dictionary. Terminologists, Translators and interpreters will also find words with their meanings clearly captured in this study in a user friendly manner.

The study may also be viewed as a major development into the right direction since most studies conducted in Xitsonga, specifically and African Languages more generally in South Africa are biased towards literature. There are very few studies which concentrate on aspects of linguistics; therefore this study provides insights into the area which is generally neglected.

1.4 ORGANISATION OF STUDY

The study is structured into ten chapters and each chapter is divided into sections. There is a certain degree of overlapping between chapter four and chapter nine, because all of these chapters examine the same things from different verb types, that is, intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs and ditransitive verbs; and from the 35 different semantic verb classes as classified by Levin (1993). There are two chapters which are based on deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs, namely chapters four and five. There are also three chapters that focus on deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs, which are chapters six, seven and eight. Only one chapter focuses on deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs, namely chapter nine.

Chapter two presents a review of previous studies by some linguists about the issues of noun classes in African Languages and of nominalisation. The chapter is divided into four sections which are further divided into subsections. The first is section 2.2. which is concerned with Bantu noun classes and is subdivided into the following subsections: subsection 2.2.1. which reviews the study by Mufwene (1980) subsection 2.2.2. reviews a study undertaken conducted by Dingemanse, M. (2006), subsection 2.2.3. presents a study Denny, J.P. and C.A. Breider. (1976), subsection 2.2.4 Burton, M. and L. Kirk (1976), 2.2.5. Dembetembe, N.C. (1995), and subsection 2.2.6. reviews a study by Louw, J. A. (1973). The second section is section 2.3. which concentrates on Morphology: Derivation and inflection comprise two subsections only, namely subsection 2.3.1. which presents a study by Beard, R. (1998), and subsection 2.3.2. reviewing a study conducted by Stump, G.T. (2001). Section 2.4.is concerned with nominalisation and argument structure. This chapter consists of four subsections, namely subsection 2.4.1. which presents a review of the study by Grimshaw, J. (1990), and subsection 2.4.2.
reviews a study by Tsujimura, N. (1992), subsection 2.4.3. presents a study by Siloni, T. (1997), and subsection 2.4.4. reviews a study conducted by Saddler, L. and A. Spencer. (1998). The last section in this chapter is section 2.5. which deals with Generative Lexicon. The section is composed of the following five subsections: subsection 2.5.1. which explores the study conducted by Pustejovsky, J. (1995), subsection 2.5.2. deals with the study conducted by Busa, F. (1996), section 2.5.3. reviews a study conducted by Lenci, A, N, Bel, F, Busa, N, Calzolari, Y, Paters, W, Peters, N, Ruimy, M, Villegas, and A, Zampoli (2000); section 2.5.4. presents a study by Busa, F, N, Calzolari, A, Lenci, and J, Pustejovsky. (2001), and section 2.5.5. looks at the study conducted by Miller G.A (1990a).

Chapter three discusses the morphology of the noun in Xitsonga, focusing specifically on noun classes, locative affixes, diminutive and morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun. The chapter comprises three sections. The first subsection is section 3.2. which deals with noun classes in Xitsonga, the second subsection is subsection 3.3. which is concerned with locative affixes and the diminutive in Xitsonga, the third is subsection 3.4. which concentrates on morphological structure of Xitsonga noun.

Chapter four examines the deverbatives which are derived from a range of verbs in the semantic verb classes specified in this chapter, with particular focus on the noun classes which allow nominalizations to occur; the distinction of the deverbatives into individual-level and stage-level nominals; semantic features associated with such deverbatives; their lexical inheritance structure of such deverbatives. Section 4.2. investigates the derivation of nominals derived from State/Existence verbs, section 4.3. deals with deverbatives derived from Change of State verbs, section 4.4. examines deverbatives derived from Motion verbs, and section 4.5. looks at deverbatives derived from verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion. Such deverbatives are further distinguished in terms of whether they are agentive or non-agentive.

Chapter five discusses nominalizations across and within the verbs in the semantic verb classes outlined. The chapter looks at the occurrence of nominalizations in various noun classes to find out which of the noun classes in Xitsonga allow nominalizations to occur regularly, and those that do not allow the regular occurrence of nominalizations. The chapter also attempts to identify from the deverbatives in this chapter the stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals. Other issues that are explored in this chapter are the following: the morphological structure of the deverbatives, the semantic features of the deverbatives and the lexical inheritance structure of the deverbatives that are investigated in this chapter. In this chapter, section 5.2. is concerned with the deverbatives derived from Communication verbs; section 5.3. examines the derivation of nominals from verbs of Ingestion/Consumption; section 5.4. investigates deverbal nominals derived from section verbs of Appearance, Disappearance, and Occurrence, section 5.5. treats the derivation of nominals from verbs involving the body; section 5.6. concentrates on deverbal nominals derived from Psych/Experiencer
verbs, section 5.7. looks at deverbatives derived from verbs of Social Interaction; section 5.8. explores the derivation of nominals from verbs of Sound Existence; 5.9. focuses on the derivation of nominals from verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, and section 5.10. involves the deverbatives derived from Weather verbs.

Chapter six investigates the nature of deverbatives derived from the above mentioned sections in this chapter. The chapter is concerned with noun classes which allow nominalization to occur more regularly and those that do not allow the regular occurrence of nominalisation. Attention is given to the semantic features associated with such deverbatives. The chapter also presents the morphological structure of the deverbatives. Furthermore, the meaning of deverbatives are analyzed in terms of Pustejovsky’s Generative Lexicon Theory (1995) Lexical semantic representation of nominals, which include these levels of meaning, namely the argument structure, the event structure, and the qualia structure. This chapter also distinguishes stage-level nominals from individual-level nominals on the basis of their meanings following Busa (1996).

Section 6.2. explores the derivation of nominals from verbs of Creation and Transformation verbs; section 6.3. deals with deverbatives from the verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence; section 6.4. examines deverbatives derived from Judgement verbs, section 6.5. looks at deverbatives derived from verbs of Change of State; section 6.6 discusses verbs of Separating and Disassembling; section 6.7. presents verbs of Change of Possession; section 6.8. is concerned with verbs of Obtaining; 6.9. deals with Contact by Impact, section 6.10. examines Combining and Attaching, and section 11 discusses the verbs of Communication.

Chapter seven presents a systematic investigation of a range of verbs in each of the semantic verb classes and their subclasses with regard to the possibilities of derivation of nominals. The chapter identifies the noun classes in which the deverbatives occur, both in terms of regularity and irregularity of occurrence. In addition, the chapter investigates the nature of the semantic features of these deverbatives across the sets of deverbatives derived from the semantic classes of verbs. The chapter presents the morphological structure of deverbatives across noun classes. The chapter furthermore explores the nature of the lexical semantic representations of the deverbatives. The chapter also tries to show whether the deverbal nominals found in various classes may be interpreted as stage-level nominals and/or as individual-level nominals. Section 7.2. deals with the verbs of Putting, section 7.3. focuses on verbs of Perception, 7.4. discusses the verbs of Social Interaction; 7.5. examines Motion verbs; 7.6. explores verbs of Killing; 7.7. investigates verbs of Sending and Carrying; 7.8. looks at verbs of Ingestion/Consumption; 7.9. discusses Hold and Keep verbs, and 7.10. investigates verbs of Cutting.

The chapter explores the nature of deverbal nominals derived from monotransitive verbs of the semantic verb classes identified in this chapter. The chapter investigates the semantic features which may be associated with the deverbal nominals in this chapter and to ascertain which of the semantic
features occur regularly and which ones do not regularly. The morphological structure of the noun which falls within the ambit of the x-bar theory is also tendered in this chapter so as to determine whether the deverbal nominals in this chapter will use the same structure as with the deverbatives in other chapters. In addition, the chapter also employs Pustejovsky’s lexical semantic representation structure. Furthermore, Busa (1996)’ classification of nominals into individual-level nominals and stage-level nominals is applied in this chapter to determine whether the deverbal nominals in this chapter can be distinguished in the same manner. Chapter eight Section 8.2. discusses the deverbal nominals derived from verbs of Removing, section 8.3. treats the deverbatives form Psych/Experiencer verb; section 8.4. examines the deverbatives derived from verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion; section 8.5. explores the deverbatives nominals from verbs of Assessment; section 8.6. provides insights into the deverbal nominals derived from verbs Involving the Body; section 8.7. deals with deverbatives derived from verbs of Providing; section 8.8. discusses the deverbal nominals derived from verbs of Searching; section 8.9. focuses on the derivation of nominals from verbs of Contact; section 8.10. is concerned with the derivation of deverbatives from verbs of Concealment; section 8.11. demonstrates the derivation of deverbal nominals from verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care; and section 8.12. explains the derivation of deverbal nominals derived from Weather verbs.

Chapter nine examines the deverbatives that are derived from ditransitive verbs. The chapter focuses on the nature of the semantic features in the range of verb classes across noun classes. The chapter also presents the morphological structure of the noun within the framework of the x-bar theory. Furthermore, this chapter employs Pustejovsky’s (1995) framework on the nature of the lexical semantic representation to analyse the meaning of Xitsonga deverbal nominals. The chapter also applies Busa’s view (1996) in distinguishing between deverbal nominals which may be interpreted as stage-level and individual-level nominals. Chapter nine Section 9.2.deals with derivation of nominals from verbs of Change of Possession; section 9.3. explores the deverbatives derived from Hold and Keep verbs; section 9.4. investigates the derivation of nominals from verbs of Sending and Carrying; section 9.5. focuses on deverbal nominals derived from verbs of Communication; section 9.6. examines deverbatives derived from verbs of Removing; section 9.7. describes deverbatives derived from verbs of Providing, and section 9.8. discusses the nominals derived from verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care.

Chapter ten concludes the whole study by providing an overview and significance of the study on Xitsonga deverbatives, focusing on three main issue: summary and findings of the main parts of chapters two and three, Main findings and conclusions of the main chapters of this research, namely chapters four to nine, and issues for future research on deverbatives in Xitsonga and other African languages in general.
CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF SOME PREVIOUS RESEARCH ON NOUN CLASSES IN AFRICAN LANGUAGES AND NOMINALISATION

2.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a review of views raised by scholars in previous studies on the issues of noun classes in African Languages and of nominalisation. Such a literature is divided into four sections arranged in terms of the issues they address. Section 2.2. reviews five works dealing with noun classes in African Languages. Their main focus is on the prefixes, content and semantics of these classes. Section 2.3. comprises two studies on morphology with special reference to derivational and inflectional morphology. Section 2.4. involves four studies that concentrates on nominal derivation, which is the central topic of this study. The literature reviewed in this section focuses mainly on the deverbal nominals in various languages such as English, Hebrew, Japanese and others. Section 2.4. is consists of four works which are concerned with issues on nominalisation and argument structure. The section also looks at verbal alteration. Section 2.5. ,the last section in this chapter, entails reviews of studies which are based on the Generative Lexicon theory, a theory developed by Pustejovsky (1995). The studies in this section advocate for the new approach in dealing with the interpretation of nominals which will include issues from linguistics and issues outside linguistics.

2.2 BANTU NOUN CLASSES

2.2.1 Mufwene, S.S. (1980)

In this article, Mufwene (1980) discusses the notion of noun class. He shows that nouns belonging to the same class usually have a partial semantic correlation. An example is nouns belonging to class 1, which generally denote humans. Mufwene also shows that class membership vary from language to language. In other words, a particular noun may belong to one class in this language, and belong to different class in another language.

Mufwene indicates that noun class membership is identified through a particular prefix which the noun must take, e.g. Classes 1/2 are usually identified by (mu/ba). He also makes mention of the fact that in most cases Bantu noun class prefixes have been attributed a number-inflectional role. He further states most prefixes are arranged in pairs, especially when the nominal stem is COUNT. e.g. mu/ba (1/2) and ki/-bi- (7/14). He further claims that when the stem is MASS the noun will take an invariable prefix.

Mufwene expresses the view that Bantu class prefixes may also play a derivational role. He states that the purpose of this paper is to indicate that one of the roles of noun class prefixes is to change the
lexical meaning of a stem. In this case, the class prefix will not be playing an inflectional role, but a derivational one. He shows that prefixes are also derivational markers. In his attempt to prove that Bantu class prefixes do play a derivational role, Mufwene distinguishes between two types of derivations, Primary and Secondary derivations. Under primary derivation, Mufwene shows that it may be possible to derive MASS abstract nouns from adjectives. The following is his example:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Adjectives</th>
<th>Noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>-refu (long)</td>
<td>u-refu (length)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mufwene further claims that it may be possible to get nominal derivation through the use of the prefix e- and get the general meaning of MANNER of V-ing:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Infinitive</th>
<th>Derivative</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>O-tyen (talk)</td>
<td>e-tyént</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mufwene also proves that it may be possible to derive nouns from other nouns, what he calls noun-Vs-derivational pairs, in which neither an adjective nor a verb are involved as in:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun</th>
<th>Derived noun</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ø-/ba-mpangi (relative)</td>
<td>ki-mpangi (kinship)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-/mu-senzi (indigenous)</td>
<td>bu-senzi (indigeneity)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Mufwene also notes the fact that it may be possible for the same stems with the same core meanings to be assigned to two different class membership and sets of prefixes, depending on what other materials are added to them, e.g.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Mo-/ba-kóngó (Kongo tribesman)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ki-/kóngó (Kongo language)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

He further says that the class prefix change seems invariably to determine the particular way in which the actualization of a stem is to be interpreted. The prefix appears to be the sole identification mark of the derived stems.

He also note the fact that such derivations may easily involve a longer series that a pair, e.g.

1. Mu-/ba-ntu (person)  
2. Bu-ntu (humanness)  
3. Ka-/tu-ntu (small person)  

He further notes that such derivational series obtain more easily and in large number when a verb is involved. e.g.

1. Oku-fumb-a (to cook)  
2. Omu-fumb-a (cook)  
3. Olu-fumb-a (cooking)

He also claims that aside from assigning formal class membership to the particular uses of the stems they combine with, the class prefixes play a derivational role.
Mufwene is also of the view that it may be possible to use a noun class prefix to create backformations and individuating derivations from MASS nouns. He further claims that through their individuating-deliminational function the prefixes *li* and *di* may assign to the stem a diminutive reading, e.g.

Ma-láfu (wine)  di-láfú (a little bit of wine)
Ma-ndéfu (beard)  li-ndéfu (small beard)

Concerning what he calls secondary derivations, Mufwene states that Bantu class prefixes do not form a homogenous group. He shows that the prefixes of classes 1-5 combine immediately with the stem in their primary deliminational-derivational functions, but those of classes 16-22, as well as some tokens of classes 7/8 and 12-14 often combine as pre-prefixes to previously-delimited nouns when fulfilling a secondary diminutive or habituative role, e.g.

Fi-mw-ána (small child)  Cl. 19+1+stem
bi-’b-ána (small, l children)  8+2+stem

Mufwene recognizes the fact that the new meaning in the examples above, is built up not from the stem out from a previously-delimited noun.

Mufwene also highlights the issue of locative prefixations. He maintains that these pre-stem materials should be treated as prefixes rather than prepositions. He further states that the nouns they delimit can be sentential subject, e.g.

Ku-gat á kw-a ku-bôte kwe
at-town it good be
the town is good being in

Mufwene says that these examples are good illustration to why Bantuists have treated locative prefixes as noun class prefixes. He further claims that locative meanings added by the prefixes (above) are not inflectional, but derivational.

2.2.2 Dingemanse, M. (2006)

In this paper, Dingemanse (2006) reviews and compares three studies of Bantu noun classification. The first is Richardson (1967), which according to Dingemanse is cited as an example of the position that class allocation is arbitrary. The second is a paper on Shona nouns by Palmer & Woodman (2000), and it introduces the notion of polycentric categories. The third is a study by Selvik (2001) which analyses Setswana noun classes as polysemous categories. Dingemanse contends that all of these papers only treat singular classes of nouns. Furthermore, he says that the review will be followed by a discussion of two issues: first, the relation between arbitrariness and motivatedness, and secondly, the status of semantic networks.

In his review of Richardson’s (1967) paper, Dingemanse claims that the work focuses on language change and on the conclusions that can be drawn from the effects of contact induced language change
on nominal classification. He claims that this paper is concerned about how Bantu noun class systems came into existence, that is, to determine whether class allocation is arbitrary or semantically motivated. Dingemanse asserts that in most studies of the semantics of Bantu noun classes, Richardson is interpreted as holding the view that class allocation is arbitrary. Dingemanse asserts that in his review of Richardson’s work he found that Richardson is only sceptical regarding the correlation of noun classes and conceptual categories, but nowhere does he state that class allocation is arbitrary, and that he agrees that there are other factors at play in class allocation.

According to Dingemanse, Richardson’s argument was that there seem to be no methodology which could prove beyond reasonable doubt that nominal classification in Proto-Bantu was widely based on conceptual implication, which according to Dingemanse is true. According to Dingemanse, Richardson acknowledges that there is something to noun class today which is suggestive of a semantic organization. Dingemanse shows that Richardson seems to acknowledge the fact that noun classes in the past were allocated arbitrarily, but at one point speakers began to reorganize the content of their noun classes and that this reorganization led to a partly semantically motivated classification.

According to Dingemanse, Richardson expresses the view that it may be difficult to find a unified account of the semantics of noun classes across Bantu languages. According to Dingemanse, Richardson says the only generalizations that hold across Bantu are for classes 1/2 which denote humans and classes 12/13 which express diminutive meaning. According to Dingemanse, to demonstrate the fact that it may be difficult to generalize the semantic content of other classes, Richardson looked at the Yao noun classes as investigated by Whiteley (Whiteley 1961). He says that in his comment, Richardson shows that objects can be classified in many different ways, including material, or cultural function. Furthermore, Dingemanse expresses the view that not all classes may have originated simultaneously.

According to Dingemanse, Richardson highlights various factors involved in English loan words in Bemba. Here, according to Dingemanse certain words for abstract concepts are placed in class 14a, which of course is a usual phenomenon for such nouns in Bantu languages, whereas others were scattered over three classes. He also cites Richardson’s example in which the meaning of a noun changes when the same noun is placed in different noun classes. An example given is that of ‘pretext’, which in class 9a indicated ‘an occasion when a pretext is offered’, but which in class 14a denotes ‘pretext’ in the abstract which takes class 6 as its plural. According to Dingemanse, this example demonstrates the fact that the noun class marker has some semantic content to contribute.

In summing up Richardson’s paper, Dingemanse made the following findings: (1) the semantic organization that can be discerned in Bantu noun classes is the result of a recent analogical classification of the Proto-Bantu system, which was probably arbitrary; (2) the influence of certain semantic, phonological, and sociolinguistic factors cannot be denied, even though class allocation of
loan words is in many cases arbitrary. Dingemanse says that he observed that objects can be classified in many different ways, including material substance, shape, and cultural function. According to Dingemanse, another observation that he made is the fact that not all nouns originated simultaneously.

Dingemanse contends that after going through Richardson’s work, he found that the notion attributed to him that of saying class allocation in Bantu languages is arbitrary is not right. According to Dingemanse, Richardson does acknowledge that today’s Bantu noun class systems are suggestive of semantic organization. He shows that this incorrect claim which is ascribed to Richardson has led to the neglect of important issues raised in his work, such as non-semantic factors that are at play in nominal classification. Dingemanse also observes that the criticism labeled against Richardson’s work stems from Richardson’s implicit assumption that a noun can only be semantically motivated if it denotes one conceptual meaning.

In his review of Palmer & Woodman’s study, Dingemanse shows that this study elaborates semantic analysis of noun class 3 in Shona. He contends that the authors put more emphasis on the role of cultural scenarios in noun classification, in addition to more widely recognized criteria such as material substance, physical shape, and other qualities. Dingemanse maintains that according to Palmer & Woodman Shona noun class 3 is a complex category governed by mythical and ritual scenarios together with physical shapes and qualities of objects which are interconnected and he cites the following as their example: “the spirits of ancestral chiefs bring rain, thunder, and lightning”, and “Grain is pounded daily with a mortar and pestle”. Dingemanse contends that Palmer and Woodman express the view that many nouns in this class can be related to these scenarios by way of semantic extensions, schematizations, and metaphorical and metonymical links. He shows that the work of these authors is an elaboration of the notion of radical category as expressed by Lakoff’s (1987), hence they call this complex type of radical category a polycentric category, which they describe as a net work of radical categories.

Dingemanse shows that in their attempt to demonstrate this on the Shona noun, Palmer & Woodman introduce a set of eight principles for understanding the noun classes. Dingemanse argues that some of these principles describe the types of entities making up the structure of noun classes, while others describe the possible relations between these entities. Dingemanse asserts that according to Palmer & Woodman in Shona class 9 there are signs of phonological form dictating class allocation.

According to Dingemanse, Palmer & Woodman devoted a detailed discussion of the semantic diversity found in Shona noun class 3. He shows that Palmer & Woodman also discuss the issue of category members that satisfy multiple constraints. Dingemanse argues that although it may be possible for the researcher to see two conceptual links to a term, it does not mean that these two links have both in actuality play a role in the class allocation of that term. According to Dingemanse, what needs to be done is the independent evidence in order to establish any conclusive results. He asserts
that a researcher who supports the claim that nominal allocation is based on conceptual implication should thus prove conclusively by a reputable methodology. Dingemanse shows that Palmer & Woodman do acknowledge that they are not the first to bring culture into the picture, but that their approach refines the role played by culture in noun classification.

Addressing the issue of methodology and results of Palmer & Woodman’s work, Dingemanse shows that their method consists of devising a network of probable conceptual links out of a large collection of Shona class 3 nouns taken from the standard Shona Dictionary by Hannan. Dingemanse contends that 40% of the words in the digitized version of this Dictionary contain the word tree, shrub, plant, herb, bush, or crop. According to Dingemanse this work helps to establish trees, shrubs, and herbs as the most salient central model of the class. Dingemanse indicates the methodology used by Palmer & Woodman is not very clear.

In discussing Palmer & Woodman’s work, Dingemanse maintains that this study is important in its appreciation of cultural scenarios as a significant factor in noun classification. He contends that Palmer & Woodman are of the view that the clusters of meaning in Shona class 3 nouns can be related to each other by a number of conceptual links. Dingemanse shows that Palmer & Woodman’s work present a picture of a complex category consisting of a network of radial categories connected to each other by various links. He asserts that this type of analysis provides an explanation of semantic irregularity in Shona noun class 3. According to Dingemanse, Palmer & Woodman maintain that this type of analysis can be extended to other Bantu noun class systems.

According to Dingemanse, the weakness of Palmer & Woodman’s study is on its claims which are very hard to verify. In his view, the lack of solid empirical evidence mainly stems from the type of method used by these authors, which involves looking at the dictionary corpus of nouns and contriving conceptual links between them. He however, also notices the strong points wit regard to Palmer & Woodman’s study. He contends that apart from looking at the semantics of the words, it may be possible to find other clues which could tell us something about the class.

The first observation is the fact that most of the Shona nouns are reduplicated, either partially or fully. He goes on to show that reduplicated class 3 stems include words for large quantities of objects, lines and sequences of objects, repeated and distributive actions, rains, and even some names of trees. Dingemanse also notes that repetition, large quantities of objects, and lines of objects all share this reduplicative morphology. Dingamanse highlights other observations with reduplicative morphology which were not drawn by Palmer & Woodman, for example linking rains to distributiveness and plurality. The second issue that Dingemanse raises has to do with the actual usage. Here Dingamanse shows that agreement patterns in discourse can throw light on the semantics of a class prefix. The third way that Dingemanse highlights has to do with conducting various types of psycholinguistic
experimentation. In this case one may provide speakers with artificial verbs with made-up meanings from which they should construct corresponding deverbal nouns.

The third study that Dingemanse reviews is that of Selvik(2001) which he says it deals with the semantic analysis of three Setswana noun classes. Dingemanse shows that the main focus of this study is the semantic diversity many classes exhibit. According to Dingemanse, Selvik uses class 3, 5 and 7, to demonstrate her claim. He asserts that in her view, these three noun classes together with class 9 exhibit the highest degree of semantic heterogeneity. Dingemanse observes that just like Palmer & Woodman (2001) and also Contini-Morava (1994), uses the notion in cognitive linguistics in her analysis of these classes.

According to Dingemanse, Selvik uses Langacker’s(1987) notion of schematic net work. Dingemanse indicates that according to Selvik, each of these classes has only one prototype: tree for class 3, fruit for class 5, and instrument for class 7. Dingemanse contends that in Selvik’s view these prototypes are connected by different schemas. For example, the schema long, wooden objects is an extension from prototype tree; and the prototype tree is related to the schema material of live origin in that is it instantiation of that schema. According to Dingemanse, Selvik calls the most generalized schemas in the category class schemas. He further indicates that class 3 nouns are regarded as the conceptual categories of living and long.

Dingemanse observes that there is a correlation between Palmer & Woodman’s polycentric categories and Selvik’s networks. In his view, the differences that can be noted between the two approaches can be attributed to differences in theoretical differences. He shows that Palmer & Wood’s work emphasizes the importance of cultural scenarios, whereas Selvik’s work tends to focus on high-level abstractions. Dingamense indicates that in Selvik’s view, the semantic extensions in class 7 reflect the typical elements and participants in an action chain. According to Dingamanse, Selvik has also provided a cross-linguistic overview of semantic principles employed in many languages. Some of such semantic generalizations are the following: shape-based or animacy-based distinctions, or the putting on a par of instrument, manner and place.

Dingemanse also comment on the psycholinguistic experiment conducted by Selvik, which according to Selvik is based on a random selection of nouns from the standard Setswana dictionary. This experiment, according to Dingemanse does not offer any information on the size of her sample, or the number of nouns that fit her analysis. Regardless of these shortcomings, Dingemanse regard Selvik’s experiment as the first systematic attempt at assessing the cognitive reality of a semantic analysis of a Bantu noun class system between selected class meaning and class meaning when these prefixes were attached to nonsense stems. Dingemanse contends that this experiment was presented to seventy-eight native speakers of Setswana with the aim of establishing the semantic associations
Dingemanse observes that there are some similarities between Selvik’s experiment and the experiment carried out by Richardson (1967). He argues that Richardson wanted to determine the most suitable class for new loan words from English, whereas Selvik wanted to determine the most suitable class for nonsense words. Dingemanse sees Selvik’s work as more reliable since it avoids the interference that results from trying to incorporate foreign language words. Dingemanse shows that both works have succeeded in showing the relevance of some form of semantic association, but according to him Selvik has done this even more strongly.

Dingemanse highlights two sets of test-items which he claims have been designed by Selvik. He shows that the first test-items present a nonsense-word with a prefix, whereas in the second test-items a meaning is provided which has to be matched with one of the possible nonsense words. He contends that if a particular choice surfaces particularly often, this indicates that there is some semantic correlation between the given meaning and the class prefix of that choice. According to Dingemanse, the results have shown the consistent association of certain prefixes with certain types of meanings and that these semantic associations are similar to the prototype meanings proposed by Selvik for the nouns connected to these prefixes.

Dingemanse shows that Selvik proposes one prototype for each of the classes she treats. According to Dingemanse, there is no need to assume that a class is governed by just one prototype. He argues that a class may start out that way, but extensions and abstractions to other schemas can easily lead to the emergence of peripheral prototypes.

On the issue of arbitrariness and motivatedness of class allocation, Dingamanse postulates that according to Richardson the original system of noun classification may have started as largely arbitrary and that gradual evolution of that system led to motivatedness as we see it today. Dingemanse has a problem with the notion that class allocation was done arbitrarily. In his view, if the noun classes have been classified arbitrarily he wants to know how this arbitrariness came into being. According to Dingemanse, a fully-fledged noun system does not simply spring into existence. He argues that such a system involves a more gradual evolution of such a system. According to him, there has to be some criterion according to which nouns are classified. In his view, the motivatedness choice was used in the classification of nouns since there was no apparent convention in place. He argues that the motivatedness was based on distinctions which are salient in the culture, such as metaphor and metonymy. According to Dingemanse, when such choices become practices and the practices become conventions in the community, then such conventions become a system that is motivated.

In his view, it seems to be more difficult to start with an arbitrary grammatical system than to start with a motivated system. Dingemanse indicates that the motivated system does not imply a coherent system of perfect, clear-cut distinctions without any exceptions. Dingemanse provides two reasons why there is irregularity in some noun classes. The first, he says it is improbable to assume that all
noun classes originated simultaneously. He shows that any change in the system such as an emergence of a new class or merging of two classes will change the dynamics of the class system as a whole. In his view, this is the reason why we have different layers of semantic structuring in the system. Dingemanse postulates that since not all nouns are reassigned in the advent of a new class, we may find nouns in a class that to us fit very well in another class. The second issue which according to Dingemanse serves as a reason for the irregularity of the class allocation is the fact that it may not be possible for all the words in a noun class to have become the members of that class simultaneously. He shows that a noun class is an elaborately structured network that is continuously evolving. Furthermore, Dingemanse contends that the allocation of new members to the class will change the internal dynamics of the semantic network of that class, thereby enabling new conceptual links and abstractions to be made, and old ones to be changed or weakened. The third point that Dingemanse raises is the occurrence of words that seem difficult to reconcile with conceptual schemas in a class. According to him, it may not be possible to reveal all possible conceptual links that played a role in the evolution of noun class system. Dingemanse concludes his argument by stating that although there is a lack of a coherent system, it appears that a motivated choice was made at some point in time.

Addressing the status of semantic networks, Dingemanse argues that although the authors of the three reviewed studies did a good job, it remains somewhat unclear what exactly the three accounts are picturing, because none of them is fully explicit about the theoretical status of the category structures they are proposing. In his opinion, they do not tell whether the conceptual schema identified in these networks are cognitively real or whether they are merely a convenient way to visualize the results of centuries of speakers’s choices and predispositions. Dingemanse further contends that the three studies do not reveal whether the conceptual links between clusters of meaning are still active or not. According to Dingemanse, Selvik’s psycholinguistic experiments provide answers to some of these questions. In his view, the experiment demonstrates that certain prototype meanings that can be connected to class prefixes are cognitively real. Dingemanse also indicate that Selvik notes that her attempts at testing more peripheral schemas do not give fully convincing evidence that all proposed network schemas represent cognitive units. Based on Selvik’s findings, Dingemanse asserts that every present day noun class represents the sedimentation of the choices and predispositions of many generations of language users. He argues that some clusters of meanings and conceptual links in this complex category are cognitively salient and semantically productive, others less so, or not anymore at all. Dingemanse states that some nouns are perceived to be central to the class, others peripheral and yet others seem to be linked to the class by pure convention, which has replaced the original motivation. According to Dingemanse, the original motivation to place a noun in a certain class may well have involved a conceptual link with some noun already residing in that class, but that does not imply that the same link is still relevant, active, or cognitively real today. He contends that parts of networks may represent cognitive units, but other parts may depict the linguist’s reconstruction of
likely historical motivations for class allocation. In his opinion, this jeopardizes the notion of semantic network devised solely on the basis of the contents of a noun class.

Dingemanse argues that the fact that we can see that class allocation is motivated does not imply that this reflects an underlying semantic network. According to Dingemanse, not all conceptual links that can be retrospectively identified in a noun class are necessarily part of the speaker’s knowledge of that class. He gives an example of gender systems which never takes place on purely semantic grounds, but has to be learned as a formal property. In his opinion, the semantic nets that can be constructed for the non-human classes are at least partly picturing historical relics rather than representing something alive in the minds of speakers. He observes that, just like him, the analyses conducted by Contini-Morava, Palmer & Woodman, and Selvik do not reflect fully live cognitive structures, but all have chosen to frame their proposal in terms of networks with a strong implication of cognitive reality. Dingemanse stresses the fact that not all parts of the proposed network can be taken to have the same status.

In his concluding remarks, Dingemanse shows that all the three reviewed approaches are significant in their own right. He says that significant issues raised in Richardson’s (1967) study are that not all classes may have originated simultaneously and that phonological form may in certain classes determine class allocation of loan words. Dingemanse however, dismisses Richardson’s view that class system started as an arbitrary grammatical device. Nevertheless he agrees with Richards’s claim that certain non-semantic factors influence noun classification.

Dingemanse shows that the significance of Palmer & Woodman’s (2001) study is in its appreciation of cultural scenarios as an important factor in class allocation. He however argues that these claims need to be verified empirically. He suggests three ways to test these. The first involves looking beyond the semantics to other signs of semantic organization in the class, such as the wide spread occurrence of reduplicated stems. The second way involves the investigation of agreement patterns in cultural discourse. The third involves carrying out psycholinguistic experiments.

Dingemanse postulates that Selvik’s study offers one of the first systematic psycholinguistic investigations in the domain of Bantu noun classification, whose results showed a clear relationship between noun class prefixes and certain conceptual categories. Dingemanse notes that more psycholinguistic research will be needed to throw light on the nature of the relationship between operational use of a noun prefix and the semantics of the inventory of the corresponding noun class.

Dingemanse argues that the exact theoretical status of the semantic networks proposed in studies like Contini-Morava (1994), P&W (2000), and Selvik (2001) has remained somewhat unclear. In his view these networks are best understood as having a historical dimension. He contends that parts of networks may represent live cognitive units, but other parts may picture the sedimentation of the
choices and socio-cultural predispositions of generations of language users. Dingemanse asserts that instead of being concerned solely with noun systems as purely grammatical systems, or purely semantic categories, we need to place these systems more firmly in their socio-cultural context, which according to him will enable us to understand and explain both regularity and irregularity in Bantu noun classification.

2.2.3 Denny, J.P. and C.A. Breider. (1976)

In this paper, Denny and Breider (1976) discuss the system that should be encoded with gender noun classes. Firstly, they highlight a problem faced with scholars when it comes to deciding the system encoded with gender markers. They show that although it is generally agreed among Bantuists that noun classes have characteristic semantic contents, the typical conclusion that is usually reached is that the classes themselves have no overall intrinsic semantic content, of course, with the exception of class 1/2.

Denny and Breider quote Richardson (1967:378) who claims that it is impossible to prove conclusively by any reputable methodology that nominal classification in Proto-Bantu was indeed widely based on conceptual implication. Denny and Breider say that the purpose of their paper is to support the claim that PB noun prefixes were arranged in terms of their semantic content, That is, each prefix was associated with a particular meaning. They hold the view that the bulk of the noun prefixes were associated with configuration or shape meanings.

In an attempt to defend their claim, Denny et al provides two kinds of evidence, direct and indirect evidence. They claim that their direct evidence comes from an examination of PB vocabulary. They show that most of the items of each list are concrete but a few are abstract nouns. Their indirect evidence is based on the class system of some other languages. They also compare the Bantu class system with the class system of other languages. Denny et al express the view that noun classes differ in terms of their extendedness and the non-extendedness of the membership nouns in different classes.

In their direct evidence, these scholars examine the PB vocabulary. They argue that they initially separated count nouns from mass nouns based on their semantic distinctiveness. They are of the view that with count nouns there are prefixes which classify according to the spatial configuration of objects classified, and prefixes which classify into kinds, such as classifying dogs as animals.

They further express the idea that configurational classes are distinguished according to whether solid shape or outline shape. They maintain that within the two mentioned configurations above, a contrast is made between extended and non-extended configurations. They suggest that for one to be able to understand these things, one should just look at the “characteristic” visual appearance.
Furthermore, Denny et al provide the definitions of extendedness and non-extendedness. They claim that extended means characterized by relative length in one dimension at the expense of the third, where as non-extended may be negatively characterized as not extended, and is positively characterized as rounded, protruded, humped, bunched, etc.

Denny et al also provide with the definitions of solid and out line shape is as contrast between objects which have clear profiles, edges or boundaries such that there is no difference between an outside and an inside; and objects which do not have these characteristics. They further claim that in order that an outline define an interior it must be curved, whether it is extended or non-extended. They show that the noun classes which fall within this category is that of class 11/10, which is an extended curve within which there is an interior. They give the following nouns as its examples: horn, rib and hill. They further states that objects of non-extended outline in class 9/11 may include pot, drum and seed. They also maintain that locative prefixes also display the features solid and outline shape.

Denny et al state that their semantic hypothesis is advanced on four classes which are 5/6, 3/4, 9/10 and 11/10. They indicate that the non-extended solid figure class, 5/6, contains both independent objects such as egg, stone, tear, and protrusions such as breast, heap and base of tree. They also put small circular objects which are relatively flat such as freckle, body hair, and fish hook in this class. They have placed bone and wing among the problematic cases, which are examples of protruding body parts like cheek and buttock.

They further show that the extended solid figure class, 3/4/, contains a wide variety of lengthy items which are clear examples of this configuration. They however, note that there are some problematic cases with body parts such as head and forehead. They show that heart is not extended but is attached to the blood vessels which are in the extended classes 3/4 and 11/10. They also show that it is associated with blood whose extension throughout the body is marked by its placement in class 3 rather than class 6, which is the normal class for liquids.

They maintain that with abstract nouns spatial extension may apply metaphorically to temporal extension thereby including year, month and daytime. They also show that a variety of things may satisfy the configuration required by class 9/10, that of a non-extended figure with a distinctive interior. The first thing is that these classes are said to include all kinds of rigid and flexible containers, just like pot cham bundle, drum, house, and skin garment. The second thing is that the outline and interior configuration of class 9/10 is satisfied by anything with space in its interior such as rings, holes and hollows, as well as geographical spaces such as ground, open space, path outside and back, etc. the third thing is that the outline and interior configuration may be shown by objects which have a shell an some insides, e.g. seed. The fourth thing is that there are cases of those where the outline of the object is distinctive, e.g. surround (as in the eye brow), or surface.
These scholars claim that the fifth kind of item does not have the 9/10 configuration but only participates in it. Here, they give an example of -\textit{yundo} (hammer), and \textit{axe}. They point out that the problematic cases in this group include body parts such as \textit{abdomen} and \textit{kidney} which may possibly be viewed as containers.

These scholars further indicate that the extended outline shape of items in class 11/10 must be curved so that the outline can contain an interior of some kind. Examples in this regard are \textit{crust}, \textit{fingernail}, \textit{rib}, etc. They also indicate that there is another kind of extended structure which has an interior, the lengthy container, e.g. \textit{horn}, \textit{umbilical cord}, \textit{river} and \textit{water hole}.

Denny et al claim that the system concerned with kinds of count nouns is both easier and difficult to analyze. They say it is easier in the sense that two of the three classes have manifestly clear semantic content. They give an example of class 1/2 which has the meaning human, and class 9/10 which is overwhelmed by majority of animals. They contend that the kinds may be difficult to analyse because it is here that subsidiary principles of classification operate to override the more fundamental ones.

According to Denny et al, class 7/8 is an extension from ‘used object’ to ‘despised object’, e.g. \textit{pubes}, \textit{lame person} and \textit{frog}. They are not yet clear why class 9/10 is also used for powerful persons, such as \textit{chief} and \textit{medicine man}. They argue that classes in this category may look like this: 1/2 human, 9/10 animals, 3/4 plants, 5/6 fruits, and 7/8 artifacts. They further hold the view that some of the morphemes from count nouns may be used again for mass nouns. They are of the view that mass nouns fall mostly into classes 5, 14, 6 and 3.

They maintain that mass cohesive/dispersive is related to the non-extended/extended factor for count nouns, e.g. \textit{sand}, \textit{smoke}, \textit{rain}, \textit{grain}, \textit{chaff}, \textit{salt}, \textit{rice}, etc. They also claim that solids and liquids are related to the count noun factor, unit/collection. They are of the view that the class for collection, 6, is often used to mark collective plurals, i.e. those which were the units cohere together, e.g. \textit{stones}. They also believe that liquid can also cohere but also rearranging themselves when moving. According to them, class 6 may also include viscous substances such as excreta, and aggregates, such as \textit{charcoal}, \textit{dirt}, \textit{soil}, and \textit{mud}.

Denny et al further distinguish homogenous substance from differentiated substances. They are of the view that differentiated substances in class 14 are those which have distinct parts, such as \textit{brain}, \textit{honeycomb}, \textit{mushroom}, \textit{fur}, \textit{mush}, and \textit{birdlime}. They further show that homogenous substances in class 5, are \textit{clay}, \textit{wax}, \textit{soil}, \textit{dirt}, \textit{foam} and \textit{dew}.

These scholars also express the view that class 14 may also have things such as \textit{bead} and \textit{large numbers}. They further show that class 14 for mass nouns should be interpreted in the same way as for 14/6 for count nouns. According to these scholars class 14/6 may contain units having a differentiated internal structure, e.g. \textit{bridge}, \textit{bedstead}, \textit{bow}, \textit{canoe} and \textit{face}.
They also of the view that mass classes, just like count classes, show a residue of items which are not obviously examples of the meaning posited for the class.

As already said above, these scholars also discuss the noun class system of some other languages, what they call indirect evidence, and thereby compare them with the PB noun classes discussed above. Here, they claim that noun classes are realized as noun prefixes in Australian languages, as well as in Toba from the Guaykurun family in South America. They further show that in Athapaskan, noun classes are realized as classificatory verb stems, as medials in Algonquian, as lexical suffixes in Salishan, and as numeral classifiers in Sino-Tibetan, Malayo Polynessian, Mayan, and others.

Denny et al only discuss here the noun class system of Toba, Burmese and Ojibway as representation of other languages, and compare them to the noun class system of Bantu. They express the view that the three systems, i.e. Toba, Burmese and Ojibway, employ one of the two configurational variables found in the Bantu system, which is, extended and non-extended. They state that unlike in Bantu where the extendedness variable is cross-cut, in the three systems the extended node is further developed by other variables. They further claim that the extendedness variable is not applied within them as it is in Bantu.

Denny et al maintain that the outline figure component or the Burnense system has a much narrower range than of the Bantu system: it covers holes and rings as does the Bantu, but not containers as in Bantu. They argued that in Burnese both rigid and flexible containers are found in the non-extended solid figure class. They also claim that only an interior consisting of open empty space constitutes an outline figure in Burmese system. They further state that Burmese and Ojibway systems develop extendedness by distinguishing things extended in one-dimension like poles and ropes from things extended in two dimensions like plates and cloth. These scholars contend that Burmese does not differentiate rigidity for one-dimensional objects, whereas Ojibway, on the other hand does not differentiate rigidity for two-dimensional objects. They further argue that in Burmese system the flexible two-dimensional class includes mostly leaves and papers.

Coming back to Bantu system, these scholars indicate that PB lists contain largely items that are extended in one dimension, whether rigid or flexible. They also show that with Bantu system there are two possibilities for two dimensional objects. They say that the first one is the notion of flexible container found in class 9/10, e.g. skin, baby sling, where as the second one is the artifact class 7/8 which contains garment and skin. They also indicate that in Bantu, just like in Ojibway, two dimensional rigid objects are rare in what they call traditional Bantu life. They are of the view that the Bantu class ¾ combines one-dimensional rigid, one-dimensional flexible, and two-dimensional flexible objects.
The scholars are of the view that with regard to the classification of kinds in our noun systems, it can be seen that Burmese and Ojibway have the distinction between configurational classes and classes of kinds, just as it is the case in Bantu. They further claim that in each of these languages the configurational classes involve the cognizing of perceptible spatial qualities of the object, whereas the kinds involve cognizing an object as a thing which belongs to a larger class of things, as chair refers to a class of objects belonging to a large class, furniture.

The scholars express the view that in languages such as Toba and Athapaskan if an object changes its configuration it changes its class also. They claim that in Toba, humans are normally extended and vertical, but if seated they are non-extended, and if lying they are extended and horizontal.

Denny et al argue that the widely occurring items among the kind in these noun class systems are artifacts, found in all three of languages which have non-configurational classes, Bantu, Burmese, and Obijway. They also show that Burmese shares with Bantu special classes for animate beings in which animals are separated. They also indicate that, unlike Bantu, Burmese use several classes for humans which reflect social status.

2.2.4 Dembetembe, N.C. (1995)

In this paper, Dembetembe (1995) discusses the status of secondary noun prefixes. He devotes his study into three parts, namely, the status of reassigned noun classes, the comment on Fortune is treatment of secondary prefixes, and types of secondary prefixes, i.e. their morphological and semantic.

Dembetembe suggests two ways of approaching reassigned noun prefixes in Bantu. The first one is the ‘semantico-formal’ approach, which deals mostly with reassigned prefixes which involve semantic reclassification and those which involve semantic addition. He calls the second approach ‘Primary-Secondary Prefix’, which deals with reassigned prefixes which are either commentary or supplementary.

Dembetembe first gives much attention to the ‘semantico-formal’ approach. He argues that it may be possible with this approach to change the prefix without using the preprefixing or prefix-stacking technique:

1. (a) Mu-kómaná (a boy)
   (b) Chi-kómaná (boyishness)
   (c) U-kómaná (boyhood)

He also shows that ungrammaticality results if we prefix the nouns in (1) above:

2. (a) * Chi-mu-komana
    (b) *U-mu-komana
He however indicates that there are some instances of a noun class reassignment where either optional prefix-stacking may be possible:

3. (a) (i) Chi-mu-komana ‘a short, plumb boy’
   (ii) Chi-komana ‘a short, plumb boy’
   (b) (i) Ka-ru-oko  ‘a little hand’
   (ii) Ka-oko  ‘a little hand’

He expresses the view that the semantic difference between examples in (i) and (ii) rest upon semantic reclassification and semantic addition. In his view, semantic reclassification involves the change in the primary semantic reclassification of the noun in question, i.e. changing the primary referential qualities of the nouns involved as in examples (i) above, whereas with semantic reclassification, the addition of another prefix does not alter the referential qualities of a given noun, as in the following examples:

4. (a) ru-kova  (a river)
   (b) pa-ru-kova  (at the river)

He argues that the addition of the prefix Pa- to ru-kova has only added the feature locative to the meaning of the noun, but the referential quality, in this instance, a river, has not been altered. He further states that it may be possible with locative prefixes to be superimposed on to reclassify noun, as in:

5. (a) Pa-chi-komana (in the way boys would behave)
   (b) Pa-u-komana (during boyhood)

Dembetembe acknowledges the fact that this kind of approach has not been without problems. The first problem with this approach concerns the examples 3 (a) and (b). He indicates that to him no difference in meaning could be found between nouns in 3a (i) and (ii) and b (i) and (ii), yet the ones in (i) have two prefixes and those in (ii) have only one prefix.

The second is that the prefixes in (ii) may be regarded as additional to the prefixes in (i), although these prefixes in (i) have been deleted in (ii). The third problem concerns the nouns of classes (7) and (14). He argues that example in 1 (a) and (b), may cause people to think that only prefix changing is possible with such nouns, and that prefixing can not occurs which of course is not true.

The fourth problem concerns the claims made by this approach that no semantic addition prefixes can occur between reclassification prefix and the stem. He says the claim by this approach is totally unacceptable since there are nouns which show that a semantic addition prefix can occur between reclassification prefix and the stem such as:

6. U-sa-bhuku (headmanship)

In this noun, sa is such a semantic addition.
When it comes to ‘primary-secondary’ approach Dembetembe distinguishes two types of prefixes. He calls the first Primary Prefix and the second secondary prefix.

Dembetembe defines primary prefix as the one which occur in primary association with their stems, normally no evaluative or qualitative adjectives accompany the nouns, e.g.

7. (a) Vasikana (girls)  
   (b) Musoro (ahead)

Furthermore, Dembetembe defines a secondary prefix as the one which indicates an overtone of size, abnormality of some sort, sarcasm or contempt, or which provides additional information to the association of the primary prefix as commentary, and to the secondary prefix as a supplementary. Dembetembe shows that the secondary prefixes may occur as either substitute or preprefix. According to Dembetembe, supplementary prefixes express one or another of the ideas of abstractness, manner, personification or location.

Dembetembe expresses some concerns about Fortune’s work. He says that in his recent work, Fortune indicates that prefixes mu- and va- can be used as commentary, while in his earlier work (1970:88) he excluded them from commentary prefixes. He further states that while Fortune claims that ‘combinations of certain secondary prefixes with stems indicate special or abnormal specimens of the item referred to by the stem (1985:34), his examples do not seem to support this claim’:

8. (a) Mujana (one whose turn it is)  
   (b) Varwendo (travellers)

Dembetembe claims that preprefixing these prefixes (mu- and va-), will result in items that are neither special nor abnormal in any way. In his view, the sole function of these prefixes is to assign the feature human to non-human nouns. He further rejects Fortune’s claim that noun classes (9) (N-) and (10) dzi- can also serve as commentary prefixes. He argues that, here again, the examples that he gives do not support the idea:

9. (a) hadzi (female)  
   (b) dzinzira (diverse paths)  
   mukadzi (a woman)  
   nzira (paths)

According to Dembetembe these examples appear to be more primary than secondary. Dembetembe further expresses the view that noun prefixes consist each of a bundle of features. Some of these features, he claims are phonological, while others are syntactic, and still others semantic. He is of the view that a noun prefix exhibits ‘cumulative exponence’, in the sense that it seldom has only one specific role nor is it grammatically meaningful in only one respect. He gives the prefix mu- as his example. He claims that in this prefix there are cumulative features such as the third person, singular number and the feature human.
Dembetembe further distinguishes two types of nouns, namely, common nouns and non-common nouns. He claims that nouns such as Mujano and Varwendu are common, while nouns such as Tsudo and VaMoyo are non-common. But he further states that however the difference these nouns may exhibit, all are secondary. He believes that the distinction on these nouns is morphologically and semantically based. Dembetembe further distinguishes nouns which are common with the feature human and which are non-common with the feature human.

Dembetembe refers to classes (7) and (14) as for the concepts of manner and abstractness. He further distinguishes four locative prefixes of classes 16, 17, 17a and 18. He also shows that the prefix Pa-amongst other things may carry the idea of among, when it is preprefixed to a plural noun, e.g.

10. Pavakómaná (among the boys)

Dembetembe further claims that any common noun is potentially a place name through the use of the noun prefix class (17a), e.g.

11. Budiriro (a township in Harare)

Dembetembe shows that although it may be possible for a noun prefix to appear with a noun stem other than one it normally associates with, this association is more productive with some noun prefixes than with others. The restriction in this regard, he claims, may be as a result of semantic and synthetic clashes.

In this paper, Dembetembe also discusses double commentary prefixes and their references, and double non-commentary prefixes and their references. In his discussion, Dembetembe focuses much to their occurrence, the productivity of the combinations and reference conveyed.

Dembetembe claims that a common case of two commentary secondary prefixes occurring together is that of noun class 6 ma- and classes 21 Z as in:

12. (a) Ma-zi-uswa (tall overgrown grass)
   (b) Ma-zi-ndevu (think, untreammed beard)

Dembetembe states that these kinds of prefixes are referred to as double commentary on the assumption that each of them may occur alone without the other, but still carry a commentary reference:

13. (a) Zi-uswa (a large piece of grass)
   (b) Ma-uswa (patch of untidy-looking grass)

He is of the opinion that (a) the meaning of these two prefixes in their secondary function is either augmentative or derogatory, (b) that the occurrence of noun prefix Zi- is synchronically productive with count nouns, and (c) that the prefix ma- occurring before noun-count nouns expresses a
comment. He further claims that other similar nouns that can occur together are for classes 8 and 6, and 12 and 7.

14. (a) Zvi-ma-uswa  (patch or heap of untidy-looking grass of poor quality)
   (b) Ka-chi-muti (a little stick)

He also notes that the combination of classes 8 and 6 bears a derogatory reference. According to Dembetembe, other nouns that can occur together as prefixes are for classes (21) zi and (5) ri-, e.g.

15. (a) Zi-buka  (huge breast)
   (b) Zi-dzikaná  (a huge girl)

Dembetembe agrees with Fortune in this regard, that when zi is prefixed to nouns of class (5) ri- with secondary prefix and augmentative meaning, the augmentative note is doubled.

Dembetembe also notes that there are instances where augmentative meaning may be attested with the use of the prefix zi- only; i.e. without combining it with ri- of class (5) as in:

16. (a) Zi-mhuka  (a large or huge animal)
   (b) Zi-sikana  (a big or huge a girl)

He however indicates that it is still unclear why such occurrences as in (16) are possible. He further notes that the combination of prefixes of classes (21) and (5) may carry a derogatory meaning.

Dembetembe claims that there seem to be only one type of double non-commentary noun prefixes, which is ma- and dzi-, e.g.

17. (a) Ma-dzi-baba (Fathers/men)
   (b) Ma-dzi-tezvara  (Fathers-in-law)

To Dembetembe, the prefix dzi- carries the idea of a ‘collection of’, while the prefix ma- indicates plurality.

In the last section of his paper, Dembetembe discusses the ordering possibilities of different types of secondary prefixes. He divides these secondary prefixes according to their morphological and/or semantic behavior. The types are as follows:

18. [A]: a commentary prefix (classes 3,4,5,6,7,8,11,12,13,19 and 21);
    e.g. Zizizi (a large owl)
[B]: a prefix indicating a common human being (classes 1 and 2);
    e.g. Mumbudzi (one who looks after goats)
[C]: a prefix indicating diversity and plurality (classes 10,6-10);
    e.g. dzinzira (10,10) (many different/diverse paths) madzimai (6,10) (women)
[D]: a prefix indicating abstractness (class 14);
    e.g. Ukómaná (boyhood)
[E]: a prefix indicating manner (classes 7);
    e.g. Chisíkaná (girlish)
[F]: a prefix indicating location (classes 16,17,17a and 18)
    e.g., Ku-ru-kova (17,11) (to the river)
[G]: a non-common personifying prefix, unmarked for respect or pity (class 1a)
e.g. Garwe (1a,5) (a name-Garwe)

[H]: a non-common personifying prefix, which is marked for respect and pity (class 2a)
e.g. Va-Garwe (2a,1a,5) (Mr. Garwe)

Dembetembe further notes that it may be possible to preprefixed names of the type A-E, whether single or
in a combination, but one of them must have the feature collection as in:

19. Pa-u-kómaná (16,14) (at boyhood or during boyhood)

He states that for prefixes of types [D] and [E] only the locative of class (16) may be used with them:

20. Pa-chi-síkaná (girlish)

He also indicates that any noun can be prefixed with a noun prefix of type [G], except classes 1a, 2a or
2b. he says that the preprefixing in this regard turns the noun into a personal name, e.g.

21. (a) Zi-nzombe (name)
    (b) U-nyope (laziness)

he also expresses the view that any name of a person may be preprefixed by prefix of type [H], e.g.

22. Va-Garwe (Mr.Garwe)

He shows that no other noun prefix, except the one it appears with above, can occur to the left of this
prefix.

2.2.5 Louw, J.A. (1973)

In this paper, Louw (1973) discusses nouns belonging to classes 7 si- and 8 zi-. He indicates that in
this paper he does not include neologism. He however, shows that there are certain words borrowed
from English and Afrikaans, which have a long standing in Xhosa which are included here.

Louw expresses that view that only relics of a strong semantic import in noun classes could be found
in these classes. He also quotes Givon who claims that the various semantic types of nouns were
dispersed all over the noun class system seemingly at random. Louw shows that Grivon expresses the
above idea with the exceptions for classes (1/2), which indicate human beings, class 15 for the
infinitives; class 14 for abstract nominalizations, and classes 12/13 for diminutives.

Louw argues that with Tsonga it has been established that class 14 is anything but a class for
abstractions only. He also indicates that class 8 has certain irregular reflexes in Nguni for PB BI-.
He argues that Meinhof claims that this class prefix of PB has been replaced because of analogy by
reflexes of the syllable PB Li- in class 10 PB LI-N- in Sotho and Nguni.

Louw believes that the principle of binary opposition of semantic features should be the one to be
followed when treating noun classes. He also expresses the opinion that noun class should be
approached through the notion of marked and unmarked. He gives an example of noun classes which are marked for no-human; or both. He claims that the noun class 1/2 is marked for humans, i.e. no nouns occurring on this class refer to anything non-human. He further shows that class 3 may be marked for non-human. The same applies to class 14/15. He further shows that the problematic cases are for classes 4 and 11. He claims that while these nouns may be marked for non-humans there are some few nouns referring to humans in class 11 are of classificatory nature, e.g. Ufazana (newly wedded womanhood), which is referring to sex.

He argues that if non-human noun do occur in class 1(a) and 2(a), they can be looked upon as personifications. He is also for the view that classes 5-10 are marked for both human and non-human nouns. He further claims that nouns referring to humans occur first in word order.

Louw shows that the Xhosa prefix of class 7 and 8 has an initial vowel with a high tone, i-, which is clearly a separate formative, because it does not appear in object nouns under certain circumstances when the predicate is in the negative. He further shows that the last -i- of the prefix is sometimes elided in slow adult speech, when the noun stem starts with an initial vowel or when the formative -a is used between the prefix and the stem. He also shows that the prefix may have reversed tones.

Louw argues that the terminating vowels of stems may be isolated as productive formatives. But he acknowledges the fact that there are instances where the vowel meaning is either neutral or non-existing, e.g. -kazi and -(ny) ana/e. Louw claims that the terminative vowels in these examples have become the integral part of the suffixes. He holds the view that the terminative vowel may be ascribed to vowel assonance.

He shows that there is no -e vowel in Nguni. He is however, of the opinion that this terminative has probably the same form as -i. according to him, terminative vowels -i and o are autonomous terminatives in Nguni. He shows that it is not clear whether -u is an autonomous terminative or not. The other termionative vowel that he claims is also autonomous is -a.

Louw fully agrees with Lombard when it comes to the identification of the semantic features for the terminatives. This is how he assigns different semantic features to different terminatives:

1. -i indicates direct involvement
   -o indicates non-direct involvement
   -a indicates either direct or non-direct involvement
   -e refers to a state; and the semantic values of
   -u is described as implying a characteristic

Louw shows that Lombard is of the view that the tonal pattern of the deverbative noun system is conditioned by various considerations of which the most important ones are these below:
(i) The particular terminating vowel used;
(ii) Certain semantic factors which determine certain tone pattern

Louw also claims that there are real nominal stems which are not usually associated with verbs, which have a great variety of terminatives. But he argues that it is not yet clear if a specific semantic value can be attached to them.

Louw expresses the view that deverbative nouns in Xhosa referring to human beings usually ends with the terminative vowels -a, -e, -i and -o. He also notes that there is only one noun in Xhosa that ends with an -o. According to Louw no noun ending with the terminative -u, referring to human beings has be established in Xhosa. Louw states that although -i indicates direct involvement, there are certain special exceptions with a noun such as isinoni, whose -i does not show any direct involvement.

Louw shows that passive stems have nearly always a high tone on the terminative -a, whose meaning indicates some or other state. He further indicates that no deverbatives ending with the negative -i could be found for class 7 in Xhosa.

Another factor that Louw highlights concerns two different tones for apparently similar stems. He says that when differentiating tone patterns are involved, the result is the differentiation in meaning between similar stems, e.g.

2. (a) Isalá
   (b) Isalá
   (c) Úkwala

Louw expresses the view that deverbatives with the aberrant tone patterns, e.g. Isalá have the more emphatic meanings. He however, does not ignore the fact that there are exceptions, in which nouns which do not have the aberrant tone patterns do emphasize the state in which a person is, e.g. Isifúmba.

Louw further states that it is very difficult to say that there is a deverbative noun ending in -a in Xhosa against a nomino-verbal ending in a different kind of -a. He also indicates that nouns with reversed tones on their prefix might have had their origin within the framework below:

3. (a) Ísigwétsha  (choleric person)
   (b) Ukúgwetsha  (behave in a choleric fashion)
   (c) Isigwetsha  (very choleric person)

Louw shows that the noun with the tone sequence which is different from the infinitive has the stronger descriptive power.

Louw cites Lombard who expressed the idea that in nomino-verbal character there is nearly always a change in the tone pattern when the first compounding verb stem has a high tone on the root, e.g.
4.  (a) Isipháthámandla  
    (b) Ukuphatha  
    (c) amandla

Louw claims that nouns ending on -a and -e can be found with stems which can only appear in a nominal morphological context, e.g.

    5.  (a) -a Isilíma  
         (b) -i Isangcu’nge

He further stipulates that terminative vowels such as -i, -o and -u appear with derived nouns only when such nouns refer to humans. He maintains that all nouns ending in -i are deverbatives, while only one deverbative noun ending in -o. He further indicates that the other nouns are derived from diverse sources such as idiophones. He claims that nouns ending in -u seem to be deideophonic. He still maintains that no deverbative ending in -u could be found in Xhosa.

Louw indicates that nouns in class 7 may refer to some or other concept or idea expressing a certain practical usefulness when it is applied. He contends that in this class we find many terms of an abstract nature. He also states that articles and instruments used for particular purpose belong to this class. He also shows that this class may include any idea or concept expressing any intense urge or feeling. He shows that deverbatives may have these endings: -a as in Isílfungísá -e as in isibane (light, caddle, etc.), -i as in i’sikhâli (weapon) and -o as in isilálo (long illness) and -u as in isi’zathu (reason).

Louw also holds the view that class 7 can embrace mass or collective nouns. According to him such nouns can be human with the features inanimate or animate. He shows that herds, troops, swarm of animals and insects are found in this class, e.g. isihhashe (troop of horses). He also shows that things like places or structures where people meet or live, which are indicative of crowds are found in this class, e.g. Iśikhûngu (place of worship).

Louw expresses the view that some of the names of plants may be found in this class. He however, acknowledges that a great number of them fall within classes 3 and 5, of which the former is mainly for tall trees. He also shows that groups of clumps of plants are found in this class, e.g. isi’hlahla (bush).

He claims that these names of plants may appear with vowel endings such as -a as in isicuba (tobacco garden), -e as in isife (sweet reed garden), -i isaqóni (liana, dependent person), -o isiphigo (thorn tree with edible berry), and -u as in isidubú (groove of willows; group of people sitting doing nothing).

Louw states that this class does not include names for big trees. He says that the trees in this class are smaller ones, generally referred to as bush and shrubs. He also shows that bog trees which usually fall to class 3, when they are seen as a group they may be found in group 7.
He also indicates that class 7 can indicate different kinds of qualities and masses which are very big in size and format. He also contends that some of the nouns under quantities, masses, etc. may indicate that they are part of something. He further indicates that this part of something usually indicates small or diminutive, e.g. i’sikhôko (left overs in pot). He is also of the view that ordinals may be found in this class, and that this class may also indicate magnitude, degree etc. as in isîgidi.

Louw states that class 7 may also refer to prominences, projections, excrescence, or branching off from another thing. He is also of the view that nouns in this class may indicate the form or shape in depth of a hollow, indentation or hole, e.g. Isi’ziba (very deep pool). He also shows that some few names may refer to placename. In this regard the placenames are mostly for rivers, forests etc. He also shows that many nouns in class 7 refer to speeches and different kinds of sound, e.g.

6. (a) Isâmbantlánya (crush of the people)
   (b) Isibhalala (bud cries of men pursuing)

Louw indicates that there are a number of nouns referring to the particular way or manner in which a group of people speak and behave. He claims that languages, dialects, the speech of certain groups of people in society can be referred to by making use of class 7 prefix. He shows that words referring to customs or manner are also found in this class. He claims that this class indicates a particular way of behaving in speech and society, e.g. isi’Bacá (Bhaca people). He also give deverbative nouns which have to do with speech, e.g.

7. (a) Isibongo (praise, poetry)
   (b) Isibúlelo (expression of gratitude for)

Louw believes that there are few names referring to birds and animals in class 7. he indicates that one of the few present is isikhova (owl), a bird associated with ill omens to most Africans. Another name which he believes is in class 7 is the one ending with -a for direct involvement, which is isi’gola. He also indicates that a name such as isî’khwenêne which has the underlying stem -ku- is found in his class. He claims that this -ku- is usually associated with unfulfilled hopes, promises, etc. he also puts some animals such as reptiles, fishes and amphibians in this class. He is also of the view that noun referring to a creeping animal, such as i’sina’mbuza’ne (creeping or crawling creature) is found here. Louw also puts a name such as isandawane’ (spotted hyena) to class 7. He claims that it is because of its intense negative quality, i.e. it is a beloved animal for witches and people who do not want to bury their dead, left them to these scavengers, which it is found in class 7.

Louw notes that it may be possible to use -a between the prefix of class 7 and the noun stems in some nouns. He claims that the -a in this regard indicate that the noun in question is a collective or mass noun that the things referring to by such a mass noun are usually extended, scattered or spread over a relatively wide area. He says that it can intensify the meaning in such a way that the object referred to is bigger or smaller, or further intensify the meaning of a stem, e.g.
8. (a) Isaphetha (large bowl) 
(b) Isâbato (Many openings in trap; splayed feet)

Louw further notes that a number of organs of the body may be found in class 7. He however indicates that there is no specific reason why they are found here because nouns denoting physiological organs are found in diverse classes.

Louw claims that Meinhof and Cole are of the idea that class 8 zi- is actually the same as that of class 10. Louw also shows that the number of nouns with PB B1 in their stem is limited, and that one cannot find reflexes for all in Nguni.

2.3 MORPHOLOGY: DERIVATION AND INFLECTION

2.3.1 Beard, R. (2001)

In this chapter, Beard (2001) discusses the notion of derivational morphology or what is known as word formation. He does so by contrasting it with inflection. He argues that while inflection specifies the grammatical functions of words in phrase, derivation usually results in derivation of a new word with new meaning. He points out however that this definition is a traditional one, and indicates that it has failed to secure a clear distinction between the two types of morphology.

He therefore devotes much time discussing different view points surrounding derivation. He starts off by discussing the lexicalist’s view point. Here, Beards indicates that Chomsky (1970), proposed a sharp modular distinction between lexical and syntactic processes. He contends that according to the lexicalist position, words are derived in the lexicon and emerge with an internal structure to which syntax has no access. Sentences, on the other hand, are said to be generated by principles of syntax, to which lexical operation have no access.

Beard indicates that according to the lexicalist, lexicism entails a set of diagnostics which distinguish derivation from inflection. The first one is that if inflection is relevant only to syntax, the output of inflectional rules cannot be listed lexically, while derivation, on the other hand, is purely lexical, i.e. its output is a new word which is subject to the lexical listing. It is also argued that listing allows lexical but not inflectional derivates to semantically lexicalize. An example given to that effect is went. It claimed that even though it has been phonogically lexicalized, semantically, went remains the past tense of go.

The second diagnostic of the lexicalist, according to Beard, shows if lexical operations precede syntactic ones, and if derivational operations map isomorphically onto marking operations, inflectional markers will always occur outside derivational markers as in the Russian example lēt-či̇k-a fly-AGANT-GEN ‘the flyers’ (pilot’s), where the derivational agentive marker -(š) či̇k precedes the inflectional case marker -a.
Beard indicates that the third diagnostic is that since inflection is purely syntactic, it cannot change the lexical category of a word; but that derivation does change word category. An example given to this effect is the agentive suffix -cik-a, as shown in the Russian example above. It is contended that this suffix changes the verbal base to a noun. It is also indicated that although the verbal changes into a noun, the case does not affect the nominal status.

Beard indicates that the final diagnostic contends that since inflection specifies syntactic relations rather than names semantic categories, it should be fully productive, i.e. an inflectional stem susceptible to one function of a paradigm, should be susceptible to all paradigms. An example given to illustrate the point is of a verb. It is argued that no verb should conjugate in the singular but not the plural, or in the present but not the past tense. It is also argued that the productivity of derivation is determined by semantic category.

Beard indicates that each of the lexicalist diagnostics is vexed by some aspect of data. He argues that while he agrees that derivation does change the meaning of words and allow the derivate to become the lexical entry in the lexicon, case functions also does lexicalize. He gives an example from Russian, in which he claims the instrumental never marks punctual time. He contends that punctuality in this instance is marked by V ‘in’ + Acc, e.g. Vremya ‘at that time’. He argues that the instrumental time nouns must be lexically marked, even though punctuality is a case function.

Beard indicates that under current grammatical theories, lexical selection occurs prior to agreement operations and the amalgamation of functional categories under inflection. He argues that under the above observation, if indeed derivation is a lexical process, inflectional operations must apply subsequent to lexical ones. He shows that inflectional marker will emerge in surface structure outside derivational markers.

He contends that it seems as if this rule does not always apply, because there are instances where inflectional markers occur inside derivational one, thereby violating the above rule. He gives an example of derivation if verbs by proverbs. He claims that prefixes which often share the form of an adverb adposition, is considered derivational since these derivates often lexicalize semantically. He shows that in the case of English, these derivations are marked with discontinuous morphemes, e.g. bring (someone around). He also gives a case of Sanskrit, where derivations prefix the base, e.g. pari=nayat (around he leads).

Beard maintains that the third entailment of lexicalism, which indicates that derivation changes the category of a stem, while inflection does not, also faces serious challenges. The first challenge surrounds the so called lexical and grammatical categories. He argues that it is not clear whether N, V, A are lexical or syntactic categories. He shows that up to now these elements are presumed to belong to both, which, according to him undermines the strict modularity of lexicalism.
He shows that even if these categories, i.e. N,V,A are assumed to be lexical they still raise another question, i.e. why are they not changed by derivations like violin: violinist, cream: creamy. On the same note, Beard shows that a diminutive also does not alter the referential category of its base, even though it changes its sense, just as inflection does. He gives a Russian example dožd ‘rain’, which demonstrate this idea, because if diminutive suffixes are attached to it, it will be: dožd-ik ‘a little rain’: dožd-ič-ek ‘a tiny little rain’. He contends that all examples above refer to rain, even though they might express varying judgments and attitudes of the speaker towards a particular instance of rain.

Beard contends that there are also some few instances in which ostensible inflectional functions belong to categories other than that of the base. He gives an example of English participles like talking and raked. He shows that these participles freely reflect the inflectional category of aspect, tense, and voice, as in John is talking and the leaves have been raked, but on the other hand these participles may serve the relational adjectival function of attribution, e.g. the talking boy, the raked leaves.

Beard maintains that in spite of the shortcomings, described above, these lexicalist diagnostics contain data which helps in describing what derivation is. Beard argues that there are three accounts of derivation that have emerged in the recent literature. He asserts that the first one considers derivation as a matter of lexical selection, i.e. the selection of an affix and copying it into word –level-structure. He shows that others see derivation as the process of inserting or reduplicating affixes, vocalic apophony, etc. the final view is that of Jackendoff and Bybee, who argue that derivation is a set of static paradigmatic lexical relations.

Beard shows that although there are different views on what derivation actually is, there is agreement among linguists that the lexical entry upon which derivational rules operate comprise of at least three types of features, i.e. phonological matrix, a grammatical subcategorization frame, and a semantic interpretation. He contends that all these features are mutually implied, i.e. one cannot occur at the expense of another.

Beard examines each of the three accounts of derivation stated above. He starts with the one which holds the opinion that derivation is nothing more than a matter of lexical selection. He shows that scholars expressing this view are advocates of Word Syntax, such as Selkirk (1982), Lieber (1981, 1992), Scalise (1984), and Sprout (1985). He maintains that according to these scholars, derivation is a matter of the selection of an affix from the lexicon. He shows that they base their view upon the existence of word-internal hierarchical structure, i.e. below the Xo level.

Beard cites Lieber (1992), who claims that this structure does not differ from syntactic structure, i.e. words contain specifiers, heads and complements, just as do clauses. Beard argues that if words
contain their own structure, and if affixes are regular lexical entries like stems, then derivation, compounding, and regular lexical selection may all be accomplished by lexical selection. He gives the structure in (2) as the illustration to his view:

Beard argues that derivational affixes in (2), are not distinguished from stems, but share the same classification, morpheme, which is defined as a classical linguistic sign. He contends that this means that morphemes have the same mutually implied phonological, grammatical, and semantic representations as do lexemes. Beard shows that according to Lieber, the grammatical representation contains the category and subcategorization of the affix, plus any diacritics, such as its level order. He asserts that the semantic representations of the stems and affixes in (2), compose under the scope conditions provided by the structural hierarchy and the head-dominance principles. According to Beard, Lieber also contends that in (2) the rightmost lexical item dominates and assigns the grammatical and semantic categories to the derivate or compound, as indicated by the boldface branches. He indicates that in word syntax theory of derivation it is assumed that affixes are regular lexical items, and that such items may serve as head of derivates. Beard argues against the view expressed by Lieber. He maintains that morphology involves far more types of markings than simple affixation.

Beard shows that those who are in favor of the notion of derivation as a morphological operations, such as Anderson (1992), Aronoff (1976, 1994) and Beard (1981), extend the notion of grammatical morphemes as operations developed in Matthews’s WORD-AND-PARADIGM theory to derivation. He shows that these scholars are of the view that process morphology addresses that type of morphology other than external affixation. The examples given to this here shows that both inflectional and derivational morphology are characterized by reduplication.

Beard asserts that reduplication is a process which copies all or part of the phonological representation of a stem as an affix. He gives an example of the Dakota de-adjectival verbalization puza ‘dry’ and Cepa ‘fat’. He shows that this de-adjectival verbalization may reduplicate as follows: puspuza be dry, and cepcepa ‘be fat’. He postulates that it is difficult to classify reduplication as a lexical item, because reduplication requires the prior existence of some lexeme. He therefore suggests that reduplication must take place subsequent to lexical selection, and hence cannot be occurred for by lexical selection itself.
Beard asserts that infixation also characterize inflectional and derivational morphology. He expresses the view that languages widely exhibit this phenomenon. He gives an example of the inchoative de-adjectival verb in Tagalog infixes base. Here, Beard shows that *ganda* ‘beautiful’ may be *gumand* ‘become beautiful, and *gising* ‘awake’, may be *gumising* ‘awaken’.

Bears argued that processual morphology handles infixation with the same sort of rules employed in accounting for external affixation. He points out that structures such as (2), cannot adequately explain infixation without special phonological rules which determine the position of infixes but not prefixes and suffixes. He further argues that this kind of interpretation of derivation distinguishes operations on the grammatical representation of the lexical base from the phonological modifications of the base such as affixation.

In this structure, Bears shows that affixation applies after mophorlexical and mophorsyntactic rules have provided the base with derivational features. He contends that in this way, affixation becomes a set of phonological modifications of the phonological representation of the base conditioned by the grammatical features. He shows that the head of such derivation is the lexical base. He notes that the crucial factor determining the order of affixes is the order in which they are attached.

Beard shows that proponents of the third assertion, which indicates that derivation is simply a state set of lexical relations are Jackendoff (1975) and Bybee (1988). He contends that Jackendoff is of the view that all derivates must be listed in the lexicon since they are subject to lexicalization. He argues that derivational rules are redundancy rules, i.e. rules which state the single redundant relation.

Beard maintains that Bybee on the other hand argues for a connectionist theory of mophorlogy, based on the theory of parallel distributed processing. Beard contends that in Bybee’s view lexical items to which they are applicable. Beard shows that according to Bybee, derivation rule is simply a relationship which is more represented, where “strongly” refers to the number of representations a pattern has in long term memory. Beard indicates that Bybee gave the following words of verbal pairs as his example: *cling : clung, sling : slung, and sting : stung*. In this way, Beard shows that according to Bybee, a derivation rule is simply a relationship which is more strongly represented. He further shows that Bybee is of the view that the phonological relation /Iŋ/ : /Aŋ/ is more strongly represented than /Kl/ : /Sl/ or /Sl/ : /St/.

Beard indicates that Bybee postulate that the more represented phonological relation are more likely to be associated with the past tense, as in the three verbal pairs above, than the less represented ones.

Beard also indicates that Bybee claim that when speakers add the past tense innotively, they simply search their memories for phonological relations associated with the past tense and choose one analogical.
Beard is not in favour of Bybee’s view. He maintains that Bybee’s rule reduces derivation to the arrangement of memorized items in mental storage. He argues in favour of lexical selection, claiming that only this rule is required to account for morphology.

Arguing about the motion of the affixes as heads, Beard contends that if affixes are regular lexical items which may be selected for word structures as fully derived words are selected; affixes should be able to serve as heads, as do fully derived word. He further contends that if affixes are just the results of process, they cannot be lexical heads. He asserts that if derived words are structured they should be the same as syntactic structure. Beard shows that Lieber and Sproet support the view that the two structures are similar. According to Beard, these scholars argue that not only are the two types of structure identical, but the principles for composing words are precisely those of X-bar syntax.

Beard argues that as the major contention of modern X-bar theory is that the head of a phrase (X) determines the category of the whole phrase (XP), then if what the two scholars are saying is true, word syntax has to be tested against this contention, to see whether the head of a derived word determines the category of the whole word.

He cites Williams (1981b), who advanced the account of affixes as heads of words, i.e. the head of a word is its rightmost element. Beard shows that following this definition, the head of breadwinner in (2a) above would be -er. He further contends that if this is taken to be true it means that affixes are lexical items. He further argues that if they are construed as lexical items, it means that –er should be interpreted as a noun in the same sense that bridge in drawbridge in (2c) is. He shows that this will imply that the heads of redraw and healthy in (2b), should be draw and healthy, respectively, since prefixes in Indo-European languages to change the category of the derived to which they adhere.

Beard shows that the above approach is rendered incompatible by some features which could be raised from nonheads. He gives an example of diminutive which usually bear the features of the base rather than the affix. He uses the noun from Russian to illustrate his view. He shows that the noun Sobaka ‘dog’ and its diminutive, sobač-k-a, are feminine, whereas the noun jazyk ‘tongue’ and its diminutive jazykč-ok, are both masculine. Beard also gives examples from German diminutives, which he claims, are different from Russian, in that they are consistently neuter. His example is der Brief: das Briefchen, which both mean ‘letter’, and die lampe: das Lämpchen, which all mean ‘lamp’.

In an attempt to solve this problem, Beard cites Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), who propose that feature inheritance should relativize the head, i.e. features of category present in the stem but not in the affix should determine the lexical categorization of the final derived word. According to Beard, these scholars contend that this approach presumes the affixes, like Russian diminutive suffixes, are unmarked for certain features, such as gender. Beard indicates that they assert that this kind of phenomenon allows gender features to be inherited by the derivate from the highest node. Beard also
shows that these scholars hold the view that German suffix -chem bears an inheritance gender valuation, which is neuter, and that they pass it un the derivate.

Beard argues that this kind of approach renders them radically different from phrasal heads, which are always absolute and never relative. Another difference that Beard notes, is that face, for example, may regarded as a noun phrase just as a strange phase peering through the door, whereas 1st I’n violinist, for example, cannot be equalled to a noun.

Beard argues that there is another clue to the question of morphological heads that needs to be looked at. He maintains the phonological structures at a wide range of derivations do not isomorphically parallel their semantic structures. He gives an example in English. He shows that the comparative suffix –er is restricted to monosyllabic stems, ending on a weak vowel, e.g. quick : quicker, happy : happier. He further notes that trisyllabic stems behave differently from the above stems, accept unhappier, which he argues is because the suffix –er attaches to happy before un-. He claims that the semantic reading of such terms is not ‘not happier’, but ‘more happy’. Beard shows that the morphological and semantic structures of such forms are therefore mismatched. He argues that such morpho semantic mismatches require an exceptional treatment.

In an attempt to up with this exceptional treatment, Beard cites Hoeksema (1985), who contends that every rule of derivation has a correlate that applies specifically to Heads. Beard indicates that Stump (1992) criticized Hoeksema’s view. He instead postulates that English derived verbs exhibit the effect of a head operation in maintaining their conjugations, even when serving as abase in a derivate. He gives an example by demonstrating how past tense operates in English. He shows that the past tense of understand is understood, and of overdrive is overdrove.

According to Beard, Stump contends that these examples demonstrate that morphology applies strictly to stand and drive, respectively, and not to the entire word, although he believes that the past tense has effect over the entire word. Beard assets that Stump argue that if morphology was to apply to the entire words, the past tense of the two words above, would be *understood and *overdrived, respectively which would be unacceptable.

Beard argues that morphosemantic mismatch could be accounted for by the same operation described above. He asserts that the morphology of the negative adjective in unhappier applies strictly to the head of the derivate, happy, even though the effect of comparison extends to the entire word, unhappy.

Beard postulates that head operation of this sort may be extended to instances of inflection occurring inside derivation. He gives a Sanskrit perfect as an example, e.g. pari=nayat ‘he marries’: Pari=a nayat ‘he married’. He also gives diminutives examples from Hebrew, Yiddish, and Breton:
Beard postulates that diminutive suffixes are grammatical empty, and that the stem is the head. He shows that following this view we should assume that the Sanskrit perfect inflection is added to the head (stem) inside the proverb. In concluding the section of head operations, Beard reiterates the fact that the scope of all derivational functions is the entire word to which it is added, but the only variation is in the placement of affixes marking them. He maintains that this kind of approach endorses the assumption that the morphological head of a word is its root or stem.

Another issue that Beard tackles in this article is what he calls Synthetic Compounds versus derivation. However he first describes the status of Synthetic Compounds by distinguishing them from analytical compounds. Beard points out that compound such as *drawbridge* and *redhead*, are analytic, while *truck-driver*, *truck-driving*, and *redheaded* are synthetic.

Beard argues that most analytical compounds are not related to derivation, and that some of them are just a simple process of combing lexemes. He contends that the head of such compounds are composed of constituents belonging to different categories, determines the category of the compound. He further argues that the right constituent determines the category of English compound, e.g. a *house boat* is a boat, while a *boathouse* is a house.

Beard indicates that this kind of description does not include prepositions, since compounds with propositional modifiers are often adjectives. He further shows that prepositional compounds also do not comply with the head rule, e.g. *without* does not imply *out*, and *in* and *on* are not the heads of *into* and *onto*. He argues that following the evidence given here it clear that adpositions are not lexemes in the sense that N, V, A stems are.

Beard maintains that synthetic compounds do resemble simple derivation in several respects. He shows that they share the same derivational categories often marked by the same affixes. The following are his examples: *bearded: grey-bearded, driver: truck-driver*.

Beard asserts that although analytical compounds generally, do not behave like simple derivation, there is an exception with analytic BahuVrihi Compounds. He shows that BahuVrihi Compounds like *redhead*, and *long-hair*, do share their derivational functions with possessional function like *redheaded* and *long-haired*. He concludes this section by indicating that is should be assumed that analytical compounds represent an independent lexical means of derivation.

In this article, Beard also includes the notion of mophorological asymmetry. He asserts that it is common for grammatical morphemes to be confunctional and multifunctional. In this instance, Beard cites Karcevskij who noted that while several endings mark the genitive in Russian, -i, -a, -u, each
also have multiple functions. He shows that Karcevskil gives an example of -a, which marks also feminine nominative singular and neuter plural.

Beard asserts that Matthew (1972), has identified other morphological asymmetries, which he calls extended and cumulative exponence. He gives his example from a Latin word rēxistī [re: k-ss-is-ti] ‘you (sg.) ruled’, in which the suffix -ti: cumulatively (simultaneously) marks second person, singular, and perfective. Beard asserts that according to Matthews, the remaining markers, which are -s and -is are empty extensions of -it, which redundantly marks the perfective too.

According to Beard, Matthews holds the view that the same phenomenon demonstrated above can apply to derivation. He shows that in the adjectival dra-at-ic-al, -at and –al are empty extensions of -ic-. He further indicates that the German suffix –er in Lehr-er ‘teacher’, cumulatively marks [+ subjective], [+ masculine], and [declesion].

Beard contends that Matthew further shows that zero (nuu) morphology also reflects morphological asymmetry. He gives an example of English noun count modalic (instrumental) nominals, where he shows that while most of these nominals require either the suffix –er, e.g. conditioner, softener, or –ant, e.g. stimulant and relaxant, many require no suffix at all, e.g. a rinse, a wash, etc.

Beard cites Bazell (1949, 1952), who argues that these phenomenon collectively indicate a fault in structurilist morphology, what he calls the correspondence fallacy. Beard shows that Bazell, in the correspondence fallacy argues that the phonogical analysis of a word need not correspond to its semantic analysis. He believes that each level should be defined in its own terms.

Beard contends that other scholars such as (Beard 1966, 76), Kiefer (19700, and Leiter (1973) argued in favor of the correspondence fallacy. They propose the separation Hypothesis in which they claim that the functional and spelling of derivation are discrete and autonomous. Beard asserts that the separation Hypothesis assumes that lexical items are restricted to N, V, A, and that A stems, all of which are perfect signs comprising mutually implied phonological, grammatical, and semantic representations.

According to Beard, the hypothesis provides a set of abstract lexical operations on the grammatical representation of a lexical item discrete from operations on the phonological and semantic representation. Beard is of the view that algorithms in an autonomous morphological phenomenon like those proposed by Matthew (1972) modify the phonological representation of grammatical and semantically derived stems. Beard further rejects the claim that compounding operations which combine words like truck and driving can establish the semantic scope of compound constituents. He prostitutes that semantic scope of compound constituents can be accomplished by autonomous principles of composition based on the argument structure of the phrasal head, which, in this case is drive.
Beard maintains that the separation of grammatical and phonological operations allows for the simple account of all morphological asymmetry. He asserts that cumulative exponence results from a single stem modification conditioned by several grammatical features, while extended exponence is the collective marking by several stem modification of a single feature. He postulates that there is no difference between confunctionality and multifunctionality. He further contends that zero morphology is simply derivation without affixation, while empty morphemes are a result of affixation without derivation.

Beard expresses the view that morphosemantic mismatches may be resolved by a similar separation of derivation and semantic composition. He contends that the asymmetry of KarceVskij is more of a morphophological mismatch between derivation and phonological realization. In conclusion to this section, Beard postulates that semantic, derivation, and affixation represent three distinct levels of morphological operations.

In this article, Beard also discusses the properties of derivation, i.e. their types and the types of affixation marking them. He argues that while it is generally agreed that derivation refers to any process which results in a creation of a new word, the output of some morphological operations is more principled than others.

Beard argues that not all types of derivation into the derivational paradigms like (6). He further argued that at times words may be misanalyzed when a phonological sequence identical with that of an affix is misperceived as that affix. He shows that when this kind of phenomenon occurs, the result is that a previously non-existent underlying base is extracted and added to the permanent lexical store via the process of backformation. He illustrates this idea by giving an example of a word such as sculptor. He indicates that this word was borrowed as an integral base into English. He shows that what happened is that because the final phoneme cluster of this word /2/ is identical with an agentive marker in English, and since sculptor is an agentive noun, a verbal base, to sculpt, has been extracted from this agentive noun base, and added to the stocks of English verbs. He maintains that because of this misanalysis and misperception, sculptor has ultimately changed from being a lexical base to a derivate, i.e. it is now construed as derived from a previously false verbal base, to sculpt.

Beard maintains that there are several facts that show that backformation is not a derivational process. The first one is that in order to use backformed words, we must be familiar with them. He asserts that although some potential back-formed words are used, there are many more which cannot be used. He gives an example of butcher and barber in this instance. He postulates that it is not possible to back-form these words into, for example, *butches and *barbs, otherwise they will result in acceptability.

Beard shows that the second fact is that rather than forming a derivational relationship with a base like in (6), back-formed words create a new base; i.e. expanding the underived lexical stock. In this way,
Beard distinguishes two types of word formations, lexical stock expansion on the one hand, and regular derivation, what he calls lexical derivation, on the other hand.

Beard maintains that clipping, e.g. telephone: phone, bends, e.g. smoke + fog = smog, acronymization, e.g., aids, and analogical formation, e.g. workalic, all conform to the description of back-formations. He asserts that back-formation generates a base which the lexicon lacks. He is of the view that clipping produces a redundant base, but a new one all the same. According to him telephone and phone has the same range of grammatical derivation and the same meaning, e.g. (tele) phoner and (tele) phoning. He further asserts that clipping usually reduces polysyllabic word into monosyllabic one; by removing the initial syllables, e.g. phone, or the final syllables, e.g. phone, or the final syllables e.g. rep, or even the initial and final syllables, e.g. flu.

Beard also notes that blending, acronymization and analogical formation, behave differently from grammatical derivation. He argues that words like smog, motel and tangelo are created intentionally by a logical process, i.e. if the reference is part A and B, then the word referring to it should compromise parts of the words for A and B. Beard contends that acronyms like aids have been converted from phrases to the initial letters of the words in those phrases. He further asserts that such kind of phenomena is not part of grammar.

Beard postulates that analogical forms like workaholic, cheeseburger, differ from regular derivations in that they require prosodic identity, i.e. the output must contain four syllables with penultimate accent, when they have to add genuine suffixes like -ing.

He maintains that other process belonging to lexical stock expansion processes are borrowing, communization, semantic narrowing, loan translation, folk etymology, etc. He asserts that such process tend to be conscious, extra grammatical and usually result in grammatically irregular. He further contends that they do not fill a position in some lexical paradigm like (6), but they create new lexical bases which then generate their own paradigms. Beard argues that the above type of derivation, which he calls lexical-stock-expansion, differs drastically from regular or lexical derivation.

Beard distinguishes four type of derivation, which are featural derivation, functional derivation, transposition and expressive derivation. He claims that featural derivation does not change the category of the underlying base, but operates on the values of inherent features. He argues that one of such features is natural gender in connection with markedness. He shows that in most languages with natural gender, unmarked form is usually masculine. He further indicates that there is a technical notation that unmarked masculine nouns may refer to males and females, which is represented as [+feminine, +masculine]. He gives the example of the noun student to this effect. He indicates that
this noun may refer to females and males, but that generally, all grammatical agreement of this noun will be the same as masculine noun like ‘brother’ or ‘father’.

Beard indicates that this kind of marking is totally unaccepted, since default masculines nouns like *student* differ from pure masculines in that they possess both masculine and feminine properties. He asserts that there is a need of some rule which will convert and default masculine nouns into feminine. He contends that what is required grammatically and semantically, is the toggling of the masculine feature from positive and negative, e.g.

7. [+feminine, +masculine] → [+Feminine - masculine]

Beard argues that (7), successfully converts unmarked masculine to marked feminine, just like feminine noun *sestra* ‘sister’, which refers exclusively to females and not males.

The second type of lexical derivation that Beard discusses is what he calls functional derivation. In order to clearly describe what this type of derivation is, Beard cites Kurylowicz (1939), who distinguished add features to the underlying base from those which merely change its category, e.g.

8. (a) recruit : recruit-er (b) recruit : recruit-ee (c) bak : bak-ery

Beard maintains that Kurylowicz refers to this type of derivation as “derivation lexicale”, because the derivate differs semantically from its base. Beard asserts that this view was affirmed by other scholars who came after Kurylowics. Beard indicates that these scholars also noted that there was a similarity between the functions of this kind of derivation and of the case system.

Beard postulates that the names of nominals like *recruiter* and *recruitee*, which are agentive, and patientive, respectively, suggest the semantic functions of this type of derivation. He asserts that many agentive form may be animate, e.g. *breaker, floater*, and that many are not even active, e.g. *riser, divider*. He further indicates that there are also patientive forms which are inanimate, e.g. *painting, writing*.

Beard argues that, based on the above information it would seem that this type of derivation is based on Case functions, e.g. (nominative of) subject, (accusative of) object, (locative of) place, (genitive of) possession and material, (ablative of) origin, (dative of) purpose, and (instrumental of) means. According to Beard, all languages express these functions with case endings, adpositions, or a combination of both,

Beard distinguishes the third type of lexical derivation as transposition. He asserts that transposition changes the category but without any functional change. He illustrates this view in the example in (9) below:
According to him, transposition does not introduce any argument, but simply shifts a stem frame one category to another.

The last type of lexical derivation that Beard distinguishes is the expressive derivation. He argues that expressive derivation does not change the referential scope of its input, and that it also does not change the lexical category of a base. He gives an example of a Russian word for rain, which can be дождь, doždik and дождь-и-ч-ек, which all refer to the same conceptual category. According to Beard, the formal variation of these words reflects subjective perceptions of the speaker, i.e. whether he perceives that rain to be relatively light, beneficial, or pleasant. He contents that this Russian example indicates that expressive derivation may be recursive.

Beard maintains that diminutive and augmentive occurs under expressive derivation. He further indicates that pejorative and affectionate forms also occur in expressive derivation. To illustrate his view, gives another Russian example, e.g. книга: knižonka ‘damned book (of little book)’ and папа ‘daddy’: папоčка.

Beard points out that expressive derivation differs from the other types of lexical derivation, because, unlike the others, it does not involve a category change.

In this article, Beard also discusses the realization and productivity of phonological realization (stem modification) of derivation. He maintains that both derivation and inflection seem to behavein the same way in this respect, with the exception of free morphemes. According to Beard free morphemes cannot occur in derivation since they require a structural position. He however, claims that evidence indicates that the bound phonological realization of derivational and inflectional morphology is provided by a single component. He gives an example of the English suffix -ing, which, he believes, may be attached to verb stems to generate inflectional forms like the progressive, e.g. is painting, the present participle, e.g. painting machine. Beard postulates that derivation differs in many respects from inflection, because it seem to be an abstract process which is independent of the various means of phonological realization and the means of semantic interpretation as occurs in inflection.

He further argues that two types of marking, subtraction and metathesis, weakly represented in inflection do not occur in derivation. He gives an example from Papago to illustrate this point. He shows that Papago seems to derive perfective verbs from imperfective ones by deleting the final consonant, of there is one, e.g. him ‘walking’: hi ‘walked’ (sg.); hihi ‘walking’ (pl.): hihi ‘walked’ (pl.).

Beard maintains that evidence have revealed that another type of verbal derivation is marked by discontinuous morphemes. According to Beard, discontinuous morphemes are morphemes which may
be loosened or removed from the base. He gives an example of the English correlative proverbs. He shows that this is a type of verbal prefix expressing a close set of adverbial functions, which is a particle which is written separately and may appear either immediately following the verb on the VP. He illustrates this view by an example from Russian and English:

10. (a) Ivan vy-vel sobaku ‘John brought [out] his dog [out]’
(b) Ivan-v-vel sobaku ‘John brought [in] his dog [in]’
(c) Ivan so-stavil plan ‘John put [together] a plan [together]’

Beard maintains that because verbs with preverbs form notoriously irregular patterns and are also notorious for idiomatizing, they are considered lexical derivates. He indicates that these preverbs attached to the outside of the fully inflected verb, the head of the VP. He asserts that in order to account for such morphemes it would better to regard them as clitics. According to him, clitics are defined in terms of attachment to either the phrasal head or periphery, depending on the morphological conditions of specific languages.

Beard notes other six additional types of stem modification, apart from preverbs. He indicates that the first one is the affixation (prefixation, suffixation, and infixation), which according to him is the most productive means of marking derivation. He is of the view that affixes may attach only to the inside or outside of the initial or final phoneme or syllable, or to either side of the head. He further notes that circumfixation is merely an extended exponence, which involves a prefix and a suffix simultaneously.

The second type of modification that Beard distinguishes is apophony (stem mutation, reevoweling). He argues that this type of stem modification is mostly attested in Semitic languages. He shows that in these languages, lexical items comprise consonants only, and that vowels are used to mark morphological functions. An example that he provides to this effect is of the (Algerian) Arabic stem for write, which is *k+b-. He indicates that the derivate for book, from this stem is Ktaab, and that of a writer is kaatab.

The third type of modification that Beard distinguishes is Conversion. He defines it as a transposition of a lexeme from one category to another without affixation. He gives an example an example of to dry, to wet and to empty. He shows that these kind of derivates are different from the affixed derivates, e.g. to shorten, and to normalize. He further maintains that stems which convert are precluded from affixation, e.g. to *endry, and to *wetten. According to Beard, account of such forms shows that those without affixation are null marked variants of the same derivation which otherwise marked by a variety of affixes.

Another type of item modification, according to Beard, is the paradigmatic derivation. He postulates that this involves the shifting of the base from one nominal declension class to another, with or without a derivational marker. He illustrates this view by giving an example from Swahili. He shows
that in Swahili diminutives are formed by shifting nouns to noun 3, e.g. **M-lango** ‘door’ (class 2): **ki-lango** ‘little door’ (class 3).

The fifth type of stem modification distinguished by Beard is prosodic modification. Beard asserts that a derivational function may be marked by simply shifting the accent from the stem of the prefix, e.g. **surve’y**: **su’rvey**. Beard postulate that the prosodic process is productive with verbs prefixed by **re-**, e.g. **rewri’t’e**: **re’write**, **rema’ke**: **re’make**. Beard argues that the morpheme **re-** seems to be responsible for the process of shifting the accent from syllable to another.

Beard distinguishes the last type of stem modification as reduplication. He indicates that derivation is often marked by the full or partial reduplication of a part of the stem attached to it. He gives an example of Indonesian, which forms adverbs from all categories by completely reduplicating them, e.g. **Kira** ‘guess’: **kira-kira** ‘approximately’. Beard points out that reduplication may be combined with various types of affixation. He gives an example of an Indonesian word, **anak** ‘child’, in which both reduplication and affixes can appear in it, e.g. **ke-anak-anak-an** ‘childish’.

Beard maintains that all modes of stem modification discussed in this article are equally productive. He however, notes that some are more productive than others. He illustrates this point by citing Aronoff (1976), who indicated that affixes such as the English **-ing** and **-ness**, tend to be more productive and more predictable in that they involve no allomorphy, e.g. **deriding** and **kindness**. Beard asserts that Aronoff also discovered that affixes which do induce allomorphy, such as **-ion** and **-ity**, e.g. **deride**: **derision**, and **curious**: **curiosity** are less productive.

### 2.3.2 Stump, G.T. (2001)

In this article, Stump (2001) discusses the notion of inflection. He maintains that the notion of inflection rests on the notion of lexeme. He defines a lexeme as a unit of linguistic analysis which belong to a particular syntactic category, which has a particular meaning or grammatical function, and which enters into syntactic combination as a single word, e.g. **sing**, **sings**, **sang**, **sung**, and **singing** might be given the arbitrary label **SING**.

Stump asserts that words realizing a given lexeme can be conceived as units of form (i.e. phonological word such as **/saen/** and as units of grammatical words), such as the past tense of **SING**. He contends that the full set of words realizing a particular lexeme constitutes a paradigm. He argues that the structure of paradigms in a given language is determined by the inventory of morphosyntactic properties available in that language. He shows that by morphosyntactic he refers to features such as PERSON, NUMBER and TENSE. He indicates that these features may be used to form a paradigm with twelve cells, each occupied by a particular word realizing, e.g.

1. {PER 1, NUM: Sg., TNS: pres}  {PER 1, NUM: Sg., TNS: past}
Stump sees the lexeme’s root as the unit of form whose paradigm of phonological word is deduced, e.g. *sing*, *sang*, *sung* and *singing* are all deduced from the root *sing*. Stump notes that it is possible for some lexemes to have more than one root. He gives an example of the French word *ALLER* which, he claims, has the root *all-* in *allons* ‘we go’, and the root *i-* in *irons* ‘we will go’. Stump contends that in some instances a root also qualifies as a stem. He gives an example of the Latin word *duk-s-i* ‘I led’, which has the perfect stem *duk-s-*.

Stump is of the view that once the existence of lexemes is assumed, two different uses of morphology can be distinguished. He shows that firstly, morphological devices can be used to deduce new lexemes from existing lexemes, and secondly, morphology deduces an agentive nominal lexeme *singer* from the verbal lexeme *sing*. Stump maintains the morphology calls the paradigm-deducing use inflection and lexeme-deducing is labeled word formation, which encompasses derivation and compounding. Stump postulates that there are five criteria which are used to distinguish inflection from derivation. He asserts that these criteria are independent of one another.

Stump shows that the first one has something to do with a change in lexical meaning or part of speech. He indicates that it is usually asserted that two expressions related by principles of derivation may differ in their lexical meaning, their part of speech membership; but two expressions belonging to the same inflectional paradigm will share both the lexical meaning and their part of speech.

Stump argues that by this criterion, the rule of agentive nomilization which produces *SINGER* from *sing* must be derivational, while the rule of pluralization which produces *singers* from *singer* need not be. Stump points out a number of limitations with respect to this rule. He contends that a change in lexical meaning is not always accompanied by change in part of speech, i.e. some derivation is category-preserving. He gives an example of the derivation of *reread* from *read*. He indicates that this example shows that category change is not a necessary property of derivation, but at most a sufficient property.

Stump shows again that synonymous pairs such as *cyclic / cyclical* suggest the derivation morphology need not to change the lexical meaning; but that change of lexical meaning is also at most a sufficient property distinguishing derivational morphology from inflection. Stump also shows that the above rule is not consistent with the other rules, since there are morphological phenomena which are arguably inflectional but which involve a change in part of speech. He gives an example of a verbal
lexeme’s past participle, which he indicates that traditionally, it seems as an integral part of its paradigm, yet pat participles are in many languages adjectival in character.

The second criterion that Stump distinguishes is syntactic determination. He shows that it is usually argued that a lexeme’s syntactic context may require that it be realized by a particular class of derivatives. Stump shows that following this criterion, if the lexeme sing is to head complement of the auxiliary verb Have, it must assume its participial form, e.g. They have *sing / *sings / *sang / sung / *singing several sea shanties. He shows that by contrast, there is no syntactic context which requires agentive nominalizations such as singer and excludes simplex lexemes such as FAN: 9 singer / fan of shanties.

Stump argues that this criterion is in favor of the assertion “inflectional morphology is what is relevant to syntax”. Stump argues that not all inflectional morphology is directly relevant to syntax. He gives an example of inflectional expressions of conjugation or declension-class-membership, e.g. the distinct theme vowels of Latin Laud-a-mus ‘we praise’ and mo-e-mus ‘we remind’, which he claims need to be relevant to syntax, but may be morphomic. Stump points out that the logic of inflection entails that the distinct members of a lexeme’s paradigm carry distinct sets of morphosyntactic properties.

The third criterion that Stump distinguishes is productivity. He indicates that is usually said that inflectional is generally more productive than derivation, i.e. inflectional paradigms tend to be complete, while derivational relations are often sporadic. He gives an example of English, in which an arbitrary chosen count noun always allows inflected plural form; an arbitrary chosen adjective may or may not give rise to a related causative verb; e.g. harden, deafen, but colden and braven. Stump argues that while he agrees with the assertion of criterion (3), but sometimes this criterion is inconsistent with others.

He also notes that there are highly productive morphological phenomena which are derivational. He gives an example from English, where he shows that every nonmodal verb has a ground (a nominal derivate identical inform to the present participle). Stump asserts that there are also on some few instances, groups of forms which constitutes inflectional paradigms, but which are defective in that some of their cells are left empty, e.g. the paradigm of the French verb frire ‘to fry’, lacks a number of expected form, including those of subjunctive, the imperfect, the simple past, the plural of the present indicative, and the present participle.

He however, indicates that not all defective paradigms need be seen as unproductive inflection. He argues that defective paradigms are often systematically completed by sets of periphrastic forms. He gives an example of a classical Sanskant, in which many vowel initial roots consisting of a metrically heavy syllable lack an inflected perfect, but a periphrastic perfect formation makes up for this. Stump contends that if the cells of inflectional paradigms admit periphrastic formations as well as individual
inflected words, then defectiveness is not as common as it might seem. He points out that once periphrastic formations are admitted into inflectional paradigms, criteria must be established for distinguishing systematically complementary periphrastic from coincidence of meaning.

The fourth criterion that Stump distinguishes is semantic regularity. He shows that according to this criterion it is usually asserted that inflection is semantically more regular than derivation.

He illustrates this point by indicating that the third person singular present tense suffix -s in *sings* has the same semantic effect from one verb to the next, while the precise semantic effect of the verb-forming suffix -ize is somewhat variable, e.g. *winterize* and *hospitalize*. He maintains that this kind of difference can be attributed to lexical listing. He shows that it is usually assumed that the lexicon lists derivative lexemes, but not inflected words.

Stump argues that the fact that derived lexemes are listed in the lexicon frees their meaning to ‘drif’ idiosyncratically, while the fact that inflected forms are not listed requires their meanings to remain rule-regulated. He further postulates that it seems as if the meaning of the derived form is not full determined by the grammar, but depends on the intentions and inferences of language uses at the moment of its first use, i.e. the semantic idiosyncrasy of many derived lexemes follows not from the fact that their meanings are lexically listed, but from the fact that their meanings are inevitably shaped by pragmatic inferences at the very outset of their existence. He argues that in inflection, the meaning associated with each cell in paradigm is in general fully determinate. He however, argues that this does not mean that it is the form of inflected word that determines its meaning. He shows that, instead, an inflected word’s form frequently undermines its morphosyntactic and its semantics. He maintains that the inflected word’s meaning is generally a function of the lexeme which it realizes the cell which it occupies in that lexeme’s paradigm.

Stump argues that criterion (4) is occasionally inconsistent with other criteria. He contends that there are instances of semantic idiosyncrasy involving forms which are inflectional, while on the other hand classes of derived lexemes are sometimes quiet regular in meaning, e.g. English verbal derivatives in *re-*.

The last criterion of inflection-derivation distinction that Stump discusses is the entailment that inflection closes words to further derivation, while derivation does not. Stump points out that in English a private adjective cannot be derived from a noun’s inflected plural form, but can be derived from a noun’s uninflcted root. He argues that according to this rule words containing both inflectional and derivational affixes will always be further from the root than the derivational affixes. According to Stump, criterion 5 has been used to motivate a principle of grammatical organization.
known as split morphology Hypothesis, which stipulates that all derivation takes place in the lexicon, prior to lexical insertion; and that all regular inflection is post syntactic.

Stump argues that evidence demonstrates that both the criterion and the split morphology cannot be maintained. Stump shows that, contrary, to what the criterion says, it is common for category-preserving derivational morphology to appear outside of inflectional morphology. He gives an example of a Russian stucat-sja ‘to knock purposefully’, which is a derivative of stucat ‘to knock’, and the plural of the Breton diminutive noun bagig ‘little boat’, which is bagouigou in which one plural suffix -ou appear before the diminutive suffix -ing while the other appears after it.

Stump further claims that it is possible for category changing derivation to appear out-side of inflection. He gives an example of Breton plural nouns which can be converted to verbs from which a variety of derivates are ten possible, e.g. pes-ed ‘fish-Pl’, which rises to pesketa ‘to fish’, and the agentive nominalization peketer ‘fisherman’. He also shows that they can give rise to private adjectives, e.g. ler-ou ‘sock-Pl’ which gives rise to dilerou ‘without socks’.

After convincingly proved that the above criteria fail to make a distinction between inflection and derivation clear, stump attempts make a boundary between the two processes. He cites Bochner (1992:4), who postulates that inflection and derivation involve the same sorts of operations, such as prefixation, suffixation, reduplication and infixation. Stump contends that while Bochner’s view is true, it should also be indicated that the same operations might serve a derivational functions in some instances, and inflectional in another. He gives an example from Breton. He shows that the Breton suffix -enn yields feminine nouns. He demonstrates that in many instances it does so while serving a derivational function, e.g. bas ‘swallow’ (adj), basenn ‘shoal’ (n). Stump further shows that when -enn is suffixed to a collective noun, it yields the corresponding singulative, e.g. buzug ‘worms’: buzugenn ‘worm’.

Stump indicates that according to Aronoff (1994: 126), derivation and inflection are not kinds of morphology, i.e. inflection is the morphological realization of syntax, while derivation is the morphological realization of lexeme formation.

Seeing the intertwiness of inflection and derivation, Stump contends that distinction between the phenomena will be established only through the comparison of carefully constructed formal analysis. He postulates that such a theory must, however provide some means of accommodating exceptional morphological phenomena such as category-changing inflection and defective paradigms.

First, Stump attempts to distinguish between inflectional affixes and clitics. He argues that it is very difficult to make a line of distinction between the two because of their syntactic relevance. He defines clitics as elements which exhibit an affix-like phonological dependency on a neighboring word but
whose syntax is word-like. Stump provides six criteria for distinguishing the two phenomena, which he claims were proposed by Zwicky and Pullum (1983):

2. (a) Clitics exhibit a low degree of selection with respect to their hosts while affixes exhibit a high degree selection with respect to their stems.

(b) Arbitrary gaps in the set of combinations are more characteristic of affixed words that of clitic groups.

(c) Morphophonological idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than a clitic group.

d) Semantic idiosyncrasies are more characteristic of affixed words than a clitic group.

(e) Syntactic rules can affect words, but cannot affect groups.

(f) Clitics can attach to material already containing clitics, but affixes cannot.

Stump illustrates this view by giving an example of the Breton preposition da ‘to’. He shows that da may, on the one hand, inflect for agreement with a pronominal object, as in (3), while on the other hand, it may host the first-person clitic -m and the second-person clitic -z, as in (4):

3. 
   
   3. dim ‘to me’
   
   dit ‘to thee’
   

4. dam zad ‘to my father’
   
   dam gweloud ‘to see me’

He also discusses the functions of inflection. In order to explicitly discuss these functions, stump first distinguishes between morphosyntactic and lexicosemantic properties. He contends that morphosyntactic properties are phrase-level properties to which syntactic relations such as agreement and government are sensitive. His examples are plural and nonfinite in English. He is of the view that lexicosemantic, on the other hand, determines the manner in which it enters into semantic composition of large constituents, e.g. agentive and stative in English. He argues that while derivation serves to encode lexico-semantic relations within the lexicon; the function of the inflection is to encode phrase-level properties and relation.

Stump distinguishes three functions of inflections, namely, agreement properties, governed properties, and inherent properties. He asserts that agreement is asymmetrical in the sense that it depends on other member for some or all of its morphosyntactic properties. He illustrates this view by giving a French example. Here, Stump shows that French objectives cavary in number but not in gender, e.g. Petit animal Pl. petits animaux. He further indicates that the adjective must conform to the gender of the noun it modifies.

Stump maintains that even though the French adjectives and nouns cavary in number, the adjective is the dependent member of the relation of number agreement, i.e. adjectives exhibit number inflection wherever they appear, whether or not there is an agreeing expression. He thus defines agreement properties as those morphosyntactic properties which a word possesses by virtue of being dependent member of an agreement relation.
Stump notes that languages vary with respect to agreement morphology. He indicates that agreement relation may be the agreement of a modifier or specifier with the head of the encompassing phrase, e.g. the article and the adjective’s agreement with respect to number and gender with the nominal head; the agreement of a predicate with one or more of its arguments, e.g. verb agrees in person and number with its subject; the agreement of an anaphoric expression with its antecedent; and lastly, the agreement of a complementizer with the subject of its complement.

Stump observes that among languages that exhibit verb-argument agreement, a range of patterns is found. He shows that in an accusative agreement system, subjects are encoded differently from direct object, while in an ergative agreement system; subjects of transitive verbs are encoded differently from direct objects and subjects of intransitive verbs. He illustrates this view by an example from Vernacular Hindustani. He claims that in this language perfective/preterite verbs forms are marked identically for agreement with direct objects and intransitive subjects, and are not overtly marked for agreement with transitive subjects.

Stump further argues that in some languages it is an intransitive verb’s lexicosemantic properties that determine whether its subjects are encoded in the same way as a direct object or a transitive subject. He maintains that in active agreement system, the subject of an active transitive verb is encoded in the same way as the subject of the transitive verb, while the subject of a stative intransitive verb is encoded in the same way as the object of the intransitive verb.

Stump stipulates that agreement relations also vary with respect to the set of morphosyntactic properties are required to share. He gives an example of French, where the adjective-noun agreement is sensitive to number and gender, while subject-verb agreement is sensitive to number and person.

The second function of inflection has to do with governed properties. Stump points out that although an asymmetrical dependency exists between the members of an agreement relation, agreement itself is symmetrical in the sense that the members of an agreement relation share the properties to which the relation is sensitive. He shows that in a relation with government, the governing member imposes specific restriction on the morphosyntactic properties of the governed member, but does so without sharing any of its properties.

Stump asserts that a wide range of government relations can be found here. He shows that in each case the governing member may be the head of a phrase, and the governed member be its complement or specifier. He distinguishes the following government relations, a verb or proposition may govern the case of its nominal object, a verb or complementizer may govern the mood or finiteness of its clausal comple ment; a numeral may govern the case and number of the enumerated noun; an auxiliary may determine the inflection of its associated verb, etc.
Stump notes that languages with case systems vary in their patterns of case government. He shows that in an accusative system of case marking, the subject of a finite verb has the same case whether the verb is transitive or intransitive, and that the object of a transitive verb has a distinct case. He further notes that in ergative system, the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb exhibit the same case, while the subject of a transitive verb exhibits a distinct case.

Stump shows that it may be possible for the two systems to serve complementary functions in a single language. He gives an example of the Australian language Pitjantjatjara, in which nouns exhibit ergative Case marking, while pronouns show the accusative pattern.

Stump also maintains that languages with case systems show considerable variation in the number of cases they distinguish. He shows that English has only three, while Sanskrit has eight, and Finish has fifteen. He indicates that it may be possible for a government relation and an agreement relation to be sensitive to the same morphosyntactic property. He gives an example of German, in which the government relation between the proposition and the object and the agreement relation between the determiner and the noun are both sensitive to properties of case.

The last function of inflection that Stump distinguishes is the inherent properties. He maintains that morphosyntactic properties which are neither agreement nor governed properties are called inherent properties. Stump claims that according to a morpholexical view inherent properties are of two types, namely, inherent property associated with some but not all words in a lexeme’s paradigm, e.g. in German the plural number is associated with some words in a nominal lexeme’s paradigm but not others; and the inherent property associated with the words in a lexeme’s paradigm.

Stump maintains that the properties to which an agreement relation is sensitive may be either governed properties or inherent properties, or inherent properties of its controlling number. He however, indicates that inherent properties do not always figure in agreement relation. He gives an example of Amharic, in which definitiveness which is irrelevant to agreement is an inherent property of noun phrases.

He further indicates that the case is sensitive to definiteness. He gives the Amharic examples, where the definite object carry the suffix -(i)n while indefinite objects do not.

Stump indicates that the boundary between inherent properties and governed properties is sometimes not clear, since the same can appear as either inherent or governed, depending on syntactic context. He gives an example of French, in which the indicative mood appear as an inherent property of verbs in main clauses, yet it is a governed property of verbs in conditional clauses introduced by si ‘if’.

In this article, Stump also discusses inflectional categories. He defines them as the categories of morphosyntactic properties which are expressed in its inflectional system. He observes that languages
around the world differ in terms of their inflectional categories. He distinguishes three types of inflectional categories, namely, inflectional categories on nouns, verbs and adjectives. He contends that many languages exhibit gender and number as inherent inflectional categories of nouns. He defines gender as a category of morphosyntactic properties which distinguishes classes of nominal lexemes. He further asserts that in many languages, a noun’s gender is expressed only through the inflection of agreeing words. He gives an example of French, in which case the feminine head noun of ‘la petite souris’ ‘the little mouse’, does not carry any overt inflection for feminine, gender, but the agreement and adjective do carry it.

Stump maintains that a noun’s membership in a particular declension class implies that it belongs to a particular gender. He gives an example from Sanskrit, Senā ‘army’, where the nouns in ā declension are always feminine. He also argues that in languages with noun-class system, nouns ordinarily carry an overt inflectional marking simultaneously expressing gender and number. He gives an example of Kikuyu case, where the noun phrase mū-ndū mūkūrū ‘old person’ both the noun and its agreeing modifier carry an overt gender/number marker.

Stump indicates that languages vary in the number of gender they encode. He gives an example of Kikuyu and French. He says that while French has two genders, masculine and feminine, Kikuyu has ten. Stump asserts that correlations may exist between the meanings of nouns and genders to which they belong. He further indicates that correlations of this sort are never perfect, i.e. membership in a particular gender is most often a matter of arbitrary stipulation.

Coming to number, Stump indicates that this is a category of morphosyntactic properties used to distinguish the quality to which a noun phrase refers. He contends that many languages distinguish only two number properties, singular and plural, while there are others which additionally a distinguishes a dual and a trial. He gives an example of Sanskrit, in whose nouns have three distinct nominative forms, a singular, a dual, and a plural, e.g. aśvas ‘horse’, aśvāu ‘two horses’, and aśvās ‘more than two horses’.

Another inherent inflectional category that Stump distinguishes is (in) definiteness. He defines it as a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing non phrases according to whether their reference in a given context is presumed to be uniquely identifiable. He gives an example of a Syrian Arabic noun phrase l-madine l-kbire ‘the large city’. He contends that the definite l- on the head and its agreeing modifier implies that the city in question is uniquely identifiable, which is absent from the indefinite noun phrase madine kbire ‘a large city’.

Stump also distinguishes case as the inflectional category of hours. He defines as a category of morphosyntactic properties which distinguish the various relations that a noun phrase may be to a
governing head. He contends that some such relations are fundamentally syntactic in nature. He gives the example of the subject, direct object, indirect object, and genitive relations.

Stump maintains that cases used to encode this sort of relation, i.e. direct cases, are the nominative, the accusative, the ergative, the absolute, the dative, and the genitive. He shows that other relations, such as the oblique cases are fundamentally semantic, which include among others, instrumental, the ablative, and the locative cases.

Stump notes that it may be possible for a noun to inflect as the dependent member of an agreement relation with a possessor noun phrase. He gives an example from Uighur case, where he shows that a noun agrees in person with a possessor noun phrase, e.g. \textit{Nuriyi-niŋ yldı̈ş-i ‘Nuriyä’s husband’} [\textit{Nuriyä-GEN} husband-\textsc{3rd}. PERSON. POSSESSOR]

Stump argues that some scholars e.g. (Anderson 1982), claims that another inflectional category of nouns is the evaluative properties such as the diminutive and augmentative. He shows that they give an example such as -\textit{raatū} ‘shoe’, which belongs to gender 7/8, 7 in the singular and 8 in the plural. He contends that they say it may be possible for this noun to exhibit the class 12 prefix \textit{ka-} in the singular and the class 13 prefix \textit{tu-} in the plural when \textit{it} diminutized, and that it requires agreeing constituents to exhibit the appropriate concords of classes 12 and 13:

\begin{align*}
12. (a) \textit{ka-raatū} ‘little shoe’ : & \text{class 12} \\
(b) \textit{tū-raatū} ‘little shoe’ : & \text{class 13}
\end{align*}

Stump argues that the above example in (12), does not provide evidence to regard diminutives as inherent inflectional categories. He maintains that morphosyntactically, the pairing of classes 12 and 13 behaves like an ordinary gender, not like some separate category. He further argues that there are other members of gender 12 and 13 that are not diminutives of nouns from genders, e.g. \textit{ka-raagita} ‘tractor’, pl. \textit{tū-raagita} ‘tractors’. He indicates that the category of diminutives arises by means of a highly productive derivational rule whose effect is to shift nouns to this gender.

Stump maintains that inflectional categories of verbs can be distinguished into five types, namely, tense, aspect polarity, voice and mood. He defines tense as a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing a finite verb’s temporal reference. He shows that verbs in Latin inflect for three tenses, past, present and future. He argues that it should be noted that this conceptual naturalness of this three-way distinction is not a universal phenomenon. He gives an example of English which has two, past and nonpast, and Kikuyu which has six tenses, far past, yesterday past, today past, present, near future and far future.

Stump defines aspect as a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing the various senses in which an event \( e \) can be situated at a particular time interval \( i \). He gives a Kikuyu example, where six such properties are distinguished in the present affirmative, which are, the continuous aspect, the
habitual aspect, the projected aspect, the completive aspect, the initiative aspect, and the experiential aspect. Stump shows that more often there is a kind of overlap between the categories of aspect and tense. He argues that an event which is described in aspectual terms as having come to completion by a particular time can also be described in temporal terms, as a past event relative to the time.

Another inflectional category for verbs that is distinguished by Stump is polarity. He defines it as a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguished affirmative sentences from negative ones. He gives a Kikuyu example, where a verb’s affirmative forem is unmarked for polarity, but its negation is marked by a prefix *ti*- e.g. *ti-kaagwata* ‘we will take hold’, : *tū-ti-kaagwata* ‘we will not take hold’. He further indicates that sometimes the expression of mood and polarity intersect.

Another inflectional category of verbs, which is voice he defines it as a category of morphosyntactic properties distinguishing the various thematic relations that may exist between a verb and its subjects. He illustrates this point by Sanskrit example, which shows that a verb appears in the active voice if its subject is the agent but not the beneficiary of the action it describes, e.g. *odanam āpnoti* ‘s/he obtains porridge (for someone else)’ and in the middle voice if its subject is both agent and beneficiary, e.g. *odanam āpnute*, ‘s/he obtains porridge (for he/herself)’, and again in the passive voice if the subject is the theme rather than agent, e.g. *odana āpyate* ‘porridge is obtained’.

The last inflectional category for verbs that he distinguishes is mood. He defines it as a category of morphosyntactics properties which distinguish the ways in which a proposition may relate to actuality. He gives an example from classical Sanskrit, where there are three principal moods, namely, the indicative, which is used to assert a proposition as fact; the optative mood, which is used to express propositions whose reality is wished for; and the imperative mood, which is used to command that a proposition be realized.

Stump maintains that sometimes the distinction between different moods is not very clear. He shows that the expression of a wish can have the illocutionary force of a command sometimes. He further notes that the boundary separating mood from tense and aspect is sometimes not clear also.

Stump maintains that apart from the five inflectional categories of verb described above, one may note an additional category for which a verb may inflect under the influence of a governing head, which is finite and nonfinite. He contends that these properties distinguish verbs according to whether they are inflected for tense. He gives an example from French, where the verb *devoir* ‘to have to’, requires its clausal complement to be nonfinite, while *vouloir* ‘to want to’, allows either finite or nonfinite complement. Stump also states that verbs in many languages exhibit set of forms for use in subordinate clauses. He gives an example of Plains Cree, where the set of verbal affixes are used to mark agreement in main clauses, which is distinct from that used in dependent clauses.
Stump states a syntactic relation in some ways akin to government is encoded by verbal inflection in systems of switch reference. He illustrates this point by giving a Choctaw example, which shows that in coordinate clauses, the verb in the first clause inflects to indicate whether its subject is identical in reference to that of the second clause. He shows that in [13. (a)], the first verb carries the same subject suffix -cha, while in [(13.)b], the first verb carries the different-subject suffix -na:

13. (a) Tobi apa-li-cha oka ishko-li-tok   (b) Wa:k nipi ish-awashli-na oka ishko
    Been eat-1SG-ssn water   Cow flesh 2SG-fry-DS water drink
    drink-1SG-PAST       li-tok-1SG-PAST
    ‘I ate beans and drink water’   ‘You fried the beef, so I drank water’

Stump maintains that for the fact that verb is a dependent member of an agreement relation, it infects for a number of categories, instances of verb agreement in person, number, gender, honorificity and definiteness. He argued that in many languages, verbs forms marked for agreement with non-third person plural argument show a three-way distinctions, namely, exclusive first person agreement which encodes an argument referring to a group which includes the speaker but excludes the addressee; exclusive second person which encodes an argument referring to a group which excludes the speaker but includes the addressee; and inclusive agreement, which encodes an argument referring to a group which includes both the speaker and the addressee.

Stump notes that plain cree verb forms marked for agreement with a third-person argument show a distinction of abbreviation, i.e. proximate agreement which encodes an argument whose referent is the topic of discourse, the person nearest to the speaker’s point of view, or the person early spoken of and already known; and abbreviate agreement which encodes an argument whose referent lacks this characteristic.

Stump indicates that an inflectional category of adjectives is degree. He maintains that the morphosyntactic properties which it comprises serve to distinguish the extent to which a referent evinces some quality. He illustrates this view point by giving an English adjective example.

He shows that the adjective tall has three degrees, namely, the positive degree, e.g. tall, which specifies the quality of tallness without reference to the extent to which it is exhibited; the comparative degree, e.g. taller, which specifies the extent of one referent’s tallness relative to that of some other referent, and the superlative degree, e.g. tallest, which specifies extreme tallness relative to same class of referents.

Stump contends that an adjective may exhibit distinct attributive and predicative forms, depending upon its syntactic relation to the controlling noun. He illustrates this idea by a Russian example, where the feminine nominative singular of NOVYJ ‘new’ is nóvaja, in attributive uses, e.g. nóvaja kniga ‘new book’, but nova in predicative uses, e.g. kniga nova ‘the book is new’. He states that because adjectives are dependent member of an agreement relation, it may be inflected for the
property possessed by the controlling noun. He shows that in the Russian example *novaja kniga* ‘new book’, the adjective is feminine, nominative, and singular, matching the controlling number in gender, case in number. He further shows that adjectives may agree in (in) definiteness. Here he cites a Syrian Arabic example, *l-madine l-‘kibre*, lit ‘the town the large’.

Stump is of the view that languages display varice- in the morphological realization of other inflectional categories. Here, however, Stump discusses only two of them, which are inflectional exponence and inflectional templates. He defines an exponent of a morphosyntactic property in a given word as a morphological marking expressing that property in that word. He illustrates this view by an example from English. He shows that property of ‘plural’ has -s as its exponent in *girls*, and a vowel modification as its exponent in *women*, i.e. the vowel -s and -e are the elements responsible for changing these from singular to plural.

Stump maintains that very often, a single marking serves simultaneously as an exponent of two or more morphosyntactic properties. To illustrate this view, Stump gives an example from a Latin. He indicates that the suffix *-ibus*, is *regibus* ‘to kings’, is simultaneously an exponent of dative case and plural number, i.e. the categories of case and number exhibit cumulative exponence in Latin declension. He however, points out that not all simultaneous exponence is cumulative. He shows that voice and subject agreement are simultaneously realized in second-person plural verb form, but not in third-person plural forms. Stump claims that, in this way, voice and subject agreement exhibit overlapping exponence.

Stump asserts that a morphosyntactic property may also exhibit *extended exponence*, i.e. it may exhibit more than one exponent in a single word. He gives an example of a Latin word *laudavi* ‘I have praised’, in which both -v and ũ are exponents of the perfect.

Stump points out that inflectional system employ a variety of different kinds of exponents. He states that among others, they include concanative operations of suffixation, e.g. *girl*, pl. *girls*, prefixation, e.g. (in Kikuyu) *mũ-rũũthi* ‘lion’, pl. *mĩ-rũũthi*, and infixation, e.g. (in Oaxaca Chontal), *kwepo?* ‘lizard’, Pl. *kwe-l-p?,* quasioperations of partial or total reduplication, e.g. (in Papago), *bana* (coyote), Pl. *baabana*, nonconcatative operations, from vowel modification, e.g. *woman*, Pl. *women*, and consonant gradation, e.g. (in Fula), *yiite* ‘fire’, Pl. *giite*, to modifications of accent, e.g. (in Russia), *Okno* ‘window’, (nom.sg.), nom.Pl. *o’kna*, and tone, e.g. in Somali *éy* ‘dog’ (with falling tone), plural *éy* (with high tone). Stump also notes that in some cases subtraction may also serve as an inflectional function, e.g. (in Huichol), *pitiuneika* (he danced), completive form *pitiunei*. Stump indicates that these inflectional exponences are often intricately interwoven within a single paradigm.

Another point that Stump highlights concerning inflectional exponents is the fact that stem choice may serve as an exponent in many languages. He gives an example in Latin, where there is a special stem
which is formed by suffixing -b to the present stem. He asserts that this -b stem is used to form the imperfect of verbs in conjugations and the future verbs in the first and second conjugations. He gives an example of the word laudāb, in which he shows that the -b suffixed here cannot be regarded as an exponent of any morphosyntactic property. He points out that its status is simply that of a b stem-forming suffix.

Stump maintains that in general, stems are inflected without regard of their internal morphological structure. He contends that in such cases, category preserving derivation gives rise to stems which are headed, and that such stems inflect through the inflection of their heads. He illustrates this view by a Russian verb stučát’-sja ‘to knock purposefully’, which he claims is headed by the verb stučát’ ‘to knock’, and that it inflects on its head, e.g. stučín-sja. Stump further maintains that a phrase’s morphosyntactic properties are ordinarily realized through the inflection of its head. He illustrates this by an English example, her favorite books, which he claims that the plural number of the noun phrase is manifested only in the inflection of the head noun.

Stump maintains that in some instances, a phrase’s morphosyntactic properties are realized by inflectional markings situated on a constituent other than the head of the phrase. He illustrates this view by an English phrase, someone else’s (hat). He states that the possessive noun phrase has the inflectional suffix -’s on its final constituent. He refers to this kind of possessive suffix as an edge inflection.

Another variation displayed by language in the morphological realization of their inflectional categories that Stump discusses is template morphology. Stump defines this phenomenon as systems in which inflectional affixes are organized into a number of position classes such that the members of any given class are mutually exclusive but occupy the same sequential position relative to members of other classes within a given form.

Stump cites Simpson and Withgott (1986)’s proposals for the distinction between template morphology and ordinary inflection:

(i) the absence of any affix in a particular slot may, in a ‘templatic’ system, contrast paradigmatically with the presence of any given affix in that slot; in Swahili, for example, the absence of any slot 2 prefix is what distinguishes the imperative form si-pige ‘don’t you (Sg.) beat!’ from the subjunctive u-si-pige ‘that you (Sg.) may not beat’.

(ii) Template morphology yields a form whose morphosyntactic properties cannot be attributed to a single one of its parts. For example, Swahili tu-li-wa-ona ‘we saw you (Pl.)’, has the morphosyntactic properties ‘first person plural subject’, ‘past tense’ and
‘second person plural object’; the first of these is associated with the prefix *tu-*; the second with *li-*, the third with *wa-*.

(iii) Template morphology present cases in which the exponence of one property is sensitive to the presence of another property whose principal exponent is nonadjacent; thus in Swahili verbs, the choice between slot 3 negative prefix *si*- and the slot 1 negative prefix *ha-* is conditioned by the presence of the property subjective mood, whose principal exponent (the theme vowel e) is not structurally adjacent to either slot.

(iv) Template morphology presents cases in which a property’s exponence is sensitive to the presence of another property whose principal exponent is more peripheral: infinitive verb forms in Swahili, the principal exponents of negation are peripheral to those of tense, yet the exponence of past tense as *li-* or *ku-* is sensitive to negation, e.g. *tu-li-taka* ‘we wanted’, *but ha-tu-ku-taka* ‘we didn’t want’.

(v) Finally systems of template morphology typically allow verb to agree with more than one arguments [as in the Swahili example in (ii)].

According to Stump, Simpson and Withgott maintain that ‘layered’ morphology, i.e. ordinary inflection does not possess the above characteristics.

Stump states that in his (1977) work, he disputed the claim made by these scholars. According to him, the distinction between ordinary inflection and template morphology is unnecessary. He argues that all inflection is in fact “templaté”, because they generally behave like “template” morphology with respect to criteria (i) and (ii) above. He contends that although inflection does not behave uniformly with respect to criteria (iii) - (iv), these criteria are just sufficient but not necessary properties of “template” morphology. He further rejects the view that “template” morphology is regulated by positive morphological output conditions. According to him, “templates” take the form paradigm function schemata, whose existence is motivated by the phenomena of head marking.

The last section of this article deals with the theoretical approaches to inflection. Although Stump acknowledges the fact that there are a considerable disagreement about the theoretical status of inflection, in this article he discusses four such approaches, namely, the lexicalist approach, the functional head approach, the word-and-paradigm approach, and the distributed morphology-Starting with the lexicalist’s view point, Stump indicates that many scholars assume that an affix has much the same status as a word, i.e. it has a lexical listing which specifies its phonological form, its semantic content, its subcategorization, and its morphosyntactic properties.
Stump asserts that proponents of the lexicalist theory claims that the subcategorization restriction in (15 [c]), indicates that -s combines with the verbal stem *sing* to yield the third-person singular present indicative form *sing-s*.

Stump maintains this viewpoint has been subjected to a number of criticism from other scholars, who state that because this view accord affixes the special status of lexical items, it means it entails a fundamental difference between affixal exponence and nonconcatenative varieties of inflectional exponence, e.g. it suggests that the manner in which *played* comes from *play* is separate from the manner in which *sang* comes from *sings*. Stump totally rejects this kind of distinction, claiming that it is poorly motivated. He then suggests that the process of affixation by which one word comes from another one, e.g. *play* → *played*, is in par with the process of substitution, by which, for example, *sang* comes from *sing*.

Stump argues that the second theoretical approach, the functional head approach, has its origin in the proposal of Pollock (1989). Stump shows that in his proposals, Pollock argues that inflection, tense, subject agreement, and negation in English and French, should be broken down into three distinct formal categories, each of which heads its own maximal protection. Stump also shows that Pollock assumes that verbs generally acquire their inflectional properties by moving from one head position to the next.

Stump maintains that a number of researchers developing this assumption proposed that the order of inflectional formative in a verb’s morphology arises through accretion of affixes during a verb’s movement from one functional head to the next. He states that, following this view the order of inflectional markings follows the sequence in which functional categories are nested in syntactic structure.

According to Stump, this kind of approach to verb structure suggests that inflection is not a morphological phenomenon, but rather a syntactic one. He further states that this approach poses a challenge to the assumption that morphology exists as an autonomous grammatical component. He asserts that some scholars challenge the validity of this approach. He cites Joseph and Smirniotopoulos (1993), who contend that the frequent overlapping and extended exponence relations displayed by Rivero excludes the possibility of reducing inflection to head-movement. According to Stump, Janda and Kathman (1992), express the view that the headmovement approach requires the ordered nesting of functional categories to be stipulated on a language specific basis, and that it affords no credible account of nonconcatenative morphology, nor of affix orderings which are sensitive to nonsyntactic properties. Stump further cites Bresman and Mchombo (1995) who claim that they conducted five tests of lexical integrity, in which Bantu language words exhibiting nounclass inflection passed them, something which the head-movement approach can not account for.
Stump maintains that in spite of all kinds of criticism labeled against this approach, these scholars do not entirely reject the view that abstract functional heads are syntactically motivated. He shows that their concern is on the assumption that functional heads are concrete pieces of morphology whose combination with a given stem is affected by head movement. Stump indicates that they knock the most appropriate approach is the lexical view of Chomsky (1995b), in which it is postulated that words are already fully inflected at the time of their insertion into syntactic structures.

Stump argues that both approaches, i.e. lexicalist and the functional head approach are based on the assumption that in the inflection of a stem $X$, a morphosyntactic property $P$ is associated with $X$ only through the addition of an exponent of $P$ to $X$. He then modifies this assumption in this manner: in the inflection of a stem $X$, an exponent of $P$ is added to $X$ only if $P$ is associated with $P$.

The third approach of inflection is the one that Stump refers as the word-and-paradigm approach. He shows that most scholars based this approach on the assumption that a word’s inflection marking are determined by a set of inflectional rules, and the markings introduced by these rules may be affixal or nonconcatenative, i.e. a rule’s applicability to a stem $X$ is conditioned by the set of morphosyntactic properties associated with $X$, by $X$’s phonological form, by $X$’s membership in a particular morphological class, or by some combination of such factors.

He gives an example of an English $sing-s$ to illustrate this view. He states that it is claimed that the suffix $-s$ in this example, is introduced by a rule such as (18), where /x/ represents any verb stem carrying specifications for third-person, singular number, present tense, and the indicative mood. In other words, the features in (18), apply to /x/, in this case $sing$,  to yield /x-z/, in this case, $sing-s$:

18.  

\[
\begin{array}{l}
V \\
\mid \quad \text{PER} : 3 \\
\mid \quad \text{NUM} : 5g \\
\mid \quad \text{TNS} : \text{pres.} \\
\mid \quad \text{MOOD} : \text{indic} \\
\end{array}
\]

/x/ $\rightarrow$ /x-z/  

$sing$ $\rightarrow$ $sing-s$

Stump maintains that in word-and-paradigm approach, inflectional rules are assumed to be organized into blocks, such that rules belonging to the same block are mutually exclusive in their application. According to Stump, Anderson (1992) argues that the sequencing of rule blocks must be, in part, a matter of language-specific stipulation, and that a language’s rule blocks cannot be assumed to adhere
to a fixed linear sequence, since the sequencing of rule blocks may vary according to the set of morphosyntactic properties being realized.

The last theoretical approach that Stump treats here is the distributed morphology. Stump begins by presenting the salient properties of distributed morphology as suggested by Halle and Marantz (1993):

19. At the superficial level of syntactic structure known as S-structure (ss), morphemes exist as terminal nodes associated with bundles of morphosyntactic feature specifications but lacking any association with phonological feature of specifications.

(ii) Intermediate between the levels of S-structure and phonological form (PF) is a level of morphological structures (MS) at which vocabulary insertion takes place; it is through the process of vocabulary insertion that the abstract morphemes supplied by the syntax acquire their phonological feature specification.

(iii) In mapping from S-structure to morphological structure, the abstract morphemes may undergo various kinds of modifications: the relation of linear ordering is, for instance, introduced as a part of this mapping, which may also involve the addition of new morphemes (e.g. the introduction of agreement morphemes), the adjunction of one morpheme to another (e.g. the attachment of tensed INFL to an adjacent V), the merging of two morphemes into one, the splitting of one morpheme into two, and so on.

(iv) Vocabulary insertion is assumed to be constrained by Elsewhere Condition, so that when two morphs are both insertable into a given morpheme, it is the more narrowly specified morph than wins.

(v) One vocabulary insertion has taken place; the inserted morphs are subject to a battery of readjustment rules.

In trying to illustrate what this approach is all about, Stump cites the given example which demonstrate how the past tense of played arises. He asserts that Halle and Marantz are of the view that in the mapping from S-structure to Morphological structure, tensed INFL gets adjoined to an adjacent Vnode, producing Morphological structure of the form [vVINFL], on the assumption that INFL carries the specification [+ Past], the process of vocabulary insertion then insert the suffix -ed into INFL from its vocabulary, e.g.

20. -ed [+ past]

Stump states that numerous arguments against this approach to inflection have been raised. He indicates that some of the concerns are that why doesn’t the suffix -ed (in 20), appear in the past tense form of SING? He shows that Halle and Marantz (1993), tries to defend their claim by arguing that the
reason why -ed cannot appear with SING is mainly because there is a zero suffix to which SING belongs. He shows that these scholars illustrate their view points like this:

21. Ø₁, [+ Past]. Contextual restriction: Y+ = sing, drive, etc.

According to Stump, these scholars contend that by virtue of its contextual restriction, -Ø₁ is more narrowly specified than -ed, and is therefore chosen for insertion into INFL in those instances in which the preceding verb stem is sing. He further shows that they claim that the change of [i] to [a] in sang, is effected by a readjustment rule, e.g.

22. Vowel → /a/ in the context X - Y+ [+ past], where X-vowel-Y = sing, sit, etc.

Stump indicates that these scholars further maintain that the failure of the Breton default plural -oú in (23), to appear in the plural DANT ‘tooth’, has to be attributed to the more narrowly specified zero suffix in [23 (b)], and that the change from [a] to [ε] in dent ‘teeth’ can be attributed to the readjustment rule in [23(c)];

23. (a) oir, [+ plural].
(b) Ø₂ [+ plural]. Contextual restriction: Y+ = dant, mount ‘sheet’.
(c) Vowel → /ε/ in the context ‘X-Y+ [+ plural]’, where X-vowel-Y = dant, sant ‘saint’.

Stump states that Halle and Marantz’s approach forces them to assume that in a very large class of cases, a default inflectional affix is prevented from appearing by a more narrowly specified affix, whose own appearance is never prevented by anything narrower and whose form is zero. According to Stump, zero affixes are just like avert affixes in their theory. He indicates that they are just there to serve a special homogenizing function by allowing words which are different in structure to be assigned structural representations, e.g. they allow both play-ed and sang to be treated as stem+suffix structure. Stump further argues that this theory portrays the frequent pairing of zero affixes with readjustment rules as still another coincidence.

Another discrepancy that Stump highlights with regard to the Distributed morphology is that it unmotivatedly allows an inflection affix to be associated with morphosyntactic properties in two different ways. Stump illustrates this by giving an example of Berber form t-wala-d ‘you (sg.) have seen’, in which t- is an exponent of second-person agreement, e.g. t-wala-m ‘you (masc.pl.) have seen’. t-wala-m-t ‘you (fem. Pl.) have seen’; -d is an exponent of second-person singular agreement. Stump argues that a problem with this kind of morphosyntactic properties arises when it comes to the representation of such phenomena in the morphological structure. He maintains that his makes it difficult to decide which one of the representations in [24 (a)], or [24 (b)] should represent them:

24. (a) [2nd person] v [2nd person, -plural]
(b) [2nd person] v [-plural]
Stump indicates that [24 (a)], represents an instance where the affixes -t and -d have the vocabulary entry in [25 (a,b)], and that [25 (b)] represents an instance where -d would have the structure in [25 (c)]:

25. (a) t, [2nd person]. Contextual restriction: →+V.
   (b) d, [2nd person, -plural]. Contextual restriction: V+-.
   (c) d, [-plural]. Contextual restriction: [2nd person] V+-.

Stump shows that the choice between [24 (a)] and [24 (b)] is a choice between treating the property [2nd person] as a part of -d’s feature content and treating it as part of -d’s contextual restriction. He further indicates that pattern congruity are of no help, since Berber person agreement is sometimes only marked prefixally, e.g. i-wala ‘he has seen’, n-wala ‘we have seen’, and sometimes suffixally, e.g. wala-y ‘I have seen’, wala-n ‘they (masc.) have seen’. He argues that the choice here, is merely an artifact of Halle and Marantz’s assumption.

2.4 NOMINALISATION AND ARGUMENT STRUCTURE

2.4.1 Grimshaw, J. (1990)

In this chapter, Grimshaw (1990) discusses the relationship between English nouns and verbs with respect to argument structure. She asserts that although it is now agreed that nouns differ from verbs in not being able to assign case, the extent and the character similarities and differences with respect to argument structure and theta theory is still not clear. She shows that more oftenly than not, it is asserted by linguists that nouns take arguments only optionally.

Grimshaw is against this view. She is of the view that nouns can and do take obligatory arguments. She indicates that most linguists were misled by the fact that many nouns are ambiguous between an interpretation in which they do take arguments obligatorily and other interpretations which they do not. She claims that nouns denoting complex events, which have an associated event structure also have an argument structure.

She argues that other nouns-those that denote “simple events” and result nominals have no argument structure.

Grimshaw first demonstrate how ambiguity in the nominal system usually occurs. She indicates that in some fundamental; respects verbs and nouns seem to share complement-taking properties, e.g.

1. (a) The enemy destroyed the city
   (b) The enemy’s destruction of the city

She argues that the range of elements that can occur after nouns are closely related to the range that can occur verbs, apart from the failure of nouns to take bare NP’s., e.g.
2. (a) **CP Complement**
   (i) The physicists claimed that the earth is round
   (ii) The physicists’ claim that the earth is round

   (b) **Infinitival Complement**
   (i) They attempted to leave
   (ii) Their attempt to leave

   (c) **Locative Complement**
   (i) The train arrived at the station
   (ii) The train’s arrival at the station

Grimshaw contends that examples like these might suggest that nouns and verbs have the same argument structure representation, are governed by the same principles of argument realization, and differ only in their case assigning properties. Grimshaw highlights two shortcomings with this view. She says the first one is the fact that subject clauses are strictly obligatory, while subjects of noun phrases are equally strictly optional. The second one, she says, concerns non-subject arguments. She indicates that it appears that nouns optionally take arguments, while verbs take them obligatorily, e.g.

3.  (a) *The doctor examined
   (b) The doctor’s examination (of the patient) was successful
   (c) *They attempted
   (d) Their attempt (to reach the top) was successful

She indicates that the data in (3) might be construed as showing that nouns examination and attempt are simply indifferent to the presence or absence of their complements while the verbs absolutely require their presence. She shows that by such kind of reasoning we would reach the conclusion that nouns take arguments only optionally and so differ quite fundamentally in their marking properties from verbs.

Grimshaw disputes such kind of reasoning. She says such appearances are misleading. According to her, the flexibility exhibited by the nouns in (3) is due to a fundamental and persistent ambiguity within the nominal system, i.e. nouns do not behave uniformly. She claims that some nouns are systematically like verbs in their argument-taking capacities, while other classes of nouns are quite different and in fact take no arguments at all. She thinks that the situation above is caused by the fact that many nouns are like examination in being ambiguous between the two classes, i.e. those which behave like verbs, and those which do not. Grimshaw believes that once the ambiguity is factored out, the apparent complexity of the behavior of nouns reduces to a basic division between nouns that take arguments and nouns that do not.

Grimshaw claims that the ambiguity in nominalization correlates with ambiguity in the interpretation of phrases in construction with the noun. She is of the view that when a noun is ambiguous between the two readings, as examination is, an associated possessive is also ambiguous between the modifier reading found with concrete nouns and the argument structure-related reading in which the possessive modifying examination can be the processor, author, or taker of the exam, as in 4(a) but it may still
have an argument-structure-related interpretation as in 4(b), where John is interpreted as the agent of an action.

4. (a) John’s examination was long
   (b) John’s examination of the patient took a long time

Grimshaw cites Anderson (1983-1934) who is of the view that phenomenal genitives are of two different types, depending on the kind of noun they are modifying. She asserts that when possessives are associated with concrete nouns they can be modifiers, which are uniformly non-theta assigning. But with abstract nouns, possessives can either be modifiers or have a subject-like role.

Grimshaw assert that the division of nouns corresponds roughly to the well known result versus process distinction. According to her, result nominals name the output of a process or an element associated with the process; where as process nominals name a process or an event.

She argues that the real distinction is between nouns that have an associated event structure, which she calls complex event nominals, and nouns that do not. She further indicates that this is so because even nouns that denote events behave like result nominals unless they have an event structure. She contends that since argument structure is composed from the aspectual and thematic analyses of a predicate, she hypothesizes that any predicate lacking an aspectual analysis will also lack an argument structure.

Grimshaw claims that since complex event nominals have an event structure analysis, they have argument structure and take arguments. She holds the view that complements to complex event nominals are obligatory. She asserts that in order to test the hypothesis we must just pick unambiguous nouns and see how they behave.

She claims that *felling and *destroying, according to Lebeaux (1986) have only a process reading, and shows that they are identical to the corresponding verbs with respect to their objects, which are obligatory, e.g.

5. (a) The falling *(of trees)
   (b) They felled *(trees)
   (c) The destroying *(of the city)
   (d) They destroyed *(the city)

Grimshaw further shows that the disambiguation of other derived nominals supports the view that complex event nominals take grammatical arguments. She indicates that it is often possible to disambiguate nouns with both readings: certain modifier occur only with the event interpretation of particular nouns. She gives an example of the modifier frequent which she claims, forces the event reading of expression in (6);
6.  (a) The expression is desirable
    (b) The frequent expression is desirable
    (c) The frequent expression of one’s feelings is desirable
    (d) we expressed our *(feelings)

She further indicates that the use of constant can rule out the result reading from a result nominal, which does not require an argument. She claims that constant can force the complex event reading on the noun, and thus the noun will take obligatory argument and its argument structure will also be satified as a result, e.g.

7.  (a) The assignment is to be avoided
    (b) *the constant assignment is to be avoided
    (c) The constant assignment of unsolvable problems is to be avoided
    (d) We constantly assign *(unsolvable problems)

Grimshaw is of the opinion that the reason why constant and frequent have this effect is that when they modify singular count nouns, they must be licensed by event structure, like other aspectual modifiers. She further shows that they occur with nouns like assignment and expression only when such nouns have event structure.

Grimshaw also shows that another kind of evidence for the obligatoriness of argument with complex event nominals may come from the behaviour of possessive. She argues that when a possessive subject occurs, the noun must have an argument structure. She contends that in this way the presence of a possessive interpreted as a subject will force the complex event reading of the noun, where the noun has an argument structure to be satisfied. According to Grimshaw this will lead to the appearance of obligatory objects.

Grimshaw shows that this view was also observed by Lebeaux (1986) that is a “subject” is present, the object of an action nominal is obligatory. However, Grimshaw does not fully agree with the view that action or event nominals always take obligatory arguments as stated by Lebeaux. She is of the view that the presence of the subject serves to disambiguate the nominal in the direction of the event reading, e.g.

8.  (a) The examination took a long time
    (b) (*) The instructor’s examination took a long time
    (c) The instructor’s examination of the papers took a long time
    (d) The instructor examine *(the papers)

Grimshaw shows that the result nominal examination in (8a) is perfectly well-formed with no of phrase. She argues that when a possessive NP is added, as in (8b), there are two possible interpretations. She states that if the possessive is construed as a possessive modifier, (8b) is grammatical, but if it is construed like a subject, (8b) is ungrammatical. She claims that the instructor in (8b) cannot be the agent of examination. To prove this, she argues that we should note that if an
agent-oriented adjective is included in the nominal in (10b), it becomes clearly ungrammatical, as in (9a), unless the argument structure of examination is satisfied, as in (9b);

9.   (a) *The instructor’s Internal/deliberate examination took a long time
     (b) The instructor’s Internal/deliberate examination of the papers took a long time

She argues that the agent-oriented adjectives in (9) contribute by marking the possessive necessarily agentive and thus ruling out the modifier reading. Grimshaw asserts that the addition of an of phrase as in (8c) satisfies the argument structure of the head, just as addition of a direct object satisfies the argument structure of examine in (8d).

Grimshaw also shows that the use of development and destruction in sentences without the of phrase the result will be ungrammatical because the possessive will be construed as agent:

10.  (a) The development was applauded
     (b) *The city’s development was applauded
     (c) The city’s development of inexpensive houses was applauded
     (d) The city’s developed (inexpensive house)

11.  (a) The destruction was awful
     (b) The enemy’s destruction was awful to watch
     (c) The enemy’s destruction of the city was awful to watch
     (d) The enemy destroyed* (the city)

In the example in (10) and (11), (10b) and (11b) are ungrammatical with the possessive construed as agent, but once the of phrase is used with such sentences as in (10c) and (11c), the sentences become acceptable.

Grimshaw maintains that another kind of subject-like element that occurs in nominal is by phrase. She shows that this by phrase operates in the same way as the of phrase, i.e. it is licensed by argument structure. She indicates that the inclusion of a by phrase has the same effect as the addition of a possessive subject: disambiguating the nominal into an argument-taking reading and making objects obligatory. She cites Honstein (1977) who also pointed out that a by phrase renders the object obligatory, e.g.

12.  (a) The expression *(of aggressive feelings) by patients
     (b) The assignment *(of unsolvable problems) by instructor

Grimshaw also shows that by phrase can occur as simple modifiers, in which case it is not related to an argument structure at all. She argues that only the subject-like by phrase will disambiguate the nominal in the direction of its argument-taking reading, and that the modifier by phrase will not, e.g.

13.  (a) An examination by a competent instructor will reveal…
     (b) The assignment by Fred was no good
     (c) Pine Tree Hollow-a development by Homes Associates
Grimshaw shows that examples like in (13), are possible even without a complement because the nouns have no argument structure to be satisfied. She further asserts that by manipulating the context to disambiguate nominals, it is possible to see that nimonals do take obligatory objects, just as verbs do. She further indicates that it is the ambiguity of nouns that usually cause some linguists to think that objects are optional for nouns. She argues that if a noun is ambiguous in the relevant way, it will take an object in its theta-marking use and not take one otherwise. She uses expression as an example:

14. (a) The expression (on her face)
    (b) The expression of her feelings

She shows that (14a) contains a no-theta-marker, while (14b) has the theta marker. She contends that when a noun has no argument structure, it behaves like a concrete in taking only modifiers, but when it has argument structure, it behaves like a verb in taking, and requiring arguments. She argues that the kind of reasoning usually employed to show that arguments are optional for nouns is simply base on the wrong nouns, those that are not argument takers at all. She gives an example of Dowty (1989) who shows that the noun gift is not obligatory associated with any complements and concludes that event nouns do not take argument, as verbs do. According to Grimshaw, gift is simply not a complex event nominal. She further indicates that the failure of gift to take arguments certainly does not indicate that nouns in general fail to do so.

Grimshaw is against Dowty (1989) generalization that the way in which nouns compose with their arguments is fundamentally different from the way in which verbs do. According to her, result nominals and simple event nominals are indeed not verb-like in the way they combine with their satellites, but strongly argues that complex event nominals are verb-like in having argument-structure. She concludes by indicating that nouns with a complex event interpretation have an argument structure, which must be satisfied, and other nouns do not.

Grimshaw is of the view that distinction between argument-taking complex event nominals and other nominals correlates with a set of differences in the determiner system. She argues that the indefinite determiner and the numeral one occur only with result nominals; the same holds for demonstratives like that. She indicates that only the definite determiner the occurs with both kinds of noun. She gives an example of the Noun assignment, which is ambiguous:

15. (a) They studied the /an/one/ that assignment
    (b) They observed the/*an/*one/*that assignment of the problem
    (c) The assignment of that problem too early in the course always causes problems

She argues that when assignment is associated with a grammatical argument structure, as in (15b, c), it admits only the definite determiner. She further shows that complex event nominals do not pluralize, while result nominal do. She also indicates that with complex event nominals it is possible to have no determiner at all as in (15c), although this is not generally possible with singular count nouns, e.g.
16.  
   (a) The assignment were long  
   (b) The assignment of the problems took a long time  
   (c) Assignment of difficult problems always causes problems  

She shows that in the examples in (16) the head noun of a complex event nominal behaves like a non-count noun, allowing no determiner, but differs in that a non-count noun allows the plural form as in (a) whereas the complex event do not, as in (c). Grimshaw contends that Emmon Bach has pointed out that complex event nominals resist indefinite subjects, e.g.

17.  
   (a) ?? A teacher’s assignment of the problem  
   (b) The assignment of the problem by a teacher  

Grimshaw also cites Jackendoff (1969) and Fass Fehri (1987) who claims that the definiteness of a phrase is determined by that of its possessive, e.g.

18.  
   (a) There’s a man’s shirt on the chair  
   (b) *There’s the man’s shirt on the chair  

According to Grimshaw, the examples in (18) show that the entire NP has the definiteness of possessive even though the determiner is clearly associated with the possessor and do not with the head. She shows that the presence of the indefinite possessive would make the entire NP indefinite, which is not permitted.

Grimshaw further shows that process nominals do not occur predicatively or even with equational be, while result nominals do, e.g.

19.  
   (a) That was the/an assignment  
   (b) *That was the/an assignment of the problem  

She contends that since predicative NPs require an indefinite determiner and complex event nominals and never indefinite, this explains the failure of predication in (19).

Grimshaw however, does show a case of secondary construal in which the complex event nominal behaves like the result nominal. She argues that this is due to a process of type shifting by which the event nominal can be treated as though it referred to an individual rather than event. She gives an example of an expression like that assignment of the problem, which she believes might be well-formed with a meaning like that instance/case of assignment of the problem. She contends that under such a shifted interpretation a complex event nominal will systematically violate the criteria discussed here. She says it will take the determiner system of other nominals, and it will occupy predicatively.

Grimshaw is of the view that the cluster of properties that typifies the complex event nominals can be directly observed with -ing nominals. She indicates that gerundive nominals (apart from a few lexicalized cases like handwriting) generally pattern perfectly as complex event nominals, e.g.
Grimshaw shows that gerundive nominals allow only the definite determiner, never pluralize, and never occupy predicatively, as in (20).

Grimshaw points out the idea that in constrast to the behavior by and possessives, which are ambiguous between argument-structure-related meanings and more modifier-like interpretations, some phrases occur only as modifiers and never have an argument-related interpretation. She claims that postnominals genitives are unambiguously modifiers, co-occurring only with non-argument-taking nouns, e.g. _an examination of Bill’s_. She further argues that certain possessives can never be interpreted as related to argument structure, since their meaning is such that they cannot contribute information about argument position. She gives an example of temporal possessives like _yesterday’s_, _last year’s_, _this semester’s_, which are disallowed in complex event nominals, e.g.

21. (a) This semester’s assignment led to disaster  
(b) *This semester’s constant assignment of unsolved problems led to disaster  
(c) The constant assignment of unsolved problems this semester led to disaster

Grimshaw argues that the nominal in (20a) is fine because _assignment_ here is a result nominal. Sentence (21c), according to her is also grammatical because _this semester_ here is an adverbial phrase, which can be associated with a complex event nominal. She further argues that the grammaticality of (21b), shows that _complex event nominals can take adjuncts but not modifiers_, and that these modifiers associated only with nouns with no argument structure. On the basis of the above reflection, Grimshaw concludes that non-argument-taking nouns refer to individuals and simple events and argument-taking nouns refer to complex events.

Grimshaw asserts that the third class difference between the two kinds of nominals concerns the aspectual behavior. Grimshaw points out that complex event nominals, like passives, allow control into an infinitival purpose clause, e.g.

22. (a) The book was translated (in order) to make it available to a wider readership  
(b) The translation of the book (in order) to make it available to a wider readership  
(c) (The) examination of the patient in order to determine whether…

The sentence in (22a) is passive, while the ones in (22b and c) are complex event nominals. They all allow control into an infinitival purpose clause.

Grimshaw shows that unambiguous result nominals never allow control:

23. (a) The translation of the book (in order) to make it available to a wider readership  
(b) The exam in order to determine whether…
She further shows that these two kinds of nominals also differ critically in their ability to license aspectual modifiers like *in an hour, for six weeks* and *while* clauses. In this case, Grimshaw cites Vendler (1967) and Dowty (1979) who demonstrates that complex event nominals admit the aspectual modifiers as their verbal counterparts:

23.  
   (a) The total destruction of the city in only two days appalled everyone  
   (b) *The total destruction of the city for two days appalled everyone  
   (c) The bombing destroyed the city in only two days/*for two days

24.  
   (a) Only observation of the patient for several weeks can determine the most likely…  
   (b) *Only observation of the patient in several weeks can determine the most likely…  
   (c) They observed the patient for several/*in several weeks

Grimshaw indicates that this characterization of the critical class of nominals is not equivalent to labeling them event nominals. She argues that there are many nominals that seem to denote events but do not behave like complex event nominals. She gives an example of the nouns such as race, trip, expand and event. She argues that these nouns do denote events in some sense, but they occur over time. According to her these nouns usually occur with expressions like *took a long time, or took place*, e.g.

25. The event/race/trip/exam took a long time/took place at 6.00 p.m.

According to Grimshaw, nouns such as the ones in (25), which she calls *simple event nominals*, act just like result nominals in most respects. She points out that these nouns share the determiner system of result nominal, occur only with optional modifiers and not with arguments, disallow *frequent* and *constant* unless they are in plural, and disallow event control:

26.  
   (a) That trip/event took three weeks  
   (b) *The frequent trip/event was a nuisance  
   (c) The frequent trip was a nuisance

27. *That trip/event in order to…

Grimshaw asserts that if we try to combine these nominals with the aspectual modifiers, we find that while argument-taking nominals behave like their base verbs, the other nominals disallow aspectual modifiers of any kind:

28.  
   (a) *Jack’s trip in five hours/for five hours was interesting  
   (b) *The process in five hours/for five hours

Grimshaw concludes this matter by indicating that complex event nominals and corresponding simple event and result nominals have related lexical conceptual structure, or lexical meanings, but only complex event nominals have an event structure and a syntactic argument like verbs. She claims that the argument structure of complex event nominals licenses argument. She is of the view that complex
event nominals are distinguished from the others in the range of determiners and adjuncts they occur with as well as in event control and predication.

Grimshaw points out that there are a couple of alternative accounts in recent literature against the ambiguity of nominals. She indicates that there are however, two of them which deny any fundamental ambiguity between argument-taking and non-argument-taking Nouns. According to her, the first one is of Williams (1987b), who proposes that *be analyzed as an ergative marker, which can occur only if a theme is expressed, hence the ungrammaticality of examples like (29):

29. *The assignment by the teacher

Grimshaw shows that the second alternative account is a proposal by Safir (1987), that the realization of the external argument depends on the realization of the internal argument.

According to Grimshaw both of these proposals are intended to make the ambiguity hypothesis redundant. She argues that each of these accounts subsumes only the subset of the facts explained by the argument structure/no argument structure ambiguity hypothesis, which embodies simple predication which states that if any of the characteristics of the complex event nominal are present, then all must be present, and the argument structure of the nominal must be satisfied. In her view, the dependency between the *by phrase and the of phrase characterized by Williams’s ergative-marker hypothesis is simply a special case of this predication.

Grimshaw argues that the presence of an argument structure related *by phrase in (29) requires the head to be a complex event nominal with argument structure. In her view, the noun has an argument structure that must be satisfied. She indicates that the presence of a possessive construed as an argument adjunct forces the argument taking reading of the noun and makes the arguments of the noun obligatory. She illustrates this view by the fact that while destruction can occur at least marginally with no complement, the enemy’s destruction cannot.

Coming to the second proposal made by Safir, Grimshaw sees this as a degree more general, in that it extends to the possessive case also, the principle being that the external can be realized only if the internal argument is realized. According to Grimshaw, Safir’s principle assumes that the external argument of the verb is also the external argument of the noun. She argues that Safir takes both the possessive NP and the by phrase as the external arguments. She indicates that in this way, Safir’s proposal predicts that the presence of one of these, i.e. possessive NP or by phrase, will make the object obligatory. According to Grimshaw, this view is not general enough since even the presence of certain modifiers like constant can have the effect of making the object obligatory. In her view, the explanation to this is that the modifier happens to be incompatible with the result reading of the noun, so it forces the argument-taking reading, which takes an obligatory object. She maintains that this
case has nothing to do with the realization of the external argument or with the presence of a by phrase.

She further postulates that the evidence adduced by Williams for the ergative-marker hypothesis is directly explained within the ambiguity hypothesis. She indicates that Williams argues that while of is possible in (30), by is not:

30. John was the selection of/*by the committee

She further shows that Williams asserts that the theme of selection is bound by R (external argument of selection), here and that since it is bound and satisfied directly, a by phrase is not legitimate. In her view, the ungrammaticality of by here can be accounted for by the ambiguity hypothesis, that event/process nominals cannot be used predicatively. She shows that following this view, selection in (30) must be a result nominal and must not take arguments. She further shows that the by phrase is not legitimate as an argument adjunct, since there is no argument structure to liconsistency and suggests that it should be a modifier.

Grimshaw points out that it looks like this by phrase cannot also quality as a modifier, since the uses of it are limited to something like authorship, hence the by phrase in (30) is ruled out. Grimshaw shows that its counterpart, of phrase is legitimate because it is an acceptable modifier for result nominals, as it can pluralize as in:

31. (a) There are the selections of the committee  
   (b) The section of the committee will be announced shortly

She further shows that the of phrase clearly refers to the individual selected, not to the event of selection. Grimshaw further disputes claims made by Williams that nominals like (30) could not be nominals, since they allow modification by constant;

32. The constant/frequent choice of the committee is Chablis

According to Grimshaw the ambiguity hypothesis has demonstrated that constant has several meanings, and that some of them are entirely compatible with some result nominals, hence the wellformedness of nominals like constant fears. Grimshaw shows that Williams points to the contrast in (33):

33. (a) The promise to Bill was to leave  
    (b)*The promise by Bill was to leave

According to Grimshaw, Williams claims that the ungrammaticality of (33b) is due to the omission of the theme argument required by the presence of by. In her opinion, this is not true as (37) remains equally-ill-formed even if the theme is expressed:
34.  (a) *the promise to leave by Bill
(b)*The promise by Bill to leave

Grimshaw points out that the contrast in (33) has nothing to do with the absence of the theme. She contends that it could lie in the semantic limitations on by phrases in nominals. Grimshaw argues that it is hard to see how particular hypothesis about by phrases or external arguments can accommodate numerous differences between the two types of nominals, all of which have clear correlations with meaning. He presents examples given by Williams to illustrate his hypothesis:

35.  (a) The expression of bad sentiments
(b) The expression of the patient
(c) The expression of bad sentiments of the patients

According to Grimshaw, the general idea is that of marks theme as in (35a) and the agent in (35b) but cannot be used to mark but, as in (35c)

Grimshaw shows that Lebeaux (1986) comes up with a different account of the distribution of arguments in nominals. She indicates that here, different variety of nominals represent nominalization at different levels of logical form (LF). She shows that process nominals involve affix raising, with the nominal affix adjoining to N' or N" at LF. She contends that when the affix adjoins to N' it leaves a verbal configuration within N', and that in this configuration theta-marking proceeds as usual for internal arguments. She indicates that as a result, an object will appear, but no subject. Grimshaw points out that when the adjunction is to N", the entire NP is verbal in character at LF; and theta-marking proceeds as usual for both internal and external arguments. She shows that here, both the subject and the object must be present, hence the presence of N", and the sasfaction of all arguments of the noun. She argues that when no subject occurs, there is N’ adjunction, and that only the object will occur. In her view result nomionals involve no affix raising. According to Grimshaw, this account also recognizes ambiguity in the nominal system; i.e. some nouns have arguments while others have not.

Grimshaw argues that although the two kinds of nouns, i.e. complex event nominals and result nominals differ, there should be a way to connect them. In her view, one way to do that is to buy the idea that argument structure contains more than just the list of elements set into a relationship by a predicate. She suggests the view that lexical items also specify another kind of position involved in the syntactic and semantic integration of the lexical item to its containing units. She shows that this view posit a non-thematic argument R which serves as the external arguments of nouns. She argues that R is distinguished from the more familiar kind of argument by the fact that it does not appear as a complement to the head, nor is it the realization of a participant in the 1cs of the word in other words, there is no sense in which R is a Theme, a Goal or an Agent of a predicate.
Grimshaw also points to the second non-thematic argument designated by E that has been proposed to play a role in argument structure of verbs. She shows that literature contains various proposals for the role of E. She shows that according to Kratzer (1989) E is present only in the argument structure of “stage level” predicates, and not “individual level” predicates. She further shows that Higginbotham assumes that all verbs have this additional argument. Grimshaw contends that R and E are different entries altogether. In her view, the first difference concerns the assertion by Williams (1981a) and disciullo and Williams (1987) that R counts as the external arguments of nouns, Grimshaw argues that E, does not count as the external argument of verbs. She maintains that the second difference between R and E is that R can be identified with 1cs argument of the head, while this is never possible for E.

Grimshaw states that since E does not interact with the syntactic argument structure representation of predicates, whereas R does, she will limit he discussion to the properties of non-thematic argument of nouns, i.e. R and EV. Grimshaw points out that the reason for positing R concerns the integration of heads into longer expression. She illustrates this point by giving examples of predication:

36. John is fond of Bill; John is mad at Bill

According to Grimshaw, *found* and *mad* in (36a) are two place relations and indicates that the external argument of the adjective is satisfied by predication. In her view, if the two sets of cases are to be unified the two NPs in the set must have an external argument to be satisfied by predication. She uses the example below as he illustrations.

37. John is a man; he is a friend of mine

Grimshaw shows that in these examples the NPs *a man* and *a friend of mine* must be satisfied by predication, just as the adjective phrases in (36) do. Grimshaw indicates that it is not clear how this argument should be satisfied because the NP in (37) is not used predicatively. She maintains that two possibilities to deal with this situation come to picture. She shows that the first possibility follows from assertion by Williams, (1981a) and di sciullo and Williams (1987), that all NPs have an open position, which it satisfied by predication or reference. She argues that is situations where the NPs are not predicative R is satisfied by reference. She illustrates this point by giving examples of predication:

38. (a) A man walked into the room  
(b) a friend of mine walked into the room

Grimshaw indicates that the second possibility is of the view that only predicative NPs have an unsatisfied external argument and that referential NPs have their R argument satisfied by a determiner. She cites Higginbotham (1985), who argue in favour of this view. She indicates that according to him the determiner a does not satisfy R, or at least does not always satisfy R, hence an indefinite NP can have an open position which will be satisfied by predication. She shows that on the other hand, a definite NP, has no open position and cannot be used predicatively. In her view, the above analysis
shows that nouns always have an open R position, but that these NPs have an open position only when they are predicative. Again, in her view, this suggests that all nouns, i.e. even result nominals and simple event nominals have an excellent argument. She illustrates this view in this way:

39. (a) dog (R)
    (b) dissertation (R)
    (c) observation/expression/exam (R)

Grimshaw is of the view that (39) represents nouns which are non-thematic. In her view such non-thematic argument structure is involved in modification as well as predication. She asserts that modification can be accomplished by identification of external argument of the modifier with the external argument of the noun.

Grimshaw argues that this kind of reasoning shows that all nouns have an argument structure, even if they have no other arguments, the have R as their external. She further contends that although nouns such as (39) do have argument structure, but they lack a thematic argument structure, i.e. an argument structure projection of their ics participants. In her view, this is what distinguishes nouns such as (39) from complex event nominals.

Grimshaw argues that when complex event nominals occur with modifiers, the modifiers modify the events they refer to. She shows that in this way they work just like result nominals with respect to modification. She gives the following example as an illustration: the unexpected observation of a black hole. Grimshaw points out that the external argument of unexpected will be identified with an external argument of observation, and both will be assigned together.

According to Grimshaw, complex event nominals must have an external argument distinct from their thematic arguments if they are to be seen as different from result nominals. She indicates that this should be possible in that in contrast to the result nominals, the external argument of a complex event nominal never binds an ics participant, and that these nominals always denote events. She maintains that since the determiner and modifier systems are different for the two kinds of nouns, this can be attributed to their different external argument. She then suggests that the external argument of complex event nominals should be designated as EV.

Grimshaw argues that since the external argument of complex nominals is now designated as EV, it must be the most prominent argument in the prominence theory of argument structure, and that all other arguments must be internal. She illustrates this view by presenting an example of the nominalization of observe:

40. (a) observe N, (X(y)
    (b) -ng N, (EV) -ationN, (EV)
    (c) observing N, (EV (x(y)))
    (d) observation N, (EV(x(y)))
Grimshaw shows that the verb in (40) is associated with an argument structure in which X is external, and that the nominal affix -ing is associated with an argument structure in which EV is external, and -ation has this entry as one of its possibilities. She argues that when the verb combines with the affix, the result is a complex argument structure formed by combining the argument structure of the two. She further states that since the affix is the head, the derived form is a noun, and its external argument is the external argument of the whole.

Grimshaw points out that although all result nominals have the same argument structure as in (40) which contains R position, R, unlike EV can be bound to an 1cs argument of the base. She illustrates this view by presenting examples given by her in her (1987) work:

41. (a) detain (x(y)) detainee (R=X) such as y detains x
    (b) teach (x(y)) teacher (R=X) so that x teaches y

Grimshaw thus postulates that we can distinguish between the argument structure of complex event nominals and result nominals by their argument structure difference, i.e. complex event nominals gets EV as its external because it has event structure, while result and simple event nominals have R as their external argument since they do not denote an event. Grimshaw assert that although affixes like -ation, -ment, etc. are ambiguously specified as introducing either EV or R, it has been observed that zero derivation introduces R, while -ing is typically specifies for EV. In this way, Grimshaw, points out that zero-derived form will be regarded as for result and simple event nominals, while -ing will be specified for EV, which is for Complex event nominals. Grimshaw indicates that when it comes to determiners, only the introduces R or EV, while for most determiners and the plural morpheme the argument structure contains R. she however mentions that if identification requires that the two argument as of the same type, it follows that only the can occur with complex event nominals, e.g.

42. (a) NP [Det (R) N(R)]
    (b) NP [Det (Ev) N(Ev) (x(y))]

Grimshaw also stipulates that the event control is a control relation between Ev and RRO, and thus only complex event nominals participate in event control, and that the others have R, because they do not have argument structure.

Coming to the argument structure of compounds, Grimshaw states that there are two kinds of compounds, namely, “root” and “verbal” or “synthetic” compound. Grimshaw argues that root compounds have heads with no argument structure, while the head of a synthetic compound is an argument-taking element. She contends that since the head has an argument structure which must be satisfied, the non-head is theta-marked by the head. Grimshaw indicates that this proposal results in two things. She contends that the first one is that the properties of the head of a nominal root compound should be those of a result nominal, and that second, principles of argument structure representation are expected to affect the well-formedness of synthetic compounds but no that of root
compounds, since root compounds do not involve argument structure satisfaction. To illustrate this view Grimshaw presents examples, in which apparent subject or external argument can occur in root compounds, as in (43), but not in synthetic compounds, as in (44):

43.  (a) a bee sting, bee stings
     (b) a dog bite, dog bites
44.  (a) *bee-stinging
     (b) *dog-biting
Grimshaw stipulates that the reason why subjects cannot occur with synthetic of the head and not just a modifier. To solve this problem, Grimshaw refers to the hypotheses that the head of a synthetic compound must have a structure. She contends that this hypothesis predicts that when the head of a compound is a plural noun, the compound must be a root compound, and not a synthetic one, because argument-taking do not occur in plural. She gives the example from Roeper (1987) as an illustration:

45.  (a) John enjoys clam baking
     (b) John enjoys clam bakings
Grimshaw contends that baking in (45a) can take arguments, since John can be construed as controlling one of its arguments. She further assert that bakings in (45b) has no arguments, and that because of this there cannot be control here. Grimshaw further notes that compounds headed by -ing nominals are typically synthetic, while those headed by zero-derived forms are typically root compounds. She states that compounds headed by suffixes like -ion, -ment can be either argument-taking or not, since they usually form ambiguity in the heads.

Addressing the issue of theta-marking nominals, Grimshaw maintains that only complex event nominals show the same argument-taking properties as verbs in that their argument are obligatory. She however, points out that nouns do not behave as full argument-takers. She shows that although they do take prepositions, nouns never take sentential arguments or passive nominals. She thus generalizes that nouns take arguments when they combine with prepositions. Grimshaw postulates that as it is usually asserted that the predicate license a syntactic expression, and the a syntactic expression satisfies a slot in the argument structure of a predicate, it follows that nouns in their participation in at least one of these relationship is defective, because, unlike predicates, nouns do not take direct arguments. She contends that this suggest that either an argument cannot satisfy the argument structure of a noun without help, or that the argument structure of a noun cannot license an argument without help. She asserts that this leads to the consequence that nouns take arguments only through the mediation of a preposition, as in the example below:

46.  (a) N PP    (b) N CP    (c) N NP
Grimshaw shows that verbs meet all the requirements for theta-marking, an argument structure and a theta-marker, whereas complex event nouns only meet one, that of argument structure. She shows that
these nouns are non theta markers. She argues that as it is clear that nouns can only take arguments
through the help of the prepositions, it follows that if prepositions also have an argument structure, but
have no independent semantic roles to assign then their argument structure can be satisfied by
“identification”. Grimshaw indicates that by identification, a position in one argument structure is
linked to a position in a second argument structure in such a way that both are satisfied by a single
syntactic expression. Grimshaw assert that as nouns are defective theta markers, their argument
structure can be satisfies only if each position is identified with a position in the argument structure of
other non-defective theta-markers. She illustrates this idea in the structure in (47) below:

47.

\[(E \forall (x(y(z))))\]

Grimshaw indicates that in (47), the y argument of \textit{donation}, its goal, has been identified with the
argument structure of \textit{to}, and the 2 argument with the argument of \textit{of}.

Grimshaw postulates that there are suggestions that verbs can also participate in the theta marking of
this sort. She shows that according to Marantz (1984) and Baker (1988b), \textit{instrumental} receives its
theta-role from the verb directly, while a \textit{benefactive} or \textit{Goal} receives it through the preposition. She
gives the example below:

48. They donated money to hospitals

According to Grimshaw, in the above example, the verb makes the role available, and the prepositions
transfers it to the NP. She point out that it follows from this kind of argument that verbs are said to
directly theta-mark an argument, or the can do it indirectly via the preposition. She thus argues that
the defective character of nouns lies in their failure of participate in one of these modes of theta-marking, that is, direct theta-marking.

In Grimshaw’s view the reason why nouns cannot participate in direct theta-marking can be attributed in theta-theory. She argues that to take direct NP arguments, the head must be able to assign case to the argument. She shows that verb satisfies this requirement, while noun lacks it, i.e. the head in nouns cannot assign case to the argument. She indicates that it seem as if Case theory can be held responsible only for the intransitivity of nouns, but not in other cases such as the absence of sentential arguments to nouns or the non-existence of passive nominals. In her view, CP arguments do not need case, and that the preposed NP in a passive nominal would be case-marked by possessive, in the same way as the proposed NP is case-marked in the subject position of a passive verb:

49. (a) N CP
(b) 

\[
\text{NP's} \quad \text{N} \quad \text{[e]}
\]

According to Grimshaw, if case theory is considered as a distinguishing factor between nouns and verbs, the noun-argument relations in (49) would be incorrectly allowed. In her view, nouns are defective theta-markers, but not defective case markers, i.e. they are intransitive with respect to theta-marking, but with respect to case marking they are transitive.

Grimshaw points out that it has been established that nouns can only theta-mark through the prepositions, which transmit the theta role to the NP, it follows that not all prepositions can do this job, but that only those preposition that are theta transmitters will combine with nouns to take arguments, inspite of the fact that all prepositions are case assigners. Se illustrates this view by citing Rappaport (1983), who argues that of is thematically restricted in nominals. She presents examples as given by Rappaport (1983):

50. (a) They ordered the troops to fire
(b) Their orders to/* of the troops to fire

Grimshaw indicates that difference between the two sentences in (50), is due to the difference between a true theta-marking head, the V, and a head which does not directly theta-mark the N.

Grimshaw postulates that as it has been observed that nominals can only license theta marking by prepositions phrases, and not bare maximal projections, it follows that an NP whose head is a noun with a noun with a non-prepositional complement should not show any of the properties of complex even nominals. Grimshaw contends that cases like these may be attested with sentential complements
to nouns and passive nominals. In her view, these complements never behave like arguments, thus they behave like a result or a simple event nominal.

Grimshaw postulates that sentential complements to nouns are always optional, even when the corresponding verb takes an obligatory complement. She further contends that it may be possible for nonsentential complements in nouns to manipulate the grammatical context as to make the complement obligatory, but that this is never possible with sentential complements:

51. (a) The announcement/conclusion (that an investigation has been initiated) was inaccurate.
(b) *They announced./They concluded

Grimshaw indicates that another point regarding the status of sentential complements to nouns has been raised by Stowell (1981); who argues that these nouns do not have the meaning of process nouns:

52. The/Their observation that the position had been filled surprised everyone

According to Grimshaw, the noun observation in (52) does not refer to the event or process of event, but to the content of the observation. She however, mentions that the noun such as attempt it does seem to be an event reading:

53. Their attempt to climb the mountain

Grimshaw argues that although Stowell asserted that infinitival sentential complements to nouns, like the one in (53), are true complements, there is overwhelming evidence that the reading of attempt in (53) is that of a simple event and not that of a complex event. She indicates that this follows from the fact that the compliment to the noun attempt is optional, which is characteristic of a non-argument-taking noun:

54. (a) This particular attempt to convince people that the procedure was fair was doomed to failure
(b) Their attempts to convince people that the procedure was fair were doomed to failure

According to Grimshaw, the determiners for attempt in (54) are those of the result nominals, and another evidence is that pluralization is perfectly well-formed with attempt, which would not be possible if it was a complex event nominal. She further indicates that an NP headed by attempt can be used predicatively, typical of result nominals:

55. This was their first attempt to climb Mt. Everest

She shows that the modifiers frequent and constant are impossible unless the head noun is pluralized, which is also characteristic of a non-argument taking nouns:

56. (a) *Their constant/frequent attempt to climb Mt. Everest
(b) Their constant/frequent attempts to climb Mt. Everest
Grimshaw postulates that it seems as if the control properties of nouns seem to identical to those of the corresponding verb:

57. (a) The/His attempt to leave on time  
(b) All of his attempts to leave on time  
(c) These attempts of yours to leave on time

She argues that here, the control relation must be based on the 1cs representation of attempt. In her view, the principles governing the choice of controller access 1cs rather than syntactic argument structure, since attempt has no syntactic arguments. She indicates that the controller choice is a function of semantic properties of predicate.

Grimshaw points out that the behavior of nouns with finite complements is also that of result nominals, or simple event nominals. She shows that such nominals do not allow the adjuncts to associated with complex event nominals

58.  
(a) *Their frequent/Constant announcement that they were the greatest eventually became tiresome  
(b) *His frequent/Constant statement that he was about to resign was intended to mislead

She indicates that when example in (58) appear with plural head, a characteristic of result nominals they improve, through the plurals themselves are not perfect:

59.  
(a) ?. Their frequent/Constant announcements that they were the greats eventually became tiresome  
(b) ?. His frequent/Constant statements that he was about to resign were intended to mislead

Grimshaw postulates that cases like (60) seem to be more or less impossible without the parenthesized material in that the clause specifies the content, and not the event, and that it is not possible to give just one content for a plural head:

60.  
(a) ?? The announcements that the problem was solved (and that no issues remained) were greeted with skepticism.  
(b) Their observations that the problem was solved (and that no issues remained) were greeted with skepticism

She argues that modifiers which are usually associated with result nominals are allowed by these nouns, as in (61), while in the contrary, no event control is possible with them as in (62) and (63):

61.  
(a) Yesterday’s statement that the president intends to retire in December was greeted with sceptism  
(b) This announcement of yours that the president intends to retire in December Will not pass muster
62. (a) Their statement that the president intends to retire in order to mislead the public was absurd
(b) They stated that the president intends to restore in order to mislead the public

63. (a) Their attempt to mislead everyone in order to preserve their jobs was unsuccessful
(b) They attempted to mislead everyone in order to preserve their jobs

Grimshaw states that the purpose clauses in (62a) and (63a) are unambiguously associated with lower clause, while the purpose clauses in (62b) and (63b) can be construed with either of the two clauses. She further contends that if the verb on the lower clause is one that cannot participate in event control, examples like (62b) and (63b) become ungrammatical:

64. (a) *Their statement that the gun misfired in order to mislead the public was absurd
(b) They stated that the gun misfired in order to mislead the public

Grimshaw points out that nouns with sentential complements, that is, result nominals, contrast with nominal prepositional complement, i.e. complex event nominals. She shows that in the examples below, (65a) admits an event modifier and a purpose clause, while in (65b), the very same nominal does not admit either:

65. (a) The constant announcement of inaccurate results should not be condoned
(b) *The constant announcement that results have been achieved should not be condoned

Grimshaw points out that if gerundive nominals are theta-marking, they should not be possible with CP complements because it is asserted that CP complements never occur with theta-marking nouns. But she notices a violation of this rule with the sentences below:

66. (a) Their announcing that…
(b) Their deciding to…

Grimshaw postulates that the noun-verb ambiguity of -ing in the example above raise some difficulty with this assertion, because the sentences are grammatical when the head is a verb. She however, notes that the addition of an adjective in (67a) makes these sentences ungrammatical, while the addition of an adverb in (67b) leaves their ungrammaticality unchanged:

67. (a) *Their unexpected announcing that…
(b) Their unexpectedly announcing that…

Grimshaw thus show that (65) is a verbal gerund, since verbal gerunds do not allow AP modifiers. Grimshaw further indicate that substituting the for their in (66) result in ungrammaticality, since (66) is a verbal gerund, because only nominal gerund, and not verbal gerunds can occur with a determiner. She argues that examples like (67) violate the theta-criterion only when the head is a noun, but when the head is a verb, they become grammatical. She argues that the reason behind this follows from the hypothesis that nouns cannot be theta-mark.

Addressing the question of passive nominals, Grimshaw asserts that the idea that nouns cannot directly theta-mark is also observed with passive nominals. Grimshaw is against the idea of treating passive
nominals like passive clauses. In her view, these two are totally different, and that passive nominals are not complex event nominals, and because of that, the never have argument structure. According to her, this follows from the defectiveness of nouns as argument-takers.

Grimshaw postulates that in a passive nominals a phrase that appears to correspond to the object of the noun appears pronominally in NP. She indicates that such cases usually involve possessive NPs as in these examples in (68):

68. (a) Reagan’s defeat  
   (b) The defeat of Reagan

Grimshaw points out that the possessive are related to the argument of the noun that correspond to the object of the base verb, not the subject. She maintains that the second set of cases involves adjectives which behave almost like noun phrases. She gives the examples below:

69. (a) The American invasion of Vietnam  
   (b) The local attempt to boycott the election

According to Grimshaw, this set includes adjectives expressing nationality and other adjectives like local, national, liberal, etc. She thus refers to them as group adjectives, since they seem to pick out groups with a defining characteristic. She contends that these adjectives also appear to be related to the arguments corresponding to the objects of the verbs, or the of phrases of the nominals. She illustrates this point by presenting the examples in (70):

70. (a) The French defeat  
   (b) The defeat of France

Grimshaw argues that like possessive, group adjectives are ambiguous. She indicates that sometimes they must be analyzed as subject-like and occurring with complex event nominals. She gives these examples:

71. (a) The American love/dislike/fear *(of free speech)  
   (b) The (constant) American assignment *(of untrained officials) to important Jobs

Grimshaw points out that the inclusion of a group of adjective with an adjective interpretation makes the object of a noun obligatory, as in (71a). She further contends that the use of constant in (71b), forces the complex event reading of assignment, hence the obligatoriness of the object. Grimshaw postulates that the considerations in (71), show the group adjectives can be a structure related and not just modifiers. But she also indicates that it is also possible for the group adjectives to be used as modifiers when occurring on result and simple event nominals.

Grimshaw argues that since both possessive and group adjectives can occur with argument taking nominals, it suggests that nominals with the passive form could be either complex event nominals with
internal constituents related to argument structure or result/simple event nominals with modifiers. Grimshaw presents evidence to this effect, which fall within six categories.

The first one concerns the behavior of unambiguous result and simple event nominals. In her view, nouns that appear to be unambiguous result nominal allow preposing of possessives and group adjectives. She illustrates this idea by presenting examples as given by Anderson (1978):

72. (a) This problem’s solution  
(b) they solved this problem

According to Grimshaw, the possessive on (72a) correspond to the object of the verb solve in (72b).

She argues that the second point is that unambiguous theta-marking nouns should not allow the proposed possessive NP. She refers to this kind of nouns as gerundive nominals, which in her view are always complex event nominals. She argues that these kind of nouns never occur in the passive form is impossible for this kind of noun. She illustrates this point by giving the example in (73):

73. (a) *The tree’s felling  
(b) The felling of the tree

The third point that she makes is that disambiguation of nouns towards the result/simple event reading leaves the grammaticality of passive nominals untouched. She shows that it may be possible for result/simple event reading nominals to pluralize, and to occur with demonstratives or the posthead of NP’s as in (74), while the opposite holds for the complex event nominals. She contends that when complex event nominals appear with these things, ungrammaticality will result, as (75) shows:

74. (a) Reagan’s defeats  
(b) The French defeats

75. *The politician’s frequent/constant nomination

Grimshaw also postulates that passive nominals generally fail to occur with the aspectual adjuncts if these nominals do not denote complex events. She illustrates this point in these examples:

76. (a) The construction of the building in three weeks  
(b) *The building’s construction in three weeks

The forth point that she makes is that result and simple event nominals allow possessive modifiers, like yesterday’s, while complex event nominals do not. She further postulates that a possessive of this type should co-occur with a group adjective in a passive nominal, since both occur with nouns of the same type:

77. Yesterday’s Liberal/European defeat

She indicates that when a noun ambiguously takes arguments, yesterday’s is impossible:
The fifth point that she makes relates to the assumption made by Williams (1985), the passive nominals do not show the same control behavior as active nominals. According to Grimshaw, such nominals are result nominals. She argues that the reason why they cannot behave like active nominals is due to the fact that these nominals do not allow event control of a purpose clause, because they do not denote complex events. She gives the examples in (79) as an illustration:

79. (a) The translation of the book (in order) to make it available to a wider readership
(b) *The book’s translation (in order) to make it available to a wider readership

Grimshaw argues that passive nominals are just like other result/simple event nominals in this respect. She further indicates that it has been proposed by Williams (1985), that control into purpose clauses has an S or N’ as controller. She thus indicates that in a passive nominal, the possessive and the head noun do not form a constituent and therefore impede them to control. In her view, control can also be possible if the adjective is inside N’, but the noun itself cannot act as the controller.

Another explanation that she presents for the explanation of control surrounds PRO. According to Grimshaw, the controller is usually a PRO generated in Spec of N. She argues that since in passive nominals the position in which PRO is usually generated is filled by a possessive, it follows that the absence of this PRO is responsible for the lack of control relationship. Grimshaw further indicates that control in passive nominals is also impossible with APs, although the AP may not in the position that PRO is assumed to occupy. She maintains that the reason for this has been proposed by Roeper, who contends that control in nominals can be controlled by an argument of the nominal or PRO if no overt controller.

Grimshaw however, postulates that event control should be possible with or without PRO, because here, control is by event. In her view, this means that the presence or absence of a possessive in a Spec of an NP should have no effect in event control. Grimshaw further notes that the fact that passive nominals are said to do have control in the nominal denotes events create other problems. She indicates that the most important problem in these solutions is that they do not generalize to all case of control failure, nor do they connect up this property of passive nominals with their other properties. She thus proposes that event control, just as for all other nominals that do not denote complex events is not possible for passive nominals. She however, points out that event control is possible for passive nominals which denote complex events, regardless of what elements may or may not occupy the possessive position.

Grimshaw maintains that the final point here, concerns the co-occurrence of each group adjectives with by phrases. In her view, the passive configuration in nominals is incompatible with the presence of an argument-related possessive, a group adjective, or a by phrase, in that the passive configuration
is found only for nouns with an argument structure, which cannot license-argument-related elements. She illustrates this view by stating what happens when a group adjective co-occurs with a possessive argument-adjunct. She contends that here, the passive reading, in which the group adjective seems to be related to an object argument, disappears when a possessive argument is included in the NP. She gives the example below:

80. (a) Reagan’s defeat of the liberals
    (b) the liberal defeat
    (c) (*) Reagon’s liberal defeat
    (d) (*) Reagon’s European defeat

She argues that the agentive possessive must be an a-adjunct to receive its subject-like interpretation, as in (80a). In her view defeat must take arguments to license the possessive. She contends that defeat must be a result/simple event nominal to occur in the passive form with liberal as a modifier, as in (80b), but since the noun cannot meet both these conditions simultaneously, (80c) is not a well-formed nominal. She asserts that (80d) makes more sense, but still it cannot be accepted since it lacks the defeater, i.e. subject-like, reading just like (80c) is.

Grimshaw argues that by phrases behaves completely the same way to that for possessives. They are ambiguous between modifier status and a-structure-related status, just as possessives are. She asserts that it should be possible for passive nominals to co-occur with the modifier by phrase but not with a by phrase licensed by a-structure. She provides the examples below:

81. (a) The defeat of the liberals by Reagon
    (b) An invasion of Central American by the U.S.Army

82. (a) *The liberal defeat by Reagon
    (b) A Central American invasion by the U.S. Army

Grimshaw contends that both NPs in (81) are grammatical because the noun ha an a-structure, which license both the of phrase and the by phrase. She states that the passive nominals in (82) are not complex event nominals and have no a-structure to license the by phrase. She shows that the inclusion of a group adjective with an agentive interpretation (in 82) makes the object of a noun obligatory.

Grimshaw says that preposed possessives should be treated in the same way as group adjectives. She argues that if the preposed possessive is a modifier, it will not allow the by phrases, because a by phrase is licensed by a-structure and that no noun with an argument structure will allow a possessive modifier.

She contends that sentences in (83) below seem to be marginally possible, perhaps because the by phrase here can be interpreted as a modifier rather than an a-structure-related element:

83. (a) ?? The book’s publication by The MIT Press
    (b) ?? The politician’s nomination by the senate
Grimshaw points out that the co-occurrence of by phrases with possessive passive nominals remains something of a mystery because there are instances where ill-formedness result when used with a group adjective, but when used with a possessive ungrammaticality disappears:

84. (a) ? America’s defeat by the Soviet Union  
    (b) * The American defeat by the Soviet Union

On the issue of the defectiveness of nouns to theta-mark, Grimshaw stipulates that nouns cannot theta-mark directly but must be assisted by prepositions. She shows that theta-marking is possible only in configuration (85a) and not in (85b) or (85c):

85. (a) N PP  
    (b) NCP  
    (c) NNP

In her view, once we agree that nouns cannot theta mark directly, then sentential argument to nouns as in (85b) and NP complements to nouns as in (85c) are ruled out.

2.4.2 Tsujimura, N. (1992)

In this paper, Tsujimura (1992) investigates nominal clauses as predicate with deverbal noun in Japanese. He also examines conditions under which such nominal clauses are licensed. He argues that the syntactic and semantic requirement are necessary not sufficient for such licensing and the notion of prosodic licensing play a major role in explaining the acceptability of nominal clauses with deverbal nouns. He asserts that nominal clauses are similar to verbal clause in that the argument of the predicative nominal are assigned verbal case such as nominative, accusative and dative, e.g.

1. John-ga nihongo-o BENKYOO-tyuu, Mary-ga
   John-noun Japanese-acc studying-while mary-noun ta zunete-kita Visit-came
   While John was studying Japanese, Mary came to see him

In the above example, John and Nihongo are marked with nominative and accusative respectively which according to Tsujimura is the case pattern observed in verbal clauses alike.

2. John-ga nihongo-o Amerika-de mananda
   John learned Japanese in America.

Tsujimura asserts that nominal clauses are different from verbal cause in that the argument can also be assigned Genitive case, and that with nominal clauses, Some of the argument can be assigned verbal cases while others are assigned genitive case within the same clause, e.g.

3. John-ga nihongo-o BENKYOO-tyuu, Mary-ga
   John-noun Japanese-acc studying-while mary-noun ta zunete-kita Visit-came
   While John was studying Japanese, Mary came to see him
4. John-ga nihongo-o BENKYOO-tyuu, Mary-ga
   John-noun Japanese-Gen studying-while mary-nom ta zunete-kita Visit-came
   While John was studying Japanese, Mary came to see him

Tsujimura state the verbal case of assignment that we observe in (1), (2) and (4), is not the property of
nominal alone. He claims that the nominal must always be suffixed by morphemes that indicates some
temporal/aspectual properties (martin 1975, lida 1987, Sells 1990). He shows that such temporal
affixes include –tyuu ‘while’ –go ‘after’ and –izen ‘before’ etc. He further contends that it is only
when a VN is suffixed by such temporal affix that verbal case assignment is allowed. He expresses the
idea that if a VN fails to be suffixed by a temporal affix, the argument of the VN must necessary be
marked with Genitive, e.g.

5. (a) John-ga nihongo-o BENKYOO
   John-nom Japanese-acc studying
   John studies Japanese

(b) John-ga nihongo-o BENKYOO
   John-Gen Japanese-Gen studying
   John’s studying of Japanese.

He argues that the VN BENKOO in 5(a) cannot have its argument marked with verbal case in the
absence of a temporal affix, and hence it does not have predicative function as the verb in (2) does. He
shows that the only possibility with such a VN is a noun phrase like (5b) in which the arguments are
internal to the head noun.

He asserts that it should be kept in mind that although deverbal noun in Japanese include those derived
from a single verbal stem (6a) as well as those coming from a single verbal stem (6b) with its direct
object compounded to it (i.e. N-derived N compound) and those consisting of two verbal stems (6c)
compounded together (i.e. deverbalized V-V compounds) in this paper he concentrate only on the
deverbal nouns derived from a single verbal stem.

6. (a)  tukai ‘treating, dealing’(<a tukaw ‘to treat, to deal) turi ‘fishing’(<tur ‘to fish’)

(b)  Kusa-tori ‘grass taking’ (<kusa ‘grass’ + tor (to take) Kane mooke ‘money making’ (kane money+mooke ‘to earn’)

(c) tori-atukai(treating(<tor ‘to take’ + atukaw to treat) Ki-gae ‘changing’(<ki ‘to dress’+kae ‘to change’)

Tsujimura schematized a nominal clause as follows:

7. NP-CASE NP-CASE….X-ASP

He gives the following as the interpretation of the above scheme where a ‘NP-case’ is an argument of
a deverbed noun x which is assigned a verbal case, and ‘ASP’ indicate an aspectual morpheme
suffixed to x.
Tsujimura claims that a categorical condition requires that the category of $x$ in (7) be a full-fledged noun. He further argues that whether this condition is satisfied by deverbal noun may not be clear because deverbal nouns are identical in form with one type of conjugation form of a verb, called the renyoo-kei form. He gives an example of uketori ‘receiving/receipt which can be either deverbal noun or the renyoo-kei form of the verb uketor(u). He contends that as a noun, it can be marked with accusative case, for example serving as the direct object, e.g.

8. **Sumimasen-kedo uketori-o kudasai**  
   Sorry to bother you-but receipt acc-give me.  
   Sorry to bother you, but please give me a receipt.

He shows that it may also appear in a coordinated structure, in which case uketori is used as the renyoo-kei form of the verb, e.g.

9. **John-wa sinamono-o uketori, sorekara**  
   John-Top merchandise-acc receive then  
   gosenensantu-o wa tasita  
   5,000 yen bill-acc handed.

John received the merchandise and then handed (over) a 5,000 yen bill.

Tsujimura further argues that when Uketori issued in a nominal clause, it is not clear from the surface morphology form whether it is a deverbal noun or the renyoo-kei form of the verb.

10. **John-ga sinamono-o uketori-tyuu,kodomo-ga**  
    John-nom merchandise-acc receiving –while child nom maigo-ni natta.  
    Lost became  
    While John was receiving merchandise, his child got lost.

Tsujimura shows that there is piece of evidence from sino-Japanese VN’s which suggest that the item to which a temporal affix is suffixed should be a noun. He cites Lida (1987) who claims that the renyoo-kei form of a sino-Japanese VN cannot appear immediately before a temporal affix whereas the VN itself can. Tsujimura indicates that when sino-Japanese VN’s are used in verbal clause are usually accompanied by the light verb suru. He further asserts that if a VN in a verbal clause appears in the first conjunct in a coordinate sentence, the form of the light verb, $si$ is used, and in such case the bare form of the VN would yield ungrammatical sentences:

11. (a) **John-ga huransogo-o BENKYOO-si, Mary-ga-nom fresh-acc studying-suru-nom**  
    Superingo-o BENKYOO-sita Spanish-acc studying-suru  
    John studied French, and Mary studied Spanish.

   (b) **John-ga huransugo-o BENYOO, Mary-ga supeingo- Benkyoo-sita.**

This scholar contends that when the VN appears in a nominal clause, the form to which a temporal morphime is suffixed is not the renyoo-kei form of the light verb $si$, but the VN itself, e.g.
12. John-ga nihongo-o benkyoo-so tyuu, mary-ga
While John was studying Japanese, mary came to see him.

Tsujimura shows that in (12a) BENKYOO-si is the renyoo-kei form of the complex verb
BENKYOO-suru ‘study’ and the nominal clause with it is ill formed whereas BENKYOO in (12b) is
categorically a noun, and yield a well formed nominal clause. According to him, this shows that what
a temporal affix is suffixed to must be a full-fledged noun. Tsujimura asserts that it has been widely
accepted that VN’s in nominal clause as in (1) bear argument structure. He says that this is so because
the VN is the only element that serves as a predicative function within the nominal clause and it is
against this background that the argument appearing in the nominal clause are considered as belonging
to the argument structure of the VN. Tsujimura further shows that it has been deverbal nouns inherit
their argument structure from their original verb.

Tsujimura contends that Grimshaw (1988) and Zubizaretta (1978) discuss argument –structural
condition in nominal in terms of ‘process’ vs ‘result’. Further indicate that process nominal denote a
process or event while ‘result’ nominal name the out put of a process or an element associated with the
process ( Grimshaw 1990, p.49) Tsujimura argues that in recent work, Grimshaw (1990) shows that
the dichonomy of ‘process’ vs ‘result’ does not satisfactorily characterize distinct properties of
nominal since even nominal that denote event often behave like what can be typical characterized as
‘result’ nominals. He further shows that as a result, Grimshaw argues that a crucial distinction should
be made depending on whether a given nominal is associated with event structure or not. He further
shows that she argues that only the nomination that have event structure, which are called ‘complex
event nominals; are claimed to have argument structure, sharing with the verbs the property of
licensing argument.

Tsujimura argues that it has been observed that ‘process’ nouns do not take determines while ‘result’
nouns do e.g.

13.  They observed that assignment of the problem
14.  they studied that assignment

Tsujimura indicate that in the preserve obligation argument of the problem, assignment in
(13) has the (process reading) while (14) lacks the argument, which forces the result interpretation. He
maintains that only ‘result’ nouns can take determine like that as seen from example (13) and (14)
above. Tsujimura is of the view that only ‘process’ nouns can co-occur with frequent/constant, e.g.

15.  The constant assignment of difficult problem is to be avoided.
16.  The constant assignment is to be avoided.
He further indicates that nouns like event, race and trip would be problematic since they do denote a process or event, and yet their behaviour is closer to ‘result’ nouns like 1(4) and 16 than to process nouns, e.g.

17. (a) That trip/event for this reason, Grimshaw treats nominals like event, race trip as simple event nominals, which do not have argument structure to differentiate them from ‘complex event nominal’ such assignment in (13) and (15).

Tsujimura shows that complex event nominal and other nominal (simple event and result nominal) may also differ in terms of aspectual differences. He first of all shows how the two types of nominal behave with respect to elevate control; He shows that complex event nouns allows for ‘event control’ in the purpose clause while result nominals do not e.g.

18. (a) The translation of the book in order to make it available to a wider readership.
(b) (The) examination of the patient in order to determine whether……

Tsujimura argues that in (18) event control is observed in both examples. He shows that (18a) has an interpretation in which the event of translating the best book makes it available to a wider readership. He further indicate that (19) shows that event control is not possible with result nominal like translation and exam.

He further asserts that another difference that Grimshaw discusses is that only complex event nominal pattern like verb in admitting the aspectual modifiers that the corresponding verbs exhibit. He gives an example of destroy which takes in a hour but not in an hour. He claims that these properties of the verbs are inherited by their normal counterparts when they are complex event nominal (and result nominal) cannot co-occur with aspectual modifier of any kind. He gives below example from Grimshaw(1990)

20. (a) The total destruction of the city in only two days appalled everyone.
(b) The total destruction of the city for two days appalled everyone.
(c) The bombing destroyed the city in two days/for two days.

21. (a) Only observation of the patient for several weeks can determine the most likely.
(b) Only observation of the patient in several weeks can determine the most likely
(c) They observed the patient for several weeks/in several weeks

22. (a) Jack’s trip in the fixes hours/for five hours was interested
(b) The process in five hours/for five hours.

Tsujimura argues that from the example above it is clear that only complex event nominals which have event structure associated as in the case with verbs. Given the discussion of argument structure patient to nominals put forth by Grimshaw, Tsujimura comes up with what he calls argument-structural condition on Japanese Deverbal nouns. He assert that if deverbal nouns in Japanese have argument structure, it is predicated that they have the properties that complex event nominals exhibit;
they should (i) allow for event control, and (ii) demonstrate the same range of aspectual modifier as their corresponding verbs admit. He further shows that it looks like these predictions are possible in Japanese nominals.

He asserts that when Nakayama and Tawa (1989) discuss the passive construction and control phenomena in purpose clause, they show that both agent control and event control are attested in Japanese. He asserts that they show that the controller of the purpose clause can be either a particular individual who is the agent of the event (i.e. implicit argument) or the itself e.g.

23. [roten-o syoomei-suru tame in] Fune –ga sizume-rare-ta
   Ponit-acc prove …….in order to ship-nom sink Pass-past
   The ship was sunk to prove the point

After proving that event control in purpose clause is arrested with verbs in Japanese, Tsujimura examines whether deverbal nouns generally exhibit the same property as verb, he gives the following example for consideration.

24. ([Koibitso-no Mary-o doredake aisiteituaka]) –o kanozyo
   Lover-gen Mary –acc how much love-acc she-ni wakaraseru tame-no, John-no bill-to-no.
   Dat make understand in order to make his love mary understand in order to GEN John –Gen
   bill-with-Gen arasoi. Fighting
   (John’s fighting with bill in order to make his love Mary understand how he loves)

25. {Mise –no ido-o okyakusan siraseru tame-no
   Store –gen class-acc custumer-to lat know inorder to gem sono hoosenkisan –no kookyuuhin-no
   atukai that jewelery story-Gen high-class merchandise-Gen dealing.
   (That jewelery store’s carrying high-class merchandise in order to let customers know the class of the store.)

Tsujimura state that arasoi and atukai are deverbal noun of arasoww(u), ‘to fight’ and atukaw (u) ‘to treat’ respectively. He further claims that in all the examples above in all the example above in (24-25) event control is possible. He further asserts that the fact that event control is available with the deverbal noun in (24-25) indicate that they are associated with event structure. He further argues that by having argument, they can license a well-formed nominal clause, e.g.

   Arasoi-tyuu(-ni), Mary-wa hoka-no otoko-to hawai-e Fighting-while(-at) Mary –top other-Gen
   man-with Hawaii-to nigetesimatta Ran away.
   (While John was fighting with bill about his lover mary, Mary ran away to Hawaii with another man.)

Tsujimura asserts that as example in (26) shows the deverbal nouns that allows for event Control also derive well-formed nominal clause. He further indicate that the example in (26) should be contracted with deverbal nominal that do not have the argument Structure e.g result nominal e.g.

27. okyakusan-o yorokobaseru tame-no] osibori
   customer-acc please inorder to Gen wet towel
   a wet towel in order to please a customer.
He further shows that event control cannot be obtained in the example in (27-28). He says that this suggest that *osibori* and *sasakure* cannot be analyzed as complex event nominal and thus they do not have argument structure. He further predict that since they are not associated with argument structure, the nominal clause with them should be ungrammatical, e.g.

29. *Weestoresu-ga osibori-tyuu,….*
    Waitress-nom wet towel-while
    While the waitress is wet toweling

30. *Hooki-ga sasakure –tyuu….*
    Broom-nom silver-while
    While the broom is silvering

Tsujimura expresses the idea that Japanese verb have selectional restriction as to what type of aspectual modifier can occur with certain verb. He is of the view that activity verb like *aruku* (walk) take *itizikan-no aida* for an hour, but not *itizikaninai-de* ‘in an hour’ while *kowasu* (break) which is an accomplishment verb, can co-occur with *itizikaninai-de* ‘in an hour’ but not *itizikan-no aida* ‘for an hour’ e.g.

31. (a) John-wa kooen-de itizikan-no aida aruita.
    John-top Park-in for an hour walked
    John walked in the park for an hour.

(b) John-wa kooen-de itizikaninai-de aruita
    John-top park-in in an hour walked
    ‘John walked in then park in an hour.’

32. (a) John-wa kodomo-no omotya-o itizikan-no aida. Kowasita
    John-top child Gen toy-Acc for an hour brok
    ‘John broke the child toy for an hour’

(b) John-wa kodomo-no omotya-no itizikaninai-de kowasita
    John-top child-Gen toy-acc in an hour broke
    ‘John broke the child is toy in an hour’

Tsujimura argues that this type of verbal properties as seen in an example (31-32) above inherited by the same set of deverbal noun that have been demonstrated to have event structure, e.g.

33. a. John-wa Mary-no ken-de bill- to sanzikan-no aida/
    John-top Mary –Gen regarding bill with for three hours/Go huninaide arasota.
    In five minute fought John fought with bill regarding Mary for three hours/in five hours.

b. John –no Mary-no ken-de bill-to-no sanzikan-no arasoi
    John’s fighting with bill regarding mary for three hours

c. John-no Mary-no Ken-de-no bill-to-no gohuninai-de-no arasoi
    John’s fighting with bill regards mary in five minutes.
Tsujimura claims that the example in (3) demonstrate that aspectual properties of verbs are property inherited by their deverbal nouns. He argues that this suggest that deverbal nouns that can appear in nominal clauses have specific aspectual selectional restriction that the corresponding verbs have. He further argues that this indicates that the deverbal nouns under discussion are associated with event structure, and because of that we may conclude that they have argument structure. Tsujimura argues that it may be possible for resultative phrase to contribute to showing the role of event structure. He cite rappaport and Levin(1989) who observe that resultative are one way of delimiting the event denoted by a verb. He gives an example of the resultative phrase flat which plays a role of delimiting the event of pounding the mental.

34. The silversmith pounded the mental flat

He further argues that deverbal nouns that can generate well-formed nominal clause may co-occur with resultative phrase since those deverbative nouns should have event structure to delimit the event. He further note that since resultative expression are limited to predicates of contact and those of change of state, but aratanic (changing/improving) does take resultative phrase. He further argues that for the deverbal noun must have event structure,e.g.

35. [Kaiin-o uresgaraseru tame-no] gityoo-no
   Members –acc please in order to-Gen chairman-Gen
   Akuhoo-no aratame
   Bad rule-gen changing
   ‘The chairman reform of a bad rule in order to please members’

36. Aspectual modifiers
   Gityoo-wa sono akuhoo-no  *hitoban –no aida
   Chairman –top that bad rule-acc for a right/hitobaninaide aratameta.
   In a night  changed
   The chairman changed/improved the bad rule for a night/in a night.

Tsujimura contend that the fact that the event control is available in (35) and the fact that the deverbal noun inherit the verbs property of selecting aspectual modifier as in (36) show that the deverbal noun aratame has event structure and thus argument structure. He further argues that since aramate has argument structure, the nominal classic with it (37) is acceptable:

37.? Gityoo-ga sono akubun-o aratame-tyuu(-ni)
   Chairman-nom that bad rule-acc changing-while (at),
   Kaigi-ga itidomo hirakarenakatta
   Meeting-nom even once wasn’t held.
   While the chairman was changing/improving the bad rule, a meeting wasn’t held at all.

Tsujimura further argues that the noun that is marked with accusative case-o must have argument structure for the purpose of the argument transfer.

   b. John-wa itumo hitoride gohan-o suru.
He shows that the control between (a) and (b) in (8) is because of full fledged noun with argument structure i.e. **SYOKUZI** But not Gohan can appear in Nominal clause. Tsujimura observes the semantic restriction on nominal clause. He cites lida (1978) who observes that the VN is the Nominal clause and temporal affix must match in their aspetual properties. The example illustrate:

39. Syorui-o Ikken-tyuu-ni, Tom-wa koohii-o kobosite
   Paper –acc glance-while-at Tom-Top coffee-acc spill
   Simatta
   Ended up
   While glancing at the paper, Tom ended up spilling coffee

Tsujimura says that the semantic interpretation of **IKKEN** ans –tyuu are not compatible with each other, hence the result appear in an ill formed nominal clause. Tsujimura shows that other aspectual morpheme such as –go ‘after’ –igo ‘after’ and izen ‘before’ do not impose this requirement on the noun. Hence these aspectual morphemes can take either achievement nouns or activity nouns, e.g

40. Syorui-o IKKEN-go(-no), Tom-wa Koohii-kobosite
   Paper-Acc glance- after (-at) –top coffee-Acc-spill
   Simata.
   Ended up.
   (after glancing at the paper, Tom ended up spilling coffee,

41 a. John –wa yoorappa-de BENKYOO-(I) go Gaikookan-ni
    Top Europe-in studying after diplomat-to
    Natta
    Became
    After studying in Europe, John became a diplomat.

41 b. John-wa yoorappa-de BENKYOO-izen(-wa) dezainaa-ni
    Top Europe-in studying before (-top) designer-to
    Naru koto-nado Kanga etemoimakatta
    Become that  didn’t even think of
    before studying in Europe John didn’t even dream of becoming a designer

Tsujimura indicates that these aspectual morphemes do not co-occur with just any predicative nominal. He show that they have a tendency of resisting psych nouns, e.g

42. John-ga nohongo-no sensei-o sonkei-tyuu-Nom Japanese-Gen teacher –Acc admiring-while/
   -(i) go(-izen….
   After/before
   While /after/before John admires his Japanese teacher……

43. Bill-ga America –tilmu-no syoori-ni
   -Nom American team –Gen victory-at
   KOOHUN-tyuu/-(i) go/-zen,…
   Exciting-while/-after/-before
   While/after/before excited at America team’s victory,…
According to Tsujimura what this range of data suggest is that the aspectual morphemes require that the noun to which they are suffixed denote an event. Tsujimura is of the view that the observation that have been made with respect to aspectual relationship between the noun and aspectual morpheme in a nominal clause should be extended to deverbal nouns. He asserts that (i) –tyuu requires that the noun denote some duration or event while –(i)go/-izen function as partial delimiter of the event denote by the noun, and (ii) the noun must denote an event. He gives the following illustration:

44. Yosiko-ga atarasii kimono-no dezain-o attoiumani
   Nom new Kimono-Gen design-acc immediately
   Coming up-while
   While Yoshiko was immediately coming up with a design for a new kimono,…

45. a. Jim-ga koibito-no kotobe sam-no arasoi-tyuu,…
    Nom lover-Gen regarding –with fighting –while
    While Jim is fighting with Sam regarding his lover
   
    b. Jim-ga koibito-no kotode Sam-to arosoi-go/-izen…
    after/before jim is fighting with Sam regarding his lover,…

46. *John –ga tuma-na si-o kanasimi-tyuu/-go/-zen,…
   Nom wife-gen death acc grieving-while/after/before,…
   While/after/before John grieves about his wife’s death,…

47. *Bill-ga Kurasumeeto-no Mary-ni akogare-tyuu/-go/-izen
   Nom classmate-copula -with infactuating-while/after/-before,…
   While/after/before Bill is infactuated with his classmate Mary…

48. *Tom-ga higai-no ookisa-ni odoroki-tyuu/-go/-zen,…
   Nom casuality-gen size-at surprising-while/-after/-before
   While/after/before Tom is surprised at the size of the casuality,…

Tsujimura is of the view that attoiumani ‘immediately’ in (44) forces the deverbal noun to be interpreted as an achievement. He contends that since –tyuu requires duration of time, The aspectual properties of the noun and the aspectual morpheme conflict, leading to ungrammatically of this nominal clause like (44). He further asserts that the noun arasoi in (45) in an activity noun, and thus its aspectual property is consistent with that of –tyuu in (45a). He indicate that (45b) also shows that –(i)go and –izen supply the noun with an ending and starting point of activity, respectively. According to him, (46-48) demonstrate that psych deverbal noun are not compatible with any aspectual morpheme because the latter requires that the noun denote an event. He further asserts that nominal clause impose semantic constraint on the relation between a noun and a temporal affix: the noun must able to add its aspectual specification to the noun to the extent that it is consistent with the inherent aspectual property of the noun itself. Tsujimura summarizes the condition on the formation of nominal clause in Japanese as follows:

49. Given a nominal clause of the form, NP-case NP-case…X-ASP, where X is a Deverbal noun, and ASP is an aspectual morpheme
a. X must be a full-fledged noun.
b. X must have argument structure
c. X must denote an event, and asp must be able to add its aspectual specification to X to the extent that it is consistent with the inherent aspectual property of X itself.

Tsujimura highlight a problem emanating from the above condition. He claims that the condition are not sufficient for licensing nominal clause. He gives the example below:

50. a. John-ga 800-meetoru-kyoosoo-de kati-go,
    John-Nom 800 meter-race-at winning after
    Party ga hirakareta.
    Party-noun was held
    After John won the 800 meter race, a party was held (for him).

b. John-ga kawa-de turi-tyuu-ni, Mary-ga
    John-Nom river at fishing-while-at Mary-Nom
    Sono kawa-ni otita.
    That river-into fell
    While John was fishing at the river, Mary fell into the river.

    John-Nom 3 kilometers swimming-white high wave-Nom came
    While John was swimming 3 km, a high wave came.

52. a. [ mada sutamina-ga aru koto-0 syoomei-suru
      Still stamina-Nom exist Comp-Acc prove
      Tame-no] John-no 800-meetoru-Kyoosoo-de-no
      Inorder to-Gen John-Gen 800 –meter-race-at Gen
      Kati Winning
      John is winning the 800 meter race in order to prove that he still has stamina.

b. [Sono turizao-ga mada sikkarisiteiru koto-o that fishing rod-Nom still study
    Comp-Acc Syoomei-suru tame-no] John-no kinoo-no
    prove in order to Gen John-Gen yesterday-Gen
    kawa de no turi
    River-at-Gen fishing.
    John’s fishing yesterday at the river to that the fishing Nod is still study.

53. a. [Miteira hitobito-no kanmei-o ukesaseru
    Watching people to impression-acc make receive
    Tame-no] John-no kisi-kara oki-made-no
    in order to-Gen John-Gen shore from off shore-as far-as-Gen
    san-kiro-no oyogi
    Three kilometer-Gen swimming.
John’s swimming of three kilometer from the shore to off shore in order to impress people who are watching.

b. [mada kirisutokyo-o Koto-o syoomei-suru still Christianity-Acc believe comp-Acc prove
tame-no] John-no nizikan-ni wataru inori in order to Gen John-Gen two-hours-to-range praying
John’s praying for two hours in order to prove that he still believe in Christianity.

Tsujimura asserts that some of the sentences include aspectual modifiers so that they force the ‘event’ reading of the deverbal nominals. He shows that in all the examples in (52-53), event control is available. According to him this is an indication that thyre deverbal nominal have event structure. He further indicates that they also inherit the selectional properties of aspectual modifiers from the corresponding verb e.g.

54. a. John-wa kyoosoo-de Mary-ni* Itizikan-no aida/
John-top race-at Mary –to for an hour/
Itizikaninai-de katta.
In an hour won
John beat Mary in a race *for an hour/in an hour.

b. *John –no kyooso-de-no itizikan-no kati
John’s winning the race for an hour.

c. John-no kyosoo-de-no  itizikaninae-de-no kani
John’s winning the race for an hour.

Tsujimura asserts that the selectional properties of aspectual modifiers in examples above (54) pattern with those of the corresponding verbs. He indicate that all the categorical, argument –structural and semantic condition stated in (49) are satisfied in (50-51), and yet the nominal clause are not acceptable. He is of the view that the ungrammatical status of the sentences suggest that the condition in (49) are necessary but not sufficient bfor licensing Nominal clause.

Tsujimura is concerned about the relevant factor that disallows sentence like (50-51)while allowing the one in (26) He is of the view that an explanation can be found in terms of a prosodic constraint. He asserts that in comprising the acceptable case like (26) with the unacceptable case In (50-51),we will notice that the deverbal noun in 26 is all four-morale long while those in (50-51) are all shorten than four morale. He suggests that we compare these deverbal nouns:

55. 2 morae 3 morae 4 morae
Kake ‘betting’ osie ‘teaching’ aratame ‘changing’

He claims that those with two-mora and three-mora nouns derive unacceptable nominal clause while with four-mora nouns (or even longer nouns) yield acceptable ones. He thus suggest a prosodic condition in addition to the categorial, argument structural and semantic condition in (49) for licensing well-formed Nominal clause. He asserts that the prosodic constraint should state a deverbal noun must be (at least) four-morae long in order to appear in a nominal clause.
He supports his view by demonstrating that the three mora deverbal noun which could not yield-well formed nominal clause above when they are prefixed by horrific morpheme o- some of nominal clause with 3 mora deverbal nouns appear to improve, e.g.

56. a.  John-ga tyaperu-de inori-tyuu, doroboo-ga
      John-Nom chapel-at praying-while thief-Nom
      Kare-no uti-ni haitta.
      His-Gen house-into entered
      While John was praying at the chapel, a thief broke-into his house

b.  Sensei-ga tyaperu-de o-nori-tyuu, doroboo-ga
    teacher-Nom chapel-at hon-praying-while thief-nom
    otaku-ni haitta
    house-into entered.
    While my teacher was praying at the chapel, a thief broke into his house.

Tsujimura shows that sentence (b) with the honorofic prefixation to the three-mora deverbal noun from three morae to four morae. He further notes that prefixation of the honorofic affix o-does not improve the nominal clause with two mora deverbal nouns, e.g.

57. a.  sensei-ga 800-meetoru-kyoosoo-deo-
      Teacher-Nom 800-meter-race-at hon
      Kati-go,...
      Winning-after
      After the teacher won the 800 meter race,...

b.  sensei-ga kawa-de o-tri-tyuu...
    teacher-Nom river –at hon- fishing-while
    while the teacher was fighting at the river,...

Tsujimura dispute the claim Lida (1987) that nominal clause are grammatical with a deverbal noun whose corresponding verb is a compound but not with a deverbal noun that originates from a single verb. He argues that even deverbal nouns with non-compound verbs as their base form can constitute well-formed nominal clause as long as they satisfy the prosodic requirement that they be at least four-morae long, in addition to the condition in (49). He then rewrites the licensing condition for nominal clause in Japanese in this manner:

58. Given a nominal clause of the form, NP-case NP-case...X-ASP, where X is a Deverbal noun, and ASP is an aspectual morpheme
    a.  X must be a full-fledged noun.
    b.  X must have argument structure
    c.  X must denote an event, and asp must be able to add its aspectual specification to X to the extent that it is consistent with the inherent aspectual property of X itself
    d.  X must be at least four-mora long.

Tsujimura notice that then prosodic licensing condition in (58d) bears some theoretical implication. He claims that (58d) specifically refers to deverbal nouns namely, deverbal noun of Japanese origin.
Even though the nouns that appear in nominal clauses are not limited to deverbal nouns, He shows that the sino-Japanese VN’s violate the prosodic constraint of (58d), e.g.

59. Yamada-ga tanaka-no kabusiki syoken-o
    Yamada-Nom Tanaka-Gen stock-Acc
    SYOZI-tyuu,ayamatte keisatu-ni renkoo-serete
    Holding-while by mix take police-ty take away-pass
    Simatta
    Ended up
    While Yamada was holding Tanaka’s stock, he was mistakenly taken away by the Police.

He asserts the sino-Japanese VN’s such as SYOZI ‘holding and SIZI ‘supporting’ are two morae long. He argues that this violates the prosodic constraint of (58d) yet the nominal clause containing them is well-formed. He asserts that this means nominal clause are licensed only when deverbal nouns of Japanese origin as long as they are at least four morae, But that this prosodic does not apply to sino-Japanese VN’s or loans words from English. He claims that this phenomenon that there is sensitivity to native vs non-native distinction is also observed elsewhere in the Japanese morphonological system.

2.4.3. Siloni, T. (1997)

In this chapter, Siloni (1997) discusses the similarities and differences between verbs and derived nouns. He shows that event nominals and result nominals have been distinguished on the basis of the behavior of nouns with respect to argument structure and θ-theory. He shows that according to Grimshaw (1990), only event nominals share their argument structure with their corresponding verbs. She shows that result nominals do not entail an event and do not have an argument structure; therefore they also do not have specific θ-roles to discharge.

According to Siloni, Grimshaw further asserts that lexical entries involving an event (whether verbs or nouns) have an event structure to satisfy. Siloni cites Borer (in progress) who suggests that noun phrases expressing an event certain a fully projected VP which is responsible for the event reading and the appearance of argument structure. Siloni does not understand why event nominals do not display typical verbal properties such as adverbal modification or accusative complement, if it is believed that these nouns contain a verbal projection. He however shows that with regard to Hebrew event nominals it is possible to observe such typical verbal properties. He indicates that it may be possible for Hebrew event nominals to assign accusative case to their direct object.

1. ha-harisa sél ha-cava ēt ha-ír
   the-destruction of the army Acc the city
   ‘the arm’s destruction of the city’
He further shows that Hebrew event nominals can be modified by an adverb:

2. hariat ha-cava ēt ha-ír bi-mihirut
   destruction the army Acc the city in-quickness (quickly)
Siloni asserts that according to Borer (in progress) this approach for event nominals can be adopted crosslinguistically. Siloni argues in favour of a lexicalist approach to event nominals, i.e. taking the event/result distinction to be part of the lexical information a deverbal noun can have. He maintains that nouns can either refer to event or (process) or denote a result, i.e. the output of an event or an element associated with it. Siloni shares Grimshaw (1990)’s view that a noun can only take arguments if it refers to an event, and, obliviously have an event structure. He shows that result nominals do not involve an event, and do not have an argument structure satify. His point is illustrated in the example below:

3. (a) bxinat ha-mismaxim hayta hexrexit
   examination the documents wa necessary
   ‘The examination of document was necessary’

   (b) ha-bxina hayta hexrexit
   the-examination was necessary
   ‘The exam was necessary’

Siloni claims that only the noun in [3. (a)] can have an event reading; i.e. it refer to the event of examining the documents. He indicates that its homonym in [3. (b)], cannot have this reading, as it realizes no arguments. Siloni asserts that Grimshaw suggests various diagnostics for discriminating between event and result nominals. He claims that when these diagnostics are applied to Hebrew, they confirm the claim that only event nominals have argument structure. The first diagnostic is about frequency modifiers. He asserts that it is argued that certain frequency modifiers occur only with the event interpretation of particular nouns. Siloni gives an example of the Hebrew modifier tadir ‘frequent’, which requires the event reading of bxina ‘examination’, as in [4. (a)]. He further ague that a noun with no arguments cannot have argument reading, as in [4. (b)]:

4. (a) bxinat ha-mismaxim ha-tedira hyta hexrext
   examination the-documents the frequent was necessary
   ‘The frequent examination of the document was necessary’

   (b) *ha-bxina ha-tedira hayta hexrexit
   ‘the-examination the frequent was necessary’

The second diagnostic is the claim that only nouns denoting an event have the same modifiers as those admitted by the corresponding verbs. He gives an example of aspectual modifiers such as tox ša 'a (in an hour) to illustrate his view:

5. (a) bxinat ha-mismaxim tox ša 'a hiršima ‘oto
   examination the-document in hour impressed him
   ‘The examination of the documents in an hour impressed him’

   (b) *ha-bxina tox ša 'a hiršima o’to
   ‘the-examination in hour impressed him’

Siloni shows that an argument taking noun has an event structure and admits aspectual modifiers, as in [5. (a)], but its homonym with no arguments disallow them, because is a result noun, as in [5 (b)].
Siloni shows that another diagnostic concerns the claim that agent oriented objectives can modify nouns, hp reiterates, that but only nouns that have an event reading can be modified by such objectives, because they demand an explicit/implicit Agent. He maintains that if there is no event, there is no argument structure, and thre cannot be a true Agent. The following examples are his illustrations.

6. (a) bxinat ha-mismaxim ha-mexuvenet ‘arxa
    examination the-documents the-international lasted ša| atayim two+hours
    ‘The international examination of the documents lasted two hours’
(b) *ha-bxina ha-mexuvenet ‘arxa ša’ atayim
    ‘the-examination the-international lasted two hours’

According to Siloni, it is an Agent oriented adjective that renders [6. (b)] ungrammatical, but not [6. (a)]. Siloni further asserts that infinitival clauses also require an event reading, e.g.

7. (a) ha-bxina ba-gvul kedey li-lkod mavrixey
    the-examination of the-documents in-the-border
    kedey li-lkod mavrixey samim
    in+order to-capture smugglers drugs
    ‘the examination of the documents on the border in order to capture drug smugglers’
(b) *ha-bxina ba-gvul kedey li-lkod mavrixey
    The-examination in+the-border in order to capture smugglers sanim drugs

Siloni contends that Grimshaw (1990) noted that the English by phrase can be used independently of the presence of an argument structure, while in other languages the distribution of by phrases is more restricted. Siloni confirm Grimshaw’s observation by indicating that in Hebrew al yedey (by phrase) is contingent upon the presence of an argument structure, e.g.

8. (a) ha-bixna šel ha-mismaxim ál-yedey rašut ha-musmexet
    the-examination of the documents by authority the-competent
    ‘the examination of the documents by the competent authority’
(b) *ha-bixna ál-yedey ha-rašut ha-musmexet
    ‘the-examination by the-authority the-competent’

Siloni argues that when a result nominal appears with a genitive noun phrase, the relationship between the two is rather vague; and that result nominals do not have specific θ-roles to discharge, e.g.

9. (a) ha-šixzur šel dan nizok ba-sref
    the-reconstruction of Dan was+damaged in+the fire
    ‘Dan’s reconstruction was damaged in the fire’
(b) ha-šixzur šel dan *(èt ha-peša) kedy le-havin èt ha-macav
    the-reconstruction of Dan (Acc the crime) in+order to-understand Acc the-situation
    ‘Dan’s reconstruction of the crime in order to understand the situarion’

Siloni is of the idea that in [9 (a)], the referent of dan can be owner, the caretaker, the admirer or the creator of the reconstruction. He contends that this referent of ha-šixzur (the reconstruction), but shows that it is a semantic participant, a modifier, or an adjunct. He further contends that if an event reading is forced, as in [9. (b)], where dan is clearly the Agent of sixzur (reconstruction), the sentence
will become ungrammatical. Siloni further argues that the resemblance of Hebrew event nominals to verbs is more salient, since they can be modified by adverbs and take accusative complements.

He asserts that while a noun denoting an event, an argument taking noun can be modified by an adverb, result nouns disallow adverbs, e.g.

10. (a) ha-xakira šel ha-ne’esvam bi-mehirut
    the-interrogation the accused in quickness (=quickly)
    ‘the quick interrogation of the accused’

(b) *ha-xakira bi-mehirut
    the-interrogation in-quickness (=quickly)

He also shows that a noun like re’ayon (interview), which can only denote a result, as shown by the fact that the addition of the modifier tadir (frequent) results in ungrammaticality, as in [11. (a)], cannot be modified by an adverb as in [(11. (b)] below:

11. (a) *ha-re’ayon ha-tadir ìm ha-nasi
    the-interview the-frequent with the president
    ‘the frequent interview with the president’

(b) *ha-re’ayon ìm ha-nasi bi-mehirut
    The-interview with the president in quickness
    ‘the quick interview with the president’

Siloni argues that Hebrew nouns allow an accusative Theme. He contends that a noun taking an accusative complement has an event reading as shown by the fact that it licenses an infinitival clause, as in [12. (a)], the modifier tadir (frequent), as in[12. (b)], an aspectual modifier, as in [12. (c)] or an Agent oriented adjective, as in [12. (d)] or an Agent oriented adverb as in [12. (e)]:

12. (a) hafcacat ha-cava èt ha-ìr kedey lehavri’ax tšosavim
    bombing the-army Acc the-city in+order to drive away inhibitants
    ‘the army’s bombing of the city to drive away inhibitants’

(b) ha-haf caca ha-tedira šel ha-cava èt ha-ìr
    the-bombing the-frequent of the army Acc the-city
    ‘the arm’s frequent bombing of the city’

(c) hafcacat ha-cava èt ha-ìr tox ša’a
    bombing the-army Acc the-city in hour
    ‘the army’s bombing of the city in an hour’

Siloni shows that accusative arguments are impossible with nouns that cannot denote an event:

13. *ha-re’ayon šel dan èt ha-nasi
    ‘the-interview of Dan Acc the-president’

He shows that the example in (13) above is ungrammatical as a result of re’ayon (interview) which can only denote a result. Siloni is of the view that Hebrew event nominals and result nominals are set apart by adverbial modification and accusative case assignment. He also shows that these kinds of phenomena are typical properties of verbs. In this way, Siloni believes that Hebrew event nominals
have an ambiguous nature, i.e. on the one hand, they are clearly nominal, while on the other hand they
display some verbal behavior.

Siloni asserts that in order to derive the verbal properties of Hebrew event nimonals, Hazout
(1990/95), and Borer (in progress) proposed that the syntactic representation of these nominals should
contain a verbal projection. According to Siloni, this means that these nominals are not represented in
the lexicon as nouns, but they are inserted in syntax as verbs that are nominalised in the course of
derivation Via-V-raing to N.

Siloni argues that the presence of a verbal projection in the structure accounts for the verbal properties
of the construction: adverbial modification and accusative complements. Again, he contends that the
N, which is the nominal part derives its nominal properties. Siloni cites Borer (in progress), who
suggests that event nominals are derived in syntax across languages. He also shows that according to
Borer, eventhood and argument structure characterize verbs, and not nouns.

Siloni argues that the incorporation of V into N as in (14), differs from other processes of
incorporation of two lexical heads. He shows that here it is not the counterpart of noun incorporation
with V. Siloni is of the view that noun incorporation puts together semantically autonomous units. He
shows that the noun ‘money’ incorporates with the verb ‘lose’, resulting in the complex ‘money-lose’.

Siloni contends that the incorporation of V into N involves a semantically “empty” noun, which
inherits the semantic content of the incorporated verb. He claims that it is in fact a nominalising
functional affix labelled N, which serves to convert the verb into a noun. He further shows that while
noun incorporation does not entail a particular verbal subcategorisation frame, V incorporation into N
requires that the nominal affix subcategorizes for a VP, which he claims, is exceptional for nouns.

Siloni argues that the fact that event nominals are modifiable by verbs, which is a verbal properties,
suggests that adverbs noun phases are licensed by the event structure in these nominals. He
demonstrates that adverbs are never allowed when the noun is a result nominal. He gives an example
of the result nominal re’ayon (interview), which could not be modified by adjective tadir (frequent),
in (11), as it requires an event reading, and that the same noun cannot be modified by an adverb
without an event reading:

14. *ha-re’ayon im ha-nasi bi-mehirut
    The-interview with the-president in quickness (=quickly)

Siloni further argues that it seems as if event reading alone does not suffice to license adverbs. He
contends that if event reading was the only property licensing adverbs, it would be expected of them to
do the same with English and French, which is not the case. According to Siloni, it is the particular
categorical status of Hebrew adverbs which enables them to modify event nominals. He believes that
it is for the fact that most Hebrew adverbs are adverbial PP’s. He asserts that only a small number of
fixed elements constitute the class of genuine adverbs in Hebrew. He also demonstrates that a genuine adverb cannot modify an event nominal in Hebrew, in the same way that it cannot modify its English or French counterparts.

15. (a) *harisat ha-ïr maher
    ‘destruction the-city quickly’
(b) *Slilat ha-KViš le’at
    ‘paving the-road slowly’
(c) *Clilat ha-yeled âmukot
    ‘diving the-boy deeply’

Siloni contends that PPs can occur within noun phrases, but genuine adverbial phrases cannot do so. He then maintains that event nominals admit adverbial PPs, because PPs are legitimate nominal modifiers, and the presence of an event licenses adverbials are real PPs. He shows that their interval structure is not frozen; it is syntactically present, as shown below that their complement can be modified:

16. (a) Slitat ha-KViš bi-mehirut raba
    ‘paving the-road in quickness great’
(b) âxilat ha-bananot be-nimus me’ulac
    Eating the-bananas in-politeness forced

Siloni shows that in [17. (a)], mehirut (quickness) is modified by raba (great) and in [17. (b)], nimus (politeness), is modified by me’ulac (forced). Siloni indicates that this kind of phenomenon, where adverbial PPs modify event nominals is also prevalent in other languages, e.g.

17. (a) La fabrication de chaussures en hâte
    the manufacturer of shoes in haste
(b) ‘The army’s destruction of the city in haste’

Siloni cites Hazout (1990, 1995), who observes that adjectives and adverbs (here adverbial PPs) have different distribution. Siloni shows that Hazout is of the view that adjectives must proceed the šel (of) phrase, while adverbial PPs can only follow it. He further shows that Hazout contends that lower than the šel phrase, the projection is verbal; hence, adverbial PPs are allowed, but not adjectives, and higher the domain is nominal and therefore adjectives are allowed but not adverbial PPs.

18. (a) ha-harisà ha-àxzariit šel ha-batim
    the-destruction the-cruel of the-houses
(b) *ha-harisa šel ha-batim ha-àxzariit
    the-destruction of the-houses the-cruel
(c) ha-harisa šel ha-batim be-àxzariit
    the-destruction of the-houses in-cruelness
(d) ha-harisa ha-àxzariit šel ha-batim
    the-destruction in-cruelness of the-houses
Siloni argues that an examination of concrete nouns reveals that the described distribution is typical of Hebrew noun phrases in general, regardless of their event/result nature. He contends that an adjective cannot follow the šēl (of), while PPs have to follow it:

19. (a) ha-bayit ha-yafe šēl dina
   ‘the-house the-beautiful of Dina’
(b) *ha-bayit šēl dina ha-yafe
   ‘the-house of Dina the-beautiful’

Siloni argues that accusative case, which is a verbal property crosslinguistically, is also exhibited by Hebrew event nominals. Siloni, however, acknowledges that there are significant distinctions between the accusative case of transitive verbs and that found in nominal context. He therefore, presents five major distinctions between the two; which concerns the accusative particle (‘et), exceptional case marking configurations, accusative pronouns, the relative ordering of the direct and indirect objects, and subjectless noun phrases.

Siloni maintains that the particle ‘‘et’’ appears with definitive objects only. Ha claims that when a verb takes a definite accusative complement, ‘et must precede the complement, e.g.

20. ha-cava haras(*èt) ha-ïr
    the-army destroyed (Acc) the-city
    ‘The army destroyed the city’

he further argues that when a verbs takes an indefinite accusative complement, the particle ‘et cannot appear, e.g.

21. ha-cava haras(*èt) ïr ’axat
    the-army destroyed (Acc) city one
    ‘The army destroyed one city’

Siloni claims that nouns can assign accusative case in the presence of ‘et, e.g.

22. harisat ha-cava èt ha-ïr
    destruction the-army Acc the city
    ‘the army destroyed one city’

He further argues that even in nouns ‘et is limited to definite objects only, otherwise ungrammaticality will result, e.g.

23. harisat ha-cava (èt) ïr àxat
    Destruction the-army (Acc) city one
    ‘the army’s destruction of one city’

Siloni asserts that the distinction between accusative case of verbs and that of event nominals is completely unexpected to VP-analysis, which attributes the occurrence of accusative case in nominal contexts to the presence of a verbal head. He further argues that nouns, unlike verbs, are unable to license accusative case to the subjects of small clauses, e.g.
24. (a) ha-more maca èt ha-ti’um mešaxne’a
       the-teacher found Acc the-argument convincing
       ‘The teacher found the argument convincing’
(b) meci’at ha-more èt ha-ti’um mešaxne’a
       Finding the-teacher Acc the-argument convincing

Siloni cites Chomsky [1986 (a)], who draws a distinction between inherent case and structural case. He (Siloni) maintains that inherent case is thematically related, i.e. it can be assigned by α to Dp only if α θ- marks DP. He claims that if this is the case, the fact that nouns cannot silence accusative case in ECM (exceptional, case marking) configurations, where noun does not θ-mark the assignee, suggests, according to Siloni, that their accusative is an instance of inherent case.

According to Siloni, another evidence that noun are assigned inherent case can be seen from the fact that unlike verbs, event nominals are unable to realize their object as an accusative pronouns, as demonstrated by the contrast between [26. (a)] and [26. (b)] below:

25. (a) ha-cava haras òto
       ‘the-army destroyed him’
       ‘The army destroyed him’
(b) *harisat ha-cava òto
       ‘destruction the-army him’
       ‘the army’s destruction of him’
(c) harisat-am òto
       ‘destruction-their him’
       ‘their destruction of him’

Siloni shows that ungrammaticality of [24. (c)], indicates that it is not simply the intervenience of a full noun phrase between the noun and the accusative pronoun that is responsible for the ungrammaticality of [24. (b)].

Siloni asserts that accusative pronouns, which are clearly definite direct objects do not allow ‘et. He claims that these pronouns contain this accusative particle intrinsically, because they are diachronically derived from the combination of èt with suffixal pronouns, e.g.

26. ha-cava haras (*èt) òto
       the-army destroyed (Acc) him

He contends that the inability of accusative pronouns to occur in nominal context follows from the fact that the accusative Case of nouns is an inherent Case, Siloni distinguishes another difference between the accusative Case of transitive verbs and that of nominals. He claims that this distinction concerns the order of constituents. He argues that VPs permit both word order, i.e. accusative dative as in [28 (a)], as well as dative-accusative, as in [28 (b)], where as in noun phrases the accusative complement must preced its dative counterpart, as in [28 (c)], versus [28 (d)]. He says that, what is actually means is that the accusative argument must be the first complement following the (genitive) subject, e.g.
Siloni indicates that the difference between [28 (b)] and [28 (d)] can be attributed to the fact that these examples do not involve the same type of case. He maintains that verbal contexts license structural accusative case, while their nominal counterparts determine inherent accusative case. Siloni notes another distinction with nominals which do not phonetically realize the external argument. He argues that with this type of nominals only the internal argument is realized. He claims that with these nominals the structure is grammatical when it receives genitive Case via sél (of) or through the construct state, e.g.

28. (a) ha-harisa sél ha-ïr
   The-destruction of the-city
   ‘the-city’s destruction’

(b) harisat ha-ïr
   destruction the-city
   ‘the city’s destruction’

He shows that the structure result in ungrammaticality when it receives accusative case, e.g.

29. ha-harisa sél ha-ïr
    the-destruction Acc the-city
    ‘the-city’s destruction’

Siloni that the this behavior is different from the VP-analysis, i.e. verbs can take an accusative argument regardless of the phonetic realization of their external; argument, e.g.

30. (a) hem harsu èt ha-ïr
    they destroyed Acc the-city
    ‘They destroyed the city’

(b) harastem èt ha-ïr
    destroyed (2 PL) Acc the-city
    ‘You destroyed the city’

In order to illucidate his point, Siloni cites Boer (in progress), who argues that in noun phrases the external argument can be absent only when the verb embedded in the deverbal noun has undergone passivization. He contends that in passive environment, accusative Case is not available. He further
shows that Borer is of the view that examples in (29) are passive construction hence the unavailability of accusative case.

Siloni discusses inherent accusative Case concerning ‘et insertion, the relevance of AgroP and idiosyncratic information. He asserts that while the appearance of èt in verbal context may be a morphological realization of structural accusative Case, its form in nominal contexts is a dummy Case assigner which assigns inherent case. He maintains that the availability of this dummy Case marker suggests that accusative Case can be assigned in Hebrew nounphrases. He argues that accusative Case cannot be assigned in English, mainly because there is no such a dummy case marker. Siloni contends that passive and unaccusative configurations in colloquial Hebrew can appear with ‘et when the Theme argument is definite, e.g.

31. (a) lo nimsar li èt ha-hoda’a ha-zat
    NEG was+transmitted to+me Acc the-message the-this
    ‘This message was not transmitted to me’

    (b) noda li èt ze ètmol
    was+known to+me Acc this yesterday
    ‘I found it yesterday’

    (c) lo haya katuv šam èt ha-ša’a
    NEG was written there Acc the-hour
    ‘The hour was not written there’

    (d) kara li kvar èt ha-te’una ha-zot
    Happened to+me already Acc the accident the-this
    ‘I already had this accident’

Siloni indicates that when the Theme argument is indefinite, the verb must agree with it, which shows that he case it bears is not accusative but nominative. He further contends that in [32. (a)] above, while èt appears, the verb does not agree with its Theme argument. He states that when èt is absent the verb agrees with its Theme, e.g.

32. lo nimser-a li hoda ’a
    NEG was+transmitted-fm to+me message (fm)
    ‘A message was not transmitted to me’

Siloni states that lack of agreement in the instance where èt is absent and the verb agrees with it, Theme will result in ungrammaticality, e.g.

33. *lo nimsar li hoda’a
    NEG was+transmitted to+me message (fm)

Siloni argues that as accusative pronouns bear structural Case, they may not appear in example (32), where only inherent accusative is available, e.g.

34. (a) *lo nimsar li ’ota
    NEG was+transmitted to her

    (b) *Kvar kara ’ota le-dan
    Already happened her to-Dan
He maintains that foreign nouns, such as Konstrukcia ‘Construction’, cannot take an accusative agreement. He cites Borer (in progress), who asserts that foreign nouns of this type do not denote an event but rather a result. He shows that his noun, konstrukcia cannot be modified by an adverbial PP, as in [36 (a)], contrary to its corresponding event nominal bniya ‘construction’ in [36. (b)], e.g.

35. (a) *ha-konstrukcia šel ha-siltonot et ha-îr
   the-construction of the-authorities Acc the-city

   (b) ha-konstrukcia šel ha-îr (*bi-mehirut)
   the-construction of the-city (in quickness)
   ‘the (quick) construction of the city’

Siloni also cites Grimshaw (1990), who argues that result nominals do not take arguments, but rather semantic participants with which they are not in specific θ-relations. He argues that accusative Case can only be assigned to a Theme (or patient) argument, and that one would not expect it to be available in noun phrases expressing result, since they are not argument taking nouns.

Siloni indicates that the syntactic approach can take event nominal to contain a bare verbal projection; in the absence of AgroP, in which Case structural accusation would not be available. He further argues that VP-analysis cannot explain why event nominals do not allow adverbs. He contends that in the presence of a fully projected VP, modifications by adverbs should be licensed. He states that it is incorrect to suggest that the unavailability of adverbs is related to the lack of AgroP. He gives an example of French relatives containing past participle, in which case these clausal segments do not license accusative Case as in [37. (a)], and also do not contain AgroP, but do allow adverbs, as in [37 (b)]

36. (a) *L’ home peint murs écrit des poèmes
   the man painted the walls writes poem

   (b) Les murs peints rapidement craignent l’ hiver
   ‘the walls rapidly fear the winter’

Siloni argues that since Case available in event nominals is not the ordinary accusative of transitive verbs, the presence of verbal projection does not automatically derive its availability. He cites Doron (1989), who supplies evidence that the occurrence of accusative Case in noun phrases is diosyncratic. Siloni state that this on itself suggests that the case in event nominals cannot follow the syntactic presence of a transitive verb.

Arguing about the occurrence of accusative case in noun phrases as idiosyncratic, Siloni gives two transitive verbs to clarify his point of view, which are, hitbi’a and tibe, which both mean ‘sink’. He contends that their corresponding deverbal nouns are hatba’a and tibu’a, respectively, which can both have an evident reading as demonstrated by the fat that they can be modified by adverbial PPs:
37. (a) hatba’at ha-sirot bi-mehirut
sinking the-boats in-quickness
‘the quick sinking of the boats’
(b) tibu’a ha-sirot bi-mehirut
sinking the-boats in-quickness
‘the quick sinking of the boats’

Siloni states that Doron (1989), observed that only hatba’a allows accusative Case assignment, although both corresponding verbs are transitive:

38. (a) hatba’at ha-cava `et ha-sirot
‘sinking the-army Acc the-boats’
‘the army’s sinking of the boats’
(b) ibu’a ha-cava `et ha-sirot
‘sinking the-army Acc the-boats’
‘the army’s sinking of the boats’

Siloni maintains that this split among noun is not systematic, cannot be predicted, and to vary among speakers. He postulates that this idiosyncrasy completely unexpected under the VP-analysis. He also states that the VP-analysis predicts that any event nominal derived from a transitive verb should have the ability to assign accusative case. He postulates that if the capacity of nouns to take an accusative complement is idiosyntactic, it means that the specific information concerning this Case must be lexically encoded.

Siloni is of the view that if deverbal nouns are always formed pre-syntactically and if the ability to take accusative complement is a lexical property of the relevant event nominal, it does not surprise to see it behaving idiosyncratically, as it is typical of lexical structure. Siloni postulates that VP-analysis intents to simply the lexicon at the price of allowing more articulated syntactic process, such as the process that incorporates a verb into a noun. He shows that it seems as if it cannot do with simpler lexicon, as most of the charge removed from nouns must consequently figure as lexical information of the corresponding verbs.

Siloni asserts that even in Hebrew, which at first glance seemed to favour syntactic derivation of event nominals, the VP-analysis encounters serious problems. He therefore advances the restrictive hypothesis that the incorporation of a verb into a semantically “empty” noun is not a syntactic mechanism.

Siloni cites Borer (in progress), who postulates that subjectless event nominals are passive construction, thereby deriving the unavailability of accusative Case in examples like (29).

He further contends that passive analysis of subjectless event nominals cannot be maintained. He basis his first reason on Hzout (1990)’s revelation that there are important discrepancies between verbal passives in [41. (a)] and their nominal counterparts in [41. (b)]. He argues that these
discrepancies indicate that it cannot be claimed that subjectless event nominals are syntactically derived from verbs that have undergone syntactic passivization:

39. k

40. (a) a-‘ir nehersa ‘al-yedey ha-cava
   the-city was+destroyed by the-army
   ‘The city was destroyed by the army’

(b) ariat ha-‘ir ‘al-yedey ha-cava
   destruction the-city by the-army
   ‘The city destruction by the army’

Siloni contends that there are also deverbal nouns that appear in the passive construction, although their source verb cannot passivize. He gives an example of the verb calax (crossed), which cannot undergo passivization, as in [42. (a-b)], but its corresponding noun clixa (crossing), does appear in passive construction, as in [42. (c-d)]:

41. (a) ha-cavax èt ha-te’ala
    the-army crossed Acc the-canal
    ‘The army crossed the canal’

(b) a-te’al niclexa àl-yedey ha-cav
    the-canal was+crossed by the army
    ‘The canal was crossed by the army’

(c) lixat ha-cava èt ha-te’ala
    crossing the-army crossed Acc the-canal
    ‘The army’s crossing of the canal’

(d) lixat ha-te’ala àl-yedey ha-cava
    crossing the-canal by the-army
    ‘The canal’s crossing by the army’

Siloni further argues that there are also verbs that take a propositional complement and can passivize, but their related nouns cannot do so. He gives an example of the verb hišpià (influenced), which takes a propositional complement and not a direct object, as in [43. (a)], but can nonetheless undergo passivisation; the preposition disappears and its complement becomes the derived subject, as in [43. (b)]. He further indicates that Hazout observes that the corresponding deverbal noun does not allow a similar behavior, as in [43. (c-d)]:

42. (a) dan hišpi’a àl dina
    Dan influenced on Dina

(b) dina hušpe’a àl-yedey dan
    Dina was+influenced by Dan

Siloni further postulates that in passive sentences by phrase can be dropped independently of its interpretations, e.g.

43. (a) ha-yeled huka (‘al-yedey ’ axiv)
    the boy was+beaten (by brother-his)
    ‘the boy was beaten (by his brother)’
(b) ha-yeled hukaš (‘al-yeeday ha-naxaš)
the boy was+beaten (by the snake)
‘the boy was beaten (by the snake)’

Siloni asserts that in nominal contexts, in contrast, the Agent can be implicit only if it is [+huma], as in
[45. (a)], which is typical of arbitrary interpretation, as in [45 (b)]:

44. (a) haka `at ha-yeled (ál-yeeday ’ axi-v) zi’azea’ òtanu
beating the boy (by brother-his) shocked us
‘the beating of the boy (by his brother)’ shocked us

(b) hakašat ha-yeled * (ál-yeeday ha-naxas) zi’azea’ òtanu
biting the-boy (by the snake) shocked us
‘the biting of the boy (by the snake)’ shocked us

Siloni discusses the syntactic status of arbitrary Agent and their inability to take an accusative complement. Here, Siloni contends that there is a rule for the assignment of arbitrary interpretation to theta-role suggested by Rizzi [1986 (a)]. He contends that this rule can apply in either the lexical or the syntactic component. He further indicates that it is not very clear whether the implicit arbitrary Agent in subjectless event nominals is syntactically realized as a null element, or its theta-role is saturated in the lexicon.

He however, maintains that in this paper, he will argue in favour of syntactic realization based on data referring to binding-theory. His arguments starts from the principles A and B of the binding theory, which state that: while anaphors must be bound in a local domain, pronouns must be free in that domain. Siloni argues that the domain referred here, is the domain of the closest subject. He gives the examples below as his illustration:

45. (a) hu; nifga me-horadat-o; be-darga
he was+offended from-lowering-his in-rank
‘he was offended by his domotion’

(b) hu; nifga me-horadat `acmo; be-darga
he was+offended from-lowering himself in-rank

Siloni argues that the local domain in (46) above cannot be the whole clause; because if it were, [46. (a)] would not be grammatical, since the pronoun would be bound in the local domain, and that, [46. (d)] would be grammatical, since the anaphor would be bound in this domain. He therefore, points out that the local domain in (46) must be the noun phrase containing the anaphor/pronoun, i.e. he was offended.

Siloni further contends that this local domain must contain a C-Commanding subject structurally realized as an empty category. He then suggests the Agent of horado ‘lowering’ to be the candidate of the empty category, because, according to him, it cannot be considered with the subject of the matrix verb. He also indicates that under this approach, the implicit subject of event nominals must be structural realized.
Siloni argues that what happens to the implicit subject of event nominals is not the same as what occurs with the implicit subject of their counterpart, non-event nouns. He claims to advance his discussion along Chomsky’s [1986 (a)] original discussions with concrete nouns such as story. According to Siloni, Chomsky argues that the grammaticality of the example in (47) below is made possible because of the presence of a structurally realized category (PRO) that functions as the subject of stories. Siloni further shows that Chomsky holds the view that the main verb heard in the example in (47), dictates disjointness in reference between PRO and they, and hence a coindexed pronoun can occur in the noun phrase:

46. They; heard PRO; stories about them;

Siloni maintains that the representation in (47) structurally realizes as PRO the possessor of stories, which is not an argument but rather a semantic participant, because, he argues, Grimshaw (1990) has demonstrated that non-event nominals do not take arguments. Siloni further shows that inspite of being an argument, PRO in (47) is obligatory. He claims that if it is removed the binding domain of the pronoun them would be the whole clause, in which it would be bound in violation of principle B of the binding-theory. He further contends that the obligatoriness of semantic participants, however, cannot be generalized. He claims that scholars such as Chomsky [1986 (a)], and Williams (1985), have demonstrated that a parallel PRO would also have to be distinct in reference from the subject they, as in (48) if we look at the main verb heard, which would result in ungrammaticality if PRO appears with it:

47. They heard (*PRO;) stories about themselves

Siloni also indicates that there are some scholars who are against the PRO approach. He cites Williams (1985), in this instance, who argues that PRO in nominal environment would not obey the same control principles as its verbal counterpart. Siloni seems to support that while the Agent of the infinitival verb le-nakot ‘to clean’ in [49. (a)] is obligatorily controlled by the subject of the matrix clause, the Agent of the noun nikuy ‘cleaning’ in [49. (b)] on the other hand, can have an arbitrary interpretation:

48. (a) hem hivtixu la le-nakot bi-tedirut ‘et ha-šati‘ax
   they promised tother to-clean frequently Acc the-carpet
   ‘they promised her to clean the carpet frequently’

(b) hem hivtixu la nikuy tadir šel ha-šati‘ax
   they promised tother cleaning (noun) frequent of the-carpet
   ‘they promised her a frequent cleaning of the carpet’

Siloni is of the view that the PRO approach can account for binding data of the type discussed in (46-48), but not the one in (49). According to Siloni this means that another approach can account for the example in (49). He cites Williams (1985), who suggests an account of binding phenomenon that does
not require structural realization of external argument, as in (49). He also shows that other scholars who buy Williams’ view are Reinart and Reuland (1993).

Silioni contends that now that there are two approaches accounting for the status of subjectless event nominals it is therefore important to suggest two possible solutions to this situation. He maintains that the first one is that inherent accusative in Hebrew noun phrases is contingent upon the discharging of genitive Case (case dependency, and the second one is contingent upon the assignment of the external theta-role thematic dependency).

Silioni uses an event nominal involving a referential adjective to help him decides whether the dependency at stake is thematic or case related, because he believes that a referential adjective realizes the external theta-role without the genitive case. He postulates that if the dependency is thematic, a referential adjective should suffice to license inherent accusative case. He however maintains that if it is a case dependency, then it should not. He gives the examples in (50-51) below to illustrate hi view:

49. (a) *ha-haf caca `et levanon  
ut the-bombing Acc Lebanon  
ut ‘the bombing of Lebanon’
    (b) *ha-sixzur `et ha-xoma  
ut the-reconstruction Acc the-wall  
ut ‘ the reconstruction of the wall’

50. (a) *ha-haf caca ha-yisrel’ elit’ et levanon  
ut the-bombing the-Israel Acc Lebanon  
ut ‘the Israeli bombing of Lebanon’
    (c) *ha-sixzur ha-sini `et ha-xoma  
ut the-reconstruction the Chinese Acc the-wall  
ut ‘ the Chinese reconstruction of the wall’

Silioni argues that the contrast between (50) and (51), shows that he presence of a referential adjectives renders inherent accusative Case assignment possible. He however, observes that genitive Case is not assigned in (51), which shows that the dependency at stake cannot be a Case dependency. He therefore, suggests that inheritance accusative Case is available in Hebrew noun phrases only if the external theta-role has been assigned. He contends that this follows Burzio’s (1986) generalization that accusative Case is assigned to the object if and only if a theta-role is assigned to the subject.

Silioni points out that the above view suggests that the implicit Agent of subjectless event nominals cannot be structurally realized, because if it were, their inability to license inherent accusative Case would be unaccounted for. He thus seems it advantageous to adopt the lexical saturation approach to the implicit Agent of subjectless nominals. He contends that the understood subject of event nominals ought to be saturated in the lexicon prior syntactic insertion.

Silioni notes that a noun that takes an accusative Theme argument cannot realize an `al-yedey ‘by’ phrase. He shows that this kind of phenomenon normally happens if `al-yedey phrase are not
arguments, but rather adjuncts associated with an Agent interpretation. He further notes that `Al-
yedey phrases do not bear the external theta-role in the same way that genitive arguments or
referential adjectives do:

51. *ha-harisa `et ha-ir `al-yedey ha-cava
    'the-destruction Acc the-city by the-army`

2.4.4. Saddler, L. and A. Spencer. (1991)

In this article, Sadler and Spencer (1991) discuss the issue of argument structure with respect to
Morphology. They maintain that the aim of this article is to make explicit a number of distinctions
between some alternations. They postulate that their attention is restricted to verbs, and ignoring the
argument structure properties of adjectives, nouns and prepositions. They however, indicate that they
will also include participles and nominalizations, especially the inheritance of argument structure in
deverbal nominalisation as discussed by Grimshaw (1990).

Sandler et al. begin their discussion by making a line of distinction between two sorts of operations
which affect Valency, morpholexical operations and morphosyntactic operations. According to
Saddler et al. lexical semantics plays a pivotal role in determining morphosyntactic realizations, as
seen below in the examples of the words load in (1) and break in (2):

1. (a) The peasants loaded hay onto the wagon.
    (b) The peasants loaded the wagon with hay.

2. (a) Ira broke the vase
    (b) The Vase broke.

Sadler et al. indicate that there are disagreements among the linguists as to whether these kind of
phenomena can be reduced to Semantics or not. They assert that those who claim that Semantics is
insufficient on its own to account for this phenomenon it is necessary for them to stipulate some other
level of representation which will then account for them. According to Saddler et al. in such
representation, any verb will be and that the lexicon and grammar of a language must therefore include
information about these valency requirements.

Sadler et al contend that such information may be expressed in a variety of ways, appealing directly to
grammatical functions such as subject and object, as in lexical functional grammar, or relational
grammar, or to syntactic configurations, as in principles and parameters Theory, or to some
combination of grammatical functions and category labels, and in Head – Driven phrase structure
grammar.

They further argue that in addition to these, there must be some representation of linguistic aspects of
word meaning, i.e. a semantic level of representation characterizing the necessary properties of
semantic arguments of predicates.
Sandler et al. show that this other level of representation distinguish two types of operations morpholexical operations, which is described as ‘meaning-changing’ operation in that it alters the semantic content of predicates, and the second is morphosyntactics which is described as ‘meaning preserving’ operation in that it only alters the syntactic manifestation of a given semantic representation, particularly the way that it is mapped on to grammatical relations. According to these scholars, this division corresponds to the transitional distinction between derivation (lexeme-creating) and inflection (creation of distinct forms of a given lexeme).

In their attempt to describe what morpholexical operations entail, Sandler et al. present this example in (2):

2. Resultative construction
   (a) The blacksmith hammered the metal
   (b) The blacksmith hammered the metal flat.

They maintain that the example illustrates an operation which is appropriate for verbs in certain Semantic classes, and adds a semantic argument to s predicate, which expresses the resultative state, in this case flatness, of the object, metal. They show that in this way, the resultative construction increases the syntactic valency of the predicate, (hammer) in the resultative complex hammer flat, which has now a surface syntactic valency of three. These scholars shows that resultative predication like these, are chained to be morpholexically bivalent predicate as in (2a) expresses a relation between just two semantic arguments, without entailing an end result. They indicate that this is the blacksmith flattened the metal by means of hammering activity.

Coming to the morphosyntactic operations Sandler et al argue that two constructions in English, dative shift and passive, are often taken to be examples of morphosyntactic operations. They illustrate the two phenomena in this manner:

3. Dative shift
   (a) Tom gave a bone to his dog
   (b) Tom gave his dog a bone.

4. Passive
   (a) Tom broke the vase
   (b) The vase was broken (by Tom)

Sandler et al maintains that each operation, the example in (3) and (4) brings about an alteration in the morphosyntactic manifestation of the semantic dependants of a predicate, but they do not alter the basic semantics of the predicate itself. They argue that dative shift, appears to involve a simple alternations of the same semantic roles. According to them, in (3a), the direct object realizes the Theme role, which in (3b) it realizes the Recipient role. They are of the view that from the look of things morphosyntactikc operations should be unconstrained by semantics of the predicate. They
however note that this is true with passives in English, but not with dative shift. They show that dative shift is restricted in applicably to verbs of transfer.

Sandler et al are of the view that it is common to treat passivization as a morphosyntactive operation involving the suppression of the external argument. They contend that in the external argument. They contend that in order to regard passivization as morphosyntactic operation; it must be able to retain the constant semantics of the predicate across the voice alteration. They sow that in order for them to be attained, Agent is viewed as being available semantically, and that it enjoys available semantically, and that it enjoys a certain presence syntactically without necessary being syntactically expressed. They maintain that in many languages, this suppressed argument may be expressed as an oblique or an adjunct of some sort as in the English optional by phrase in (4b) above. They further argue that if the passivization process is simply one of syntactic suppression, we would expect the first argument to be available for processes which are semantically rather than syntactically governed.

According to Sandler et al a distinction between morpholexical and morphosyntactic operations motivates for a further notion of dependent and a third level of information known as the argument structure occupies the interface between morpholexical and morphosyntactic operations alter (add, delete, identify) semantic components of predicates and create new semantic representations, and that each of these is associated with its own argument structure. They assert that morphosyntactic on these is associated with its own argument structure. They assert that morphosyntactic on the other hand; intervene between argument structure and syntactic structures, resulting in a multiplicity of syntactic realizations for one and the same argument structure, as in (3) and (4).

According to these scholars, argument structure is a essentially a syntactic representation, i.e. it is the Syntactic reflex of certain semantic properties. They are of the view that these properties determine the arity of the predicate and the relative prominence of the dependence. They further indicate the way the arguments project into the syntax.

They argue that if no morphosyntactic operation intervenes, the most prominent argument in syntax, the more agent-like, will map to the subject position, and the more theme-like, will map to the object position. They further indicate that the parallel between predicate argument structures proper is increased by distinguishing a special argument position that of external, sometimes referred to as most prominent argument, which always surfaces as the subject.

Sandler et al are of the idea that in two-place predicate, the remaining argument is often called internal, while a three-place predicate may distinguish a direct internal argument, and an indirect internal argument. They further contend that it may be convenient to assume a further PAS position, denoting events, for many purposes. In their view this is a position which can be by these operators in
syntax, and to which certain sorts of adverbial may have access, they illustrate this point in the sketch below:

5. (a) Active form: Tom broke the vase.
\[
[[x \text{ ACT}] \text{ CAUSE} [\text{BECOME} [\text{BROKEN } (y)]] \text{ LCS} \\
\text{break} : <X<y>>
\]
Tom \hspace{1cm} broke \hspace{1cm} the vase \hspace{1cm} syntax
\hspace{1cm} SUBJECT \hspace{1cm} OBJECT

(b) Passive form: The vase was broken by Tom.
\[
[[x \text{ ACT}] \text{ CAUSE} [\text{BECOME} [\text{BROKEN } (y)]] \text{ LCS} \\
\text{broken} : <(x)<y>>
\]
The vase \hspace{1cm} was broken \hspace{1cm} (by Tom). \hspace{1cm} Syntax
\hspace{1cm} SUBJECT \hspace{1cm} OBLIQUE

Sandler et al. show that in the PAS, the external argument is leftmost, direct internal argument is written in its own set of angle brackets,…<y>… In the passive representation, the suppression of the external argument is notated by means of parenthesis <(x)….>. They argue that if we wish to include an event position, we would write the pass as \text{break} <e<x<y>>> and broken \text{break} <e<(x)<y>>>.

Sandler et al argue that either of the two types, i.e. morpholexical or morphosyntactic operations may be morphologically mediated. They show that morphosyntactic operations regularly arise when fully fledged syntactic processes become morphologized, as when a verb becomes a morpholexical operation in historical change (lexicalization). They show that as a result of this, one and the same piece of morphology may realize a morphosyntactic operation in one language/ dialect and a morpholexical operation in a closely related language /dialect.

Sandler et al. also tackle the issue of linking theory, firstly within two frameworks, Lexical Mapping Theory, within Lexical functional Grammar, and the principles and parameters. Theory of Chomsky 1981. They contend that the lexical semantic representation in LMT uses a set of thematic roles. They give an example of \text{break} which will have the lexical representation, known as argument structure in LFG, as follow:

6. \text{break}: <Agent, Patient>

They maintain that the argument structure given in (6) is then mapped to a set of subcategorized grammatical functions. They contend that these are decomposed into binary distinctive features, e.g.

7. \hspace{1cm} \text{SUBJ} [-r,-o] \]
\hspace{1cm} \text{OBJ} \ [r, +o] \]
\hspace{1cm} \text{OBJ2} \ [r, + o] \]
\hspace{1cm} \text{OBL} \ [r,-o] \]

Sandler et al in their interpretation of the representation in (7) indicates in that [-r] means unrestricted. In other words, in this structure, this symbol means that subject and ordinary objects are unrestricted,
and this can express any thematic role. They indicate that [+ r], means restricted which means, secondary objects and obliques are associated with some specific thematic role. They further show that [- o] and [+ o] has something to do with the complementation of the predicate. Thus, according to them, [+ o] in the structure means that genuine objects are able to complement transitive but not nouns or objectives, and that subjects and oblique’s cannot be marked for this property because they can’t complement any verb. They show that the structure in (7) culminates in the structure in (8), where a set of intrinsic classification principles associates thematic roles with particularly syntactic feature value:

They argue that the association of patient/ Theme with [- r] in (8) reflects the fact that patients or Themes alternate between subject and object functions. Sandler et al. contends that to fill in the redundant values such as in (8), a set of Default Rules (DR) apply:

They show that the the symbol " stands for the highest thematic role. They indicate that the effects of structure (9), can be seen in (10):

They argue that because the system is monotonic, it would be impossible for DR in (9 b), to override the intrigue specification [- r] on the patient role. According to them, (10) guarantees that the Agent is mapped to the SUBJ position. They indicate that in order to complete the derivation, we need to
appeal to a principle of function we need to appeal to a principle of function Argument Biuniqueness, which states that in order to complete the derivation, we need to appeal to a principle of function Argument Biuniqueness, which states that every lexical argument position must be uniquely associated with grammatical function. They assert that this limits the specification for [o] which may be given to the patient in (10). According to them, this specification cannot be [\text{- o}], as that would mean that the clause would have two subjects, thus violating bi-uniqueness, it thus suggested that the patient must be marked [+o], and therefore maps to OBJ.

Sandler et al. maintain that at times the lexical form in (10) is altered by a valency affecting operation such as passive, because it suppress the highest thematic role.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\wedge \\
\emptyset \\
\text{11.} \\
\emptyset
\end{array}
\]

They argue that in this situation morphosyntactic operations apply here before the Default Rules, which is a consequence of the Elsewhere condition, which stipulates that of the two rules in competition, the more specific applies in preference to the more general. In this way, they indicted that the derivation for the passive break will look like this.

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\wedge \\
\emptyset \\
\text{12. break} \quad < \text{Agent, patient}> \\
\text{- o} \\
\text{-r IC} \\
\emptyset \\
\text{passive}
\end{array}
\]

They maintain that as the Default Rule cannot apply in (12), we should appeal to a further well-formedness condition which states that every clause must have exactly one subject. The slow that as a result, the patient subject. They show that as a result, the Patient is mapped to the SUBJ function. According to these scholars, these represent simple case. They argue that complex emerge when we look at tricky types of predicates such as those with double objects and also psychological predicates. They contend that the problem with the latter is that there are languages, such as English, which have two types of predicate with roughly the same meaning e.g.

13 (a) Tom fears enclosed spaces
(b) Enclosed spaces frighten Tom.
They show that a problem emerge in a case where these two sentences are regarded as synonyms. According to them, it is not clear in that case, how a linking theory which will obtain both mappings can be constructed.

They assert that the second model, which has to do with principles and parameters Theory, in which grammatical relations are not just feature bundles, but are positions in a constituent structure. They indicate that, in this model, the PAS representation for *break* will be like this:

14. break : <x<y>>

These scholars contend that although this representation conveys information about arity, as in (6), it also contains limited information about prominence. They claim that in addition to indicating that there are two syntactically realizable arguments, (14) also specifies the x argument as the external argument, and the y as the internal argument. They are of the view that semantic argument of an ACT (or CAUSE) predicate, i.e. Agents, are more prominent than the semantic argument of the stative predicate such as BROKEN (or BECOME [BROKEN]), which may be Theme. According to them, this means that Agents are more prominent, or higher on a hierarchy, than Themes.

In order to syntactically represent the PAS representation in (14), Sandler et al. suggest that it should be represented in the D-structure, proposed by Chomsky (1981) in the standard principles and parameters Theory. According to them this structure reflects argument structure differently, in that it is mapped into s-structure by a general rule of move-a.

These scholars contend that according to the principles parameters Theory, nominal have to be licensed in syntactic form by receiving abstract case. They show that this is achieved in the S-structure in (16). They indicate that the subject position receives Nominative Case from I, the position associated with tense marking and subject agreement, while the direct object gets Accusative Case from the verb.

Sandler et al. maintain that in this model, just like in the Lexical mapping theory, the passive operation is viewed as a suppression of the external argument, notated by putting it in parentheses. They also show that here, as in other theory, this argument is expressed as an oblique in many languages. They contend that the passived verb form, which in English is a peri-prastic construction involving a particle and auxiliary verb *be* or *get*, is inserted into the D-structure and that the internal argument, *vase*, is linked to the other opposition. Sandler et al. assert that there is a general principle known as Burzio’s Generalization, which states that a predicate lacking an external argument cannot assign Accusative Case.

Sandler et al. maintain that the PPT, just like the LMT, is governed by assumptions, such as that all clauses must have a subject and all lexical argument positions must map on a structurally defined
argument position in the syntax, and vice versa. These scholars indicate that although the details of the two models differ, and a number of theoretical positions contrast, they seem to manipulate the same ideas, with respect to argument structure representations.

These scholars also discuss the mapping of intransitive verbs under linking. They argue that many languages distinguish morphosyntactically between two types of intransitive verb, the unergative, in which the subject fulfills an active semantic role, such as Agent, and the unaccusative, in which the subject is more passive semantically, and corresponds to a Theme or Patient roles.

Sandler state that some cases have been noted, in which morphosyntactic processes sometimes treat the subject of an unaccusative and the direct object of a transitive verb as a single class, distinct from the subject of an unergative verb. They give an example of English resultative construction, e.g.

19. (a) The blacksmith hammered the metal
    (b) The blacksmith hammered the metal flat
20. They drank the teapot dry

They argue that although it may be possible to say They hammered the metal flat, and The river froze solid, but we cannot say she ran tired with a resultative meaning ‘she tired herself by running’. According to these scholars, the difference can be attributed to the fact that freeze has a Theme subject and thus unaccusative, while run has an Agent subject and is thus unergative. They maintain that in other languages the distinction is said to manifest itself in terms of the auxiliaries selected for certain tense/aspect forms.

They indicate that this distinction is coded in terms of the specification of grammatical function features in LMT, and that incorporating the intrinsic classification will give for the unergative and unaccusative verb, run and freeze the following representations:

21. (a) run <Agent> (b) arrive <Theme>
    -o                  -r
    --------          --------
    SUBJ              SUBJ

They further show that in the PPT/GB framework, an unccusative predicate can be characterized in two ways, i.e. firstly, we could say that it is a one-place predicate with no external argument, and secondly, we could say that it is a one-place predicate whose argument occupies a D-structure object position. They present the PAS structure of run and freeze as follows:

22. (a) run <x> (b) freeze <<x>>

They maintain that following Burzio’s Generalization, the unaccusative predicate cannot assign Accusative Case, so the ‘Y’ argument has to move to subject position to receive Nominative Case.
Sandler et al. show that apart from, the LMT and the PPT/GB there are still some approaches developed with regard to argument structure. They refer to such approaches as alternative approaches. They argue that in this approaches, argument structure is defined as independent level of representation, i.e. it differs from those approaches under which alterations are the result of head movement in the syntax. They indicate that most approaches to morphological causative treat them at some level as a kind of complex predicate reminiscent of Baker’s view that they have the morphosyntax of V-V compound.

They show that Baker’s work’s offshoot, that of Hale and Keyser (1992, 1993) links this approach to the motion of LCS, in that, they propose that argument structure be described in terms of lexical argument structures or lexical relation structures, which is a sparse form of LCS built up out of binary-branching structures, at the time, obeying syntactic principles from PPT such as the Empty Category principles. They maintain that the idea is that the argument positions are represented by NP or PP complements, and that the differences in argument structure associated with various verb types are coded as occurrence of V,A or sometimes P slots in the lexical relational structures (LRS). They contend that, applying it to a causative verb, it will imply that a causative verb is one which has a lexical VP structure headed by a V slot. The present an example given by Hale and Keyser of location verbs such as *shelve*, in which the incorporate noun corresponds to a locative prepositional phrase:

24. She shelved the books

of

25. She put the books on the shelf

They indicate that final verb form is derived by multiple application of head movement of shelf, successively through P, V and V:

They say that these scholars claim that syntactic principle explain why this is not possible when the converted noun corresponds to an indirect object, e.g. although we can say *Harriet donated a fortune to the church*, we can’t say *Harriet churched a fortune*. According to Sandler et al. Halle et al. also analyze causative pairs in terms of movement of nouns or adjectives through empty V position, e.g.

29. (a) The gravy thinned

Or

(b) The cook thinned the gravy

Sandler et al. note that in this theory, there is no distinction between morpholexical and morphosyntactical operations.
Sandler argue that another alternative approach, is the one developed by Goldenberg (1995) within the framework of construction Grammar. They indicate to Golberg an alternation such as dative shift or the locative alternation is the result of fusing the lexical structure of an individual lexical item with a more general frame, the dative shift construction. They show that in this case, a construction modulates the original verb entry, and is even capable of adding extra arguments and underlying predicates such as CAUSE. According to Sandler et al. the significance of this framework is to handle alternations in which a semantic component is added, such as causatives and resultatives, but it is not clear how it handles cases of argument identification, e.g. reflexification, or suppression, e.g. passives and antipassives.

In this section, Sandler et al. discusses the overall typology of morpholexical and morphosyntactic operations with specific examples. They indicate that they will discuss three sets of alterations which are each similar, but that one can be regarded as a morpholexical relationship and the other as morphosyntactic operation. These sets are passives and middles, reflexives and reciprocals and causation. Sandler et al. postulate that in this section the passives will represent the morphosyntactic operations, while the middles will represent the morpholexical operation. They argue that in both the passive and the middle alternations in English, an argument is lost and fails to be projected in the syntax, e.g.

30. (a) Tom painted the walls
    (b) The walls were painted (by Tom) (passive)
31. These kinds of walls paint easily (middle)

According to Sandler et al. the suppressed the external argument of the passive is still syntactically ‘active’ to some extent. They show that it can appear as a by phrase more or less irrespective of the semantic of the verb in (30b), and that it can license agent-oriented adverbials as in (32), and that it can control the null subject of purposive clauses, as in (33):

32. The walls were painted on purpose
33. The walls were painted to protect them against the rain

Sandler et al. assert that the middle construction imposes semantic constraints, e.g. the resulting sentence is interpreted as a stative, and that stylistically it preferred with a generic subject. They also show that the construction is generally difficult or impossible without adverbial support, in the form of adjuncts.

These scholars that the contrast between passives and middles is that the lost subject in middles is not syntactically available:

34. (a) *These kinds of walls paint easily by professional painters
(b) *These kinds of walls paint easily on purpose

They maintain that passives are possible with a great variety of verb construction types, such as raising verbs, double object constructions and with idiom chunks. They argue that such cases do not apply to Middles.

Sandler et al. buy Ackema and Schoorlemmer (1995)'s assumption that middles are formed by a ‘pre-syntactic’, here referred to as morpholexical process, whereas passives are formed by a morphosyntactic process. They further show that according to Ackema and Schoorlemmer, the middle has a single syntactically projected argument, an external argument, hence the middle is an unergative form; and that does not have the syntactically implicit either. They contend that this lone argument corresponds to a patient argument in semantic structure. They indicate that this behaviour differs with that of the passives. According to them, passives has an internal argument which is linked to subject position in the syntax, and a suppressed, but implicit, argument corresponding to the external argument of the active form. They state that the existence of such an implicit argument is a sufficient condition for a morphosyntactic valency-reducing operation.

Sandler et al. maintains that following the kinds of grammar presented at the beginning, the active and passive alternants of a verb can be regarded as forms of one of the same lexeme, while the middle form is a closely related lexeme, while the middle form is a closely withy slightly different semantics. They further indicate that the difference in syntactic projection in the middle follows from the difference. They argue that the fact that middles exhibit lexical and semantic restrictions does not mean that all verb formsin a given language which behaves like middles with respect to argument structure should necessarily exhibit such restrictions. They illustrate this view by citing cases in Bantu languages, such as Swahili, where verbs accept a wide range of suffixes to form new voices or new lexemes. They show that Swahili has a form, which is referred to as passive, formed by a suffix -w-, e.g. pika ‘cook’ : pikwa ‘be cooked’, and funga ‘close’ : fungiwa ‘be closed’.

According to Sandler et al., the difference between Mlango ulifungwa ‘The door was closed’ and mlango umefungika is based on the fact that the passive referes to an event, while the stative refers to a state. They also note that the stative form is associated with a potential meaning in addition to the simple intransitive meaning, e.g. the stems fungika and funguka can also mean ‘be closable’ or ‘openable’ respectively, a behaviour typical of English middles, e.g. This book reads easily can also mean It is easy to read this book.

Sandler et al. cites Wilson (1985:65), who claims that ‘any verb, provided its meaning allows it, can be made into a stative form. According to Sandler et al. this mean that the verb’s lexical semantics must be such as to imply the possibility of a resultant state. They state that stative have the same argument structure as the English middle. They further show that passives and middles both are
realized by regular and productive inffixation. They also show that the two have some differences, e.g. the passives suppress the external argument, leaving it syntactically available, while the stative disposes of that argument altogether.

The second set of alteration that Sandler et al. discuss is the reflexives and reciprocals. They maintain that many languages do have, within their morphological operations, a class of processes of deriving reflexive or reciprocal verb forms from transitive verb forms. According to these scholars, these operations are valency-reducing, syntactically, resulting in predicates which do not permit direct function to be assigned to an NP corresponding to the reflexive or reciprocal affix or clitic.

Sandler et al. contend that according to Levin and Rappaport-Hovav, such processes result in predicate with the same semantic representation, in this case (b), as the input predicate, in this case (a). Sandler et al. indicate that although contention such as this might suggest that such processes are morphosyntactic, there are a number of issues that need to be highlighted before such conclusions can be made. The first one, they say although intuitively speaking, it is clear that the basic verb and its reflexive or reciprocal form have the same semantics, they argue that these operations have a semantic effect, that of identifying the semantics of fillers of two role slots. The second one, they say as it has been argued that the prototypically morphosyntactics processes are simply relation-changing alternation, it would seem that these operation, e.g. voice alternations, may be viewed as doing nothing more than providing different sets of syntactic prominence arrays of sets of roles, or as mapping between alternative syntactic realization for the arguments of predicates.

Sandler et al. contend that issues such as these makes it difficult to determine whether reflexivization and reciprocalization are morphosyntactic in the appropriate sense, especially with respect to argument structure. They however, postulate that this issue has been addressed by Mchombo’s (1993a)’s discussion of reflexives and reciprocals in Chichewa. Sandler et al. contend that according to Mchombo in Chichewa the object marker is optional, and thus treats it as an agreement marker; and that reflexives are realized by a prefix -dzi occupying this OM slot:

42. Mkângo u-na-dzí-Șupul-a
  3-lion 35m-past-REFL-brúise-FV
  ‘The lion bruise itself’

Sandler et al. maintain that Mchombo is of the view that it may be possible to determine whether the reflexive is a morphosyntactic or not by observing the way the reflexive marker behaves when it appears on ambiguities in comparative clauses. They argue that the ambiguities in this instance refer to the strict identity reading, sloppy identity reading, and a comparative object reading.

According to Sandler et al. the existence of strict identity and comparative object deletion readings point to the presence of a syntactic argument corresponding to the reflexive in the two clauses. They further argue that following Mchombo’s point of view, it seems that the reflexivized predicates have
two arguments at PAS, which remains bivalent even if they are not transitive in surface syntax. In their view, the essence of Mchombo’s claim is that the internal object is present in the syntax, as an anaphoric syntactic element, subject to syntactic binding. In their opinion the fact that the domain of binding is syntax, and that this domain is separate from that of morpholexical rules, suggests that reflexivization cannot be a morpholexical rule.

They argue that the behaviour of the reflexive is different from that of the reciprocal. They indicate that the reciprocal marker is a suffix to the root, hence part of the stem. According to these scholars, the reciprocal participates in the process of vowel harmony, reduplication, nominalization and imperative formation. In their view this kind of behaviour puts the reciprocal in the same position as exponents of morphosyntactic operations such as passive, applicative and causative. They however, indicate that inspite of this, the reciprocal is not a morphosyntactic operation.

Sandler et al. maintain that in the example in (44), the reciprocal gives rise only to the sloppy identity reading. In their view, this suggests that the process involved identifies the filters of the two semantic role slots lexically and not syntactically.

The last set of morphosyntactic and morpholexical operation that Sandler et al. treat in this article is causatives. Here, these scholars argue that a verb, an adjective, or sometimes a noun stem, alternates with a verb meaning ‘cause/allow/persuade/help…to V’ or ‘cause/allow/persuade/help …to become adjective/noun stem. According to them, in English it would seem that causative is an instance of the creation of an entirely new lexeme, as in They darkened the room, which comes from the adjective dark, or They enslaved the populace, from the noun slave. Sandler et al. indicate that the presence of the causation in these sentences result in slightly different interpretations, such as persuasion, instruction or permission.

Sandler et al. indicate that many researchers regard the causation as an instance of an argument-structure alternation, rather than lexemic derivation proper.

They further observe that when transitive verb is causativised, the embedded subject is always marked with dative case.

Sandler et al. argue that in other languages the embedded subject of a transitive verb is usually marked as an (optional) oblique, rather than as a direct object. He states that in Japanese morphological causatives are very productive, and are relatively free of lexical restrictions. They point out that at some level, a causativised transitive sentence behaves like two clauses, just like-bi-clausal English translation, as in the example below:

47. Taroo-ga Ziroo-o/ni zibun-no heya-de benkyoo-sase-ta
    Taroo-Nom Ziroo-Acc. REFL;/-GEN room-in study-CAUSE-PAST
    ‘Taroo made Ziroo study in his own room’
Sandler et al. state that reflexivization in Japanese is subject oriented. They thus contend that (47) suggests that both Taroo and Ziroo correspond to subjects at some level. They state that Ziroo is the subject of study, while Taroo is the subject of CAUSE. They refer to this kind of causation as bi-clausal causation.

In order to account for consultation as a morphosyntactic operation, Sandler et al. express the view that we should view causation as comprising the fusion or union of two argument structures.

In their opinion, this leads to the conclusion that operation in (49) is morphosyntactic in that it is defined over an unrestricted set of predicates and that it results in an argument structure representation, where all three of the arguments are syntactically visible in some sense. They note however, that languages do differ in how the three arguments are realized. They indicate that when arg.1 becomes the derived object, arg. 2 is generally marked as a second object, especially in processes like passives. They contend that despite the fact that Taroo-ni in (46b) is an obliquely marked phrase, it still remains the direct object of the causative. They indicate that this becomes clear when we passivize a causative. They state that if the object is a reflexive pronoun, it can only refer back to the surface subject, arg. 0, and arg. 1, and that because arg. 1 cannot be treated as a kind of subject for reflexivization, we have a monoclausal causative construction, in contrast with the bi-clausal causative of Japanese.

Sandler et al. maintain that the semantic effects of the causative operation differ from language to language, and from construction to construction. They indicate that Japanese causatives with -o marked object have the coercive or the adversity reading, while those with the -ni object have the permissive reading. They however, indicate that the inspite of these differences, the basic semantic relationships are the same cross-linguistically.

These scholars indicate that there is a problem regarding the morphosyntactic analysis of causatives. They argue that it is ot very clear how any causative can be morphosyntactic since there is a sharp shift in meaning. To solve this problem, they assume that the causative operation involves addition of an argument structure, consisting minimally of an argument position, and a further argument position corresponding to the embedded proposition. They are of the view that this ‘fuses’ or ‘emerges’ with the argument structure of the basic predicate. According to these scholars a representation than can be obtained in this instance is this:

They contend that this is a complete predicate, whose overall argument structure is a function of two independent argument structures. They further argue that in the lexical causatives we have a causative LCS which includes the embedded predicate.

The last section of this article treats noun incorporation. According to these scholars, noun incorporation behaves like English verbs derived by conversion from nouns, such as butter in the
sentence, to butter toast. Sandler et al. express the view that the converted noun (into a verb) in this sentence, corresponds to an object in syntactic constructions such as to spread butter on the toast.

Sandler et al. contend that it may be possible in other languages to create a lexical unit similar to the VP to spread butter by means of noun incorporation. They give the following example:

56. ətləg-e kawkaw mat9ə=rikele-nin  
Father-ERG bread. AB5 butter = spread.on = AOR.35G:35G  
‘Father spread the bread with butter’

According to these scholars, this corresponds to the sentence below, which is without incorporation:

57. ətləg-e kawkaw-ək mat9əmat = kele-nin  
Father-ERG bread. LOC butter. AB5 spread.on = AOR.35G:35G  
‘Father spread the butter on the bread’

They contend that according to Baker (1988a) the above alternation is said to be the result of movement applying to the head noun of the object NP butter, forming compound verbs.

Sandler et al. indicate that the movement of butter leaves a trace, ei, which has to be properly governed by the verbal complex. They argue that the fact that the noun butter is interpreted as the direct object of the verb is a consequence of the fact that it is the verb’s object in the syntactic representation.

These scholars maintain that a similar kind of analysis is also available in principle for an English synthetic compound such as butter-spreader. They indicate that in this kind of analysis however, the verb is nominalized and cannot occur in finite forms, otherwise ungrammaticality will result:

59. *Tom butter-spreads his toast every morning (with margarine)

They assert that an alternative analysis, which is open to noun incorporation proper, shows that the incorporate element, in this case butter, discharges an argument position, but not in the same way as a syntactic direct object. Sandler contend that according to Sproat (1985) and Di Sciullo and Williams (1987), compounding renders the verb syntactically intransitive, i.e. there is no modifier, and no doubling is possible e.g.

60. (a) *Butter-spreader of bread with rancid ei  
(b) *Butter-spreader of bread with margarine

Sandler et al. state that it is not easy to account for butter-spreader since it is a combination of lexemes and that it produces what is morphologically more akin to a single word than a genuine phrase they show that the argument structure of the noun butter is somehow ‘fused’ with that of the verb stem spread in such a way that butter is interpreted as the direct internal argument of spread. They thus presume that the nominalization suffix -er is attached after the internal argument is
discharged. They indicate that to grasp this we should assume that the grammar creates an otherwise non-existent verb stem [butter-spread] which, assigns the internal role, and that it is then that suffixation take place to give [[butter-spread]er]. Sandler et al. assert that another view to argument structure of [butter-spread] may be found if we understand the argument-structure of the verb is in some way inherited by the nominalization, and that, in this way, [[spread]er] retains at least the direct internal argument of the verb stem, and that this argument can be projected either as an of phrase, e.g. *a spreader of butter (on bread)*, or as part of the compound to give [bread[spread-er]].

Sandler et al. argue that approaches to synthentic compounding leave a number of issues unresolved, such as the notion of ‘inheritance’ of argument structure, and the generality of the approach. They show that English permits compounds in which an adverbial modifier is incorporated, as in *quick-drying (paint), sundried (tomatoes)*, etc. They argue that an approach witch appeals to the discharge of argument structures does not include these cases.

According to Sandler et al. incorporation of adverbials can be observed in some noun-incorporating languages. They give an example of Chukchee, where it is possible to say: *Tom quick-ran* or *The mother tent-sewed the shirt, i.e. the mother sewed the shirt in the tent*. These scholars are of the view that synthentic compounds ca be applied in incorporative structures akin to the complex predicate formation for morphological causatives.

Sandler et al. contend that in this structure, the verb and its object have distinct LCS representations but at PAS that of the object *butter* is indexed with the verb’s internal-argument position, thereby, saturating and preventing it from being realized syntactically. They further contend that in the relatively rare cases like Chukchee where adverbial can be incorporated, similar analysis may be adopted, in which the adverbial’s argument structure is focused with an event position at PAS.

These scholars show that in many languages noun-incorporation is lexically restricted, non-productive, and idiosyncratic, much like noun-to-verb conversion of the type *butter the toast* in English. They are of the opinion that for such languages incorporation takes place at the LCS level, despite being realized morphologically by compounding.

### 2.5 THE GENERATIVE LEXICON

#### 2.5.1 Pustejovsky, J. (1995)

Pustejovsky (1995) presents a semantic theory which he claims will account for the problem of compositionality. In other words, he argues that the theory which he advocates is intended to deal with the semantics of words, both alone and in combination. He begins by providing a definition of semantics which he refers as the study of how and what the words of a language denote. In his view,
the approach of distinguishing word senses on the basis of a finite feature distinction, what according to him is similar to what Weinreich (1964) refers to as contrastive complementary ambiguity is not enough. He argues against traditional theories that hold the view that words behave as either active functors or passive arguments. He says that the representation of the meaning of words in these theories is inadequate to account for the richness of natural language semantics. He shows that there is a need for several devices which simplify our semantic description, but which fall outside the enumerative lexical semantics. He argues that the devices he is advocating for will point to a different view of lexical semantics and how word meanings are combined. He argues that there is a need to introduce a theory of lexical semantic systems within which these devices operate.

Pustejovsky argues that the theory he advocates will capture a core set of word senses, with greater internal structure than assumed in previous theories. He contends that the theory will be used to generate a large set of word senses when the individuals are combined with others in phrases and clauses. He calls such an organization a generative lexicon. He shows that in this theory, our framework of knowledge for lexical items must be guided by a concern for what he calls semanticality in addition to grammaticality. He argues that such a model of semantic interpretation should reflect the particular properties and difficulties of natural language. Pustejovsky argues that lexical semantics frameworks should take into consideration the syntactic structure of a language, according to him, without which the study of semantics is bound to fail. He stresses this point by further saying that there is no way in which meaning can be completely divorced from the structure that carries it. He contends that grammatical distinctions are useful metric in evaluating competing semantic theories. According to him, the meaning of a word should somewhat reflect the deeper conceptual structures in the cognitive system, and in the domain it operates. In his view, to be able to do this, lexical semantics must look for representations that are richer than thematic role descriptions. He shows that although semantic roles are useful for establishing general mapping strategies to the syntactic structures in language, the distinctions possible with thematic roles are too coarse-grained to provide a useful semantic interpretation of a sentence. He stresses the point he raised in chapter one that what is needed is a method of lexical decomposition which will involve a rich recursive theory of semantic composition, the notion of semantic well-formedness, an appeal to several levels of interpretation in semantics.

According to Pustejovsky, The representation of the context of an utterance should be viewed as involving many different generative factors that account for the way that language users create and manipulate the contexts in order to be understood. He argues that such a theory must include many separate semantic levels which have independent interpretations, and a structure that has no single interpretations. He further shows that when such inferences are integrated together they must be coherent. According to him such a mechanism will be so useful in semantic interpretation because it will proceed in a principled fashion, we will always be aware of what the source of a particular
inference is, and we will also be certain of its value. He sees this device as one that will help to track the reasoning process and will also be computationally efficient. He contends that the device will classify the lexical items of a language into classes predictive of their syntactic and semantic expression.

Pustejovsky further shows that such a theory does not only map the meanings of lexical items per sentence on an individual basis, but will also capture the semantic relations between words in such a way which facilitates this mapping. He further argues that this model allow the lexicon to have multiple listings of words, each annotated with a separate meaning or lexical sense. On the notion of semanticality which he made mentioned above, Pustejovsky asserts that it ranges over semantic expressions rather than syntactic structures. To expatiate on this issue, Pustejovsky provides the example below:

1. (a) Mary kicked me with her foot.
   (b) Mary kicked me with her left foot.

Pustejovsky states that although sentence 1(a) is not ungrammatical, but it is semantically less acceptable than 1(b).

According to Pustejovsky, the theory he is presenting here follows a conservative approach to decomposition, where lexical items are minimally decomposed into structured-forms (templates) rather than set of features. He considers this kind of an approach as a generative framework for the composition of lexical meaning which will define the well-formedness conditions for semantic expressions in a language. According to Pustejovsky there are two distinct approaches to the study of word meaning, namely primitive-based theories and relation-based theories. He then contends that those who are in support of the primitives assume that word meaning can be exhaustively defined in terms of fixed set of primitive elements and that inferences are made through the primitives into which a word is decompose. He further shows that a relation-based theory on the other hand, express the view that there is no need for decomposition into primitives if words are associated through a network of explicitly defined links. He then argues that his theory relies on logical rules of inferences to establish the connectedness between lexical meanings and propositions. He shows that his theory is a new way of viewing on decomposition, which looks more at the generative or compositional aspects lexical semantics rather than decomposition into a specified number of primitives.

According to Pustejovsky the goal of this theory will be to provide a formal statement of language, that is, lexical creativity and sense extensions phenomena. He argues that a generative lexicon involves at least four levels of semantic representations, namely argument structure, which specifies the number and type of arguments that a lexical item carries; an event structure, which characterizes both the basic event type and the internal sub eventual structure of a lexical item; a qualia structure,
representing the different modes of prediction possible with a lexical item; and a lexical inheritance structure, which identifies how a lexical structure is related to other structure in the dictionary. He further contends that there is a set of generative devices which connects these four levels, providing for the compositional interpretation of words in context, namely type coercion, where a lexical item or phrase is coerced to a semantic interpretation by a governing item in the phrase; selective binding, where a lexical item or phrase operates specifically on the substructure of a phrase; and co-composition, where multiple elements within a phrase behave as functor, generating new non-lexical senses. Of the four devices, Putejovsky asserts that the most important is a semantic transformation called coercion, which captures the semantic relatedness between syntactically distinct expressions. He shows that argument structure, event, and qualia types must conform to the well-formedness conditions defined by the type system and the lexical inheritance structure. According to him, each lexical item has available to it a set of type shifting operators which are able to operate over expression, changing its type and denotation.

Pustejovsky contends that this approach will make it possible to conflate different word senses into a single meta-entry, encoding regularities of word behavior dependent on context, thereby reducing the size of the lexicon. He refers to such meta-entries as lexical conceptual paradigms (lcps). According to Pustejovsky, lexical conceptual paradigms illustrate clearly that syntactic information is inheritable between lexical items. Pustejovsky argues that in contrary to what used to happen in the past where arguments were just listed, in this theory arguments are mapped onto syntactic expressions. He expresses a different view as held by Bresman’s (1988), and Chomsky (1981) that argument structure is required to be expressed as syntactic constituents if the functional completeness and coherence conditions are to be satisfied. According to Pustejovsky, recent contributions to the theory of grammar show that argument structure is highly independent of the syntax. Pustejovsky defines the argument of a word as a minimal specification of its lexical semantics which is by itself inadequate for capturing the semantic characterization of a lexical item, but it is a necessary component. He then proceeds to distinguish between four types of arguments for lexical item which are as follow: true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments, and true adjunct. He then describes true arguments as parameters which are syntactically realized, something covered by the theta-criterion and other surface conditions on arguments. He illustrates his idea by providing the example below:

2. (a) The window broke
   (b) John broke the window

According to Pustejovsky, true arguments are the underlined parameters in the above sentences because if they are removed the ungrammaticality will be the result. He defines default arguments as parameters which participate in the logical expression in the qualia, but which are not necessarily expressed syntactically. The sentences below exemplify his view:
3. (a) Mary carved a doll
(b) Mary carved a doll out of wood.

Pustejovsky shows that the default argument is the underlined parameter in 3. (b) because the parameter is the material wood which is optional, in other words even if it is removed the semanticality of the sentence will not be affected. This is in contrast with the created object which if removed the grammaticality as well as the semanticality of the sentence will be affected. Pustejovsky describes shadow arguments as parameters which are semantically incorporated into the lexical item, which are not necessarily expressed at syntax, but which can be expressed only by operations of subtyping or discourse specification. He gives the sentence below as his illustration:

4. Mary buttered her toast with margarine

According to Pustejovsky the underlined parameter in sentence (4) is a shadow argument. He however, points out that shadow arguments may be optionally expressed under certain conditions, such as when the expressed argument stands in a subtyping relationship to shadow arguments. Pustejovsky defines the fourth type of arguments, namely true arguments as parameters which modify the logical expression, but are of the situational interpretation, and are not tied to any particular lexical item’s semantic representation, and these include adjunct expressions of temporal or special modification. According to him, adjuncts are associated with verb classes and not individual verbs. Pustejovsky shows that the status of a phrase as a certain argument type is not determined by just the lexical properties of a single item. he argues that compositional operations may create an argument or shadow argument at a phrasal projection, by virtue of compositinality in the phrase. He indicates that in some cases, a true argument may be defaulted by virtue of a complement’s semantics. He uses the example below to illustrate his point:

5. (a) Mary showed her paintings to John.
(b) Mary showed a movie (to John).

He shows that for the verb show, the true argument which expresses a goal in 5(a) is defaulted in 5(b) by virtue of the semantics of the complement movie. He then stresses that finer-grained distinctions are necessary for event descriptions in order to capture some phenomena. In his view, there is a need for a means which will be able to represent both the subeventual structure associated with lexical items while at the same time expressing the necessary relation between events and the arguments of the verb. He then suggests a mechanism he calls Orthogonal Parameter Binding which, according to him, allows us to bind into an expression from independent parameter lists, i.e., argument structure and event structure.

Pustejovsky then moves on to describe the nature of event in this theory. Following Pustejovsky’s view, the nature of the event is such that it can be sub classified into at least three sorts, namely
process, states, and transition. According to him, events have also sub eventual structure, which involves the principles of predicate-argument binding in the semantic representation. He argues that the mechanism he is suggesting should be able to represent also the relation that exists between an event and its proper sub events. In illustrating his point, Pustejovsky claims that the verb such as accompany involves two sub events which occur simultaneously and that a verb such as go admits multiple interpretation. According to him, the lexicalization of two basically simultaneous sub events, where one starts before the other, is called “exhaustive ordered overlap”. Pustejovsky further argues that the issue of event involves also event headedness, which, he claims, is used in the foregrounding and backgrounding of event arguments in terms of their temporal precedence and relative prominence. Pustejovsky defines the head as the most prominent sub event in the event structure of predicate. According to him, headedness acts to distinguish set of transitions, specifying what part of the matrix event is being focused by the lexical item in question.

The third aspect that Pustejovsky describes is what he calls qualia structure. He defines it as the structured representation which gives the relational force of a lexical item. He says qualia should not be viewed as just listing of case roles or named features associated with lexical item. According to Pustejovsky, qualia structure provides to us semantic constraints by which we understand a word when embedded within the language. He shows that the mode of explanation that characterizes a word as denoting a particular concept is particularly distinct from the manner in which that word is used in the language. He further asserts that the qualia provide the structural template over which semantic transformation may apply to alter the denotation of a lexical item or phrase. He shows that qualia involves four aspects of word’s meaning (qualia), namely constitutive, something to do with the relation between an object and its constituent parts and it also involves what that object is logically part of, if such a relation exists, in other words, it allows for reference to what something is constituted of as well as what it constitutes, in part; formal, which he defines as that which distinguishes it within a large domain; telic, that which entails its purpose and function, that is, what the purpose of function of a concept is rather than viewing the semantic functions associated with a lexical item in terms of traditional thematic role description, and there is no simple one to one-to-one mapping between thematic roles; and agentive, which are factors involved in its origin or “bringing about” such as creator, artifact, natural kind and causal chain. Pustejovsky shows that there must be reference to the dotted argument x,y in the qualia, in addition to formal for this representation to be well-formed. In his view, qualia emphasize aspects of a word’s meaning that have been ignored by formal treatment of lexical semantics.

According to Pustejovsky, in order to capture the behavior of the noun we will need a type constructor such as a lexical conceptual paradigm which will create a complex type for a term which carries more senses in it. In other words each paradigm must carry one of the several senses denoted by the term. He asserts that lexical conceptual paradigms illustrate very clearly that syntactic information is
inheritable between lexical items. He illustrates this point by analyzing the behavior of the class of nominals such as *merger, joint venture*, and *consolidation*. Pustejovsky shows that these nominals are ambiguous between a process interpretation (the act of merging) versus the resulting state (the merger with *results*). He shows that this kind of behavior is a tendency of the whole paradigm, which according to him can be captured by a lexical conceptual paradigm. He then argues that there seem to be three senses available to lexical item associated with an lcp (lexical conceptual paradigm) constructed from the two base types. He gives illustrates this point by showing what happens with the nominal *merger* he claims exhibits three senses, the first being the event of merging, the second is the process of merging, and the third is the result of merging.

In this book, Pustejovsky also carefully examines the specific properties of the qualia and how can differentiate the semantic classes of nominals on the basis of argument type and qualia structure. The first that he describes how it is interpreted is the formale quale. According to him, the formal quale distinguishes an object from a larger set and he shows that there are two possible structures associated with the fromale quale, which he refers to them as the simple typing and complex (dotted) typing. Concerning the first case, Pustejovsky asserts that the typing of an argument for a nominal may exclusively define the information contributed by the formal quale. He further points out that the relations possible in the formal quale which define how the types are related must be constrained in a way that does not give rise to unattested complex types in a language. According to Pustejovsky, the agentive quale involves the knowledge of the “coming into being” of an object which is associated with it. In his view, how something comes about is an important mode of explaining for distinguishing objects and events in the world. He claims that through this mode of explanation we will be able to distinguish natural kinds from artifacts. He shows that in the case of a noun, the AGENTIVE quale is represented as an event predicate, where the object being defined is typically bound to the second argument of the relation. Pustejovsky indicated that there are certain objects which come into being by virtue of an activity which can otherwise simply change the internal state of an object. Pustejovsky argues that the methodological goal in Generative Lexicon is to associate individual qualia roles as unique values, avoiding both conjunction and disjunction. Pustejovsky describes the constitutive quale as a quale that refers to the parts of an object, and that it also defines for an object what that object is basically part of, if such a relation exists.

Concerning how mapping which occur in qualia, Pustejovsky states that the representations in the qualia are based on how arguments are mapped to syntax. He argues that qualia project from multiple semantic expressions to the appropriate grammatical functions in the syntax. Pustejovsky shows that since qualia may have more than one qualia role, individual qualia compete for projection. He argues that in this instance the mechanism such as headedness acts as a filter to constrain the set of projectable qualia. He contends that in this case, the headed event projects the configuration (template) associated with that event’s predicate. According to him, headedness will determine that the argument
associated with the second subevent cannot be expressed. He further asserts that with the initial event headed, the object which is constituted of this material is expressed as the object. Pustejovsky shows that in this way, the FORMAL argument ends up bound to the object position in syntax.

Pustejovsky shows that a connection between nominalisations and events was explored and that the motivation of an event variable to verbs as well as to nouns was supported by inference patterns. He asserts that the event was elevated to the status of an object in the logic by Davidson’s point. He contends that other scholars such as Hugginbotham (1983, 1985), Verkuyl (1990, 1993) and Grimshaw (1990) have even extended this notion. Pustejovsky makes a distinction between two types of agentive nominals, the first being the nominals created by suffixation with the -er or -or suffixes, such as baker and advisor, and the other type is of nominals created by the suffixation of the -ing or -ion nominaliser, as in examination and launching. He argues that the agentive nominal which falls into the first category is derived by a kind of externalization. He regards the nominals which belong to the first category as simple event-denoting nominals, which according to him have a direct representation in a qualia-based structure. He shows that this is not the case with complex-event denoting nominals which belong to the second category such as the ones given above. He contends that the problem with complex-denoting nominals is that they denote the complete event in a way identical to simple-denoting event but they also exhibit other interpretations. According to Pustejovsky the -ing nominals are polysemous between process and result readings.

2.5.2 Busa, F. (1996)

In her doctoral dissertation, Busa (1996) who is a student of Pustejovsky addresses the same issues as outlined by her promoter. The dissertation is organized into five chapters in their respective order as follow: the semantics of agentive nominals, Generative lexicon, Individual-level nominals, stage-level nominals, and computational lexical semantics. It should be indicated however, that strictly speaking the issues covered in this dissertation may be summed up in two main issues around which all of them revolve, namely agentive nominal and the generative lexicon theory. This review however, will focus specifically on the first four issues since they are the ones that have a significant bearing on this study. In her attempt to find a suitable definition for agentive nominals, Busa shows that generally agentive nominals are regarded as a class of deverbatives which are morphologically derived by -er affixation as in the case of winner and runner. She argues that the generalization that the productive affix -er corresponds to the external argument of the underlying verbal form appears to characterize a substantial set of -er nouns but also fails to account for a number of facts. According to Busa, such generalization does not account for the semantic similarities of nominals such as thief and stealer, no does it provide an explanation for the semantic differences between the same noun which may be interpreted as an instrument or a human agent such as grinder and opener.
Busa contends that although argument structure, an aspect which involves semantic labels such as actor, patient, source, and theme is an important component in semantics, alone is inadequate to account for the semantics of agentive nouns. She argues that there is a large set of -er nominals denoting instruments, where the individual does not correspond to the actor role. In this way, Busa, states that relying exclusively on morphological clues to determine the interpretation of an agentive noun obscures the problem rather than clarifying it. In her view, lexical choice should be driven by the semantic content that a lexical item carries. She then digresses to the drawbacks of a morphologically driven account which according to her provides motivations for the semantically-based analysis she adopted from Pustejovsky. She argues that from the syntactic perspective it may be generalized that most or all verbs take an -er to change from a verb to a noun. She argues that this is not true since the term agentive also characterize this class of nouns in terms of the semantic information they carry. She shows that the reason why she is against the idea of semantic generalization of the -er nouns is because there are a large number of deverbal agentive nouns which have -er but refer to instrument instead of an actor, and she gives an example of the following nouns: blender, drier, and opener. She argues that these deverbal nouns may either be polysemous between an individual human or an instrument, or they may uniquely denote an instrument. Owing to the above reasoning, Busa is of the opinion that semantics has to be somehow refined so as to be able to capture the availability of these different senses.

In her view, there is indeed a need for semantic criteria to predict the interpretation of the nominal form either on the basis of the information associated with different stems, or on the basis of the semantic type of the object. She further argues that even the syntactic generalization does not seem to be adequate because there are a number of verbal forms which do not have an associated agentive noun, as dier, arriver, knower.

According to her, the event based information that is associated with the verbal stem seems to partially determine the availability of a derived noun. In her view, the solution to morpho-syntactic account is to review morphology as an instance of creative use of language which consistently derives new forms for which we can find independent motivation in the language. According to Busa, a model that accounts for the similarities of underlying semantic types and which will provide a rich vocabulary for describing the generative mechanisms that take advantage of semantic knowledge encoded in the lexicon is needed. Busa asserts that the kind of model needed is the one provided by Generative lexicon theory which allows us to recast the question of what constitute an agentive noun in different form. According to Busa, this system requires that we find correlations between lexically encoded base forms and morphologically derived forms. In her view, that this will help us to see whether morphologically derived -er nominals reflect a more general behavior of nouns which denote individual involved in an event or not. She further states that certain agentive nominals presuppose that the event characterizing the agent has occurred, that is, agentive nominals, such as builder, which
presupposing that an event of building the house took place; and the nominals which do not presuppose an event, such as can opener.

In this dissertation, Busa argues that all agentive nominals are characterised in terms of events, regardless of whether the event which defines the individual is presupposed or not. According to Busa, the different interpretation between nominals of the two categories shown above emerge as a result of the event type of the action that characterizes the agentive noun as well as the quantification of that event. She further states that the issues of whether an agentive noun presupposes the occurrence of the defining event does not depend on the presence or absence of an event in its representation, rather on how that event is encoded in the semantics of the noun.

According to Busa, what is important is to determine whether the set of lexically encoded base forms constitute a homogeneous class or whether they display semantic differences. She shows that in terms of Pustejovsky (1995) nouns which denote participants in an event fall under two general classes according to whether or not they require the context to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual. She further shows that Chierchia (1995) also alludes to this distinction in his discussion of the data under the domain of individual-level and stage-level predicates. She also cites Kastovsky who observes that agentive nominals which refer to professions, hobbies are interpreted as habituials. In making the distinction between these two nominals, Busa contends that usually, spatial modifies occur with stage-level nominals and not possible with stage-level nominal. She asserts that individual-level nominals do not require the event that defines the individual to occur at the time of reference. Busa shows that the class of individual-level nominals is not fully homogeneous since some differ in important ways.

Busa’s description of the generative theory follows that of Pustejovsky. The only difference is that Busa that Busa’s does not include many examples with stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals. She shows that the generative theory involves four levels of representations, namely argument structure, event structure, qualia structure, and lexical inheritance structure. Of these three she indicated that she will only discuss the first three since according to her these three are part of the lexical entry of all syntactic categories. She argues that information about arguments and events is not an issue that is peculiar to verbal predicates, but they are property of all lexical categories. Busa explains each and every one of these three levels.

She begins with the argument structure, which she says it provides information about the number and the type of parameters of a verb. She cites Williams (1981) who makes a distinction between external and internal arguments and then she shows that this view was taken forward by Grimshaw (1990) who supports the view of a hierarchically structured representation of argument structure. Busa shows that what then emerges is the view that argument structure represents the minimal lexical semantic specification of a word. She then cites Pustejovsky (1995) who asserts that a distinction based on
thematic roles alone is not sufficient to account for the constraints on impressibility of arguments. Busa postulates that in the lexicon theory, argument types are distinguished according to the role they play in the interpretation of a lexical item. Busa further distinguishes the arguments into four types, namely true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments. She then describes true arguments as arguments that are obligatorily realized syntactically as parameters of the lexica item. Coming to the default arguments she says these arguments are part of the expressions in the qualia, but do not need to be obligatorily realized syntactically. About the shadow arguments she asserts that these arguments are semantically incorporated in the meaning of a lexical item and they can only be expressed by means of subtype. She further asserts that these argument types are directly encoded in the representation of argument structure in the generative entry. Busa shows that what appears to be an obligatory argument for the verbal form corresponds to a default argument in the expression of the nominal form.

Addressing the issue of event structure, Busa points out that the theory of event structure in generative lexicon follows the Vendlerian tradition which views events as primitive entities which fall into three broad senses, namely activities, states, and transitions. She shows that transitions are distinguished into accomplishments and achievement. Busa contends that in terms of Davidson (1967) and Parsons (1990), events are regarded as atomic units occupying an argument position in the parameter list associated with a particular predicate. According to her, this view shows that events are themselves complex semantic objects. Busa asserts that these three levels are not sufficient to capture the different properties of the event structure. She argues that a mechanism that expresses relative prominence of subevents is required. Through this mechanism, Busa claims that we can head one event, both events, and neither of them. She contends that a mechanism called Orthogonal Parameter Binding (Pustejovsky, 19915b), which allows us to bind into an expression from independent parameter lists. She shows that the list of arguments and that of events are tied together in the qualia structure of the Orthogonal Parameter Binding.

On the issue of qualia structure, Busa describes it as the level of representation where arguments and events are tied together within different relations which explains the meaning of a lexical item. She shows that the relations between these components are expressed within four qualia roles which follow the Aristotelian modes of explanation (or generative factors). She then summarizes them as follow: formal role, which distinguishes the object within a larger domain; constitutive role, which expresses the relation between the object and its constitutive parts; telic role, which expresses the purpose of the object; and agentive role, which expresses the factor that brought the object into being. According to Busa, qualia roles drive our understanding of objects or relations in the world. Busa argues that qualia structure provides a place to encode information relative to an individual’s purpose.

Coming to the interpretation of formale quale which is a component of a qualia structure, Busa defines it as a component that provides the information that distinguishes an individual within a larger set by
making reference to the type of the individual which is specified in the argument structure. Busa argues that the generative lexicon is not a theory of lexical decomposition. She contends that qualia structure can be viewed as semantic annotation which includes the interpreting of an lexical item plus its internal structure. According to Busa, verbal forms expressing causative semantics, the formal role encodes the resulting state. In her view, the formal quale plays an important role in determining whether a given nominal such as wife has a relational status or not. Pertaining to the interpretation of the constitutive role, Busa argues that this component expresses a variety of relations concerning the internal constitution of an individual such as material, weight, dimension and others. She further asserts that in addition to the part-of- relation, this component may contain other distinguishing features such a gender of a person in the case of the noun *wife*. Looking at the interpretation of the telic role, Busa describes this component as the stereotypical function of the individual, and she claims, can be defined fro nominals as well as for verbs. Busa shows that according to Pustejovsky (1995) there are two types of telic, namely direct and indirect telic. She argues that this distinction is a result of configurational properties of events and arguments. According to Busa, the direct telic denotes ‘instrumentality’ or ‘agentivity’ in a broad sense. She shows that in terms of Williams (1981) and Grimshaw (1990)’s views on the argument structure, the individual which is specified in the formal role corresponds to the external argument in the relation in the telic. She further shows that in the indirect telic the individual corresponds to the internal argument. Busa defines the agentive role as a component that denotes the event that brings an individual into being. She argues that the event encoded in the agentive quale asserts that the coming into being of an object is a necessary condition for existence.

In describing how mapping occurs in qualia, Busa indicates that the strategies for projection in qualia are based on the argument structure of a lexical item where the first or external argument is mapped to subject position and the second or internal argument is mapped to object position. She contends that the notion of arguments is tightly connected to the thematic-role bearer, which expresses the content of the individual participating in an event. She shows that the semantic contentment of a given argument emerges from its type as specified in the argument structure, and its position in one of the qualia roles. She asserts that the mechanism such as headedness contributes to filter out the set of possible projections. According to her, if one quale is headed, then the set of projectable qualia is restricted to the headed relation. On the issue of compositional mechanisms, Busa presents three mechanisms which according to her make use of the model presented above. Such mechanisms are type coercion, selective binding, and co-composition. She argues that these generative devices can be viewed as semantic transformations to account for the sense shifts of lexical item. She shows that type coercion allows expressions to change their type to accommodate different syntactic environments. According to her, the mechanism of co-composition can be thought as bilateral function - application, the first is that it accounts for the different meaning that a verb assumes in composition with different
complements, that is, it unifies different roles. She says that the second function is its involvement in accounting for the interpretation of compound forms.


In this paper authors contend that SIMPLE (Semantic Information for Multilingual Plurilingual Lexica) is a project within the Language Engineering program which seeks to develop wide coverage semantic lexicons for twelve European languages. They maintain that in this project they use a harmonized common model that encodes semantic types and semantic frames. They argue that apart from focusing on its mandate, this project also provides a framework for testing and evaluating current approaches in lexical semantics which connect semantics to syntax. They contend that such approaches should be tested with wide –coverage and multilingual implementations, and with respect to their actual usability and usefulness in the real-world systems of both mono-and multi-lingual nature.

According to the authors, this project adds a semantic layer to a subset of the existing morphological and syntactic layers.

Authors state that in this project the formal representation of the ‘conceptual core’ of the lexicons was specified. There was also a need to identify elements of a semantic vocabulary that were both language specific and those that are generic to all languages. According to the authors, the basic vocabulary in this project relies on the extension of Qualia Structure. They further state that Qualia Structure involves four different roles as shown below:

1. **the formal role** – provides the information that distinguishes an entity within a larger set;
2. **the constitutive role** – expresses a variety of relations concerning the internal constitution of an entity;
3. **the telic role** – concerns the typical function of an entity, that is to say what the entity is for;
4. **the agentive role** – concerns the origin of an entity, or its coming into being.

Authors maintain that these Qualia roles play a prominent role in determining the linguistic behaviour of word senses, as well as in the generative mechanisms. They argue that Qualia Structure can be used in all parts of speech, and that it seems as if it may be more suitable for certain types of nominals. They postulate that in this project, Qualia Structure has been used as a basic syntax for constructing word meanings and that each role can be viewed as an independent dimension of the vocabulary for semantic description. The authors indicate that in SIMPLE they have introduced the notion of Extended Qualia Structure in order to express fine-grained distinctions between the larger varieties of semantic types. They argue that in the Extended Qualia Structure each of the four roles is placed on
the hierarchy of other more specific Qualia information, representing more fine–grained subtypes. Authors state four reasons why this project should be viewed as a useful resource:

i. Its thoroughness of description and its ability to cover different semantic aspects, and in the choices made I combining them in a global model.
ii. Its application of the same model to so many languages of different types.
iii. Establish a common methodology for using top-up and bottom-up strategies.
iv. Possibility to verify a number of theoretical claims regarding a number of entries.

Authors indicate that in order to combine the theoretical framework with the practical lexicographic task, they have created templates which provide the formal specifications and guide subsequent encoding. They assert that the SIMPLE model contains three types of formal entities:

1. **Semantic Units** – word senses are encoded as Semantic Units or SemU.
2. **Semantic type** – each type involves structured information, organized in the four Qualia roles.
3. **Template** – a schematic structure which a lexicographer uses to encode a given lexical item.

They assert that the SIMPLE model provides the specification for the representation and encoding of the following information: (i) Semantic type (ii) Domain information (iii) Lexicographic gloss (iv) Argument structure (v) Selectional restrictions (vi) Event type

Linking of the arguments to the syntactic subcategorization frames (Vii) Qualia structure (viii) Polysemous alternation (xi) Cross-part-of-speech relations

Authors state that the semantic types form a general ontology which is subdivided into two layers, the first is the core ontology, which is formed by those types which have been identified as the central and common ones, appearing on the top nodes in the hierarchy; and the second is the recommended ontology, formed by more specific types and appears in the lower nodes in the hierarchy. They contend that in this project they apply the principles of Qualia Structure to design the top-level ontology following the orthogonal organization of semantic types. In their view, the orthogonal structure is more useful than the conventional taxonomic structure because it organizes the semantic types along multiple dimensions. They illustrate their contention by providing the example below: (1) TELIC [Top] (2) AGENTIVE [Top] Cause [Agentive] (3) CONTITUTIVE [Top] Part [Constitutive] Body part [Part] Group [Constitutive] Human_group [Group] Amount [Constitutive] (4) ENTITY [Top] Concrete_entity [Entity] Location [Concrete_entity]…

The authors indicate that the semantic contribution of the **Constitutive** is fully determined by meronymic (part/whole) relations with other SemUs. According to them this provides a rich representation for SemUs that are not captured in the conventional structure. They also maintain that formal ontologies such as shown above represent a useful resource which provide for different systems of Natural Language Processing (NLP) such as Information Extraction, Information Retrieval, Word Sense Disambiguation, etc., with the information they may need with regard to the conceptual content.
of words. Authors postulate that they have created a wide range of ontologies to meet requirements of specific domains and purposes. They also indicate that building an ontology for general-purpose such as SIMPLE is problematic since different users might extend it in order to meet their needs. According to them this will need SIMPLE to provide a general framework for semantic encoding.

They contend that in SIMPLE these requirements are complied with. They maintain that in SIMPLE a wide set of features and relations which are organized along the four Qualia roles is given. They assert that in SIMPLE features characterize those attributes for which a closed and restricted range of values, such as male female, positive or negative; and that relations between SemUs have been defined for those aspects which cannot be easily reduced to a closed range of attribute-value pairs. They further argue that in this project relations are organized in a taxonomic hierarchy, allowing the generating of further refined subtypes of a relation. They maintain that templates provide information that is type-defining for a semantic type.

They present two types of templates, the general structure and a specific structure associated with a particular type, e.g. Instrument. They maintain that the slots in the templates are filled with the information which is associated with a given word sense.

The authors compare SIMPLE with WordNet (Fellbaum 1998). They argue that in WordNet semantic lexical information is presented in a hierarchical structure connecting a given synset to a top node expressing the -isa relation. According to the authors the nodes of the -isa hierarchy refers to various and heterogeneous kinds of information. They contend that in the WordNet description presented by Fellbaum there is information referring to constitutive aspect, information referring to the purpose and the information on the origin, which falls under formal. The authors also find other information related to the domain of a word. Authors have observed that the information contained in WordNet is not fully explicit and that as a result cannot be easily accessed by applications. They observe that same type of information are not placed in the same location within the -is hierarchy which makes it difficult for users to select information they might be looking for.

Authors assert that SIMPLE sorts out the various types of information associated with the sense of a given word. They postulate that the semantic information is inserted into a structured hierarchy and that this information is made fully explicit and thereby made accessible to users. They further contend that in SIMPLE lexical information is structured in terms of small, local semantic networks. They maintain that in this project a description of argument structure and selectional restrictions of predicative entries is provided. They argue that the qualia information captures the quite fine-grained classes of word senses. They contend that qualia information is also useful for capturing similarities between word senses.
2.5.4 Busa, F, N, Calzolari, A, Lenci, and J, Pustejovsky. (2001)

In this paper, the authors present current development in Generative Lexicon theory where qualia structure provides the basic building blocks for structuring and generating concepts. The focus is on the implementation of the GL (Generative Lexicon) within the EU sponsored SIMPLE (Semantic Information for Multipurpose Plurilingual Lexica) project, which involves the development of large scale lexicons (10,000 words senses) for 12 different languages.

According to the authors their goal is to capture the range of the expressive possibilities of any given concept. In their view there is a need for representational system that allows defining word meaning in a very rich and well-motivated fashion since in their view ISA (international semantic analysis) does not represents this fully. They provide the sentences below as their examples:

1. a. John hits the target on the wall (physical object)  
   b. Fiat has not yet reached the $1 billion targets for this year. (Abstract-scalar-Quantity)  
   c. John’s target is Mary’s affection (abstract-mental)

2. a. ii Collegamento Fra le pagine web. (virtual –object)  
   b. ii Collegamento fra le Roma e New York. (flight/route)

3. a. The main component of relativity theory status that …… (proposition)  
   b. Your car will not run without this component (physical-object)  
   c. Your formula is missing a key component, namely two atoms of hydrogen. (natural-kind)

4. a. IBM launched a new product. (software)  
   b. The product of his best thinking is in the third chapter (abstract-entity)  
   c. The bombing of Iraq was the product of their diplomatic efforts (events)

5. John made many mistakes  
   a. In his paper (typos)  
   b. In his relationship with Mary (eventualities)

6. a. L’allergia alle api; the allergy to bees  
   b. L’allergia al latte; the allergy to milk  
   c. L’allergia al fumo the allergy to the smoke

According to the authors, these examples provide further evidence to the widely shared view that the semantic potential of a lexical item is not reducible to a single descriptive component of an entity it denotes, but carries additional information along multiple dimensions. They further contend that for the same lexical item, certain aspects of its meaning are contextualized while others are fixed in all contexts.
They stipulate that current model define semantics classes along one single parameter; thus class membership remains in general an open and difficult problem. To illustrate the nature of the problem, they presented the example below:

(7)  a. The terrorist **kept** the hostage for a week (Possession)  
     b. The prison cell **keeps** the hostage secure (secure)  
     c. The terrorist **kept** the hostage well-fed (feed)  
     d. John **keeps** his books in the closet (location)  
     e. John **keeps** arguing. (aspectual-like)

The authors argue that in the above example the predicative is so underspecified that under an approach that aims at identifying each sense of a verb in a context with a priori semantic class, the verb *keep* would represent a serious problem.

They also provide the verbs below, which could be classified in a number of different ways:

(8)  a. The boat **sank** in the middle of the Atlantic.  
     (Change of location, change of state, motion)  
     b. The roof collapsed (destruction, change of location, change of state)

(9)  a. The television **broke** (change of state)  
     b. The glass **broke** (destruction, change of state)

According to the authors, something fundamental is being missed in this approach, namely the logical relationship between the senses, which is tantamount to explaining what sense combination are possible in a language. They contend that the current methodology for building ontology fails to capture additional aspects of word meaning which are equally important in language and equally necessary in the development of a computational lexicon.

The authors claim that the perspective which they have adopted for the study of concept derives from the view of the lexicon as it emerges in GL: all words have internal structures and differ in terms of internal complexity, which affect the way they compose in a sentence. They assert that the different degree of complexity of lexical items in GL is captured by means of qualia structure, summarized below:

- **FORMAL ROLE** - provides the information that distinguishes an individual within a larger set. It can be expressed as the ISA relation which applies to all categories of the language.
- **CONSTITUTIVE ROLE** - expresses a variety of relations concerning the internal constitution of an entity or event.
- **TELIC ROLE** expresses the typical function of an entity, the purpose for carrying out an event, i.e. what the entity is for.
- **AGENTIVE ROLE** expresses the origin of an entity, or the coming into being of a property or of an event.
They describe qualia structure as a representational tool for expressing the componential aspect of word meaning. They hold the view that qualia structures provide a very powerful tool for studying the recursive processes that give rise to the different degrees of complexity of concepts. They present the example below, where T1-Tn represents possible semantic types with different structural properties:


The authors contend that each qualia role in (10) above can be viewed as an “independent” element of the vocabulary for semantic description, which enters into the construction of a concept. In their view, qualia roles can be seen as general principles for understanding/constructing a concept. They define qualia roles are abstract element of the vocabulary that distinguishes semantic types in terms of different degrees of complexity, as determined by their internal semantic constituency.

According to the authors, there are three different conceptual types that can be generated by the lexicon; namely: Simple types, Unified types, and Complex types.

They describe the simple type as a type that denotes an entity for which only the formal and/or constitutive quale is specified. The fragment below shows how the relation between simple type can be expressed in terms of flat taxonomy.

According the authors, unified types implement the principle of orthogonal inheritance which allows the lexical item to fall into multiple classes along different dimension of meaning, and each dimension is specified in terms of qualia role. They claim that for each simple type in the tree they can generate a corresponding type artifactual entities of all sorts.

They assert that a unified type is created by recursively combing a simple or another unified type with additional element from qualia structure. They argue that the structure in (12) can add the Telic role to give rise to the concept of artifact –tool.

According to the authors, complex types involve more than one type: books are both information and physical object and door is both oparture and physical object. They contend that in the complex type the set of simple type and element of the set of unified types are combined.

The authors contend that each semantic type may have different properties, and as a result different linguistic behavior may be expressed by a lexical item. They use the nouns stone and chair as their examples. According to them, both denote a physical-object in one area, yet differ in other aspects. They give the examples below as their illustrations:
2.5.5 Miller G.A (1990a)

In this chapter, Miller (1990a) discusses the semantic relations between word senses. He indicates that WordNet contains almost 80,000 noun word forms organized into some 60,000 lexicalised concepts. He shows that many of the nouns in WordNet are collocations. Miller asserts that WordNet does not include proper nouns, but does include common nouns. He contends that the semantics of WordNet is based on the notion of word sense that lexicographers have used in writing dictionaries.

Miller stipulates that WordNet is not a conventional dictionary that has been made readable by a computer. He shows that while the two differ in their lexical entry, much of the information found in the lexical entry of a conventional dictionary has been omitted in WordNet. He shows that no attempt has been made in WordNet to accommodate pronunciation, derivate morphology, etymology, usage notes or pictorial illustration. According to Miller, WordNet tries to make the semantic relations between word senses more explicit and easier to use.

He asserts that the basic semantic relation in WordNet is synonymy. He points out that sets of synonyms, abbreviated as synsets form the basic building block. He indicates that the notion of synonymy used in WordNet does not entail interchangeability in all contexts, because, he claims, by that criterion natural languages have few synonyms. He asserts that WordNet synonyms can be interchanged in some contexts. He refers to this kind of phenomenon as synonymy relative to a context.

Miller cites Spark Jones (1964, 1986), who used the word *run* for what Miller calls synsets. Miller shows that Jones selects a particular word form in a sentence and searches for other word forms that can be substituted for it without changing the way the sentence can be employed. Miller indicates that a set of word forms that are interchangeable in some context would constitute a run, her basic element.

Miller shows that Jones uses this basic element differently. According to Miller, Jones builds a ‘synonymy system’ on the assumption that two runs are similar if they have a word form in common. Her examples are *pellet* and *injection*, which Miller indicates them as similar because, she claims if given appropriate contexts, both can be substituted for *shot*. Miller also asserts that Jones speculates that some chain of runs might be found connecting any two words in the same part of speech.

Miller claims that this structure of the two systems, i.e. Jones and his, are very different, because in WordNet, synsets are linked by semantic relations. He shows that most synsets are accompanied by the kind of explanatory gloss that is provided in conventional dictionaries, but, he claims, this does not mean a synset is equivalent to a dictionary entry. He argues that dictionary entries for polysemous words have several different glosses, whereas a synset has only a single gloss. He asserts that a
dictionary entry can contain semantic information that, in WordNet, would be distributed over several distinct synsets, one for each meaning.

Miller contends that although synonymy is a semantic relation between word forms, the one applicable to WordNet is the semantic relation between lexicalized concepts, what he calls the relation of subordination (or class inclusion subsumption), which is referred to as hyponymy. To illustrate this point, Miller gives an example of an English noun **robin**, which he claims is a hyponym (subordinate) of the noun **bird**. He further shows that **bird** will then conversely become the hyponym superordinate of **robin**. He contends that this kind of semantic relation organizes nouns into a lexical hierarchy.

To illuminate what lexical hierarchy refers in a WordNet, Miller considers the definition of **robin** as given by conventional: dictionary: `’a migratory bird that has a clear melodious song a reddish breast with grey or black upper plumage’`. Miller stipulates that this definition exemplifies a common definition formular for a noun. According to Miller, the common definition of a noun consists of a hyponym or genus by relative clauses that describe how this instance differs from all other instances of that hyponym.

Miller points out that if the above definition should be taken further in the conventional dictionary, the noun bird might be defined as a warm-blooded egg-laying animal having furthers and forelimbs modified as wings. He further shows that again another definition of **animal** may emanate, which may be defined as ‘an organism capable of voluntary movement and possessing sense organs and cells with non cellulose walls. He indicates that, again another definition of organism will come out, which will be defined as a living entity. He asserts that in this way, each hyponym leads on to a more generic hyponym.

Miller maintains that when these relations are represented in WordNet, we find that hyponym cannot be represented as a simple relation between word forms. He indicates that hyponym is a relation between lexical senses of words. He contends that this relation is represented by a pointer between appropriate synsets in WordNet, e.g.

1. `{robin, redbreast} a → {bird} a → {animal, animate being} a → {organism, life form, living_thing}

He maintains that brackets indicate a synset and a → is the transitive, a symmetric, which means that semantic relation can be read ‘is - A’ or ‘is - A - KIND - of’. Miller asserts that this design creates a sequence of levels to a few generic terms at the top. He further asserts that a valuable consequence of representing hyponymy is this manner is that for each hyponymic relation that points in the opposite direction.

Miller indicates that whenever it is the case that a noun synset Ss a → another noun synset Sg, there is always an inverse relation, Sg ~→ Ss. According to him this means that if Sg is the hyponym of Ss,
then Ss is the hyponym of Sg. He further indicates that the inverse semantic relation $\sim \rightarrow$ indicates ‘subsumes’, i.e. go from generic to specific, i.e. from hypernym to hyponym.

Miller maintains that since a noun usually has a single hypernym, lexicographers include it in the definition, and that since as noun can have many hyponyms, lexicographers seldom list them. He however shows that one uses the generalization relation in WordNet it is easy to move from more specific terms to generic terms, or vice versa.

He shows that all the information required to construct these relations is available in a conventionary dictionary, but it is not presented in a way that makes it easy to find. Miller asserts that what emerges from this representation is a lexical hierarchy, or tree diagram. He describes it as a defining property of tree graphs that they branch from a single stem without forming circular loops. He shows that loops sometimes do arise in conventional dictionaries. He gives an example of an instance where word $a$ is used to define word $b$, and word $b$ is also used to define word $a$, and that the pair of this synonyms is left unrelated to anything else.

He argues however that the fundamental design that lexicographers try to impose on the semantic organization of nouns is not a circle, like what has been demonstrated above, but a hierarchy. He asserts that such sorts of hierarchies are mostly used by computer scientists as a means of representing knowledge. He contends that the hierarchies have the advantage that information common to many items in the database need not be stored with every item. He asserts that such hierarchies are called inheritance systems by computer scientists, because they think of specific items inheriting information from their generic superordinates. He indicates that this means that all the properties of superordinate are assumed to be properties of subordinate as well, i.e. instead of being listed redundantly with both items; those properties are listed only with the superordinate.

Miller argues that inheritance often do well for names. He illustrates that this view in this manner: if you are told that someone has a Collie named Rex, Rex immediately inherits all the properties of Collies. He shows that since you have been told that Rex inherits all the properties that define Collie, which for example, is the attribute of voluntary movement, which Collie inherits from animal. Miller postulates that this lexical structure implies that a linear reasoning process must be part of the process of lexical retrieval, i.e. for example, if Rex is a Collie; then Rex is a dog, then Rex is an animal; and if Rex is an animal, then Rex is capable of voluntary movements.

Miller maintains that huge amount of information can be inherited using this system. He gives an example, by demonstrating how the hypernyms of the North American robin can be arranged in WordNet using this system: - robin $\rightarrow$ thrush $\rightarrow$ oscine $\rightarrow$ passerine $\rightarrow$ bird. He asserts that robin possesses the features of perching, which can be inherited from passerine, singing from ascine,
and flying and migration from thrush. He shows that not all of these features of robins need to be directly specified as features of robins.

Miller contends that the nouns in WordNet form a lexical inheritance system, i.e. a systematic effort has been made to connect hyponyms with their hypernyms, and vice versa. He postulates that WordNet assumes that there is a distinction between synonymy and hyponym. He however, acknowledges that in practice, the distinction is not always clear. He gives an example where a conventional dictionary can include in its entry for *board* the information that this word can be substituted for *surfboard* in some sentences. He shows that in addition to the generic meaning of *board*, there are hyponyms of this generic meaning that a conventional dictionary may treat as synonyms of different senses of *board*.

He argues that if information were entered this way in WordNet, there would be some discrepancies with the system, as a request for information about the hypernyms of *board* would elicit the same path twice, one path be prefaced by {surfboard, board 2} a → {board 1}. He maintains that cases such as these where a noun is its own hyponym, has been avoided in WordNet. He argues that in WordNet it is not made explicit that board is frequently used to refer to specific kinds of boards, i.e. *surfboard*, *skateboard*, *chess board*, etc.

He further contends that WordNet presupposes a linguistic knowledge of anaphoric relations. He gives an example of an instance where an anaphor can be a hypernym of its antecedent, e.g. *I thought it was a robin but the bird flew before I could get close enough to be sure*. He shows that generally a hypernym can replace a more specific term.

Miller suggests that one way to construe the hierarchical principle is to assume that all nouns are contained in a single hierarchy. He contends that using this system, some empty synset are put at the top; i.e. to make {^} the hypernym of every synset that does not have a hypernym, thus pulling all nouns together into a single hierarchical structure. He shows that in this way, every synset will have a hypernym except one, and that the single exception would be the unique beginner for all the other.

Miller asserts that WordNet divides the nouns into several hierarchies, each with a different unique beginner. He shows that these multiple hierarchies correspond to relatively semantic fields, each with its vocabulary. He asserts that since the features that characterize a unique beginner are inherited by all its hyponyms, a unique beginner corresponds roughly to a semantic component in a compositional theory of lexical semantics.

Miller postulates that the lexical source files in WordNet use the set of 25 unique beginners:

- {act, activity}, {animal, fauna}, {artifact}, {attribute}, {body}, {cognition, knowledge}, {communication}, {event, happening}, {feeling, emotion}, {food}, {group, grouping},
Miller maintains that these hierarchies vary widely in size and are not mutually exclusive—some cross-referring is required. He shows that the hierarchies cover distinct conceptual and lexical domains. He shows that possible adjective-noun combination has also been incorporated.

He contends that some natural groupings among these unique beginners were noted after compilation. He shows that 8 were concerned with nouns denoting tangible things; 5 could be grouped as abstractions, and 3 more as psychological features. Tops file was created in order to include this semantic relations in the system, necessarily, reduced the number of unique beginners from 25 to 11.

Miller shows that this reduction did not come as a surprise, since it is typical of lexical inheritance to seldom go more than 10 or 12 levels deep.

Miller argues that although the general structure of noun hierarchies is generated by the hyponym/hypernym relations, it is not obvious how this knowledge is represented in a person’s lexical memory. He supposes that conceptual details are given by those features that distinguish one concept from another. He illustrates this view by giving an example that a robin is a bird that is colorful, sings, and flies. He contends that when the word form *robin* be entered as a hyponym of *bird*, the attributes of *color* and *singing* and flying must be somehow be associated with robin. He also shows that *robin* must inherit from *bird* the fact that birds are warm-blooded vertebrates that have beaks, wings, and feather, and that they lay eggs, which are the features which must somehow associated with *bird*. Miller argues that in order to make all of this information available when *robin* is activated, it must be possible to associate *robin* appropriately with at least three different kinds of distinguishing features:

(i) attributes : is red breasted, (warm-blooded, vertebrate)

(ii) parts : has (beak, feathers, wings); and

(iii) functions : sings, flies, (lay eggs).

Miller asserts that although each kind of distinguishing feature should treated differently, e.g. attributes are objectives, parts are nouns, and functions are verbs, he indicates that most cognitive theories of how this knowledge is represented treat all features the same way. Miller contends that given lists of such features associated with each synset, the approach to define a hyponyms would be: when the features characterizing nynset \{A\} are all included among the features characterizing synset \{B\}, but not vice versa, then \{B\} is a hyponym of \{A\}. 
He further contends that if features are used to define a hyponym, then features become centrally important. He points out that many cognitive psychologists have doubled that all words can be so easily characterized by such lists of defining features. Miller argues that the doubts are about cognitive processes whereby such relations are realized in human lexical memory. He asserts that the problem arises when one looks for experimental evidence that inclusion relations between lists of features actual exists in the mind of people who know and use these words.

He gives an example of the experiment conducted in 1969 by Collins and Quillian, in which they reported that the time required to verify the statement *A robin is a bird* is shorter than the time required to verify *A robin is an animal*. According to Miller, these researchers claimed to have observed the effect of distance in a lexical hierarchy, which pointed out that longer distance in the hierarchy take longer to traverse in thought. He argues that this led to subsequent researches in lexical hierarchies.

Miller shows that one such researchers was Smith and Medin (1981), who referred to featural explanation of hyponym as the “classical view”. They found that the time to verify that *a chicken is a bird*, even though *chicken* and *robin* stand in the same taxonomic relation to *bird*. Miller shows that they found that the problem is that *robins* are more typical of birds than *chickens* are. However, Miller shows that this classical view makes no allowance for typicality. He also argues that this view does not make it clear whether it will predict faster verification with immediate or with remote hypernyms.

Miller indicates that studies in which people are asked to rate typicality show that people agree constantly about typical instances and that the rating have little to do with frequency or familiarity. Miller shows that another view was of Rosch who argued that a concept is not represented by a list of distinguishing features, but by the focal instances (prototypes). He shows that Lakoff (1987) developed this view. He shows that prototypicality theory accommodates disjunctive concept, which are not allowed under the classical theory. He shows that Lakoff gave an example of Dyirbal concept “balan”, which includes women, fire, dangerous things, and several other items.

Miller argues that although verbs, adjectives, and adverbs seem to be organized differently, they are convinced that the hierarchical structure of the noun lexicon fit linguistic facts. He gives an example of sentences; *A pistol is more dangerous than a rifle* and *A pistol is more dangerous than a gun* and *a gun is more dangerous than a pistol*. According to Miller the first sentence states a sensible comparison, but the other two are interpretable. He argues that there seem to be some linguistic prohibition against comparative constructions linking hypernyms and hyponyms, as in the last two sentences. He argues that but such a prohibition could work only if the grammatical rule could apply to lexical hierarchies generally and if the hyponym - hypernym were immediately available to the linguistic processor.
He argues that hierarchical organization of nominal concepts appears to be a necessary feature of the mental dictionary. He is of the view that typicality and hierarchy coexist, i.e. more information must be stored with every lexicalized concept than is required to establish its position in a lexical hierarchy.

He further contends that hyponyms and hypernyms do share features of meaning, but that associations based non shared features of meaning are only part of the associative structure of lexical knowledge. He shows that the mental dictionary also includes associations between words that frequently occur together. He further shows that WordNet provides account of paragmatic associations, but contains almost nothing about syntagmatic associations.

He shows that WordNet suffers from what Roger Chaffin has called the tennis problem. He shows that if one wanted to learn the specialized vocabulary of tennis would find it in the noun person file, and that tennis equipment artifact, the tennis court in the noun location, etc. He contends that nouns that co-occur in discussions of tennis are scattered around WordNet with nothing to pull them together.

He indicates that the organization of WordNet is provided by pointers that represent semantic relations, not by lists of features. He maintains that nouns in the WordNet consist of synset that are organized into hierarchies by pointers representing hyponym and hypernym.

Miller maintains that though evidence exists for the cognitive reality of lexical hierarchies of nouns, there are still various kinds of information that are not available in WordNet, which are available in a person’s mental dictionary. He shows that the is-not A relation is not used in WordNet, e.g. A whale is not a fish. He further argues that there is a problem with the use of a →. He shows that this kind of symbol represents more than one semantic relations. He shows that one is-A-KIND-of relation. He shows that when human artifacts are involved another semantic relation is used, which is, is-USED-AS-A-KIND-of. Miller indicates that Wierzbicka calls these hyponymies “taxanomic” and “functional”, respectively, while Pustejovsky (1991) calls them “formal” and “telic”. He gives an example of a poker. He shows that (formally) is a metal rod that (telically) is used to stir burning logs. He indicates that there are instances where the hypernym is purely formal, e.g. A thrush is a bird, and sometimes purely telic, e.g. Anadornment is a decoration.

Miller asserts that there are three possibilities for dealing with the situation where the formal and that telic hypernym are available.

He indicates that the first one is to let a → represent both formal and telic relations at the same time. He gives an example of poker, where a → where fire and iron, i.e., both form and function are represented. They contend that the second possibility is to point to more than one hypernym, i.e. it may refer to more than one thing, e.g. {written - agreement} a → {legal - document} represents a formal relation and {written - agreement} a → {agreement} represent a telic relation, i.e. written -
agreement refers to both *document* and *an agreement*. He asserts that the final one is that the hyponym can be split into two different synsets, one with a formal hypernym and the other one with a telic hypernym, e.g. `{chicken} a → may refer to bird (which is formal) and may serve as food, which is telic as in a sentence like *Chicken is a bird that is used for food*.

Miller maintains that WordNet draws no distinction between proper and common nouns, or between mass and count nouns.

He also shows that WordNet does not identify “basic level” or “generic concepts”. He cites Rosch et al (1976), who hold the view that for concepts at the basic-level, which is usually somewhere in the middle of the lexical hierarchy, people can list many distinguishing features, e.g. *chair* that above the basic-level, little is added to the features that distinguish basic concepts, e.g. *throne*. Miller shows in terms of this view *chair* would be a basic-level concept.

Miller asserts that some claims have been made that the basic level is where the parts of something can be specified. He shows that tests of this hypothesis have been concerned primarily with words denoting physical objects.

He argues that there are not enough different semantic relations in WordNet. He shows that WordNet was limited to the semantic relations of broadest applicability and greatest familiarity. He further contends that WordNet does not include definitional glosses, as it was hoped that synonyms would disambiguate one another and that, for nouns, information about hypernyms and hyponyms would provide additional disambiguating information.

He asserts that as WordNet grew it became clear that it was much easier to read a definitional gloss than to try to infer it from the array of pointers associated with each synset. He argues that this need, led to the addition of explanatory phrases to most synsets, which are marked off from the rest of the synsets by parentheses. He shows that these parentheses glosses serve to keep the several senses of polysemous words distinct, although are redundant.

Miller maintains that in addition to the formal and telic roles of nouns, Pustejovsky (1991) proposes what he calls a “constitutive” role, which deals with the relation between an object and its constituents. He shows that this phenomenon is a relation between a noun that denotes a whole and the noun that denotes its parts, i.e. noun-noun relation.

He indicates that the part-whole relation between nouns is considered to be a semantic relation, called meronym, from the Greek *meros* ‘part’, comparable to synonym, antonym etc. He shows that this kind of relation also has inverse, i.e. if *Sm* is a meronym of *Sh*, then *Sh* is said to be a holonym of *Sm*. He said that using the conventional test phrases: *is a part or has* the inversion will read like this: If
Wm is a part of Wh, then Wm is a meronym of Wh, and if Wh was a Wm as a part, then, Wn is a holonym of Wm.

Miller asserts that in WordNet, meronym is found primarily in the noun body, noun artifact, and noun quantity files. He further shows that; meronymy is often compared to hyponymy in that both are asymmetric and transitive, and that both can relate terms hierarchically, e.g. parts can have a finger as a part of hand, and a hand is a part of an arm, and an arm is part of a body.

He further contends that tangled hierarchies are rare when hyponymy is the semantic relation, but common in meronymic hierarchies, e.g. point is a meronym of arrow, awl, dagger fish hook, etc. Miller argue that since hyponyms often inherit meronyms, these two entities are sometimes intertwined in complex ways, e.g. if {beak} and {wing} are meronyms of {bird}, and is {robin} is a hyponym of {bird}, then by inheritance, {beak} and {wing} must also be meronyms of {robins}.

Miller contends that another fact that complicates the relationship between meronymy and hyponymy is that parts can serve as hyponym as well as meronyms, e.g. {beak, bill, neb and nib} is not only a meronymy of {bird}, but is a hyponym of {jaw}, which in turn is a meronym of {skull} and a hyponym of {skeletal structure}.

Miller maintains that evidence shows that the is a part of construction is not always a reliable test of meronymy, because in many instances transitivity is limited. He cites Lyons (1977), who notes that handle is a meronym of door and door is a meronym of house, yet it sounds odd to say The house has a handle or The handle is a part of house.

To rectify this problem, Miller cites Winston, Chaffin, and Hermann (1987), who found that cases of transitivity failures such as given by Lyons above indicate that different part-whole relations are involved in the two cases. They gave this example: The branch is a part of the tree and The tree is a part of the forest. According to Miller, these scholars found that the two sentences do not imply The branch is a part of the forest, because the branch/tree relation is not the same as the tree/forest relation. He argues that they suggest that is a part of is sometimes used when is attached to would be more appropriate.

Miller further postulates that Winston, Chaffin, and Hermann (1987), differentiate six types of meronyms, which are, component-object, e.g. branch/tree, member-collection, e.g. tree/forest, potion-mass, e.g. slice/cake, stuff-object, e.g. aluminum/airplane, feature-activity, e.g. paying/shopping, and place-area, e.g. Princeton/New Jersey. He further shows that these scholars (1998) add a seventh meronymy type, which is phase-process, e.g. adolescence/growing up. He maintains that Iris, Litowits, and Evens (1988), distinguish only four, which are, functional part, e.g. sheep/flock, and subset, e.g. meat/food.
Miller indicates that WordNet only have three types of meronymys, which are:

\[ Wm \#p \rightarrow Wn \] indicates that \( Wm \) is a component part of \( Wn \).

\[ Wm \#m \rightarrow Wn \] indicates that \( Wm \) is a member of \( Wn \), and

\[ Wm \#s \rightarrow Wn \] indicates that \( Wm \) is the stuff that \( Wn \) is made from.

Miller argues that deadjectival nouns, e.g. \textit{happiness} and \textit{unhappiness} which have been derived from the antonymous adjectives, \textit{happy} and \textit{unhappy}, occur primarily as hyponyms of attribute. He contends that although semantic opposition is not a fundamental organizing relation between nouns, it does exists and has its own representation in WordNet. He illustrates this view by the following example: \{\textit{man}! \rightarrow \{\textit{woman}\}\} and \{\{\textit{woman}\}! \rightarrow \{\textit{man}\}\}. He shows that the exclamation point represents the antonym relation, which the square brackets indicate the particular word forms that enter into this semantic relation. He however, asserts that this kind of opposition must be entered separately for every male/female pair of words. He further show that antonymous nouns nearly always have the same hypernym.

Miller indicates that another information regarding nouns which is available in WordNet is attributes and modification. He contends that values of attributes are expressed by adjectives. He gives an example of \textit{size} and \textit{color}, which are the attributes of \textit{robins}. He shows that the \textit{size} of \textit{robins} might be described as \textit{small}, while \textit{color} may be described by the adjective \textit{red}. He argued that \textit{size} and \textit{color} denote the attributes of \textit{robins}, while \textit{small} and \textit{red} are the adjectives of robins, and provide values of those attributes.

Miller maintains that nouns can serve as argument for attributes, e.g. \textit{SIZE (robin)} = \textit{small}, or \textit{COLOR (robin)} = \textit{red}. He shows that what the above example means is that the value of the attribute \textit{SIZE} when applied to \textit{robins} is \textit{small}; and the value of the attribute \textit{COLOR} when applied to \textit{robins} is \textit{red}. He argues that information such as an association between \{\textit{robin}\} and \{\textit{red}\}, which is a kind of selectional restriction for the adjective \textit{red}, has not been incorporated into WordNet because of their semantically complex nature.

He however, indicates that WordNet has the information on the connection between the attribute and the adjectives that express values of that attribute, e.g. between the noun \textit{size} and the adjectives \textit{large} and \textit{small}, or between the noun \textit{color} and the adjectives \textit{red} and \textit{yellow}. Miller argues that it should be possible in WordNet, although it is not incorporated now, to collect a large corpus of adjective-noun pairs using, the attribute connections encoded in WordNet to induce attributes of various nouns. He gives an example of a case where a dog can be \textit{friendly} or \textit{unfriendly}, which is clearly understood as attributes of \textit{friendliness} which a common attribute of dogs, but that \textit{stingy dog} or \textit{shallow dog} must be interpreted figuratively, since \textit{generosity} and \textit{depth}, unlike friendliness are not normal attributes of
canine. In other words, by interpreting what the *stingy dog* and *shallow dog* mean figuratively, one should be able to know whether they are *friendly* or *unfriendly*. He further indicates that children learn the hierarchical structure of nominal concepts by observing what can and cannot be predicted at each level. He gives an example of an instance where children may learn the semantic distinction between *animate* and *inanimate* nouns by observing that the adjectives *dead* and *alive* can be predicted of one class of nouns but not the other.

Miller asserts that adjectives play a role in WordNet in the formation of collocations or compounds that differentiate lexical concepts that are more specific than the basic level, e.g. adjectives can elaborate the basic concept {chair}: an *easy chair*, *high chair* etc. He shows that it is also possible to modify nouns that are pressed into service as adjectives, e.g. *barber chair*, *beach chair*, etc. He further contends that it is generally the case that a collocation of the form modifier + noun will be a hyponym of that noun.

Miller argues that while in most dictionaries similar meanings of a polysemous word, or meanings that have similar etymologies are grouped together, in WordNet, the meanings of polysemous nouns are arranged according to their relative frequencies of occurrence in the passages that have been semantically tagged. He indicates that although it would be possible to go through the polysemous nouns and manually insert connections between similar meanings that would be an enormous task that would require delicate semantic judgments.

Miller cites Phillip N. Johnson-Laird, who proposed that if two meanings of a word are similar, then the meanings of their hyponyms should be also be similar in the same way. He gives an example of the word *fish*. He says if two senses of the noun *fish* are related as *an animal* and *as a food*, then all the matching hyponyms for these two senses of *fish*, which include *perch*, *sole*, *bags*, will also bear that relation. That is to say, since one sense of *perch 1* is a hyponym of the animal *fish 1* and another sense of *perch 2* is a hyponym of the food *fish 2*, it should be the case that these two senses of *perch* are also related as an animal and its edible flesh. He shows that the pairs of hyponyms of these sorts, i.e. *perch 1* (as *an animal*) and *perch 2* (as a food), are called *cousins*.

Miller maintains that there are some instances of exceptions with the above mechanism which have also been noted. He gives an example of an instance where one hyponym of *animal* is coral (which grows into ocean reefs) and coral (lobster roe) is also a hyponym of food. Miller indicates that these two matching hyponyms of *animal* and *food* are not instances of an *animal* and its edible flesh. He shows that exceptions of this sort are recorded in separate lists.

Miller shows that the other bases for grouping are the ones called *sisters* and *twins*. He maintains that the sisters are word forms that are both immediate hyponyms of the same node in a tree structure. He contends that it is assumed that if two identical strings share the same hypernym, then their meaning
are similar. He gives an example of the noun *flounder* which can refer to different kinds of flatfish. He indicates that two senses of *flounder* may be grouped together as having similar meanings.

He asserts that the twins, is based on the assumption that if two synsets share the same word forms, then their senses are similar. He therefore defines twins as synsets that have three or more words in common. He gives an example of the word *due*. He shows that one sense of it is a musical group, and another is a musical composition, and that both synsets contain (duo, duet, duette). He argues that this kind of grouping occurs in WordNet, but only for nouns.

### 2.6 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

This chapter reviewed studies by some scholars on topics related to the issues that are examined in this study, namely noun classes in African Languages, derivation and morphology, and nominalisation. The chapter is structured into four main sections (excluding introduction and conclusion). Section 2.2. presented a review of the works of five scholars who addressed issues on Bantu noun classes. Section 2.3. presented a review of two scholars’ studies on derivation and inflection. Section 2.4. reviewed four works on nominalisation. Section 2.5., which is the last in this chapter reviewed five current works on the Generative Lexicon theory.

The first work that was reviewed on the African Languages noun classes in section 2.2. is that of Mufunwe (1987). In his work, Mufenwe examines Bantu noun classes with a view of establishing whether the class prefixes can play both inflectional and derivational roles. Mufunwe argues that nouns belonging to the same class usually have a partial semantic correlation, as in class 1/2 which denote humans. He observes that class membership varies from language to language, and that class membership is identified through a class prefix. He shows that class prefixes are attributed number-inflectional role, and that they are arranged in pairs, especially count nouns. Mufenwe argues that it may be possible for the class prefix to play a derivational role by changing a lexical meaning of a stem, in addition to the other role of being an inflectional marker. According to him, when the class prefix plays a derivational role, it assumes a role of being a derivational marker. Mufenwe distinguishes between two types of derivation, namely primary and secondary. He asserts that primary derivation involves the derivation of mass abstract from adjectives. Mufenwe argues that it may be possible in Bantu noun classes to derive nouns from other nouns. He demonstrates that it is also possible for the same stems to appear in two different classes with the same core-meaning. He expresses the opinion that it is possible to use the noun prefix to create backformtions. Furthermore, he maintains that class prefixes do not behave uniformly, that is, there are those which can appear in double in a single stem whereas there are those that appear alone. Mufenwe argues that locative prefixes should be treated as prefixes rather than prepositions.
The second work which was reviewed pertains to noun class in section 2.2. is that of Dingemanse. In this work, Dingamanse reviews three studies on Bantu noun classification. He contends that these three studies are concerned with how class systems came into being, that is, to determine whether noun allocation is arbitrarily or semantically motivated. The first is the work of Richardson (1967) who argues that in general class allocation is arbitrary but that current trends indicate that semantics also plays a role in the allocation of nouns to classes. Dingemanse asserts that Richardson expresses the view that it may be difficult to find a unified account of semantics of noun classes, with the exception of class 1/2 which refers to humans only. According to Dingemanse, Richardson argues that there are other factors involved in class allocation. Dingemanse contends that Richardson acknowledges that class allocation may have been done arbitrarily in the past, but that it seems as if now speakers reorganise the content of classes according to the conceptual categories. Dingemanse shows that Richardson held the view that objects can be classified in different ways, such as in terms of material or cultural function. Dingemanse shows that according to Richardson, it seems that not all classes may have originated simultaneously. He also shows that Richardson argues that the meaning of a noun changes when it is placed in a different class.

The second study that Dingemanse interrogates is that of Palmer and Woodman who examines the semantic content of Shona nouns in class 3. Dingemanse shows that the emphasis of the authors is on the role of cultural scenarios in noun classification, in addition to the widely recognised criteria, such as material substance, physical shape and others. Dingemanse shows that according to these scholars, class 3 is governed by mythical and ritual scenarios and that many nouns are related to the scenarios through their extensions, schematizations, and metaphorical and meta. According to Dingemanse the scholars devise conceptual links out of a large collection of Shona class 3 nouns. Dingemanse argues that this work is an extension of the notion of radical category expressed by Lakoff (1987). Dingemanse contends that the authors claim that there are signs of phonological form dictating class allocation. Dingemanse is concerned that these authors do not acknowledge that they are not the first to bring the notion of culture into class allocation. He also notes that the methodology used in this study is not very clear. He acknowledges that the type of analysis in this study can be extended to other Bantu noun class systems. Dingemanse argues that some of the claims that are made in this study are hard to verify empirically. He commends the study for suggesting another approach for class allocation in addition to looking on the semantics of words. Dingemanse shows that the issue of reduplication of Shona, which may be either partially or fully, has not been included in this study. Dingemanse shows that agreement patterns in discourse can throw light on the semantics of a class prefix.

The third study analysed by Dingemanse is that of Selvik on class 3, 5 and 7 Setswana nouns. Dingemanse argues that the scholar uses the schematic networks which are organised around prototypes which are also connected by different schemas. Dingemanse shows that Selvik arranged his
prototypes in this manner: class 3 is for tree prototype, class 5 is for fruit prototype, and class 7 is for instrument prototype. Dingemanse argues that class 3 nouns are regarded as the conceptual categories of living and long. Dingemanse observes that there is correlation between palmer and Woodman’s polycentric categories and selvik’s network. He contends that the only difference that obtains is with respect to their theoretical differences. Dingemanse asserts that Selvik’s view of class 7 nouns reflect typical elements and participants in a chain. He maintains that the study employs semantic principles that are used in many other languages. Dingemanse contends that Selveik’s experiment does not give information on the size of her sample. He commends her for the kind of study since in his view this is the first systematic attempt at assessing the cognitive reality of a semantic analysis of a Bantu noun system with regard to nonsense stems. Dingemanse is however, against the use of only one prototype for each class that she treats because there may be an extension in the future. In his conclusion, Dingemanse is against the view that nouns were allocated to their respective classes in an arbitrary manner. In his view, class allocation might have started arbitrarily, but in the process gradual evolution occurred which led to the semantic motivatedness. He argues that from the start, there should have been a criterion through which nouns were classified. He asserts that motivatedness was used even in the past; it is only that it was based on distinctions which are salient in the culture, such as metaphor and metonymy. He argues that when such choices become practices and such practices become conventions in the community, then such conventions become a system that is motivated. In his view, it may be difficult to start with arbitrary grammatical system than motivatedness. He argues that the irregularities in class allocation may be as result of these factors: (1) noun classes may not have originated simultaneously; (2) words in a particular class did not become members simultaneously. As he conclude, Dingemanse contends that all the three studies are not fully explicit about the theoretical status of the category structures they are proposing, that is, they do not tell whether the networks are cognitively real or not. He maintains that another draw back is that all of them do no tell whether the links between clusters of meaning are still real or not.

The other work which has been presented under noun classes in section 2.2. is of Denny and Creider (1976). These scholars discuss the semantics of noun classes in Bantu nouns. The come up with a system that should be encoded with gender noun classes. Denny et al argue against the general view that noun classes do not have intrinsic semantic content, except class 1/2. The authors contend that noun prefixes are arranged in terms of semantic content of the nouns that are those classes. They argue in favour of the visual appearance of things denoted by nouns in various classes. Their hypothesis is based on four classes, namely 5/6, 3/4, 9/10, and 10/11. They assert that nouns differ in terms of their extendedness and non-extendedness of their membership. They maintain that with count nouns, there are prefixes that classify them according to spatial configuration and those that are classified into kinds. According to them, noun classes can be associated with configurations or shape meaning. They
show that the configurational shape may be distinguished into solid and outline shape. In their view, spatial extention in abstract nouns may apply metaphorically.

They observe that the system concerned with kinds of count nouns is both easier and difficult to analyse. They argue that generally the semantic contents of noun classes are like this: 1/2 human, 9/10 animals, 3/4 plants, 5/6 fruits and 7/8 artifacts. Denny and Creider argue that mass nouns fall mostly to class 5, 14, 6, and 3. They contend that class 6 may include viscous substances. They maintain that it may be possible to distinguish homogenous, such as clay and wax from differentiated substances, such as brain and honeycomb substances. They observe that differentiated substances in class 14 have distinct parts. They argue that noun classes are realised as noun prefixes in Australian languages and in some in South America. They note that the manner in which the notion of extendedness applies with these languages is not the same as in Bantu languages. They also note that Burmese, which is one of the languages referred to above, use several classes for humans which reflect social status.

The fourth work falling under noun classes in section 2.2, which was reviewed in this chapter is of Dembetembe (1995). He discusses the status of secondary noun prefixes in Bantu with special reference to Shona. In this study, dembetembe focuses on three things, namely reassigned nouns classes, comment on Fortune’s treatment of secondary prefixes, and types of secondary prefixes. He argues that there are two ways of approaching reassigned noun prefixes, which are what he calls semantic-formal approach which deals with reassigned prefixes that involve semantic reclassification and those that involve semantic addition; and Primary-Secondary Prefix, which deal with reassigned prefixes which are either commentary or supplementary. Dembetembe criticises Fortune’s view that certain secondary prefixes indicte special or abnormal specimens of item refered. According to Dembetembe, the sole function of these prefixes is to assign the feature human to non-human nouns. He also shows that the examples which Fortune gives appear to be primary than secondary. Dembetembe distinguishes between nouns which commonly occur with the feature human and those that do not commonly with it. According to Dembetembe, classes 7 and 14 are for manner and abstractness. He also discusses double commentary prefixes and their references and double commentary prefixes and their references.

The fifth work reviewed in this chapter on noun classes in section 2.2. is that of Louw (1973). Louw discusses nouns belonging to class 7 with a view of examining their semantics and contents. Louw observes that Grivon who expresses the view that class 1 is for humans, class 15 for infinitives, class 14 for abstract nominalisation and class 12/13 is for diminutives. Louw is in favour of the binary opposition of semantic features. According to Louw, noun classes have to be approached through the notion of marked and the unmarked. In his view, class 1/2 is marked for humans, while class 3/4 is marked for noh-humans. Louw expresses the roles of the verbal suffixes in this manner: -i indicates direct involvement, -o indicates non-direct involvement, -a indicates either direct or indirect
involvement, -e refers to state, and -u implies a characteristic. In his view, class 7 refers to prominence, projections, and excrescence. Louw argues that class 8 has certain irregular reflexes in Ngunu. According to Louw, non-human nouns that occur in classes 1 (a) and 2 (a) are for personifications. He contends that classes 5 – 10 are marked for both human and non human. He shows that terminative vowels of stems may be isolated as productive formatives, but in some instances vowel meaning may be neutral or non existent. He asserts that the tonal pattern of the deverbatives noun system is conditioned by various considerations. He argues that deverbative nouns in Xhosa referring to humans usually ends with the terminative vowels -a, -e, -i and -o. He also notes that passive stems have nearly always a high tone on the terminative -a. He maintains that there are different tones for apparently similar stems. He also contends that all nouns ending in vowel -i in Xhosa are deverbatives. Louw demonstrates that class 7 in Xhosa refers to various things. Louw expresses the view that class 14 in Xitsonga deals with abstraction only.

The study conducted by Beard (1993) on derivation is the first to be reviewed under section 2.3. In this study, Beard discusses derivation by contrasting it with inflection since according to him it may not always be easy to distinguish the two processes. According to him, the view that inflection specifies the grammatical function while derivation results in the formation of new words is a traditional one and he wants to demonstrate that this may not always be the case. He critically interrogates the lexicalist’ viewpoint that words are derived in the lexicon and emerge with internal structure to which syntax has access. According to him lexicalism involves a set of diagnostics which amongst other claim that inflection is only relevant to syntax and that the output of inflection cannot be listed lexically as is the case with the output of derivation. He shows that there is also an assumption that inflection markers occur outside derivational markers. Beard asserts that although there may be some truth in this assertion, but there are instances where inflection markers occur inside derivational markers. According to beard, it is not very clear whether N, V, A are lexical or syntactic categories. He shows that diminutives which are treated as inflection markers does not change the referential category of its base but is able to create a new word.

Beard states three accounts of derivation which it is usually assumed that they apply to derivation only and not to inflection, which are: (i) a matter of lexical selection, (ii) involves a process of reduplicating affixes, and (iii) derivation is a static paradigmatic lexical relations. Bear further state that the lexical entry of derivational rules has three features, namely phonological, a grammatical subcategorisation frame, and a semantic interpretation. Beard argues that morphology involves more types of marking than just affixation. He demonstrates that both inflection and derivation are characterised by reduplication, and infixation. Beard is against the issue of applying syntactic principles on the lexical item, where affixes are treated as heads of such words. In his view affixes cannot be heads. He argues that the head of a word is its root or stem. Beard contends that analytical compounds are not related to derivation. Other issues that he also include in his discussion are morphological asymmetry, that is,
grammatical functions are cofunctional and multifunctional, and cumulative exponence and extended exponence. Beard expresses the view that morphosemantics should be separated since according to him some of the things do not behave differently. He gives an example of backformation which according to him is not a derivational process because if one is not familiar with them they may not be able to use them. Beard treats clipping and acronymization in the same way as he treats backformation. Beard distinguishes four types of derivation, namely featural derivation, functional derivation, transposition and expressive derivation.

Stump’s study (1993) was the second to be reviewed under section 2.3. In this work Stump discusses inflection by contrasting it with derivation. He contends that it is not easy to distinguish derivation from inflection. According to Stump, words realising a particular lexeme constitute a paradigm and that root is a unit of form of all words in a paradigm. Stump argues that morphological devices can be used to deduce new lexemes from existing lexemes. He observes that morphology deduce an agentive nominal lexeme from verbal lexeme. Stump shows that generally, paradigm deducing is regarded as inflection while lexeme-deducing is labelled as new formation. Stump challenges the five criteria which are generally used to distinguish inflection from derivation in this manner: (i) some derivation is category-preserving, such as reade and reread, (ii) there are inflectional phenomena which change the word category, (iii) not all inflectional morphology relevant to syntax, (iv) Inflectional morphology may not always be productive, and (v) It may be possible for category preserving derivational morphology to appear outside of inflectional morphology. Stump argues that these criteria do not help in distinguishing the two processes. He contends that only careful constructed formal analysis can distinguish these two concepts. He shows that such as phenomena should cater for category-changing inflection and defective paradigms. Stumpard distinguishes five types of inflectional categories, namely tense, aspect, voice and mood.

The study on nominalisation conducted by Grimshaw (1990) was the first to be reviewed under section 2.4. In this study Grimshaw discusses English nouns with respect to argument structure. Her aim is to establish the similarities as well as the differences between nouns and verbs with respect to argument structure. She is against the view that nouns take arguments optionally but verbs take arguments obligatorily. She then demonstrates how ambiguity in the nominal system occurs, arguing that in some respects verbs and nouns seem to share complements taking properties, while in others they do not. She notes that subject clauses are obligatory while subjects of noun phrases are optional. She argues that nouns do not behave uniformly, some behaves like verbs; thereby taking arguments while some do not take arguments. She asserts that there are nouns that are ambiguous between two clauses, those that take arguments and those that do not take arguments. She argues that the division of these nominals corresponds to result versus process distinction. According to her, result nominals name the output of a process or an element associated with the process; whereas process nominal name a process or an event. She postulates that nouns with an associated event structure may be
classified into two groups, those that take arguments and those that do not take nominals. She calls the first group complex event nominals and the latter group result nominals. She however, contends that there are other process nominals which behave like result nominals, that is, those which do not have the event structure.

Grimshaw argues that complements to the complex event nominals are compulsory. She notes that certain modifiers occur with the event interpretation of particular nouns. According to her, result and simple nominals are not verb-like. Grimshaw shows that gerundive nominals, that is, -ing nominals behaves the same way as complex nominals. She contends that complex event nominals allow control into an infinitival purpose clause, in contrast with unambiguous result nominal which disallows control. She asserts that the two types of event nominals also differ in their ability to license aspectual modifiers like in *an hour*, *for six weeks*, and *while* clauses, in that complex event nominals admit these modifiers. Grimshaw contends that although complex event nominals and simple event and result nominals have related lexical meaning, only complex event nominals take arguments. She contends that lexical items specify another kind of position involved in the syntactic and semantic integration of lexical item to its containing units. According to Grimshaw, R serves as the external argument of nouns. She notices that Kratzer (1989) distinguishes stage-level predicates from individual-level predicates. She postulates that complex event nominals must have an external argument distinct from their thematic arguments, designated as EV while simple and result nominals have r as external argument. She states that the Ev must be most prominent.

Describing the nature of argument structure with respect to compounds, Grimshaw distinguishes two kinds of compounds, namely root and verbal or synthetic compounds. She shows that root compounds have heads with no argument structure while the head of a synthetic compound is an argument-taking element. Grimshaw show that nouns do not behave as full argument-takers in that they never take sentential argument or passive nominals. She also observes that nouns do not take direct arguments, that is, either an argument cannot satisfy the argument structure of a noun without help, or that the argument structure of a noun cannot licence an argument without help. In her view, this suggests that nouns take arguments only through the mediation of a preposition. According to her this makes nouns to be defective theta markers. She shows that verbs on the other hand, theta-mark an argument or can do it indirectly through a preposition. She asserts that according to theta theory, the direct argument, which is the head, must be able to assign case to the argument, something that she says happens with verbs and not with nouns. She shows that although nouns are defective theta markers, they can still be able to theta mark through the preposition which then transmits the theta role to the Np. She contends that sentential complements to nouns are always optional but not with the corresponding verb. Grimshaw argues that the behaviour of finite cimplements is that of result nominals. According to her passives also demonstrates clearly that nouns cannot theta mark by themselves. She distinguishes passive nominals from passive clauses. Grimshaw notes that the inclusion of a group adjective with an
Subjective interpretation makes the object of the noun obligatory. Grimshaw contends that nominals with passive form could be either complex event nominals or result/simple event nominal. She also observes that passive nominals fail to occur with aspectual adjuncts if the nominal does not denote event.

The second study to be reviewed in section 2.4. is that of Tsujimura (1992). This study investigates nominal clauses as predicates with deverbal nouns in Japanese. He examines conditions under which nominal clauses are licensed. He argues that syntactic and semantic requirements are necessary but not sufficient for licensing. He observes that the notion of prosodic licencing plays a crucial role in this case. According to Tsujimura, in some respects nominal clauses are similar to verbal clause in that the arguments of the predicative nominal are assigned verbal case such as nominative, accusative and dative. Tsujimura also notes that in other respects, nominal clauses and verbal clauses behave differently, especially regarding assignment of genitive case and verbal case. He contends that while the argument in a verbal clause can be assigned genitive case, the argument in a nominal clause can be assigned genitive case. According to Tsujimura, the nominal clause must be suffixed by morphemes that indicate some temporal/aspectual properties. He contends that deverbal noun in Japanese include those derived from a single verbal stem, single verb with its object compounded to it, and those consisting of two verbal stems compounded together. He argues that the focus in his paper however, is on deverbal nouns derived from a single verbal stem.

Tsujimura contends that Japanese deverbal nouns are identical in form with one type of conjugation form of a verb. He asserts that it is not clear from the surface morphology form whether nominal clause with (uketori) is a deverbal noun or the form of the verb. Tsujimura shows that in Japanese, temporal is affix is suffixed to nouns only. He argues that deverbal argument inherit their argument structure form their original verb. He observes that Grimshaw (1990) distinguishes between complex event nominals on the one hand, and simple event and result nominals, on the other hand. In his view, process nouns in Japanese do not take determiners while result nominals do. He asserts that nouns like event, race and trip are problematic since they denote both process and event, but they are closer to result nominals than to process nominals. He notes that complex event nominals and simple event and result nominals differ in terms of aspectual differences. Tsujimura considers Grimshaw’s view that only complex event nominals pattern like verbs in admitting aspectual modifiers. Tsujimura proposes what he calls argument – structural condition for Japanese deverbal nominals. He stipulates that according to this condition, if deverbal nouns in Japanese have argument structure (i) they should allow for event control, and (ii) demonstrate the same range of aspectual modifiers as their corresponding verbs admit. He then indicates that all of these predictions are possible in Japanese. In his view, resultative phrase may help to spell out the role of event structure because deverbal nominals that can generate well-formed nominal clause may co-occur with resultative phrase since such deverbatives have event structure.
Tsujimura argues that the noun that is marked with accusative case -o must have argument structure for the purpose of argument transfer. He notes that psych deverbal nouns are not compatible with ant aspectual morphems because the aspectual morphemes require that the noun denote event. Tsujimura asserts that nominal clause in Japanese imposes semantic constraint on the relation between a noun and a temporal affix. He also contends that some deverbal nouns are listed in dictionaries as full-fledged nouns denoting event, but without argument structure. He then suggests that in order for them to have argument structure, they should have event control in purpose clause. Tsujimura observes that some sentences include aspectual modifiers so as to force the event reading of the deverbal nominal. He notes that although the conditions stipulated above are necessary but are not sufficient for licencing a nominal clause in Japanese. Tsujimura disputes claims made by Lida (1987) that nominal clauses are grammatical with a deverbal noun whose corresponding verb is a compound but not with a deverbal noun that originates from a single verb. According to Tsujimura, even deverbal nouns with non-compound verbs as their base form can constitute a well formed nominal clause as long as they satisfy the prosodic requirement that they be at least four morae long in addition to the above stated conditions. He notes however, that the prosodic condition applies to deverbal nouns of Japanese origin only.

Siloni’s study (1997) was the third to be presented in section 2.4. This study discusses the similarities between verbs and derived nouns with particular focus to Hebrew. Siloni’s analysis follows that of Grimshaw. Siloni distinguishes event nominals and result nominals on the basis of argument structure. He holds the same view as Grimshaw that event nominals have argument structure, just like in the case of verbs. He asserts that since result nominals do not entail an event, therefore they cannot have argument structure and cannot discharge theta-roles. He shows that Hebrew event nominals display typical verbal properties and assign accusative case to the object. Siloni supports the view that event nominals can be adopted crosslinguistically. Siloni supports the lexicalist’s approach to event nominals, i.e. event/result distinction is part of lexical information of deverbal nominal. According to Siloni, nouns can either refer to event (process) or result, i.e. output of an event (process) or element associated with it. He argues that when when Grimshaw’s diagnostics are applied to Hebrew, they confirm the claim that event nominals have argument structure. He shows that such diagnostics include frequency modifiers, aspectual modifiers, agent oriented adjectives, infinitival clauses, and by phrases.

Siloni contends that resemblance of Hebrew event nominals to verbs is more salient since they can even be modified by adverbs and even take accusative complements. Siloni claims that the event nominals are represented in the lexicon as nouns, but inserted in syntax as verbs that are nominalised in the course of derivation via-V-raising to N. He shows that the same opinion is expressed by Borer (in progress) when he says that event nominals are derived in syntax across languages and that eventhood and argument structure characterise verbs and not nouns. Siloni argues that the
incorporation of V into N involves a semantically “empty” noun which inherits the semantic content of the incorporated verb. According to Siloni, the nominalising functional affix N converts verbs to nouns and he also shows that V incorporation into N requires that the nominal affix subcategorises for a VP. Iloni asserts that adverb noun phrases are licensed by event structure because they occur only with event nominals and not with result nominals. Siloni notes that in Hebrew it seems event alone is not sufficient to licence adverbs. He says it is the particular categorical status of Hebrew adverbs which enables them to modify event nominals because this does not occur with English and French.

Siloni argues that only a small number of fixed elements constitute the class of genuine adverbs in Hebrew, and that this class of genuine adverbs cannot modify an event nominal in Hebrew as in English and French. Siloni claims that in Hebrew, PPs modify event nominals, and that this phenomenon also occurs in other languages. Siloni notes that Hazout (1990, 1995)’s Hebrew adjectives and adverbs have different distribution. According to Siloni this observation is typical of Hebrew nouns in general regardless of event/result status. Siloni states that there are significant distinctions between the accusative case of transitive verbs and that of nominals. Siloni asserts that nouns are assigned inherent case since they are unable to realize their object as accusative pronouns. Siloni shows that there is a distinction regarding the order of constituents, namely accusative as well as dative accusative. According to him, VPs permit both whereas with the noun phrase, the accusative complement precedes its dative counterparts. According to Siloni this shows that verbs license structural accusation whereas nouns determine inherent case. Siloni states that nominals which do not phonetically realise the external argument have only the internal argument. He shows that this is in line with Borer (in progress)’s assertion that the external argument can be absent only when the verb embedded in the deverbal noun has undergone passivisation. Siloni argues that in passive environment no accusation occurs. He also contends that some foreign nouns do not denote event, but result in Hebrew even if in their original language they display event structure. According to Siloni, accusation case can only be assigned to a theme or patient argument. He still emphasises the point that derived nouns are foremed pre-syntactically and that the incorporation of a verb in a semantically “empty” noun is not a syntactic mechanism. Siloni shows that the issue raised by Borer (in progress) that subjectless event nominals are passive construction which derives the unavailability of accusative case cannot be maintained. He also notes that there are important discrepancies between verbal passives and nominal passives. He states that the understood subject of event nominls ought to be saturated in the lexicon prior syntactic insertion.

The study conducted by Saddler and Spencer (1991) is the third to be reviewed in section 2.3. Saddler and Spencer discuss arguments structure in morphology with a view to make explicit a number of distinctions between some alternations. They contend that although their focus is on verbs, but they will also include participles and nominalisations, specifically the inheritance of argument structure. They distinguish between morpholexical operations from morphosyntactic realisations. They assert that it is
not clear whether these issues should be reduced to semantics alone or not. They follow the principles and parameters theory in which, according to them, semantic level of representation characterise the necessary properties of semantics arguments of properties. In their view, morpholexical operation involves meaning changing operation while morphosyntactic involves meaning preserving operation. They assert that this division corresponds to derivation and inflection. Saddler and Spencer argue that dative shift involves a simple alteration of the same semantic roles. They express that view that passive should be treated as morphosyntactic operation which suppresses external argument. They show that the suppressed argument may be expressed as an oblique or an adjunct. Saddler and Spencer view argument structure as a syntactic representation. They distinguish between two types of intransitive verb, namely the unergative which the subject fulfils an active semantic role, and the unaccusative, in which the subject is more passive semantically and corresponds to a theme or patient roles. They show that the unaccusative predicate are characterised in tow ways, namely one-place predicate with no external argument, or one-palce predicate whose argument occupies a D-structure object position. Saddler and Spencer observe that in other approaches, argument structure is defined as an independent level representation.

Saddler and spencer discuss the overall typology of morpholexical and morphosyntactic operations by looking at the three sets, which are possessives and middles, reflexives and reciprocals, and causation. They contend that passives represent morphosyntactic operation, while middles represent morpholexical operation. They argue that in both operations the argument is lost and fails to be projected in the syntax. According to these scholars, any verb can occur in stative form where its semantics implies the possibility of a resultant state. They maintain that stative and middles have the same argument structure. They also show that the passives suppress their external arguments. According to these authors, statives completely dispose of their external arguments. They also note that the derivation of reflexive or reciprocal verb form from transitive verb form occurs. They define the reflexive as an anaphoric syntactive element which is subject to binding. To them this suggests that it cannot be a morpholexical rule. They argue that the reciprocal is a suffix to the root, hence part of the stem. According to these authors, the reciprocal participates in the process of vowel harmony, reduplication, nominalisation and imperative formation and they thus put it in the same position as exponents of morphosyntactic operation such as passives and applicatives. They view causation as an instance of the creation of new lexeme. They however, acknowledge that semantic effects of the causative operation differ from language to language, and from construction to construction. They maintain that despite these differences, the basic semantic relationships are the same crosslinguistically. Concerning the issue of synthetic compound, Saddler and Spencer argues that the verb is nominalised and cannot occur in finite forms.

The study conducted by Pustejovsky (1995) is the first to be reviewed under section 2.5. In this study, Pustejovsky advocates a semantic theory which he says will account for the problem of
compositionality. He argues that the approach of distinguishing word senses on the basis of feature distinction is not sufficient to account for semantics expressed in natural languages. He then proposes several devices which according to him will simplify semantic description but which are outside the enumerative lexical semantics. Pustejovsky develops a theory of lexical semantic systems with which these devices operate. He argues that the theory will generate a large set of word senses. He calls such a theory a generative lexicon. Pustejovsky contends that this framework will be guided by a concern for semanticality over and above grammaticality. He shows that the lexical semantic framework takes into account the syntactic structure of a language because in his view there is no way in which meaning can be completely separated from the structure that carries it.

According to Pustejovsky, the meaning of a word should reflect the deeper conceptual structures in both cognitive system and the domain it operates. He shows that thematic roles are necessary but that alone they are not sufficient to capture all the senses of a noun. He shows that the representation of the context of an utterance should be viewed as involving many different generative factors that account for the way that language’s users create and manipulate the contexts in order to be understood. He asserts that such a theory must include many separate levels which have independent interpretations. He maintains that such a model will allow the lexicon to have multiple listings of words. Pustejovsky asserts that in generative lexico items are minimally decomposed into structured forms. He shows that this theory relies on logical rules of inferences to establish the connectedness between lexical meanings and prepositions. He then stipulates that the goal of the lexicon theory is lexical creativity and sense extensions phenomena.

Pustejovsky argues that the generative lexicon involves four levels of semantic representations, namely argument structure, an event structure, a qualia structure, and a lexical inheritance structure. He argues that there is also a set of generative devices which connects these four levels, which are type coercion, selective binding and co-composition. According to Pustejovsky, the four levels of semantic representation must conform to the well-formedness conditions defined by type system and the lexical inheritance structure. Pustejovsky maintains that in the generative lexicon, different word senses are conflated into a single meta-entry which he calls lexical conceptual paradigms (icps). Pustejovsky distinguishes four types of arguments, namely true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments, and true adjuncts. He classifies the nature of events into three classes, namely process, states, and true adjunct. According to Pustejovsky events have subevents. On the issue of qualia, Pustejovsky asserts that qualia provide the structural template over which semantics transformation may apply. He shows that qualia involves four aspects of word’s meaning (quail), which are constitutive, formal, telic, and agentive. Pustejovsky argues that the representations in the qualia are based on how arguments are mapped to syntax. He further contends it may be possible for qualia to have more than one quale role. He also maintains that headedness acts as a filter to constrain the set of projectible qualia.
The second study to be presented in 2.5. is that of Busa (1996). The study discusses nominals within the framework of the generative theory. She observes that Pustejovsky classified nominals which denote participant in an event under two general classes, namely individual-level nominals and stage-level nominals. Busa notes that in general are regarded as a class of deverbatives which are morphologically derived by -er and that the affix -er is said to correspond with the external argument of the underlying verbal form. Busa argues that such a generalisation does not account for the semantic similarities of nominals with their verbal counterparts. She asserts that argument structure is an important component in determining the meaning of a word, but alone is insufficient. Busa maintains that relying exclusively on morphological clues to determine the interpretation of an agentive noun obscures even further than clarifying it. Busa expresses the view that lexical items should be driven by semantic content that a lexical item carries. She argues that the event based information that is associated with the verbal stem seems to partially determine the availability of a derived noun. She maintains that there is a need for a kind of model that will accounts for the similarities underlying semantic types. In her view, such a model will provide a vocabulary for describing the generative mechanisms involved in deverbal noun. Busa argues in favour of the generative lexicon theory which will show the correlations between lexically encoded base forms and morphologically derived forms. Busa maintain that all agentive nominals are characterised by events irrespective of whether the events are presupposed or not.

Busa argues that the generative lexicon comprises four levels of representations, namely argument structure, event structure, qualia structure, and lexical inheritance structure. She however, shows that she will only discuss the first three. Busa further distinguishes four types of arguments, which are true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments, and true adjuncts. She echoes Grimshaw’s sentiments that argument structure represents the minimal lexical semantic specification of a word. Busa observes that scholars such as Davidson (1967) and Parsons (1990) regard events as atomic units occupying and argument position. She reckons that events are complex semantic objects. Busa maintains that an Orthogonal Parameter Binding is required in order to bind into expression from independent parameter lists. Busa shows that qualia structure comprises four roles, namely formal, constitutive, telic, and agentive. She contends that the strategies for projection in qualia are based on the argument structure of a lexical item. She argues that through these startegies the first or external argument is mapped to subject position and the second or internal argument is mapped to object position. Busa maintains that the notion of headedness in the event astructur contributes to filter out the set of possible projections. She shows that if one quale is headed, the set of possible qualia is restricted. Concerning the issue of co-composition, Busa contends that there are three mechanisms involved in it, namely type coercion, selective binding, and cocomposition. According to her, these are semantic transformations which accounts for the sense of lexical item Busa argues that co-composition can be viewed as a bilateral function where on the one hand it accounts for the different meanings that
a verb assumes in composition with different complements, on the other hand it is involved in accounting the interpretation of compound forms.

The study conducted on SIMPLE project is the third work which was reviewed in section 2.5. This study seeks to develop wide coverage of semantic lexicons for twelve European languages by using the model that encodes semantic types and semantic frames. They contend that the project provides a framework for testing and evaluating current approaches in lexical semantics. In their view, the approach adds a semantic layer to a subset of existing morphological and syntactical layers. They maintain that in this model, the “conceptual core” of lexicons are specified. They argue that the project identifies elements of a semantic vocabulary that are language specific and those that are generic to all languages. They show that the basic vocabulary used in the project relies on extension of qualia structure, which they say it involves four different roles, namely formal role, the constitutive role, the telic role, and the agentive role. They assert that qualia roles play a crucial role in determining the linguistic behaviour of word senses and generic mechanism. They observe that qualia may be applicable in all parts of speech and that it is suitable for certain types of nominals. The authors contend that in this project, qualia are used as a basic syntax for constructing word meanings. They assert that qualia is employed to express fine-grained distinctions between larger varieties of semantic types. They show that there are four main reasons why they think qualia is a useful model. They maintain that in this project they created templates which combine the formal specifications and guide subsequent encoding. They assert that the project contains three types of entities, namely semantics units, semantic type, and template.

They argue that the model they adopt in this project provides the specification for the representation and encoding of information such as semantic type, domain information, lexicographic gloss, argument structure, selection restriction and event type, linking of arguments to the syntactic subcategorization frames, qualia structure, polysemous alternation and cross-part-of speech relations. The authors contend that in this project they formed an ontology which follows the orthogonal organisation of semantic types. They maintain that the ontology organises the semantic types along multiple dimensions, such as telic, agentive, constitutive, and entity. They assert that a wide range of ontologies has been created to meet the requirements of specific domains and purposes. The authors assert that in this project, there is a wide set of features and relations organised along the four qualia role. They assert that in this project relations are organised in a taxonomic hierarchy. They show that two types of templates are used in this project, namely the general type and the specific structure associated with a particular type. The authors make some comparison between SIMPLE and WORDNET in that it contains information referring to constitutive, purpose, and origin which they say in their project fall under formal. They argue that the information in WordNet is not fully explicit and that same information is placed in different locations. According to the authors, this is not so with
SIMPLE because it sorts various types of information associated with the sense of a word. In their view, information in SIMPLE is fully explicit.

The study conducted by ( ) which is in section 2.5. is the last to be reviewed in this chapter. The study discuss the current development in Generative Lexicon theory with an aim of implementing the Generative Lexicon within 12 European Languages. They argue that the goal in this study is to capture the range of the expressibilities of any given concept. They assert that there is a widely shared view that the semantic potential of a lexical item is not reducible to a single descriptive component of an entity it denotes, but carries additional information along multiple dimensions. The authors maintain that certain aspects of a lexical item are contextualised while others are fixed in all contexts. The authors observe that current models in semantics define semantic classes along one single parameter. According to the authors, current methodology for building ontology fails to capture additional aspects of word meaning.

The authors argue that the perspective in this study derives from Generative Lexicon, which stipulates that all words share internal structure and differ in terms of internal complexity. They indicate that qualia capture the different degree of complexity of lexical items in Generative Lexicon. They contend that qualia can be summarised in four levels of representation, namely formal role, constitutive role, telic role, and agentive role. The authors view qualia as a representational tool for expressing the componential aspect of word meaning. They further argue that qualia provides powerful tool for studying the recursive processes. The authors maintain that there are three different conceptual types that can be generated by the lexicon, namely simple, unified, and complex type.

Miller’s study (1990a) is the fourth work which was reviewed in section 2.4. In this study, Miller discusses the semantic relations between word senses in WordNet, in which word form are organised into 60,000 lexical concepts. Miller argues that the words in WordNet are collocations, and that WordNet does not include proper nouns, but common noun. She shows that WordNet is based on word senses that lexicographers have used in compiling dictionaries. She maintains that WordNet does not accommodate pronunciation, derivate morphology, etymology, usage notes or pictorial illustration. Miller contends that WordNet tries to make the semantic relations between word senses more explicit and easier to use. She asserts that the basic semantic relation in WordNet is synonymy, abbreviated as synsets, and from the basic building block. She argues that synonymy in this context does not entail interchangeability in all contexts since there are very few of such synonyms. Miller maintains that unlike with dictionary entries for polysemous words words where several glosses are given, synset has only a single gloss. She furthermore shows that semantic relation in WordNet is that of lexicalised concepts referred to as hyponymy.

Miller contends that semantic relation organises nouns into a lexical hierarchy and that the relation is represented by a pointer between appropriate synsets. Miller shows that although a hypernym has
many hyponyms lexicographers seldom list them in a dictionary. She states that WordNet makes it easy to move from more specific terms to generic terms, or vice versa. She maintains that the representation produces a lexical hierarchy or a tree diagram and that the advantage of using the hierarchy is that the information common to many items in the database need not be stored with every item. She maintains that such hierarchies are called inheritance systems by computer scientists and that such hierarchies often do well for names. She shows that systematic effort has been made to connect hyponyms with their hypernyms and vice versa. Miller maintains that WoedNet assumes that there is a distinction between synonym and hyponymy, although it may not always be clear. She asserts that efforts have been made to avoid a case where a noun is its own hyponym. She further contends that WordNet presupposes a linguistic knowledge of anaphoric relations. Sha states that WoedNet divides nouns into several hierarchies, each with a different beginner and that these hierarchies correspond to relatively semantic fields. She shows that a unique beginner corresponds roughly to a semantic component in a compositional theory of lexical semantics.

Miller argues that WordNet lexical source file use the set of 25 unique beginners. She states that hierarchies cover distinct conceptual and lexical domains. She shows that of the 25 unique beginners, 8 are of nouns denoting things, 5 denote abstractions and 3 as psychological features. Miller states that Top file was created to include all the semantic relations in the synset which resulted in reducing the number of unique beginners from 25 to 11. Miller contends that this is an acceptable thing since it is typical of lexical inheritance to seldom go beyond 10 or 132 levels. She shows that in WordNet features are centrally important. She also indicates that even cognitive psychologists agree that words can be easily characterised by such lists of defining features. She contends that what is not clear though is whether the inclusion relations between lists of features actually exist in the mind of the people who know these words. She asserts that it has been established that the longer the distance in hierarchy the longer it takes to transverse in thought. Miller shows that in WordNet typicality and hierarchies co-exist. She argues that WordNet provides account of paradigmatic associations but almost nothing about syntagmatic associations. She emphasises that WordNet is organised in terms of pointers that represent semantic relations, and not by lists of features and that is-not a relation is not used in WordNet.

Miller shows that the hyponymies used in the WordNet are called by defferent names by scholars. She states that Wierzbicka calls them “taxonomic” and “functional” respectively, while Pustejovsky (1991) calls them “formal” and “telic”. According to Miller, WordNet draws no distinction between proper and common nouns or between mass and count nouns. She says that WordNet also does not identify basic-level or generic concepts. She reckons that there are not enough different semantic relations in WordNet. She shows that WordNet is limited to semantic relations of broadest applicability and greatest familiarity. Miller contends that there are no definitional glosses in WordNet since synonyms will disambiguate each other. She shows that explanatory phrases have been added after realising that
it was much easier to read a definitional gloss than to infer it from the array of pointers. Miller maintains that parentheses glosses serve to keep the several senses of polysemous words distinct.

Miller contends that what Pustejovsky (1991) proposed as “constitutive” role is a relation between a noun that denotes a whole and a noun that denotes its parts what is called meronym. She shows that WordNet has included also opposition which must be entered separately for every male/female pair of word. She asserts that information on attributes and modification has been included in WoedNet. She claims that it may be possible for nouns to serve as arguments for attributes. Miller maintains that in WordNet polysemous nouns are arranged according to their relative frequencies of occurrence in the passages that have been semantically tagged. She shows that there are also other bases for grouping which are called sisters or twins.
CHAPTER THREE
THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE NOUN IN XITSONGA

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter discusses the morphology of Xitsonga noun with particular reference to three main issues, namely, noun classes, locative affixes, and morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun. Section 3.2 examines in detail the nature of the class prefixes and the content or the semantic features found in each noun class. Of more importance with regard to class prefixes are their forms, namely, the appearance of class prefixes in their full form, or the appearance of these prefixes in other forms, which in this study is viewed as allomorphs. The section also describes the phonetic forms in which the allomorph n occurs. Section 3.3 identifies and describes the locative affixes in Xitsonga which occur with the noun, namely, both the locative prefixes and the locative suffixes. In addition, this section discusses the diminutive in Xitsonga. Section 3.4 examines the general morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun which is within the ambit of the x-bar theory. The main focus is to determine the type of the morphological structure which is suitable for the Xitsonga noun, the number of affixes which the Xitsonga noun can occur with, and how such affixes may be represented in the morphological structure. Section 3.5 provides the summary of the main aspects discussed in this chapter and the conclusion.

3.2 NOUN CLASSES IN XITSONGA

(1)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Prefix</th>
<th>Singular/Plural</th>
<th>Example</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>mufana (boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>vafana (boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1a</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>hahani (ant)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2a</td>
<td>va-</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>vahahani (ants)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>mu-</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>mugodi (mine)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>mi-</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>migodi (mines)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>(ribye) stone</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6</td>
<td>ma-</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>maribye (stones)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>xi-</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>xikolo (school)</td>
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<td>swi-</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>yi(n)</td>
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<td>ti(n)</td>
<td>plural</td>
<td>tiyingwe (leopards)</td>
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<td>11</td>
<td>ri-</td>
<td>singular</td>
<td>rintiho (finger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>vu-</td>
<td>no specification</td>
<td>vutomi (life)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>ku-</td>
<td>no specification</td>
<td>ku tirha (to eat)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.1. Classes 1/2

3.2.1.1. Prefixes Mu/Va-:

The prefix of class 1 is **mu-** and that of class 2 is **va-**. The reference of these two noun classes is always only to humans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Munhu (person)</td>
<td>Vanhu (persons)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mufana (boy)</td>
<td>Vafana (boys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutswari(parent)</td>
<td>Vatswari(parents)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mutirhi (worker)</td>
<td>Vatirhi (workers)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudyondisi(teacher)</td>
<td>Vadyondisi(teachers)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The allomorph **n-** usually appears with the noun **ndzisanyana** (young boy) in class 1. But when such a noun is pluralized, appearing with prefix **Va-** of class 2, the allomorph **n-** disappears, for example **Varisanyana** (young boys). The prefix **n-** has an influence on the consonant **r-** of **-risa** and changes to **dz**.

3.2.1.2. Vowel stems u and a:

The vowel **u** of the prefix **mu-** as well as the vowel **a** of the prefix **va** used to fall away with vowel stems in the past however, this elision of these vowels no longer takes place although it may still be elided in the language use of older people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(3) (a) Vowel <strong>u-</strong></th>
<th>Versus</th>
<th><strong>u-</strong> elision:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muaki</td>
<td>M-aki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-endli</td>
<td>M-endli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-uongori</td>
<td>M-ongori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-ondli</td>
<td>M-ondli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(b) Vowel <strong>a-</strong></th>
<th>Versus</th>
<th><strong>a-</strong> elision:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vaaki</td>
<td>Vaaki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaendli</td>
<td>Vendli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaongori</td>
<td>Vongori</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vaondli</td>
<td>Vondli</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.3. The allomorph **n-**

The allomorph **n-** used to appear in place of the prefix **mu-** in the olden days, however, nowadays the appearance of this **n-** no longer takes place except that it may still be rarely used by some older people. This is still found in the following nouns:
Interesting, is the fact that in both two cases, the nouns with mu- and the ones with n-, when they are pluralized, they appear with the normal prefix of class 2, va-.

3.2.1.3.1. The allomorph n- is compulsory:

It may still be possible for some nouns to appear with the allomorph n- instead of the prefix mu-:

(5)   Ntukulu         (grandchild)  
     Nkata           (spouse)      
     Ntswatsi       (middle aged woman)  
     Nkorhoki       (bride-to-be)    
     Nsati          (wife)         

However, when these nouns are pluralized, the allomorph n- is replaced by the prefix of class 2, va-:

(6)   Vatukulu       (grandchildren) 
     Vakata         (spouses)       
     Vatswatsi     (middle aged woman)  
     Vakorhoki     (bride-to-be)    
     Vasati        (wives)         

3.2.1.3.2. The syllabic status of the allomorph n-:

It will seem that the allomorph n- as in the examples in (6), represents an independent syllable of its own through its tone:

(7)   N-tu-ku-lu   4 Syllables 
     N-kai-ta     3 Syllables 
     N-tswe-tsi   3 Syllables 
     N-ko-rho-ki  4 Syllables 
     N-sai-ti     3 Syllables 

This kind of representation gives n- a full syllabic status, in that without it the tone of the whole word will be affected and thus results in the change of meaning.

3.2.1.3.3. The phonetic realization of the allomorph n-:

Phonetically, the prefix n- may be realized in 5 forms in Xitsonga:

(8)   n → n 
     n → η 
     n→ ɬη 
     n → m 
     n → m
However, in these class 1 nouns, the prefix n- is realized in three forms of the above, namely, n→n, n→m, and n→ŋ:

(9)  
(a) n → n : n-sati (wife)  
(b) n → m : m-batli (carpenter)  
(c) n → ŋ : ŋ-kata (spouse)

3.2.1.4. Nominal stems with an initial consonant [-l-]:

It will seem that in Xitsonga when mu- appears as n- in nominal stems with an initial consonant [-l-], the consonant -l- is elided:

(10) Mu-loyi (witch) → n-oyi (witch)  
    Mu-lala (enemy) → n-alan (enemy)  
    Mu-lamu (wife’s younger sister) → n-amu (wife’s younger sister)  
    Mu-landza (servant) → n-ndza (servant)

In the plural the formation is regular, namely, the -l- is not elided:

(11) Valoyi (witches)  
    Valala (enemies)  
    Valamu (wife’s younger sisters)

However, the appearance of n- before a stem with -l- is not always possible. Most nouns are formed in Xitsonga with the prefix mu- and the consonant -l-. In this case, the consonant -l- is not elided:

(12) Mu-lumbeti (accuser)  
    Mu-languteri (guard)  
    Mu-luveri (foreigner)  
    Mu-loti (one who sharpens an axe, or spear)  
    Mu-luvisi (tax collector)

In the plural, the formation remains regular:

(13) Va-lumbeti (accusers)  
    Va-languti (guards)  
    Va-luveri (foreigners)  
    Va-loti (those who sharpen an axe or spear)  
    Va-luvisi (tax collectors)

3.2.1.5. The allomorph n’w- and v-:

The allomorph n’w- occurs as a prefix of some few very old nouns in class 1, whereas in class 2, such nouns appear with the allomorph v- as their prefix:

(14) Class 1  
    N’w-ana (child)  
    N’wi-nyi (owner)  
    N’wingi (mother-in-law, or father-in-law)  

Class 2  
    V-ana (children)  
    V-inyi (owners)  
    V-ingi (mother-in-law, or Father-in-law, or daughter-in-law)  
    Daughter-in-law)
In the above examples, n’w- represent the prefix mu- of class 1, while v- represents the prefix va- of class 2. It should be noted however, that such formations no longer take place today. Namely, new formations do not change the prefix mu- to n’w-, however, the use of v- as a prefix in class 2 can be rarely obtained in the language use of the people:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mu-aki</td>
<td>(builder)</td>
<td>&gt;n’w-aki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-onhi</td>
<td>(destroyer)</td>
<td>&gt;n’w-oni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-undli</td>
<td>(nurterer)</td>
<td>&gt;n’w-undli</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.1.6. The allomorphs n’- and v-

These allomorphs are common in the language use of older people in a noun such as muyeni (guest). In the language use of old people, these nouns may be pronounced as either n’-eni (guest) or n-yeni (guest). Phonetically, the n’- in n’eni may be realized as ŋ, while n- in nyeni may be realized as ñ.

It should be understood however, that the above formations which may be reflected in the language use of old people is gradually disappearing. The most common formation today is the one with the prefix mu-, for example mu-yeni. Interesting here, is the fact that whether in class 1, the prefix is n- or n’- or mu-, the prefix of class 2 remains regular, that is it always appears with the normal prefix va-, for example va-yeni (guests).

3.2.1.7. Zero prefix and the prefix va-:

Some nouns of class 1 in Xitsonga may appear with a zero prefix, namely, without any prefix at all. However, when such nouns appear in class 2, the prefix va- always appears:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[-] nhwana</td>
<td>(girl)</td>
<td>Va-nhwana (girls)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[-] nuna</td>
<td>(husband)</td>
<td>Va-nuna (husbands)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

When the prefix mu- is attached to nouns in class 1, ill-formedness will result:

*munhwana
*mununa

3.2.1.8. The prefixes mu- and ma-:

It may be possible for nouns denoting a member of a specific ethnic group to appear with the prefix mu- in class 1, and the prefix va- in class 2. It should be noted however, that such ethnic groups are Vatsonga themselves, and the people who stay near them:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mu-tsonga</td>
<td></td>
<td>Va-tsonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-pedi</td>
<td></td>
<td>Va-pedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-venda</td>
<td></td>
<td>Va-venda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-suthu</td>
<td></td>
<td>Va-suthu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
When these languages use the prefix **ma-** in the plural, it has a derogative reference:

(19)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma-tsonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-pedi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-Venda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-suthu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although Xitsonga uses the prefix **mu-** in class 1 for ethnic groups who are staying far from Vatsonga, in class 2, nouns referring to such ethnic groups always appear with the prefix **ma-** instead of **va-**:

(20)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Swazi</td>
<td>Ma-Swazi (Swati people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Zulu</td>
<td>Ma-Zulu (Zulu people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Xhosa</td>
<td>Ma-Xhosa (Xhosa people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Shona</td>
<td>Ma-Shona (Shona people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Ovhambo</td>
<td>Ma-Ovhambo (Ovhambo people)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Juda</td>
<td>Ma-Juda (Jews)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix **ma-** is also used with noun stems indicating a member of a specific nation:

(21)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Afrika-Dzonga</td>
<td>Ma-Afrika-Dzonga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Amerika</td>
<td>Ma-Amerika</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Zambiki</td>
<td>Ma-zambiki</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Jarimani</td>
<td>Ma-Jarimani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-Furwa</td>
<td>Ma-Furwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, the prefix **va-** may be used with noun stems denoting a specific race group:

(22)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mu-ntima (black person)</td>
<td>Va-ntima (blacks)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mu-lungu (white person)</td>
<td>Va-lungu (whites)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.1.9. Noun stems with the possessive concord **wa-** and **va-**

There are some nouns which appear with the possessive concord **wa-** and **va-** as an integral part of the singular and plural forms:

(23)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wa-nuna (man)</td>
<td>Va-nuna (men)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa-nsati (woman)</td>
<td>Va-sati (women)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wa-nhwana (young woman)</td>
<td>Va-nhwana (young women)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Although for a noun such as **jaha** (young man), it may be possible to occur with possessive concord **wa-** in the singular, in the plural it is not possible to appear with the possessive **va-**, otherwise the ill-formedness will result. It has instead to appear with the prefix **ma-**:

(24)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Singular</th>
<th>Plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Wa-jaha</td>
<td>*Va-jaha&gt;ma-jaha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These forms are noun phrases, which may be interpreted as being of the following constructions:
(25) munhu wa /vanhu va

In the syntactic representation, the possessive phrase appears with an empty head. Consider the structure below:

(26)

3.2.2. Classes 1a and 2a

3.2.2.1. la: zero prefix versus 2a: va- prefix (high tone):

Class 1a does not have any prefix. It is thus regarded as a class with a zero prefix. The prefix for class 2a is Vá-. However this Vá- is different from Vá- of class 2, in that, this one always has a high tone:

(27)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tatana (father)</td>
<td>Vá-tatana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khazamula (name of a person)</td>
<td>Vá- Khazamula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manana (mother)</td>
<td>Vá-manana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlungwani (surname)</td>
<td>Vá-Hlungwani</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

in the examples above, the prefix of class 1a is not represented by any morpheme while the prefix of class 2a is Vá-, with a high tone.

3.2.2.2. Contents of classes 1a and 2a:

These classes include nouns referring to a variety of things. The following subcategories may be found here:

(28) (a) Kinship terms:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tatana (father)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manana (mother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kokwani (grandfather or grandmother)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hahani (aunt)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tati (sister)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### (b) Proper names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khazamula</td>
<td>Va-Khazamula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muzamani</td>
<td>Va-Muzamani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magezi</td>
<td>Va-Magezi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Madala</td>
<td>Va-Madala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Majosi</td>
<td>Va-Majosi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (c) Animals:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mangadyana (bat)</td>
<td>Va-Mangadyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manghovo (mongoose)</td>
<td>Va-Manghovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Maxindyana (squirrel)</td>
<td>Va-Maxindyana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Manghawana (jackal)</td>
<td>Va-Manghawana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hokwe (parrot)</td>
<td>Va-Hokwe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (d) People:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mabalani (secretary)</td>
<td>Va-Mabalani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Thichara (teacher)</td>
<td>Va-thichara</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dokodela (doctor)</td>
<td>Va-dokodela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (e) Indefinite nouns:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nasikanana (so and so)</td>
<td>Va-nasikakana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swimani-mani (so and so)</td>
<td>Va-swimani-mani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Swingere-ngere (so and so)</td>
<td>Va-swingere-ngere</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (f) Personal names (personification):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N’wampfundla</td>
<td>Va-n’wapfundla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’warnhungubye</td>
<td>Va-n’warnhungubye</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (g) Place names:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Malamulele</td>
<td>Va-Malamulele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Giyani</td>
<td>Va-Giyani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Xawela</td>
<td>Va-Xawela</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

#### 3.2.2.2.1. The reference of class 2a

The prefix of class 2a **vá-** may have two different references which are not found in class 1a:

(a) **Plural of class 1a**

The prefix of class 2a may refer to the plural of class 1a, as in the example below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(29)</th>
<th>Class 1a</th>
<th>Class 2a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hahani (aunt)</td>
<td>Va-hahani</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Malume (uncle)</td>
<td>Va-malume</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) **Groups**
The prefix of class 2a frequently refers to groups especially with proper names and kinship terms:

(30) Class 1a Class 2a
Soyaphi (name of a person) Va-Soyaphi
Malume (uncle) Va-Malume

3.2.3. Classes 3 and 4

3.2.3.1. Prefixes mu- and mi-:

The prefix of class 3 is mu- and that of class 4 is mi-:

(31) Class 3 Class 4
Murhi (tree) Mi-murhi
Mugodi (mine) Mi-godi
Muganga (small district) Mi-ganga
Mukhuhlwana (cold) Mi-khuhiwana
Mukwana (knife) Mi-kwana

It may be possible to use these class prefixes with monosyllabic noun stems:

(32) Class 3 Class 4
Mumu (heat) Mi-mumu
Mungu (chaff) Mi-mungu
Munga (thorn tree) Mi-munga
Mumpfi (wasp) Mi-mupfi
Musí (smoke) Mi-musí
Murhi (tree) Mi-murhi

In most instances, the plural of monosyllabic noun stems is formed by the appearance of double prefixes, namely that of class 4, together with the singular prefix mu-:

(33) Class 3 Class 4
Mumu (heat) Mi-mu-mumu
Mungu (chaff) Mi-mu-ngu
Munyu (salt) Mi-mu-nyu
Muphye (herb) Mi-mu-phye
Murhu (soup) Mi-mu-rhu
Musí (smoke) Mi-mu-si

However, few monosyllabic noun stems do occur with only the prefix mi- in the plural:

(34) Class 3 Class 4
Mumpfi (wasp) Mi-mupfi
Murhi (tree) Mi-murhi
Muti (village) Mi-muti

Furthermore, some monosyllabic noun stems accept both occurrences, namely the appearance of the prefix mi- only, or the appearance of both prefixes, plural and singular:

(35) Class 3 Class 4
Munga (thorn tree) Mi-munga/ Mi-mu-munga
Mubya (strap) Mi-mbya/ Mi-mu-mbya
It may also be possible to use di-/or polysyllabic noun stems with the prefixes mu- or mi-. In the plural, the prefix mi- always appears alone, namely without the occurrence of the prefix mu-:

(36)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mukhava (protruding belly)</td>
<td>Mi-khava (protruding belly)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhuhlwanwa (cold)</td>
<td>Mi-kuhlwanwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mudleve (milky sap plant)</td>
<td>Mi-dleve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukwana (knife)</td>
<td>Mi-kwana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muladza (porridge left from the previous meal)</td>
<td>Mi-ladza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukhosi (scream)</td>
<td>Mi-khosi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The noun stems in (41) are all old nouns. However it may still be possible to form deverbatives which appear with the prefixes 3 and 4:

(37)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Muholo (wage)</td>
<td>Mi-holo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugayo (maize meal)</td>
<td>Mi-gayo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mugilo (deceptive)</td>
<td>Mi-gilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mulhulo (miracle)</td>
<td>Mi-hlulo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mucato (wedding)</td>
<td>Mi-cato</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Muako (building)</td>
<td>Mi-ako</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mukharhalo (tiredness)</td>
<td>Mi-kharhalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mujaho (racing)</td>
<td>Mi-jaho</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Such noun stems usually end with the vowel -o.

3.2.3.1.1. Vowel stems with the bilabial prefix m-

(a) With o:

The formation of nouns with the allomorph m- before the vowel o in class 3 is a result of the clash between the vowel u of the prefix mu- and the vowel o of the noun stem. Thus the vowel u- of mu- is deleted. However, in the plural the prefix of class 4, mi- is prefixed to such nouns:

(38)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mongo &lt; Mu-ongo (marrow)</td>
<td>Mi-mongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mombo &lt; Mu-ombo (forehead)</td>
<td>Mi-mombo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mona &lt; Mu-onu (bad temper)</td>
<td>Mi-muna</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mondzo &lt; Mu-ondzo (leadwood tree)</td>
<td>Mi-mondzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mongolo &lt; Mu-ongolo (nose-bleeding)</td>
<td>Mi-mongolo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mova &lt; Mu-ova (sugar cane)</td>
<td>Mi-mova</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Movha &lt; Mu-ovha (motor car)</td>
<td>Mi-movha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moya &lt; Mu-oya (wind)</td>
<td>Mi-moya</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) With u:

The formation of nouns with the allomorph m- before u- is a result of the deletion of the u- of the prefix mu- because of the presence of another u vowel in the noun stem. The prefix mi- is prefixed to such nouns when they are pluralized:

(39)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mubya &lt; Mu-ubya (strap of sling)</td>
<td>Mi-mubya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mumu &lt; Mu-umu (heat)</td>
<td>Mi-mumu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
### 3.2.3.2. The prefix n-

#### 3.2.3.2.1. The phonetic form of the prefix n-:

As already indicated, phonetically, n- may be realized in five different forms: n, η, ŋ, m and ñ. All of these forms may be realized with the noun stems in classes 3 and 4:

(a) $n \rightarrow n$

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nambu (river)</td>
<td>Mi-lambu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzingo (temptation)</td>
<td>Mi-riingo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzwalo (load)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzwalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nala (enemy)</td>
<td>Mi-nala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandzu (case)</td>
<td>Mi-landzu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) $n \rightarrow η$

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nkayi (marula tree)</td>
<td>Mi-kanyi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkambana (earthen ware dish)</td>
<td>Mi-kambana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkanu (arrogance)</td>
<td>Mi-kanu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpingu (burden)</td>
<td>Mi-pingu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nkuxu (algae)</td>
<td>Mi-kuxu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpimo (measure)</td>
<td>Mi-pimo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(c) $n \rightarrow ŋ$

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nchavo (fear)</td>
<td>Mi-chavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ncila (tail)</td>
<td>Mi-cila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ncuva (traditional game for men)</td>
<td>Mi-cuva</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nchumu (thing)</td>
<td>Mi-chumu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ncindzu (wild date palm)</td>
<td>Mi-cindzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ncele (small hole)</td>
<td>Mi-cele</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(d) $n \rightarrow m$

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mbangu (environment)</td>
<td>Mi-mbangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpama (beautiful lady)</td>
<td>Mi-mpama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpoti (short stem or stalk)</td>
<td>Mi-mpoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpondzo (small pox)</td>
<td>Mi-mpondzo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mphovo (unripe maize)</td>
<td>Mi-mphovo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mphikizano (competition)</td>
<td>Mi-mphikizano</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(e) $n \rightarrow ñ$

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mpfhuka (distance)</td>
<td>Mi-mpfhuka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpfangano (mixture)</td>
<td>Mi-mpfangano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mbvhacha (roasted grains)</td>
<td>Mi-mbhacha</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Mi-mbhacha of maize</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Stellenbosch University   http://scholar.sun.ac.za
Mpfampfarhuto (scribbling) Mi-mpfampfarhuto
Mpfimbeti (stripe) Mi-mpfimbeti
Mpfumbawulo (sound) Mi-mpfumbawulo
Mbvumayila (wild sering a tree) Mi-mbvumayila

When the prefix **mi-** appears with noun stems whose phonetic **n-** form is **n-**, this **n-** may be retained or changed to other allomorphs:

### 3.2.3.2.2. The prefix **n-** is retained

(41)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndzwalo (load)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzwalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nala (enemy)</td>
<td>Mi-nala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzenga (the bush “sekel bos”)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzenga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzhongo (moisture)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzhongo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzikakano (boundary)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzikakano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndyangu (family)</td>
<td>Mi-ndyangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzheko (drinking calabash)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzheko</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### 3.2.3.2.3. The allomorph **n-** changes

(42)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nambu (river)</td>
<td>Mi-lambu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzingo (temptation)</td>
<td>Mi-ringo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nandzu (case)</td>
<td>Mi-landzu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, when the prefix **mi-** appears with the noun stems whose phonetic **n-** forms are η or, the allomorph **n-** always disappears, as shown in the examples above. But when the prefix **mi-** appears with noun stems whose phonetic **n-** form is m or, the allomorph does not disappear. The prefix **mi-**, in this case will appear together with this allomorph **n-**, as depicted by the examples in (d) and (e) above.

Although most of the words which appear with the prefix **n-** are old nouns, there are also a number of deverbatives which are formed with this prefix:

(43)  
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nchavo (fear)</td>
<td>Mi-chavo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nitlangu (celebration)</td>
<td>Mi-tlangu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntirho (work)</td>
<td>Mi-tirho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsalo (remainder)</td>
<td>Mi-salo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsivelu (prevention)</td>
<td>Mi-sivelu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntiko (weight)</td>
<td>Mi-tiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ntalo (abundance)</td>
<td>Mi-talo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nsayino (signature)</td>
<td>Mi-sayino</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpfampfarhuto (scribbling/drafts)</td>
<td>Mi-mpfampfarhuto</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mpfumo (sound)</td>
<td>Mi-mpfumo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| Ntswalo (profit) | Mi-nts\. 
| Ndzungulo (narration) | Mi-ndzungulo |
| Nchuluko (diarrhoea) | Mi-chuluko |
| Mfambelano (relationship) | Mi-fambelano |
| Mfamfazelo (spraying) | Mi-famfazelo |
| Mpfinyano (nestling) | Mi-mpfinyano |
| Mu-karhalo (tiredness) | Mi-karhalo |
3.2.3.3. The noun stems with an initial [l]

When the prefix n- appears with noun stems which have an initial [l], the noun stem loses its initial consonant [l]. But in the plural, this initial consonant [l] is retained:

(44)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nandzu &lt;* Mulandzu (case)</td>
<td>Mi-landzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nawu &lt;* Mulawu (law)</td>
<td>Mi-lawu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nambu &lt;* Mulambu (river)</td>
<td>Mi-lambu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noti &lt;* Muloti (whistle)</td>
<td>Mi-loti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norho &lt;* Mulorho (dream)</td>
<td>Mi-lorho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nenge &lt;* Mulenge (leg)</td>
<td>Mi-lenge</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

However, when the consonant [l] appears in a noun stem with the allomorph -dz-, this [l] consonant does not change even when the prefix mi- appears with such noun stems:

(45)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndzilo (fire)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzilo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzelikano (boundary)</td>
<td>Mi-ndzelikano</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzeriso &lt;* muleriso</td>
<td>Mi-ndzeriso</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.4. Change in noun stem:

When nouns in class 3 appear with the stem -r-, this -r- changes to -dz-. But when such nouns appear in the plural form, with the prefix mi-, their appearance becomes regular, namely, they retain the stem -r-:

(46)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ndzingo &lt;* Muringo (temptation)</td>
<td>Mi-ringo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzwalo &lt;* Murhwalo (load)</td>
<td>Mi-rhwalo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndziho &lt;* Muriho (fine)</td>
<td>Mi-riho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ndzungulo &lt;* Murungulo (greeting)</td>
<td>Mi-rungulo</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.4.1. N’w- and mi-nw’-:

The allomorph nw’- may appear with some nouns in class 3. In class 4, this allomorph is still retained:

(47)  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 4</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>N’wamba (the shrub of small tree)</td>
<td>Mi-n’wamba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’wala (nail of toe/finger)</td>
<td>Mi-n’wala</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’wema (light shower)</td>
<td>Mi-n’wema</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N’wehla (natural gap between front incisors)</td>
<td>Mi-n’wehla</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.3.5. Zero prefix and the prefix mi-:

There are a few nouns in Xitsonga which appear with a zero prefix in class 3. Such nouns may appear with the prefix mi- in class 4.
3.2.3.6. Contents of classes 3 and 4:

The reference of classes 3 and 4 is not very clear and the nouns in these classes may refer to a number of subcategories. However, the subcategory of names of trees seems to dominate these classes:

(a) Names of trees

Class 3
Ntoma (Transvaal Ebony tree)
Mbhandzu (spicies of tree)
Nkuwa (fig tree)
Mupopo (paw paw tree)

(b) Names of plants

Muroho (vegetables)
Mudora (prickly pear)
Nhlampfurha (castor oil plant)

(c) Group nouns

Ntshungu (multitude)
Ntlawa (crowd)
Nkhuvo (feast)
Ntlangu (celebration)

(d) Body parts

Nsiha (nerve)
Nkolo (neck)
Ndzumbi (thigh)
Nhlana (back)
Nomu (mouth)

(e) Names of animals and birds

Mpfundla (hare)
Nsohonono (bird associated with witches)
Mbhaha (female chicken)

(f) Instruments

Nseve (arrow)
Mbhinyi (handle)
Mukwana (knife)

(g) Different kinds of prepared food
Mukhusu (dried vegetables)
Mulaza (whey)
Mukapu (soft porridge)

(h) Natural phenomena
Nambu (river)
Nhlangasi (swamp)
Ndzope (mud)

3.2.4. Classes 5 and 6

3.2.4.1. The prefix ri-:

The prefix of class 5 is ri-. When this prefix appears with monosyllabic noun stems, its occurrence is compulsory:

(50) Ribile (stone)
     Rito (voice)
     Riwa (precipice)

But with di- and polysyllabic noun stems, the prefix ri- appears with some nouns, while others appear with a zero prefix:

3.2.4.1.1. The prefix is retained

(51) Ridaka (mud)
     Rigava (riding ox)
     Rifuva (tuberculosis (TB))
     Rihlanga (reed)
     Rihlanguti (side, as of beast)
     Rihlampfu (branch fence)
     Ribyanyi (grass)

3.2.4.1.2. Zero prefix

(52) Hele (cockroach)
     Kondlo (rat)
     Balwa (male rat)
     Rhumbi (deserted village site)
     Khuwani (earthen ware pot)
     Hungu (news)

3.2.4.2. The plural prefixes ma- and ti(n)-:

3.2.4.2.1. The plural prefix ma-:

3.2.4.2.1.1. With monosyllabic noun stems

When the class 6 prefix ma- is used with monosyllabic noun stems, the prefix ri- of class 5 is retained:

(53) | Class 5         | Class 6        |
    | Rito (voice)   | Ma-ri-to      |
    | Ribile (stone)| Ma-ri-byle    |
    | Riwa (precipice)| Ma-ri-wa    |
3.2.4.2.1.2. With polysyllabic noun stems:

It may be possible for the prefix ma- to appear with noun stems which have the prefix ri- in class 5, and those which have a zero prefix.

3.2.4.2.1.3. With ri- in class 5:

When the prefix ma- appears with noun stems with the prefix ri- in class 5, this singular prefix ri-
disappears:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rigava (riding ox)</td>
<td>Ma-gava</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rigaga (unripe fruit)</td>
<td>Ma-gaga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihlanga (reed)</td>
<td>Ma-hlanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ridaka (mud)</td>
<td>Ma-daka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihlanguti (side, as of beast)</td>
<td>Ma-hlanguti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihlampfu (fence)</td>
<td>Ma-hlampfu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihbyanyi (grass)</td>
<td>Ma-byanyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.4.2.1.4. With zero prefix in class 5:

The prefix ma- can also be used with nouns which have a zero prefix in class 5:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dyambu (sun)</td>
<td>Ma-dyambu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dyandza (drought)</td>
<td>Ma-dyandza</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khehele (arm pit)</td>
<td>Ma-khehele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kondlo (rat)</td>
<td>Ma-kondlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hlathi (silver jackal)</td>
<td>a-hlathi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hele (cockroach)</td>
<td>Ma-hele</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khuvi (foam)</td>
<td>Ma-khuvi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gume (rag)</td>
<td>Ma-gume</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.4.3. Meaning:

The reference of classes 5 and 6 is not very clear. Nouns in these classes may refer to a wide range of entities:

3.2.4.3.1. With the plural prefix ma-

(a) Psychological features of humans:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toya (coward)</td>
<td>Ma-toya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phuphula (idiot)</td>
<td>Ma-phuphula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khamba (thief)</td>
<td>Ma-khamba</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(b) Body parts:
### (c) Natural phenomena:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Voko (hand)</td>
<td>Ma-voko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Katla (shoulder)</td>
<td>Ma-katla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khundzu (thumb)</td>
<td>Ma-khundzu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hahu (lung)</td>
<td>Ma-hahu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tihlo (eye)</td>
<td>Ma-tihlo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tino (thooth)</td>
<td>Ma-tino</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (d) Loan words:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bakiti (bucket)</td>
<td>Ma-bakiti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bikiri (mug)</td>
<td>Ma-bikiri</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bayi (jacket)</td>
<td>Ma-baji</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khiya (key)</td>
<td>Ma-khiya</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phepha (paper)</td>
<td>Ma-phepha</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patu (path)</td>
<td>Ma-patu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tafula (table)</td>
<td>Ma-tafula</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (e) Names of animals, birds and insects

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hholwa (cape hunting dog)</td>
<td>Ma-hholwa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gama (eagle)</td>
<td>Ma-gama</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gumba (Sp. of bird)</td>
<td>Ma-gumba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khongoloti (milliped)</td>
<td>Ma-khongoloti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chela (frog)</td>
<td>Ma-chela</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Koti (vulture)</td>
<td>Ma-koti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sekwa (duck)</td>
<td>Ma-sekwa</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (f) Names of fruits:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kalavatla (water melon)</td>
<td>Ma-kalavatla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kwembe (pumpkin)</td>
<td>Ma-kwembe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tamatisi (tomatoes)</td>
<td>Ma-tamatisi</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamula (orange)</td>
<td>Ma-lamula</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Timba (sweet sorghum)</td>
<td>Ma-timba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhanga (tuber of plant)</td>
<td>Ma-rhanga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Popo (paw paws)</td>
<td>Ma-popo</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kanyi (marula fruit)</td>
<td>Ma-kanyi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### (g) Artifacts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Khuwani (earthen ware pot)</td>
<td>Ma-khuwani</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rifeto (stick for stirring porridge)</td>
<td>Ma-fetho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Tlhari (spear)</td>
<td>Ma-tlhari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ripanga (sword)</td>
<td>Ma-panga</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sangu (mat)</td>
<td>Ma-sangu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
3.2.4.3.2. With the plural prefix ti-n-

It may include long thin objects:

(57) Class 5  Class 10
Ridzwa (thong)  Ti-ndzwa
Rimhondzo (horn)  Ti-mhondzo
Risiva (feather)  Tin-siva
Nxiyi (eyelash)  Tin-xiyi
Rimbalelo (stick used for wattling)  Ti-mbalelo
Rintiho (finger)  Tin-tiho
Rimbambu (rib)  Tin-mbambu
Rihunyi (wood)  Ti-hunyi

3.2.4.3.2. With nouns stems which do not take any plural prefix:

(58) (a) Abstract nouns
Rirhandzu (love)
Rivengo (hatred)
Ritssetselelo (compassion)
Risandzo (criticism)

(b) Various things
Rilondzo (zeal)
Rifambo (fondness for walking about)
Rivisi (cream)
Rimbewu (sex)
Ricilana (a type of sexual transmitted disease)
Rilaveta (feeling of frustration as when something one wanted to do is taken by someone else)
Rihanyo (health)

3.2.4.3.4. Derived nouns:

Apart from indicating singularity and plurality, the prefixes ri- and ma- may also be used to indicate other functions.

3.2.4.3.4.1. The prefix ri-:

The prefix ri- may indicate excessive act:

(59) Rifambo (tendency of going about)
Ritukulu (uncontrollable hand shivering)
Rigombo (tendency of beating others)
Rihungaso (tendency of staying a long time before going to sleep)
Ririndzo (tendency of watching every move of a person)
The prefix ma-

The prefix ma-

(a) groups:

- Mahavelo (armours)
- Mahlahla (pieces of food)
- Matamatisi (tomatoes)

(b) Manner:

- Mafambelo (way of going)
- Matirhelo (way of working)
- Makhongelelo (way of praying)
- Matshamelo (way of sitting)
- Matikhomelo (way of behaving)
- Matsalelo (way of writing)

(c) Augmentative:

Prefix ma- may be prefixed to nouns stems which normally do not form their prefix with this prefix to indicate augmentation:

- Ma-homu (huge beautiful cattle)
- Ma-nyimpfu (huge beautiful sheep)

(d) Derogatory:

In some instances, when the prefix ma- is prefixed to such kind of noun stems it may indicate derogative:

- Mahembe (huge ugly shirts)
- Mantangu (huge ugly shoes)
- Mandlela (bad unending road)
- Mampfula (drab unending rains)
- Mabuku (huge boring book)
- Mafana (useless boys)

When ma- attaches to nouns with the prefix ri-, this prefix disappears, and the augmentative interpretation may be found with them:

- Matího (huge ugly fingers)
- Marimi (bad tongues)

When the prefix ma- is attached to the stem to which it is normally not associated with, which refers to food, this prefix adds the meaning of lots of, to them:

- Ma-nyama (lots of bad meat)
- Ma-xinkwa (lots of bad bread)
- Ma-tiya (lots of bad tea)
- Ma-ndluwa (lots of bad groundnuts)
- Ma-biya (lots of bad beer)
What is interesting is the fact that it may also be possible to use the prefix *ma-* together with the plural prefix of the noun stems such as in (63). However, the meaning is the same as in (62):

(63) Ma-ti-hembe  (huge ugly shirts)  
     Ma-ti-ntangu  (huge ugly shoes)  
     Ma-ti-homu  (huge ugly cattle)  
     Ma-ti-huku  (huge ugly fowls)  
     Ma-ti-nguluve  (huge ugly pigs)  
     Ma-ti-mbyana  (huge ugly dogs)  

However, it may be possible to use the prefix *ma-* with the prefix *dyi* of 21. In this case, the class 21 prefix will add the meaning of extreme exaggeration:

(64) Ma-dyi-hembe  (extreme huge shirts)  
     Ma-dyi-munhu  (ernomous huge persons)  
     Ma-dyi-ndlela  (ernomous bad unending roads)  
     Ma-dyi-nguluve  (ernomous wretched pigs)  
     Ma-dyi-nyimpfu (ernomous wretched sheep)  

3.2.5. Classes 7 and 8  

3.2.5.1. Prefixes xi- and swi-  

The prefix of class 7 is *xi-* and that of class 8 is *swi-*:

(65) Class 7        Class 8  
     Xi-luva  (flower)  Swi-luva  
     Xi-komu (plough)  Swi-komu  
     Xi-tirho  (tool)  Swi-tirho  
     Xi-pame (scorpion)  Swi-pame  
     Xi-sandzu (blemish)  Swi-sandzu  
     Xi-suti (hip)  Swi-suti  

3.2.5.2. Zero prefix noun stems  

It may be possible for a few nouns in class 7 to appear without any prefix:

(66) Comelo  (yeast)  
     Cuma  (wealth)  

It is interesting to note that the noun *comelo* (yeast) in (66), can only take the prefix *ma-* of class 6 in the plural, and not *swi-* of class 8. But *cuma* (wealth) cannot take any plural at all.

3.2.5.3. The appearance of allomorphs x- and sw- with vowel items:  

3.2.5.3.1. With the vowel stem -a-:  

It may be possible for nouns in classes 7 and 8 to appear with the prefix which is formed by allomorph x-/sw- before the vowel stem with -a-. Thus the vowel -i-, as in (65) above, may be elided:

(67) Class 7        Class  
     Xandla  (hand)  Swandla  
     Xandlalo  (bed spread)  Swandlalo  
     Xambulelo  (umbrella)  Swambulelo
Xambalo (garment)  Swambalo
Xavelo (share)   Swavelo
Xangulelo (heart burn)  Swangulelo

It should be noted however, that most of the nouns in (67) may still be acceptable even if the vowel -i- is retained:

(68)   Class 7     Class 8
  Xi-andlalo (bed spread)  Swi-andlalo
  Xi-ambalo (parment)  Swi-ambalo
  Xi-avelo (share)   Swi-avelo

But such occurrences as in (68), do not apply to other nouns. When the vowel -i- appears with such nouns, ungrammaticality will result:

(69)   Class 7     Class 8
  *Xi-andla *Swi-andla
  *Xi-ambulelo *Swi-ambulelo
  *Xi-angulelo *Swi-angulelo

3.2.5.3.2.   With the vowel stem -e-:

One noun with the vowel stem -e- is found in classes 7 and 8. Here, the vowel -i- is elided. This is a compound noun:

(70)   Class 7     Class 8
  Xendlahivomu  Swendlahivomu

However, this noun may also appear with the vowel stem -i-:

(71)   Class 7     Class 8
  Xi-endlahivomu Swi-endlahivomu

3.2.5.3.3.   With the vowel stem -i-:

No noun has been found in classes 7 and 8 which appears with an initial vowel -i-.

3.2.5.3.4.   With the vowel stem -o-:

The prefix of a few nouns in class 7 may be formed by the allomorph x- with the vowel stem -o-, while class 8 will have the allomorph sw- with the vowel stem -o-:

(72)   Class 7     Class 8
  Xove  (hook of wood)  Swove
  Xonho  (wrong doing)  Swono

However, while the noun Xombana (ant bear) has the singular prefix which is formed by the allomorph X- with the vowel -o-, in the plural, this noun may only appear with the prefix of class 4, mi- and not that of class 8.

It is interesting to note that the nouns in (72), which have the prefix which is formed by the allomorph x- with the vowel -o-, may also appear with the regular prefixes of classes (7) and (8):
(73) Class 7 Class 8
Xi-ove (hook of wood) Swi-ove
Xi-onho (wrong doing) Swi-onho

But **xombana** cannot appear with the prefix **xi**- otherwise ungrammaticality will result

(74) *Swi-ombana

### 3.2.5.3.5. With the vowel stem -u-:

A noun with the allomorph **x**- with the vowel stem **-u**- may be found in class 7. This vowel stem **-u**- is compulsory:

(75) Xuma (wealth)

### 3.2.5.4. Possessive phrases:

Possessive phrases with the possessive **swa**- of class 8 may appear with infinitival clauses:

(76) Swakunwa (beverage)
Swakudya (food)

These forms are noun phrases. In the syntactic structure, the possessive phrase appears with an empty head:

(77)

### 3.2.5.5. Derivation

In these classes, derivation usually takes place through the use of prefix **-xi-/swi** together with the diminutive suffix **-ana**:

(78) Class 7 Class 8
Xi-hon’w-ana (small cow) Swi-hon’w-ana
Xi-bukw-ana (booklet) Swi-bukw-ana
Xi-harb-ana (small cown) Swi-harb-ana
Xi-sekw-ana (duckling) Swi-sekw-ana
Xi-gody-ana (small hole) Swi-gody-ana

We shall use the tables below to demonstrate what happens when derivational affixes are used with monosyllabic stems and polysyllabic stems which belong to different classes:
3.2.5.1. With monosyllabic noun stem

(79)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classes</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Xi-mu-nhw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-mu-nhw-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Xi-mu-n'w-ana</td>
<td>Swi-mu-n'w-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Xi-ri-tw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-ri-tw-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Xi-xi-nkw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-xi-nkw-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Xi-yin-dlw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-yin-dlw-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Xi-vusw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-vusw-ana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.5.2. Polysyllabic noun stems:

(80)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classes</th>
<th>singular</th>
<th>plural</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>Xi-fany-ana</td>
<td>Swi-fany-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>Xi-kwany-ana</td>
<td>Swi-kwany-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>Xi-budulw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-budulw-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>Xi-sut-ana</td>
<td>Swi-sut-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>Xi-mbhongolw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-mbhongolw-ana</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>Xi-longw-ana</td>
<td>Swi-longw-ana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table in (79) shows that with monosyllabic noun stems, the prefix of class 7 or 8, always appear together with the singular prefix of the class to which a particular word belongs. Whereas the table in (80), indicates that when prefixes xi- and swi- are attached to noun stems belonging to other classes, the prefixes of such nouns which behave like this are all polysyllabic noun stems.

3.2.5.6. Contents of classes 7 and 8

Nouns in these classes may refer to a variety of things. However, the following subcategories may be found in them:

(81)

(a) Language and culture:
   Xitsonga
   Xisuthu
   Xiphenda
   Xiswahili
   Xinghezi
   Xijarimani
   Xiababu

(b) Custom:
   Xijaha
   Xitswatsi
   Xikulukumba
   XiAfrika
Xinhwana
Ximunhu

(c) Humans:

(i) physical features

Xilema (cripple)
Xihontlovila (big person)
Xitetemba (bid strong person)
Xidudla (stout person)

(ii) psychological features:

Xiphunta (stupid person)
Xifevi (prostitute)
Xigevenga (murderer)
Xisiwana (poor person)
Xipengi (mad person)

(iii) Experts

Xiyimbeleri (singer)
Xitsutsumi (athlete)
Xivulavuri (orator)
Xidyondzeki (scholar)
Xicini (dancer)

(d) Body parts:

Xandla (hand)
Xikokola (elbow)
Xivindzi (liver)
Xilebvu (chin)
Xifuva (chest)
Xikangani (sternum)
Xikandza (face)

(e) Animals:

Xivandza (beast)
Xikhovha (owl)
Xivungu (worm)
Xinyenyana (bird)
Xibejwana (rhino)
Xibodze (tortoise)

(f) Artifacts:

Xihloka (axe)
Xisibi (soup)
Xitulu (chair)
Xitheve (mat)
Xikomu (plough)
Xipedi (spade)

(g) Natural phenomena:
Xidzedze (storm)
Xihangu (hail)
Xidziva (pool)
Xirhami (cold)
Ximbhembhe (heavy storm)

3.2.6. Classes 9 and 10

3.2.6.1. The prefixes n- and ti-n-

The prefix of class 9 is n- and that of class 10 is ti-n-:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Nguluvhe (pig)</td>
<td>tinguluve</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyimba (clan)</td>
<td>tinyimba</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mfenhe (baboon)</td>
<td>timfenhe</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nyiko (gift)</td>
<td>tinyiko</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mhaka (case)</td>
<td>timhaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Njanganja (prostitute)</td>
<td>tinjanganja</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

As already pointed out, n- can be realized with five phonetic forms:

(a) n → n
(b) n → ŋ
(c) n → ŋ
(d) n → m
(e) n → m

In classes 9 and 10, all of the forms of n in (88) above may be realized with noun stems:

(a) n → n (with alveolar)
Ndzhaka (heritage)
(b) n → ŋ:
(i) ngati (blood)
Ngoti (rope)
Nguva (season)

The form ŋ- may also appear with some stems:

(ii) N’ami (stingy person)
N’hwembe (seed)
N’anga (doctor)
N’hwari
(c) \( n \rightarrow \text{ɲ} \)

(i) Ncinchi   (change)

Ncengula   (crowbar)
Nchonyonyo   (cricket)
Nconga   (brook)

The form can also be found with vowel stems:

(ii) Nyimpi   (war)

Nyoka   (snake)
Nyumba   (barren cow)
Nyarhi   (buffalo)

(d) \( n \rightarrow m \)

(i) Mbewu   (seed)

Mbanga   (wound)
Mbuti   (goat)

The form \( m \) can also appear with noun stems with \(-h-\). But it is not clear why this \( m \) appears before \( h \):

(ii) Mhangu   (incident)

Mhaka   (case)
Mhandzi   (log)
Mhala   (impala)

(e) \( n \rightarrow \text{ɱ} \)

Mpfuvu   (hippopotamus)
Mpfula   (rain)
Mbvhomomo   (butterfly)
Mbvhahambhahha   (cartilage)

3.2.6.2. Prefixes yin- and ti-yin-:

It may be possible to form nouns in these classes with the prefix yin- in the singular, and ti-yin- in the plural. However, such nouns are only monosyllabic noun stems:

(85)  

Class 9  

Yindlu   (house)
Yinhla   (corner)
Yingwe   (leopard)
Yimbho   (ostrich)
Yinkwa   (big clay pot)
Yinsu   (kidney)

Class 10  

tiyindlu
tiyinhla
tiyingwe
tiyimbho
tiyinkwa
tiyinsu

3.2.6.3. Nouns with a zero prefix:

Some nouns in these classes may appear without any prefix:
Loanwords may also appear without any prefix:

(87) Class 9           Class 10
Hofisi (office)       tioffice
Rhula (ruler)         tirhula
Buku (book)           tibuku
Koroni (wheat)        tikoroni
Khavichi (cabbage)    tikhavichi
Holo (hall)           tiholo

3.2.6.4. Prefixes n- and ma-

Very few nouns do appear with the prefix n- in the singular and the prefix ma- in the plural:

(88) Class 9           Class 10
Nsimu (field)         masimu

3.2.6.5. Influence of n- on stem:

3.2.6.5.1. Nouns in class 9

3.2.6.5.1.1. With the consonant [l]

The prefix n- has an influence on the noun stems with the consonant [l]. As a result, the consonant [l] changes to dz-:

(89) Ndzawulo *< nilawulo (department)
Ndzima *< nirima (portion of land)
Ndzisana *< nirisana (younger brother/younger sister)

3.2.6.5.1.2. With consonant v:

When the prefix n- appears with noun stems which have the consonant v, this n- influences this consonant to change to b:

(90) Mbatlo (small adze) *< nivatlo
Mbati (mark)           *< nivati

3.2.6.5.2. Nouns in class 10:

3.2.6.5.2.1. With the stem -r- or -rh-

When the prefix n- occurs in class 10 with noun stems with stems -r- or rh-, it influences them to be dz:
3.2.6.5.2.2. With the stem v:

The prefix n- influences the nouns with the consonant v. This consonant changes to b:

(92) Timbalelo (laths) *< tinivalelo
     Timbambu (ribs) *< tinivambu
     Timboni (lamps) *< tinivoni
     Timbanti (doors) *< tinivati

3.2.6.6. The contents of classes 9 and 10:

A variety of subcategories may be found in classes 9 and 10:

(93) (a) Animals:
     Mbyana (dog)
     Mbuti (goat)
     Nyarhi (buffalo)
     Nyimpfu (sheep)
     Ndlopfu (elephant)

(b) Body parts:
     Nhloko (head)
     Nhloompfu (nose)
     Ndleve (ear)
     Mbilu (heart)
     Nhamu (neck)

(c) Artifacts:
     Ndichi (plate)
     Mbita (earthen ware pot)
     Yindlu (house)
     Bege (bag)

(d) Natural phenomena:
     Ntshava (mountain)
     Mpfula (rain)

(e) Humans:
     Hosi (chief)
     Ndhumu (headman)
     Ntombi (young woman)
     N’anga (doctor)
     Nhloni (bride)
     Khomba (matured girl)
     Nhlomi (spy)

(f) Fruits:
     Ntoma
     N’wamba
Ntsengele
Nombela

(g) Loan words:

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rhula</td>
<td>(ruler)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rhaba</td>
<td>(eraser)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Khabodo</td>
<td>(cupboard)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Choko</td>
<td>(chalk)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Buku</td>
<td>(book)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.7. Class 11

3.2.7.1. The prefix ri-

The prefix of class 11 is **ri-**, similar to the class prefix of class 5. The only difference is that the pluralization of class 11 occurs in class 10, whereas that of class 5 occurs in class 6.

The appearance of the prefixes **ri-** and **ma-** are always compulsory with these nouns:

(94)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rixaka (nation)</td>
<td>Tinxaka</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rikari (razor)</td>
<td>Tinkari</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rikatla (shoulder)</td>
<td>Tinkatla</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rintiho (finger)</td>
<td>Tintiho</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rincece (new born child)</td>
<td>Tincece</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The prefix **ri-** is always compulsory with these nouns, but they cannot take class 10 plural:

(95)

<p>| | |</p>
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rirhandzu</td>
<td>(love)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivengo</td>
<td>(hatred)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rintuho</td>
<td>(finger)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ritukulo</td>
<td>(uncontrollable trembling of hands)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rifetho</td>
<td>(stirring stick)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimhondzo</td>
<td>(horn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimbambu</td>
<td>(rib)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rihunyi</td>
<td>(wood)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rimbewu</td>
<td>(sex)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.7.2. Sound changes of the noun stems:

When the class prefix **ti-n-** is used with nouns with nouns with -v- in the stem, the -v- sound changes to -b-:

(96)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rivoni (lamp)</td>
<td>Ti-mboni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivanti (door)</td>
<td>Ti-mbatši</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivala (plain area)</td>
<td>Ti-mbalana</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It should be noted however, that nowadays, some of such nouns may still be acceptable even if the -v- sound does not change in the plural:

(97)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 10</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rivoni (lamp)</td>
<td>Ti-voni</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rivanti (door)</td>
<td>Ti-vanti</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
In some few nouns, the -b- sound in both noun stems of classes 5 and 10:

(98) Class 5 Class 10
     Ri-mbambu (rib) Ti-mbambu
     Ri-mbalelo (lath) Ti-mbalelo

When the prefix tin- appears with the noun stems in class 11 with the prefix ri- and an initial -r- in the stem, the [r] sound changes into -dz:

(99) Class 5 Class 10
     Ririmi (tongue) Tindzimi

3.2.8. Class 14

3.2.8.1. The prefix Vu-:

The prefix of class 14 is vu-:

(100) Vutomi (life)
     Vugoda (tail hair)
     Vurimba (bird lime)
     Vuputsu (beer)
     Vucema (palm wine)

All of the nouns in (100) above are old nouns. These nouns have no plural.

3.2.8.1.1. The allomorph v-:

A few nouns may appear with the allomorph v-:

(101) Voya (hair)
     Vofu (pus)

These nouns in (101) are also old nouns.

3.2.8.1.2. The allomorph by-:

It may be possible for some nouns in this class to appear with allomorph by-. This allomorph is obligatory:

(102) Byalwa (beer)
     Byanyi (grass)
     Byatso (boat)
     Byewu (black fibre)
     Byongo (brain)

3.2.8.2. The appearance of ma- as a plural prefix of class 14 nouns:

The prefix ma- of class 6 always appears as a plural prefix of the noun stems with the allomorphs v- and by-:

(103) Ma-voya (hairs)
     Ma-vofu (pus)
     Ma-byalwa (beer)
     Ma-byanyi (grass)
Ma-byatso (boats)
Ma-byewu (bark fibres)
Ma-byongo (brains)

The prefix ma- in (108) appears together with the allomorphs v- and by. That is, these allomorphs are not elided.

3.2.8.3. The appearance of the prefix vu- as a plural prefix:

The prefix vu- appears as a plural prefix in a few nouns with the singular prefix ri-. Such nouns refer to groups of things:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(104)</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Risokoti (ant)</td>
<td>vusokoti</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rijiji (female pubic hair)</td>
<td>vujiji</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.8.4. Derivation

Most of the nouns in class 14 are derived from verbs or nouns:

3.2.8.4.1. Nouns derived from verbs:

It may be possible to derive nouns from verbs as in the example below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(105)</th>
<th>Vu-ako (habitation)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vu-dyondzisi (teaching)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-ongori (nursing)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-vabyi (sickness)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-gevenga (crime)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-tswari (parenthood)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-lolo (laziness)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-galachani (recruiting)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.8.4.2. Nouns derived from other nouns

It may be possible to derive nouns from other nouns as in the example below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(106)</th>
<th>Vu-ngwendza (celibacy)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Vu-hari (animalism)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-khema (savage)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-sathana (devilish)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-kwembu (Godloness)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-munhu (humanity)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-ndhawu (locative)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vu-siku (night)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It would seem however, that the derivation in class 14 with vu- is dependent on the formation of a deverbative in another class. With vu-, the class prefix of the deverbative has disappeared, as in the example below:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>(107)</th>
<th>Class 1 mu-aki (builder) &gt;vu-aki (buiding)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 3 mu-ako (building) &gt;vu-ako (habitation)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.8.5. Contents of class 14:

The reference of class 14 includes among others, the following subcategories:
(108) (a) Groups:

Vuhlalu  (beads)
Vusokoti  (ants)
Vujiji    (female pubic hair)

(b) Place:

Vugimamusi (horizon)
Vuhansi    (bottom)
Vuhenhla   (upper part)
Vundzeni   (interior)

(c) States:

Vubofu    (blindness)
Vulolo    (laziness)
Vumunhu   (humanity)
Vukulukumba (superiority)
Vuhari    (ferocity)

(d) Abstract:

Vutivi    (knowledge)
Vuloyi    (witchcraft)
Vuthhari  (wisdom)

(e) Substance:

Vutomi    (life)
Vucema     (palm wine)
Vulongo   (animal faeces)
Vurimba   (bird lime)

(f) Professions:

Vudokodela (medicine profession)
Vunese    (nursing profession)
Vudyondzisi (teaching profession)
Vurhungi  (sewing profession)

3.2.9. Class 15

The prefix of class 15 is ku:

(109) ku sweka   (cooking)
ku hlantswa  (washing)
ku tsutsuma   (running)
ku dyondza    (learning)
ku hlaya      (studying/reading)
ku dya        (eating)
This prefix **ku-** only appears in derivation from verbs. Thus, there is no non-derived class 15 noun in Xitsonga. The derivation with the verb is also known as the infinitive.

### 3.2.10. Classes 16, 17 and 18

These three classes are known as classes of locative nouns. The prefixes of these classes are **ha-**, **ku-** and **mu-**, respectively. These prefixes no longer function in Xitsonga. Where they do appear, they are realized as follows:

```
(110)  Class 16: ha-: hansi (below), haxawa (next year)
       Class 17: ku-: kule (far), kusuhi (near)
       Class 18: mu-: ndzhaku(back), ndzeni (inside)
```

However, fossilized prefixes of other locative nouns are not clear:

```
(111) Mahlweni (front)
      Xikarhi (middle)
```

### 3.2.11. Class 21

#### 3.2.11.1. The prefix **dyi-**

The prefix of class 21 is **dyi-**:

```
(112) dyihomu (big cow)
      dyinhloko (big head)
      dyitulu (big chair)
      dyigadu (big piece of porridge)
      dyihembe (big shirt)
      dyimovha (big car)
```

It should be clear from the examples in (112) that class 21 does not have nouns of its own. Namely, the prefix **dyi-** always attaches itself to noun stems belonging to other groups. It seems as if this prefix **dyi-** occurs only with the singular forms of these nouns:

```
(113) Class 1 : dyi-munhu (big man)
       Class 3 : dyi-murhi (big tree)
       Class 5 : dyi-mhondzo (big horn)
       Class 7 : dyi-kolo (big school)
       Class 9 : dyi-nyarhi (big buffalo)
       Class 11: dyi-byanyi (big grass)
```

#### 3.2.11.3. The appearance of the prefix **dyi-** with monosyllabic and polysyllabic noun stems:

It would seem that the behaviour of monosyllabic and polysyllabic noun stems when appearing with the prefix **dyi-** is not the same. The two tables below will illustrate this point:
3.2.11.3.1. Monosyllabic noun stems:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classes</th>
<th>noun stems with dyi-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dyi-mu-nhu (big person)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dyi-mu-twa (big thorn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>dyi-ri-to (big voice)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>dyi-xi-nkwa (huge bread)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>dyi-yn-ndlu (big house)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>dyi-vu-swa (huge porridge)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3.2.11.3.2. Polysyllabic noun stems


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>classes</th>
<th>noun stems with dyi-</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>dyi-fana (big boy)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>dyi-kwana (big knife)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5 with ri-</td>
<td>dyi-mhondzo (big horn)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7</td>
<td>dyi-kwembe (big pumpkin)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9</td>
<td>dyi-mbhongolo (big donkey)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14 with by</td>
<td>dyi-goda (big tail hair)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>with by</td>
<td>dyi-byewu (big bark fire)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The table in (114) shows that when the prefix dyi- is used with monosyllabic noun stems, the class prefix to which that noun belongs also surfaces. The table in (115) indicates that when the prefix dyi- is used with polysyllabic noun stems, the class prefixes of such nouns disappear, except class 9, where the prefix n- may still appear, and class 14, in the case where the prefix is the allomorph by-. This allomorph is retained when the prefix dyi- appears.

3.2.11.3. The plural prefix of noun stems in 21

Noun stems in class 21 take the prefix ma-, of class 6 as their plural prefix:


<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ma-dyi-mu-nhu</th>
<th>(huge persons)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-nyimpfu</td>
<td>(huge sheep)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-ri-to</td>
<td>(huge voices)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-ndlela</td>
<td>(bad roads)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-xi-nkwa</td>
<td>(huge breads)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-mbhongolo</td>
<td>(huge donkeys)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-suti</td>
<td>(huge suits)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-kwana</td>
<td>(huge knives)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ma-dyi-lori</td>
<td>(huge trucks)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
It should be noted however, that while the prefix dyi- cannot appear with the plural prefix of monosyllabic noun stems, the prefix ma- with dyi- do allow some of the monosyllabic noun stems to occur with their plural prefix:

(117) Ma-dyi-mi-mpfi  
     Ma-dyi-mi-rhi

3.3.  LOCATIVE AFFIXES AND DIMINUTIVE IN XITSONGA

3.3.1.  Locative prefix e- and the suffix -ini

It is common in Xitsonga to form locative nouns by the use of the locative prefix e- and the locative suffix -ini:

(118) emurhini (on the tree)  
     entirhweni (at work)  
     enkoveni (in the river)  
     epatwini (on the road)  
     exikolweni (at school)  
     endlwini (in the house)

But when the locative noun refers to a town or a place where people stay, only the prefix e- is used:

(119) eGiyani (at Giyani)  
     eStellenbosch (in Stellenbosch)  
     eCape Town (in Cape Town)  
     ePhalaborwa (in Phalaborwa)  
     ePolokwane (in Polokwane)

It would seem that, the use of the prefix e- in both cases in (118) and (1119) above is not obligatory. In a spoken language, the prefix may be omitted. But this omission is apparent only when such locative nouns are used in.

(120) Ndzi tshama Giyani  
     Ndzi ya Venda

3.3.1.1. The prefix le- and the suffix -ini

It may also be possible to form the locative noun by the use of the prefix le- and the suffix -ini. The locative prefix le- occurs in copulative constructions.

(121) (a)  
     (i) Tihomu ti le tshangeni  
         (cattle are in the kraal)  
     (ii) [Tihomu] [ti; -cop [le-tshangeni]  

(b)  
     (i) U le ndlwini  
     (ii) [pro] [u; -cop [le-ndlwini]
The prefix le- may also occur in descriptive possessive constructions:

(122) Ntirho wa le purasini [a-ku-ri [ku-rima]
(The work on the farm was to plough).

The locative prefix le- is obligatory in both the positive and the negative. When this prefix is elided unacceptability results:

(123) (a) Positive:
*Tihomu ti tshangeni
(Cattle are in the kraal)
*Vakon’wana va ndlwini
(The in-laws are in the house)
*Swikomu swi masin’wini
(Hoes are in the field)

(b) Negative:
Tihomu a ti tshangeni
(Cattle are not in the kraal)
Vakon’wana a va ndlwini
(The in-laws are not in the house)
Swikomu a swi masin’wini
(Hoes are not in the field)

It should also be noted that it is not possible to use the prefix e- in the context in which le- is used:

(124) *Tihomu ti etshangeni
*Vakon’wana va endlwini
*Swikomu swi emasin’wini

3.3.2. The diminutive
The diminutive is formed by the prefix and the suffixes -ana, -nyana, and -etana:

3.3.2.1. With the suffix -ana:

(125) Ximudyana (small tree)
Xihon’wana (small cow)
Ximunhwana (small person)
Ximbutana (small goat)
Ximovhana (small car)
Xibazana (mini bus)

3.3.2.2. With the suffix -nyana:

(126) Xifanyana (small boy)
Ximbyanyana (puppy)
Ximbhinyana (small handle)
Xinsinyana (small field)
Xihunyana (small wood)

3.3.2.3. With the suffix -etana:

(127) Xifanyetana (young boy)
3.3.3. The appearance of the suffixes -ana, -nyana and -etana with the prefix

It is compulsory for the suffixes -ana and -etana to appear together with the prefix which forms the diminutive. Without such a prefix ungrammaticality results:

(128) *mudyana
*hon’wana
*munhwana
*fanyetana

But for the suffix -nyana, an omission of the prefix does not cause any problem. However, in this case the suffix is just added to any noun without affecting the form of such a noun:

(129) murhinyana (small tree)
Homunyana (small cow)
munhunyana (small person)
mbyananyana (small dog)
nsimunyana (small field)
mbhinyinyana (small handle)

The use of the suffix -nyana as in (129) has a derogatory reference. That is, the entity to which the noun refers is not small in its real sense, but that it is undermined because of other reasons.

3.3.4. The prefixes which appear with the diminutive suffixes:

Generally, the prefix xi- is the one which appears with the suffixes -ana, -nyana and -etana, as indicated in (127). But this prefix has a tendency of appearing together with the class prefix to which the noun which is being diminutivized belongs; except with zero prefix noun stem:

(130) Xi-mu-nhwana (small person)
Xi-mu-dyana (small tree)
Xi-xi-nkwana (small bread)
Xi-ri-twana (small voice)
Xi-yi-ndlwana (small house)
Xi-hon’wana (small cow)
Xi-hunyana (small wood)

Both prefixes in (130) above are compulsory. When the prefix xi- appears without the class prefix to which the noun belongs, ungrammaticality results:

(131) *Xidyana
*Xinkwana
*Xitwana
*Xin’wana

But it may be possible for the suffix -nyana to appear without the diminutive suffix xi-. Thus, this suffix appears together with the class prefix to which such a noun belongs:

(132) munhunyana (small person)
xilonyana (small useless thing)
3.4. MORPHOLOGICAL STRUCTURE OF THE XITSONGA NOUN

3.4.1. Prefixes

(a) Xitsonga has the following noun class prefixes arranged here in their chronological order:
Class 1/2: mu-/va-
Class 3/4: mu-/mi- n-/mi-n-
Class 5/6: ri/ma- (ma-ri) (ma-dyi) [-]/ma-
Class 9/10: n-/ti-n-
Class 11/10: ri-/ti-n-
Class 14: vu-
Class 15: ku-
Class 21: dyi-
Class 1a/2a: [-]/vá-

(b) It seems to be possible for two prefixes to appear together for example 3/4, 5/6, 9/10 [mi-n-], [ma-ri-], [ma-dyi-], [ti-n-]

(c) There are nouns which have no prefixes for example in class 1a, class 5 and class 9. The noun class of these nouns can only be established through their plural prefix or their subjectival agreement morpheme.

(d) The morphological structure of the noun seems to disregard the presence of more than one morpheme on the noun as a prefix. Thus, all nouns will appear with one prefix only. This type of structure is necessitated because of the presence of a singular prefix together with a plural prefix for example class 6 and class 5: [ma-ri-bye]

The morphological structure of the noun will thus always show one prefix for example

(a) [ri-bye]
With the addition of class 6 prefix \textit{ma-} on the structure above, this structure will be maintained and the prefix \textit{ma-} will appear as specific of the noun above:

(b) \quad [\text{ma-ri-bye}]

The number of prefixes may be extended for example to three or four but the structure will never change, namely the basic structure as with [ri-bye] above will simply be repeated:

(c) \quad [\text{ma-dyi-ri-bye}]

With the addition of the locative prefix \textit{e-} the number of prefixes may be extended to four but with the same structure above:

(d) \quad [\text{e-ma-dyi-ri-bye-ini}]
3.4.2. Suffixes

There seem to be very few suffixes of the noun. The only two which have a high frequency are the locative morpheme [-ni] and the diminutive morpheme which can be realized as [-ana] [-nyana] or [-etana]. The diminutive morpheme may frequently co-occur with the class 7/8 prefixes.

(135)  (a)  [e-mu-rhi-ini]

The diminutive morpheme will appear before the locative morpheme:

(b)  [e-swi-mi-rhi-ana-ini]
There are two other suffixes which are now no longer frequently in use, namely **ndhuna** or **lume**, indicating masculine for example

(c)  
(i)  [masa-lume]
(ii) [nhongo-ndhuna]

Lastly the nominal root may consist of a verb with a nominal affix [-i] or [-o]:

(d)  
(i)  [mu-vatl-i]
(ii) [xi-hal-o]

3.5 SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The chapter discussed the morphology of the noun in Xitsonga focusing specifically to two main issues, namely, noun classes and the morphological structure of the noun in Xitsonga. Section 3.2. was
concerned with the affixes, which in the case of Xitsonga include the noun prefixes as well as the noun suffixes. All Xitsonga noun prefixes from class 1 through to class 21 have been discussed in detail. The chapter affirmed what has been established by other scholars that the prefix for class 1 is mu-. It demonstrated that class 1 prefix may occur through a number of allomorphs, some of which include n- , as in the noun ndzisanyana (young boy). The following observations have been noted with respect to the allomorph n- : (1) that the use of the allomorph in class 1 nouns such as nhlapfa (foreigner) is gradually disappearing nowadays and is being replaced by the full prefix mu- as in muhlapfa. It was established that this allomorph is still realised with nouns such as nkata (spouse). Something significant established in this research is that the allomorph n- represents an independent syllable, and that it may be represented in 5 ways phonetically, as follow : n → n, n → ŋ, n→ nj, n → m, and n → nj. However, in class 1 only three forms of the allomorph n- are realised, namely, n → n : nsati (wife), n → ŋ : njkata (spouse) and n → m: mbatli. It shows that generally, the consonant – l- is elided from the noun stem with this consonant as in noyi (witch) instead of muloyi. It also showed that an exception occurs with the noun mulumbei (accuser) which retains such a consonant. The chapter illustrated that the allomorph n’w- occurs only with old nouns but no new nouns occurs with it. It also showed that the allomorph n’- exist only in the language of older people and occurs in nouns such as n’eni (quest) and that it is slowly disappearing. It indicated that nouns with zero prefix such as nhwana (young lady) are also found in class 1.

The work in this section has demonstrated that the prefix vu- is used for Vatsonga and the people closer to Vatsonga such as Vavhenda while the prefix ma-of class 6 is instead used for other people who are staying away from Vatsonga such as Mazulu (Zulu people). This means that subconsciously the people that are far away from Vatsonga are not given the same status of people as them. The work also showed that when the prefix ma-is used to refer to Vatsonga or people who are near them such as masuthu it has a derogatory sense. It has been found that the prefix ma- is used also to indicate membership of a person to a specific nation or race group. It was demonstrated that the content of class 1 nouns consists of: people, nouns with possessive concord, kinship terms, proper names, animals, indefinite nouns, personal nouns, place nouns. The works showed that class 2 nouns are the plural of class 1 nouns. Otherwise, it is described as a class that refers to groups of things with proper names, and kinship terms.

The work showed that it may be possible for class 3 and class 4 prefixes to occur in full with monosyllabic noun stems as in mumu (heat). It also showed that the two prefixes may co-occur together in monosyllabic noun stems as in mimumu (heats). The work illustrated that the prefix mi-sometimes occurs alone in monosyllabic noun stems as in mirhi (trees). It is also demonstrated that some monosyllabic noun stems accepts both prefixes together or individually, as in minga (thorn tree) or mimunga (thorn tree). It was found that all the five forms of the allomorph n- are realised with
noun stems in class 3 and 4. It was shown that the content of class 3 and class 4 include the following: names of trees, names of plants, group names, body parts, names of animals and birds, instruments, and prepared food. With class 5 and 6 it was indicated that the prefixes are compulsory with monosyllabic stems, and that with di- or polysyllabic noun stems these prefixes occurs with some and does not occur with others. It was illustrated that it may be possible for monosyllabic noun stems to occur with double prefix, as in marito (words). It is maintained that with di- or polysyllabic noun stems only one prefix occurs in the plural. It was also demonstrated that zero prefix nouns in the singular also occur in these classes, as in dyambu (sun) and the prefix resurfaces in the plural, as in madyambu (sun/evening). The content of these classes include the following entities: Psychological features, body parts, natural phenomena, loan words, animal and insects names, fruits names, artifacts, and long thin objects. The work also showed that with derived nominals found in these classes may indicate excessive act, as in rifambo (excessive going). It was maintained that the prefix ma- may indicate groups, manner, augmentation, and derogatory. It was demonstrated that it may be possible for the prefix ma- may occur with dyi- of 21, as in ma-dyi-hembe (huge ugly shirts).

The work in this section also showed that although most nouns occur with both class prefixes, there are other nouns in these classes that occur with only one prefix, specifically the singular prefix, as in numa (money/bride price) whose intrinsic or encyclopaedic semantics disallows the occurrence of the plural prefix with it. The work also demonstrated that in some cases the prefixes x- and sw- occur in the form of allomorph x- and sw-, as in xandla (arm) and swandla (arms). It was also demonstrated that it may be possible for derivation to occur through the prefixes xi- and swi-, as in xihon'wana (small cow) and swihon'wana (small cows). The work showed that the contents of classes 7 and 8 include the following things: Language and culture, humans with various features such as physical features, Expert, excessive actors, body parts, animals, artifacts, and natural phenomena. The work also illustrated that class 9 and 10 prefixes are yi(n)- and ti-yin-. It also shows that some nouns in class 9 occur with zero prefix. The work demonstrated that loan words are also found in this class. It illustrated that some of the nouns which occurs with class 9 prefix may occur with either class 10 prefix or class 6 prefix, as in nsimu (field) which may be tinsimu (fields) or masimu (fields). It was argued that when the prefix n- occurs with the noun stems which have the consonants v and n it will change v to b, as in mbatlu (adze) and it also influences the consonant r or rh to become dz-, as in tindzimi (languages). The work demonstrated that the content of classes 9 and 10 include the following things: animals, body parts, artifacts, natural phenomena, humans, fruits, and loan words.

The work in this section showed that class 11 prefix is ri- which is similar to that of class 5 but differ with respect to pluralisation, because the plural of class 5 nouns is class 6, while the plural of class 11 is that of class 10. It was demonstrated that in these classes there are nouns which only occurs with singular prefix only, as in rirhandzu (love). It was found that in these classes there are also nouns which change the v sound to b when they occur in the plural, as in rivoni (lamp) which is timboni. It
was also indicated that these days such sounds no longer change, as in 

**rivoni** (lamp) and **tivoni** (lamps). It was also maintained that when the prefix **ti**- appears with a noun which occurs with the

prefix **ri**-, the prefix **ri**-will change to **dz**-, as in **tindzimi** (languages). The work in this study showed that the prefix for class 14 is **vu**-, which may be realised in full, as in **vurimba** (bird lime) or in the form of allomorphs such as **v**-, as in **voya** (fur/hair), **by**-, as in **byalwa** (beer). The work also showed that it may be possible for class 6 prefix **ma**- to co-occur with class 14 prefix, as in **mavoya** (hairs).

The work pointed out that it may be possible in some rare situation for the prefix **vu**- to serve as a plural prefix, as in the case of **vusokoti** (ants) which may be construed to be a plural of **risokoti** (ant).

Something significant with class 14 nouns is that they are able to occur as deverbatives, as in **vuvabyi** (sickness/illness), an issue which is the main purpose of this research. Something exciting that was also realised is the fact that derivation in class 14 seems to be dependent on the derivation that has already taken place in other classes. For example, the deverbative **vuaki** (building (act)) seems to be dependent on **muaki** (builder) in class 1, and the deverbative **vuako** (habitation/abode) which seems to be dependent on the deverbative **muako** (building (artefact)) in class 3. The work in this study indicated the following things as those that are found in class 14: groups of entities, place, artifacts, states, abstracts, substance and professions.

The work illustrated that class 15 prefix **ku**- is a prefix which is used solely for derivation of nominals from verbs, as in **ku famba** (the going). It was shown that this may be treated in the same way as **vufambi** (going) of class 14. It was made clear that this class does not have underived nouns that belong to it, but has to depend on verbs so as to derive nominals from them. It was demonstrated that it is difficult to determine the contents of this class 15; save to say that class 15 nouns include a variety of things that are found in verbs. The work showed that nothing new was found regarding noun classes 16, 17, and 18. The work demonstrated that these classes remain strictly as classes for old locative nouns. It was shown that these classes have the prefixes **ha**-, **ku**-, and **mu**-, as in these examples: **hansi** (down), **kule** (far) and **ndzhaku** (back/rear) respectively. It was argued that no new formations are possible with these classes and that the nouns that belong to these classes are very limited in number. The work demonstrated that class 21 has the prefix **dyi**-. It is indicated that class 21 does not have nouns of its own. It was shown that this class depends on nouns from other classes. It was demonstrated that it may be possible for class 21 prefix to occur with monosyllabic nouns, in which case both prefixes of the noun in question, and of class 21 will co-occur together, as in **dyimumhu** (huge ugly/frightening person). It was stated that when class 21 prefix occur with polysyllabic nouns, the class 21 prefix will occur alone in the noun in question, namely, the prefix of the original noun falls off. The work also demonstrated that it may be possible for class 21 prefix to occur in a single monosyllabic noun with the plural prefix of class 6 as well as the singular prefix of the monosyllabic noun in question, as in **ma-dyi-yindlu** (huge ugly houses).
Section 3.3. illustrated that it may be possible for a noun in Xitsonga to occur with locative suffixes such as e- and -ini, as in emurhini (on the tree). The work showed that only the locative prefix e- occurs with a place name denoting where people live, as in eGiyani (in Giyani). It was also demonstrated that it may be possible for the prefix le- and the suffix -ini to occur in copulative constructions as in u le ndlwini (he is in the house). It was further illustrated that the prefix le- may occur in descriptive possessive constructions, as in ntirho wa le mapurasini (the work on the farm). It was stated that it may not be possible for the prefix e to replace le, otherwise ungrammaticality will result as in tihomu ti le tshangeni (the cattle are in the kraal) and not tihomu ti etshangeni. This chapter showed that in Xitsonga there are three diminutive suffixes, namely -ana, -nyana, and -etana. It is maintained that it is obligatory for the suffixes -ana and -etana to occur in a noun together with the prefix xi-, as in ximudyana (small tree), otherwise ungrammaticality will result. The work demonstrated that with the suffix -nyana, the prefix xi- is not compulsory, as in murhinyana (little tree). It was argued that sometimes the suffix -nyana exhibit the derogatory sense. It was contended in this chapter that in most cases, the suffix -nyana should not appear with the singular prefix and together with class 7 prefix xi-, as in ximunhwana (little person), otherwise ungrammaticality will results or the meaning will shift, as in xinhwana (girlhood). The work showed that with the suffix -nyana it is not compulsory for the prefix xi- to co-occur with the prefix of the other noun, since it still makes sense even without it, as in xilonyana (small useless thing).

Section 3.4. discussed the morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun. The work demonstrated that the morphological structure of the noun allows two affixes to occur, namely the prefix and the suffix. It was illustrated that even other nouns which occur with zero prefixes also fit into the same structure. The discussion illustrated that the morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun disregard the occurrence of more than one noun. It was argued that when the number of prefixes is extended, the same morphological structure will just be repeated. It was shown that this may apply even to the occurrence of locative prefixes with a noun. The work demonstrated that there are few suffixes of the noun in Xitsonga. Such suffixes are locative -ni, and the following diminutive suffixes: -ana, -nyana, and -etana. The work illustrated that it may be possible for the diminutive suffixes to co-occur with class 7 and 8 prefixes as demonstrated above. The work also showed that in Xitsonga there occur two old suffixes, namely ndhuna and lume, as in nhongondhuna and masalume. The work indicated that it may be possible for the deverbal nominal to occur with the nominal affix -i or -omuvatli (carpenter) and xihalo (scrape).
CHAPTER FOUR

DEVERBAL NOMINALS FROM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Verbs of State/Existence, Change of State, Motion, and verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion

4.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter involves a systematic investigation of a range of verbs in each of the semantic verb classes and their subclasses with regard to the possibilities of derivation of nominals. The aim of this chapter, in particular, is to determine the range of noun classes in which these deverbatives occur, both in terms of regularity and irregularity of occurrence. In addition, the chapter investigates the nature of the semantic features of these deverbatives across the sets of deverbatives derived from the semantic sub-classes of verbs. The chapter also presents the morphological structure of deverbatives across noun classes within the confines of the X-bar syntax. Furthermore, the chapter explores the nature of the lexical semantic representations of the range of deverbatives within the framework of Pustejovsky’s Generative Lexicon Theory (1996) which employs the levels of representation of the argument structure, the event structure, and the qualia structure to account for the meanings of the deverbal nominals. It is also the aim of this chapter, following Busa’s views on the semantics of nominals, to show whether the deverbal nominals found in various classes may be interpreted as stage-level nominals and/or as individual-level nominals. Section 4.2. investigates the derivation of nominals derived from State/Existence verbs, section 4.3. deals with deverbatives derived from Change of State verbs, section 4.4. examines deverbatives derived from Motion verbs, and section 4.5. looks at deverbatives derived from verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion. Section 3.6. gives the summary of the main findings and conclusion of the arguments in this chapter.

4.2 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM STATE / EXIST VERBS

Levin (1995:250) defines verbs of existence as the verbs that relate to the existence of an entity at some location. These verbs also include a great deal of verbs that relate to the state in which a particular entity is. According to Levin, some of them require a locative prepositional phrase complement. These verbs take a wide range of subjects, which may be either animate or inanimate. Most of these verbs are intransitive verbs and do take an obligatory subject.
Tika (be heavy)

A. [Theme/experiencee]: mutiki (a heavy person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutiki u yimisa xibakele.
(The heavy one raises the fist).

(b) Mutiki u ba wansati.
(The heavy one hits the woman).

(c) Wanuna u tlakula mutiki erhingini.
(The man lifts the heavy one in the ring).

Plural: Class 2: vatiki (the heavy ones)

The nominal mutiki (heavy person) refers to the individual whose body weight of his body is above average. The nominal is defined in terms of the inherent property that this individual possesses throughout his lifetime; hence, the nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal. Furthermore, it may be theoretically possible to have a nominal such as this, but in general everyday language use; such a nominal may sound somewhat odd.

Tika (be heavy)

B. [Result]: ntiko (weight)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntiko wa n’wana wu ehlile.
(The weight of the child has dropped).

(b) Ntiko wa munhu wu vula swo tala.
(The weight of a person tells a lot).

(c) Dokodela u kambela ntiko wa mulwi.
(The doctor checks the weight of the fighter).

Plural: Class 4: mitiko (weights)
The nominal **ntiko** (weight) refers to the quality of heaviness in things determined by their mass quantity of matter as acted on by the force of gravity, that counter acts efforts to lift or move them.

**Tika** (be heavy)

C.  [Excessive experiencer]:  xitiki (an excessively heavy person)

Class 7: 4.  (a) Xitiki xi yimisa xibakele.  
(The excessive heavy one raises his fist).

(b) Xitiki xi dlaya nkuzi hi mavoko.  
(The excessive heavy one kills the bull by his hands).

(c) Vanhu va vona xitiki erhingini.  
(The people watch the heavy one in the ring).

Plural: class 8: switiki (excessively heavy ones)

The nominal **xitiki** (excessively heavy person) refers to an individual whose body mass is excessively above average. Just like in the case of **mutiki** (heavy person), this nominal is defined in terms of this inherent permanent property which this individual possesses throughout his life time, and as a result this nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal. In addition, it may be theoretically possible to have a nominal such as this, but in every day utterances such a nominal may somewhat sound odd.

**Karhala** (be tired)

A.  [Experiencer]:  mukarhali (the tired one)

Class 1: 1.  (a) Mukarhali u tshama ehansi.  
(The tired one sits down).

(b) Mukarhali u nwa mati.  
(The tired one drinks water).

(c) Wansati u languta mukarhali.  
(The woman looks at the tired person).

Plural: Class 2: vakarhali (tired people)

The nominal **mukarhali** (tired person) refers to the individual who is in a state of tiredness. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the state of tiredness can be temporary. Once such a state is past, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mukarhali** (tired person). In other words, the defining property in the interpretation of this nominal is the state of tiredness that may not be a permanent feature of the individual.


Karhala (be tired)

B.  [Excessive state]:  rikarhalo (excessive tiredness)

Class 5:  3.  (a) Rikarhalo ra wansati ri khomisa tingana.
(The excessive tiredness of the woman is disappointing).
(b) Rikarhalo ra wanuna ri n’wi hlongorisile entirhweni.
(The excessive tiredness of a man got him dismissed from the job).
(c) Mutholi u sola rikarhalo ra wanuna.
(The employer disapproves the excessive tiredness of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikarhalo (excessive tiredness) refers to the state of tiredness which is experienced excessively by an individual.

Karhala (be tired)

C.  [Result]:  makarhala (tiredness)

Class 6:  3.  (a) Makarhala ya ndzi tisela vurhongo
(Tiredness brings me slumbering).
(b) Makarhala yi vanga ndlala.
(Tiredness causes hunger).
(c) Wanuna u venga makarhala ya namixo.
(The man hates the tiredness of the morning).

Plural: This nominal occurs only in plural form. No singular form for the corresponding noun in class 5.

The nominal makarhala (tiredness) refers to the state of tiredness. This nominal makes sense when it is in plural form. It is not possible to make use of the singular nominal because makarhala (tiredness) is a mass noun and therefore cannot be counted.

Karhala (be tired)

D.  [Excessive experincer]:  xikarhali (the excessively tired person)

Class 7:  4.  (a) Xikarhali xi tshama ehansi.
(One who excessively gets tired sits down).
(b) Xikarhali xi titivarile.
(One who is excessively tired has fainted).
(c) Wansati u xeweta xikarhali.
(The woman greets the excessively tired person).

Plural: Class 8:  swikarhali (excessively tired persons)

The nominal xikarhali (tired person) denotes a person who experiences tiredness in an excessive way. It may be any person of both sexes, or of any age group. Such a nominal may be regarded as an
individual-level nominal. The person referred here need not be experiencing tiredness at the time of reference or he may be experiencing it. In other words, the context need not refer to the defining characteristic of the individual.

**Karhala** (be tired)

E. [State]: vukarhali (tiredness)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vukarhali bya wansati byi khomisa tingana
(The tiredness of the woman is disappointing).

(b) Vukarhali bya vatlangi byi hlurise xipano.
(The tiredness of the players made the team lose).

(c) Muthori u lemuka vukarhali bya wansati entirhweni.
(The employer notices the tiredness of the woman at work).

The nominal **vukarhali** (tiredness) refers to the state of tiredness which an individual experiences.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 5b</th>
<th>Class 6</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
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The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Deverbative derivation is a regular and productive process in classes 1/2, 5/6, 7/8, 11 and 14. The derivation of deverbatives in classes 3/4 and 9/10 is in contrast, highly exceptional. The morphological structure of deverbal nominals can be represented as follows:

```
  N
 /\  
 AF  Root  
 /\            
 Verb  AF
```

The noun class prefixes of the deverbal nominals are represented by the higher (leftmost) affix while the suffix of the deverbal nominal, which may be either -i or -o, is represented by the rightmost affix.

Class 1/2

Prefixes mu-/va-

Suffix: -i

mukarhali (a tired person)
Class 5/6

Prefixes ri-/ma-

Suffix: -o

rikarhala (Excessive tiredness)

Class 5

Prefixes: ri-

Suffix: -a

makarhala (state of tiredness)

Class 7/8

Prefixes: xi- / swi-

Suffix: -i

xikarhali (an excessively tired person)
Class 14

Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

vukarhali (quality of the state of tiredness)

Verbs of State/Existence

(1) Nominalisation of the verb -karhala (be tired)

(i) The verb -karhala (be tired)
Wanuna u karhele.
(The man is tired).

- karhala (be tired)
ARGSTR = arg1 = x: animate
EVSTR = E1 = e1: state
QUALIA = FORMAL = -karhala (e1, x)
(ARGSTR = Argument structure)
(EVSTR = Event structure)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Tire – State

The lexical semantic representation of -karhalain (1) shows that it has an argument structure containing one argument which is animate (animal or person). The event structure represents the state of being tired.

(2) Nominalisation in Class 1: mukarhali (tired person)

Mukarhali u tshama ehansi.
(The tired person is sitting down).

mukarhali
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: state
QUALIA = FORMAL = -karhala (e1, x)
D=E = Default event
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Tired – State - Human

The above lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nominal **mukharali** (tired person) in (2) illustrates in its argument structure that the only argument denotes a human, hence that a human being is tired. The event structure represents the state of being tired of a human being. In addition, the formal quale of the qualia structure indicates the state ($e_1$) of a tired person ($x$).

(3) **Nominalisation in Class 7: xikarhali (the excessively tired person)**

Xikarhali xi tisula nyuku.
(The excessively tired person is wiping sweat on himself).

| xikarhali |
| ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human |
| EVSTR = D=E1 = $e_1$: state |
| QUALIA = FORMAL = karhala –state_excessive ($e_1$, $x$) |

**Hierarchy of semántical Concepts:** Tired – state – Excessive – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **xikarhali** (excessively tired person) in (3) is similar to that of **mukarhali** (tired person) in (2) above. The formal quale of **xikarhali** (excessively tired person) in (3) has the additional feature [excessive], which distinguishes it from the lexical representation of **mukarhali** (tired person) in (2). Both these nominals denoting human have the suffix -i.

(4) **Nominalisation in Class 5: rikarhalo (excessive tiredness)**

Rikarhalo ra mufana erivaleni ra mitlangu ri hlamarisa vahlaleri.
(The excessive tiredness of the young man on the field surprises the spectators)

| rikarhalo |
| ARGSTR = ARG1 = e: r |
| EVSTR = D-E1 = $e_1$: state |
| QUALIA = FORMAL = -karhala_state_excessive ($e_1$, $x$) |

**Hierarchy of semantic Concepts:** Tired - Excessive – State

The lexical representation of the deverbative **rikarhalo** (excessive tiredness) in (4) above indicates that its argument structure contains two arguments. The one argument is a default argument (D-ARG1) denoting an animate argument (i.e., a human being or an animal). The first argument (ARG1) indicates the reference ® of the excessive state event (e of excessive tiredness). The event structure (EVSTR) represents the default event that is an excessive state. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the excessive state of an animate entity being tired.
Nominalisation in Class 14: vukarhali (state tiredness)

Vukarhali bya wansati entirhweni wo phama yindlu byi nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive tiredness on the work of plastering the house annoys the man).

Hierarchical representation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = \text{e}:r \\
\text{D-ARG1} &= \text{x}: \text{animate} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} = \text{e}_1: \text{state} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = \text{karhala\_state}\ (\text{e}_1, \text{x})
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Tired - State

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative vukarhali (tiredness) in (5) is similar to that of rikarhalo (excessive tiredness) in (4) above and makarhala (tiredness) in (6) below. The difference lies in the feature [quality] in the formal quale of vukarhali (tiredness) in (5), which is absent in (4) and (6). The suffix of vukarhali (tiredness) in (5) is -i, whereas the suffix -a, occurs in makarhala (tiredness) in (6). The suffix of rikarhalo in (4) is -o.

Nominalisation in Class 6: makarhala (tiredness)

Makarhala ya wansati ya ntirho wa tolo ya n’wi latile ehansi.
(The tiredness of the woman of the previous day’s work has made her sleep).

Hierarchical representation:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = \text{e}:r \\
\text{D-ARG1} &= \text{x}: \text{animate} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} = \text{e}_1: \text{state} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = \text{-karhala\_result\_state}\ (\text{e}_1, \text{x})
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic Concepts: Tired – State

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative makarhala (tiredness) in (6) has an account corresponding to that of rikharhalo (excessive tiredness) in (4). The only difference relates to the absence of the feature [excessive] in (4), where in (6) the state is not excessive, but rather the resultant state. This nominal is characterised by the presence of the suffix -o.

In the case of deverbatives denoting humans the suffix -i occurs, as in class 1 and 7. The semantic feature [experiencer] is found with class 1 deverbatives, whereas the semantic feature of [excessive experiencer] is found with class 7 deverbatives. However, such a suffix also occurs with class 14 deverbatives with the feature [quality of the state]. The suffix -o occurs with class 5 deverbatives with the feature [excessive act].

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of state verbs have similar lexical semantic representations. However, there are few exceptions/differences of some deverbatives with the deverbatives derived from -karhala, for example, the deverbatives of -tika (be heavy) include a deverbative in class 3,
denoting result, but no deverbative in class 6 and 14, like the other sets of deverbatives derived from state verbs; whereas the deverbatives of -loloha (be lazy) include an additional deverbative in class 5, denoting a human being, in contrast with the other sets of deverbatives derived from state verbs which do not have a deverbative in class 5 which refers to an individual.

Loloha (be lazy)

A. [Experiencer]: mulolohi (lazy person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulolohi u pfumala swakudya.
(The lazy person lacks food).
(b) Mulolohi u kombela mali eka vahundzi va ndlela.
(The lazy person asks for money from the passing-by people).
(c) Mfumo wu akela mulolohi yindlu.
(The government is building the house for the lazy person).

Plural: Class 2: valolohi (lazy people)

The nominal mulolohi (lazy person) refers to a person who is unwilling to work or who shows a lack of effort or energy in doing something. Theoretically and conceptually this nominal makes a lot sense because it shows that it is derived from the verb -loloha (be lazy), however semantically this verb may not be accepted since in everyday life it is uncommon to hear someone making use of it. The one which is accepted semantically is the nominal -lolo (lazy person), which theoretically is not clear how such a nominal came into being since in Xitsongthere is no verb such as -lola which was supposed to have been derived from, and a nominal such as lolo (lazy person) belongs to class 5.

Loloha (be lazy)

B. [Experiencer]: lolo (lazy person)

Class 5: 2. (a) Loho ri pfumala swakudya.
(The lazy person lacks food).
(b) Lolo ri kombela mali eka vahundzi va ndlela.
(The lazy person asks for money from the passing-by people).
(c) Mfumo wu akela lolo yindlu.
(The government is building the house for the lazy person).

Plural: Class 6: malolo (lazy people)

This nominal refers to a lazy person and it is the semantically accepted one to mulolohi (lazy person) in class one. There is an anomaly in the derivation of this nominal because the verb from which it is derived is loloha (be lazy) which theoretically should give rise to a nominal in class one. It is not very clear as to how this nominal was derived. The nominal lolo (lazy person) may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining element in this nominal is the laziness of the individual that is a permanent property.
**Loloha** (be lazy)

C.  

[*Excessive state*]:  

- **riloloho** (Excessive laziness)

Class 5:  

- (a)  
  **Riloloho ra mufana ri karhata vatswari va yena.**  
  (The excessive laziness of the young man worries his parents).

- (b)  
  **Riloloho ra wanuna ri dlayisa muti wa yena hi ndlala.**  
  (The excessive laziness of the man makes his family suffer from hunger).

- (c)  
  **Mfumo wu hlohlotela riloloho ra vantshwa hi ku va nyika tindlu ta RDP.**  
  (The government is encouraging excessive laziness of the youth by giving them RDP houses).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riloloho** (excessive laziness) denotes an excessive tendency of unwillingness to work or the tendency of showing a lack of effort or energy in doing something. What is interesting with this nominal is the fact that it is the one that is semantically accepted than **rilolo**.

**Loloha** (be lazy)

D.  

[*Excessive experiencer*]:  

- **xilolohi** (excessively lazy person)

Class 7:  

- (a)  
  **Xilolohi xi pfumala swakudya.**  
  (The excessively lazy person lacks food).

- (b)  
  **Xilolohi xi kombela mali eka vahundzi va ndlela.**  
  (The excessively lazy person asks for money from the passing-by people).

- (c)  
  **Mfumo wu akela xilolohi yindlu.**  
  (The government is building the house for the excessively lazy person).

Plural: Class 8: **swilolohi** (excessively lazy people)

The nominal **xilolohi** (excessively lazy person) refers to a person who is excessively unwilling to work or who shows an excessive lack of effort or energy to do something.

**Loloha** (be lazy)

E.  

[*State*]:  

- **vulolohi** (laziness)

Class 14:  

- (a)  
  **Vulolohi bya wanuna byi n’wi vangela vusiwana.**  
  (The laziness of the man causes poverty for him).

- (b)  
  **Vulolohi bya wanuna byi holovisa vatekani.**  
  (The laziness of the man makes the couple to quarrel).

- (c)  
  **Wansati u nyenya vulolohi bya nuna wakwe.**  
  (The woman dislikes the laziness of her husband).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulolohi** (laziness) denotes a state of laziness of an individual. Theoretically and conceptually this nominal makes a lot sense because it shows that it is derived from the verb **lolohla** (be lazy), however semantically this verb may not be accepted since in everyday language it is uncommon to hear someone making use of it. The one which is accepted semantically is the nominal
**vulolo** (laziness) although like in the case of **mulolohi** (lazy person) it is not clear why it was shortened.

**Leha** (be tall)

A. **[Theme]: mulehi (tall person)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulehi u korhamisa nhamu enyangweni ya yindlu.  
(The tall person bends his neck at the door of the house).

(b) Mulehi u petsa milenge emubedweni.  
(The tall person folds the legs on the bed).

(c) Wansati u lavela mulehi buruku ro n'wi ringana.  
(The woman looks for the tall person the trouser that fits him).

Plural: class 2: valehi (tall people)

The nominal **mulehi** (tall person) refers to an individual who is high in stature. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because tallness is a permanent feature of a person.

**Leha** (be tall)

B. **[Excessive state]: rileho (excessive tallness)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rileho ra wanuna ri hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The excessive tallness of the man surprises people).

(b) Rileho ra muako wa xitedzi ri chavisa vayeni.  
(The tallness of the upstairs building frightens visitors).

(c) N'wana u hlamala rileho ra matorokisi ya xitimela.  
(The child is surprised at the excessive tallness of the coaches of the train).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rileho** (excessive tallness) refers to the state of tallness of an individual which is above normal.

**Leha** (be tall)

C. **[Excessive theme]: xilehi (excessively tall person)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilehi xi korhamisa nhamu enyangweni ya yindlu.  
(The excessively tall person bends his neck at the door of the house).

(b) Xilehi xi petsa milenge emubedweni.  
(The excessively tall person folds the legs on the bed).

(c) Wansati u lavela xilehi buruku ro xi ringana.  
(The woman looks for the excessively tall person the trouser that fits him).

Plural: Class 8: swilehi (excessively tall people)

The nominal **xilehi** (excessively tall person) refers to an individual who is extra ordinary high in stature. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the feature of excessiveness in the tallness of this individual will remain with him for the rest of his life.
**Leha (be tall)**

D. [State]: vulehi (tallness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulehi bya rivala ra mitlangu byi ringana timitara ta dzana. (The length of the soccer field is hundred metres).

(b) Vulehi bya muako wa xitedzi byi hlamarisa vaendzi. (The tallness of the upstairs building surprises the visitors).

(c) Wansati u hlamala vulehi bya xitedzi. (The woman is surprised at the tallness of the upstairs).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vulehi (tallness) refers to the state of tallness of an individual.

**Koma (be short)**

A. [Theme]: mukomi (short person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukomi u dewula milenge emubedweni. (The short person dangles the legs on the bed).

(b) Mukomi u kokela xitulu xa movha emahlweni. (The short person pulls the car seat to the front).

(c) Wansati u petsela mukomi hembe emavokweni. (The woman is folding the shirt on the arm for the short man).

Plural: class 2: vakomi (short people)

The nominal mukomi (short person) refers to an individual who has a little height. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because shortness is a permanent feature of a person. It is not something that changes over a period.

**Koma (be short)**

B. [Excessive state]: rikomo (excessive shortness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikomo ra buruku ra wanuna ri hlekisa vana. (The excessive shortness of the trouser of the man makes children laugh).

(b) Rikomo ra mufana ri hlamarisa vanhu. (The excessive shortness of the young man surprises the people).

(c) Wansati u nyenya rikomo ra xikete xa nhwanyana. (The woman dislikes the excessive shortness of the skirt of the young woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikomo (excessive shortness) refers to the state of shortness of an individual that is below average.

**Koma (be short)**

C. [Excessive theme]: xikomi (excessively short person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikomi xi dewula milenge emubedweni. (The excessively short person dangles the legs on the bed).
(b) Xikomi xi kokela xitulu xa movha emahlweni.  
(The excessively short person pulls the car seat to the front).

(c) Wansati u petsela xikomi hembe emavokweni.  
(The woman is folding the shirt on the arm for the excessively short man).

Plural: class 8: swikomi (excessively short people)

The nominal xikomi (excessively short person) refers to an individual whose height is shorter than normal. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness in the shortness of the individual in question is a permanent feature of a person and cannot change over time.

Koma (be short)

D. [State]: vukomi (shortness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukomi bya buruku ra wanuna byi hlekisa vana.  
(The shortness of the trouser of the man makes children laugh).

(b) Vukomi bya mufana byi hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The shortness of the young man surprises the people).

(c) Wansati u nyenya vukomi bya xikete xa nhwanyana.  
(The woman dislikes the shortness of the skirt of the young woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukomi (shortness) refers to the state of shortness of an individual.

Fuma (be rich)

A. [Experiencer]: mufumi (rich person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufumi u nyikela tikhompyuta exikolweni.  
(The rich person donates computers to school).

(b) Mufumi u aka vhengele.  
(The rich person builds a shop).

(c) Vana va xeweta mufumi evhengeleni.  
(The children greet the rich person in the shop).

Plural: Class 2: vafumi (rich persons)

The nominal mufumi (rich person) refers to the person who has accumulated wealth for himself. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it may be possible for a rich person to loose all his possessions overtime and become poor. However, such a nominal may also be interpreted as an individual-level nominal since it may be possible for the individual in question to keep his riches throughout his entire life.
Fuma (be rich)

B. [State]: rifumo (riches)
Class: 2. (a) Rifumo ra wanuna i vana.
(The riches of a man is children).
(b) Rifumo ri vangela swigevenga.
(The riches invite criminals).
(c) Vavanuna va rhandza rifumo.
(The men like riches).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun.

The nominal rifumo (riches) refers to all the wealth an individual has accumulated. It has a result reading in that riches are obtained after an individual has worked very hard.

Fuma (be rich)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xifumi (excessively rich person)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xifumi xi nyikela ngati.
(The excessively rich man donates blood).
(b) Xifumi xi venga malolo.
(The excessively rich person hates lazy people).
(c) Vavanuna va lumbeta xifumi exitolo.
(The men accuse the excessively rich person in the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swifumi (excessively rich people)

The nominal xifumi (excessively rich person) refers to a person who has accumulated wealth for extraordinary wealth for himself. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it may be possible for such a person to lose all his possessions overtime and become poor. Again, this nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because it may be possible for the individual in question to remain excessively rich throughout his entire life.

Fuma (be rich)

D. [state]: vufumi (richness)
Class 14: 4. (a) Vufumi byi vanga vutikukumuxi.
(Richness causes pride).
(b) Vufumi byi hambanyisa vanhu na Xikwembo.
(Richness separates people from God).
(c) Vanhu va tsakela vufumi byo ringanela.
(The people like normal richness).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufumi (richness) refers to a state in which a person has accumulated a lot of wealth.
Lungha (be right)

A. [Theme]: mulunghi (righteous man)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulunghi u phakela swisiwana mpahla.
(The righteous man gives clothes to poor people).
(b) Mulunghi u rivalela vayivi va movha wakwe.
(The righteous man forgives the people who stole his car).
(c) Vavasati va phamela mulunghi swakudya enkhubyeni.
(The women provide food to the righteous person).

Plural: class 2: valunghi (righteous people)

The nominal mulunghi (righteous person) refers to an individual who upholds good morals and tries by all means possible to be fair in his actions. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question will be associated with the above stated traits for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristics of an individual.

Lungha (be right)

B. [Excessive state]: rilungho (excessive righteousness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilungho ra wanuna ri tsakisa vaakatiko.
(The righteousness of the man pleases residents).
(b) Rilungho ra wanuna ri n’wi delerisa hi vanhu.
(The righteousness of the man makes his despised by people).
(c) Wansati u sola rilungho ra nuna wakwe.
(The woman disapproves the righteousness of his husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rilungho (excessive righteousness) denotes an act of righteousness that is excessively exhibited by an individual.

Lungha (be right)

C. [Excessive theme]: xilunghi (excessively righteous man)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xilunghi xi venga vukungumbyana.
(The excessively righteous man hates corruption).
(b) Xilunghi xi rhandza mitirho leyiine.
(The excessive righteous man loves good works).
(c) Vanhu va seketela xilunghi eka nandzu wa xona.
(People are supporting the excessively righteous man on his offence).

Plural: class 8: swilunghi (excessively righteous men)

The nominal xilunghi (excessively righteous person) refers to an individual who upholds good morals and fairness in excessiveness. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because
the individual in question will be associated with the above stated traits for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristics of an individual.

**Lungha** (be right)

D.  

[State]: vulunghi (righteousness)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vulunghi bya wanuna byi rhandzisa ndyangu wa yena.  
(Righteousness of a man makes his family to be respected).

(b) Vulunghi bya wanuna byi tsan’wisa ndyangu wa yena.  
(Righteousness of a man despises his family).

(c) Vana va tekelerile vulunghi bya tata wa vona.  
(Children have inherited the righteousness of their father).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulunghi** (righteousness) refers to the upholding of attributes of uprightness, justice, straightness, innocentness, trueness, and sincereness by an individual.

**Nyuhela** (be fat)

A.  

[Theme/experiencer]: munyuheri (fat person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munyuheri u rhandza nyama ya nguluve.  
(The fat person loves pork).

(b) Munyuheri u na khwiri lerikulu.  
(The fat person has big stomach).

(c) Vakhandziyi va manyile munyuheri ebazini.  
(The passengers squeeze the fat person in the bus).

Plural: class 2: vanyuheli (fat persons)

The nominal **munyuheri** (fat person) refers to an individual whose body has too much flesh on it and weighing too much. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of fatness may disappear during the course of time. However, such a nominal may also be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because the weight of this individual is a permanent property of the individual in question.

**Nyuhela** (be fat)

B.  

[Excessive theme/experiencer]: xinyuheri (Excessively fat person)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xinyuheri xi rheyila bazi.  
(Excessively fat person drives the bus).

(b) Xinyuheri xi pfumala mpahla yo xi ringana.  
(Excessively fat person lacks clothes that fit him).

(c) Dokodela u nyika xinyuheri switsundzuxo.  
(The doctor gives advices to the excessively fat person).

Plural: class 8: swinyuheli (Excessively fat people)
The nominal xinyuheri (excessively fat person) refers to an individual who has an extra big body and weighing too much. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of fatness may disappear during the course of time. However, it may also be possible for such a noun to have the interpretation of individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of the weight of this individual may be a permanent property.

Nyuhela (be fat)

C. [State]: vunyuheri (fatness)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vunyuheri bya wanuna byi n’wi hlekisa hi vana.
(Fatness of a man makes people to laugh at him).

(b) Vunyuheri bya wanuna byi n’wi xavisa mpahla mikarhi hinkwayo.
(Fatness of a man makes him to buy clothes always).

(c) Vanhu va tsakisiwa hi vunyuheri bya Big Mama.
(People are pleased by the fatness of Big Mama).

Plural: no plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunyuheri (fatness) refers to the state or condition in which an individual’s body becomes big in size and weight.

Ondza (be thin/lean)

A. [Theme/experiencer]: muondzi

Class 1: 1. (a) Muondzi u ambala mpahla ya vana.
(The thin/lean wears the clothes for the children).

(b) Muondzi u vonaka timbambu erivaleni.
(The thin/lean person has the bones of the ribs exposed).

(c) Vanhu va ehleketelela muondzi vuvabyi bya Aids.
(The people suspect the thin person for the of Aids disease).

Plural: class 2: vaondzi (thin/lean people)

The nominal muondzi (thin/lean person) refers to an individual whose body is of little flesh and weight and contains no or very little fat. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question may be lean at a particular time and changes when such a person eats nutritious food. However, it may still be possible for such a nominal to be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because for some individual the state of leanness is a permanent property.

Ondza (be thin/lean)

B. [Excessive theme/experiencer]: xiondzi (excessively thin/lean person)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xiondzi xi dya swakudya swo aka miri.
(The excessively thin person eats the food that builds the body).
(b) Xiondzi xi rhandza swakudya swa tivhitamini.
(The excessively thin person likes food of vitamin).

(c) Muongori u nyika xiondzi tiphilisi ta tivhitamini.
(The nurse makes the excessively thin person vitamin tablets).

Plural: class 8: swiondzi (excessively thin/lean person).

The nominal **xiondzi** (excessively thin/lean person) refers to an individual whose body is of extra little flesh and weight and contains no or very little fat. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question may be lean at a particular time and changes when such a person eats nutritious food. However, it may also be possible for this nominal to be interpreted as an individual-level nominal, especially in the case where the excessiveness of the leanness of the individual in question is a permanent property.

**Ondza** (be thin/lean)

C. [State]: vuondzi

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuondzi bya mutswari byi chavisa vana va yena.
(The thinness of the parent terrifies his children).

(b) Vuondzi bya swifuwo byi vilerisa van’wamapurasi.
(The thinness of domestic animals worries the farmers).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala vuondzi bya wansati.
(People are spriased at the thinness of the woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuondzi** (leaness) refers to the state or condition in which an individual’s body has little flesh and weight.

**Nembelela** (dangle)

A. [Experiencer]: munembeleri (dangling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munembeleri u nembelela eka tipala ta le rivaleni ra mitlangu.
(The dangling person is dangling on the poles of the sport field).

(b) Munembeleri u wela ehansi ka nsinya.
(The dangling person falls under the tree).

(c) Wanuna u hlongola munembeleri ensinyeni.
(The man chases the dangling person on the tree).

Plural: class 2: vanembeleri (dangling persons)

The nominal **munembeleri** (dangler) denotes an individual who is engaged in the activity of dangling or hanging freely. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of dangling. Once such an act has been completed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **munembeleri** (dangler).
Nembelela (dangle)

B. [Excessive act]: rinembelelo (excessive/habitual dangling)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rinembelelo ra mukhomi wa tipala ri tsakisa vahlaleri.
(The excessive/habitual dangling of the goalkeeper makes spectators to be happy).
(b) Rinembelelo ra vana ensinyeni ri karhata vatswari.
(The excessive/habitual dangling of children on the tree worries the parents).
(c) Vahlaleri va sola rinembelelo ra n’watipala emapaleni.
(The spectators blame the excessive/habitual dangling of the goalkeeper at the poles).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rinembelelo (excessive dangling) denotes an act of dangling which is performed excessively by an individual.

Nembelela (dangle)

C. [Expert/Excessive/actor]: xinembeleri (expert/excessive/dangling person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xinembeleri xi nembelela etipaleni ta rivala ra mitlangu nkarhi wo leha.
(The expert/excessive/habitual dangling person at the poles at the sports ground for a long time).
(b) Xinembeleri xi nembelela erhavini ra nsinya.
(The expert/excessive/habitual dangling person is dangling on the tree branch).
(c) Wanuna u ba xinembeleri ensinyeni.
(The man beats the expert/excessive/habitual dangling person on the tree).

Plural: class 2: swinembeleri (expert dangling persons)

The nominal xinembeleri (expert dangler) denotes an individual who has a skill of dangling or hanging on something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the skill that an individual possesses and not the activity of dangling itself. Such a defining property will thus remain in the individual for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the act of dangling or he is not, he will always be referred to as xinembeleri (expert dangler).

Nembelela (dangle)

D. [Act]: vunembeleri (dangling)

Class 1: 1. (a) Vunembeleri bya vafana emisinyeni byi vanga makhombo.
(The dangling of the boys on the trees causes dangers).
(b) Vunembeleri bya mpahla emugiveni byi nyangatsa wansati.
(The dangling of the clothes at the dangling line disgusts the woman).
(c) Vahlaleri va sola vunembeleri bya n’wamapala erivaleni ra mitlangu.
(The spectators blame the dangling of the goalkeeper at the sport ground).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.
The nominal *vunembeleri* (dangling) denotes an act of dangling which is performed by an individual on something.

**Dyuhala** (become old)

A.  [Theme/experiencer]: Muduyali (old person)
   
   Class 1: 1. (a) Muduyali u dya mukapu.  
   (The old person is eating soft porridge).
   
   (b) Muduyali u ya emudendeni.  
   (The old person goes to the paying point of old grant funds).
   
   (c) Wansati u heleketa muduyali emudendeni.  
   (The woman accompanies the old person to the paying point of old grant funds).

   Plural: class 2: vadyuhari (old people)

   The nominal *mudyuhari* (old person) refers to an individual who has advanced in age. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because once an individual in question reaches that stage he will remain in it until he passes away. It cannot be possible for such an individual to become a young person again. In other words, what is being modified here is the property of oldness that can no longer be disassociated from the individual.

**Dyuhala** (become old)

B.  [Excessive state]: ridyuhalo (excessive ageing)
   
   Class 5: 2. (a) Ridyuhalo ra Magezi ri n’wi govekisa nhlana.  
   (The excessive ageing of Magezi makes him bend his back).
   
   (b) Ridyuhalo ra Yingwana ri n’wi rhurhumerisa tintiho.  
   (The excessive ageing of Yingwana makes his finger shiver).
   
   (c) Vanhu va hlamala ridyuhalo ra Yingwana.  
   (The people are surprtised at the excessive ageing of Yingwana).

   Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

   The nominal *ridyuhalo* (excessive ageing) refers to the state of ageing which has advanced rapidly.

**Dyuhala** (become old)

C.  [Excessive theme/experiencer]: xidyuhali (very old person)
   
   Class 7: 3. (a) Xidyuhali xi orha ndzilo.  
   (The very old person sits around the fire).
   
   (b) Xidyuhali xi ya emudendeni.  
   (The very old person goes to the paying point of the old grant funds).
   
   (c) Wansati u nyika xidyuhali swakudyaya.  
   (The woman gives food to the very old person).

   Plural: Class 8: swidyuhali (excessive people who become old)
The nominal **xidyuhali** (excessive actor) refers to an individual who has excessively advanced in age. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because once an individual in question reaches that stage, he will remain in it until he passes away. It is possible for such an individual to reverse the state in which he is. In other words, what is being modified here is the property of excessive ageing which can no longer be disassociated from the individual.

**Dyuhala** (become old)

D.  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[State]: vudyuhali (ageing)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 14: 4.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (a) Vudyuhali bya Mamayila byi n’wi twisa xirhami mikarhi hinkwayo.  
(The ageing of Mamayila makes her feel cold all the time). |
| (b) Vudyuhali bya Yingwana byi n’wi tshamisa endlwini nkarki hinkwawo.  
(The excessive ageing of Yingwana makes him stay inside the house every time). |
| (c) Wansati u hlamala vudyuhali bya Khazamula.  
(The woman is surprised at the ageing of Khazamula). |

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vudyuhari** (ageing) refers to the state of ageing of an individual.

**Biha** (be ugly)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Theme/experiencer]: Mubihi (ugly person)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 1: 1.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (a) Mubihi u chavisa swihlangi enambyeni.  
(The ugly person frightens children in the river). |
| (b) Mubihi u holovisa vafana enhoveni.  
(The ungly person makes young men quarrel in the bush). |
| (c) Vana va hlasela mubihi exikolweni.  
(The children attack the ugly person at school). |

Plural: class 2: vabihi (ugly people)

The nominal **mubihi** (ugly person) refers to an individual who has unpleasant facial or body appearance. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of ugliness, which defines this nominal is a permanent feature of the individual in question which will be associated with the individual for the rest of his life. Although it may be theoretically correct to derive a deverbalive such as this, semantically, the most acceptable deverbative from the verb -**biha** (be ugly) would be **mabihanai**(the ugly one). Note that with this deverbative the suffix -**ana** is attached.

**Biha** (be ugly)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Excessive state]: ribiho (excessive ugliness)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Class 5: 2.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
| (a) Ribiho ra Magezi ri hlekisa swihlangi.  
(The excessive ugliness of Magezi makes children laugh). |
(b) Ribiho ra yindlu ya Yingwana ra hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive ugliness of the house of Yingwana surprises people).

(c) Wanuna u sola ribiho ra movha wa Magezi.
(The man criticises the excessive ugliness of the car of Magezi).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribiho** (excessive ugliness) refers to an excessive state of unpleasant facial or body appearance.

**Biha** (be ugly)

C. **[Excessive theme/experiencer]**: xibihi (excessively ugly person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibihi xi chavisa vana exikolweni.
(The excessively ugly person frightens children at school).

(b) Xibihi xi bukutela vafana enambyeni.
(The excessively ugly person beats young men in the river).

(c) Vafana va hlongola xibihi entlangwini.
(The young men chase away the excessively ugly person from the function).

Plural: Class 8: swibihi (excessively ugly people)

The nominal **xibihi** (excessively ugly person) refers to an individual who has an excessive unpleasant facial or body appearance. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessive ugliness, which defines this nominal is a permanent feature of the individual in question which will be associated with the individual for the rest of his life.

**Biha** (be ugly)

D. **[State]**: vubihi (be ugly)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubihi bya yindlu ya malume byi hlekisa vanhu.
(The ugliness of the house of the uncle makes people laugh).

(b) Vubihi bya Magezi byi chavisa vana enambyeni.
(The ugliness of Magezi frightens children in the river).

(c) Magezi u sola vubihi bya movha wa Khazamula
(Magezi criticises the ugliness of the car of Khazamula).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vubihi** (ugliness) refers to a state of unpleasant facial or body appearance.

**Biha** (be bad)

[**Actor**]: Mubihi (bad person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubihi u xanisa vafana enambyeni.
(The bad person ill treats his wife).

(b) Mubihi u ba nsati wa yena.
(The bad person beats his wife).
(c) Vanhu va sandza mubihi.
(The people criticize the bad person).

Plural: class 2: vabihi (bad people)

The nominal mubihi (bad person) denotes an individual whose actions to other people are unpleasant or unacceptable. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the badness of actions has something to do with the personality of an individual that might not be easy to break. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be doing something bad, he will always be referred to as mubihi (bad person).

Biha (be bad)

B. [Excessive state]: ribiho (excessive badness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribiho ra mbilu ya Magezi ri nyenyetsa kokwana.
(The excessive badness of the heart of Magezi annoys the grandfather).

(b) Ribiho ra timbilu ta mathicara ri nyangatsa vatswari va vana.
(The badness of the hearts of the teachers disgusts the parents of the children).

(c) Mathicara va nyenya ribiho ra mbilu ya Magezi.
(The teachers hate the badness of the heart of Magezi).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribiho (excessive badness) refers to state of excessive badness of an individual or any other thing.

Biha (be bad)

C. [Excessive actor]: xibihi (excessively bad person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibihi xi bukutela vana exikolweni.
(The excessively bad person beats children at school).

(b) Xibihi xi xanisa vavasati enambyeni.
(The excessively bad person ill treats women in the river).

(c) Vatswari va venga xibihi.
(The parents hate the excessively bad person).

Plural: Class 8: swibihi (excessively bad people)

The nominal xibihi (excessively bad person) denotes an individual whose actions to other people are excessively unpleasant or unacceptable. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of the badness of actions is something that will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be doing something bad in an excessive way, he will always be referred to as xibihi (excessively bad person).
Biha (be bad)

D. [Act]: vubihi (Evil/ badness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubihi bya mbilu ya malume byi nyenyetsa vanhu.
(The badness of the heart of my uncle annoys people).
(b) Vubihi bya swiendlo swa Makhanana byi nyangatsa kokwana.
(The badness of the acts of Tsatsawana disgusts the grandmother).
(c) Magezi u nyenya vubihi bya swiendlo swa mufana.
(Magezi hates the badness of the acts of the young man).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubihi (badness) refers to state of badness of an individual or any other thing.

Saseka (be beautiful)

[Theme/experiencer]: Musaseki (beautiful person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musaseki u xeweta vanhu.
(The beautiful one greets the people).
(b) Musaseki u ya exikolweni.
(The beautiful one goes to school).
(c) Vanhu va tsakela musaseki.
(People like the beautiful one).

Plural: class 2: vasaseki (beautiful people)

The nominal musaseki (beautiful person) refers to a good looking person, especially a woman or a girl. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of beauty, which is the defining element in this nominal is a permant feature which will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of her life.

Saseka (be beautiful)

B. [Excessive state]: risaseko (excessive beauty)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risaseko ra muti wa Magezi ri nyanyula vaakelana va yena.
(The excessive beauty of the home of magezi excites his neighbours).
(b) Risaseko ra Tsatsawana ri koka vanhu mahlo
(The excessive beauty of Tsatsawana attracts people).
(c) Vanhu va hlamala risaseko ra muti wa Muzamani.
(People are surprised at the excessive beauty of the home of Muzamani).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risaseko (excessive beauty) refers to the state of beauty that is beyond ordinary.
Saseka (be beautiful)

C.  [Excessive theme/experiencer]:  xisaseki (excessively beautiful person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xisaseki xi heleketa mana wa xona edorobeni.
(The excessively beautiful person accompanies her mother to town).
(b) Xisaseki xi xeweta vanhu entlangwini.
(The excessively beautiful one greets people at the function).
(c) Malume u hlomisile xisaseki.
(The uncle got married to the excessively beautiful person).

Plural: Class 8: swisaseki (excessively beautiful people)

The nominal xisaseki (excessively beautiful person) refers to an individual who is extra ordinary beautiful. Just like in the case of musaseki (beautiful person), the defining property is a permanent feature of the individual in question, and will remain with him for the rest of his life. In this case then, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal.

Saseka (be beautiful)

D.  [State]:  vusaseki (beauty)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vusaseki bya mpahla ya Magezi byi tsakisa vanghana vakwe.
(The beauty of the clothes of Magezi pleases his children).
(b) Vusaseki bya yindlu ya Makhanana byi koka vanhu mahlo.
(The beauty of the house of Makhanana attracts people).
(c) Vanhu va rhandza vusaseki bya swiluva emitini ya vona.
(The people like the beauty of flowers in their homes).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusaseki (beauty) refers to the state of good looking of an individual.

Anama (be wide)

[Theme/experiencer]:  Muanami (wide person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muanami u rhwarile dzandza ekatleni.
(The wide person carries the log on the shoulder).
(b) Muanami a nga ringani emovheni.
(The wide person does not fit in the car).
(c) Wanuna u nyika muanami xitulu.
(The man gives chair to the wide person).

Plural: class 2: vaanami (wide people)

The nominal muanami (wide person) refers to an individual who has broad shoulders, or whose body is broader than ordinary. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of wideness is a permanent feature of the individual in question and cannot be changed.
Anama (be wide)

B. [Excessive state]: rianamo (excessive width)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rianamo ra makatla ya wanuna ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive width of the shoulder of the man suprises people).

(b) Rianamo ra yindlu ya malume ri nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The excessive width of uncle’s house disgusts his children).

(c) Makhanana u hlamarla rianamo ra makatla ya wanuna.
(Makhanana is surprised at the width of the shoulders of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rianamo (excessive width) refers to an individual or thing whose part or the whole body is extra-ordinarily wide.

Anama (be wide)

C. [Excessive theme/experiencer]: xianami (excessive wide person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xianami xi etlela esangwini.
(The excessive wide person sleeps on the mat).

(b) Xianami xi ringeta hembhe.
(The excessive wide person fits the shirt).

(c) Vana va languta xianami exikolweni.
(The children look at the excessive wide person at the school).

Plural: Class 8: swianami (excessive wide people)

The nominal xianami (excessive wide person) refers to an individual whose shoulders or the whole body is extra-ordinarily wide.

Anama (be wide)

D. [State]: vuanami (width)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuanami bya kamara yo wisela byi nghenisa mo wa tenga.
(The width of the sitting room brings in fresh air).

(b) Vuanami bya nomu wa mpfuvu wu byi chavisa vafana.
(The width of the mouth of the hippo frightens the young men).

(c) Wansati u hlamarla vuanami bya makatla ya n’wana wakwe.
(The woman is surprised at the width of the shoulders of her child).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuanami (width) refers to the width of a person or thing.

4.3. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CHANGE OF STATE

The Verbs of Change of State are defined by Levin (1995: 240) as verbs which relate to changes of state. In other words, these verbs involve a change of state of an entity from one state to another,
different from the original state. Typically, these verbs take two arguments, a subject and an object that may be animate or inanimate. These subsets of verbs have derived nominals that have a process reading. However, in this chapter Verbs of Change of State do not take any object, hence they appear under intransitive verbs.

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<tr>
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<th>Class 1</th>
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**Bola** (Rot/Decay)

A.  [Patient]:  mubori (the decaying person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mubori u vumbuluka enkumeni.
          (The Rotting/decaying person rolls on the ash.)

          (b) Mubori u titshuva matshumba.
          (The Rotting/decaying person scratches the boils.)

          (c) Timbyana ti lakatsela mubori.
          (Dogs lick the Rotting/decaying person.)

Plural: class 2: vubori (rotting/decaying persons)

The nominal **mubori** (rotting/decaying person) may refer to an individual whose body develops sores. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the condition of developing sores may be temporary. In other words, an individual in question will be referred as **mubori** (rotting/decaying person) for the duration of the period that such a condition still applies. Once a condition of developing sores passes, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mubori** (rotting/decaying person).

**Bola** (Rot/Decay)

B.  [Excessive act]:  ribolo (excessive rotting/decaying)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ribolo ra matamatisi epurasini ri hlamarisa murimi.
          (The excessive rotting/decaying of tomatoes in the farm suprises the farmer).

          (b) Ribolo ra mandza ya tihuku lemba leri ri lahlekerisa varimi.
          (The excessive rotting decaying of chicken eggs this year makes farmers loose).
(c) Vanhu va hlamala ribolo ra mandza ya tihuku epurasini.
(The people are surprised at the excessive rotting/decaying of chicken eggs in the farm).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribolo** (excessive rotting) refers to the state of rotting of a thing that occurs regularly or extra ordinarily.

**Bola** (rot/decay)

C. [Excessive state]: xibori (excessively rotting/decayed person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xibori xa milenge xi ya eka dokodela.
(The excessively rotting/decayed person goes to the doctor).

(b) Xibori xa nhloko xi xava murhi ekhemisi.
(The excessively rotting/decayed buys mecine at the pharmacy).

(c) Tinhongana ti karhata xiborhi xa mavoko.
(The flies irritate the excessively rotting/decayed person of the hands).

Plural: class 8: swibori (excessively rotting/decaying people)

The nominal **xibori** (rotting/decayed thing) refers to a person who excessively develops sores in his body or parts of his body.

**Bola** (rot/decay)

D. [Result]: xibori (rotting/decayed thing)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xibori xi nuha ngopfu.
(The rotting/decayed thing is smells).

(b) Xibori xi vanga mavabyi.
(The rotting/decayed thing causes diseases).

(c) Tinhongana ti rhandza xibori.
(The flies like a rotting/decayed thing).

Plural: class 8: swibori (rotting/decaying things)

The nominal **xibori** (rotting/decayed thing) refers to a thing which is in a state or condition of decaying.

**Bola** (Rot/decay)

E. [State]: vubori (rot/decay)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vubori bya tibanana emapurasi byi hlongorisa vatirhi vo tala.
(The rot/decay of bananas makes many workers chased away).
(b) Vubori bya matamatisi byi lahlekerisa van’wamapurasi mali yo tala.
(The rot/decay of tomatoes makes farmers lose a lot of money).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala vubori bya matamatisi emapurasini.
(The people are surprised at the rot/decay of tomatoes in farms).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubori (rot/decay) refers to the state of decay or process of being destroyed by natural causes or by not being cared for.

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The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va
Suffix: -i

Mubori (the decaying person)

```
N
AF          N^R
|      |      |
V      AF
|      |      |
uu-    -bor-   -i
```

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
**Ribolo** (excessive rotting/decaying)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & \quad \text{AF} \quad \text{N}^R \\
\text{ri-} & \quad \text{-bol-} \quad \text{-o}
\end{align*}
\]

**Class 7/8**
Prefixes: xi-/swi
Suffix: -i

**Xibori** (rotting/decayed thing)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & \quad \text{AF} \quad \text{N}^R \\
\text{xi-} & \quad \text{-bor-} \quad \text{-i}
\end{align*}
\]

**Class 7/8**
Prefixes: xi-/swi
Suffix: -i

**Xibori** (excessively rotting/decayed person)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{N} & \quad \text{AF} \quad \text{N}^R \\
\text{xi-} & \quad \text{-bor-} \quad \text{-i}
\end{align*}
\]

**Class 14**
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

**Vubori** (rot/decay)
Change of State verbs

(6) Nominalization of the verb: -bola (rot/decay)

(ii) The verb –bola (rot/decay)

Nyama yi borile.
(The meat is rotten).

-bola (rot/decay)

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: animate/inanimate
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1; process
= D-E2 = e2: state
Restructuring = Temporarily ordered
Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = -bola_result (e2, x)
Internally caused change of state

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: rot/decay – state – animate/inanimate

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -bola (rot/decay) in (6) demonstrates that in its argument structure it contains one argument (i.e. semantic role bearing expression) which can be animate or inanimate. The event structure represents the process of rotting/decaying and the resultant state of rotting/decaying.

(7) Nominalisation in class 1/2: mubori (decaying person)

Mubori wa xikunwana u ya eka dokodela.
(The rotting person of the toe goes to the doctor).

mubori

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1; process
= D-E2 = e2: state
Restructuring Temporarily ordered
Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = -bola_patient (e2, x)
Internally caused change of state
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Rot/Decay – State – Human**

The above lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nominal **mubori** (decaying person) in (7) demonstrates that only one argument occurs, which denotes a human, in particular, a decaying person. The event structure represents the state of decaying of the human. The formal quale, in addition, represents the state \( e_2 \) of decay of the person \( x \).

(8) **Nominalisation in class 7/8: xibori** (rotting/decayed thing)

Xibori xi nufisa yindlu.
(The rotting/decaying thing makes the house stink).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Xibori} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1 = x: inanimate} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1 = e_1: process} \\
& \quad \text{D-E2 = e_2: state} \\
& \quad \text{Restructuring: temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head: } e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = -\text{bola_result} (e_2, x) \\
& \quad \text{Internally caused change of state}
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Rot/Decay – State – Animate/inanimate**

The above lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nominal **xibori** (decaying thing) in (8) demonstrates that only one argument occurs, which denotes inanimate entity. The event structure represents the state of rotting/decaying of the inanimate entity. The formal quale, in addition, represents the state \( e_2 \) of decay of the inanimate entity \( x \).

(9) **Nominalisation in class 5: ribolo** (excessive rotting/decaying)

Ribolo ra wansati ra xikunwana ri vilerisa nuna wakwe.
(The excessive rotting/decaying of the woman of the toe worries her husband).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ribolo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1=x: e: r} \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1= x: animate} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1 =e_1: process} \\
& \quad \text{D-E2 = e_2: state} \\
& \quad \text{Restructuring: Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head: } e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = -\text{bola_state_excessive} (e_2, x) \\
& \quad \text{Internally caused change of state}
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Rotting/Decaying – State – Animate/inanimate

The lexical semantic representation of ribolo (excessive rotting/decaying) in (5) above indicates that its argument structure contains two arguments. The one argument is a default argument (D-ARG1) which denotes an animate entity (i.e. human, animal or plant). The first argument represent the reference ® of the excessive state of rotting/decaying. The event structure (EVSTR) represents the default event of an excessive act (process) of rotting/decaying (D-E1) and the resultant state of the rotting/decaying) (D-E2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the excessive state of the animate entity that is rotting/decaying.

(10) Nominalisation in class 14: vubori (rot/decay)
Vubori bya wanuna bya rintiho byi hlamarisa dokodela.
(The rotting of the man of the finger surprises the doctor).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vubori} & = \text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1}= x: \text{animate} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1; \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{D–E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restructuring: Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head: e2} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = -\text{bola} \_\text{state} -\text{quality} (e_1, x) \\
& \quad \text{Internally caused change of state}
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Rot/decay – Quality – State

The lexical semantic representation of vubori (rot/decay) in (10) indicates that argument structure contains two arguments. The one argument is a default argument (D-ARG1) which denotes an animate entity. The first argument indicates the reference ® of the quality of state (of rotting/decaying). The event structure displays two default events, namely the process of rotting/decaying (D-E1) and the quality of the state of rotting/decaying (D-E2). These events are temporarily ordered and are headed by the state (e_2) event. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the quality of state of rotting/decaying.

In the case of deverbatitevs from –bola the suffix -i occur with deverbatives which denote humans, as in class 1 and 7. However, it is also common for the suffix -i to occur with class 14 deverbatives with the feature [quality of state]. In the case of class 5 deverbatives, the suffix -o always occurs and the feature [excessive act] is realized.
The other deverbatives in this sub-class of internally caused change of state have similar lexical semantic representations. However, there are exceptions with some of the deverbatives of **vupfa** (ripen) and **vuna** (wither), for example, no deverbatives occur in class 1 and 7. Hence, no deverbative denoting human is possible with these two verbs. It is interesting to note that with the deverbative **xibori** (rotting/decaying thing) from the verb **-bola** (rot/decay) in class 7 with the suffix **-i**, may also refer to non human entity.

**Vupfa** (ripen)

A.  [Excessive state]:  rivupfo (excessive ripening)

Class 5:  1. (a) Rivupfo ra matamatisi exirhapeni ri tsakisa murimi.  
(The excessive ripening of tomatoes in the garden pleases the farmer).

   (b) Rivupfo ra malamula ri rhamba makhamba ensin’wini.  
(The excessive ripening of the oranges invites thieves at the fields).

   (c) Vanhu va hlamala rivupfo ra matamatisi ya wansati.  
(The people are surprised at the ripening of the tomatoes of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivupfo** (excessive ripening) refers to the state of ripening of a thing which occurs regularly or extra ordinarily.

**Vupfa** (ripen)

B.  [State]:  vuvupfi (ripening)

Class 14:  2. (a) vuvupfi bya matamatisi exirhapeni byi tsakisa murimi.  
(The ripening of tomatoes in the garden pleases the farmer).

   (b) Vuvupfi bya malamula byi rhamba makhamba ensin’wini.  
(The ripening of the oranges invites thieves at the fields).

   (c) Vanhu va hlamala vuvupfi bya matamatisi ya wansati.  
(The people are surprised at the ripening of the tomatoes of the woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuvupfi** (ripening) refers to the state of ripening of a thing.

**Vuna** (wither)

A.  [Excessive State]:  rivuno (excessive withering)

Class 5:  1. (a) Rivuno ra matamatisi exirhapeni ri vilerisa murimi.  
(The excessive withering of tomatoes in the garden worries the farmer).
(b) Rivuno ra makamba ya ximilana ri hlamarisa mutirhi.
(The excessive withering of the leaves of the plant suprises the worker).

(c) Wanuna u sivela rivuno ra makamba ya ximilana.
(The man prevents the excessive withering of the leaves of the plant).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivuno** (excessive whithering) refers to the state of whithering of a thing that occurs regularly or extra ordinarily.

**Vuna** (wither)

B. [Excessive state]: vuvuni (withering)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuvuni bya matamatisi exirhapeni byi vilerisa murimi.
(The withering of tomatoes in the garden worries the farmer).

(b) Vuvuni bya makamba ya ximilana byi hlamarisa mutirhi.
(The withering of the leaves of the plant suprises the worker).

(c) Wanuna u sivela vuvuni bya makamba ya ximilana.
(The man prevents the withering of the leaves of the plant).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuvuni** (whithering) refers to the state of whithering of a thing.

**Oma** (be dry/stiff)

A. [Experiencer]: muomi (the dry/stiff one)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muomi wa swirho u lovile.
(The paralysed person has died).

(b) Muomi wa rihlanguti u amukeriwile exebedhlele.
(The one paralysed on the side has been admitted at the hospital).

(c) Muongori u xanisa muomi wa swirho.
(The nurse ill treats the paralysed person on the side).

Plural: class 2: vaomi (dry/stiff persons)

The nominal **muomi** (paralysed person) denotes an individual who is paralysed in some of his body parts. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the condition of being paralysed is usually a permanent one.
Oma (be dry/stiff)

B. [Excessive state]: riombo (excessive drying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riombo ra mirhi enhoveni ri vilerisa vaakatiko.  
(The excessive drying of trees in the bush worries the villagers).

(b) Riombo ra makamba ya ximilana ri hlamarisa mutirhi.  
(The excessive drying of the leaves of the plant surprises the worker).

(c) Wanuna u nyenya riombo ra makamba ya ximilana.  
(The man dislikes the excessive drying of the leaves of the plant).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riombo (excessive drying) refers to the state of drying of a thing that occurs regularly or extra ordinarily.

Oma (be dry)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: ximbi (The dry one)

Class 7: 3. (a) Ximbi xa swirho xi lovile.  
(The excessive paralysed person has died).

(b) Ximbi xa swirho xi amukeriwile exebuldhele.  
(The excessive paralysed person has been admitted at the hospital).

(c) Mutiri u xanisa ximbi xa swirho.  
(The worker ill treats the excessive paralysed person on the side).

Plural: class 2: swiobi (excessive dry persons)

The nominal ximbi (excessive paralysed person) denotes an individual who is excessively paralysed in his body parts. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness in his paralysis condition is something that will remain with him for the rest of his life.

Oma (be dry)

D. [State]: vuombi (drying)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuombi bya byanyi byi ta vanga dyandza.  
(The drying of grass will cause drought).

(b) Vuombi bya swirho byi hlasela vanhu lavakulu.  
(Paralysis attack elderly people).

(c) Wanuna u hlamba vuombi bya swirho bya nsati wakwe.  
(The man is surprised at the paralysis of his wife).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuomi** (dryness) refers to the state of dryness of a thing.

**Kwalala** (become pale)

A. [Experiencer]: mukwalari (one who has become pale)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukwalari u pfumala swakudya.  
(The one who is pale lacks food).

(b) Mukwalari u etlela eswitarateni.  
(The one who is pale sleeps on the streets).

(c) Wanuna u nyika mukwalari swakudya.  
(The man gives the one who is pale food).

Plural: class 2: vakwalari (Those who have become pale)

The nominal **mukwalari** (pale person) denotes an individual who has become pale in colour as a result of something that has happened to him. This nominal may be regarded as an stage-level nominal because the condition of being pale is usually a temporary one. In other words, the defining property here is the condition of paleness which the individual in question has. Once this condition changes, such an individual may no longer be regarded as **mukwalari** (pale person).

**Kwalala** (become pale)

B. [Excessive state]: rikwalalo(excessive becoming pale)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikwalalo ra vana va le switarateni ri vilerisa mufundhisi.  
(The excessive paleness of street children worries the pastor).

(b) Rikwalalo ra byanyi hi xixika ri bihisa ntumbuluko.  
(The excessive paleness of the grass in winter makes the nature ugly).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rikwalalo ra byanyi exirhapeni.  
(The man is surprised at the excessive paleness of the grass at the garden).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikwalalo** (excessive paleness) refers to the state of becoming pale of a thing which occurs regularly or extra ordinarily.

**Kwalala** (become pale)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xikwalari( one who has become excessively pale)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xikwalari xi pfumala swakudya.
(The one who has become excessively pale lacks food).

(b) Xikwalari xi etlela eswitarateni.
(The one who is excessively pale sleeps on the streets).

(c) Wanuna u nyika xikwalari swakudya.
(The man gives the one who is excessively pale food).

Plural: class 8: swikwalari (Those who have become excessively pale)

The nominal xikwalari (excessive pale person) denotes an individual who has become excessively pale in colour as a result of something that has happened to him. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness in the condition of being pale is something that is always associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question has become pale or not at the time of reference, the mere fact that such an individual is pale most of the time makes him to be referred to as xikwalari (excessively pale person).

Kwalala (become pale)

D. [State]: vukwalari (becoming pale)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukwalari bya vana va le switarateni byi vilerisa mufundhisi.
(The becoming pale of street children worries the pastor).

(b) Vukwalari bya byanyi hi xixika byi bihisa ntumbuluko.
(The becoming pale of the grass in winter makes the nature ugly).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vukwalari bya byanyi exirhapeni.
(The man is surprised at the becoming pale of the grass at the garden).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukwalali (paleness) refers to the state in which something has become pale.

Pfimba (swell)

A. [Patient]: mupfimbi (person who swells)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupfimbi wa tihlo u ya etliliniki.
(The swelling person of the eye is going to the clinic).

(b) Mupfimbi wa khwiri u ya endliwa vuhandzuri exibedhlele.
(The swelling person of the belly is going to be operated at the hospital).

(c) Dokodela u kambela mupfimbi wa khwiri.
(The doctor is diagnosing the swelling person of the belly).

Plural: Class 1: vapfimbi (swelling up people)
The nominal **mupfimbi** (person who swells) denotes an individual whose body or part of his body has become larger as a result of being stung by stinging insects or bitten by snake or disease. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of swelling may be a temporary occurrence. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as **mupfimbi** (person who swells). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only for the duration of the act of swelling. This means that what is being modified in this nominal is the act of swelling that once is past the meaning of this nominal no longer holds for the individual in question.

**Pfimba** (swell)

B.  [Excessive act]:  ripfimbo (excessive swelling up)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 5: 2.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Ripfimbo ra khwiri ra mufana ri karhata vatswari vakwe.</td>
<td>The excessive swelling of the belly of the young man troubles his parents.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(b) Ripfimbo ra tihlo ra wanuna hi xixika ri hlamarisa nsati wakwe.</td>
<td>The excessive swelling of the eye of the man during winter surprises his wife.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Wanuna u hlama la ripfimbo ra khwiri ra mufana.</td>
<td>The man is surprised at the excessive swelling of the belly of the young man.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ripfimbo** (excessive swelling up/broadening up) denotes an excessive act of swelling of an individual or part of the individual’s body as a result of being stung by stinging insects or bitten by snake or certain diseases.

**Pfimba** (swell)

C.  [Excessive patient]:  xipfimbi (person who excessively swells)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 7: 3.</th>
<th>Example</th>
<th>Translation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(a) Xipfimbi xa xikandza xi ya exibedhlele.</td>
<td>The excessively swelling person of the face goes to the hospital.</td>
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<td>(b) Xipfimbi xa voko xa rila.</td>
<td>The excessively swelling person of the hand is crying.</td>
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<tr>
<td>(c) Dokodela u nyika xipfimbi xa nhamu murhi.</td>
<td>The doctor gives medicine to the excessively swelling person of the neck.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Plural: Class 8: swipfimbi (swelling up people)

The nominal **xipfimbi** (person who excessively swells) denotes an individual who excessively develops swelling in his body or part of his body most of the time. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness of getting swollen of the individual in question which will be associated with him for the most part of his life regardless of whether the individual in question has developed a swelling or not at the time of reference. This shows that the nominal **xipfimbi** (person who excessively swells) does not modify the act of swelling, but the excessiveness of swelling thereof.
Pfimba (swell)

D.  [State/Act]: vupfimbi (swelling up)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vupfimbi bya ncila wa mbyana byi hlamarisa wanuna.  
(The swelling up of the tail of the dog surprises the man).

(b) Vupfimbi bya khwiri ra mufana byi chavisa wansati.  
(The swelling of the belly of the young man scares the woman).

(c) Wanuna u languta vupfimbi bya voko ra mufana.  
(The man is looking at the swelling of the hand of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupfimbi (swelling up) refers to the act of swelling of an individual or part of the individual’s body because of having stung by stinging insects or biting snake or certain diseases.

Rhukurha (have blisters on lips or gums)

A.  [Patient]: murhukurhi (person who has blisters on lips or gums)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhukurhi wa nomu u nwa murhi.  
(The person who has blisters on the lips or gums is drinking medicine).

(b) Murhukurhi u wa ririmi u ya eka dokodela.  
(The person who has blisters on the tongue goes to the doctor).

(c) Muongori u cheka murhukurhi.  
(The nurse is checking the person who has blisters).

Plural: Class 2: varhukurhi (people with blisters on the lips or gums)

The nominal murhukurhi (person who has blisters on the lips or gums) refers to an individual who has developed blisters on his lips or gums. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the development of blisters, which may disappear at any moment, especially when treated. Once such a condition is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as murhukurhi (person with blisters on the lips or gums) because the state to which it refers shall have passed.

Rhukurha (have blisters on lips or gums)

B.  [Excessive state]: rirhukurho (excessive development of blisters)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rirhukurho ra mufana ri vilerisa nwana wa yena.  
(The excessive development of blisters of the young man of the blisters worries his girl friend).

(b) Rirhukurho ra wansati ra ririmi ri nunhvisa nomu wakwe.  
(The excessive development of blisters of the woman of blisters in her tongue makes her mouth smell).

(c) Wanuna u lemuka rirhukurhi ran nsati wakwe.  
(The man notices the excessive development of the blisters on her wife).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal *rirhukurho* (excessive development of blisters) denotes an excessive development of blisters or the excessive state of having developed blisters on an individual’s lips or gums.

**Rhukurha** (have blisters on lips or gums)

C.  

[Excessive patient]: xirhukurhi (person who excessively develops blisters)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirhukurhi xa nomu xi hlantswa meno.  
(The person who excessively develops blisters is washing his teeth).

(b) Xirhukurhi xa ririmi xi huma exibedhlele.  
(The person who excessively develops blisters is coming from the hospital).

(c) Dokodela u tlhava xirhukurhi nayiti.  
(The doctor injects the person who excessively develops blisters.

Plural: Class 8: swirhukurhi (people who excessively develop blisters on the lips or gums)

The nominal *xirhukurhi* (person who excessively develops blisters on the lips or gums) denotes an individual who regularly develops blisters on his lips or gums. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is not the condition of having blisters as such, but the persistence of such a condition. Which will be associated with the individual in question whether at the time of reference he will be having blisters or not. In other words, the nominal need not make reference to the defining condition of the individual.

**Rhukurha** (have blisters on lips or gums)

D.  

[State]: vurhukurhi (developing of blisters on the lips or gums)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurhukurhi bya n’wana nomu byi karhata mana wakwe.  
(The developing of blisters on the lips or of the child worries his mother).

(b) Vurhukurhi bya wanuna nomu byi chavisa n’wana.  
(The developing of the blisters on the lips of the man scares the child).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vurhukurhi bya mufana.  
(The man is surprised at the developing of the blisters on the lips or gums of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vurhukurhi* (developing of blisters on the lips or gums) refers the development of blisters or the state of having developed blisters on an individual’s lips or gums.

### 4.4. Deverbatives Derived from Motion Verbs

Motion verbs are defined by Levin (1995: 264) as the verbs which include a specification of the direction of motion, even in the absence of an overt directional complement. According to Levin (op cit) none of these verbs specify the manner of motion. In his view, these verbs differ as to how they can express the goal, source, or path of motion which may be expressed withe prepositional phrase or
as a direct object or both (the direct object applies to transitive verbs). The verbs in this class do take obligatory animate subjects.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
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**Giya** (dance)

**A.**  
[Actor]: mugiyi (dancer)

Class 1:  
(a) Mugiyi u languta vahlaleri.  
(The dancer looks at the spectators).
(b) Mugiyi u raha wanuna.  
(The dancer kicks the man).
(c) Wanuna u vitana mugiyi.  
(The man calls the dancer).

Plural: Class 2: vagiyi (dancers)

The class 1 nominalisation denotes a person who is involved in a particular action. The nominal mugiyi (dancer) refers to the individual who is engaged in the activity of dancing. In other words, it makes reference to the defining event of dancing, hence regarded as stage-level nominal.
Giya (dance)

B. [Result]:
Class 3: mugiyo (dance)
   1. (a) Mugiyo wa vavasati wa tsakisa.
      (The dance of the women is interesting).
   (b) Mugiyo wa vana wu herile.
      (The dance of the children is over).
   (c) Vanhu va tsakela mugiyo wa vakhalabye.
      (The people like the dancing of the old men).

Plural: Class 4: migiyo (dances)

The class 3 nominalisation may be interpreted in terms of the phenomenon or the result. The nominal mugiyo (dance) refers to the phenomenon or the result of dancing.

Giya (dance)

C. [Excessive act]: rigiyo (Excessive dancing)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rigiyo ra wanuna ri xaxile
         (The habitual excessive dancing of a man is over).
   (b) Rigiyo ra wanuna ri hlamarisa nsati wakwe.
      (The excessive dancing of the man surprises his wife).
   (c) Wansati u sola rigiyo ra nuna wakwe.
      (The woman disapproves of the habitual excessive dancing of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The class 5 nominalisation refers to the act performed by the individual that is done excessively. The nominal rigiyo (excessive dancing) denotes an act of dancing which an individual does excessively.

Giya (dance)

D. [Expert actor]: xigiyi (expert dancer)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xigiyi xi languta vahlaleri.
         (The expert dancer looks at the spectator).
   (b) Xigiyi xi nyamalarile.
      (The expert dancer has disappeared).
   (c) Vahlaleri va languta xigiyi.
      (The spectators watch the expert dancer).

Plural: Class 8: swigiyi (expert dancers)

The class 7 nominalisation denotes a person who has the trait of performing an act habitually and expertly. The nominal xigiyi (expert dancer) refers to an individual who dances expertly and habitually.
Giya (dance)

E. [Act]: vugiyi (dancing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugiyi bya wanuna byi xaxile.
(The dancing of a man is over).

(b) Vugiyi bya ntlawa byi tsakisa vanhu.
(The dancing of the team pleases people).

(c) Vahlaleri va sola vugiyi bya wanuna.
(The audience disapproves of the dancing of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The class 14 nominalisation refers to the act performed by an individual. The nominal vugiyi (dancing) denotes the act of dancing.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
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The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va
Suffix: -i

Mugiyi (dancer)
Class 3
Prefixes: mu-/mi-
Suffix: -o

Mugiyo (dancing)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

Rigiyo (excessive dancing)
Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi- 
Suffix: -i

Xigiyi (expert dancer)

N

AF

N^R

V

AF

xi- giy- i

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

Vugiyi (dancing)

N

AF

N^R

V

AF

vu- giy- i

Motion verbs

(11) **Nominalization from the verb: -giya** (dance)

(iii) The verb -giya (dance)

Wanuna wa giya.
(The man is dancing).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{physical object (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE } -\text{giya}_{\text{act}} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts**: Dance – Motion - Act

The lexical semantic representation of the motion verb -giya in (11) above displays one argument in its argument structure, namely the physical object (person) who performs the action. The event structure
represents the process of dancing. The qualia structure displays the identity of the physical object (person) in the formal quale, and the agentive quale represents the process of dancing (e₁) of the physical object (x).

(12) **Nominalisation in class 1: mugiyi** (dancer)
    Mugiyi u languta vahlaleri.
    (The dancer looks at the spectators).

```
mugiyi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = D(efault) E1 =e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -giya_actor (e₁, x)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **mugiyi** (dancer) in (12) above displays one argument in the argument structure, i.e. the human argument performing the action. The event structure represents the default process event of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of dancing (e₁) of a person (x).

(13) **Nominalisation in class 7: xigiyi** (expert dancer)
    Xigiyi xi languta vahlaleri.
    (The expert dancer looks at the spectator).

```
xigiyi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = E1=e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=X
AGENTIVE = -giya_expert_actor_expert (e₁, x,y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion – Expert - Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xigiyi** (expert dancer) is similar to that of **mugiyi** in (12) above. The only difference relates to the feature [expert], which occurs in the agentive quale of **xigiyi** (expert dancer).
(14) **Nominalisation in class 5: rigiyo** (excessive dancing)

Rigiyo ra wanuna ri xaxile
(The habitual excessive dancing of a man is over).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rigiyo} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D-ARG1} & = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = -\text{giya}_\text{act}\text{excessive} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion - Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative **rigiyo** (excessive dancing) in (14) above displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), i.e. the physical object which performs the dance. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of dancing. The event structure represents the default process event of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [excessive act] of the event of dancing (e₁) of a person (x).

(15) **Nominalisation in class 14: vugiyi** (dancing)

Vugiyi bya wanuna byi xaxile.
(The dancing of a man is over).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vugiyi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D-ARG1} & = x: \text{physical object} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = -\text{giya}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion - Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vugiyi** (dancing) in (15) above displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument, i.e. the human that performs the dance. The other argument represents the reference of the event of dancing. The event structure represents the default process event of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [quality of act] of event of dancing (e₁) of a person (x).
(16) **Nominalisation in class 3: mugiyo (dancing)**

Mugiyo wa vavasati wa tsakisa.
(The dance of the women is interesting).

```
mugiyo
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
EVSTR = D–E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e1, x)
AGENTIVE = -giya_result (e1, x)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion - Result

The lexical semantic representation of **mugiyo** (dance) in (16) above displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument, i.e. the human that performs the dancing. The other argument represents the reference ® of the event of dancing. The event structure represents the default process event of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [result] of event of dancing (e1) of a person (x).

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from -giya in classes 1 and 7 that denote humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbatives with the feature [act] that denote other things which are non human, while the suffix -o occurs with class 3 and class 5 deverbatives, also referring to non human objects.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of motion verbs have similar lexical semantic representations. However, there are exceptions with the deverbative from -rheta in class 7 and the deverbative from -khida in class 14 both with the suffix -o. Deverbatives from other -verbs do not have such deverbatives in similar classes.

**Chinginya** (swing)

A. **[Actor]:** muchinginyi (swinger)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muchinginyi u vitana vana.  
(The swinger calls children).
(b) Muchingingyi u yimisa nchinginyo.  
(One who swings stops the swing).
(c) Wanuna u hlalela muchinginyi loko a jolomba.  
(The man watches the swinger when he swings).

Plural: Class 2: vachinginyi (swingers)
The nominal **muchinginyi** (swinger) refers to the individual who is engaged in the activity of swinging at the time of reference; hence, it is regarded as a stage-level nominal. In other words, the nominal is named in accordance to the defining activity of swinging.

### Chinginya (swing)

**B.** [Artifact/result]: nchinginyo (swing)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nchinginyo wu tshovekile.  
(The swing is out of order).

(b) Nchinginyo wu rhandza hi vana.  
(The swing is liked by children).

(c) Wanuna u endla nchinginyo.  
(The man makes the swing).

Plural: Class 4: michinginyo (swings)

The nominal **nchinginyo** (swing) refers to the object used by an individual for swinging. This object is man made, hence referred to as artifact.

### Chinginya (swing)

**C.** [Excessive act]: richinginyo (excessive swinging)

Class 5: 3. (a) Richinginyo ra n’wana ensinyeni ri vavisa vatswari.  
(The excessive swinging of the child on the tree hurts the parents)

(b) Richinginyo ra mfenhe ensinyeni ri chavisa vana.  
(The excessive swinging of the baboon on the tree scares children)

(c) Vanhu va hlalela richinginyo ra mfenhe ensinyeni.  
(People watch the excessive swinging of the baboon on the tree)

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **richinginyo** (excessive swinging) refers to the act of swinging done excessively by an individual on a swing.

### Chinginya (swing)

**D.** [Excessive actor]: xichinginyi (Expert/excessive swinger)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xichinginyi xi vitana vana.  
(The expert/excessive swinger calls children).

(b) Xichinginyi xi tshoveke nenge.  
(The expert/excessive swinger has broke his leg).

(c) Wanuna u chavisa xichinginyi ensinyeni.  
(The man scares the expert/excessive swinger on the tree).

Plural: Class 8: swichinginyi (expert/excessive swingers)

The nominal **xichinginyi** (expert/excessive swinger) denotes a person who swings habitually and excessively. The person referred here need not be engaged in the activity of smiling at the time of
reference or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not refer to the defining characteristic of the individual.

**Chinginya (swing)**

E. [Act]: vuchinginyi (swinging)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuchinginyi bya n’wana byi nyenyetsa vatswari
(The swinging of the child annoys the parents).

(b) Vuchinginyi bya timfenhe byi tsakisa vayeni.
(The swinging of the baboons pleases the visitors).

(c) Vana va chava vuchinginyi bya timfenhe.
(The children hate the swinging of the baboons).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuchinginyi** (swinging) refers to the activity of swinging by an individual on a swing.

**Khida (swim)**

A. [Actor]: mukhidi (swimmer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhidi u nghena exidziveni.
(The swimmer gets into the deep water).

(b) Mukhidi u ponisa mufana ematini.
(The swimmer saves the young man from water).

(c) Wanuna u ba mukhidi enambyeni.
(The man beats the swimmer in the river).

Plural: Class 2: vakhidi (swimmers)

The nominal **mukhidi** (swimmer) denotes an individual who participate in the activity of swimming. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of swimming for a particular time. In other words, the nominal **mukhidi** (swimmer) makes reference to the defining event of swimming. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mukhidi** (swimmer).

**Khida (swim)**

B. [Excessive act]: rikhido (excessive swimming)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhido ra Magezi ri ta n’wi dlayisa hi tingwenya.
(Excessive swimming of Magezi will make him killed by crocodiles).

(b) Rikhido ri khulukisa vanhu vo tala hi mati.
(Excessive swimming get many people swept away by water).

(c) Wansati u sola rikhido ra nuna wakwe eRivubye.
(The woman disapproves the excessive swimming of her husband in Levubu river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rikhido** (excessive swimming) denotes an act of swimming which an individual is engaged in which is done excessively.

**Khida** (swim)

C. **[Expert/Excessive actor]: xikhidi (expert/excessive swimmer)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhidi xi wele exidziveni. (The expert/excessive swimmer fell into deep water).
   (b) Xikhidi xi khupukisa vanhu entsungeni. (The expert/excessive swimmer helps people to cross to the other side of the river).
   (c) Vanhu va huwelela xikhidi exidziveni. (The people shout at the expert/excessive swimmer in the deep water).

Plural: Class 8: swikhidi (expert/excessive swimmers)

The nominal **xikhidi** (expert/excessive swimmer) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of swimming. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of swimming is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xikhidi** (expert/excessive swimmer) do not modify the event of swimming, but the skill of swimming.

**Khida** (swim)

D. **[Event/Act]: vukhidi (swimming)**

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhidi bya vafana byi tsakisa nimadyambu. (Swimming of the young men is interesting during evening).
   (b) Vukhidi hi nkarhi wa timfula byi vanga mafu yo tala. (Swimming during rainy season causes a lot of death).
   (c) Vavanuna va yirisa vukhidi enambyeni wa Rivubye. (Men forbid swimming at Levubu River).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhidi** (swimming) refers to the activity of swimming which an individual is engaged in. The meaning of act is usually found with class 14 nominals which ends with the suffix –i.

**Khida** (swim)

E. **[Place]: vukhido (swimming place)**

Class 14: 5. (a) Vukhido bya vafana byi entile. (The swimming place of young men is deep).
   (b) Vukhido bya vafana enambyeni wa Mulondozi i byinharhu. (Swimming places for boys in Molondozi river are three).
(c) Vafana va rhandza vukhido byo enta.
(Boys like deep swimming places).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhido** (swimming) place) refers to a place where the activity of swimming takes place. It may be a specific place for swimming in a river, sea, or just a pool, or any other place where an individual may go for the activity of swimming.

**Tsutsuma** (run)

A.  [Actor]: mutsutsumi (athlete)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsutsumi u kume sagwati.
(The athlete got an award).

(b) Mutsutsumi u engetela rivilo.
(The athlete increases the speed).

(c) Vafana va bela mutsutsumi mavoko.
(Young men clap hands for the athlete).

Plural: Class 2: switsutsumi (runners, athletes)

The nominal **mutsutsumi** (athlete) refers to an individual who is engaged in the activity of running. Here, such a noun refers to anybody who runs; he could be running for a bus or a plane. In this sense, this nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once a person who is engaged in the activity of running stops, such a nominal no longer applies to him. But this nominal could also be used with a restricted meaning of an athlete; an individual who undertakes athletics as a profession. In such a case, the nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the athletics profession will be associated with this individual for the most part of his life.

**Tsutsuma** (run)

B.  [Excessive act]: ritsutsumo (excessive running)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsutsumo ra wena ri ta ku hleketelerisa hi vanhu.
(The excessive running of yours will make people suspicious of you).

(b) Ritsutsumo ra mufana ri n’wi ponisile eka swigevenga.
(The excessive running of the young man saved him from criminals).

(c) Vanhu va sola ritsutsumo ra mufana edorobeni.
(People disapprove the excessive running of the youngman in town).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsutsumo** (running) refers to the act of running which an individual does excessively.
Tsutsuma  (run)

C.  [Expert actor]:  xitsutsumi (expert athlete)

Class 7:  3.  (a)  Xitsutsumi xi kume xiyimo xo sungula.
(The excessive athlete obtained the first position).

(b)  Xitsutsumi xi yimisela vahlaleri mavoko.
(The excessive athlete raises hands to the audience).

(c)  Vanhu va nyika xitsutsumi tinyiko.
(The people give water to the athlete).

Plural: Class 8:  switsutsumi (expert athletes)

The nominal xitsutsumi (expert athlete) refers to an individual who has an extra ordinary ability of running, who is involved in athletics as a profession, and who has won a number of trophies in athletics. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the trait of running will be associated with him for the rest of his life. It has more to do with talent; it is not something that can change shortly.

Tsutsuma (run)

D.  [Act/Event]:  vutsutsumi (athletics/running)

Class 14:  4.  (a)  Vutsutsumi bya vana byi ta va eXawela.
(The athletics of children will be at Xawela).

(b)  Vutsutsumi byi kahle eka rihanyu ra munhu.
(Athletics is good for a person’s health).

(c)  Vanhu va rhandza vutsutsumi bya maratoni.
(The people like marathon athletics).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsutsumi (running/athletics)refers to the act of running for something by an individual. Any person may at one point or another be engaged in running when trying to make up for the lost time for catching something, especially a transport. But this nominal may also be used to refer to the event of athletics which is held at a particular place.

Khuluka  (flow)

A.  [Theme/patient]:  mukhuluki (one who flows)

Class 1:  1.  (a)  Mukhuluki u tlumba ribye.
(The flowing person hit against the rock).

(b)  Mukhuluki u yimisela maviko henhla.
(The flowing person raises the hands high).

(c)  Muhlamberi u ponisa mukhuluki.
(The swimmer saves the flowing person).

Plural: Class 2: vakhuluki (flowing people)
The nominal **mukhuluki** (flowing person) refers to the individual who is undergoing the activity of flowing. This nominal may be regarded as stage-level nominal because the individual denoted is characterized by the defining event of flowing.

**Khuluka** (flow)

B.  
[Result]: nkhuluko (flow)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nkhuluko wa timovha wa hunguteka.  
(The flow of cars is getting reduced).

(b) Nkhuluko wa mati wu vanga nkhukhulo.  
(The flow of water causes erosion).

(c) Vavanuna va hlalela nkhuluko wa mati enambyeni.  
(The men watch the flow of the water in the river).

Plural: Class 4: mikhuluko (flowings)

The nominal **nkhuluko** (flow) refers to the act of flowing or result of flowing of water or any liquid substance.

**Khuluka** (flow)

C.  
[Excessive act]: rikhuluko (excessive flowing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rikhuluko ra mirhi ri onha mbango  
(The excessive flowing of trees destroys the environment).

(b) Rikhuluko ra mati ri kavanyeta vatrhi.  
(Excessive flowing of the water disturbs the workers).

(c) Vatrhi va kavanyeta rikhuluko ra nambu wa Rivubye.  
(The workers disturb the excessive flowing of the river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhuluko** (excessive flowing) refers to the act of excessive flowing of something, usually liquid substances.

**Khuluka** (flow)

D.  
[Excessive flowing person]: xikhuluki (excessive flowing person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikhuluki xi tlumba ribye.  
(The excessively flowing person hits the rock).

(b) Xikhuluki xi khomelela rihlanga.  
(The excessive flowing person holds on the reed).

(c) Muhlamberi u tsavula xikhuluki ematini.  
(The swimmer takes out the excessive flowing person from the water).

Plural: Class 8: swikhuluki (people who excessively flows)
The nominal **xikhuluki** (excessively flowing person or thing) denotes a person or thing which flows excessively in the river. The person referred here need not be engaged in the event of flowing at the time of reference or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not refer to the defining characteristic of the individual or thing, i.e. there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Khuluka** (flow)

E.  
[Act]: vukhuluki (flowing)

Class 14: 5.  
(a) Vukhuluki bya mati byi vanga nkhukhulo  
(The flowing of the water erode the earth).
(b) Vukhuluki bya timovha byi kavanyeta vatirhi.  
(The flowing of the cars disturbs the workers).
(c) Maphorisa ya gondzo ya lawula vukhuluki bya timovha.  
(The traffic police control the flowing of the cars).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhuluki** (flowing) refers to the act of flowing done by an individual or thing in the water.

**Tsendzeleka** (Wander about)

A.  
[Actor/experiencer]: mutsendzeleki (wanderer)

Class 1: 1.  
(a) Mutsendzeleki u kombela byetlelo.  
(The wanderer asks for a sleeping place).
(b) Mutsendzeleki u lava ndlela yo ya ejoni.  
(The wanderer is looking for the way to Johannesburg).
(c) Vafana va pfuna mutsendzeleki epatwini.  
(The young men help the wanderer on the road).

Plural: Class 2: vatsendzeleki (wanderers)

The nominal **mutsendzeleki** (wanderer) refers to an individual who moves about from one place to another aimlessly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question bears this property of wandering throughout his life.

**Tsendzeleka** (wander about)

A.  
[Result]: ntsendzeleko (wandering)

Class 3: 2.  
(a) Ntsendzeleko wa wanuna wu vangela wansati mabibi ya mbilu.  
(Wandering of the man causes great pains for a woman).
(b) Ntsendzeleko ni matiko wu lava loko wa ha tiyile.  
(Wandering about with countries is good when you are still young).
(c) Mfumo wu lawula ntsenzeleko wa va hapfa etikweni.  
(The government is controlling the wandering of foreigner in the country).
Plural: Class 4: mitsendzeleko (wanderings)

The nominal *ntsendzeleko* (wandering) refers to the phenomenon of wandering which an individual is engaged in.

**Tsendzeleka** (Wander about)

A.  [Excessive act]:  ritsendzeleko (excessive wandering about)

Class 5:  3.  (a)  Ritsendzeleko ra Mukhacana ri ta n’wi dlayisa siku rin’wana.
(The excessive wandering of Mukhacana will get him into trouble one day).

(b)  Ritsendzeleko ra wansati ri n’wi hlongorise evukatini.
(The excessive wandering of the woman got her chased away from marriage).

(c)  Wanuna u sola ritsendzeleko ra nsati wakwe.
(The man condemns the excessive wandering of her wife).

   Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ritsendzeleko* (excessive wandering) refers to the act of wandering which an individual is excessively engaged in.

**Tsendzeleka** (wander about)

A.  [Excessive actor/experiencer]:  xitsendzeleki (excessive wanderer)

Class 7:  4.  (a)  Xitsendzeleki xi vuyile eJarimani.
(The excessive wanderer has returned from Germany).

(b)  Xitsendzeleki xi rhambiwe eFurwa hi Mudyaxihi.
(The wanderer has been invited to France in May).

(c)  Wanuna u rhamba xitsendzeleki ekaya kakwe.
(The man invites the wanderer in his home).

   Plural: Class 8: switsendzeleki (wanderers)

The nominal *xitsendzeleki* (excessive wanderer) refers to an individual who moves about excessively from one place to another aimlessly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question bears this property of excessive wandering throughout his life.

**Tsendzeleka** (wander about)

A.  [Act]:  vutsendzeleki (wandering)

Class 14:  5.  (a)  Vutsendzeleki bya vana va le Zimbabwe byi karhata SADC.
(The wandering of the people of Zimbabwe troubles SADC).

(b)  Vutsendzeleki bya vahlampfa byi fanele ku herisiwa.
(Wandering of the refugees should be done away with).

(c)  Mfumo wu herisa vutsendzeleki bya vahlapfa etikweni.
(The government gets rid of wandering of the foreigners in the country).

   Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vutsendzeleki** (wandering) refers to an act of wandering which an individual is involved in.

**Tlula** (jump)

A. [Actor]: Mutluri (jumper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutluri u kumile sagwadi.
(The jumper got an award).

(b) Mutluri u tshikile ntlangu wo tlula.
(The jumper left the jumping sport).

(c) Timbyana ti luma mutluri wa darata.
(The dogs bite the jumper of the fence).

Plural: Class 2: Vatluri (Jumpers)

The nominal **mutluri** (jumper) refers to an individual who moves quickly off the ground by pushing himself with his legs and arms. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of jumping. Once the action of jumping is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mutluri** (jumper).

**Tlula** (jump)

B. [Excessive act]: ritlulo (excessive jumping)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritlulo ra vafana ra tidarata ri hlundzukisa vavanuna.
(The excessive jumping of the young men of the fences angers the men).

(b) Ritlulo ra wansati ro hakela xibalo ri lemukiwile hi SARS.
(The excessive skipping of the woman of paying tax has been noticed by SARS).

(c) Wanuna u sola ritlulo ra vafana ra tidarata.
(The man condemns the excessive jumping of the young men of the fence).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritlulo** (excessive jumping) refers to the act of jumping which an individual is performs excessively or habitually.

**Tlula** (jump)

C. [Expert actor]: xitluri (expert jumper)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xitluri xi kumile sagwadi.
(The expert jumper got an award).

(b) Xitluri xi tshovekile nenge.
(The expert jumper broke his leg).
(c) Vahlaleri va bela xitluri mavoko.
(The spectators clap hands for the expert jumper).

Plural: class 8: switluri (expert jumpers)

The nominal xitluri (expert jumper) refers to an individual who has an extra ordinary skill of jumping. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nomina because what this nominal modifies here is the skill or prowess of jumping which an individual in question possesses. Such a skill will remain in the individual for the rest of his life.

Tlula (jump)

D. [Event, act]:  vutluri (jumping)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vutluri bya mufana bya darata byi nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The jumping of the young man of the fence annoys the man).

(b) Vutluri bya wanuna byo hakela xibalo byi lemukiwile hi SARS.
(The skipping of the man of paying tax has been noticed by SARS).

(c) Wansati u sola vutluri bya wanuna byo hakela xikweleti.
(The woman condemns the skipping of the man of paying debt).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutluri (jumping) refers to the act of jumping which an individual is engaged in.

Kasa (crawl)

A. [Actor]:  mukasi (crawler)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukasi u tivavisile matsolo.
(The crawler has injured his knees).

(b) Mukasi u wa hi xikosi.
(The crawler falls on his back).

(c) Tinhundzu leti tateke ndhawu ti kavanyeta mukasi.
(The goods that filled the place disturb the crawler).

Plural: class 2: vakasi (crawlers)

The nominal mukasi (crawler) refers to a person who moves forward on his hands and knees, with his body close to the ground. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal in a situation where the person in question is involved in the act that demands kneeling for a short time, such as when one is cleaning the floor. But in the situation where an individual uses crawling as a means of walking because he can no longer use his legs, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since the crawling is a permanent property of an individual. In other words, whether the individual in
question will be engaged in the activity of crawling or he may not, such an individual will always be regarded as **mukasi** (crawler).

**Kasa (crawl)**

**B.** **[Excessive act]:** **rikaso** (excessive crawling)

Class 7: 2. (a) Rikaso ra mutsoniwa esemendheni ri n’wi tshumurile matsolo.  
(The excessive crawling of the disable person on cement floor has injured his knees).

  (b) Rikaso ra n’wana ebyanyini ri nyenyetsa wansati.  
(The excessive crawling of the child on the lawn annoys the Woman).

  (c) Wansati u hlamala rikaso ra mutsoniwa esememndheni.  
(The woman is surprised at the excessive crawling of the disable person on cement floor).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikaso** (excessive crawling) denotes an act of crawling which is done excessively by an individual.

**Kasa (crawl)**

**C.** **[Excessive actor]:** **xikasi** (excessive crawler)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikasi xi vavisekile matsolo.  
(The excessive crawler hurt his knees).

  (b) Xikasi xi kasa xi nga wisi.  
(The excessive crawler crawls without stopping).

  (c) Dyambu ri hisa xikasi.  
(The sun burns the excessive crawler).

Plural: class 8: **swikasi** (excessive crawlers)

The nominal **xikasi** (excessive crawler) refers to an individual who moves through crawling and who most of the time is seen crawling. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness that this nominal modifies will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged at the act of crawling or he is not, he will always be regarded as **xikasi** (excessive crawler).

**Kasa (crawl)**

**D.** **[Act]:** **vukasi** (crawling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukasi bya motsoniwa esemendheni byi hlundzukisa wansati.  
(The crawling of the disable person on the cement floor makes the woman angry).
(b) Vukasi bya n’wana endlwini byi vanga hansahansa.  
(The crawling of the child in the house causes disorder).

(c) Wanuna u hluvula mukasi tintangu.  
(The man removes shoes fro the crawling person).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukasi** (crawling) denotes an act of crawling which an individual is engaged in.

**Gogojela** (walk with a stick)

[Actor]: mugogojeli (person who walks with a stick)

Class 1:  
(a) Mugogojeli u karhele.  
(The person who walks with a stick is tired).

(b) Mugogojeli u ya exitolo.  
(The person who walks with a stick is going to the shop).

(c) N’wana u nyika mugogojeli gogojelo.  
(The child gives the person who walks with a stick a walking stick).

Plural: class 2: vagogojeli (people walking with a stick)

The nominal **mugogojeli** (person who walks with a stick) refers to an individual who walks with the aid of a walking stick. The interpretation will depend on whether the use of a stick by the individual in question is a temporary occurrence or a permanent one. If an individual uses a stick because of an injury which he will recover from in a short while, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level-nominal. However, if the stick is something that an individual in question will have to use for the rest of his life as an aid for walking, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal.

**Gogojela** (walk with a stick)

B. [Excessive act/manner]: rigogojelo (excessive walking with a stick)

Class 5:  
(a) Rigogojelo ra mukhegula ri hlekisa vana.  
(The excessive walking with a stick of the old woman makes the children laugh).

(b) Rigogojelo ra mukhalabye ri chavisa vana.  
(The excessive walking with a stick of the old man scares the children).

(c) N’wana u hlamala rigogojelo ra mukhegula exitarateni.  
(The child is surprised at the excessive walking with a stick of an old lady in a street).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rigogojelo** (excessive walking with a stick) refers to an act of walking which is mostly if not always done with the assistance of a stick.
**Gogojela** (walk with a stick)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  xigogojeli (excessive person walking with a stick)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xigogojeli xi famba mpfhuka wo leha xi nga se karhala.
(The excessive person walking with a stick walks a long distance without getting tired).

(b) Xigogojeli xi kume vanhu va hangalakile enhlengeletanini.
(The excessive person walking with a stick found people having dispersed from the meeting).

(c) Wansati u siya xigogojeli endleleni.
(The woman leaves the excessive person walking with a stick on the road).

Plural: Class 8: swigogojeli (excessive people walking with a stick)

The nominal xigogojeli (person who excessively walks with a stick) refers to an individual who excessively walks through the aid of a walking stick. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of walking with a stick is something that an individual in question will have to be associated with for the rest of his life. In other words, whether or not at the time of reference such a person is using a stick to walk; he will always be referred to as xigogojeli (person who excessively walks with a stick).

**Gogojela** (walk with a stick)

D.  [Act]:  vugogojeli (walking with a stick)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vugogojeli bya mukhegula byi hlekisa vana.
(The walking with a stick of the old woman makes the children laugh).

(b) Vugogojeli bya mukhalabye byi chavisa vana.
(The walking with a stick of the old man scares the Children).

(c) N’wana u hlamala vugogojeli bya mukhegula exitarateni.
(The child is surprised at the walking with a stick of an old lady at a street).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vugogojeli (walking with a stick) refers to an act of walking of an individual through the aid of a stick.

**Hubuta** (rise up early)

[Actor]:  Muhubuti (person who rises up early)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muhubuti u ya enambyeni.
(One who rises up early goes to the river).

(b) Muhubuti u hatlile a fika entirhweni.
(The one who rises early arrived early at work).

(c) Kokwana u heleketa muhubuti exiticini.
(The grand mother accompanies one who rises up early to the station).

Plural: class 2: vahubuti (people who rise up early)
The nominal *muhubuti* (person who rises up early) refers to an individual who rises up early in the
morning when it is still dark. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal. The defining
property in this nominal is the act of rising up while it is still early. In other words, once the defining
act is completed an individual in question may no longer be referred to as *muhubuti* (person who rises
up early).

**Hubuta** (rise up early)

B. [Excessive act]: rihubuto (excessive rising up early)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihubuto ra kokwana ro ya emasin’wini ri n’wi bisa hi xirhami.
(The excessive rising up early of the grand mother makes her beaten by cold air).

(b) Rihubuto ra wansati emutini ri tsakisa n’wingi wa yena.
(The rising early of the woman in the family pleases her mother-in-law).

(c) Vadyondzisi va rhandza rihubuto ra mufana.
(The teachers like the rising up early of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihubuto* (excessive rising up very early) refers to an act of rising up by an individual
very early in the morning while most people are still asleep which is done regularly.

**Hubuta** (rise up early)

C. [Excessive actor]: xihubuti (excessive person rising up early)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihubuti xi vile munhu wo sungula exiticini.
(The excessive rising up person has been the first at the station).

(b) Xihubuti xi fike emansin’wini dyambu ri nga se huma.
(The excessive early riser arrived at the fields before sun rise).

(c) Vanhu va tiva xihubuti lexi hatlaka xi fika entirhweni.
(The people know the excessive early riser who arrives early at work).

Plural: Class 8: swihubuti (excessive people rising up early)

The nominal *xihubuti* (person who rises up very early and regularly) refers to an individual who
regularly rises up very early in the morning while it is still dark when others are still asleep. This
nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal. The defining property in this nominal is the
excessiveness or the regularity of rising up very early of the individual in question. In other words,
whether or not the individual in question has risen up early at the time of reference, such an individual
will be referred to as *xihubuti* (person who rises up very early and regularly).

**Hubuta** (rise up early)

D. [Act]: vuhubuti (rising up early)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhubuti bya Magezi byo ya emansin’wini byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The rising early of Magezi of going to the fields surprises people).
(b) Vuhubuti bya Mamayila emutini byi tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The rising up of Mamayila in the family pleases her husband).

(c) Makhanani u sola vubuti bya wanuna byo ya emansin’wini.
(Makhanana disapproves of the early rising of the man of going to the fields).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhubuti (rising up early) refers to an act of rising up by an individual while it is still early in the morning when others are still asleep.

Xwela (be late)

A. [Actor]: muxweri (a late person/a trapped witch)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muxweri u hlamarisa vaakatiko.
(The trapped witch surprises the residents).

(b) Muxweri u chavisa wansati emutini wakwe.
(The trapped witch frightens the woman in her home).

(c) Vavanuna va bukutela muxweri.
(The men beat the trapped witch).

Plural: class 2: vaxweri (late people)

The nominal muxweri (a late person) denotes an individual who arrives later than the stipulated time at a place or event. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of lateness of an individual. In other words, if such an individual arrives on time the following day, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muxweri (a late person).

Xwela (be late)

B. [Excessive act]: rixwelo (Excessive lateness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rixwelo ra Magezi ro ya exikolweni ri nyangatsa nhloko ya xikolo.
(The excessive lateness of Magezi disgusts the school principal).

(b) Rixwelo ra Mamayila emidyangwini ya vanhu ri hlundzukisa vaakatiko.
(The excessive trappness of Mamayila in other people’s homes angers the residents).

(c) Nhloko ya xikolo yi sola rixwelo ra Gezani ro ya exikolweni.
(The school principal condemns the excessive lateness of Gezani to go to school).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rixwelo (excessive lateness) denotes an regular or excessive act of arriving later than the stipulated time by an individual which occurs formed into a habit.
Xwela (be late)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  xixweri (Excessive late person/trapped witch )

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xixweri xi hlongoriwile etirhweni.
(The excessive late person has been dismissed from work).
    (b) Xixweri endyangwini wa Mamayila xi khomiwile.
(The excessive trapped witch in Mamayila’s home has been arrested).
    (c) Magezi u rhukana xixweri endyangwini wakwe.
(Magezi swears at the excessive trapped witch in his home).

Plural: class 8: swixweri (excessive late people/trapped witch)

The nominal xixweri (excessively late person) refers to an individual who regularly arrives later that the stipulated time at a place. The act of arriving late has formed a habit in the individual’s life. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal which has the habit of habit of arriving to a place late and which is done excessively. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the lateness as such, but the excessiveness of lateness of the individual in question. This property of excessiveness of lateness of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, this permanent property of excessiveness of late arrival at a place will be forever be associated with him. In other words, whether such an individual is arriving late or he may not be at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xixweri (excessively late person). In other words, the context need not refer to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Xwela (be late)

D.  [Act]:  vuxweri (lateness/delaying)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuxweri bya Mudyondzisi byo ya exikolweni byi hlundzikisa nhloko ya xikolo.
(The lateness of the teacher for going to school angers the school principal).
    (b) Vuxweri bya mukhegula emidyangwini ya vanhu byi hlundzukisa vanhu.
(Delaying of the witch in leaving people’s homes makes the people angry)
    (c) Magezi u hlamala vexweri bya n’wana wakwe byo ya exikolweni.
(Magezi is surprised at the delaying of his child in going to school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuxweri (lateness) refers to the act of arriving late at a place by an individual.

Korhama (bend down)

A.  [Actor]:  Mukorhami (bending down person)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mukorhami u rhwalela mali ehansi.
(The bending person picks money from the ground).
(b) Mukorhami u tsala xikambelo etilasini.
(The bending person writes exam in the class).

(c) Mudyondzisi u khwenuta mukorhami loyi a rhwalelaka mali.
(The teacher tickles the bending person who is picking up money).

Plural: class 2: vakorhami (bending down people)

The nominal **mukorhami** (bending down person) refers to an individual who lowers the top half of his body. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the event of bending down is may be temporary. Once the act of bending down has passed, such a person may no longer be referred to as **mukorhami** (bending down person).

### Korhama (bend down)

B.  [Excessive state]:  rikorhamo (excessive bending down)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rikorhamo ra mukukuri ri n’wi vavisile nhlan.
(The excessive bending of the sweeper has hurt her back).

(b) Rikorhamo ra n’wana etilasini ri karhata mudyondzisi.
(The excessive bending of the child in the class worries the teacher).

(c) Mathicara va sola rikorhamo ra Tsatsawana exikolweni.
(The teachers disapprove of the excessive bending down of Tsatsawana at school).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikorhamo** (excessive bending down) refers to the act of bending down by an individual which ia done regularly.

### Korhama (bend down)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  xikorhami (excessive bending person)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xikorhami xi sulekile nhamu.
(The excessive bending person has hurt his neck).

(b) Xikorhami xi rhwalela mali endlelini.
(The excessive bending person picks money on the path).

(c) Malume u khwenuta xikorhami.
(The uncle tickles the excessive bending person).

Plural: Class 8: swikorhami (excessive people bending down)

The nominal **xikorhami** (excessive bending person) refers to a person who regularly bends down. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property is the regularity of bending down of the individual in question. In other words, whether or not a person will be bending down at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikorhami** (excessive bending person). In a way, what is being modified by this nominal is the regularity and not the act.
**Korhama** (bend down)

D.  [Act]: vukorhami (bending down)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vukorhami bya mutirhi emasin’wini byi n’wi surile nhamu.  
(The bending of the worker on the fields has hurt his neck).

(b) Vukorhami bya Khazamula etlilasini byi nyangatsa mudyondzisi.  
(The bending down of Khazamula in the class disgusts the teacher).

(c) Wansati u sola vukorhami bya n’wana exikolweni.  
(The woman condemns the bending down of the child at school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukorhami** (bending down) refers to the act of bending down by an individual.

**Gwirima** (walk hurriedly)

[Actor]: Mugwirimi (person who walks hurriedly)

Class 1: 1.  (a) Mugwirimi u hatlile a fika enhlengeletanini.  
(The hurriedly walking person arrived early at the meeting).

(b) Mugwirimi u yisa n’wana etliliniki.  
(The hurriedly walking person takes the child to the clinic).

(c) Magezi u huwelela mugwirimi.  
(Magezi is shouting at the hurriedly walking person).

Plural: class 2: vagwirimi (people who walks hurriedly)

The nominal **mugwirimi** (person who walks hurriedly) denotes an individual who moves fast. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of walking fast. In other words, once the individual in question slows the pace of walking, or stops walking, such a person may no longer be referred to as mugwirimi (person who walks hurriedly).

**Gwirima** (walk hurriedly)

B.  [Excessive act]: rigwirimo (excessive walking hurriedly)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Rigwirimo ra wanuna ri n’wi humesile nyuku wo tala.  
(The excessive hurriedly walking of the man made have a lot of sweat).

(b) Rigwirimo ra mukhegula ri n’wi pfuxela switlhavi.  
(The excessive hurriedly walking of the old woman makes her pains come back).

(c) Vafana va hlamala rigwirimo ra wansati.  
(The young men are surprised at the excessive hurriedly walking of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rigwirimo** (excessive hurriedly walking) refers to the act of walking fast which is done in an excessive manner.
C. [Excessive actor/manner]: xigwirimi (excessive fast walking person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigwirimi xi humile nyuku wo tala.
(The excessive hurriedly walking person has made him have a lot of sweat).

(b) Xigwirimi xi yisa n’wana etliliniki.
(The excessive hurriedly walking person takes the child to the clinic).

(c) Magezi u huwelela xigwirimi.
(Magezi is shouting at the excessive hurriedly walking person).

Plural: Class 8: swigwirimi (excessive people walking hurriedly)

The nominal xigwirimi (excessive fast walking person) refers to an individual who is extra ordinarily faster in walking than most people. But it may also denote a person who walks faster most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since the manner of walking very fast will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be walking faster than normal at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xigwirimi (excessive fast walking person).

Gwirima (walk hurriedly)

D. [Act]: vugwirimi (walking hurriedly)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugwirimi bya wanuna byi n’wi humesile nyuku wo tala.
(The hurriedly walking of the man made him have a lot of sweat).

(b) Vugwirimi bya mukhegula byi n’wi pfuxela switlhavi.
(The hurriedly walking of the old woman makes her pain come back).

(c) Vafana va hlamala vugwirimi bya wansati.
(The young men are surprised at the hurriedly walking of the woman).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vugwirimi (hurriedly walking) refers to the act of walking fast by an individual.

Haha (fly)

A. [actor]: muhahi (flyer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhahi u pfula pharachuta empfukeni.
(The flying person opens the parachute on the air).

(b) Muhahi u lunghisa xihahampfhuka xa yena.
(The flying person fixes his airplane).

(c) Mabubutsa ma kavanyeta muhahi.
(The storms disturb the flying person).

Plural: class 2: vahahi (flyers)

The nominal muhahi (flyer) refers to a person who travels in a plane as a passanger. But it may also denote a person who moves quickly. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because
the defining property in this nominal is the act of flying. Then once the act of flying is completed and
the individual in question has reached his destination and has alighted from the plane, or the one who
was moving swiftly has stopped or reached, his destination such a nominal may no longer apply to
such an individual.

**Haha (fly)**

B. [Excessive act]: rihaho (excessive flying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihaho ra maphepha ejarateni ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive flying of the papers in the yard annoys the man).

(b) Rihaho ra swihahampfhuka ri thyakisa moya.
(The excessive flying of air planes pollutes the air).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rihaho ra maphepha empfhukeni.
(The man is surprised at the excessive flying of paper on the air).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihaho (excessive flying) refers to the process of flying which an individual or any other
thing is regularly involved in.

**Haha (fly)**

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: xihahi (expert flying person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihahi xi wele ematini.
(The expert/excessive flying person fell into the water).

(b) Xihahi xi ehlisa xihahampfhuka.
(The expert/excessive flying person lowers the airplane).

(c) Khamphani yi nyika xihahi sagwadi.
(The company gives the award to the expert/excessive flying person).

Plural: class 8: swihahi (Expert/excessive flying persons)

The nominal xihahi (expert/excessive flyer) refers to a person who expertly/excessively flies an
aircraft. But it may also refer to a person who excessively travels in a plane as a passanger or who
excessively moves quickly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the
expertise/excessiveness of flying which this nominal modifies is something that will be associated
with the individual in question for his entire life. In other words, what this nominal modifies is the
expertise or the excessiveness of the individual in flying and not the flying itself. What it means then
is that whether the individual in question is engaged in the process of flying or he may not be engaged
in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xihahi (expert/excessive
flyer).
**Haha (fly)**

D. [Event, act]: vuhahi (flying)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhahi bya maphepha empfukeni byi thyakisa mbango. (The flying of papers on the air pollutes the environment).

   (b) Vuhahi bya swikhovha nivusiku byi chavisa vanhu. (The flying of the owls at night scares the people).

   (c) Vafana va hlalela vuhahi bya magama enambyeni. (The boys watch the flying of the eagles in the rivers).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhahi** (flying) refers to the process of flying of an individual by an aircraft. But it may also mean the fying of any other thing on such as a paper or a bird on air

**Rheta (Slip)**

A. [Actor]: murheti (slipping/slidding person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murheti u sula ridaka eburukwini. (The slipping/slidding person wipes the mud from the trouser).

   (b) Murheti u wela ematini. (The slipping/slidding person falls into the water).

   (c) Vafana va tsavula murheti ematini. (The boys pull out the slipping/slidding person from the water).

Plural: Class 2: varheti (slipping/slidding persons)

The nominal **murheti** (slipping/slidding person) refers to an individual who slides a short distance by accident so that he falls or nearly falls or one who moves easily over a smooth or wet surface. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the process of slinding that an individual in question is involved in.

**Rheta (Slip)**

B. [Excessive act]: rirheto (excessive slipping/slidding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rirheto ra vafana enambyeni ri nyenyetsa vatswari. (The excessive slipping/slidding of the children in the river annoys the parents).

   (b) Rirheto ra mukhegula endzhopeni ri ta n’wi gula meno. (The excessive slipping/slidding of the old woman in the mud will make her teeth get out).

   (c) Vavanuna va tsakela rirheto ra vafana eEiland. (The men likes the excessive slipping/slidding of the young men at Eiland).

No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rirheto** (excessive slipping/slidding) denotes the process of slipping/slidding which an individual is excessively involved in.

**Rheta** (slip)

C.  [Expert/excessive actor]:  xirheti (expert/excessive slipping/slidding person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xirheti xi wile hi mombo.
(The expert/excessive slipping/slidding person fell on his forehead).

(b) Xirheti xi vavisekile nenge.
(The expert/excessive slipping person hurt his leg).

(c) Vafana va sula xirheti ridaka.
(The young men wipe the mud from the expert/excessive slipping/slidding person).

(Plural: Class 8: swirheti (expert/excessive slipping/slidding persons)

The nominal **xirheti** (slipping/slidding person) refers to an individual who regularly slides a short distance by accident so that he falls or nearly falls or one who expertly/excessively moves easily over a smooth or wet surface. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertise/excessiveness of slinding of an individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the process of slipping/slidding or he may not at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as **xirheti** (expert/excessive slipping/slidding person).

**Rheta** (slip/slide)

D.  [Artifact/Instrument]  xirheto (slide)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xirheto xi pandzekile.
(The slide has cracked).

(b) Xirheto xa titimela nimixo.
(The slide is cold in the morning).

(c) Vafana va khandziya xirheto.
(The young men climb the slide).

(Plural: Class 8: swirheto (slides)

The nominal **xirheto** (slide) refers to a structure with a steep slope that children use for slidding down.

**Rheta** (slip)

E.  [Act/Event]:  vurheti (slip)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vurheti bya vana eEyiland byi chavisa tifenhe.
(The slipping of children at Eiland frightens the baboons).

(b) Vurheti bya munhu lonkulu byi hlekisa vana.
(The slipping of an elderly person makes children to laugh).
(c) Vatswari va hlalela vurheti bya vana eEyilandi.
(The parents watch the slipping of the children at Eiland).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vurheti** (slip) denotes an act of sliding a short distance by an accident so that you fall or nearly fall. But it may also refer to an event of sliding, especially by children as a form of entertainment.

**Rhendzeleka** (go about aimlessly)

A. [Act]: murhendzeleki (person goes about aimlessly)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhendzeleki u xeweta wansati endleleni.
(The person who goes about aimlessly greets the woman along the way).

(b) Murhendzeleki u nghena exitolo.
(The person who goes about aimlessly gets into the shop).

(c) Wansati u nyika murhendzeleki nyama.
(The woman gives meat to the person who goes about aimlessly).

Plural: Class 2: varhendzeleki (people who go about aimlessly)

The nominal **murhendzeleki** (person who goes about aimlessly) denotes an individual who moves about aimlessly. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of moving about aimlessly is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as **murhendzeleki** (person who walks about aimlessly). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the duration of the performance denoted by the nominal. In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of walking about aimlessly.

**Rhendzeleka** (go about aimlessly)

B. [Excessive act]: rirhendzeleko (excessive going about aimlessly)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rirhendzeleko ra mufana nimadyambu ri karhata mhani wakwe.
(The excessive going about aimlessly of the young man in the evening troubles his mother).

(b) Rirhendzeleko ra vafana hi mitlawa nindzhenga ri chavisa van’wabindzu.
(The excessive going about aimlessly of the young men in groups in the evening scares the business people).

(c) Wansati u sola rirhendzeleko ra mufana nimadyambu.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive going about aimlessly of the young man in the evening).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rirhendzeleko** (excessive going about aimlessly) denotes an act of excessive walking about aimlessly of an individual.
Rhendzeleka (go about aimlessly)

C. [Excessive actor]: xirhendzeleki (person who excessively goes about aimlessly)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirhendzeleki xi hlaseriwile hi nkarhi wa nimadyambu epatwini.
(The person who excessively goes about aimlessly has been attacked in the evening on the road).

(b) Xirhendzeleki xi vuya ekaya exikarhi ka vusiku masiku hinkwawo.
(The person who excessively goes about aimlessly comes home at midnight everyday).

(c) Wansati u komba xirhendzeleki lowu xi vuyeke hi wona.
(The woman shows the person who excessively goes about aimlessly the time at which he came home).

Plural: Class 8: swirhendzeleki (person who excessively goes about aimlessly)

The nominal xirhendzeleki (person who excessively goes about aimlessly) denotes an individual who excessively walks about aimlessly. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of walking aimlessly of an individual in question that will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of walking aimlessly or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xirhendzeleki (person who excessively goes about aimlessly). In this case then, the nominal xirhendzeleki (person who excessively goes about aimlessly) does not modify the event of walking aimlessly, but the excessiveness thereof.

Rhendzeleka (go about aimlessly)

D. [Act]: vurhendzeleki (going about aimlessly)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurhendzeleki bya wansati ni vavasati van’wana byi nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The going about aimlessly of the woman of with other women annoys the man).

(b) Vurhendzeleki bya mufana ni vanhu vo ka va nga ngheni xikolo byi nyangatsa tata wakwe.
(The going about aimlessly of the young man with people who do not attend school disgusts his father).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vurhendzeleki bya nhwana nimadyambu.
(The old woman disapproves of the going about aimlessly of the young woman in the evening).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurhendzeleki (going about aimlessly) refers to an act of walking about aimlessly of an individual.
4.4.1. Deverbatives derived from motion verbs with a locative argument

4.4.1.1. The locative refers to a location

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**Tshama** (stay/sit)

A. [Actor]: mutshami (resident, one who sit down)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshami wa ka Mushiyani u khomile Lotto.
   (A Mushiyani resident has won Lotto).
   (b) 1. (a) Mutshami wa le ndzhaku u ta koleka mali.
       (The one who sits at the back will collect the money).
   (b) 1. (a) Mutshami un’wana ni un’wana wa le Giyani u rhambiwa enhlengeletanini.
       (Every resident of Giyani is invited to a meeting).
   (b) 1. (a) Mutshami wa hembhe yo basa a te emahlweni.
       (The one who is sitting with a white shirt should come forward).
   (c) Masipala u rhamba mutshami un’wana na un’wanaenhlegeletanini.
       (The municipality is inviting every resident to the meeting).

Plural: Class 2: vatshami (residents, sitting people)

The nominal mutshami (resident, sitting person) refers to an individual who stays in a particular area, or an individual who sits on something. The first meaning of a person staying at a particular place may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because such an individual may remain a resident of a place for the most part of his life. But the second meaning of a sitting person may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual engaged in the act of sitting does that for a short time, and will stand up and move in a while.

**Tshama** (stay, sit)

B. [Event]: ntshamo (sitting)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntshamo wa Palamente wu ta va hi Ravunharhu.
   (The sitting of the parliament will be on Wednesday).
   (b) Ntshamo wa vatirhi va ka masipala wu kavanyetiwile hi maphorisa.
       (The sitting of municipality workers was disrupted by police).
(c) Vanhu va tile hi xitalo eka ntshamo wa ka masipala.
(People came in great numbers at the sitting of the municipality).

Plural: Class 4: mitshamo (sittings)

The nominal ntshamo (sitting) refers to the event of sitting mostly by parliamentarians for discussing issues. It may also refer to the stage in of workers who have invaded the offices of their employers in an effort to get them accede to their demands.

Tshama (Stay, sit)

C. [Excessive act]: ritshamo (excessive staying/sitting)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritshamo ra wansati ekaya ri vilerisa mutholi.
(The excessive staying of the woman at home worries the employer).

(b) Ritshamo ra wanuna ebazini ri n’wi vangela vurhongo.
(The excessive sitting of a man on a bus makes the man slumber).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala ritshamo ra wansati exiticini.
(The people surprised at the sitting of the woman in the station).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritshamo (excessive staying/sitting) refers to the act of staying or sitting which is overdone.

Tshama (Stay, sit)

A. [Excessive actor]: xitshami (excessive staying person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitshami xa le swilahlweni xi lovile.
(The excessive staying person in the graveyard has died).

(b) Xitshami xa le swidakanini xi xave yindlu.
(The excessive staying person in the informal settlement has bought a house).

(c) Maphorisa ma khoma xitshami xa le swidakanini.
(The police arrest the excessive staying person in the informal settlement).

Plural: Class 8: switshami (excessive staying/sitting person)

The nominal xitshami (excessive staying person) refers to an individual who stays in a particular area, or an individual who sits on something for long period of time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of over staying is associated with the individual for the most part of his life.

Tshama (Stay, sit)

B. [Artifact/Instrument]: xitshamo (chair)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitshamo xa tatana xi tshovekile.
(The chair of the father is broken).
(b) Xitshamo lexi xa durha.
   (This chair is expensive).
(c) Mufana u sula xitshamo.
   (The young man wipes the chair).

Plural: Class 8: switshamo (chairs)

The nominal xitshamo (chair) refers to an object made by man used to sit on.

**Tshama (Stay, sit)**

C.  [Act]: vutshami (sitting or staying)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutshami bya vanhu eswidakanini a byi le nawini.
   (The staying/sitting of the people in the informal settlements is not legal).
   
   (b) Vutshami bya vatirhi etihofisini ta vafambisi byi nyangatse khoto.
   (The staying/sitting of the workers in the offices of the managers annoyed the court).
   
   (c) Van’watipolitiki va sola vutshami bya palamende nimadyambu.
   (Politicians condemn the sitting of the parliament in the evening).

There is no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutshami (staying/sitting) refers to the act of sitting of individuals at a particular place for a specific purpose, especially for holding a meeting.

**Tshama (Stay, sit)**

A.  [Place]: vutshamo (sitting place)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutshamo bya vayeni byi lulamile.
   (The place of visitors is ready).
   
   (b) Vutshamo bya vahlapfa byi herisiwile.
   (The place for foreigners has been destroyed).
   
   (c) Vanhu vo tala va pfumala vutshamo eAfrika-Dzonga.
   (Many people lack place to stay in South Africa).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutshamo (accommodation) refers to a place where an individual stays or sits.

**Yima (stand)**

A.  [Actor]: muyimi (standing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muyimi u tlakusa voko.
   (The standing person raises the hand).
   
   (b) Muyimi u khongotela vandyangu.
   (The standing person comforts the family members).
   
   (c) Mufana u komba muyimi ndhawu yo tshama.
   (The young man shows the standing person the place to sit).
Plural: Class 2: vayimi (standing people)

The nominal **muyimi** (standing /waiting person) refers to an individual who stands or wait at a particular place. This nominal may be regarded as stage-level nominal because the act of standing or waiting happens for a particular time. The person standing/waiting may decide to sit down or move after sometime. He cannot remain standing/waiting for his whole life.

**Yima (stand)**

B. [Excessive act]: riyimo (excessive standing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riyimo ra Khazamula enkosini ri nyenyetsa vavanuna.
(The excessive standing of Khazamula at the funeral annoys men).

(b) Riyimo ra Makhanana ebazini ri tsakisa vana.
(The excessive standing of Makhanana in the bus impresses children).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala riyimo ra wansati exiticini.
(The man is surprised at the excessive standing of the woman at the station).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riyimo (excessive staying/sitting) refers to the act of staying or sitting of an individual which is overdone.

**Yima (stand)**

C. [Excessive actor]: xiyimi (one who excessively stands)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiyimi xa ndhuma ethlenceletanini i Muzamana.
(a well known excessive stander in meetings is Muzamana).

(b) Xiyimi lexi a xi rindza nyama endlwini xi nyamalarile.
(The excessive stander who was looking after the meat in the house has disappeared).

(c) Vanhu va kombela xiyimi lexi vulavulaka ku miyela.
(People request the excessive standing person who is talking to keep quiet).

Plural: Class 8: swiyimi (excessively standing people)

The nominal **xiyimi** (excessive standing /waiting person) refers to an individual who has an an extra ability to stand or wait at a particular place for a long period of time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the ability of standing or waiting is associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, **xiyimi** (excessive standing/waiting person) may be standing/waiting at the time of reference or he may not be standing/waiting.

**Yima (stand)**

D. [Place/State]: xiyimo (position/situation)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiyimo xa wansati exibedhlele xa antswa.
(The condition of the woman in the hospital is better).
(b) Xiyimo xa munhu a xi langutiwi emikosini.
(The position of a person is not considered in funerals).

(c) Wanuna u kume xiyimo xa le henhla entirhweni.
(The man got a high position at work).

Plural: Class 8: swiyimo (positions, situations)

The nominal xiyimo (situation/position) refers to a situation which an individual finds himself in, or a position, particularly at work which an individual is placed or promoted into.

Yima (Stand/wait)

A. [Act]: vuyimi (standing/stopping)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuyimi bya timovha ekusuhi na biloho a byi pfumeleriwi.
(The stopping of cars next to the bridge is not allowed).

(b) Vuyimi bya vakhandziyi etibakini byi ni khombo.
(The stopping of passengers in vans is dangerous).

(c) Vana va hlamala vuyimi bya xihahampfhuka emoyeni.
(The children are surprised at the stopping of the helicopter in the air).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuyimi (standing/stopping) refers to an act of stopping to move by anything that has an ability to move. It may be a person who moves by himself, or it may be something machinery that is propelled by an engine. Although it may be theoretically possible to use vuyimi (standing/stopping) in this sense, it should be borne in mind that in every day discourse, Vatsonga do not usually make use of this nominal, they instead use class 15 nominal ku yima (to stand/stop) to refer to the situation described above, hence to some speakers this nominal may sound odd.

Yima (Stand)

B. [Place]: vuyimo (standing/waiting place)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuyimo bya tibazi byi tele.
(The standing place of buses is full).

(b) Vuyimo bya vakhandziyi byi antswisiwile.
(The standing place of passengers has been improved).

(c) Vanhu va pfumalo vuyimo endzeni ka bazi.l
(People do not have standing place inside the bus).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuyimo (standing/waiting place) refers to a place where an individual or some other thing stand or wait while performing a particular function or waiting for something such as a transport.
Sala (remain behind)

A. [Actor]: musali (One who remains behind)

Class 1:  1. (a) Musali u ta nyikiwa mali.
   (Person who remains behind will be given money).
   (b) Musali u ta famba vhiki leri taka.
   (Person who remains behind will leave next week).
   (c) Vanhu va nyikile musali mali ya swakudya.
   (People gave to the one who remains behine money for food).

Plural: Class 2: vasali (people who remain behind)

The nominal musali (one who remains behind) denotes a person who remains behind at a particular place when the others with whom he came leave. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of remaining behind happens for a short while. The individual denoted by this nominal may decide to leave after a few days.

Sala (Remain behind)

B. [Result]: nsalo (remainder)

Class 3:  2. (a) Nsalo wa nkwama wa lembe leri nga hundza i R20.000.00.
   (The remainder of last year’s collection is R20.000.00).
   (b) Nsalo wun’wana na wun’wana eka tinyiko hinkwato wu fanele ku tivisiwa nhlenegetano.
   (Each remainnder in all the gifts must be reported to the meeting).
   (c) Wansati u lava nsalo wa mali leyi tirheke hi ntlangu wa n’wana wa yena.
   (The woman wants the remainder of the money used during the party of her child).

Plural: Class 4: misalo (remainders)

The nominal nsalo (remainder) refers to a remnant of something that was being used, eaten or done. This nominal has a result reading in that it is a result of something that could not be used up.

Sala (Remain behind)

C. [Excessive actor]: risalo (Excessive remaining behind)

Class 5:  3. (a) Risalo ra Nkiyasi emikhubyeni ri nyenyetsa vatswari vakwe.
   (The excessive remaining behind of Nkiyasi in functions annoys her parents).
   (b) Risalo ra vamanana ekerekeni ri tsakisa mufundhisi.
   (The excessive remaining behind of women in the church impresses the pastor).
   (c) Vavanuna va sola risalo ra vamanana ekerekeni hi tisonto.
   (Men disapprove the excessive remaining behind of women in the church on Sundays).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **risalo** (excessive remaining behind) refers to the act of remaining behind of an individual in places which is done excessively.

**Sala** (remain behind)

D.  
[Excessive actor]: **xisali** (Person who excessively remains behind)

Class 7:  
4.  
(a) Xisali xa le ntlangwini xi vuyile hi milenge.  
(The person who excessively remains behind at the function has come back on foot).

(b) Xisali xa le xikolweni xi pfala mafasitere.  
(The person who excessively remains at school is closing windows).

(c) Swigevenga swi hlasela xisali xa le ndzhaku.  
(The criminals attack the person who excessively remains behind).

Plural: Class 2: **swisali** (people who excessively remain behind)

The nominal **xisali** (person who excessively remains behind) denotes a person who regularly remains behind at a particular place when the others with whom he came leave. The act of remaining behind of the individual has formed into a habit in the individual in question. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is not the act of remaining behind of the individual in question, but the excessiveness of the act of remaining behind thereof.

**Sala** (Remain behind)

E.  
[Act]: **vusali** (remaining behind)

Class 14:  
4.  
(a) Vusali bya Nkiyasi emikhubyeni byi nyenyetsa vatswari vakwe.  
(The remaining behind of Nkiyasi in functions annoys her parents).

(b) Vusali bya vamanana ekerekeni byi tsakisa mufundhisi.  
(The remaining behind of women in the church impresses the pastor).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vusali bya vamanana ekerekeni hi tisonto.  
(Men disapprove the remaining behind of women in the church on Sundays).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vusali** (remaining behind) refers to the act in which an individual stay behind at a particular place when others leave. Although it may be theoretically possible to use **vusali** (remaining behind) in formal discourse, it should be noted that in every day discourse Vatsonga do not usually make use of this nominal, they instead use class 15 nominal **ku sala** (to remain behind) to refer to the situation described above, hence to some speakers this nominal may sound odd.

**Fika** (Arrive)

A.  
[Actor]: **mufiki** (newcomer)

Class 1:  
1.  
(a) Mufiki u hava maphepha ya vutitivisi.  
(The newcomer lack identity documents).
(b) Mufiki u kombela swakudya.
(The newcomer asks for food).

(c) Manana u nyika mufiki swakudya.
(The mother gives food to the newcomer).

Plural: Class 2: vafiki (new comers)

The nominal mufiki (newcomer) refers to an individual who has just arrived at a particular place. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of arriving that is the defining features in this nominal is a temporary occurrence. An individual may be a new comer today, but after a few days after he is no longer regarded as such. In other words, it is only at a particular stage (of arriving) that he is regarded as a newcomer.

Fika (Arrive)

B. [Excessive act]: rifiko (excessive arrival)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifiko ra mudyondzisi entirhweni hi awara ya kaye ri karhata nhloko ya xikolo.
(The excessive arrival of the teacher at work at 9h00 troubles the school principal).

(b) Rifiko ra vatiirhi ka ha ri mixo ri tsakisa muthori.
(The regular arrival of workers while still early pleases the employer).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala rifiko ra muthori entirhweni ka ha ri nimixo.
(The people are surprised at the regular arrival of the employer while it is still early).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rifiko (excessive/regular arrival) refers to the act in which an individual arrives at a particular place regularly or excessively.

Fika (Arrive)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifiki (excessive newcomer)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xifiki xi xavisa swilo swo yiviwa.
(The excessively newcomer sells stolen things).

(b) Xifiki xi vulavula Xiphutukezi.
(The excessively newcomer speaks Portuguese).

(c) Vanhu va nyika xifiki byetlelo.
(The people give the excessive newcomer a place to sleep).

Plural: Class 8: swifiki (excessive newcomers)

The nominal xifiki (excessive newcomer) refers to an individual who regularly arrives at a particular place on a specific time and day. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property, which is the excessiveness of coming, is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining
characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of coming to a particular place or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xifiki* (excessive newcomer).

**Fika** (Arrive)

D.  [Act]:  vufiki (arrival)

Class 14: 3.  (a) Vufiki bya vayeni byi tsakise vinyi va motela.  
(The arrival of the guests impressed the motel owners).

   (b) Vufiki bya dyondzo eAfrika byi tise nhluvuko.  
(The arrival of education in Africa brought development).

   (c) Vanhu va nyenyetsa hi vufiki bya vahlampfa va xitalo laha tikweni.  
(People are annoyed by the arrival of a big number of emigrants in this country).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vufiki* (arrival) refers to the act in which an individual arrives at a particular place. Although this nominal is used in everyday discourse, the most commonly used nominal referring to the same act is that of class 15 *ku fika* (to arrive).

**Khinsama** (Kneel)

A.  [Actor]:  mukhinsami (kneeler)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mukhinsami u kombela mali eka tata wakwe.  
(The kneeler asks money from his father).

   (b) Mukhinsami wa xikipa xo basa u phakela vanhu maphepha.  
(The kneeler in a white t-shirt distributes papers to people).

   (c) Mufambisi u languta mukhinsami wa xikipa xo basa.  
(The manager looks at the kneeler on a white t-shirt).

Plural: Class 2: vakhinsami (kneeling people)

The nominal *mukhinsami* (kneeling person) denotes an individual who is kneeling down with his knees. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of kneeling for a particular time. In other words, the nominal *mukhinsami* (kneeling person) makes reference to the defining event of kneeling. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mukhinsami* (kneeling person).

**Khinsama** (Kneel)

B.  [Excessive act]:  rikhinsamo (excessive kneeling)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rikhinsamo ra wanuna ri n’wi delerisa hi tintangha ta yena.  
(Excessive kneeling of the man makes him despised by his peer group).
(b) Rikhinsamo ra wansati ri vilerisa nuna wakwe.
(Excessive kneeling of a woman worries her husband).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rikhinsamo ra wansati.
(The man is surprised at the kneeling of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhinsamo** (excessive kneeling) refers to the excessive act of kneeling or the tendency of kneeling which an individual does.

**Khinsama** (Kneel)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikhinsami (excessive kneeling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Xikhinsami xi xeweta vayeni.
(The excessive kneeling person greets quests).

(b) Xikhinsami xi koropa yindlu.
(The excessive kneeling person wipes the floor).

(c) Wansati u nyika xikhinsami pholichi.
(The woman gives polish to the excessive kneeling person).

Plural: Class 2: swikhinsami (excessive kneeling persons)

The nominal **xikhinsami** (excessive kneeling person) denotes an individual who kneels down regularly. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of kneeling is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity of kneeling or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xikhinsami** (excessive kneeling person) do not modify the event of kneeling, but the regularity of kneeling.

**Khinsama** (Kneel)

D. [Act]: vukhinsami (kneeling)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vukhinsami bya wansati exikolweni byi vilerisa nuna wakwe.
(The kneeling of the woman at school worries her husband).

(b) Vukhinsami bya vanhu ekerekeni byi tsakisa Xikwembe.
(The kneeling of the people in the church pleases God).

(c) Vana va hlalela vukhinsami bya vanhu ekerekeni.
(The children watch the kneeling of the people in the church).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhinsami** (kneeling) refers to the act of kneeling which an individual is engaged in.
**Khinsama (Kneeling)**

E. [Place]: vukhinsamo (kneeling place)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhinsamo bya vana ekerekeni byi thyakile.  
(The kneeling place of the children in the church is dirty).

(b) Vukhinsamo bya vagandzeri ekerekeni bya hatima.  
(The kneeling place of the worshippers in the church is shining).

(c) Wansati u u lulamisa vukhinsamo ekerekeni.  
(The woman prepares the kneewling place in the church).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhinsamo** (kneeling place) refers to a place where an individual kneels on when performing certain duties. Such places could be in the church where people are expected to kneel down on during special prayers or requests.

**Famba (walk/travel)**

A. [Actor]: mufambi (walker, traveller)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufambi u twa torha.  
(The walker/traveller is thirsty).

(b) Mufambi u vulavula na vavanuna.  
(The walker/traveller is talking with men).

(c) Wanuna u komba mufambi ndlela.  
(The man shows the traveller the way).

Plural: Class 2: vafambi (walkers, travellers)

The nominal **mufambi** (walker/traveller) refers to the individual who moves from one place to another, i.e. someone engaged in the activity of walking/travelling. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of walking/travelling which is the defining feature in this nominal is a temporary occurrence. An individual may be walker/traveller today, but a few days after he may no longer be engaged in that activity.

**Famba (walk/travel)**

B. [Excessive act]: rifambo (excessive walking/travelling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifambo ra wanuna ri karhata wansati.  
(The excessive walking/travelling of the man pertubs the woman).

(b) Rifambo ri nghenisa vanhu vo tala ekhombyeni.  
(The excessive walking/travelling gets a lot of people into danger).

(c) Wansati u vilerisa hi rifambo ra n’wana wakwe.  
(The woman is worried about the excessive walking of her child).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rifambo** (excessive walking/travelling) refers to the act of moving from one place to another by an individual.

**Famba** (walk/travel)

C.  
[Excessive actor]: xifambi (excessive traveller)

Class 7:  
(a) Xifambi xi vuyile eAmerika.  
(The excessive traveller has returned from America).

(b) Xifambi xi hlamusela ta riendzo ra xona eJapani.  
(The excessive traveller explains about his journey in Japan).

(c) Vanhu va khandziyisa xifambi movha.  
(The people give lift to the excessive traveller).

Plural: Class 8: swifambi (excessive travellers).

The nominal **xifambi** (excessive walker/traveller) refers to an individual who moves from one place to another in an excessive way, i.e. someone engaged in the activity of excessive walking/travelling. Such an individual may be engaged in the activity of walking/travelling or he may not be engaged in it. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it is not the properties of walking/travelling alone that determine the meaning of this nominal, but the regularity of walking/travelling is the main determining factor here. In other words, the property of walking/travelling is associated with this individual not only for a short period of time, but for the most part of his life.

**Famba** (walk/travel)

D.  
[Artifact/Instrument]: xifambo (transport)

Class 7:  
(a) Xifambo xa vatirhi a xi tangi.  
(The transport of workers did not arrive).

(b) Xifambo xi pfuna ngopfu hi mikarhi ya xihatla.  
(Transport helps a lot during emergency times).

(c) Vavanuna va hirha xifambo xa ka Maswanganyi.  
(The men hire Maswanganyi transport).

Plural: Class 8: swifambo (transports)

The nominal **xifambo** (transport) refers to a man-made object used for transporting people or things from one point to another. Such an object may be propelled by other things such as horses or donkeys in the case of a cart, or self-propelled, especially of machinery with engines such as a motor car.

**Famba** (walk/travel)

A.  
[Act]: vufambi (walking)

Class 14:  
(a) Vufambi bya vaendzi enkhubyeni byi karhatile vandyangu.  
(The walking of the guests from the function troubled the family members).
(b) Vufambi bya vakhegula enkosini byi chavise vayeni.
(The walking of the old women from the funeral frightened guests).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vufambi bya vana hi mikondzo).
(Men disapprove the walking of the children on foot).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vufambi** (walking/travelling) refers to the activity of walking from one point to another by an individual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<td>vuphatsami</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes**

**Class 1/2**
Prefixes: **mu-/va-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Mufambi** (walker/traveller)

```
N
AF  N^R
V  AF
mu- -famb-  -i
```
**Class 5**

Prefix: **ri-**  
Suffix: **-o**  

*Rifambo* (excessive walking/travelling)

```
N         
|       |     |     |   |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | AF |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | N  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | V  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| ri-   |     |     | famb- |     |     |     |     |     | -o   |
```

**Class 7/8**

Prefixes: **xi-/swi-**  
Suffix: **-i**  

*Xifambi* (excessive walker/traveller)

```
N         
|       |     |     |   |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | AF |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | N  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | V  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| xi-   |     |     | famb- |     |     |     |     |     | -i   |
```

**Class 7**

Prefix: **xi-**  
Suffix: **-o**

```
N         
|       |     |     |   |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | AF |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | N  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
|       |     |     | V  |     |     |     |     |     |     |
| xi-   |     |     | famb- |     |     |     |     |     | -o   |
```
Motion Verbs with a locative argument: locative refers to location

(17) **Nominalisation from the verb -famba** (walk/travel)

(iv) The verb -famba (walk/travel)

Vavanuna va famba epatwini.
(The men are walking/travelling on the road).

\[
\text{\textbf{-famba}}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D–E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad D–E2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{at (e}_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-famba}_\text{act (e}_1, x, y) 
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Walk – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb *-famba* (walk/travel) in (17) above displays two arguments in the argument structure. One argument, the default argument (D-ARG) represents the location where the motion (walking/travelling) occurs. The other argument, ARG 1, represents the physical object performing the event of walking/travelling. The event structure displays two events which are temporarily ordered and headed, namely the process and resulting state of walking/travelling. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state (e2) which determines the occurrence of the arguments while the agentive quale represents the act, i.e. process of walking (e1) of the physical object (person) (x).

(18) **Nominalisation in class 1: mufambi (walker/traveller)**

Mufambi u dzuka nyuku

(The walker/traveller is sweating)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mufambi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. object (human/animal)} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{at} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{--famba\_actor} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Walk/travel – Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *mufambi* (walker/traveller) in (18) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, i.e. the default argument (D-ARG) which represents the location at which the motion occurs, and the argument (ARG 1) representing the physical object (human) who performs the act of walking/travelling. The event structure represents the process event of walking/travelling. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (human) (x), whereas the agentive quale represents the act of walking (e1) of the human (x).
(19) **Nominalisation in class 7: xifambi (habitual excessive walker/traveller)**

Xifambi xi fikile eJoni.

(The habitual excessive walker/traveller has arrived in Johannesburg).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{Phys. object (human/animal)} \\
&\quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
&\quad \text{E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
&\quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
&\quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = \text{at} (e_2, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{famba}_\text{actor- excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Walk/travel – Excessive - Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xifambi** (excessive walker/traveller) in (19) above corresponds to that of **mufambi** (walker/traveller) in (18) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive act] in the agentive quale of **xifambi** (excessive walker/traveller) in (19) above which is absent in **mufambi** (walker/traveller) in (18) above.

(20) **Nominalisation in class 5: rifambo (habitual excessive walking/travelling)**

Rifambo ra tihomu ri vilerisa murisi.

(The habitual excessive walking/travelling worries the herdboy).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
&\quad \text{ARG2} = x: \text{phys. Obj. (human/animal)} \\
&\quad \text{ARG 3} = y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
&\quad \text{E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
&\quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
&\quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = \text{at} (e_2, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{famba}_\text{act- excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Walk/travel – Excessive - Motion – Event – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **rifambo** (excessive walking/travelling) in (20) above displays three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the physical object (human) that performs the act of walking/travelling, and the location where the walking/travelling occurs. The argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of walking/travelling itself.
Nominalisation in class 14 with suffix [-i]: vufambi (walking/travelling)

Vufambi bya mufana eswitarateni namadyambu byi nyangatsa vatswari vakwe.
(The walking of the young man on the streets in the evening disgusts his parents).

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{vufambi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & \text{ARG1}=e: \text{r} \\
& \text{ARG2}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \text{ARG3}=y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} & \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
& \text{E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & \text{FORMAL} = \text{at} \ (e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{i-famba\_act} \ (e_1, x, y) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Walk/travel – Motion – Act/Event – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative vufambi (walking/travelling) in (21) above corresponds to that of rifambo (excessive walking/travelling) in (20) above. The only difference relates to the feature [excessive] in the agentive quale of rifambo (excessive walking/travelling) in (20), which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of vufambi (walking/travelling) in (21).

Nominalisation in class 7 with suffix [-o]: xifambo (transport)

Xifambo xa vatirhi va le mapurasi xi tshovekile.
(The transport of the farm workers is broken).

\[
\begin{array}{|c|c|}
\hline
\text{xifambo} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & \text{ARG1}=e: \text{r} \\
& \text{ARG2}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \text{ARG3} = y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} & \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
& \text{E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & \text{FORMAL} = \text{at} \ (e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{famba\_act} – \text{artifact/instrument} \ (e_1, x, y) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Walk/travel – Motion – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative xifambo (transport) in (22) above displays three arguments in the argument structure, two of which are default arguments, i.e. the physical object (human) who walks/travels, and the location where the act of walking/travelling occurs. The first argument (ARG1) represents the artifact, i.e. transport. The event structure represents the default
process event of walking/travelling. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the artifact of transport (x). The agentive quale represents the act of travelling of the artifact, i.e. transport.

(23) **Nominalisation in class 14 with suffix [-o]: vufambo (walking path)**

Vufambo bya van’wamilenge etlhelo ka patu byi pfariwile.
(The walking path of the pedestrians on the roadside has been closed).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vufambo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3} = y: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad E2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{at} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} \ -famba \ _\text{place} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts**: Walk/travel – Motion – Place

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **vufambo** (walking path) in (23) above corresponds to that of **xifambo** (transport) in (22) above. The difference is represented in the formal quale, where **xifambo (transport)** in (22) above has the feature [artifact/instrument] whereas **vufambo** (walking path) in (23) has the feature [place].

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from -famba in classes 1 and 7 which denote humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbatives with the feature [act] which denote other things which are non human, while the suffix -o occurs with class 3 and class 5 deverbatives, also referring to non human objects.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of motion with a locative argument that refers to location verbs have similar lexical semantic representations. However, there are exceptions with the deverbative from -rheta in class 7 and the deverbative from -khida in class 14 both with the suffix -o. Deverbatives from other verbs do not have such deverbatives in similar classes.

**Famba** (walk/travel)

B. **[Place]**: vufambo (walking path)

Class 14: 1. (a) Vufambo bya vanhu byi anamisiwile.
(The walking path of the pedestrians has been widened).

(b) Vufambo bya van’wamilenge byi hunguta makhombo ya le magondzweni.
(The walking path of the pedestrians reduces road accidents).
(c) Vanhu vo tala a va tirhisi vufambo bya van’wamilenge.
(Many people do not use the path of the pedestrians).

The nominal vufambo (walking path) refers to a strip/portion which is used by an individual for walking on when moving from one point to another.

Phatsama (land)

A. [Excessive act]: riphatsamo (excessive landing)

Class 5: 1. (a) Riphatsamo ra swihahampfhuka erivaleni ri vavisa swimila.
(The excessive landing of the airplanes at the port hurts the plants).

(b) Riphatsamo ra swinyenyana ehenhla ka tihomu ri tsakisa vafana.
(The excessive landing of the birds on top of the cattle excites the young men).

(c) Wansati u hlamala riphatsamo ra swihahapfhuka erivaleni.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive landing of the airplanes on the port).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphatsamo (excessive landing) denotes an excessive act of coming or bringing to shore or to ground.

Phatsama (land)

B. [Act]: vuphatsami (landing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuphatsami bya swihahampfhuka eka Siyandhani byi tsakisa vana.
(The landing of the airplanes at Siyandhani excites the children).

(b) Vuphatsami bya swinyenyana ehenhla ka yindlu byi thyakisa lwangu.
(The landing of the birds on top of the house makes the roof dirty).

(c) Vavanuna va languta vuphatsami bya xihahampfhuka erivaleni.
(The men look at the landing of the airplane on the airport).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphatsami (landing) denotes an act of coming
4.4.1.2. The locative refers to source

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
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Rhurha (Migrate)

A. [Actor]: murhurhi (migrant)

Class 1:
1. (a) Murhurhi u ya tshama eka Mushiyani.
   (The migrant goes to stay at Mushiyani).
   (b) Murhurhi u rhwale nhundzu yakwe hinkwayo.
   (The migrant carried all his properties).
   (c) Vanhu va kombela murhirhi ku cinca miehleketo.
   (The people ask the migrant to change his mind).

Plural: Class 2: varhurhi (migrants).

The nominal murhurhi (migrant) denotes an individual who is engaged in the activity of moving from one place to another with his belongings with an aim of settling there. This nominal may be regarded as stage-level nominal because what characterises this nominal is the act of migrating. Once an individual is no longer engaged in such an activity, the nominawill no longer apply to him.

Rhurha (Migrate)

B. [Excessive act]: rirhurho (excessive migration)

Class 5:
2. (a) Rirhurho ra Khazamula ri vavisa maxaka yakwe.
   (The excessive migration of Khazamula hurts his relatives).
   (b) Rirhurho ra Nkiyasi ri ta n’wi peta nhloko.
   (The excessive migration of Nkiyasi will make her crazy).
   (c) Vana va nyenya rirhurho ra vatswari va vona.
   (The children dislike the excessive migration of their parents).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rirhurbo** (excessive migration) refers to the act of migrating which is excessively done by an individual. In other words, it denotes a person who does not stay at a particular place for a long time, but keeps on migrating from one place to another from time to time.

**Rhurha (Migrate)**

C.  

[Excessive migrant]: xirhurhi (excessive migrant)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirhurhi xi lava ndhawu yo tshama eGiyani.  
(The excessive migrant is looking for a place to stay in Giyani).

(b) Xirhurhi xi komba ku layichisiwa nhundzu elorini.  
(The excessive migrant asks to be helped to load luggage in the truck).

(c) Vafana va tekela xirhurhi xikhiya.  
(The young men take away the keys from the migrant).

Plural: Class 8: swirhurhi (migrants).

The nominal **xirhurhi** (excessive migrant) refers to an individual who regularly moves from one place to another with his belongings with an aim of settling there. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what characterises the meaning of this nominal is the excessiveness of the migration and not the act of migration. In other words, this nominal will be associated with the individual for the most part of his life. In this case then, the nominal **xirhurhi** (excessive migrant) may not refer to the individual engaged in the act of migrating at that particular time, or it may refer to it.

**Rhurha (Migrate)**

D.  

[Act]: vurhurhi (migration)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurhurhi bya wanuna eka Bungeni byi vilerisa wansati.  
(The migration of the man from Bungeni worries the woman).

(b) Vurhurhi bya muti wa ka Khosa eka Xokwe swi tsakisa vamakhelwana.  
(The migration of the family from Xokwe makes the neighbours happy).

(c) Vanhu va sola vurhurhi bya mulungu.  
(People criticize the migration of the white man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vurhurhi** (migration) refers to the act of moving from one place to another by an individual with an aim of residing there.

**Huma (go out)**

A.  

[Actor]: muhumi (one who goes out)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhumi u ya exitolo.  
(The one who goes out goes to the shop).

(b) Muhumi u ta vuya nimadyambu.  
(The one who goes out will return in the evening).
(c) Vavanuna va holovela muhumi ehandle.
(The men reprimand the leaving person outside).

Plural: Class 2: vahumi (leaving people).

The nominal **muhumi** (one who goes out) refers to an individual who moves out of something such as a car or a house. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question can so called only during the act of moving out. Once such an action is completed or stopped such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhumi** (one who goes out). In other words, the defining factor here is the act of going out which an individual is engaged in.

**Huma** (go out)

B. **[Excessive act]**: rihumo (excessive going out)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihumo ra vadyondzi etlilasini ri nyenyetsa nhloko ya xikolo.
(The excessive going out of the learners annoys the principal).
(b) Rihumo ra vanhu ekerekeni ri vilerisa mufundhisi.
(The excessive going out of the people in the church troubles the pastor).
(c) Wansati u hunguta rihumo ra vana ekerekeni.
(The woman reduces the excessive going out of the children in the church).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihumo** (excessive going out) denotes an act of moving out of a closet, especially a house which is carried out regularly by an individual.

**Huma** (go out)

C. **[Excessive actor]**: xihumi (one who goes out excessively)

Class: 3. (a) Xihumi xi ta vuya ku nga ri khale.
(One who goes out excessively will return soon).
(b) Xihumi xa ha ri ndlwini.
(One who goes out excessively is still in the house).
(c) Vafana va tlerisela xihumi endlwini.
The young men return the excessive leaving person into the house).

Plural: Class 8: swihumi (excessive going out persons).

The nominal **xihumi** (excessive going out person) refersto an individual who moves out of a closet on a regular basis. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining factor here is the regularity of going out of the individual in question, and not necessarily the act itself. In other words, an individual such as **xihumi** (excessive going out person) may be engaged in the act of going out or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.
**Huma** (go out)

D. [Act]: vuhumi (going out)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhumi bya vavanuna byi chavise vavasati.
(The (manner of) going out of men frightened women).

(b) Vuhumi bya vana exikolweni byi vange hansahansa.
(The (manner of) going out of the children at school caused confusion).

(c) Vadyondzisi va nyenya vuhumi bya vana etlilasini.
(The teachers hate the going out of children from the class).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhumi* (going out) refers to the act of going out from a closet by an individual.

**Huma** (go out)

E. [Place]: vuhumo (exit)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhumo bya vanhu exitolo byi anamisiwile.
(The exit of the people in the shop has been widened).

(b) Vuhumo bya vakhandziyi eka xihahampfhuka byi khiyiwile.
(The exit of the passengers in the airplane has been locked).

(c) Vanhu va lava vuhumo eka xihahampfhuka.
(The people are looking for exit in the airplane).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhumo* (exit) refers to the opening in a building or transport such as bus which is meant for people to exit through it.

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<tr>
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<th>Class 1</th>
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The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va-
Suffix: -i
Muhumi (going out person)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Rihumo (excessive fleeing)

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
Xihumi (the one who excessively flees)
Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vuhumi (fleeing)

Motion verbs with a locative argument: locative refers to a source

(24) Nominalization from the verb: -huma (go out)
(v) The verb –huma (go out)
Vana va huma exitolo.
(The children go out from the shop).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-huma} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{from} (e, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{huma}_\text{act}(e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Go out –Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -huma (go out) in (24) above exhibits two arguments in the argument structure, i.e. a physical object and a source argument. The event structure displays two events which are temporarily ordered and headed by, namely the process and resulting state of going out. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state \((e_2)\) which determines the occurrence of the arguments while the agentive quale represents the process of going out.
Nominalisation in classes 1/2: **muhumi** (going out person)

Muhumi wa le xitolo u ya ekaya.
(The going out person from the shop is going home).

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go out – Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal **muhumi** (going out person) in (25) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely the person who is going out and the location (source) from which (s) he goes. The event structure represents the default events, i.e. the process of going out and the resultant state. These events are temporarily ordered and are headed by the state event ($e_2$). The formal quale in the qualia structure identifies the state on which the human argument is dependent, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) ($e_1$) of going out ($e_1$) of the human ($x$).

Nominalisation in class 7/8: **xihumi** (excessively going out person)

Xihumi xa le tlilasini xi mukile.
(The excessively going out person has gone home).

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go out – Excessive - Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xihumi** (excessively going out person) in (26) above corresponds to that of **muhumi** (going out person) in (25) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive act] in the agentive quale of **xihumi** (excessively going out person) in (26) above which is absent in **muhumi** (going out person) in (25).
(27) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihumo** (excessive going out)

Rihumo ra mufana etilasini ri nyenyetsa mudyondzisi.
(The excessive going out of the young man from the class annoys the teacher).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rihumo} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1=}e: r \\
& \text{ARG2=}x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \text{ARG3=} y: \text{source} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=} e_1: \text{process} \\
& \text{E2=} e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{from} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{huma} \_ \text{act}_{\text{excessive}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go out – Motion – Act - Excessive

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbalive **rihumo** (excessive going out) in (27) above exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the physical object (human) that goes out, and the source from which the going out occurs. The argument (ARG1) represents the reference $®$ of the event of going out. The event structure displays two events that are temporarily ordered and headed by, namely the process and resulting state of going out. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state ($e_2$) which determines the occurrence of the arguments while the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of going out.

(28) **Nominalisation in class 14 with the suffix [-i]: vuhumi** (going out)

Vuhumi bya mufana etilasini hi nkarhi wo dyondza byi vilerisa mudyondzisi.
(The excessive going out of the young man during learning time worries the teacher).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vuhumi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1=}e: r \\
& \text{ARG2=}x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \text{ARG3=} y: \text{source} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=} e_1: \text{process} \\
& \text{E2=} e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{from} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{huma} \_ \text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go out – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *vuhumi* (going out) in (28) above corresponds to that of *rihumo* in (27) above. The only difference relates to the feature [excessive] in the agentive quale of *rihumo* in (27), which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of *vuhumi* in (28).

(29) **Nominalisation in class 14 with the suffix [-o]: vuhumo (exit)**

Vuhumo bya xihatla byi pfuleriwile eka xihahampfhuka.
(The emergency exit has been opened on the air plane).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3} = y: \text{source} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{from} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{huma}_- \text{place} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go out – Motion – Place

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *vuhumo* (exit) in (29) above exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the physical object (human) that goes out, and the source from which the going out occurs. The argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of going out. The event structure displays two events that are temporarily ordered and headed by, namely the process and resulting state of going out. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state (e2) which determines the occurrence of the arguments while the agentive quale represents the place of going out.

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from -huma in classes 1 and 7 that denotes humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbatives with the feature [act] that denotes non-human objects, while the suffix -o occurs with class 5 deverbatives, also referring to non-human objects. The suffix -o also occurs with the deverbative in class 14.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of motion verbs that denote source have similar lexical semantic representations. The only difference is that no deverbative from other verbs occurs with the suffix -o in class 14.
Suka (leave)

A.  [Actor]: musuki (The leaving person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Musuki u kongoma edorobeni.
(The leaving person goes to town).

(b) Musuki u ya exikolweni.
(The leaving person goes to school).

(c) Mufana u vitana musuki ehandle.
(The young man calls the leaving person from outside).

Plural: Class 2: vasuki (leaving persons)

The nominal musuki (leaving person) refers to an individual who moves away from a particular place. Such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question will be so called only when the act of leaving still applies. Once the act of leaving comes to an end such an individual may no longer be referred to as musuki (leaving person). In other words, the defining feature here is the act of leaving embodied in this noun.

Suka (Leave)

B.  [Excessive act]: risuko (excessive leaving)

Class 5:  2. (a) Risuko ra Makhanana entirhweni ri ta kala ri n’wi hlongorisa.
(The excessive leaving of Tsatsawana from the job will end up making her chased).

(b) Risuko ra Makhanana ekaya u ri tekele ka Mhani wa yena.
(The excessive leaving from home of Makhanana was inherited from her mother).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va hlongoriwa emitirhweni ya vona hikokwalaho ka risuko ra vona.
(Many people get dismissed from their jobs because of their excessive leaving).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risuko (excessive leaving) refers to the act of leaving from a place by an individual excessively.

Suka (leave)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xisuki (one who excessively leaves)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xisuki xi fikile eGiyani.
(One who excessively leaves has arrived in Giyani).

(b) Xisuki xi famba na vana va xona.
(The excessive leaving person goes with his children).

(c) Mufana u fonela xisuki lexa ha ku fambaka.
(The young man is phoning the excessive leaving person who has just left).

Plural: Class 8: swisuki (excessive leaving people).
The nominal *xisuki* (excessive leaving person) refers to an individual who moves from a place from time to time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining factor here is the regularity of leaving by this individual and not the act itself. This means that the individual referred to as *xisuki* (excessive leaving person) may not necessarily be engaged at the act of leaving at the time of reference, or he may be engaged in. In other words, the nominal modifies the excessiveness of the act and not the act.

Suka (leave)

D. [Act]: vusuki (going away)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vusuki bya vana byi karhata wansati.
(The leaving of the children troubles the woman).

(b) Vusuki bya xidakwa ehubyeni byi tsakise vana.
(The leaving of the drunkard from the court made people happy).

(c) Vafana va tsakisa hi vusuki bya xidakwa ehubyeni.
(The young men are impressed by the leaving of the drunkard from the court).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vusuki* (leaving) refers to the act of moving from a place by an individual. However, in everyday use speakers prefer the nominal *ku suka* (to leave) instead of this.

Baleka (Flee)

A. [Actor]: mubaleki (fleeing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubaleki u kumiwile lovile.
(The fleeing person was found dead).

(b) Mubaleki u wele egodini.
(The fleeing person fell into a pit).

(c) Maphorisa va lava mubaleki.
(Police are looking for the fleeing person).

Plural: Class 2: vabaleki (fleeing persons).

The nominal *mubaleki* (fleeing person) refers to an individual who broke free from confinement or control. But it may also refer to someone who runs away from something, especially dangerous or which he provoked. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is modified by the defining act of fleeing. Once this act is completed, such an individual may no longer be called *mubaleki* (fleeing person).

Baleka (Flee)

B. [Excessive act]: ribaleko (Excessive fleeing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribaleko ra Khazamula entirhweni ri hlamarisa vatirhi.
(The excessive fleeing of Khazamula at work surprises the workers).
(b) Ribaleko ra Sasavona entirhweni ri karhata nuna wakwe.
(The excessive fleeing of Sasavona at work troubles her husband).

c) Manana u hlamarisiwa hi ribaleko ra Tsatsawana entirhweni.
(The mother is surprised by the excessive running away of Tsatsawana from work).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribaleko** (excessive fleeing) refers to the act of fleeing which individual does excessively.

**Baleka** (Flee)

C.  [Excessive Actor]:  xibaleki (the one who excessively flees)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xibaleki xi dlaye munhu.
(The one who flees killed a person).

(b) Xibaleki xi tlheriseriwe ekhotosweni.
(The one who flees has been taken back into prison).

(c) Maphorisa va balesele xibaleki enengeni.
(The police shot the excessive fleeing person on the leg).

Plural: Class 8: swibaleki (fleeing people)

The nominal **xibaleki** (excessive fleeing person) refers to an individual who has a tendency of breaking loose from confinement or control. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the tendency of fleeing is associated with him for the greater part of his life. In other words, it is not the act of fleeing which modifies this nominal, but regularity of fleeing. As such, this nominal does not necessarily refer to an individual who is fleeing at the time of reference, but to a person who has a tendency to flee most of the time.

**Baleka** (Flee)

D.  [Act]:  vubaleki (fleeing)

Class:  4. (a) Vubaleki bya swibochwa byi vilerisa varhangeri.
(The fleeing of convicts is of concern to the leaders).

(b) Vubaleki bya vana eswikolweni byi fanele ku langutisiwa.
(The (manner of) fleeing of children at school should be looked into).

(c) Vadyondzisi va vilerisa hi vubaleki bya vana exikolweni.
(The teachers are worried about the fleeing of the students from the school).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vubaleki** (fleeing) refers to the act of breaking loose from confinement or control.
Wa (Fall)

A. [Actor]: muwi (falling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muwi u tshovekile nenge.  
(The falling person broke his leg).

(b) Muwi wa khwitia.  
(The falling person is limping).

(c) Vafana ba bebula muwi.  
(The young men carry the falling person on their back).

Plural: Class 2: vawi (falling people).

The nominal muwi (falling person) denotes an individual who drops down suddenly to the ground or to a lower position under the force of gravity. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the event of falling usually happens for a short period. Once such an individual rises up, such a person may no longer be referred to as muwi (falling person). In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the event of falling. Once such an event is past, the individual in question may no longer be viewed as muwi (falling person).

Wa (Fall)

B. [Excessive event]: riwo (excessive falling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riwo ra wanuna emovheni ri n’wi tshovile longo.  
(The excessive falling of the man from the car has broken his spinal cord).

(b) Riwo ra mukhegula exitulwini ri hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The excessive falling of the old woman from the chair surprises the people).

(c) Vafana va hlamala riwo ra switina elorini.  
(The young men are surprised at the excessive falling of the bricks from the truck).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riwo (excessive falling) refers to an event of falling that happens regularly.

Wa (Fall)

C. [Result]: riwa (precipice/cliff)

Class 5: 3. (a) Riwa ra le nambyeni wa Mulondodzi ra chavisa.  
(The precipice/cliff at Mulondodzi river is scary).

(b) Riwa ra le goveni ra le Ritavi ri heta swifuwo swo tala.  
(The precipice/cliff at the valley of Letaba kills a lot of livestock).

(c) Vapfhumba va hlamala riwa ra le Mulondodzi.  
(The tourists are surprised at the precipice/cliff at Mulondodzi).

Plural: Mariwa (precipices/cliffs)

The nominal riwa (precipice/cliffs) refers to a very steep side of a high cliff, mountain or rock.
D. [Excessive actor]: xiwi (Excessive falling person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiwi xi tshovekile nenge.
(The excessive falling person broke his leg).
   (b) Xiwi xa khwita.
(The excessive falling person is limping).
   (c) Vafana ba bebula xiwi.
(The young men carry the excessive falling person on their back).

Plural: Class 8: swiwi (excessive falling people).

The nominal xiwi (excessive falling person) denotes an individual who regularly drops down suddenly to the ground or to a lower position under the force of gravity, especially someone who suffers from epilepsy or any related disease. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since the excessiveness of falling will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether such an individual involved in the process of falling, or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will be referred to as xiwi (excessive falling person).

Wa (Fall)

E. [Act]: vuwi (falling)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuwi bya wanuna emovheni byi n’wi tshovile longo.
(The falling of the man from the car has broken his spinal cord).
   (b) Vuwi bya mukhegula exitulwini byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The falling of the old woman from the chair surprises the people).
   (c) Vafana va hlamala vuwi bya switina elorini.
(The young men are surprised at the falling of the bricks from the truck).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuwi (falling) refers to an event of dropping down suddenly to the ground or to a lower position under the force of gravity by an individual.

Xika (alight)

A. [Actor]: muxiki (alighting person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muxiki wa le movheni u kongoma exikolweni.
(The alighting person from the car goes to school).
   (b) Muxiki wa le bazini u khome bege.
(The alighting person from the bus is holding a bag).
   (c) Wanuna u languta muxiki wa le bazini.
(The man looks at the alighting person from the bus).

Plural: Class 2: vaxiki (alighting people)
The nominal **muxiki** (alighting person) denotes an individual who gets down or out of something. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of alighting at a particular time. In other words, the nominal **muxiki** (alighting person) makes reference to the defining event of alighting. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muxiki** (alighting person).

**Xika** (alight)

B. [Excessive act]: **rixiko** (excessive alighting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rixiko ra wanuna emovheni lowu fambaka ri karhata wansati.
   (The excessive alighting of the man from the moving vehicle worries his wife).
   (b) Rixiko ra vafana enhoveni ri vilerisa vadyondzisi.
   (The excessive alighting of the young men in the bush worries the teachers).
   (c) Wansati u sola rixiko ra nuna wakwe enhoveni.
   (The woman disapproves the excessive alighting of her husband in the bush).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rixiko** (excessive alighting) denotes an excessive act of alighting of an individual from a thing.

**Xika** (alight)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xixiki** (excessive alighting person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xixiki xa le bazini xi lahle xipaci.
   (The excessively alighting person from the bus lost his wallet).
   (b) Xixiki xa le xitimeleni xi ambale suti.
   (The excessively alighting person from the train is wearing a suit).
   (c) Wanuna u khumba xixiki xa le Soweto ebazini.
   (The man touches the excessively alighting person of Soweto).

Plural: Class 8: swixiki (excessively alighting people)

The nominal **xixiki** (excessively alighting person) denotes an individual who regularly alights from something. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of alighting is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xixiki** (excessively alighting person) do not modify the event of alighting, but the skill of alighting.

**Xika** (alight)

D. [Act]: **vuxiki** (alighting)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuxiki bya vafana enhoveni byi hlamarisa vakhandziyi.
   (The alighting of the young men in the bush surprises the passengers).
(b) Vuxiki bya wansati epatwini nimadyambu byi karhata nuna wakwe.
(The alighting of the woman on the road in the evening worries her husband).

(c) Vavanuna va yirisa vuxiki bya vafana enhoveni nivusiku.
(The men forbid the alighting of young men in the bush in the evening).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuxiki** (alighting) refers to the activity of alighting which an individual is engaged in. The meaning of act is usually found with class 14 nominals which ends with the suffix -i.

**Phonyoka** (escape from)

A. [Actor]: muphonyoki (escapee)
Class 1: 1. (a) Muphonyoki eka swigevenga u tsutsumela ekaya.
(The escapee from murders is running towards home).
(b) Muphonyoki eka ngwenya u vavisekile nenge.
(The escapee from the crocodile is hurt on the leg).
(c) Wanuna u sula muphonyoki ngati enengeni.
(The man wipes blood from the escapee on the leg).

Plural: Class 2: vaphonyoki (escapees)

The nominal **muphonyoki** (escapee) denotes an individual who found his way out of grip or danger. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of escaping for a particular time. In other words, the nominal muphonyoki (escapee) makes reference to the defining event of escaping. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muphonyoki (escapee).

**Phonyoka** (escape from)

B. [Excessive act]: riphonyoko (excessive escape)
Class 5: 2. (a) Riphonyoko ra wanuna emenweni ya tingwenya ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive excessive escape of the man from the teeth of the crocodile surprises the people).
(b) Riphonyoko ra wansati eka makhombo ya le maphatwini ri komba tintswalo ta Xikwembu eka yena.
(The excessive escape of the woman from road accidents shows the mercy of God on her).
(c) Wansati u hlamala riphonyoko rakwe eka tinghala.
(The woman is surprised at her escape from the lions).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphonyoko** (excessive escape) denotes an act of escaping which an individual is engaged in which is done excessively.
Phonyoka (escape from)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xiphonyoki (excessive escapee)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xiphonyoki eka tingwenya xi le xibedhlele.  
(The excessive escape from crocodile is in hospital).

(b) Xiphonyoki eka swigevenga xi khensa Xikwembu.  
(The excessive escapee from murders thanks God).

(c) Wanuna u bebula xiphonyoki eka tingwenya.  
(The man carries on his bag the excessive escapee from crocodiles).

Plural: Class 8: swiphonyoki (excessive excessive escapee)

The nominal xiphonyoki (excessive escapee) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of escaping. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of escaping is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xiphonyoki (excessive escapee) does not modify the event of escaping, but the skill of escaping.

Phonyoka (escape from)

D.  [Act]: vuphonyoki (escape)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vuphonyoki bya mufana eka mpfuvu byi hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The escape of the young boy from the hippo surprises the people).

(b) Vuphonyoki bya wansati eka tinghala byi tivisiwile eka rhadiyo.  
(The escape of the woman from the lions was announced on the radio).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vuphonyoki bya xiharhi entlhan’wini.  
(The man is surprised at the escape of the wild animal from the snare/trap).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphonyoki (escape) refers to the activity of escaping which an individual is engaged in or the state of having escaped. The meaning of act is usually found with class 14 nominals which end with the suffix -i.

Phohla (break out of enclosure)

A.  [Excessive act]: riphohlo (excessive breaking out of enclosure)

Class 5:  1. (a) Riphohlo ra tinghala entangeni wa Kruger ri nyanya hi xixika.  
(The excessive breaking out of the lions from Kruger National park worsens in winter).

(b) Riphohlo ra tinyarhi entageni wa swiharhi ri vanga vuvabyi bya swindomundomu.  
(The excessive breaking out of buffalos from the park causes foot and mouth diseases).

(c) Vanhu va sola riphohlo ra tindlovu entangeni wa Kruger.  
(The people condemn the excessive breaking out of the elephants from Kruger Park).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphohlo (excessive breaking out of enclosure) denotes an excessive act of breaking out of enclosure of an animal.

**Phohla** (break out of enclosure)

B. \[Act\]: vuphohli (breaking out of enclosure)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuphohli bya tindlopfu entangeni wa swiharhi byi onhela varimi lava nga kusuhi na ntanga.
(The breaking out of elephants from the park causes damage for the farmers who are near the park).

(b) Vuphohli bya tihomu ematshangeni byi andza hi nkarhi wa xirimu.
(The breaking out of cattle from the kraals increases during summer).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vuphohli bya tinyarhi entageni.
(The men condemn the breaking out of buffaloes from the park).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphohli (breaking out of enclosure) refers to the act of breaking out of enclosure of an animal.

**Hambuka** (diverge)

A. \[Actor\]: muhambuki (diverging person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhambuki wa patu u khome xihloka.
(The diverging person from the road is holding an axe).

(b) Muhambuki wa ndlela u ya enambyeni.
(The diverging person of the road goes to the river).

(c) Wanuna u vitana muhambuki wa patu.
(The man calls for the diverging person).

Plural: Class 2: vahambuki (diverging people)

The nominal muhambuki (diverging person) denotes an individual who turns aside or one who changes direction or one who moves out of his way. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of diverging for a particular time. In other words, the nominal muhambuki (diverging person) makes reference to the defining event of diverging. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhambuki (diverging person).

**Hambuka** (diverge)

B. \[Excessive act\]: rihambuko (excessive diverging)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihambuko ra wanuna ra patu ri ta n’wi lumisa hi tinyoka.
(The excessive diverging of the man will make him be bitten by snakes).
The excessive diverging of the car of the young man at the corner scares the passengers.

(The excessive diverging of the car of the young man at the corner scares the passengers).

The woman disapproves of the excessive diverging of her husband from the path in the evening.

(The woman disapproves of the excessive diverging of her husband from the path in the evening).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihambuko** (excessive diverging) denotes an excessive act of diverging which an individual is engaged in.

**Hambuka** (diverge)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  xihambuki (excessively diverging person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihambuki xi lumiwile hi nyoka enhoveni.

(The excessive person was bitten by a snake in the bush).

(b) Xihambuki xi ya kuva tihunyi emasin’wini.

(The excessively diverging person is going to collect fire wood at the field).

(c) Vafana va huwelela xihambuki enhoveni.

(The young men shout at the excessively diverging person in the bush).

Plural: Class 8: swihambuki (excessively diverging people)

The nominal **xihambuki** (excessively diverging person) denotes an individual who regularly moves out of the way. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of diverging is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xihambuki** (excessively diverging person) does not modify the event of diverging, but the excessiveness of diverging.

**Hambuka** (diverge)

D.  [Act]:  vuhambuki (diverging)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhambuki bya wanuna bya patu nimadyambu byi vilerisa nsati wakwe.

(The diverging of the man from the road in the evening worries his wife).

(b) Vuhambuki bya timovha ekhonweni byi vanga makhombo.

(The diverging of the cars at the corner causes accidents).

(c) Wanuna u sola vuhambuki bya vana bya ndlela.

(The man disapproves the diverging of the children from the path).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhambuki** (diverging) refers to the activity of diverging which an individual is engaged in. The meaning of act is usually found with class 14 nominals which ends with the suffix -i.
### 4.4.1.3. The locative refers to direction

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**Nghena (enter)**

A. **[Actor]:** mungheni (the entering person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mungheni u lavalava xitulu.  
(The entering person looks for a chair).

(b) Mungheni u vitana vana.  
(The entering person calls children).

(c) Wanuna u byela mungheni ku vuyela ethelo.  
(The man tells the entering person to move aside).

Plural: Class 2: vangheni (entering people).

The nominal mungheni (entering person) refers to the person who enters into something, especially a house or a car. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is defined in terms of the act the individual is involved in. It is a temporary activity that may change at any moment once the act of entering is completed.

**Nghena (enter)**

B. **[Excessive act]:** ringheno (Excessive entering)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ringheno ra mufana endlwini ri kavanyeta nhlengeletano.  
(The excessive entering of the young man to the house disturbs the meeting).

(b) Ringheno ra mudyondzi ehojisini ri nyenyetsa nhloko ya xikolo.  
(The excessive entering of the learner in the office annoys the principal).
(c) Vanhu va sola ringheno ra mufana endlwini.
(The people disapprove the excessive entering of the young man in the house).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ringheno** (excessive entering) refers to the act of entering which an individual does excessively.

**Nghena** (enter)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xingheni (excessive entering person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xingheni xi kombela swakuda.
(The excessively entering person asks for food).
(b) Xingheni xi kavanyeta nhlenegetano.
(The excessive entering person disrupts the meeting).
(c) Vanhu va amukela xingheni endlwini.
(People welcome the excessive entering person in the house).

Plural: Class 8: swingheni (excessive entering people).

The nominal **xingheni** (excessive entering person) refers to an individual who enters excessively into something, especially a house or a car. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is not only the act, but also and mainly the regularity in which the act is performed. This feature of excessiveness will be associated with an individual in question for a long time. Thus, the individual such as **xingheni** (excessive entering person) may be engaged in the act of entering at the time of reference, or he may not be engaged in it.

**Nghena** (enter)

D. [Act]: vungheni (entering)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vungheni bya wanuna byi kavanyete nhlenegetano.
(The (manner of) entering of the man disrupted the meeting).
(b) Vungheni bya homu etlilasini byi hlamarisile vana.
(The (manner of) entering of a cow in the classes surprised the children).
(c) Vana va karhatiwe hi vungheni bya homu etlilasini.
(The children have been troubled by the entering of the cow in the class).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vungheni** (entering) refers to the act of entering into something, or a place by an individual.
Nghena (enter)

E.  [Place]: vungheno (entrance)

Class 14: 5.  (a) Vungheno bya le holweni byi khiyiwile.
(The entrance to the hall has been locked).
(b) Vungheno bya le ka Spar byi anamile.
(The entrance of the Spar is wide).
(c) Vanhu va rhandza vungheno bya le ndzhaku.
(The people like back door entrance).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vungheno (entrance) refers to an opening/place through which people enter into a building.

Ya (go)

A.  [Actor]: muyi (goer)

Class 1: 1.  (a) Muyi u ta suka nimixo.
(The goer will leave in the morning).
(b) Muyi u ta tirhisa movha.
(The goer will use a car).
(c) Manana va kombela muyi ku va vuyela na foni.
(The mother asks the goer to return with a phone for her).

Plural: Class 2: vayi (goers)

The nominal muyi (goer) refers to an individual who is heading to a particular destination. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is so named after the defining act of going. The meaning of this nominal will change once the act of going which an individual is engaged in ends. In such a case, this individual may no longer be referred to as muyi (goer), but something else depending on the defining act therein.

Ya (Go)

B.  [Excessive act]: riyo (excessive going)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Riyo ra mufana eGiyani ri kanakanisa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive going of the youngman to Giyani is doubtful to his parents).
(b) Riyo ra vadyondzi eKapa ri tsakisa vatswari.
(The excessive going of the learners to Cape Town pleases parents).
(c) Vatswari va sola riyo ra mufana eka nhwanyana.
(The parents disapprove the excessive going of the young man to the young woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal riyo (excessive going) refers to the activity of going which an individual is engaged in an excessive way.

Ya (Go)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiyi (excessive goer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiyi xi fikile evukon’wanini. (The Excessive goer has arrived in the in-laws).
   (b) Xiyi xi ta vuya nimadyambu. (The excessive goer will return in the morning).
   (c) Vanhu va lela xiyi xa le Nghilandi exitediyamu. (The people bid farewell to the excessive going person to England at the stadium).

Plural: Class 8: swiyi (excessive goers)

The nominal xiyi (excessive goer) refers to an individual who excessively goes to a particular place. In other words it is someone who will often be seen going to a particular place, i.e. he does not stay a long time without going there. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness will always be associated with his action of going to a particular place for the most part of his life.

Ya (Go)

D. [Act]: vuyi (going)

Class: 14 4. (a) Vuyi bya vavanuna engomeni byi hlamarise tiko. (The going of the men to initiation school surprised the village).
   (b) Vuyi bya wanuna eYuropa i nkateko lowukulu. (The going of the man to Europe is a great blessing).
   (c) Wansati u sola vuyi bya nuna wakwe engomeni. (The woman disapproves the going of the man to an initiation school).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuyi (going) refers to the act of going to a particular place by an individual. But the other one which is commonly used to refer to the same meaning is class 15 nominal ku ya (to go).

Ya (Go)

E. [Place]: vuyo (place to go to)

Class: 5. (a) Khazamula u hava vuyo Enghilandi. (Khazamula does not have anywhere to go in England).
   (b) Vanhu lava nga na vuyo va tiphina eYuropa. (People who have a place to go are enjoying in Europe).
   (c) Vanhu va le ntsungeni va rhandza vuyo byo hava huwa. (The people from overseas like places that are not noisy).
Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuyo (place to go) refers to any other place where an individual can go to.

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<td>Thothomela</td>
<td>mutthothomeli</td>
<td>rithothomeli</td>
<td>xithothomeli</td>
<td>vuthothomeli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chochovela</td>
<td>muchochoveli</td>
<td>richochovelo</td>
<td>xichochoveli</td>
<td>vuchochoveli</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Class 1/2
Prefixes: **mu-/va**
Suffix: **-i**

Muyi (goer)

```
      N
     /|
    AF N'R
   /|
  V AF
 /|
Mu- y- i
```
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Riyo (excessive going)

```
N
/|_
| AF N^R |
|   V AF |
ri -y- -o
```

Class 7
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
Xiyi (expert goer)

```
N
/|_
| AF N^R |
|   V AF |
xi- -y- -i
```

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vuyi (going)

```
N
/|_
| AF N^R |
|   V AF |
vu- -y- -i
```
Motion verbs with a locative argument: locative refers to direction

Nominalization from the verb: -ya (go)
(vi) The verb -ya (go)  
Mufana u ya exikolweni.  
(The boy goes to school).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1} = y: \text{direction (goal)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = \varepsilon_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{D-E2} = \varepsilon_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = \varepsilon_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{to} (\varepsilon_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{ya}_\text{act} (\varepsilon_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Go – Motion - Act

The lexical semantic representation of the motion verb -ya in (30) above displays two arguments in its argument structure. One argument is a default argument (D-ARG), which represents the direction towards which the motion is directed. The other argument (ARG1) represents the physical object performing the act of going. The event structure displays two events that are temporarily ordered and headed, namely the process and resulting state of going. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state that determines the occurrence of the arguments. The agentive quale represents the process of going.
(31) **Nominalisation in classes 1/2: muyi (goer)**

Muyi wa le xikolweni wa ha nwa tiya.
(The goer to the school is still drinking tea).

\[
\text{muyi}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = y: \text{direction} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{D–E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{to} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{ya}_\text{actor} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go – Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **muyi** (31) above displays two arguments in its argument structure. One argument is a default argument (D-ARG), which represents the direction towards which the motion is directed. The other argument (ARG1) represents the physical object performing the act of going. The event structure displays two default events that are temporarily ordered and headed, namely the process of going and the resultant state. The formal quale in the qualia structure identifies the state on which the human argument is dependent, while the agentive quale represents the process of going of the human argument (x).

(32) **Nominalisation in class 7: xiyi (excessive goer)**

Xiyi xa le dorobeni xi rhandza nyama ya Chicken Licken.
(The excessive goer to town likes Chicken Licken meat).

\[
\text{xiyi}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = y: \text{direction} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{D–E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{to} (e_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{ya}_\text{actor_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Go – Motion – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xiyi** (excessive goer) in (32) above is similar to that of **muyi** (31) above. The difference is found in the agentive quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in **xiyi** (excessive goer) in (32) above, which is absent in **muyi** in (31) above.
Nominalisation in class 5: riyo (excessive going)

Riyo ra mufana eGiyani ri kanakanisa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive going of the youngman to Giyani is doubtful to his parents).

\[
\text{riyo} \quad \begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=r \\
&= \text{ARG2}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
&= \text{ARG3}=y: \text{direction (goal)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
&\quad \text{E2}=e_2: \text{state} \\
&\quad \text{Restr}=\text{Temporarily ordered} \\
&\quad \text{Head}=e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=\text{to (e}_2, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=\text{ya}_\text{act} \_\text{excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Go – Motion – Act – Excessive

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal \textit{riyo} (excessive going) in (33) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the physical object that is engaged in the act of going, and the direction towards which the going is directed. The other argument is the reference of the act of going (e\textsubscript{1}). The event structure displays two events that are temporarily ordered and headed, namely the process and resulting state of going (e\textsubscript{2}). The formal quale in the qualia structure identifies the state on which the human argument is dependent, while the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of going (e\textsubscript{1}) of the human argument (x).

Nominalisation in class 14 with suffix [i]: vuyi (going)

Vuyi bya mufundhisi engomeni byi hlamarise tiko.
(The going of the pastor to initiation school surprised the community).

\[
vuyi \quad \begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=r \\
&= \text{ARG2}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
&= \text{ARG3}=y: \text{direction (goal)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
&\quad \text{E2}=e_2: \text{state} \\
&\quad \text{Restr}=\text{Temporarily ordered} \\
&\quad \text{Head}=e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=\text{to (e}_2, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=\text{ya}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchies of semantic concepts: Go – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuyi (going) in (34) above is similar to that of riyo (excessive going) in (33) above. The only difference relates to the feature [excessive] in the agentive quale of riyo (excessive going), which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of vuyi (going) in (34) above.

(35) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuyo** (place to go to)

Vuyo bya wanuna edorobeni byi pfariwile.
(The visiting place of the man in town has been closed).

```
vuyo
ARGSTR = ARG1 = e: r
ARG2 = x: phys. Obj. (human/animal)
ARG3 = y: direction (goal)
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
E2 = e2: state
Restr = Temporarily ordered
Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = to (e2, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -ya_place (e1, x, y)
```

Hierarchies of semantic concepts: Go – Motion – Place

The lexical semantic representation of vuyo (place to go to) in (35) above is similar to that of vuyi(going) in (34) above. The only difference relates to the feature [place] in the agentive quale of vuyo (place to go to) in (35) above, which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of vuyi(going) in (34) above.

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from -ya in classes 1 and 7 that denote humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbatives that denote act, while the suffix -o occurs with class 5 deverbatives, refering to act but with the additional feature [excessive]. The suffix -o also occurs with class 14 deverbative denoting place.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of motion verbs that denote direction (goal) have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -ya above. The difference, with the exception of the deverbative from -nghe, is that other verbs do not have deverbatives in class 14 which appear with the suffix -o. Furthermore, the suffix -o occurs with deverbatives from -rhelela and -ehla in class 7, denoting result. No other deverbatives from other verbs occur in this class with the suffix -o.
**Ta (Come)**

**A.** [Actor]: muti (comer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muti u ta fika nimadyambu.
   (The comer will arrive in the evening).
   
   (b) Muti wa ha khomekile eNghilandhi.
   (The comer is still held up in England).
   
   (c) Vavanuna va nyika muti xitulu.
   (The men give chair to the comer).

Plural: Class 2: vati (comers)

The nominal muti (comer) refers to an individual who comes to a particular destination from somewhere else. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is so named after the defining act of coming. The meaning of this nominal will change once the act of coming that an individual is engaged in ends. In such a case this individual may no longer be referred to as muti (comer), but something else depending on the defining act therein.

**Ta (Come)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: rito (Excessive coming)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rito ra mufana laha ndyangwini ri tsakisa nhwanyana.
   (The excessive coming of the youngman in this family pleases the young woman).
   
   (b) Rito ra vayeni emutini ri tisa mikateko.
   (The excessive coming of visitors in the family brings blessings).
   
   (c) Vandyangu va herisa rito ra mufana endyangwini.
   (The family members bring to an end the excessive coming of the youngman to the family).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rito (excessive coming) refers to the act of coming of an individual excessively.

**Ta (Come)**

**C.** [Excessive actor]: xiti (excessive comer)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xiti se xi fikile.
   (The excessive comer has now arrived).
   
   (b) Xiti xi lahleke ndlela.
   (The excessive comer missed the way).
   
   (c) Vavasati va amukela xiti xo huma eKapa.
   (The women welcome the excessive comer from Cape Town).

Plural: Class 8: switi (excessive comers)
The nominal **xiyi** (excessive comer) refers to an individual who regularly comes to a particular place. In other words, it is someone who will often be seen coming to a particular place, i.e. he does not stay a long time without coming there. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness that is the most defining feature here will always be associated with his action of coming to a particular place for the most part of his life.

**Ta** (come)

D. [Act]: vuti (coming)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuti bya n’wina etikweni leri bya amukeleka.
(Your coming into this village is welcome).

(b) Vuti bya nhluvuko etikweni leri bya nonoka.
(The coming of development in this village is slow).

(c) Vafana va tsakisa hi vuti bya ntlangu wa bolo ya misava ya 2010 eAfrika-Dzonga).
(The youngmen are impressed by the coming of the 2010 Soccer world cup to South Africa).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuti** (coming) refers to an act of coming from somewhere to another place.

**Tlhandluka** (Ascend)

A. [Actor]: mutlhandluki (ascender)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlhandluki u ya emutini wa le ntshaveni.
(The ascender is going to the family on the mountain).

(b) Mutlhandluki xi lava tihomu entshaveni.
(The ascender is looking for cattle on the mountain).

(c) Vatshami va le nthsaveni va nyika mutlhandluki xitulu.
(The residents on the mountain give the ascender a chair).

Plural: Class 2: vatlhandluki (ascenders)

The nominal **mutlhandluki** (ascender) refers to an individual who climbs or goes upward. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of going upward is temporary. In other words, such a nominal applies to an individual in question only during the act of going upward. Once such an act is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mutlhandluki** (ascender).

**Tlhandluka** (Ascend)

B. [Excessive Event/Act]: ritlhandluko (excessive ascension)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritlhandluko ra wanuna entshaveni ri vilerisa wansati.
(The excessive ascension of the man to the mountain worries the woman).
(b) Ritlhandluko ra vafana entshaveni ri hlohlotela hi vavasati.  
(The excessive ascension of the young men to the mountain is encouraged by women).

(c) Vavanuna va sola ritlhandlhuko ra vakhegula entshaveni.  
(The men disapprove the excessive ascension of the old women to the mountain).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritlhandluko (excessive ascension) refers to the act of climbing or going upward which is done regularly.

Tlhandluka (Ascend)

C. [Excessive /expertactor]: xitlhandluki (excessive/expert ascender)

Class 1: 4. (a) Xitlhandluki xi ya emutini wa le ntshaveni.  
(The excessive ascender is going to the family on the Mountain).

(b) Xitlhandluki xi lava tihomu entshaveni.  
(The excessive ascender is looking for cattle on the mountain).

(c) Vatshami va le nthsaveni va nyika xitlhandluki xitulu.  
(The residents on the mountain give the excessive ascender a chair).

Plural: Class 8: switlhandluki (excessive/expert ascenders)

The nominal xitlhandluki (excessive ascender) refers to an individual who regularly climbs or goes upward. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of going upward will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of going upward, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be regarded as xitlhandluki (excessive ascender). But this nominal may also denote an individual who has an expertise of going up the mountains.

Tlhandluka (Ascend)

D. [Act]: vutlhandluki (ascending/ascension)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutlhandluki bya wanuna entshaveni byi vilerisa wansati.  
(The ascension of the man to the mountain worries the woman).

(b) Vutlhandluki bya vafana entshaveni byi hlohlotela hi vavasati.  
(The ascension of the young men to the mountain is encouraged by women).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vutlhandlhuki bya vakhegula entshaveni.  
(The men disapprove the ascension of the old women to the mountain).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutlhandlhuki (ascension) refers to an act of climbing or going upward by an individual or thing such as an airplane.
Rhelela (Descend)

A. [Actor]: murheleli (descender)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murheleli u landza timbuti egoveni.
(The descender is going for the goats in the valley).

(b) Murheleli u vona vuketiketi bya ndzilo egoveni
(The descender is sees the little flashing fire on the valley).

(c) Vatshami va le goveni va nyika murheleli swakudya.
(The residents on the valley give food to the descender).

Plural: Class 2: varheleli (descenders)

The nominal murheleli (descender) refers to an individual who goes down from a higher to a lower level. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of going downward is temporary. In other words, such a nominal applies to an individual in question only during the act of going downward. Once such an act is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as murheleli (descender).

Rhelela (Descend)

B. [Excessive act]: rirhelelo (excessive descending)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rirhelelo ra wanuna egoveni ri tshikilela wansati.
(The excessive descending of the man to the valley distresses the woman).

(b) Rirhelelo ra vafana egoveni ri va nyika vurhena.
(The excessive desceding of the young men to the valley gives them bravery).

(c) Vavanuna va sola rirhelelo ra vafana egoveni nimadyambu.
(The men disapproves the excessive descending of the young men to the valley in the evening).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rirhelelo (excessive going down) refers to an excessive act of going down.

Rhelela (Descend)

C. [Excessive actor]: xirheleli (excessive descender)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirheleli xi landza timbuti egoveni.
(The excessive descender is going for the goats in the valley).

(b) Xirheleli xi vona vuketiketi bya ndzilo egoveni
(The excessive descender is sees the little flashing fire on the valley).

(c) Vatshami va le goveni va nyika xirheleli swakudya.
(The residents on the valley give food to the excessive descender person).

Plural: class 8: swirheleli (excessive descenders)

The nominal xirheleli (excessive descender) refers to an individual who goes downward excessively or regularly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the trait of
excessiveness/regularity will always be associated with the individual in question for the better part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of going downward, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xirheleli** (excessive descender).

**Rhelela** (Descend)

D. [Result]: xirhelelo (slope)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xirhelelo xo ya egoveni xa chavisa.
(The slope to the valley is scarry).
(b) Xirhelelo xo ya egoveni xikajika ngopfu.
(The slope to the valley is too winding).
(c) Vafana va languta xirhelelo xo ya egoveni.
(The young men are looking at the slope to the valley).

Plural: Class 8: swirhelelo (slope)

The nominal **xirhelelo** (slope) refers to the surface that inclines slightly.

**Rhelela** (Descend)

E. [Act]: vurheleli (descending)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vurheleli bya wanuna egoveni byi tshikilela wansati.
(The descending of the man to the valley distresses the woman).
(b) Vurheleli bya vafana egoveni byi va nyika vurhena.
(The desceding of the young men to the valley gives them bravery).
(c) Vavanuna va sola vurheleli bya vafana egoveni nimadyambu.
(The men disapprove the descending of the young men to the valley in the evening).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vurheleli** (descending) refers to an act of going down by an individual.

**Ehla** (Go down)

A. [Actor]: muehli (going down person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muehli u ya ka mati enambyeni.
(The going down person is going to fetch water in the river).
(b) Muehli u khayima tihomu enambyeni.
(The going down person drives cattle in the river).
(c) Vaki va mati va nyika muehli mati yo nwa.
(The fetchers of water give the going down person water).

Plural: Class 2: vaehli (going down people)

The nominal **muehli** (going down person) refers to an individual who goes down a steady slope. The nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the act of going down a steady slope, which is
a defining element in this nominal is temporary. Once the going down is completed, such a nominal may no longer be regarded as *muehli* (going down person).

**Ehla (Go down)**

B.  [Excessive act]:  *riehlo* (excessive going down)

Class 5:  2. (a) *Riehlo ra vavanuna enambenyeni ri chavisa vafana.*
(The excessive going down of the men to the river scares the young men).

(b) *Riehlo ra nxavo wa mafurha ri tsakisa vachayeri.*
(The excessive going down of fuel prices pleases the drivers).

(c) *Vafana va hlamala riehlo ra vavanuna enambenyeni.*
(The young men are surprised at the excessive going down of the men to the river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riehlo* (excessive going down) refers to the event of excessive going down a steady slope by an individual. However, this nominal may also mean the excessive reduction in value of inanimate thing such as a price of fuel or food.

**Ehla (Go down)**

C.  [Excessive actor]:  *xiehli* (excessive going down person)

Class 7:  3. (a) *Xiehli xi ka mati enambenyeni.*
(The excessive going down person fetches water in the river).

(b) *Xiehli xi ya tshamela tihomu enambenyeni.*
(The excessive going down person is going to wait for the cattle in the river).

(c) *Vaki va mati va nyika xiehli mati yo nwa.*
(The fetchers of water give the excessive going down person water).

Plural: Class 8:  *swiehli* (excessive going down people)

The nominal *xiehli* (excessive going down person) refers to an individual who excessively or regularly goes down a steady slope. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of going down, which is the defining factor in this nominal will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be going down the steady slope or he may not be going down, such a person will be referred to as *xiehli* (excessive going down person).

**Ehla (Go down)**

D.  [Result]:  *xiehlo* (slope)

Class 7:  4. (a) *Xiehlo xa le nambyeni wa Mulondodzi xi entile.*
(The slope at Mulondodzi river is very deep).

(b) *Xiehlo xa le nambyeni wa Nandoni xa chavisa.*
(The slope at Nandoni river is scary).
(c) Vafana va chava xiehlo xa le nambyeni wa Mulondodzi.
(The young men are afraid of the slope of Mulondodzi river).

Plural: Class 8: swiehlo (slopes)

The nominal xiehlo (slope) refers to a slope which goes down steadily.

Ehla (Go down)

E. [Act]: vuehli (going down)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuehli bya vavanuna enambiyeni byi chavisa vafana.
(The going down of the men to the river scares the young men).
(b) Vuehli bya tihomu enambiyeni byi tsakisa vafana.
(The going down of the cattle to the river pleases the young men).
(c) Vafana va hlamala vuehli bya vavanuna enambiyeni.
(The young men are surprised at the going down of the men to the river).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuehli (going down) refers to the event of going down a steady slope by an individual. However, this nominal may also mean the reduction in value of inanimate thing such as a price of fuel or food.

Tshunela (come closer)

A. [Actor]: mutshuneli (closer coming person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshuneli u famba switsongo.
(The closer coming person walks slowly).
(b) Mutshuneli u ambarile hembe yo basa.
(The closer coming person has put on white shirt).
(c) Wansati u chava mutshuneli enambiyeni.
(The woman is afraid of the closer coming person in the river).

Plural: Class 2: vatshuneli (closer coming people)

The nominal mutshuneli (closer coming person) denotes an individual who comes near someone or something. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of coming closer for a particular time. In other words, the nominal mutshuneli (closer coming person) makes reference to the defining event of coming closer. After that; such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutshuneli (closer coming person).

Tshunela (come closer)

B. [Excessive act]: ritshunelo (excessively coming closer)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritshunelo ra mufana exitolo nimadyambu ri karhata muxavisi.
(The excessive approaching/ coming closer of the young man worries the sales person).
(b) Ritshunelo ra mikhukhu edorobeni ri vilerisa mfumo.
(The excessive approaching/coming closer of the informal settlements towards the town worries the government).

(c) Vaaki va khensa ritshunelo ra palamende evanhwini.
(The residents appreciate the excessive approaching/coming closer of the parliament to people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritshunelo** (excessively coming closer) denotes an excessive act of coming near something or someone.

**Tshunela** (come closer)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  xitshuneli (excessively closer coming person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xitshuneli xa le vhengeleni xi vutela wansati xipaci .
(The excessively coming closer person to the shop snatches the purse from the woman).

(b) Xitshuneli xa le xitichini nimadyambu xi biwile.
(The excessively coming closer person towards the station has been beaten).

(c) Vanhu va huwelela xitshuneli xa le riweni.
(The people shout at the excessively coming closer person to the precipice).

Plural: Class 8: switshuneli (excessively closer coming person)

The nominal **xitshuneli** (excessively closer coming person) denotes an individual who excessively comes near something or someone. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of coming closer is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xitshuneli** (excessively closer coming person) do not modify the event of coming closer, but the skill of coming closer.

**Tshunela** (come closer)

D.  [Act]:  vutshuneri (coming closer)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vutshuneri bya vafana exitolo byi chuhwisa muxavisi.
(The approaching/coming closer of the young men at the shop frightens the sales person).

(b) Vutshuneri bya siku ra khoto byi vilerisa wanuna.
(The approaching/coming closer of the court date worries the man).

(c) Vafana va hlamala vutshuneri bya n’hweti ya xikambelo.
(The young men are surprised at the approaching/coming closer of the month of the exam).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutshuneli** (coming closer) refers to the activity of coming near something or someone.
Tlhentlha (reverse/retreat)

A. [Actor]: mutlhentlhi (reversing/retreating person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlhentlhi u tlumba n’wana.
(The reversing/retreating hits against the child).
(b) Mutlhentlhi u wela egodini.
(The reversing/retreating person falls into the pit).
(c) Wanuna u languta mutlhentlhi.
(The man looks at the reversing/retreating person).

Plural: Class 2: vatlhentlhi (reversing/retreating people)

The nominal mutlhentlhi (reversing/retreating person) refers to an individual who moves backward. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question moves backward for a short period. In other words, the nominal mutlhentlhi (reversing/retreating person) makes reference to the defining event of moving backward, that is, the individual in question has to be engaged in the act of moving backward at the time of reference. Once the act of moving backwards has been halted, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutlhentlhi (reversing/retreating person). In other words, the context refers to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Tlhentlha (reverse/retreat)

B. [Excessive act]: rithentlho (excessive reversing/retreating)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rithentlho ra n’watipala ri nyenyetsa n’watimpempe.
(The excessive reversing/retreating of the goalkeeper annoys the referee).
(b) Rithentlho ra masocha enyimpini ri hlundzukisa murhangeri.
(The excessive reversing/retreating the soldiers from the battle angers the leader).
(c) Murhanger u sola rithentlho ra masocha enyimpini.
(The leader condemns the reversing/retreating of the soldiers form the battle).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithentlho (excessive reversing/retreating) denotes an excessive act of moving backward by an individual.

Tlhentlha (reverse/retreat)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xitlhentlhi (expertly/excessively reversing/retreating person)

Class 7 3. (a) Xitlhentlhi tlumba yindlu.
(The expertly/excessively reversing/retreating person has hit the house).
(b) Xitlhentlhi xa karhele.
(The expertly/excessively reversing/retreating person is tired).
(c) Wansati u vitana xithenthlhi.  
(The woman is calling the expertly/excessively reversing/retreating person).

Plural: Class 8: switlhentlhi (excessively reversing/retreating people)

The nominal *xitlhentlhi* (excessively reversing/retreating person) denotes an individual who excessively moves backward. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of moving backward, but the excessiveness of moving backward by the individual in question. In other words, the context need not refer to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of moving backward or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xitlhentlhi* (excessively reversing/retreating person). The event of moving backward will always be associated with him for the most part of his life.

**Tlhentlha** (reverse/retreat)

D. [Act]: vutlhentlhi (reversing/retreating)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutlhentlhi bya n’wana endlwini byi tsakisa mana wakwe. 
(The reversing/retreating in the house pleases his mother).

(b) Vutlhentlhi bya n’wana byi chuhwisa mana wakwe.  
(The reversing/retreating frightens his mother).

(c) Wansati u sola vutlhentlhi bya n’wana kusuhi na ndzilo.  
(The woman disapproves of the reversing/retreating near the fire).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutlhentlhi* (reversing/retreating) denotes an act of moving backward by an individual.

**Kholwa** (go away forever)

A. [Actor]: mukholwi (going away forever person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukholwi u baleka xaka rakwe edorobeni.  
(The going forever person runs away from his relative in town).

(b) Mukholwi u cinca vito rakwe.  
(The going forever person changes his name).

(c) Wansati u lava mukholwi edorobeni.  
(The woman is looking for the going away forever person in town).

Plural: Class 2: vakholwi (going forever people)

The nominal *mukholwi* (going forever person) denotes an individual who goes to work in town and never comes back home. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of going forever for a particular time. In other words, the nominal *mukholwi* (going forever person) makes reference to the defining event of going
forever. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mukholwi (going forever person).

**Kholwa** (go away forever)

B. [Excessive act]: rikholwo (excessive going away forever)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikholwo ra vafana eJoni ri vilerisa tihosi.
(Excessive going away forever of the young men in Johannesburg worries the chiefs).

(b) Rikholwo ra vavanuna emapurasiini ri hlamarisa vavasati.
(The excessive going away forever of the men in farms surprises women).

(c) Wansati u sola rikholwo ra nuna wakwe eJoni.
(The woman disapproves the excessive going away forever of her husband in Johannesburg).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikholwo (excessive going away forever) denotes an act of going away forever by an individual.

**Kholwa** (go forever)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikholwi (excessive going away forever person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikholwi xa Joni xa vabya.
(The excessively going away forever person of Johannesburg is sick).

(b) Xikholwi xi teka nsati un’wana edorobeni.
(The excessively going away forever person marries another wife).

(c) Wansati u hlongola xikholwi xa Joni endlwini yakwe.
(The woman chases away the excessively going away forever person of Johannesburg from her house).

Plural: Class 8: swikholwi (excessive going away forever people)

The nominal xikholwi (excessive going away forever person) denotes an individual who regularly goes away and never comes back. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of going away forever is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xikholwi (excessively going away forever person) does not modify the event of going away forever, but the excessiveness of going away forever.

**Kholwa** (go forever)

D. [Act]: vukholwi (going away forever)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukholwi bya mufana ePhalaborwa byi vilerisa nsati wakwe.
(The going away forever of the young men in Phalaborwa worries his wife).
(b) Vukholwi bya vavanuna eJoni byi tlakukile.
(The going away forever of the men in Johannesburg has increased).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vukholwi bya vafana edorobeni.
(The men condemn the going away forever of young men to town).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukholwi** (going away forever) refers to the activity of going away forever of an individual. The meaning of act is usually found with class 14 nominals which end with the suffix *-i*.

**Nyokovela** (disappear suddenly)

A.  [Actor]: munyokoveri (suddenly disappearing person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Munyokoveri u huwelela vanhu entshaveni.
(The suddenly disappearing person is shouting at the people at the mountain).

   (b) Munyokoveri u landza tihomu entshaveni.
   (The suddenly disappearing person is looking for cattle in the river).

   (c) Wanuna u vitana munyokoveri egoveni.
   (The man is calling for the suddenly disappearing person in the valley).

Plural: Class 2: vanyokoveri (suddenly disappearing people)

The nominal **munyokoveri** (suddenly disappearing person) refers to an individual who vanishes from sight into something. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of sudden disappearance for a particular time. In other words, the nominal **munyokoveri** (suddenly disappearing person) makes reference to the defining event of sudden disappearance. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **munyokoveri** (suddenly disappearing person).

**Nyokovela** (disappear suddenly)

B.  [Excessive act]: rinyokovel (excessive sudden disappearance)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rinyokovel ra wanuna egoveni ri chavisa vafana.
(The excessive sudden disappearance of the man in the valley frightens the boys).

   (b) Rinyokovel ra dyambu etintshaveni hi ndzhenga ri tsakisa vana.
   (The excessive sudden disappearance of the sun in the afternoon on the mountains excites the children).

   (c) Wansati u hlama rinyokovel ra wanuna entshaveni nimadyambu.
   (The woman is surprised at the excessive sudden disappearance of the man in the mountain in the evening).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rinyokovel** (excessive sudden disappearance) denotes an excessive act of sudden disappearance of an individual.
Nyokovela (disappear suddenly)

C. [Excessive actor]: xinyokoveri (excessively suddenly disappearing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xinyokoveri xi ehla egoveni.
(The excessively suddenly disappearing person descends into the valley).

  (b) Xinyokoveri xi landza tihomu entshaveni.
(The excessively suddenly disappearing person is looking for the cattle at the mountain).

  (c) Vavanuna vitana xinyokoveri entshaveni.
(The people call for the excessively suddenly disappearing person at the mountain).

Plural: Class 8: swinyokoveri (excessively suddenly disappearing people)

The nominal xinyokoveri (excessively suddenly disappearing person) denotes an individual who excessively disappears into something. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of sudden disappearance is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xinyokoveri (excessively suddenly disappearing person) does not modify the event of sudden disappearance, but the excessiveness of sudden disappearance.

Nyokovela (disappear suddenly)

D. [Act]: vunyokoveri (sudden disappearance)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vunyokoveri bya dyambu emapapeni byi hlamarisa n’wana.
(The sudden disappearance of the sun into the clouds surprises the child).

  (b) Vunyokoveri bya nyoka emhakweni byi chavisa vafana.
(The sudden disappearance of the snake into the hole frightens the young men).

  (c) Vavanuna va tsundzuka vunyokoveri bya mufana emugodini.
(The men remember the sudden disappearance of the young man in the mine).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunyokoveri (sudden disappearance) refers to the excessive act of sudden disappearance of an individual into something. The meaning of act is usually found with class 14 nominals which end with the suffix -i.

Tlhotlhomela (go deep into the crowd/bush)

A. [Actor]: mutlhotlhomeli (person who goes deep into the crowd/bush)

Class 1:  (a) Mutlhotlhomeli u tlhaviwile nenge hi mutwa.
(The person who goes deep into the crowd/bush has been pierced on the food by the throng).

  (b) Mutlhotlhomeli u kasa ehansi ka murhi.
(The person who goes deep into the crowd/bush is crawling under the tree).
(c) Wanuna u vitana mutlhotlhomeli exihlahleni.
(The man is calling for the person who goes deep into the crowd/bush in the forest).

Plural: Class 2: vatlhotlhomeli (people who go deep into a crowd/bush)

The nominal mutlhotlhomeli (person who goes deep into the crowd/bush) denotes an individual who goes through the bush. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of going through the bush for a particular time. In other words, the nominal mutlhotlhomeli (person who goes deep into the crowd/bush) makes reference to the defining event of going through the bush. After that; such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutlhotlhomeli (person who goes deep into the crowd/bush).

**Tlhotlhomela** (go deep into the crowd/bush)

B. [Excessive act]: rithlothlhomelo (excessive going deep into the crowd/bush)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rithlothlhomelo ra wanuna eswihlahleni ri ta n’wi lumisa hi tinyoka.
(The excessive going deep into the crowd/bush of the man will have him bitten by the snake).

(b) Rithlothlhomelo ra mufana eswihlahleni ri hlamarisa wansati.
(The excessive going deep into the crowd/bush of the young man surprises the woman).

(c) wansati u sola rithlothlhomelo ra wanuna eswihlahleni.
(The woman condemns the excessive going deep into the crowd/bush).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithlothlhomelo (excessive going deep into the crowd/bush) denotes an excessive act of going through the bush by an individual.

**Tlhotlhomela** (go deep into the crowd/bush)

C. [Excessive actor]: xitlhotlhomeli (person who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xithlothlhomeli xi wele egojini.
(The person who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush fell into the pit).

(b) Xithlothlhomeli xi kandziya nyoka ncila.
(The person who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush stamps on the tail of the snake).

(c) Vanhu va lava xithlothlhomeli exihlahleni.
(The people look for the person who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush in the forest).

Plural: Class 8: swiithlothlhomeli (people who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush)

The nominal xithlothlhomeli (person who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush) denotes an individual who excessively goes through the bush. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of going through the bush is associated with an
individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal *xitlhotlhomeli* (person who excessively goes deep into the crowd/bush) do not modify the event of breaking out of enclosure, but the excessiveness of going through the bush.

**Tlhotlhomela** (go deep into the crowd/ bush)

D.  

| Class 14: 4. (a) | Vutlhotlhomeli bya wanuna exihlahleni byi nyangatsa nsati wakwe.  
(The going deep into the crowd/bush of the man in the forest disgusts his wife). |
|-----------------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (b)             | Vutlhotlhomeli bya tihomu eswihlahleni byi kwatisa vafana.     
(The going deep into the crowd/bush makes the young men angry). |
| (c)             | Vavanuna va sola vutlhotlhomeli bya vafana eswihlahleni.     
(The men condemn the going deep into the crowd/bush of the young men in the forests). |

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutlhotlhomeli* (going deep into the crowd/bush) refers to the act of going through the bush of an individual.

**Chochovela** (go through bush)

A.  

| Class 1:  | Muchochoveli u tumbela swigevenga.  
(The person who goes through the bush is hiding from murders). |
|---------|------------------------------------------------------------------|
| (b)     | Mukhokhoveli u karhele.                                         
(The person who goes through the bush is tired). |
| (c)     | Wansati u chava muchochoveri exihlahleni.  
(The woman is afraid of the person who goes through the bush). |

Plural: Class 2: *vachochoveli* (people who go through the bush)

The nominal *muchochoveli* (person who goes through the bush) denotes an individual who goes through the bush. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of going through the bush for a particular time. In other words, the nominal *muchochoveli* (person who goes through the bush) makes reference to the defining event of going through the bush. After that; such an individual may no longer be referred to as *muchochoveli* (person who goes through the bush).

**Chochovela** (go through bush)

B.  

| Class 5: 2. (a) | Richochovelo ra wanuna eswihlahleni ri chavisa varisi.  
(The excessive going through the bush of the man scares the herdboys). |
(b) Richochovelo ra wanuna eswihlahleni ri karhata nsati wakwe.
(The excessive going through the bush of the young man worries his wife).

c) Wansati u nyenya richochovelo ra wanuna eswihlahleni.
(The woman dislikes the excessive going through the bush of the man in the forest).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal richochovelo (excessive going through the bush) denotes an excessive act of going through the bush by an individual.

Chochovela (go through bush)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xichochoveli (excessively going through the bush person)

Class 7: 3  (a) Xichochoveli xi wele egojini.
(The excessively going through the bush person fell into the pit).

(b) Xichochoveli xi kandziya nyoka ncila.
(The excessively going through the bush person stamps on the tail of the snake).

(c) Vanhu va lava xichochoveli exihlahleni.
(The people look for the excessively going through the bush person in the forest).

Plural: Class 8: swichochoveli (excessively going through the bush person)

The nominal xichochoveli (excessively going through the bush person) denotes an individual who excessively goes through the bush. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of going through the bush is associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xichochoveli (excessively going through the bush person) do not modify the event of breaking out of enclosure, but the excessiveness of going through the bush.

Chochovela (go through bush)

D.  [Act]: vuchochoveli (going through the bush)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuchochoveli bya wanuna exihlahleni byi nyangatsa nsati wakwe.
(The going through the bush of the man in the forest disgusts his wife).

(b) Vuchochoveli bya tihomu eswihlahleni byi kwatisa vafana.
(The going through the bush makes the young men angry).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vuchochoveri bya vafana eswihlahleni.
(The men condemn the going through the bush of the young men in the forests).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuchochoveli (going through the bush) refers to the act of going through the bush of an individual.
4.5. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF MODES OF BEING INVOLVING MOTION

These verbs are defined by Levin (1995: 252) as verbs which describe states of existence of inanimate entities that involve types of motion typical or which characterizes the existence of these entities. According to Levin (op cit) there is a very limited range of subjects which these verbs can take. He further indicates that some of these verbs can be used with animate subjects as verbs of body-internal movement. Levin (op cit) further points out that only a few of these verbs can be used transitively to describe causing an entity to be in the state of existence named by the verb.

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**Pupuma** (froth flow)

A. [Excessive act): ripupumo (excessive froth flowing)

Class 5: 1. (a) Ripupumo ra miroho ri tima ndzilo epanini.
(The excessive froth flowing of the vegetables in the pan is extinguishing fire).

(b) Ripupumo ra byalwa ra byi bavisa.
(The excessive froth flowing of the beer makes it to tastesourer).
(c) Wanuna u hlamala ripupumo ra byala.  
(The man is surprised at the excessive froth flowing of the beer).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripupumo (excessive froth flowing) denotes an act in which froth excessively flows from something that is being cooked such as vegetables or from something that is being fermented such as beer.

**Pupuma** (froth flow)

B.  [Act]: vupupumi (froth flowing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vupupumi bya miroho byi hlamarisa n’wana.  
(The froth flowing of the vegetable surprises the child).

(b) Vupupumi bya byalwa byi tsakisa n’wana.  
(The froth flowing of the beer excites the child).

(c) Mukhalabye u languta vupupumi bya miroho exitikweni.  
(The old man looks at the froth flowing of the vegetables on the fireplace).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupupumi (froth flowing) refers to the act in which froth flows from something that is being cooked such as vegetables or from something that is being fermented such as beer.

**Tsekatseka** (Shake/wave)

A.  [Actor]: mutsekatseki (shaking/waving person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsekatseki u yimbelela risimu hi mbilu.  
(The shaking/waving person is singing the song silently).

(b) Mutsekatseki u yimile hi nenge wun’we.  
(The shaking/waving person is standing on one leg).

(c) Mukhegula u komba mutsekatseki swakudya.  
(The old woman shows food to the shaking/waving person).

Plural: Class 2: vatseketseki (shaking/waving people)

The nominal mutsekatseki (shaking/waving person) denotes an individual who makes short quick movements from side to side or up and down. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of shaking is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mutsekatseki (shaking person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the performance denoted by the nominal. In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act shaking.
Tsekateka (shake/wave)

B. [Excessive act]: ritsekatseko (excessive shaking/waving)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsekatseko ra rihlanga ematini ri hlamarisa vafana.
(The excessive shaking of the reed in the water surprises the young men).

   (b) Ritsekatseko ra misava eJapana ri onhe swilo swo tala.
(The excessive shaking of the earth in Japan destroyed a lot of things).

   (c) Wanuna u venga ritsekatseko ra misava.
(The man hates the excessive shaking of the earth).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritsekatseko (excessive shaking/waving) denotes an act of excessive act of shaking of someone or something as a result of lack of balance or because it is pushed by something such as the blow of wind.

Tsekateka (Shake/wave)

C. [Excessive actor]: xitsekatseki (excessively shaking/waving person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitsekatseki bya xi rhandza vuyimbeleli bya Lucky Dube.
(The excessively shaking/waving person likes Lucky Dube music).

   (b) Xitsekatseki xi vavisekile byongo.
(The excessively shaking/waving person has been damaged in the brain).

   (c) Mukhegula u twela xitsekatseki visiwana.
(The old woman feels pity for the excessively shaking person).

Plural: Class 8: switsekatseki (shaking people)

The nominal xitsekatseki (excessively shaking/waving person) denotes an individual who excessively shakes on regular basis. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness which is the defining property in this nominal will be associated with an individual in question, for the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of shaking or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitsekatseki (excessively shaking person). This means that the nominal xitsekatseki (excessively shaking person) does not modify the event of shaking as such, but the excessiveness thereof.

Tsekateka (Shake/wave)

D. [Act/Event]: vutsekatseki (shaking/waving)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutsekatseki bya misava byi humelela ematikweni yo hlaya.
(The shaking of the earth happens in many countries).

   (b) Vutsekatseki bya tino byi ririsa n’wana.
(The shaking of the tooth makes the child cry).
(c) Mukhegula u chava vutsekatseki bya misava.
(The old woman is afraid of the shaking of the earth).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsekatseki (shaking/waving) refers to the act of shaking of someone or something as a result of lack of balance or because it is pushed by something such as the blow of wind.

Dzinginika (shake forcibly)

A.  [Actor]: mudzinginiki (person who shakes forcibly)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudzinginiki u tlanga ogene.
(The person who shakes forcibly is playing an organ).
(b) Mudzinginiki u vekele swifambisampfumawulo swa selifoni etindleveni.
(The person who shakes forcibly has put the cellular head phones on the ears).
(c) Wanuna u languta mudzinginiki exitolo.
(The man looks at the person who shakes forcibly in the shop).

Plural: Class 2: vadzinginiki (people who shake forcibly)

The nominal mudzinginiki (person who shakes forcibly) denotes an individual who shakes forcibly as a result of lack of balance or because he just decides to do it himself just for fun. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of shaking forcibly is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mudzinginiki (person who shakes forcibly). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the performance of the act of shaking forcibly of the individual in question. In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of shaking forcibly, which once stopped the meaning of this nominal, will no longer hold for the individual in question.

Dzinginika (shake forcibly)

B.  [Excessive act]: ridzinginiko (excessive shaking forcibly)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridzinginiko ra misava ri dlaye vanhu vo tala eJapani.
(The excessive shaking forcibly of the earth killed a lot of people in Japan).
(b) Ridzinginiko ra xihahampfuuka ri chuhwisa vakhandziyi.
(The excessive shaking forcibly of the flight frightens the passengers).
(c) Vanhu va hlamala ridzinginiko ra misava eJapani.
(The people are surprised at the excessive shaking forcibly of the earth in Japan).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ridzinginiko (excessive shaking forcibly) denotes an act of excessive shaking forcibly of a person or a thing because of being caused to shake by something or by itself.
Dzinginika (shake forcibly)

C. [Excessive actor]: xidzinginiki (person who excessively shakes forcibly)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidzinginiki xi yingisela vuyimbeleri bya Rebecca Malope. (The person who excessively shakes forcibly is listening to the Rebecca Malope music).

(b) Xidzinginiki xi yimela bazi exiticini. (The person who excessively shakes forcibly is waiting for the bus at the bus stop).

(c) Wansati u huwelela xidzinginiki exitolo. (The woman is shouting at the person who excessively shakes forcibly at the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swidzinginiki (people who excessively shake)

The nominal xidzinginiki (person who excessively shakes forcibly) denotes an individual who excessively shakes forcibly most of the time. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining element in this nominal is the excessive nature of shaking forcibly but not the act of shaking forcibly itself. This property of excessive shaking forcibly will be associated with an individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, it does not matter whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of shaking forcibly or not at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as xidzinginiki (person who excessively shakes). In a sense, this nominal xidzinginiki (excessively shaking person) does not modify the event of shaking forcibly, but the excessive nature thereof.

Dzinginika (shake forcibly)

D. [Act]: vudzinginiki (shaking forcibly)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudzinginiki bya lori byi wisa matamatisi. (The shaking forcibly of the truck makes the tomatoes fall).

(b) Vudzinginiki bya misava byi pandzelela miako. (The shaking forcibly of the earth causes cracks on the buildings).

(c) Vanhu va baleka vudzinginiki bya misava eJapani. (The people run away from the shaking forcibly of the earth in Japan).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudzinginiki (shaking forcibly) refers to an act of shaking forcibly of a person or a thing as a result of being caused to shake by something or by itself.

Vumbuluka (roll)

A. [Actor]: muvumbuluki (rolling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvumbuluki wa rila. (The rolling person is crying).
(b) Muvumbuluki u hlangane nhloko.
   (The rolling person is mad).
(c) Wansati u vitana mvumbuluki.
   (The woman is calling the rolling person).

Plural: Class 2: vavumbuliki (rolling people)

The nominal *muvumbuluki* (rolling person) denotes an individual who moves smoothly by turning like a wheel or ball. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of rolling of the individual in question is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as *muvumbuluki* (rolling person). In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of rolling. So the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual in question only during the duration of the performance of the act of rolling.

**Vumbuluka** (roll)

B.  [Excessive act]: rivumbuluko (excessive rolling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivumbuluko ra n’wana etaleni ri nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The excessive rolling the child on the ash heap annoys the woman).
   (b) Rivumbuluko ra wansati exibedhllele ri hlamarisa vaongori.
   (The excessive rolling of the woman in the hospital surprises the nurses).
   (c) Wansati u sola rivumbuluko ra n’wana etaleni.
   (The woman disapproves of the excessive rolling of the child on the ash heap).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rivumbuluko* (excessive rolling) denotes an excessive act of moving smoothly by turning oneself like a wheel or ball.

**Vumbuluka** (roll)

C.  [Excessive act]: xivumbuluki (excessively rolling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivumbuluki xi thyakise mpahla leyintshwa.
   (The excessively rolling person has made the new clothes dirty).
   (b) Xivumbuluki xi vavise n’wana.
   (The excessively rolling person has hurt the child).
   (c) Wansati u ba xivumbuluki hi mpama.
   (The woman slaps the excessively rolling person).

Plural: Class 8: swivumbuluki (rolling people)

The nominal *xivumbuluki* (excessively rolling people) denotes an individual who excessively rolls oneself on regular basis. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is the excessiveness of rolling of the individual in question and not the act of rolling per se. In other words, this property of excessive rolling will be associated with an
individual in question for the most part of his life regardless of whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of rolling oneself, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Vumbuluka** (roll)

D.  

**[Act]**: vuvumbuluki (rolling)

**Class 14: 4.**  

(a) Vuvumbuluki bya n’wana etilasin byi nyangatsa mudyondzisi.  
(The rolling of the child in the class disgusts the teacher).

(b) Vuvumbuluki bya mufana exibedlhele byi ririsa wansati.  
(The rolling of the young man in the hospital makes the woman cry).

(c) Wanuna u nyenza vuvumbuluki bya n’wana etaleni.  
(The man dislikes the rolling of the child on the ash heap).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvumbuluki (rolling)refers to the act of moving smoothly by turning oneself like a wheel or ball.

**Khunguluka** (roll down)

A.  

**[Theme/actor]**: mukhunguluki (person who rolls down)

**Class 1**:  

(a) Mukhunguluki u vavisekile nhloko.  
(The person who rolls down is hurt on the head).

(b) Mukhunguluki u dakwile.  
(The person who rolls down is drunk).

(c) Wansati u huwelela mukhunguluki eribuweni ra nambu.  
(The woman calls for the person who rolls down on the river bank).

Plural: Class 2: vakhunguluki (people who roll down)

The nominal mukhunguluki(person who rolls down)denotes someone or something that rolls down on a slope. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of rolling down. In other words, the nominal mukhunguluki(person who rolls down)makes reference to the defining event of rolling down. Oncesuch an event is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mukhunguluki(person who rolls down).

**Khunguluka** (roll down)

B.  

**[Excessive state/act]**: rikhunguluko (excessive rolling down)

**Class 5**:  

(a) Rikhunguluko ra bolo exiehlweni ri tsakisa mufana.  
(The excessive rolling down of the ball on the slope excites the young man).

(b) Rikhunguluko ra ntsandza entshaveni ri hlamarise vafana.  
(The excessive rolling down of the log at the mountain surprised the herd boys).

(c) Wansati u hlamala rikhunguluko ra vhilwa ra movha epatwini.  
(The woman is surprised at the excessive rolling down of the wheel of the car on the road).
The nominal **rikhunguluko** (excessive rolling down) denotes an excessive act of rolling down of someone or something on a slope.

**Khunguluka** (roll down)

C.  [Expert/Excessive theme/actor]: xivumbuluki (person who expertly/excessively rolls down)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhunguluki xi tshumukile mombo.
(The person who expertly/excessively rolls down has bruised his forehead).

(b) Xikhunguluki xi tiphumundha rithsuri ebureka.
(The person who expertly/excessively rolls down is removing dust from his trousers).

(c) Wansati u khome xikhunguluki hi voko.
(The woman holds the person who expertly/excessively rolls down with the hand).

Plural: Class 8: swikhunguluki (people who expertly/excessively roll down)

The nominal **xikhunguluki** (person who expertly/excessively rolls down) denotes an individual who regularly rolls down a slope or one who has the expertise of rolling down a slope. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of rolling down of the individual in question will be associated with him for the most part of his life irrespective of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity of rolling down or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xikhunguluki** (person who expertly/excessively rolls down person) does not modify the event of rolling down, but the skill or excessiveness of rolling down.

**Khunguluka** (roll down)

D.  [State/Act]: vukhunguluki (rolling down)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhunguluki bya maribye entshaveni byi chuhwisa varisi.
(The rolling down of the stones on the mountain frightens the herd boys).

(b) Vukhunguluki bya movha exiehlwini byi tsakisa mufana.
(The rolling down of the car on the slope excites the young man).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vukhunguluki bya diromo emutini.
(The man is surprised at the rolling down of the drum in the home).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhunguluki** (rolling away) refers to the act of rolling down of someone or something on a slope.
Dedeleka (stagger)

A. [Actor]: mudedeleki (staggering person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudeledeki u huma ethavheneni.
(The staggering person is coming from the tarven).
(b) Mudeledeki u dakhile.
(The staggering person is drunk).
(c) Wansati u susmeta mudedeleki.
(The woman pushes the staggering person away).

Plural: Class 2: vadedeleki (staggering people)

The nominal mudedeleki (staggering person) denotes an individual who walks unsteadily down the steps, as if one will fall. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of staggering which is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mudedeleki (staggering person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal is solely dependent on the act of staggering which once it is completed, the meaning of this nominal will no longer be relevant to the individual in question.

Dedeleka (stagger)

B. [Excessive act]: risedeleko (excessive staggering)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risedeleko ra wanuna epatwini ri vilerisa wansati.
(The excessive staggering of the man on the road worries the woman).
(b) Risedeleko ra mukhalabye ri hlekisa vana.
(The excessive staggering of the old man makes the children laugh).
(c) Mufana u hlamala risedeleko ra wanuna.
(The young man is surprised at the excessive staggering of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risedeleko (excessive staggering) denotes an excessive act of unsteady steps of the individual while walking, usually as a result of drunkenness.

Dedeleka (stagger)

C. [Excessive act]: xidedeleki (excessively staggering person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidedeleki xi biwile nivusiku.
(The excessively staggering person has been beaten at night).
(b) Xidedeleki xi wela n’wana.
(The excessively staggering person falls on the child).
(c) Wanuna u khoma xidedeleki hi voko.
(The man holds the excessively staggering person with a hand).

Plural: Class 8: swidedeleki (staggering people)
The nominal *xidedeleki* (excessively staggering people) denotes an individual who excessively staggers. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of staggering will always be associated with an individual in question for the most part of his life, irrespective of whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of staggering or not at the time of reference. This means that the nominal *xidedeleki* (excessively staggering person) does not modify the event of staggering as such, but the excessiveness thereof.

**Dedeleka** (stagger)

D.  

[Act]: vudedeleki (staggering)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudedeleki bya wansati byi nyumisa vana vakwe.  
(The staggering of the woman embarrasses her children).

(b) Vudedeleki bya mufana byi vangiwa hi byalwa.  
(The staggering of the young man is caused by beer).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vudedeleki bya mufana exitarateni.  
(The old woman disapproves of the staggering of the young man in the street).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vudedeleki* (staggering) refers to the act of unsteady steps of the individual while walking, usually as a result of drunkenness.

**Gobagoba** (wobble)

A.  

[Actor]: mugobagobi (wobbling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugobagobi u khomelela khwiri.  
(The wobbling person is holding his belly).

(b) Mugobagobi u huma ngati enhlokweni.  
(The wobbling person is oozing blood from the head).

(c) Wansati u languta mugobagobi epatwini.  
(The woman is looking at the wobbling person on the road).

Plural: Class 2: vagobagobi (wobbling people)

The nominal *mugobagobi* (wobbling person) denotes an individual who moves unsteadily from side to side. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is the act of wobbling which is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as *mugobagobi* (wobbling person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds to while the act of wobbling is still in place.

**Gobagoba** (wobble)

B.  

[Excessive act]: rigobagobo (excessive wobbling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigobagobo ra wanuna erhingini ri ririsa nsati wakwe.  
(The excessive wobbling of the man in the ring makes his wife cry).
(b) Rigobagobo ra movha ri chuhwisa vakhandziyi.
(The excessive wobbling of the car frightens the passengers).

(c) Mukhalabye u hlamala rigobagobo ra homu epatwini.
(The man is surprised at the excessive wobbling of the cow on the road).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rigobagobo** (excessive wobbling) denotes an excessive act of moving unsteadily from side to side of an individual.

**Gobagoba** (wobble)

C. [Excessive act]: xigobagobi (excessively wobbling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigobagobi xi huma ngati hi milomu.
(The excessively wobbling person is oozing blood through his mouth).

(b) Xigobagobi xi dzahe mbagi.
(The excessively wobbling person has smoked dagga).

(c) Wansati u chela xigobagobi mati yo titimela.
(The woman pours water onto the excessively wobbling person).

Plural: Class 8: swigobagobi (excessively wobbling people)

The nominal **xigobagobi** (excessively wobbling persons) denotes an individual who excessively wobbles. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of wobbling as such, but the excessiveness of wobbling thereof. In other words, this property of excessive wobbling will always be associated with the individual in question irrespective of whether he will be engaged in the act of wobbling, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. This means that the nominal **xigobagobi** does not modify the event of wobbling, but the excessiveness of wobbling of the individual in question.

**Gobagoba** (wobble)

D. [Act]: vugobagobi (wobbling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugobagobi bya mbyana enhoveni byi chuhwisa mufana.
(The wobbling of the dog in the bush frightens the young man).

(b) Vugobagobi bya mufana byi nyanya hi mahele ya vhiki.
(The wobbling of the young man worsens over the weekend).

(c) Mukhegula u hlamala vugobagobi bya mbyana.
(The old woman is surprised at the wobbling of the dog).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugobagobi** (wobbling) refers to the act of moving unsteadily from side to side of an individual.
**Kukuvala** (shrink together)

A. **[Actor/Experiencer): mukukuvali (person who shrinks together)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukukuvali u twa makhwiri. (The person who shrinks together is having abdominal pain).
   (b) Mukukuvali u twa xirhami. (The person who shrinks together is feeling cold).
   (c) Wansati u nyika mukukuvali tiya. (The woman gives the person who shrinks tea).

Plural: Class 2: vakukuvali (people who shrink together)

The nominal **mukukuvali** (person who shrinks together) denotes an individual who withdraws his body parts close to his body and becomes smaller because of cold or pain. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of shrinking is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as **mukukuvali** (shrinking together person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the duration of the performance of an act denoted by the nominal **mukukuvali** (shrinking together person). In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of shrinking together.

**Kukuvala** (shrink together)

B. **[Excessive act): rikukuvalo (excessive shrinking together)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikukuvalo ra huku ri vilerisa wansati. (The excessive shrinking together of the chicken worries the woman).
   (b) Rikukuvalo ra homu ri chuhwisa wanuna. (The excessive shrinking together of the cow frightens the man).
   (c) Mukhegula u lemuka rikukuvalo ra mufana. (The old woman notices the excessive shrinking together of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikukuvalo** (excessive shrinking together) denotes an excessive act of a person’s withdrawal of his body parts close to his body and becomes smaller in size as a result of cold or pain.

**Kukuvala** (shrink together)

C. **[Excessive actor/experiencer): xikukuvali (person who excessively shrinks together)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikukuvali xi etlela ehansi ka buloho. (The person who excessively shrinks together sleeps under the bridge).
   (b) Xikukuvali xi funenegela maphephahungu. (The person who excessively shrinks together covers himself with newspapers).
   (c) Wansati u nyika xikukuvali xinkwa. (The man gives bread to the person who excessively shrinks together).

Plural: Class 8: swikukuvali (People who excessively shrink together)
The nominal **xikukuvali** (person who excessively shrinks together) denotes an individual who excessively shrinks together. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of shrinking of the individual in question will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikukuvali** (person who excessively shrinks together). In this case then, the nominal **xikukuvali** (person who excessively shrinks together) does not modify the event of shrinking, but the excessiveness of shrinking thereof.

**Kukuvala** (shrink together)

D. [Act]: vukukuvali (shrinking together)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukukuvali bya mbyana byi vilerisa wanuna. (The shrinking together of the dog worries the man).

(b) Vukukuvali bya n’wana byi karhata wansati. (The shrinking together of the child troubles the woman).

(c) Wanuna u lemuka vukukuvali bya huku. (The man notices the excessive shrinking of the chicken).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukukuvali** (shrinking together) refers to the act of a person’s withdrawal of his body parts close to his body and becomes smaller in size as a result of cold or pain.

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The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va-
Suffix: -i

Mukukuvali (shrinking together person)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

Rikukuvalo (excessive shrinking together)
Class 7/8
Prefixes: \textit{xi/-swi-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}

\textbf{Xikukuvali} \textit{(excessively shrinking together person)}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N};
  \node (af) [below left of=n] {AF};
  \node (nr) [below right of=n] {N^R};
  \node (v) [below of=af] {V};
  \node (af2) [below of=nr] {AF};
  \node (xi) [left of=v] {xi};
  \node (kukuval) [right of=v] {-kukuval-}
  \node (i) [right of=kukuval] {-i}
  \draw (n) -- (af);
  \draw (n) -- (nr);
  \draw (af) -- (v);
  \draw (af2) -- (v);
  \draw (v) -- (xi);
  \draw (v) -- (kukuval);
  \draw (v) -- (i);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Class 14
Prefix: \textit{vu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}

\textbf{Vukukuvali} \textit{(shrinking together)}

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N};
  \node (af) [below left of=n] {AF};
  \node (nr) [below right of=n] {N^R};
  \node (v) [below of=af] {V};
  \node (af2) [below of=nr] {AF};
  \node (vu) [left of=v] {vu-}
  \node (kukuval) [right of=v] {-kukuval-}
  \node (i) [right of=kukuval] {-i}
  \draw (n) -- (af);
  \draw (n) -- (nr);
  \draw (af) -- (v);
  \draw (af2) -- (v);
  \draw (v) -- (vu);
  \draw (v) -- (kukuval);
  \draw (v) -- (i);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion

(36) \textbf{Nominalization from the verb: -kukuvala} \textit{(shrink together)}

(vii) The verb \textit{-kukuvala} \textit{(shrink together)}

Huku ya kukuvala.
(The chicken is shrinking together).

\begin{array}{l}
\begin{aligned}
-kukuvala
\begin{cases}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
& \text{D-E2}=e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporarily ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{kukuvala}\_\text{act}(e_1, x)
\end{cases}
\end{aligned}
\end{array}
Hierarchical of semantic concepts: Shrink together – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -kukuvala (shrink together) in (36) above exhibits one argument in the argument structure, i.e. a physical object that may be either a human or an animal. The event structure displays two events that are temporarily ordered and headed by, namely the process and resulting state of shrinking together. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state \((e_2)\) which determines the occurrence of the arguments while the agentive quale represents the process of shrinking together.

(37) **Nominalisation in classes 1/2: mukukuvali** (shrinking together person)

Mukukuvali wa rila.
(The shrinking together person is crying).

```
mukukuvali
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process
D–E2 = e2: state
  Restr = Temporarily ordered
  Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y)
  AGENTIVE = –kukuvala_actor (e1, x)
```

Hierarchical of semantic concepts: Shrink together – Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mukukuvali (shrinking together person) in (37) above exhibits one argument in its argument structure, namely the person who is shrinking together. The event structure represents the default events, i.e. the process of shrinking together and the resultant state. These events are temporarily ordered and are headed by the state event \((e_2)\). The formal quale in the qualia structure identifies the state on which the human argument is dependent, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) \((e_1)\) of shrinking together \((e_1)\) of the human \((x)\).

(38) **Nominalisation in class 7/8: xikukuvali** (excessively shrinking together person)

Xikukuvali xi orha ndzilo.
(The excessively shrinking together person is sitting around the fire).
The lexical semantic representation of **xikukuvali** (excessively shrinking together person) in (38) above corresponds to that of **mukukuvali** (shrinking together person) in (37) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive act] in the agentive quale of **xikukuvali** (excessively shrinking together person) in (38) above which is absent in **mukukuvali** (shrinking together person) in (37).

(39) **Nominalisation in class 5: rikukuvalo** (excessive shrinking together)

Rikukuvalo ra n’wana ri vilerisa mansati.
(The excessive shrinking together of the child worries the woman).

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **rikukuvalo** (excessive shrinking together) in (39) above exhibits two arguments in the argument structure, of which one is a default argument, namely the physical object (human) who shrinks together. The argument (ARG1) represents the reference (R) of the event of shrinking together. The event structure displays two events that are temporarily ordered and headed by, namely the process and resulting state of shrinking together. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the state (e₂) which determines the occurrence of the arguments while the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of shrinking together.
Nominalisation in class 14: vukukuvali (shrinking together)

Vukukuvali bya mbuti byi hlamarisa mufana.
(The excessive shrinking together of the goat surprises the young man).

vukukuvali

ARGSTR = ARG1 = e: r
ARG2 = x: phys. obj. (human/animal)
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
E2 = e2: state
Restr = Temporarily ordered
Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = from (e2, x, y)
AGENTIVE = –kukuvala_act (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Shrink together – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative vukukuvali (shrinking together) in (40) above corresponds to that of rikukuvalo (excessive shrinking together) in (39) above. The only difference relates to the feature [excessive] in the agentive quale of rikukuvalo (excessive shrinking together) in (39), which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of vukukuvali (shrinking together) in (40).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of motion verbs that denote source have similar lexical semantic representations. The only difference is that no deverbative from other verbs occurs with the suffix -o in class 14.

Kukumuka (bulge)

A. [Theme/Patient]: mukukumuki (bulging person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukukumuki wa nhamu wa konya.
(The bulging person on the neck is groaning).

(b) Mukukumuki wa khwiri wa hlanta.
(The bulging person on the stomach is vomiting).

(c) Wanuna u languta mukukumuki wa rihlaya exibedhlele.
(The man looks at the bulging person on the cheeks at the hospital).

Plural: vakukumuki (bulging people)

The nominal mukukumuki (bulging person) denotes an individual who has a broad and huge body, usually with his belly sticking out in a round shape from fat. But it may also refer to someone who has a swelling on his body. The meaning of this nominal will thus be dependent on the context in which it is used. When it is used to refer to a person with a huge body, such a nominal will be ascribed to the meaning of individual-level nominal because the condition of the individual in question may be a permanent one, so he will always be associated with it. However, when such a nominal refers to an
individual who has a swelling of some kind, such a nominal will be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of condition of swelling which is a temporary occurrence. Once such a condition disappers, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mukukumuki (bulging person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only for the duration of the condition of swelling.

Kukumuka (bulge)

B. [Excessive state]: rikukumuko (excessive bulging)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rikukumuko ra khwiri ra mufana ri hlamarisa wansati. (The excessive bulging of the belly of the young man surprises the woman).
(b) Rikukumuko ra wansati ra nhamu ri kathata wanuna. (The excessive bulging of the woman of the cheeks troubles the man).
(c) Wanuna u hlamala rikukumuko ra khwiri ra mufana. (The man is surprised at the excessive bulging of the belly of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikukumuko (excessive bulging) denotes an excessive act of bulging of an individual or part of the body of an individual.

Kukumuka (bulge)

C. [Excessive theme]: xikukumuki (excessively bulging person)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xikukumuki xa khwiri xi dye tihuku timbirhi hi siku. (The excessively bulging person of the belly eats two chickens a day).
(b) Xikukumuki xa nhamu xi khandziya bazi. (The excessively bulging person of the neck is boarding a bus).
(c) Dokodela u nyika xikukumuki xa nhamu murhi. (The doctor gives medicine to the excessively bulging person of the neck).

Plural: Class 8: swikukumuki (excessively bulging people)

The nominal xikukumuki (excessively bulging person) denotes an individual who has an excessively broad and huge body, usually with his belly sticking out in a round shape from fat. But it may also refer to someone who excessively develops a swelling on his body. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the stature or condition of bulging of the individual in question is a permanent phenomenon and will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be bulging or he may not be bulging at the time of reference but he will always be referred to as xikukumuki (excessively bulging person). In a sense, what is being modified in this nominal is not the act of swelling as such, but the condition thereof.
Kukumuka (bulge)

D. [State/Act]: vukukumuki (bulging)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukukumuki bya ndleve ya mbyana byi hlamarisa wanuna.
(The bulging of the ear of the dog surprises the man).

(b) Vukukumuki bya khwiri ra mufana byi vilerisa wansati.
(The bulging of the belly of the young man worries the woman).

(c) Wanuna u eheketa vukukumuki bya khwiri ra mufana wa yena.
(The man thinks about the bulging of the belly of his young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukukumuki (bulging) refers to the act of bulging of an individual or part of the body of an individual.

Rhendzeleka (rotate/go round)

A. [Excessive act]: rirhendzeleko (excessive rotating/going round)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rirhendzeleko ra vhilwa ra movha ri hlamarisa n’wana.
(The excessive rotating/going round of the wheel of the car surprises the child).

(b) Rirhendzeleko ra xipelupelu ri tsakisa vafana.
(The excessive rotating/going round of the wind mill excites the young men).

(c) Vafana vahlalela rirhendzeleko ra fene ya movha.
(The young men watch the excessive rotating/going round of the fan of the car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rirhendzeleko (excessive rotating/going round) denotes an excessive act of moving or turning of something around a central point, as a wheel of a bicycle.

Rhendzeleka (rotate/go round)

A. [Act]: vurhendzeleki (rotating/going about aimlessly)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vurhendzeleki bya wachi byi tsakisa mufana.
(The rotating/going round of the watch excites the young man).

(b) Vurhendzeleki bya misava byi hlamarisa vadyondzi.
(The rotating/going round of the earth surprises the learners).

(c) Mufana u kamba vurhendzeleki bya CD eka rhadiyo ya le movheni.
(The young man checks the rotating/going around of the CD on the car radio).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurhendzeleki (rotating/going about aimlessly) refers to an act of moving or turning of something around a central point, as a wheel of a bicycle.

Ndzuluka (revolve)

A. [Actor/theme]: mundzuluki (revolving person)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mundzuluki u khoma hi nsululwani.  
(The revolving person is losing balance).
(b) Mundzuluki u khoma hi xiburutani.  
(The revolving person is having a stitch).
(c) Wansati u languta mundzuluki.  
(The woman looks at the revolving person).

Plural: Class 2: vandzuluki (revolving people)

The nominal **mundzuluki** (revolving person) denotes an individual who moves around a central point or in circle. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of revolving of the person in question. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as **mundzuluki** (revolving person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only for the duration of the act denoted by the nominal. In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of revolving.

**Ndzuluka** (revolve)

B. [Excessive act]: rindzuluko (excessive revolving)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindzuluko ra xipelupelu xa movha ri hlamarisa wanuna.  
(The excessive revolving of the fan of the car surprises the man).
(b) Rindzuluko ra vhilawa ra movha ri chavisa n’wana.  
(The excessive revolving of the wheel of the car scares the child).
(c) Wanuna u chava rindzuluko ra xipelupelu xa movha.  
(The man is afraid of the excessive revolving of the fan of the car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rindzuluko** (excessive revolving) denotes an act of excessive moving around or in circle of something or someone on a central point.

**Ndzuluka** (revolve)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xindzuluki (expert/excessively revolving person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindzuluki eka Merriy go round xi khoma hi nsululwani.  
(The expert/excessively revolving person on merry go round is having a stitch on the side).
(b) Xindzuluki xa kereke ya Siyoni xi fikile.  
(The expert/excessively revolving person of the Sion church has arrived).
(c) Wansati u nyika xindzuluki swakudya.  
(The woman gives food to the expert/excessively revolving person).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **xindzuluki** (expert/excessively revolving person) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of revolving or one who excessively revolves. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill or excessiveness of revolving of the individual in
question will be associated with him for the rest of his life regardless of whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of revolving or not at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xindzuluki** (expert/excessively revolving person) does not modify the event of revolving, but the skill or excessiveness of revolving.

**Ndzuluka** (revolve)

D.  
[Act]:  
vundzuluki (revolving)  
Class 14:  
(a) Vundzuluki bya xipelupelu xa movha xi hlamarisa mufana.  
(The revolving of the fan of the car surprises the young man).  
(b) Vundzuluki bya mufana eka Merry go round byi chavisa nhwana.  
(The revolving of the young man on merry go round scares the young woman).  
(c) Mukhegula u hlamala vundzuluki bya mufana eka Merry go round.  
(The old woman is surprised at the revolving of the young man on merry go round).  

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vundzuluki** (revolving) refers to the moving around or in circle of something or someone on a central point.

**Ndzindzimuka** (slip/slide)

A.  
[Theme]:  
mundzindzimuki (slipping/sliding person)  
Class 1:  
(a) Mundzindzimuki wa hlekelela.  
(The slipping/sliding person is laughing).  
(b) Mundzindzimuki u yimisela vafana voko.  
(The slipping/sliding person is waving hand to the young men).  
(c) Wansati u huwelela mundzindzimuki.  
(The woman is shouting at the slipping/sliding person).  

Plural: Class: **vandzindzimuki** (slipping/sliding)

The nominal **mundzindzimuki** (slipping/sliding person) denotes an individual who moves easily over a smooth, steep or wet surface. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of slipping/sliding is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as **mundzindzimuki** (slipping/sliding person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the duration of the performance of the act denoted by the nominal. In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of slipping/sliding without which it will not be possible to assign such a meaning to an individual in question.
Ndzindzimuka (slip/slide)

B. [Excessive State]: rindzindzimuko (excessive slipping/sliding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindzindzimuko ra mufana exirhetelweni ri chuhwisa wansati.
(The excessive slipping/sliding of the young man on the slide frightens the woman).
(b) Rindzindzimuko ra wanuna exirhetelweni ri hlamarisa n’wana.
(The excessive slipping/sliding of the man on the slide surprises the child).
(c) Mufana u rhandza rindzindzimuko ra vana exirhetelweni.
(The young man likes the excessive slipping/sliding of the children on the slide).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rindzindzimuko (excessive slipping/sliding) denotes an excessive act of moving or passing along smoothly of an individual or thing.

Ndzindzimuka (slip/slide)

C. [Excessive theme]: xindzindzimuki (excessively slipping/sliding person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindzindzimuki xa le xirhetelweni xi ya ekaya.
(The expert/excessively slipping/sliding person of the slide is going home).
(b) Xindzindzimuki xa le ribiribirini xi vavisekile tsolo.
(The expert/excessively slipping person on the steep bank of the river has hurt his knee).
(c) Wansati u hlamarla xindzindzimuki xa le ribiribirini.
(The woman speaks to the expert/excessively slipping person of the steep of the bank of the river).

Plural: Class 8: swindzindzimuki (expert/excessively slipping/sliding people)

The nominal xindzindzimuki (expert/excessively slipping/sliding person) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of slipping/sliding or one who excessively slips/slides. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of trying or the excessiveness of slipping/sliding of the individual in question will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xindzindzimuki (expert/excessively slipping/sliding person). In this case then, the nominal xindzindzimuki (excessively slipping/sliding person) does not modify the event of slipping/sliding as such, but the skill or excessiveness of slipping/sliding.

Ndzindzimuka (slip/slide)

D. [State]: vundzindzimuki (slipping/sliding)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundzindzimuki bya mufana exirhetelweni byi chavisa vana.
(The slipping/sliding of the young man on the slide scares the children).
(b) Vundzindzimuki bya bazi exiehleni wu tsakisa vakhandziyi.
(The moving slowly of the bus on the slope pleases the passengers).

(c) Mukhalabye u sola vundzindzimuki bya vafana eribiribirini.
(The old man condemns the slipping/sliding of the young men on the steep of the bank of the river).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vundzindzimuki (slipping/sliding) refers to an act of moving or passing along smoothly.

Ndziwilika (spin)

A.  [Theme/Actor]: mundziwiliki (spinning person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mundziwiliki u chuhwile.
(The spinning person is frightened).

(b) Mundziwiliki u eka Merry go round wa rila.
(The spinning person on Merry go round is crying).

(c) Wansati u vona mundziwiliki eka Merry go round.
(The woman sees the spinning person on Merry go round).

Plural: Class 2: vandziwiliki (spinning people)

The nominal mundziwiliki (spinning person) denotes an individual who is engaged in a whirling or turning motion. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act spinning is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mundziwiliki (spinning person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the duration of the act denoted by the nominal. In a sense, the defining property in this nominal is the act of spinning which when absent the meaning will not hold to an individual.

Ndziwilika (spin)

B.  [Excessive state/act]: rindziwiliko (excessive spinning)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rindziwiliko ra wanuna ekerekeni ya Apostolo ri tsakisa vanhu.
(The excessive spinning of the man in apostolic church pleases the people).

(b) Rindziwiliko ra xipelupelu ri chavisa tindlopfu.
(The excessive spinning of the wind mill scares the elephants).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rindziwiliko ra xipelupelu xa Davhida.
(The man is surprised at the excessive spinning of the sling of David).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rindziwiliko (excessive spinning) denotes an excessive act of turning round and round quickly of an individual or a thing.
Ndziwilika (spin)

C. [Expert/Excessive theme/actor]: xindziwiliki (expert/excessively spinning person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindziwiliki xa kereke ya Apostolo xi xeweta vanhu.
(The expert/excessively spinning person of the Apostolic church is greeting people).

(b) Xindziwiliki xa le ka Merry go round xi winile movha.
(The expert/excessively spinning person on Merry go round has won a car).

(c) Mufana uvenga xindziwiliki xa kereke ya Apostola.
(The young man hates the expert/excessive spinning person of the apostolic church).

Plural: Class 8: swindziwiliki (expert/excessively spinning people)

The nominal xindziwiliki (excessively spinning person) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of spinning, or one who excessively spins. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill or excessiveness of spinning will be associated with an individual in question for the rest of his life regardless of whether such an individual will be engaged in the activity or he will not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In a sense, the nominal xindziwiliki (excessively spinning person) does not modify the event of spinning, but the skill or excessiveness of spinning.

Ndziwilika (spin)

D. [State/Act]: vundziwiliki (spinning)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundziwiliki bya xipelupelu xa movha byi tsakisa mufana.
(The spinning of the fan of the car pleases the young man).

(b) Vundziwiliki bya mufana eka Merry go round byi chavisa wansati.
(The spinning of the young man on Merry go round scares the woman).

(c) Wanuna u chava vundziwiliki bya mufana eka merry go round.
(The man is scared of the spinning of the young man on Merry go round).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vundziwiliki (spinning) refers to a very fast turning movement, or the act of turning round and round quickly of an individual or thing.

Ndzirimuka (run fast)

A. [Actor]: mundzirimuki (fast runner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mundzirimuki u khome xiyimo xo sungula.
(The fast runner has obtained position one).

(b) Mundzirimuki u ambale kepisi.
(The fast runner has put on a cap).

(c) Wansati u bela mundzirimuki mavoko.
(The woman is clapping hands for the fast runner).
Plural: Class 2: vandzirimuki (fast runners)

The nominal mundzirimuki (fast runner) denotes an individual who runs with great speed than the others with whom he is competing/running. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of running fast is a temporary occurrence that may stop at any moment. Once such an act is completed, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mundzirimuki (fast runner). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the duration of the performance denoted by the nominal. In a sense, what is being modified in this nominal is the act of running fast.

Ndzirimuka (run fast)

B. [Excessive act]: rindzirimuko (excessive fast running)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindzirimuko ra movha ri tsakisa mufana.
   (The excessive fast running of the car pleases the young man).
   (b) Rindzirimuko ra mimovha eka patu ra N1i ri vanga mafu mo tala.
   (The excessive fast running cars on N1 road causes many deaths).
   (c) Wansati u venga rindzirimuko ra movha wa nuna wakwe.
   (The woman hates the excessive fast running of her husband’s car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rindzirimuko (excessive fast running) denotes an act of excessive running fast of someone or something.

Ndzirimuka (run fast)

C. [Expert/Excessive act]: xindzirimuki (excessively fast runner)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindzirimuki xi ta nghenela mphikizano wa Comrade Maraton.
   (The excessively fast runner will participate in the Comrade Maraton).
   (b) Xindzirimuki xi endla vutiolori.
   (The excessively fast runner is exercising).
   (c) Wansati u xavela xindzirimuki titeki.
   (The woman is buying tekkies for the excessively fast runner).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal xindzirimuki (expert/excessively fast runner) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of running fast or one who excessively runs. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of running fast or the excessiveness of running fast of the individual in question will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, it does not matter whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity, or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xindzirimuki (expert/excessively fast running).
(expert/excessively fast running person) does not modify the event of running fast, but the skill or excessiveness of running fast.

**Ndzirimuka** (run fast)

D.  [Act]:  vundzirimuki (fast running)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundzirimuki bya bazi byi chavisa vakhandziyi.  
(The fast running of the bus scares the passengers).

(b) Vundzirimuki bya mufana erivaleni ra mitlangu ri tsakisa vaseketeri vakwe.  
(The fast running of the young man on the field excites his fans).

(c) Vafana va rhandza vundzirimuki bya bazi ro ya eGiyani.  
(The young men like the fast running of the bus that goes to Giyani).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vundzirimuki** (fast running) refers to the act of running fast of someone or something.

**Kokova** (creep)

A.  [Excessive act]:  rikokovo (excessive creeping)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rikokovo ra xibodze esaveni ri tsakisa vafana.  
(The excessive creeping of the tortoise on the sand excites the young men).

(b) Rikokovo ra nyoka epatwini vilerisa vanhu.  
(The excessive creeping of the snake on the road at night worries the people).

(c) Mufana u languta rikokovo ra xibodze esaveni.  
(The young man is looking at the excessive creeping of the tortoise on the sand).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikokovo** (excessive creeping) denotes an excessive act of moving slowly, quietly and carefully on the belly, as a snake or tortoise. But it may also refer to the excessive act of crawling slowly, quietly and carefully with the body close to the ground so as to avoid being heard or seen.

**Kokova** (creep)

B.  [Result]:  xikokovi (creeping animal)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xikokovi xi nghene emhakweni.  
(The creeping animal is entered into the hole).

(b) Xikokovi xi dlaye huku.  
(The creeping animal has killed a chicken).

(c) Wanuna u dlaya xikokovi epatwini.  
(The man kills the creeping animal on the road).

Plural: Class 8: swikokovi (creeping animal)

The nominal **xikokovi** (creeping animal) denotes an animal that moves on its belly, such as a snake or tortoise.
Kokova (creep)

C. [Act]: vukokovi (creeping)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vukokovi bya nyoka bya nkwhale byi hlekisa vafana.
(The creeping of the liguan makes the young men laugh).

(b) Vukokovi bya nyoka esemendheni byi hlamarisa wansati.
(The creeping of the snake on the cement floor surprises the woman).

(c) Mukhalabye u hlamala vukokovi bya nyoka esemendheni.
(The old man is surprised at the creeping of the snake on the cement floor).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukokovi (creeping) refers to the act of moving slowly, quietly and carefully on the belly, as a snake. But it may also refer to the act of crawling slowly, quietly and carefully with the body close to the ground so as to avoid being heard or seen.

Tshombonyoka (wriggle/writhe)

A. [Actor]: mutshombonyoki (wriggling/writhing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshombonyoki u khomelela makhwiri.
(The wriggling/writhing person is holding his belly).

(b) Mutshombonyoki wa rila.
(The wriggling/writhing person is crying).

(c) Mufundhisi u khongelela mutshombonyoki.
(The pastor is praying for the wriggling/writhing person).

Plural: Class 2: vatshombonyoki (wriggling/writhing people)

The nominal mutshombonyoki (wriggling/writhing person) denotes an individual who twists and turns his body or part of it with quick short movements. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of wriggling/writhing is a temporary phenomenon. Once such an act is over, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as mutshombonyoki (wriggling/writhing person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal applies to an individual only during the duration of the performance of the act denoted by the nominal. In other words, the defining property in this nominal is the act of wriggling/writhing.

Tshombonyoka (wriggle/writhe)

B. [Excessive act]: ritshombonyoko (excessive wriggling/writhing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritshombonyoko ra xikhongolotana byi cvhavisa n’wana.
(The excessive wriggling/writhing of the young millipede scares the child).

(b) Ritshombonyoko ra nyoka epatwini nivusiku ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive wriggling/writhing of the snake on the road at night surprises people).
(c) Wansati u hlamala ritshombonyoko ra nyoka esaveni.  
(The woman is surprised at the excessive wriggling/writhing of the snake on the sand).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ritshombonyoko* (excessive wriggling/writhing) denotes an excessive act of wriggling/writhing of something such as a snake.

**Tshombonyoka** (wriggle/writhe)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  *xitshombonyoki* (wriggling/writhing person)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xitshombonyoki xi huwelela wansati.  
(The wriggling/writhing person is shouting at the woman).

   (b) Xitshombonyoki xa rila.  
   (The wriggling/writhing person is crying).

   (c) Mukhegula u nyika xitshombonyoki murhi.  
   (The old woman gives medicine to the wriggling/writhing person).

Plural: Class8: *switshombonyoki* (wriggling/writhing person)

The nominal *xitshombonyoki* (wriggling/writhing person) denotes an individual who excessively wriggles/writhes most of the time. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this modifies is not the act of wriggling/writhing per se, but the excessiveness of wriggling/writhing of the individual. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of wriggling/writhing or he may not be engaged in it, such a person will always be referred to as *xitshombonyoki* (excessively wriggling/writhing person). This means that the act of wriggling/writhing will be permanently associated with an individual. It should be noted that the nominal *xitshombonyoki* (excessively wriggling/writhing person) does not modify the event of wriggling/writhing, but the excessiveness of wriggling/writhing.

**Tshombonyoka** (wriggle/writhe)

D.  [Act]:  *vutshombonyoki* (wriggling/writhing)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vutshombonyoki bya nyoka byi chavisa n’wana.  
(The wriggling/writhing of the snake scares the child).

   (b) Vutshombonyoki bya nyoka byi chuhwisa wanuna.  
   (The wriggling/writhing of the snake frightens the man).

   (c) Mukhalabye u hlamala vutshombonyoki bya nyoka esemendheni.  
   (The old man is surprised at the wriggling/writhing of the snake on the cement floor).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutshombonyoki* (wriggling/writhing) refers to the act of wriggling/writhing of a creature such as a snake.
**Gombonyoka** (be crooked)

A. [Excessive state/manner]: rigombonyoko (excessive crookedness)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rigombonyoko ra layeni ya mufana ri hlekisa vana. (The excessive crookedness of the line of the young man is making the children laugh).
(b) Rigombonyoko ra mhandzi ya wanuna ri hlamarisa mufana. (The excessive crookedness of the stick of the man surprises the young man).
(c) Wansati u hleka rigombonyoko ra layeni ya mufana. (The woman is laughing at the excessive crookedness line of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rigombonyoko* (excessive crookedness) denotes a state of excessive crookedness of a thing.

**Gombonyoka** (be crooked)

B. [State/manner]: vugombonyoki (crookedness)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vugombonyoki bya pulangi ra yindlu byi karhata mufuleri. (The crookedness of the timber of the house troubles the roofer).
(b) Vugombonyoki bya darata ya xikolo byi nyumisa vadyondzisi. (The crookedness of the fence of the school embarrasses the school principal).
(c) Mukhalabye u hlamala vugombonyoki bya darata. (The old man is surprised at the crockery of the fence).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vugombonyoki* (crookedness) refers to a state of crookedness of a thing.

**Phyaphyarha** (bubble noisily)

A. [Excessive act]: riphyaphyarho (excessive bubbling noisily)

Class 5: 1. (a) Riphyaphyarho ra vuswa ri tsakisa n’wana. (The excessive bubbling noisily of the porridge excites the child).
(b) Riphyaphyarho ra mukapu wa mukhegula ra wu vevukisa. (The excessive bubbling noisily of the soft porridge of the old woman makes it to be very soft).
(c) Wansati u twa riphyaphyarho ra vuswa epotweni. (The man is hearing the excessive bubbling noisily of the porridge in the pot).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riphyaphyarho* (excessive bubbling noisily) denotes an excessive act of making bubbles by an entity which is being cooked or fermented such as porridge or beer.
**Phyaphyarha** (bubble noisily)

B. [Act]: vuphyaphyarhi (bubbling noisily)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuphyaphyarhi bya mukapu byi hlamarisa n’wana.
(The bubbling noisily of the soft porridge surprises the child).

(b) Vuphyaphyarhi bya vuswa bya byi nandzihisa.
(The bubbling noisily of the porridge makes it taste nice).

(c) Mukhegula u xiya vuphyaphyarhi bya vuswa bya wansati.
(The old woman is observing the bubbling noisily of the woman’s porridge).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphyaphyarhi (bubbling noisily) refers to an act of making bubbles by an entity which is being cooked or fermented such as porridge or beer.

**Tsuvuka** (rise/come out)

A. [Excessive act]: ritsuvuko (excessive rising/coming out)

Class 5: 1. (a) Ritsuvuko ra dyambu hi ximumu ri tsakisa vatirhi.
(The early rising/coming out of the sun during summer pleases the workers).

(b) Ritsuvuko ra n’weti nimadyambu ri tsakisa lavantshwa.
(The early rising/coming out of the moon in the evening pleases the young people).

(c) Vafana va tsakela ritsuvuko ra n’weti hi xixika.
(The young men like the early rising/coming of the moon in winter).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritsuvuko (excessive rising/coming out) denotes an excessive act of rising/coming out of a thing such as the sun or seed.

**Tsuvuka** (rise/come out)

B. [Act]: vutsuvuki (rising/coming out)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vutsuvuki bya dyambu byi kavanyeta migingiriko ya valoyi.
(The rising/coming out of the sun interrupts the activities of the witches).

(b) Vutsuvuki bya n’weti byi tsakisa mipfundla.
(The rising/coming out of the moon excites the hares).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza vutsuvuki bya n’weti hi ximumu.
(The old woman disapproves of the rising/coming out of the moon in summer).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsuvuki (rising/coming out) refers to an act of rising/coming out of a thing such as the sun or seed.
Vila (Boil)

A.  [Excessive act]: rivilo (excessive boiling)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rivilo ra tiya ri vanga nantswo wo nandziha.
   (The excessive boiling of the tea brings about good taste).
   
   (b) Rivilo ra mati ri chavisa n’wana.
   (The excessive boiling of the water scares the child).
   
   (c) Wansati u yingisela rivilo ra mati epotweni.
   (The woman listens to the excessive boiling water in the pot).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivilo (excessive boiling) denotes an excessive act of boiling of a liquid substance such as water on the plugged kettle.

Vila (Boil)

B.  [Act]: vuvili (boiling)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuvili bya masi byi dlaya switsongwatsongwana.
   (The boiling of the milk kills germs).
   
   (b) Vuvili bya mati byi chavisa n’wana.
   (The boiling of the water scares the child).
   
   (c) N’wana u hlamala vuvili bya masi epanini.
   (The child is surprised at the boiling of the milk in the pan).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvili (boiling) refers to the act of boiling of a liquid substance such as water on the plugged kettle.
### 4.6. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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This chapter demonstrated that it may be possible to derive class 1 nominals from verb classes indicated in the above table through the class prefix \textit{mu-} and the suffix \textit{-i} and that the deverbatives in class 1 denote humans. It was also clearly observed from the table of the semantic features and suffixes presented above that the most dominant semantic feature in class 1 is that of an [Actor]. All the verbs with this feature are agentive verbs. However, it has been established that deverbatives derived from non-agentive verb classes such as State/Existence verbs and verbs of Change of State do not exhibit the feature of [actor]. It was demonstrated that State/Existence verbs display the feature [Experiencer/Theme], whereas verbs of Change of State illustrate the feature of [Patient/Theme]. It was established that no deverbatives are possible from the motion verb denoting location \textit{-phatsama} (land), motion verb denoting source \textit{-phohla} (break out of enclosure). It was found that the derivation of nominals in class 1 is also not possible from the following verbs of modes of being involving motion \textit{-rhendzeleka} (rotate/go round), \textit{-kokova} (creep), \textit{-gombonyoka} (be crooked), \textit{-phyaphyarha} (bubble noisily), \textit{-tsuvuka} (rising/coming out), and \textit{-vila} (boil). It was illustrated that the reason for these verbs no to allow nominalizations could be attributed to the fact that all these verbs relate to non human entities. It was also noted that in this chapter there is no verb class that is without derived nominals in class 1. It was indicated that it may be possible for all deverbatives in class 1 to occur in class 2 with the same semantic feature.

The chapter illustrated that derivation of nominals in class 3 is not a common phenomenon in the verb classes identified here in both agentive and non agentive verbs. It was however found that where such nominalisation is made possible it is through the prefix \textit{mu-} or the allomorph prefix \textit{n-} and the suffix \textit{-o}. It was demonstrated that the semantic features of [Result] and [Event/Act] seem to be dominant meanings in this class. It was however found that other semantic features such as [Artifact/Instrument] may be occasionally realized as well. It was demonstrated that from the State/existence verbs, which are non-agentive, nominalization is only possible from the verb \textit{-tika} (be heavy) whereas from Change of State verbs no derivation of nominals is possible. It was illustrated that even with respect to agentive verbs, nominalization occurs only with motion verbs and motion verbs denoting location. It was revealed that the deverbatives which may be derived from motion verbs are the following: \textit{mugiyo} (dance) derived from the verb \textit{-giya} (dance) with the meaning of [Event], \textit{nchinginyo} (swing) derived from the verb \textit{-chinginya} (swing) with the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument], deverbatives \textit{ntsendzeleko} (wandering) from the verb \textit{-tsendzeleka} (wander) and \textit{nkhuluko} (flow) derived from the verb \textit{-khuluka} (flow), both with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was found that in the case of motion verbs which denote location the following deverbatives may be derived: \textit{ntshamo} (sitting) derived from the verb \textit{-tshama} (sit/stay) with the semantic meaning of [Event], and \textit{nsalo} (remainder) from the verb \textit{-sala} (remain behind) with the semantic feature of [Result].
It was revealed that derivation of nominals seems to be a regular phenomenon in class 5. It was illustrated that such nominals are derived through the occurrence of the class prefix ri- and the suffix o- with the verb. It was established that deverbatives in class 5 belong to two major categories that are differentiated purely on their semantic meanings. The study showed that the first category is that of deverbatives that refer to other things other than excessive act and which give rise to class 6 nominals. It was illustrated that this is in contrast with the other category of deverbatives that refer solely to excessive act and has also correlation with deverbatives in class 14. It was realized that in fact, these are similar deverbatives with that of class 14 which have added the feature excessive through the replacement of the class prefix ri-. It was indicated that what appears to be unclear though is the fact that whereas the semantic feature of class 5 is similar to that of class 14 with the exception of the addition of the feature excessive, the suffix in class 5 deverbatives is -o which is different from the class 14 suffix which is -i. It was established that the behavior of the two categories of deverbatives found in class 6 is a direct resemblance of ordinary nominals that are not derived from anything which have been discussed in chapter three.

It was demonstrated that the deverbatives that are found in this chapter belong to the latter category; hence all have the feature [Excessive]. It was found that derivation of nominals seems to be possible with all the semantic sub-classes of verbs discussed in this chapter. It was demonstrated that the general semantic feature that is realized with the deverbatives in the classes of verbs is that of [Excessive Act]. It was made clear however, that this does not in any way suggest that other semantic features are not possible with this class, however. It was found that deverbatives in this class are derived from both agentive and non-agentive verbs. It was realized that all the deverbatives derived from agentive verbs occur with the feature [Excessive Act]. It was indicated that although it is also possible for the deverbatives derived from non-agentive verbs to occur with the feature [Excessive], such nominals may not have the feature [Act] in them. To support the claim made, the following example was given: State/Existence verbs and Change of State verbs are non-agentive verbs, as a result they may not occur with the feature [Excessive Act], but they instead both occur with the feature [Excessive State].

It was found that class 7 deverbatives, just as in the case of class 5 deverbatives, can be classified into two semantic categories. It was demonstrated that the first category is of deverbatives that are coming or similar to class 1 deverbatives. It was demonstrated that the only distinction that obtains with these deverbatives is that they have the feature [Expert and/or Excessive] which is absent from the deverbatives in class 1. It was indicated that such deverbatives are made possible through the affixation of the class prefix xi- and the suffix -i. It was found that all such deverbatives in this category denote humans with the feature [Expert and/or Excessive]. It was demonstrated that deverbatives in this class reflect the characteristics of class 1 deverbatives, with the only exception that where class 1 nominals display the feature [Actor], the nominals in this category also exhibit the
feature [Actor] but add the feature [Excessive], where it has other semantic features such as [Experiencer/Theme] from State/Existence verbs and [Patient/Theme] from Verbs of Change of State, the deverbatives inherit these features and add the feature [Excessive] as well. It was illustrated that in the same way, the verbs whose semantic content does not permit nominalization in class 1, such as -phatsama (land) from motion verb, -phohla (break out of enclosure) from motion verb denoting source, and -rhendzeleka (rotate/go round), -kokova (creep), -gombonyoka (be crooked), -phyaphyarha (bubble noisily), -tsuvuka (rise/come out), and -vila (boil), all from verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion, nominalization in this class is also not possible with such verbs.

It was found that the second category of deverbatives in this class is made possible through the affixation of the class 7 prefix xi- and the suffix -o. It was demonstrated that the deverbatives belonging to this category are very few in contrast with the deverbatives that are found in the first category. It was found that the deverbatives in this category only make reference to non human entities. It was established that such deverbatives in this chapter are only found from the verbs belonging to the following semantic verb classes: Verbs of Change of State, Motion Verbs, and Motion verbs with the locative argument denoting location. It was revealed that nominalisation from Change of State verbs in this category is only possible with the verb -bola (rot) from which the deverbative xibori (rotting/decaying thing) is derived. It was found that unlike with all other deverbatives in class 7 which belong to the second category which occur with the suffix -o whose reference is to non human entities, the deverbative xibori (rotting/decaying thing) occurs with the suffix -i which is the same as that of the deverbative in the first category which appears with deverbatives denoting humans with the feature [Expert/excessive]. It was demonstrated that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Change of State disallow nominalization. It was found that nominalisation also only one nominalization occurs from a semantic verb class of Motin verbs, namely xirheto (slipping instrument) derived from the verb -rheta (slip) with the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. It was established that it is not possible to derive deverbatives from all other verbs which belong to this semantic verb class of Motion Verbs because their intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics disallows nominalisation. It was realized that it may be possible to derive the following deverbatives in class 7 from the verbs in the semantic verb class of Verbs of Motion which occur with the locative argument denoting location: xitshamo (chair) derived from the verb -tshama (sit/stay) with the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument], xifambo (transport) derived from the verb -famba (go) with the semantic feature of [State/Place], and xiyimo (situation/standing place) with the semantic feature of [State/Position/Place]. It was illustrated that all these deverbatives occur with the class prefix xi- and the suffix -o.

It was found that class 14 deverbatives belong to two categories. It was demonstrated that he first category is of deverbatives that correlate with deverbatives which are found in the first category of class 5. It was established that the common semantic feature in this category is that of [Act], especially
with agentive nominals. It was revealed that nominalization occurs with all the verbs in this chapter from the semantic verb classes of Motion verbs, Motion verbs with the locative argument denoting location, Motion verbs with the locative argument denoting source, Motion verbs with the locative argument denoting direction, and verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion, all with the semantic feature of [Act]. It was observed that nominalisation from non agentive verbs such as state/Existence verbs and Change of State verbs give rise to a semantic feature of [State]. It was noted that there is no verb class of the verb classes presented in this chapter that does not allow nominalization in the first category of class 14. It was indicated that all the deverbatives which belong to the first category are formed through the affixation of the class prefix **vu-** and the suffix **-i**.

It was found that the second category of deverbatives category of deverbatives found in class 14 relate to deverbatives whose derivation involves the affixation of the class 14 prefix **vu-** and the suffix **-o** and the deverbatives in this category all refer to place. It was demonstrated that in this category, nominalization occurs in the semantic verb classes of Motion verbs, Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting location, Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting source and Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting direction. It was observed that from Motion verbs, the only derivation that may be possible is that of the deverbative **vukhido** (swimming place) which is derived from the verb **-khida** (swim). It was established that the following deverbatives are derived from Motion verbs denoting location: **vuyimo** (place to stand) derived from the verb **yima** (stand), **vukhinsamo** (place to stand) derived from the verb **-khinsama** (kneel down), and **vufambo** (walking path) derived from the verb **-famba** (go/walk). It was demonstrated that **Vuhumo** (exit) is the only deverbative from the semantic verb class of Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting source which is derived from the verb **-huma** (go out). It was found that it may also be possible with the verbs from the semantic verb class of Motion verbs with a locative argument denoting direction to derive deverbatives such as **vungheno** (entrance) from the verb **-nghena** (enter) and **vuyo** (place to go) from the verb **-ya** (go).
CHAPTER FIVE

DEVERBAL NOMINALS FROM INTRANSITIVE VERBS

Verbs of Communication, Ingestion/Consumption, verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, verbs Involving the Body, Psych/Experiencer verbs, verbs of Social Interaction, Sound Existence, Bodily Care, and Weather verbs

5.1 INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to investigate the nature of deverbatives derived from the above mentioned verbs. The chapter seeks to establish noun classes which allow nominalization to occur more regularly and those that do not allow the regular occurrence of Nominalisation. More attention is given to the semantic features found in such deverbatives with a view of establishing whether they inherit the semantic features of their verbal counter parts or not. Another aim is to present the morphological structure of the deverbatives so as to determine whether it is consistent with that of ordinary nouns or not. But unlike with the verbs where focus is usually on the semantic roles only, the meaning of deverbatives are analyzed in terms of Pustejovsky’s Generative Lexicon Theory (1996) Lexical semantic representation of nominals, which includes these levels of meaning, namely the argument structure, the event structure, and the qualia structure. It is also the aim of this chapter to provide an insight as to whether the deverbatives found in this chapter may be interpreted as stage-level nominals and/or as individual-level nominals as proposed by Busa (1996). In this chapter, section 5.2. is concerned with the deverbatives derived from Communication verbs, section 5.3. examines the derivation of nominals from verbs of Ingestion/Consumption, section 5.4. investigates deverbal nominals derived from section verbs of Appearance, Disappearance, and Occurrence, section 5.5. treats the derivation of nominals from verbs Involving the body, section 5.6. concentrates on deverbal nominals derived from Psych/Experiencer verbs, section 5.7. looks at deverbatives derived from verbs of Social Interaction, section 5.8. explores the derivation of nominals from verbs of Sound Existence, 5.9. focuses on the derivation of nominals from verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, and section 5.10. involves the deverbatives derived from Weather verbs. Section 5.11. summarises the main findings and concludes the arguments in this chapter.

5.2 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM COMMUNICATION VERBS

In his definition of Communication verbs, Levin (1995: 203) cites Gropen et al. (1989) who describes them as verbs of type of communicated message which are differentiated by some kind of an illocutionary force. According to Levin (op cit) the type of verbs differs with respect to the nature of the message and the way they are communicated.
It may be possible for these verbs to take obligatory complements whereas others do not take any complement. In this section however, the manner of communication verbs which will be treated are those which do not take complement.

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**Hemba** (tell lies)

A.  [Actor]: muhembi (liar)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhembi u khomiwile.
(The liar has been arrested).

       (b) Muhembi u vulavula na wansati.
(The liar talks to the woman).

       (c) Maphorisa ma khoma muhembi evhengeleni.
(The police arrest the liar at the shop).

Plural: class 2: vahembi (liars)

The nominal **muhembi** (liar) denotes an individual who deliberately tells others something which he knows is not true. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is defined in terms of the event of telling lies which the liar is engaged in at a particular time. Once such an activity is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhembi** (liar).
**Hemba** (tell lies)

B. [Excessive act]: rihembo (excessive lying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihembo ra wanuna ri hlongola vanghana.
(The excessive lying of the man chases friends away).

   (b) Rihembo ra wansati ri ta n’wi dlayela vukati.
   (The excessive lying of the woman will destroy her marriage).

   (c) Vanhu va hlamusela rihembo ra wansati eka maphorisa.
   (The people explain the excessive lying of the woman to/at the police).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihembo (excessive lying) refers to the act of telling lies by an individual which is done excessively and which has become a habit to an individual.

**Hemba** (tell lies)

C. [Excessive actor]: xihembi (excessive liar)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihembi xa wansati xi hlongola vayeni.
(A female excessive liar chases visitors away).
(An excessive liar of the woman chases visitors).

   (b) Xihembi xi yimisa movha.
   (The excessive liar stops the car).

   (c) Wanuna u vona xihembi ekerekeni.
   (The man sees the excessive liar in the church).

Plural: Class 8: swihembi (liars)

The nominal xihembi (excessive/notorious liar) denotes a person whose act of telling lies is done excessively and is well known to everyone, and has also become a habit to him. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the habit of telling lies formed in this person will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the person in question will be engaged in the act of telling lies or he may not, such an individual will always be regarded as xihembi (excessive/notorious liar).

**Hemba** (tell lies)

D. [Act]: vuhembi (lying)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhembi bya wanuna byi n’wi vangela valala.
(The lying of a man causes enemies for him).

   (b) Vuhembi bya mufundhisi byi n’wi tsemisile ekerekeni.
   (The lying of the pastor made him to be suspended at the church).

   (c) Vanhu va lemuka vuhembi bya mufundhisi ekerekeni.
   (The people notice the quality/manner of lying of the pastor in the church).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhembi** (lying) refers to an act of telling lies by an individual.

**Rila** (cry)

A.  [Actor/experiencer]: murili (the crying person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Murili u ya exibedhlele.
(The one who cries goes to hospital).

(b) Murili u chava nyoka.
(The one who cries fears the snake).

(c) Wansati u chavelela murili.
(The woman comforts the crying person).

Plural: Class 2: varili (the crying person)

The nominal **murili** (crying person) refers to an individual who is engaged in the activity of crying at the time of reference, hence it may be regarded as a stage-level. This nominal was so named after the defining activity of crying.

**Rila** (cry)

B.  [Excessive act/experience]: ririlo (excessive crying)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ririlo ra wansati ri karhata vayimbeleri.
(The excessive crying of the woman troubles the singers).

(b) Ririlo ra wansati ri ta n’wi peta nhloko.
(The excessive crying of the woman will make her crazy).

(c) Wanuna u sola ririlo ra wansati enkosini.
(The man condemns the excessive crying of the woman at the funeral).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ririlo** (excessive crying) refers to the act of crying done excessively by an individual.

**Rila** (cry)

C.  [Excessive actor/experiencer]: xirili (excessive crying person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xirili xi tisiva xikandza.
(The excessive crying person covers her face).

(b) Xirili xi khandziya murhi.
(The excessive crying person climbs a tree).

(c) Wanuna u hlongola xirili enkosini.
(The man chases the excessive crying person at the funeral).

Plural: Class 8: swirili (excessive crying people)
The nominal *xirili* (excessive crying person) refers to an individual who cries excessively. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of crying will always be associated with an individual in question. In other words, whether an individual in question will be telling lies, or he may not be telling lies at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xirili* (excessive crying person).

**Rila** (cry)

D. [Result]: xirilo (cry)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xirilo xa vanhu va Zimbabwe xi ta hlamuriwa.
(The cry of the people of Zimbabwe will be heard).

(b) Xirilo xa vanhu xi khumba Xikwemba.
(The cry of the people touches God).

(c) Masipala u bakanya xirilo xa wansati.
(The municipality put aside the plea of the woman).

Plural: Class 8: swirilo (cries/pleas)

The nominal *xirilo* (cry) refers the result of the activity of crying.

**Rila** (cry)

E. [Act]: vurili (crying)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vurili bya wanuna byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The crying of the man annoys the woman).

(b) Vurili bya vana byi hlongola swigevenga.
(The crying of the children chases the criminals away).

(c) Wanuna u venga vurili bya vana exibedhlele.
(The man hates the quality/manner of crying of the children at the hospital).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vurili* (crying) denotes an act of crying which an individual is engaged in.

**Cema** (scream)

A. [Actor/experiencer]: mucemi (the screamer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mucemi u tsutsumela exiticini xa maphorisa.
(The screamer runs to the police station).

(b) Mucemi u tlulela ehenhla.
(The screamer jumps up).

(c) Wanuna u khumbarheta mucemi.
(The man covers the screamer).

Plural: Class 2: vacemi (screamers)
The nominal **mucemi** (screamer) refers to an individual who is engaged in the activity of screaming. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual referred to here has to be engaged in the activity of screaming at the time of reference.

**Cema** (scream)

B. [Result/Act]: ncemo (scream)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ncemo wa wanuna wu pfuxile vanhu
(The scream of a man has awaken people).

(b) Ncemo wu chavisa swigevenga.
(The scream scares killers).

(c) Wansati u twa ncemo wa n’wana endlwini.
(The woman hears the scream of the child in the house).

Plural: Class 4: micemo (screams)

The nominal **ncemo** (scream) refers to a high cry of an individual because he is hurt, frightened, or excited.

**Cema** (scream)

C. [Excessive act]: ricemo (excessive screaming)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ricemo ra wanuna ri karhata wansati.
(The excessive screaming of a man troubles the woman).

(b) Ricemo ra wansati ri chavisa vana.
(The excessive screaming of a man scares children).

(c) Vanhu va yingisa ricemo ra wanuna exibedhlele.
(The people listen to the excessive scream of the man in the hospital).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ricemo** (excessive screaming) refers to an act of screaming done by an individual in an excessive way.

**Cema** (scream)

D. [Excessive actor/experiencer]: xicemi (the excessive screamer)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xicemi xi tsutumela exiticini xa maphorisa
(The excessive screamer runs to the police station).

(b) Xicemi xi vumbuluka ehansi.
(The screamer rolls on the ground).

(c) Wanuna u siya xicemi endlwini.
(The man leaves the screamer in the house).

Plural: Class 8: swicemi (screamers)

The nominal **xicemi** (excessive screamer) denotes a person who screams habitually and excessively. The person referred here need not be engaged in the activity of screaming at the time of reference or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual.
**Cema** (scream)

E. [Act]: vucemi (the screaming)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vucemi bya wanuna byi karhata wansati  
(The screaming of a man troubles the woman).

(b) Vucemi bya n’wana byi hlundzukisa wansati.  
(The screaming of the child angers the woman).

(c) Wansati u yingisa vucemi bya n’wana endlwini.  
(The woman listens to the screaming of the child in the house).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vucemi** (screaming) refers to the activity of screaming from pain by an individual.

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The morphology of deverbatives across different noun classes

Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va
Suffix: -i
mucemi (screamer)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Ricemo (excessive screaming)

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xicemi (excessive screamer)
Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

Vucemi (screaming)

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Verbs of Communication

(1) **Nominalization from the verb: -cema** (scream)

(i) The verb -cema (scream)

Wanuna wa cema.

(The man is screaming).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE -cema}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Lie – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -cema (scream) in (1) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is human. The event structure represents the default process event of screaming. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of screaming (e_1) of an individual (x).
(2) **Nominalisation in class 1: mucemi** (screamer)

Mucemi u khomelela khwiri.
(The screamer is holding the belly).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mucemi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{cema\_actor} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Lie – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal noun **mucemi** (screamer) in (2) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is human. The event structure represents the default process event of screaming. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of screaming (e_1) of an individual (x).

(3) **Nominalisation in class 7: xicemi** (excessive screamer)

Xicemi xi khandziya ambulense.
(The excessive screamer is boarding an ambulance).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xicemi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{proces} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{cema\_actor\_excessive} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Scream – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xicemi** (excessive screamer) in (3) is similar to that of **mucemi** (screamer) in (2) above. The only difference is found in the formal quale which has the feature [excessive] in **xicemi** (excessive screamer), which is absent in **mucemi** (screamer).
(4) **Nominalisation in class 5: ricemo** (excessive screaming)

Ricemo ra wanuna endlwini ri pfuxile n’wana.
(The excessive screaming of the man in the house has awakened the child).

**Ricemo**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D-ARG1} &= x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{cema}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Lie – Act – Excessiveness

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative **ricemo** (excessive screaming) in (4) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which screams. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of screaming. The event structure represents the default process event of screaming. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [excessive act] of event of screaming (e₁) of a person (x).

(5) **Nominalisation in class 14: vucemi** (screaming)

Vucemi bya wanuna byi chuhwisa wansati.
(The screaming of the man frightens the woman).

**vucemi**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D-ARG1} &= x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{cema}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Scream – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vucemi** (screaming) in (5) is similar to that of **ricemo** (excessive screaming) in (4) above. The only difference is found in the formal quale which has the feature [excessive] in **ricemo** (excessive screaming), which is absent in **vucemi** (screaming).

(6) **Nominalisation in class 3: ncemo** (scream)

Ncemo wa wanuna wu chuhwisa wansati.
(The scream of the man frightens the woman).
The lexical semantic representation of deverbal \textsc{ncemo} (cream) in (6) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which screams. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of screaming. The event structure represents the default process event of screaming. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [resultant act] of the event of screaming (e₁) of a person (x).

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from \textsc{cema} (scream) in classes 1 and 7 which denotes humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbative with the feature [act] which denotes act, while the suffix -o occurs with class 3 and class 5 deverbatives, referring to non-human objects.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of communication verbs have similar lexical semantic representations. The difference is that only deverbatives from the verbs \textsc{konya} (groan), \textsc{hahama} (speak in one’sleep), \textsc{bula} (converse), and \textsc{chumayela} (preach) can be found in class 3 with the suffix -o with the meaning of result and/or act. Furthermore, only two deverbatives in class 7 which appear with the suffix -o denoting result from the verbs \textsc{rila} (cry) and \textsc{tereka} (strike).

**Konya** (groan)

A. [Result/Act]: nkonyo (groan)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nkonyo wa n’wana wu tshova moya
(The groan of the child is disheartening).

(b) Nkonyo wa n’wana wu vilerisa wansati.
(The groan of the child troubles the woman).

(c) Wanuna u nyenya nkonyo wa n’wana.
(The man hates the groan of the child).

Plural: class 4: mikonyo (groans)

The nominal nkonyo (groan) refers to the phenomenon of groaning or result of groaning.
**Konya (groan)**

### B. [Excessive act]: rikonyo (the excessive groaning)

**Class 5: 3.**

(a) Rikonyo ra n’wana ri kavanyeta vurhongo.
   (The excessive groaning of the child disturbs sleeping).

(b) Rikonyo ra mukhegula ri tsakisa valala.
   (The excessive groaning of the old woman pleases the enemies).

(c) Wanuna u baleka rikonyo ra wansati ekaya.
   (The man runs away from the excessive groaning of the woman at home).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikonyo (excessive groaning) refers to the act of groaning of an individual as a result of pain which is done excessively.

**Konya (groan)**

### C. [Excessive actor/experiencer]: xikonyi (one who is fond of groaning)

**Class 7: 4.**

(a) Xikonyi xi kombela mati yo nwa.
   (The groaning person asks for drinking water).

(b) Xikonyi xi vumbuluka emubedweni.
   (The groaner rolls on the bed).

(c) Dokodela u tshungula xikonyi.
   (The doctor treats the excessive groaner).

Plural: class 8: swikonyi (excessive groaners)

The nominal xikonyi (excessive groaning person) denotes a person who groans habitually and excessively as a result of pain. The person referred to here, need not be engaged in the activity of groaning at the time of reference, or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual.

**Konya (groan)**

### D. [Act]: vukonyi (groaning)

**Class 14: 5.**

(a) Vukonyi bya n’wana byi kavanyeta vurhongo
   (The groaning of the child disturbs sleeping).

(b) Vukonyi bya n’wana byi chavisa wansati.
   (The groaning of the child scares the woman).

(c) Wansati u yingisela vukonyi bya n’wana endlwini.
   (The woman listens to the groaning of the child in the house).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukonyi (groaning) refers to the activity of groaning as a result of pain by an individual.
**Hahama** (speak in one’s sleep)

A. [Actor]: muhahani (one who speaks in his sleeps)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhahami u jikajika hi yindlu.
   (One who speaks in his sleeps moves around the house).
   (b) Muhahami u tiluma tintiho.
   (One who speaks in his sleep bites his fingers).
   (c) Wansati u pfuxa muhahami endlwini.
   (The woman wakes the one who speaks in his sleep up).

Plural: Class 2: vahahami (those who speak in one’s sleep)

The nominal **muhahami** (one who speaks in his sleep) refers to an individual who is engaged in the activity of speaking during sleep. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual has to be engaged in the defining activity at the time of reference.

**Hahama** (speak in one’s sleep)

B. [Result/Act]: muhahamo (speaking during sleep)

Class 3: 2. (a) Muhahamo wa mukhalabye wa chavisa.
   (Speaking in one’s sleep of an old man is scary).
   (b) Muhahamo wa ninhlikanhi wu bihile.
   (Speaking in one’s sleep during the day is bad).
   (c) Wanuna u venga muhahamo wa ninhlikanhi.
   (The man hates the speaking during the sleep during the day).

Plural: Class 4: mihahamo (phenomena of speaking during sleep)

The nominal **muhahamo** (speaking during sleep) refers to the phenomenon of speaking during one’s sleep or it may be thought of as a result of speaking during sleep.

**Hahama** (speak in one’s sleep)

C. [Excessive act]: rihahamo (excessive speaking in one’s sleep)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rihahamo ra wanuna ri nyenyetsa vanhu.
   (The excessive speaking during sleep of a man disgusts people).
   (b) Rihahamo ra wanuna ri chavisa n’wana.
   (The excessive speaking during sleep of a man scares a child).
   (c) Wansati u venga rihahamo ra nuna wakwe.
   (The woman hates the excessive speaking during the sleep of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihahamo** (excessive speaking during sleep) refers to the act of speaking during sleep by an individual which is done excessively.

**Hahama** (speak in one’s sleep)
D. [Excessive experiencer]: xihahani (A habitual excessive speaker in his/her sleep)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xihahami xi jikajika hi yindlu
(Excessive speaker in his/her sleep moves around the house).
(b) Xihahami xi vumbuluka emubedweni.
(Excessive speaker in his/her sleep rolls on the bed).
(c) Wansati u ndzungudzha xihahami.
(The woman shakes up the one who speaks in his sleep).

Plural: Class 8: swihahami (those who excessively speak during sleep)

The nominal xihahami (habitual excessive speaker during sleep) denotes a person who speaks habitually and excessively during his sleep. The person referred to here, need not be engaged in the event of speaking during sleep at the time of reference, or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing an individual and the matrix predicate.

Hahama (speak in one’s sleep)

F. [Act/experience]: vuhahami (speaking in one’s sleep)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhahami bya wanuna byi nyenyetsa vanhu
(Speaking in one’s sleep of a man disgusts people).
(b) Vuhahami bya wanuna byi chavisa n’wana.
(Speaking in one’s sleep of a man scares the child).
(c) Wansati u venga vuhahami bya wanuna.
(The woman hates the speaking in one’s sleep of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhahami (speaking during one’s sleep) refers to the act of speaking by an individual during sleep.

Bula (Converse)

A. [Actor]: mubuli (converser)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mubuli u hlayela vanhu xitori xa nghala.
(The converser tells people the story of the lion).
(b) Mubuli u kombisa mhaka leyi a yi hlamuselaka.
(The converser demonstrates the issue he is explaining).
(c) Vanhu va nyika mubuli nkarhi wo hlaya xitori.
(The people give the converser the time for relating a story).

Plural: Class 2: vabuli (conversers)

The nominal mubuli (converser) refers to an individual who engages in a spoken exchange of thoughts, ideas, or feelings with others. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal
because the act of conversing is something that begins and ends. The converser may thus be referred to as **mubuli** (converser) when he is engaged in the act of speaking. The defining feature in this nominal is the act of conversing.

**Bula (Converse)**

B. **[Result]:** bulo (conversation)

Class 5: 2. (a) Bulo ra hina ri kavanyetiwile hi ku fika ka hexe.  
(Our conversation was disrupted by the arrival of the hearse).

(b) Bulo ra vakhalabye ri tsakisa loko va dakwile.  
(The conversation of old men is interesting when they are drunk).

(c) Vanhu va yingisela bulo ra wanuna wa le Giyani.  
(People listen to the conversation of the man from Giyani).

Plural: Class 6: mabulo (conversations)

The nominal **bulo** (conversation) refers to a communication between two or more people. Such a nominal may have a reading of result because the nominal stems from conversing.

**Bula (Converse)**

C. **[Excessive Act]:** ribulo (excessive conversing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ribulo ra vafana ra vanhwanyana ri tsakisa vakhalabye.  
(The excessive conversing of the young men the young women impresses the old men).

(b) Ribulo ra Khazamula ra vanhwanyana ri hume endleleni.  
(The excessive conversing of Khazamula of the young women is mischievous).

(c) Vakhalabye va rhandza ribulo ra vafana ra vanhwanyana.  
(The old men like the excessive conversing of the young men of the young women).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribulo** (excessive conversing) refers to an act of communication which an individual is involved in with another.

**Bula (Converse)**

D. **[Expert/Excessive Actor]:** xibuli (expert/excessive converser)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xibuli xa vanhwanyana xi fambile.  
(The expert/excessive converser of young women is gone).

(b) Xibuli xa vanhwanyana xi rhandza timhaka to huma endleleni.  
(The expert/excessive converser of young women likes mischievous issues).

(c) Vakhalabye va vitana xibuli xa tintombhi endlwini.  
(The old men call the expert excessive converser of girls in the house).

Plural: Class 8: swibuli (expert/excessive conversers)
The nominal xibuli (expert/excessive converser) refers to an individual who is expertly/excessively engaged in a conversation with another person. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness/excessiveness in an individual will remain in him for the rest of his life. In other words, the nominal does not modify the act of conversing, but the excessiveness of the act.

**Bula (Converse)**

E. [Act]: vubuli (conversing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vubuli bya vafana bya tintombhi byi kavanyetiwile hi moya. (The conversing of the young men of the girls has been disturbed by the wind).
(b) Vubuli bya muyeni ni vakhalabye byi ta va hi awara ya mbirhi. (The conversing of the guest with the old men will begin at two o’clock).
(c) Vakhalabye va yingisela vubuli bya vafana na titombhi. (The old men listen to the conversation of young men with girls).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubuli (conversing) refers to the act of communication which an individual is engaged in with another.

**Tereka (strike)**

A. [Actor]: mutereki (striker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutereki u hisa mathayele epatwini. (The striker burns tyres on the road).
(b) Mutereki u vuyerile entirhweni. (The striker has returned to work).
(c) Muthori u hlongola mutereki entirhweni. (The employer dismisses the striker from work).

Plural: class 2: vatereki (strikers)

The nominal mutereki (striker) refers to a person who has stopped carrying out his duties because of disagreement over pay or working conditions or other dissatisfactions. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of striking. Once such an act is over such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutereki (striker).

**Tereka (strike)**

B. [Excessive act]: ritereko (excessive striking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritereko ra vatinhelamfumo ri vilerisa mfumo. (The excessive striking of civil servants worries the government).
(b) Ritereko ra vana va xikolo ri kavanyeta swikambelo. (The excessive striking of the learners disrupts the examination).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritereko** (excessive striking) refers to the act of striking by an individual which is carried out regularly.

**Tereka** (strike)

C. [Excessive actor]: xitereki (excessive striker)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xitereki xi onha nhundzu.
   (The excessive striker destroys the property).
   (b) Xitereki xi hoxa maphorisa hi maribye.
   (The excessive striker throws stones at the police).
   (c) Maphorisa va duvula xitereki.
   (The police shoot at the excessive striker).

Plural: Class 8: switereki (excessive strikers)

The nominal **xitereki** (excessive striker) denotes an individual who regularly engages himself in a strike. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual will always be associated with the regularity of striking even if at the time of reference an individual in question may not be engaged in it. In other words, the defining property here is the regularity in which the person strikes and not the strike itself.

**Tereka** (strike)

D. [Event]: xitereko (strike)
Class 7: 4. (a) Xitereko xa vatirhi va ka masipala xi nghenile eka siku ra vumbirhi.
   (The strike of municipality’s workers has entered into the second day).
   (b) Xitereko xa vadyondzi xi kavanyetile tidyondzo exikolweni.
   (The strike of the learners disturbed the lessons at school).
   (c) Mfumo wu sola xitereko va vatirhelamfumo.
   (The government condemns the strike of the civil servants).

Plural: Class 8: switereko (strikes)

The nominal **xitereko** (strike) refers to the event in which people stop carrying out their duties in order to register their dissatisfaction with their employer or managers on certain issues related to their carrying out of their duties.

**Tereka** (strike)

E. [Act]: vutereki (striking)
Class 14: 5. (a) Vutereki bya vatirelamfumo byi lahlekerisa mfumo mali yo tala.
   (The striking of civil servants makes government lose a lot of money).
(b) Vutereki bya vadyondzisi byi kavanyeta tidyondzo.
(The striking of the teachers disrupts the lessons).

(c) Mfumo wu sola vuteriki bya vatinhelamfumo.
(The government condemns the striking of civil servants).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutereki (striking) refers to the act of striking by people.

N’unun’uta (mumble)

A. [Actor]: mun’unun’uti (mumbler)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mun’unun’uti u humela ehandle.
(The mumbler goes out).
     (b) Mun’unun’uti u lava swakudya.
(The mumbler wants food).
     (c) Mudyondzisi u miyeta mun’unun’uti etlilasini.
(The teacher silences the mumbler in class).

Plural: class 2: van’unun’uti (mumblers)

The nominal mun’unun’uti (mumbler) refers to a person who speaks or says something in a quiet
voice in a way that is not clear. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal if an individual
in question is one that is able to speak loudly but decides to speak in this manner at the time of
reference. But if an individual in question is one whose voice cannot speak louder than that, the
nominal mun’unun’uti (mumbler) will in that case be regarded as an individual-level nominal
because the act of mumbling cannot be separated from an individual at any given time.

N’unun’uta (mumble)

B. [Excessive act]: rin’unun’uto (excessive mumbling)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rin’unun’uto ra vana va xikolo ri karhalisa mudyondzisi.
(The excessive mumbling of school children tires the teacher).
     (b) Rin’unun’uto ri vangela mahlo ya vanhu ethlenegetanini.
(The excessive mumbling causes attention of the people in meetings).
     (c) Vanhu va karhele hi rin’unun’uto ra wansati.
(People are tired of excessive mumbling of the women).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rin’unun’uto (excessive mumbling) refers to an act of mumbling which an individual
does on a regular basis.
N’unun’uta (mumble)

C. [Excessive actor]: xin’unun’uti (excessive mumbler)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xin’unun’uti xi twiwile hi vanhu vo tala.  
(The excessive mumbler has been heard by many people).
   (b) Xin’unun’uti xi sola murhangeri.  
(The excessive mumbler criticises the leader).
   (c) Ntshungu wu lava xin’unun’uti xi vulavulela chenhlha.  
(The crowd wants the excessive mumbler to speak aloud).

Plural: class 8: swin’unun’uti (excessive mumblers)

The nominal xin’unun’uti (excessive mumbler) refers to an individual who speaks in a mumbling manner most of the time. This nominal thus will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness in which an individual in question mumbles. In other words, whether an individual in question is engaged in the act of mumbling or he is not, an individual in question will always be referred to as xin’unun’uti (mumbler).

N’unun’uta (mumble)

D. [Act]: vun’unun’uti (mumbling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vun’unun’uti bya vadyondzi etlilasini byi va feyirisile.  
(The mumbling of students in class made them to fail).
   (b) Vun’unun’uti bya malume enhlengeletanini bya nyumisa.  
(The mumbling of the uncle in the meeting is embarrassing).
   (c) Mufambisi u sola vun’unun’uti bya mufana enhlengeletanini.  
(The chairperson criticises the mumbling of the young man at the meeting).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vun’unun’uti (mumbling) refers to a speech or words that are spoken in quiet voice in a way that is not clear.

Chumayela (preach)

A. [Actor]: muchumayeri (preacher)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muchumayeri u lahlile Bibele ekerekeni.  
(The preacher lost the Bible in church).
   (b) Muchumayeri u chavelela vanhu enkosini.  
(The preacher comforts people at the funeral).
   (c) Vakhongeri va yingisela muchumayeri ekerekeni.  
(The Christians listen to the preacher in the church).

Plural: class 2: vachumayeri (preachers)

The nominal muchumayeri (preacher) refers to a person, often a member of clergy, who gives a sermon or religious talks and often performs religious ceremonies in the church. This nominal may be
regarded as an individual-level nominal because preaching is a function that an individual in question does for the rest of his life. In other words, whether an individual in question is engaged in the act of preaching or he is not, he will always be referred to as muchumayeri (preacher).

Chumayela (preach)

B.  [Result]:  nchumayelo (sermon)

Class 3:  2.  (a) Nchumayelo wa swa tihele wa chavisa.
(The sermon on hell is frightening).
(b) Nchumayelo wa Yesu entshaveni wu hundzurile vanhu vo tala.
(The sermon of Jesus on the mountain converted many people).
(c) Vanhu va tsakela nchumayelo wa manana Maluleke.
(People like the sermon of Mrs. Maluleke).

Plural: class 4: michumuyelo (sermons)

The nominal nchumayelo (sermon) refers to a talk on a moral or religious subject given by a religious leader in a service.

Chumayela (preach)

C.  [Expert/gifted actor]:  xichumayeri (expert/gifted preacher)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xichumayeri xi dyondzisa hi timhaka ta Jonas.
(The expert/gifted preacher teaches about Jonas).
(b) Xichumayeri xi khongelela vavabyi.
(The expert/gifted preacher prays for the sick).
(c) Kereke yi rhambile xichumayeri xo huma eGana.
(The church has invited an expert/gifted preacher from Ghana).

Plural: class 8: swichumayeri (expert/gifted preachers)

The nominal xichumayeri (expert/gifted preacher) refers to a person who gives a sermon or religious talks and often performs religious ceremonies in a church in a special way. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property is the specialty with which an individual in question conducts his preaching which will remain in this person for the entirety of his life. It is something an individual is endowed with and cannot be taken away from him. In other words, whether an individual in question is engaged in the act of preaching or not, he will always be referred to as xichumayeri (expert/gifted preacher).

Chumayela (preach)

D.  [Act]:  vuchumayeri (preaching)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuchumayeri byi hakela ngopfu masiku lawa.
(Preaching pays a lot nowadays).
(b) Vuchumayeri bya mufundhisi byi pfuna vanhu vo tala.
(The preaching of the pastor helps many people).

(c) Ntshungu wu sola vuchumayeri bya mufundhisi.
(The crowd criticizes the preaching of the pastor).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuchumayeri (preaching) refers to the act of preaching which a person performs.

N’an’a (argue/oppose)

A. [Actor]: mun’an’i (arguing person)

Class 1:  (a) Mun’an’i u vulavula a yimile.
(The arguing person speaks while standing).

(b) Mun’an’i u vulavulela ehenhla.
(The arguing person speaks aloud.

(c) Mutshamaxitulu u miyeta mun’an’i enhlengeletanini.
(The chairperson stops the arguing person at the meeting).

Plural: Class 2: van’an’i (arguing people)

The nominal mun’an’i (arguing person) refers to an individual who quarrels or discusses something with a person in an unfriendly way. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in the activity of arguing for a particular time. In other words, the nominal mun’an’i (arguing person) makes reference to the defining event of arguing. Once such activity has ended such an individual may no longer be referred to mun’an’i (arguing person).

N’an’a (argue/oppose)

B. [Excessive act]: rin’an’a (excessive arguing)

Class 5:  (a) Rin’an’a ra wanuna ri nyangatsa wansati.
(The excessive arguing of the man troubles the woman).

(b) Rin’an’a ra mufana ri tiva hi vanhu vo tala.
(The excessive arguing of the young man is known by many people)

(c) Wansati u sola rin’an’a ra nuna wakwe.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive arguing of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rin’an’a (excessive arguing) denotes an act of excessive quarrelling or discussion of something with a person in an unfriendly way.

N’an’a (argue/oppose)

C. [Excessive actor]: xin’an’i (excessively arguing person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xin’an’i xi wele ehansi.
(The excessively arguing person has fallen to the ground).
(b) Xin’an’i xa rhurhumela.
(The excessively arguing person is trembling).

(c) Wansati u khoma xin’an’i hi voko.
(The woman is holding the excessively arguing person with a hand).

Plural: Class 8: swin’an’i (excessively arguing people)

The nominal xin’an’i (excessively arguing person) refers to an individual who excessively quarrels or discusses something with a person in an unfriendly way. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the quarrelling of an individual in question will always be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, an individual in question may be engaged in the activity of arguing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xin’an’i (excessively arguing person) does not modify the act of quarrelling, but the excessiveness of arguing thereof.

N’an’a (argue/oppose)

D. [Act]: vun’an’i (arguing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vun’an’i bya n’wana endlwini byi tsakisa mana wakwe.
(The arguing of the child in the house pleases his mother).

(b) Vun’an’i bya n’wana byi chuhwisa mana wakwe.
(The arguing of the child frightens his mother).

(c) Wansati u sola vun’an’i bya n’wana kusuhi na ndzilo.
(The woman disapproves of the arguing of the child near the fire).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vun’an’i (arguing) denotes an act of quarrelling or discussion of something with a person in an unfriendly friendly way.

Gungula (grumble)

A. [Actor]: mugunguli (grumbling person)

Class 1: (a) Mugunguli u hlongola mufana.
(The grumbling person chases the young man away).

(b) Mugunguli u sola mutshamaxitulu.
(The grumbling person criticises the chairperson).

(c) Mufambisi u languta mugunguli.
(The programme director looks at the grumbling person).

Plural: Class 2: vagunguli (grumbling people)

The nominal mugunguli (grumbling person) refers to an individual who makes a low and deep sound or one who complains in a bad-tempered way. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in the activity of grumbling during a particular time. In other words, the nominal mugunguli (grumbling person) makes reference to the defining
event of grumbling. Once such an act is past an individual in question may no longer be referred to
mugunguli (grumbling person) because mugunguli (grumbling person) has to be involved in the act
of grumbling at the time of reference.

Gungula (grumble)

B. [Excessive act]: rigungulo (excessive grumbling)

Class 5: (a) Rigungulo ra mufana etililasini ri nyenyetsa mudyondzisi.
(The excessive grumbling of the young man in class annoys the teacher).

(b) Rigungulo ra n’wana hi nkarhi wo dya ri swirha wansati.
(The excessive grumbling of the child during dining time disgusts the woman).

(c) Wansati u sola rigungulo ra n’wana exikarhi ka vanhu.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive grumbling of the child among people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rigungulo (excessive grumbling) denotes the excessive act of grumbling done by an
individual.

Gungula (grumble)

C. [Excessive actor]: xigunguli (excessively grumbling person)

Class 7: (a) Xigunguli xi fikile enhlengeletanini
(The excessively grumbling person has arrived at the meeting).

(b) Xigunguli xi yima hi milenge.
(The excessively grumbling person stands on his feet).

(c) Wanuna u ba xigunguli hi bandi.
(The man beats the excessively grumbling person with a belt).

Plural: Class 8: swigunguli (excessively grumbling people)

The nominal xigunguli (excessively grumbling person) denotes an individual who excessively makes
a low and deep sound or one who excessively complains in a bad-tempered way. This nominal may
thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is not the act of
grumbling as such, but the excessiveness of grumbling. In other words, an individual in question may
be engaged in the activity, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. Such an individual
will thus be associated with grumbling for the rest of his life. In this way then, the context need not
make reference to the defining event of grumbling.

Gungula (grumble)

D. [Act]: vugunguli (grumbling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugunguli bya n’wana endlwini byi hlamarisa mana wakwe.
(The grumbling of the child in the house surprises his mother).
(b) Vugunguli bya n’wana byi chuhwisa mana wakwe.
(The grumbling of the child frightens his mother).

(c) Wansati u sola vugunguli bya n’wana kusuhi na ndzilo.
(The woman disapproves of the grumbling of the child near the fire).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugunguli** (grumbling) denotes an act of grumbling which is done by an individual.

**Mpfikula** (snuffle/sob)

A. [Actor]: mumpfikuli (snuffling/sobbing person)

Class 1:  
(a) Mumpfikuli u tisula mihloti.
(The snuffling/sobbing person is wiping away tears).

(b) Mumpfikuli u tshama exitulwini.
(The snuffling/sobbing person is sitting on a chair).

(c) Wansati u sula mumpfikuli mihloti.
(The woman wipes tears from the snuffling/sobbing person).

Plural: Class 2: vampfikuli (snuffling/sobbing people)

The nominal **mumpfikuli** (snuffling/sobbing person) refers to an individual who breathes noisily because of crying. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in the activity of snuffling/sobbing at the time of reference. In other words, the nominal **mumpfikuli** (snuffling/sobbing person) makes reference to the defining event of snuffling/sobbing. It should be noted that what is being modified here is the act of snuffling/sobbing of an individual in question. Once such an act is over, an individual in question may no longer be referred to **mumpfikuli** (snuffling/sobbing person).

**Mpfikula** (snuffle/sob)

B. [Excessive act]: rimpfikulo (excessive snuffling/sobbing)

Class 5:  
(a) Rimpfikulo ra n’wana ri nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excessive snuffling/sobbing of the child annoys the woman).

(b) Rimpfikulo ra wansati ri hlamarisa wanuna.
(The excessive snuffling/sobbing of the woman surprises the man).

(c) Wansati u nyenya rimpfikulo ra wansati ekerekeni.
(The woman dislikes the excessive snuffling/sobbing of the woman in the church).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rimpfikulo** (excessive snuffling/sobbing) denotes an excessive act of breathing noisily of an individual as a result of crying.
Mpfikula (snuffle/sob)

C. [Excessive actor]: ximpfikuli (excessively snuffling/sobbing person)

Class 7:  
(a) Ximpfikuli xi ya emaphoriseni.  
(The excessively snuffling/sobbing person goes to the police).
(b) Ximpfikuli xi khomelela nhloko.  
(The excessively snuffling/sobbing person holds the head).
(c) Wanuna u miyeta ximpfikuli.  
(The man is silencing the excessively snuffling/sobbing person).

Plural: Class 8: swimpfikuli (excessively snuffling/sobbing people)

The nominal ximpfikuli (excessively snuffling/sobbing person) denotes an individual who excessively breathes noisily as a result of crying. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of snuffling/sobbing per se, but the excessiveness of snuffling/sobbing thereof. In other words, an individual in question need not be engaged in the activity of snuffling/sobbing at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal ximpfikuli (excessively snuffling/sobbing person). The excessiveness of snuffling/sobbing will be associated with an individual in question for the rest of his life.

Mpfikula (snuffle/sob)

D. [Act]: vumpfikuli (snuffling/sobbing person)

Class 14:  
(a) Vumpfikuli bya n’wana endlwini byi tsakisa mana wakwe.  
(The snuffling/sobbing person of the child in the house pleases his mother).
(b) Vumpfikuli bya n’wana byi chuhwisa mana wakwe.  
(The snuffling/sobbing person of the child frightens his mother).
(c) Wansati u sola vumpfikuli bya n’wana kusuhi na ndzilo.  
(The woman disapproves of the snuffling/sobbing person of the child near the fire).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vumpfikuli (snuffling/sobbing person) denotes an act of breathing noisily of an individual as a result of crying.

Nyenyela (whine)

A. [Actor]: munyenyeli (whining person)

Class 1:  
(a) Munyenyeli u vumbuluka ehansi.  
(The whining person is rolling on the ground).
(b) Munyenyeli u khoma mhani wakwe.  
(The whining person holds her mother).
(c) Wansati u nyika munyenyeli xinkwa.  
(The woman gives the whining person bread).

Plural: Class 2: vanyenyeli (whining people)
The nominal *munyenyeli* (whining person) refers to an individual who cries or complains unnecessarily. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question has to be involved in the activity of crying/complaining unnecessarily at the time of reference. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing an individual and the matrix predicate. Thus, the nominal *munyenyeli* (whining person) makes reference to the defining event of unnecessary crying/complaining. Once such an act has passed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to *munyenyeli* (whining person). It should be noted therefore that what is being modified here is the act of whining of an individual.

**Nyenyela** (whine)

B.  
[Excessive act]: *rinyenyelo* (excessive whining)

Class 5:  
(a) Rinyenyelo ra n’wana ri nyangatsa mana wakwe.  
(The excessive whining of the child disgusts his mother).
(b) Rinyenyelo ra wansati ri vilerisa wanuna.  
(The excessive whining of the woman worries the man).
(c) Wansati u sola rinyenyelo ra mufana exikolweni.  
(The woman disapproves of the excessive whining of the boy at school).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rinyenyelo* (excessive whining) denotes an excessive act of crying or complaining unnecessarily.

**Nyenyela** (whine)

C.  
[Excessive actor]: *xinyenyeli* (excessively whining person)

Class 7:  
(a) Xinyenyeli xi nwa tiya.  
(The excessively whining person drinks tea).
(b) Xinyenyeli xi ya exikolweni.  
(The excessively whining person goes to school).
(c) Wansati u hlakahla xinyenyeli.  
(The woman is shaking up the excessively whining person).

Plural: Class 8: *swinyenyeli* (excessively whining people)

The nominal *xinyenyeli* (excessively whining person) denotes an individual who excessively cries or complains unnecessarily. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the excessiveness of crying unnecessarily and not the act of crying as such. In other words, whether an individual in question is involved in the activity of whining unnecessarily or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference; such a person will always be referred to as *xinyenyeli* (excessively whining person). It should be noted therefore that an individual...
in question will always be associated with the act of crying unnecessarily. In other words, the nominal **xinyenyeli** (excessively whining person) need not make reference to the defining event of whining.

**Nyenyela** (whine)

D.  [Act]:  vunyenyeli (whining)

Class 14:  4.  (a)  Vunyenyeli bya n’wana byi vilerisa wansati.
(The whining worries the woman).
(b)  Vunyenyeli bya n’wana byi chuhwisa wansati.
(The whining of the child frightens his woman).
(c)  Wansati u nyenya vunyenyeli bya n’wana.
(The woman dislikes the whining of the child).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vunyenyeli** (whining) denotes an act of crying or complaining unnecessarily.

**Jamuka** (speak nonsense)

A.  [Actor]:  mujamuki (person who speaks nonsense)

Class 1:  (a)  Mujamuki u kavanyeta xivulavuri.
(The person who speaks nonsense interrupts the speaker).
(b)  Mujamuki u kaneta wansati.
(The person who speaks nonsense opposes the woman).
(c)  Wansati u komba mujamuki hi rintiho.
(The woman is pointing the person who speaks nonsense with a finger).

Plural: Class 2:  vajamuki (people who speak nonsense)

The nominal **mujamuki** (person who speaks nonsense) refers to an individual who speaks foolish words or something that is ridiculous. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question has to be involved in the activity of speaking nonsense at the time of reference. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing an individual and the matrix predicate. Thus, the nominal **mujamuki** (person who speaks nonsense) makes reference to the defining event of speaking nonsense. Once such an act has passed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to **mujamuki** (person who speaks nonsense). It should be noted therefore that what is being modified here is the act of act of an individual which serves as a defining event.

**Jamuka** (speak nonsense)

B.  [Result]:  mijamuko (nonsense words)

Class 1:  (a)  Mijamuko ya wanuna yi hlekisa vafana.
(The nonsense words of the man make young men laugh).
(b) Mijamuko ya mukhalabye yi nyumisa vana vakwe.
(The nonsense words of the old man humiliate his children.)

(c) Vafana va hleka mijamuko ya wanuna.
(The young men laugh at the nonsense words of the man.)

Singular: Class 3: No singular for the corresponding noun in class 3.

The nominal **mijamuko** (nonsense) refers to foolish words or something that is ridiculous.

**Jamuka** (speak nonsense)

C. [Excessive act]: rijamuko (excessive speaking of nonsense)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rijamuko ra mukhalabye ehubyeni ri tsakisa vafana.
(The excessive speaking of nonsense of the old man at the traditional court pleases the young men).

(b) Rijamuko ra mukhegula ri nyumisa vana vakwe.
(The excessive speaking of nonsense humiliates her children).

(c) Wansati u nyenya rijamuko ra nuna wakwe ekerekeni.
(The woman dislikes the excessive speaking nonsense of her husband in the church).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rijamuko** (excessive speaking of nonsense) denotes an excessive act of speaking/saying something that is ridiculous.

**Jamuka** (speak nonsense)

D. [Excessive actor]: xijamuki (person who excessively speaks nonsense)

Class 14: 4. (a) Xijamuki xi yimisa voko enhlenegeletanini.
(The person who excessively speaks nonsense raises his hand at the meeting).

(b) Xijamuki xi kavanyeta wanuna.
(The person who excessively speaks nonsense interrupts the man).

(c) Wansati u koka xijamuki hi baji.
(The woman pulls the person who excessively speaks nonsense with a jacket).

Plural: Class 8: swijamuki (people who excessively speak nonsense)

The nominal **xijamuki** (person who excessively speaks nonsense) refers to the person who excessively and regularly speaks foolish words or something that is ridiculous. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the excessiveness of speaking nonsense but not the act of speaking itself. In other words, whether an individual in question is involved in the act of speaking nonsense or he may not be speaking nonsense at the time of reference; such a person will always be referred to as **xijamuki** (person who excessively speaks nonsense). Such a person will thus always be associated with the excessive act of speaking nonsense.
**Jamuka** (speak nonsense)

E.  [Act]: vujamuki (speaking of nonsense)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vujamuki bya mufana exikolweni byi hlamarisa mudyondzisi.
(The speaking of nonsense of the young man at school surprises the teacher).

(b) Vujamuki bya wanuna ehubyeni byi chuhwisa vanhu.
(The speaking of nonsense of the man at the traditional court frightens the people).

(c) Wansati u nyenya vujamuki bya mufana entshungwini.
(The woman dislikes the speaking of nonsense of the young man in the crowd).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vujamuki** (speaking of nonsense) refers to the act of speaking/saying something that is ridiculous.

**Gongondza** (knock)

A.  [Actor]: mugongondzi (knocking person)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mugongondzi u twa xirhami.
(The knocking person is feeling cold).

(b) Mugongondzi u ambale tibutsu.
(The knocking person has worn boots).

(c) Wansati u languta mugongondzi enyangweni.
(The woman is looking at the knocking person at the entrance).

Plural: Class 2: vagongondzi (knocking people)

The nominal **mugongondzi** (knocking person) refers to an individual who hits a door firmly in order to be heard. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of knocking which takes place for a short time. In other words, the nominal **mugongondzi** (knocking person) makes reference to the defining event of knocking. Once such an act has passed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mugongondzi** (knocking person).

**Gongondza** (knock)

B.  [Excessive act]: rigongondzo (excessive knocking)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rigongondzo ra n’wana ekamareni ya vayeni ri nyenyetsa mana wakwe.
(The excessive knocking of the child on the guests’ room annoys his mother).

(b) Rigongondzo ra mufana ekamareni ra vadyondzisi ri kavyenta ntirho wa vona.
(The excessive knocking of the young man on staff room interrupts their work).

(c) Wansati u venga rigongondzo ra mufana ekamareni yakwe.
(The woman hates the excessive knocking of the young man on her room).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal *rigongondzo* (knocking) denotes an act of excessive hitting of a door firmly in order to be heard.

**Gongondza** (knock)

C.  
[Excessive actor]: xigongondzi (excessively knocking person)

Class 1:  
1.  
   (a) Xigongondzi xi ya emovheni.  
      (The excessively knocking person goes to the car).
   (b) Xigongondzi xi tsakela bolo ya milenge.  
      (The excessively knocking person likes soccer).
   (c) Wansati u hlongola xigongondzi enyangweni.  
      (The woman chases the excessively knocking person away from the entrance).

Plural: Class 2: swigongondzi (excessively knocking people)

The nominal *xigongondzi* (excessively knocking person) refers to an individual who excessively and regularly hits a door firmly in order to be heard. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the excessiveness of the act of knocking and not the act of knocking as such. In other words, whether an individual in question is involved in the act of knocking or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xigongondzi* (excessively knocking person).

**Gongondza** (knock)

D.  
[Act/manner]: vugongondzi (knocking)

Class 14:  
4.  
   (a) Vugongondzi bya wanuna byi pfuxa n’wana.  
      (The knocking of the man awakens the child).
   (b) Vugongondzi bya mufana byi chuhwisa n’wana.  
      (The knocking of the young man frightens the child).
   (c) Wansati u hloma vugongondzi bya wanuna.  
      (The woman is surprised at the knocking of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vugongondzi* (knocking) refers to the act/manner of hitting of a door firmly in order to be heard.

5.3. **DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF INGESTION/CONSUMPTION**

According to Levin (1995: 213), Verbs of Ingestion denote verbs which relate to the ingestion of food or drink. Most of these verbs are transitive in nature, taking both the obligatory animate subjects and inanimate complements. However, a few of them take an animate subject only. The focus of this section will then be on the verbs of ingestion/consumption which takes an animate subject only but do not take a complement.
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**Lalela** (eat supper)

A. [Actor]: mulaleri (person who eat supper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulaleri u hetile xixevo.
(The person who eats supper has finished the relish).

   (b) Mulaleri u hlamba mavoko.
(The person who eats supper washes his hands).

   (c) Wansati u phamela mulaleri swakudya.
(The woman is dishing out food for the person who eats Supper).

Plural: class 2: valaleri (persons who eat supper)

The nominal **mulaleri** (eater of supper) refers to a person who eats the last meal of the day. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the process of eating supper. Once this process is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mulaleri** (eater of supper).

**Lalela** (eat supper)

B. [Excessive actor]: xilaleri (person who excessively eats supper)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xilaleri xi oxa nyama.
(The person who excessively eats supper roasts meat).

   (b) Xilaleri xi nghena exitangeni.
(The person who excessively eats supper gets into the kitchen).

   (c) Wansati u komba xilaleri swakudya.
(The woman shows food to the person who excessively eats supper).

Plural: class 2: swilaleri (persons who excessively eat supper)

The nominal **xilaleri** (excessive eater of supper) denotes an individual who likes eating a variety of food during supper, or one who enjoys eating supper and ensures that he takes supper every day. In other words, it is one person who may skip other meals during the day but not supper. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness which this nominal modifies will remain with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, it is something that he always does.
**Lalela** (eat supper)

C. **[Result]**: xilalelo (Lord’s supper)

   Class 7: 3. (a) Xilalelo xi pfuxeta ripfumelo ra vapfumeri.
   (The Lord’s Supper revives the faith of the believers).
   (b) Xilalelo xa hosixi tsundzuxa vapfumeri maxangu ya Hosi Yesu.
   (The Lord’s Supper reminds the believers of the sufferings of Lord Jesus).
   (c) Vapfumeri va dya xilalelo xa Hosi.
   (The believers eat the Lord’s Supper).

   Plural: class 8: swilalelo (Lord’s suppers)

   The nominal **xilalelo** (Lord’s Supper) refers to a ceremony in the Christian Church during which people eat bread and drink wine in remembrance of the last meal that Christ had with his disciples. But it also refers to the last meal of the day.

**Lalela** (eat supper)

D. **[Event, act]**: vulaleri (eating supper)

   Class 14: 3. (a) Vulaleri bya vapfumeri byi tiyisa ripfumelo ra vona.
   (The eating of believers of the Lord’s supper strengthens their faith).
   (b) Vulaleri bya vaendzi ehodela byi sungula hi awara ya tsevu nimadyambu.
   (The eating of visitors of the supper at the hotel starts at six in the evening).
   (c) Vaendzi va rhandza vulaleri bya le hodela ya Nandoni.
   (The guests like the eating of supper at Nandoni hotel).

   Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

   The nominal **vulaleri** (eating supper) refers to the process of eating of supper by an individual.

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Class 1/2
Prefixes: **mu-/va**
Suffix: **-i**

**Mulaleri** (eater of dinner)

```
N
AF N^R
  V AF
  mu- -laler- -i
```

Class 5
Prefix: **ri-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Rilalelo** (excessive eating of dinner)

```
N
AF N^R
  V AF
  ri- -lalel- -o
```

Class 7/8
Prefixes: **xi-/swi-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Xilalere** (excessive eater of dinner)

```
N
AF N^R
  V AF
  xi- -laler- -i
```
Class 7/8
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
Xilalelo (Lord’s supper)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vulaleri (eating dinner)

Verbs of Ingestion/Consumption

(7) Nominalization from the: – lalela (eat dinner)
(ii) The verb –lalela (eat dinner)
     Wanuna wa lalela.
     (The man is eating dinner).

\[-lalela\]
\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (Human/animal)} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} –\text{lalela}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{array}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Eat dinner – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb *-lalela* (eat supper) in (7) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is a physical object, specifically a human. The event structure of the verb *-lalela* represents the process event of eating supper. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x), which is human, and the agentive quale represents the act of eating supper of an individual (x).

(8) **Nominalisation in class 1:** *mulaleri* (eater of dinner)

 Mulaleri u hlamba swandla.
 (The eater of dinner washes hands).

**mulaleri**

| ARGSTR   | = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human/animal) |
| EVSTR    | = E1 = e₁: process                    |
| QUALIA   | = FORMAL = x                           |
|          | AGENTIVE = -lalela_actor (e₁, x)       |

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Eat dinner – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal noun *mulaleri* (eater of supper) in (8) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is a physical object, specifically a human. The event structure represents the default process event of eating supper. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x), which is human, and the agentive quale represents the act of eating supper of an individual (x).

(9) **Nominalisation in class 7:** *xilaleri* (excessive eater of dinner)

 Xilaleri xi nwa mati.
 (The excessive eater of dinner drinks water).

**xilaleri**

| ARGSTR   | = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human) |
| EVSTR    | = E1 = e₁: process             |
| QUALIA   | = FORMAL = x                   |
|          | AGENTIVE = -lalela_actor_excessive (e₁, x) |

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Eat dinner – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xilaleri* (excessive eater of dinner) in (9) corresponds to that of *mulaleri* (eater of dinner) in (8) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive] in the agentive
quale of xilaleri (excessive eater of dinner) which is absent in the agentive quale of mulaleri (eater of dinner).

(10) Nominalisation in class 5: rilalelo (excessive eating of dinner)
Rilalelo ra wansati hi nyama ri karhata nuna wakwe.
(The habitual excessive eating of the woman of the dinner with meat worries her husband).

\[
\text{rilalelo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{physical object} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E1} = e: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{lalela}_\text{act}\text{.excessive} (e_1, x)
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Eat dinner – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbal rilalelo (excessive eating of supper) in (10) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which performs the activity of eating. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of eating. The event structure represents the default process event of eating. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [excessive] of the event of eating supper (e_1) of a person (x).

(11) Nominalisation in class 14: vulaleri (eating dinner)
Vulaleri bya wanuna byi heta nkarhi wo leha.
(The eating of dinner of the man takes a long time).

\[
\text{vulaleri} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{physical object} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E1} = e: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{lalela}_\text{act/event} (e_1, x)
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Eat dinner – Act/Event

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal vulaleri (eating of supper) in (11) corresponds to that of rilalelo (excessive eating of supper) in (10) above. The only difference relates to the feature [excessive] in the agentive quale of rilalelo (excessive eating of supper) in (10), which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of vulaleri (eating of supper) in (11).
Nominalisation in class 7: xilalelo (Lord’s supper)

Xilalelo xi ta dyiwa hi Sonto.
(The Lord’s supper will be served on Sunday).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{xilalelo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{physical object} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-lalela} \_\text{result} (e_1, x)
\end{array}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Eat dinner – Result – Human

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative xilalelo (Lord’s supper) in (12) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which performs the activity of eating supper. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of eating supper. The event structure represents the default process event of eating supper. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the [resultant action] of the event of eating supper (e_1) of a person (x).

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from -lalela (eat supper) in classes 1 and 7 which denote humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbative with the feature [act]. The suffix -o occurs with class 5 deverbatives, with the feature [excessive act], and class 7 deverbatives, with the reading of result.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of consumption verbs have similar lexical semantic representations. The difference is only difference is that there is no deverbative from the verb -mama, in class 7 with the suffix -o.

Mama (suck)

A. [Actor]: mumami (sucker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mumami u luma wansati.
(The sucker bites the woman).

(b) Mumami u mama rintiho.
(The sucker sucks the finger).

(c) Wansati u nyika mumami vele.
(The woman gives the sucker the breast).
Plural: class 2: vamami (suckers)

The nominal mumami (sucker) denotes an individual who keeps something on his mouth and pull on it with his lips and tongue, or one who takes a liquid into his mouth by using the muscles of his lips. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the process of sucking. Once this process is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mumami (sucker).

Mama (suck)

B. [Excessive act]: rimamo (excessive sucking)

Class 1: 1. (a) Rimamo ra xirhodyana ri borisa mimbelo ya homu. (The excessive sucking of the calf makes the teats of the cow rot).
(b) Rimamo ra n’wana ra tintiho ri nyenyetsa wansati. (The excessive sucking of the child of the fingers annoys the woman).
(c) Wansati u sola rimamo ra n’wana ra tintiho. (The woman disapproves the excessive sucking of the child of the fingers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rimamo (excessive sucking) refers the process of sucking which is done excessively by an individual.

Mama (suck)

C. [Excessive act]: ximami (excessive sucker)

Class 7: 2. (a) Ximami xa vele xi karhata mana wakwe. (The excessive sucker is troubling his/her mother).
(b) Ximami xi luma vele ra mana wa xona. (The excessive sucker bites his mother’s breast).
(c) Wansati u chelela ximami viriviri eveleni. (The woman is pouring for the excessive sucker chili pepper on the breast).

Plural: class 8: swimami (excessive sucker)

The nominal ximami (excessive sucker) denotes an individual who excessively or regularly takes liquid into his mouth by using the muscles of his lips. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness or regularity of sucking of an individual in question. In other words, whether an individual in question will be engaged or he not be engaged in the act of sucking such an individual will always be referred to as ximami (excessive sucker).
Mama (suck)

D. [Act]: vumami (sucking)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vumami bya n’wana loyi bya vele bya nyangatsa. (The sucking of the child of the breast is disgusting).

(b) Vumami bya swimbyanyana bya mbyana byi teka nkarhi wo leha. (The sucking of puppies of the dog takes a long time).

(c) Wansati u venga vumami bya n’wana exikarhi ka vanhu. (The woman hates the sucking of the child in the presence of other people).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vumami (sucking) refers to the process of sucking which is an individual is engaged in.

Fihlula (eat breakfast)

A. [Actor]: mufihluri (person who eats breakfast)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufihluri u dya vuswa. (The person who eats breakfast eats porridge).

(b) Mufihluri u n’wa tiya. (The person who eats breakfast drinks tea).

(c) Kokwana u nyika mufihluri mukapu. (The grandmother gives the person who eats breakfast the soft porridge).

Plural: class 2: vafihluri (persons who eat breakfast).

The nominal mufihluri (eater of breakfast) refers to a person who eats breakfast. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the process of eating breakfast. Once this process is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mufihluri (eater of breakfast).

Fihlula (eat breakfast)

B. [Result]: mfihlulo (breakfast)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mfihlulo wu nyika mutirhi matimba. (Breakfast gives worker energy).

(b) Mfihlulo wu kahle eka vana. (Breakfast is good for children).

(c) Vana va rilela mfihlulo. (The children cry for the breakfast).

Plural: Class 4: mifihlulo (breakfasts)

The nominal mfihlulo (breakfast) refers to the first meal of the day.
Fihlula (eat breakfast)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifihluri (excessive eater of breakfast)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifihluri xi nwa tiya.
(The excessive eater of breakfast drinks tea).
(b) Xifihluri xi chela tiya ekhapini.
(The excessive eater of breakfast pours tea into the cup).
(c) Wansati u nyika xifihluri tiya.
(The woman gives tea to the excessive eater of the breakfast).

Plural: class 8: swifihluri (excessive eaters of breakfast)

The nominal xifihluri (excessive eater of breakfast) denotes an individual who likes eating a variety of food during breakfast, or one who enjoys eating breakfast and ensures that he does not skip taking breakfast every day. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness which this nominal modifies will remain with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, it is something that he always does.

Fihlula (eat breakfast)

D. [Result]: xifihlulo (breakfast food)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xifihlulo xa mandza yo katingiwa xi nyika tinghitsi.
(The breakfast food of roasted eggs gives energy).
(b) Xifihlulo xa mukapu wo kufumela xi sivela mukhuhiwana.
(The breakfast food of soft porridge prevents flu).
(c) Wansati u nyika n’wana xifihlulo xa masi.
(The woman gives the child the breakfast food of milk).

Plural: class 8: swifihlulo (breakfast foods)

The nominal xifihlulo (breakfast food) refers to food served during breakfast.

Fihlula (eat breakfast)

E. [Act]: vufihluri (eating of breakfast)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vufihluri bya vana eswikolweni byi lulamisa hi vavasati.
(The eating of breakfast at the school is prepared by the women).
(b) Vufihluri bya le hodela byi sungula hi 6h00 nimixo.
(The eating of the breakfast at the hotel begins at 6h00 in the morning).
(c) Manana u rhandza vufihluri bya le hodela.
(The mother likes the eating of breakfast in the hotel).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufihluri (eating of breakfast) refers to the act of eating breakfast by an individual.
5.4 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF APPEARANCE, DISAPPEARANCE AND OCCURRENCE

Verbs of Appearance, disappearance, and occurrence are defined by Levin (1995:258) as verbs that describe the appearance of an entity on the scene. According to Levin (op cit) all of these verbs take prepositional phrase complements, although some do not require them. Levin (op cit) asserts that these verbs differ as to the types of prepositional phrases they allow, some take various locatives phrases while others are limited to from phrases. Levin (op cit) points out that the verbs in this class include verbs which express a notion of appearance, although some verbs may not necessarily express such a notion in their general sense, but they do express it in their figurative sense. Most of the verbs in this class take obligatory subjects which may be either animate or inanimate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7b</th>
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Fa (die)

A. [Patient/Theme]: mufi (the deceased)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufi u ta lahlwa hi Ravuntlhanu.
(The deceased person will be buried on Friday).

(b) Mufi u siya nsati ni vana vanharhu.
(The deceased leaves behind the wife and three children).

(c) Hexe yi vuyisa mufi.
(The hearse brings the dead person).

Plural: Class 2: vafi (dead people)

The nominal mufi (deceased) refers to a person who has died. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-nominal because the issue of dying happens at a particular time in life, after an individual has lived for a certain period of time on this earth.
**Fa (die)**

**B. [State]: rifu (death)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifu ra wansati ri karhate vandyangu.  
(The death of the woman troubled family members).

(b) Rifu ra Hosi Yesu ponisile vanhu.  
(The death of The Lord Jesus Christ saved people).

(c) Vanhu va venga rifu.  
(The people hate death).

Plural: Class 6: mafu (deaths)

**Fa (die)**

The nominal *rifu* (death) denotes a state in which an individual has ceased to breath.

**C. [Excessive theme/patient]: xifi (the deceased)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifi xi hambanile ni maxangu ya misava.  
(The deceased parted ways with the troubles of the earth).

(b) Xifi a xi karhatiwa hi nhloko.  
(The deceased was suffering from head ache).

(c) Vandyangu va vona xifu ro hetelela.  
(Family members see the deceased for the last time).

Plural: Class 8: swifi (dead people)

The nominal *xifi* (deceased) refers to the corps of an individual which is about to be laid to rest.

**D. [Result]: xifo (any dangerous disease)**

Class 7: 5. (a) Xifo xa HIV/AIDS a xi tshunguleki.  
(The HIV/AIDS disease is incurable).

(b) Xifo xa Mfukuzana hi xona xi dlayeke mukhalabye.  
(Cancer disease is the one which killed the old man).

(c) N’anga yi tshungula xifo xa mfukuzana.  
(The traditional healer treats cancer disease).

Plural: Class 8: swifo (any dangerous diseases)

The nominal *xifo* (dangerous disease) refers to any dangerous disease, particularly the incurable disease such as AIDS and cancer, or a fatal disease such as swine flu or bird flu.
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<tr>
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**Class 1/2**

Prefixes: **mu-/va-**

Suffix: **-i**

**Mufi** (the deceased)

```
    N
   /   \
AF   N^R
     /   |
    V    AF
   /     |
mu-   -f-   -i
```

**Class 5**

Prefix: **ri-**

Suffix: **-o**

**Rifu** (death)

```
    N
   /   \
AF   N^R
     /   |
    V    AF
   /     |
ri-   -f-   -u
```
Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
Xifi (exceptional deceased)

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -o
Xifo (any dangerous disease)
Verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence

(13) Nominalization from the verb: -fa (die)

The verb -fa (die)
Mbyana yi file.
(The dog is dead).

-fa

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human/animal)
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process
D–E2 = e2: state
Restr = temporally ordered
Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = to (e2, x)
AGENTIVE = -fa_event_state (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Die – Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence – Event/State

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -fa (die) in (13) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is a physical object, specifically a human. The event structure of the verb -fa represents the process event of dying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object which is dying (x), and the agentive quale represents the event of dying of a physical object (x).

(14) Nominalisation in class 1: mufi (deceased)

Mufi u ta lahlwa hi Ravuntlanu.
(The deceased person will be buried on Friday).

mufi

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -fa_state (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Die – appearance, disappearance and occurrence – State – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nominal mufi (deceased) in (14) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is a physical object (animate). The event structure represents the process event of dying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object which is dying (x), and the agentive quale represents the event (state) of dying of a physical object (x).
Nominalisation in class 7: xifi (exceptional deceased)

Xifi xi dlawile hi swigevenga.
(The exceptional deceased was killed by criminals).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xifi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E1 = e_1; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{fa}_\text{state_exceptional} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Die – appearance, disappearance and occurrence – Exceptional State – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xifi (exceptional deceased) in (15) corresponds to that of mufi (deceased) in (14) above. The difference relates to the feature [exceptional state] in the agentive quale of xifi (exceptional deceased) in (15) which is absent in mufi (deceased) in (14).

Nominalisation in class 5: rifu (death)

Rifu ra wansati ri karhate vandyangu.
(The death of the woman troubled family members).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rifu} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human/animal/plant)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D-E1 = e_1; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{fa}_\text{event} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Die – Appearance, disappearance and occurrence – State – Event

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative rifu (death) in (16) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object (animate) which dies. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of dying. The event structure represents the default process event of dying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (X), and the agentive quale represents the [event] of dying (e_1) of a physical object (X).
(17) **Nominalisation in class 7: xifo** (dreadful disease)

Xifo xa Aids xi xanisa rixaka.
(The Aids disease is terrorising the nation).

$xifo$

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x : e : r \\
\text{D-ARG1} & = x ; \text{phys. obj. (human/animal/plant)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e ; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = -fa\_sate\_result (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Die – Appearance, disappearance and occurrence – Result

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *xifo* (dreadful disease) in (17) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which suffers from the dreadful disease. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of suffering from the dreadful disease. The event structure represents the default process event of suffering from the dreadful disease. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x) that suffers from the dreadful disease, and the agentive quale represents the resultant state of suffering from the dreadful disease (e₁) of a physical object (x).

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from -fa (die) in classes 1 and 7 which denote humans. However, the suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverbative with the feature [act]. The suffix -u occurs with class 5 deverbative, with the interpretation of state or event, and the suffix -o occurs with class 7 deverbative, with the reading of result.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of appearance, disappearance and occurrence verbs have similar lexical semantic representations. The difference relates to the fact that there are no deverbatives from the verbs -hluka and -rhumbuka with the suffix -i which denote humans. The suffix -e occurs with the deverbative from -hluka in class 7 with the interpretation of result. While the suffix -u occurs with the deverbative from -kula (grow) in class 14 with the interpretation of result.

**Nyamalala** (disappear)

A. [Actor]: munyamalari (disappearing person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Munyamalari u laviwile hi tiko hinkwaro.
(The disappearing person was searched by the whole community).

(b) Munyamalari u nyamalarile lembe leri nga hela.
(The disappearing person disappeared last year).
(c) Vanhu va tiko va lava munyamalari.
(The community people are searching for the disappearing person).

Plural: class 2: vanyamalari (disappearing persons)

The nominal *munyamalali* (disappearing person) denotes an individual who vanishes from sight by moving away or going behind or into something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because such a meaning applies only during the period of disappearing by an individual in question. Once such an individual reappears he may no longer be referred to as *munyamalali* (disappearing person).

**Nyamalala** (disappear)

B. [Excessive act/manner]: rinyamalalo (excessive disappearance)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rinyamalalo ra n’wana ri karhalisa vatswari va yena.
(Excessive disappearance of a child makes his parent tired).

(b) Rinyamalalo ra swifuwo ri vangiwa hi tinghala.
(The excessive disappearance of domestic animals is caused by lions).

(c) Vanhu va karhela rinyamalalo ra swifuwo swa vona.
(People are tired of excessive disappearance of domestic animals).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rinyamalalo* (excessive disappearance) refers to the process of excessive vanishing from sight by an individual.

**Nyamalala** (disappear)

C. [Excessive actor]: xinyamalari (excessive disappearing person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xinyamalari xi kumiwile tolo.
(The expert disappearing person was found yesterday).

(b) Xinyamalari xi nyamalarile nkari ho leha.
(The expert disappearing person disappeared for a long time).

(c) Vana va vonile xinyamalari enhoveni.
(Children saw the expert disappearing person in the bush).

Plural: class 8: swinyamalari (disappearing people)

The nominal *xinyamalali* (excessive disappearing person) refers to an individual who regularly vanishes from sight. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because the property of excessive disappearance will always be associated with an individual in question. In other words, whether an individual in question has disappeared or he has not at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as *xinyamalali* (excessive disappearing person).

**Nyamalala** (disappear)
D. [Process]: vunyamalari (disappearance)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vunyamalari bya swifuwo byi andzile swinene eka Makuleke.  
(The disappearance of domestic animals is going higher at Makuleke).
(b) Vunyamalari bya vana byi lavisisiwa hi maphorisa.  
(The disappearance of children is investigated by the police).
(c) Maphorisa va lavisisa vunyamalari bya swifuwo eka Mushiyani.  
(The police are investigating the disappearance of domestic animals at Mushiyani).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns

The nominal vunyamalali (disappearance) refers to the process of vanishing of an individual from sight.

Pfuka (rise up)

A. [Actor]: mupfuki (riser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupfuki u songa mikumba.  
(The riser is folding the blankets).
(b) Mupfuki wa ahlamula.  
(The riser yawns).
(c) Xixalu xi nyumisa mupfuki.  
(The dried saliva on the face after sleep embarrasses the riser).

Plural: class 2: vapfuki (risers)

The nominal mupfuki (rising up person) refers to a person who gets out of bed in the morning. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of getting out of bed. Once such an act has been completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as mupfuki (rising up person).

Pfuka (rise up)

B. [Excessive act]: ripfuko (excessive rising up)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ripfuko ra wanuna exikarhi ka vusiku ri kavanyeta van’wana.  
(The excessive rising up of the man in the middle of the night disturbs other).
(b) Ripfuko ra wanuna exikarhi ka vusiku ri hlamarisa wansati.  
(The excessive rising up of the man in the middle of the night suprises the woman).
(c) Wansati u nyenya ripfuko ra wanuna exikirhi ka vusiku.  
(The woman dislikes the excessive rising up of the man in the middle of the night).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripfuko (excessive rising up) denotes an act of getting out of bed which is done excessively by an individual.
Pfuka (rise up)

C. [Excessive actor]: xipfuki (excessive riser)

Class 7:  2. (a) Xipfuki xi hubutile swinene.
(The excessive riser woke up very early).
(b) Xipfuki xi khandziyile bazi ra awara ya mune nimixo.
(The excessive riser boarded the four o’clock in the morning bus).
(c) Bazi ri siyile xipfuki namuntlha.
(The bus left behind the excessive riser today).

Plural: class 8: swipfuki (excessive risers)

The nominal xipfuki (excessive riser) refers to an individual who regularly rises out of bed very early in the morning. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of rising up and not the act of rising up itself. In this way, this property of excessive rising out of bed while it is still early will remain in this individual for the better part of his life. In other words, whether an individual in question is in the process of rising out of bed or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as xipfuki (excessive riser).

Pfuca (rise up)

D. [Act/Process]: vupfuki (rising up)

Class 14:  3. (a) Vupfuki bya Yingwani exikarhi ka vusiku byi chavisa vanhu.
(The rising up of Yingwani in the middle of the night scares people).
(b) Vupfuki bya Hosi Yesu eku feni byi hlamarisile misava.
(The rising up of Lord Jesus from the dead surprised people).
(c) Kokwana u sola vupfuki bya wanuna bya nivusiku.
(The grandmother disapproves the rising up of the man at night).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupfuki (rising up) denotes an act/process of getting out of bed by an individual.

Phaphuka (wake up)

A. [Actor]: muphaphuki (the waking up person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muphaphuki u hlaya novhele.
(The waking up person reads a novel).
(b) Muphaphuki wa ahlamula.
(The waking up person yawns).
(c) Wansati u languta muphaphuki.
(The woman looks at the waking up person).

Plural: class 2: vaphaphuki (the waking up people)
The nominal **muphaphuki** (waking up person) refers to a person who stops sleeping or who becomes conscious after a deep sleep. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of becoming conscious after a deep sleep. Once such an act has been completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muphaphuki** (waking up person).

**Phaphuka** (wake up)

**B. [Excessive act]: riphaphuko (excessive waking up)**

Class 5:  2. (a) Riphaphuko ra n’wana nivusiku ri kavanyeta vurhongo bya wansati.  
(The excessive waking up of the child at night disturbs the sleep of the woman).

(b) Riphaphuko ra wanuna ri n’wi ahlamurisa ngopfu.  
(The excessive waking up of the man makes him yawn a lot).

(c) Wansati u hlamala riphaphuko ra wanuna exikarhi ka vusiku.  
(The woman is surprised at the excessive waking up of the man in the middle of the night).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphaphuko** (excessive waking up) denotes an act of stopping sleep abruptly which happens excessively to an individual.

**Phaphuka** (wake up)

**C. [Excessive actor]: xiphaphuki (the excessive waking up person)**

Class 7:  3. (a) Xiphaphuki xa khongela.  
(The excessive waking up person is praying).

(b) Xiphaphuki xi ya exihambukelweni.  
(The excessive waking up person goes to the toilet).

(c) Wansati u nyika xiphaphuku tiya.  
(The woman gives the excessive waking up person tea).

Plural: class 8: swiphaphuki (the excessive waking up people)

The nominal **xiphaphuki** (excessive waking up person) refers to an individual who regularly stops sleeping during sleep. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of waking up and not the act of waking up itself. In this way, this property of excessive waking up will remain in this individual for the better part of his life. In other words, whether an individual in question is in the process of waking up or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as **xiphaphuki** (excessive waking up person).
Phaphuka (wake up)

D. [Act]: vuphaphuki (waking up)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuphaphuki bya wanuna byi chavisa n’wana.
(The waking up of the man scares the child).

(b) Vuphaphuki bya n’wana nivusiku byi humelela hi aware ya mbirhi.
(The waking up of the child at night takes place at 2h00).

(c) Wansati u sola vuphaphuki bya n’wana nivusiku.
(The woman disapproves the waking up of the child at night).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphaphuki (waking up) denotes an act/process of abruptly stop sleeping by an individual.

Nyupela (submerge)

A. [Actor]: munyuperi (submerging person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munyuperi u mbamba tihlampfi exidziveni.
(The submerging person searches for fish in the deep water).

(b) Munyuperi u tsavula n’wana ematini.
(The submerging person takes out the child from the water).

(c) Vafana va hlongola munyuperi exidziveni.
(The young men chase away the submerging person from the deep water).

Plural: Class 2: vanyuperi (submerging people)

The nominal munyuperi (submerging person) denotes an individual who goes under the surface of the water. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of submerging is a temporary one. In other words, once the act of submerging is finished such an individual in question may no longer be referred to as munyuperi (submerging person).

Nyupela (submerge)

B. [Excessive act]: rinyupelo (Excessive submerging)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rinyupelo ra mufana exidziveni ri n’wi khomisile hi ngwenya.
(The excessive submerging of the young man makes him get caught by the crocodile).

(b) Rinyupelo ra mufana exidziveni xa tingwenya ri vilerisa mana wakwe.
(The submerging of the young man in the deep waters of the crocodiles worries his mother).

(c) Gezani u sola rinyupelo ra mufana exidziveni xa tingwenya.
(Gezani condemns the excessive submerging of the young man in the deep waters of the crocodiles).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal rinyupelo (excessive submerging) refers to the act of going under the water by an individual which is done regularly.

Nyupela (submerge)

C. [Actor]: xinyuperi (Expert/Excessively submerging person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xinyuperi xi mbamba tihlampfi exidziveni.  
(The expert/excessively submerging person searches fish in the deep waters).
(b) Xinyuperi xi tsavula n’wana ematini.  
(The expert/excessively submerging person takes out the child from the water).
(c) Vafana va hlongola xinyuperi exidziveni.

Plural: Class 8: swinyuperi (Expert/Excessively submerging people)

The nominal xinyuperi (expert/excessively submerging person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of going under the water. But it may also denote someone who regularly goes under the water. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since the defining property here is the expertise or the regularity of an individual of going under the water which has become a permanent feature of an individual in question. In other words, such an individual will always be referred to as xinyuperi (expert/excessively submerging person) whether or not at a particular time of reference an individual is engaged in the act of submerging.

Nyupela (submerge)

D. [Act]: vunyuperi (submerging)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vunyuperi bya mufana exidziveni byi n’wi khomisile hi ngwenya.  
(The submerging of the young man in the deep waters made him get caught by a crocodile).
(b) Vunyuperi bya mufana exidziveni xa tingwenya byi vilerisa mana wakwe.  
(The submerging of the young man in the deep waters of the crocodiles worries his mother).
(c) Gezani u sola vunyuperi bya mufana exidziveni xa tingwenya.  
(Gezani condemns the submerging of the young man in the deep waters of the crocodiles).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns

The nominal vunyuperi (submerging) refers to the act of going under the surface of the water by an individual.

Dzika (sink)

B. [Excessive state]: ridziko (excessive sinking)

Class 5: 1. (a) Ridziko ra swilavi ematini ri nyangatsa kokwana.  
(The excessive sinking of particles in the water disgusts the grandmother).
(b) Ridziko ra swikepe elwandle ri vilerisa mfumo.
(The sinking of ships in the sea worries the government).

(c) Kokwana u nyenya ridziko ra swilavi ematini.
(Grandmother dislikes the sinking of particles in the water).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridziko** (excessive sinking) refers to the act of going down below the surface of the water which is done/happens excessively.

**Dzika** (sink)

C. [Theme/result]: xidziki (sinking particle)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidziki xi kho hilarisa munwi wa mati.
(The sinking particle makes the drinker cough).

(b) Xidziki xi chavisa mukhidi exidziveni.
(The sinking particle scares the swimmer in deep water).

(c) Vafana va susa xidziki ematini.
(The young men remove the sinking particle from the water).

Plural: Class 8: swidziki (excessive sinking particles)

The nominal **xidziki** (sinking particle) refers to a small particle which usually sinks in water.

**Dzika** (sink)

D. [Act]: vudziki (sinking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudziki bya swilavi ematini byi vangela cholera.
(The sinking of the particles in the water causes cholera).

(b) Vudziki bya swilavi ebyalweni byi nyenyetsa van’wi.
(The sinking of the particles in the beer annoys the drinkers).

(c) Wansati u nyenya vudziki bya swilavi ematini.
(The woman dislikes the sinking of the particles in the water).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns

The nominal **vudziki** (sinking) refers to the act of going below the surface of the water which happens as a result of the force of gravity.

**Kula** (grow up)

A. [Theme/experiencer]: mukuli (person who grows up)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukuli u tsakisa vatswari va yena.
(The growing up person pleases his parents).

(b) Mukuli u ambala mpahla ya lavakulu.
(The growing up person wears the adult people clothes).

(c) Vatswari va xavela mukuli mpahla ya lavakulu.
The parents buy for the growing up person the clothes of adult people).
Plural: class 2: vakuli (growing up people)

The nominal *mukuli* (growing up person) refers to an individual who increases in size. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of growth is associated with young people who have not as yet reached maturity. Once they become adult, such a nominal may no longer apply to them because they can no longer grow physically.

**Kula** (grow up)

B. [Excessive state]: *rikulo* (excessive growing up)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikulo ra Makhani ri tsakisa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive growing of Makhani pleases her parents).

(b) Rikulo ra miroho exirhapeni ri tsakisa mutirhi.
(The excessive growing up of the vegetables in the garden pleases the worker).

(c) Manana u rhandza rikulo ra Tsatsawana.
My mother likes the excessive growing of Tsatsawana).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rikulo* (excessive growing up) refers to a process of growing up of an individual in an extra-ordinary manner.

**Kula** (grow up)

C. [Excessive theme/experiencer]: *xikuli* (Excessive person who grows up)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikuli xi tsakisa vatswari va xona.
(The excessive growing up person pleases his parents).

(b) Xikuli xi ambala mpahla ya lavakulu.
(The excessive growing up person wears the clothes of adult people).

(c) Vatswari va xavela xikuli mpahla ya lavakulu.
(The parents buy for the excessive growing person the clothes for adult people).

Plural: class 8: *swikuli* (Excessive growing up people)

The nominal *xikuli* (excessive growing up person) refers to an individual who increases in size in rapid manner. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness in growing up which will always be associated with an individual in question.

**Kula** (grow up)

D. [Act/Manner]: *vukuli* (growing up)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukuli bya Magezi byi hlamarisa vanghana va yena.
(The growing up of Magezi surprises his friends).

(b) Vukuli bya miroho ya malume emansin’wini byi koka vanhu mahlo.
(The growing up of the vegetables of my uncle attracts the eyes of people).
(c) Wansati u venga vukuli bya nhova exirhapeni.
(The woman hates the growing up of the weeds in the garden).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukuli** (growing up) refers to a process or manner of increasing in size of an individual, especially a young person.

**Kula** (grow up)

E. **[State]**: vukulu (bigness/great in size)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vukulu bya ntshava byi hlamarisa vapfumbhba.
(The bigness of the mountain surprises the tourists).

(b) Vukulu bya ndlopfu byi chavisa n’wana.
(The bigness of the elephant scares the child).

(c) Khazamula u sola vukulu bya yindlu ya Yingwana.
(Khazamula disapproves of the size of the house of Yingwana).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukulu** (bigness/greatness in size) refers to the state adulthood or greatness in size of an individual.

**Hluka** (germinate)

B. **[Excessive process]**: rihluko (excessive germinating)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rihluko ra miroho exirhapeni ri tsakisa kokwana.
(The excessive germinating of the vegetables in the garden pleases grandmother).

(b) Rihluko ra misinya emutini ri vangela tinyoka.
(The excessive germinating of the trees in the family brings snakes).

(c) Kokwana u tsakela rihluko ra miroho emansin’wini.
(Grandmother likes the germinating of the vegetables in the garden).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihluko** (excessive germinating) refers to a speedy process in which a seed begins to grow than expected.

**Hluka** (germinate)

B. **[Result]**: xihluke (shooting bud)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xihluke xa ndyangu wa ka Hlungwani xi xavile movha.
(The offspring of the Hlungwani clan has bought a car).

(b) Xihluke xa murhi lowu tsemiweke xi vunile.
(The shooting bud of the tree which was cut down has withered).

(c) Mufana u tsuvula xihluke xa nsinya lowu tsemiweke.
(The young man uproots the shooting bud of the tree which was cut down).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal *xihluke* (shooting bud) refers to the new bud which is shooting from a plant. But it may also denote an offspring of an individual.

**Hluka** (germinate)

C.  

[Act/Process]: *vuhluki* (germinating)

Class 14: 3.  
(a) Vuhluki bya miroho byi sungurile emansin’wini.  
(The germinating of the vegetables has begun in the fields).

(b) Vuhluki bya misinya byi tumbeta tinyoka.  
(The germinating of the trees hides snakes).

(c) Kokwana u nyenya vuhluki bya mabyasi ejarateni.  
(Grandmother dislikes the germinating of the grass in the yard).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhluki* (germinate) refers to an act or process whereby a seed begins to grow.

**Rhumbuka** (flower/bloom)

B.  

[Excessive state]: *rirhumbuko* (excessive flowering/blooming)

Class 5: 2.  
(a) Rirhumbuko ra miroho exirhapeni ri tsakisa kokwana.  
(The excessive blooming of the vegetables in the garden pleases grandmother).

(b) Rirhumbuko ra mabyanyi enhoveni ri tsakisa varisi.  
(The excessive blooming of the grass in the bush pleases the herd boys).

(c) Varimi va hlamala rirhumbuko ra mavele emasin’wini.  
(The farmers are surprised at the excessive blooming of the maize in the fields).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rirhumbuko* (excessive blooming) refers to a process in which plants produce flowers in a rapid manner than expected.

**Rhumbuka** (flower/bloom)

C.  

[Act]: *vurhumbuki* (flowering/ blooming)

Class 14: 4.  
(a) Vurhumbuki bya nhova exirhapeni byi dlaya miroho.  
(The blooming of the weeds in the garden destroys the vegetables).

(b) Vurhumbuki bya misinya byi tumbeta tinyoka emitini.  
(The blooming of the trees hides snakes in the families).

(c) Magezi u hlamala vurhumbuki bya mabyanyi exirhapeni.  
(Magezi is surprised at the blooming of the grass in the garden).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vurhumbuki* (blooming) refers to a process in which plants produce flowers.
5.5. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS INVOLVING THE BODY

Levin (1992: 218) defines Verbs Involving the Body as the verbs which relate to the involuntary bodily process; that is, process that are typically not under control of the person that experiences them. These verbs take obligatory animate objects. Most of these verbs are intransitive in nature.

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N'wayitela (smile)

A. [Actor]: mun’wayiteri (one who smiles)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mun’wayiteri u amukela vayeni.
(One who smiles welcomes the visitors).
(b) Mun’wayiteri u phamela vayeni.
(One who smiles serves the visitors).
(c) Wanuna u vitana mun’wayiteri.
(The man calls for the one who smiles).

Plural: Class 2: van’wayiteri (those who smile)

The nominal mun’wayiteri (smiling person) refers to an individual who is engaged in the activity of smiling at the time of reference; hence it is regarded as a stage-level nominal. In other words, the nominal is so named in terms of the defining activity of smiling.

N’wayitela (smile)

B. [Result]: n’wayitelo (smile)

Class 3: 2. (a) N’wayitelo wa muamukeri wu tsakisa vayeni
(The smile of the receptionist impresses the visitors).
(b) N’wayitelo wa wanuna wu tumbeta vukarhi.
(The smile of a man hides his anger).

(c) Vanhu va kanakana n’wayitelo wa wansati.
(The people doubt the smile of the woman).

Plural: Class 4: min’wayitelo (smiles)

The nominal n’wayitelo (smile) refers to the result of the activity of smiling by an individual.

N’wayitela (smile)

C. [Excessive act]: rin’wayitelo (excessive smiling)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rin’wayitelo ra muamukeri ri tsakisa vayeni
(The excessive smiling of the receptionist impresses the visitors).

(b) Rin’wayitelo ra muamukeri ri tumbeta nsele.
(The excessive smiling of the receptionist hides cruelty).

(c) Vaendzi va tsakela rin’wayitelo ra muxavisi.
(The people like the excessive smiling of the seller).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rin’wayitelo (excessive smiling) refers to the act of smiling by an individual which is done excessively.

N’wayitela (smile)

D. [Excessive actor]: xin’wayiteri (an excessively smiling person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xin’wayiteri xi amukela vayeni.
(An excessively smiling person welcomes visitors).

(b) Xin’wayiteri xi tirha ehotela.
(An excessively smiling person works at the hotel).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela xin’wayiteri.
(The people like the excessively smiling person).

Plural: Class 8: swin’wayiteri (smilers)

The nominal xin’wayiteri (excessively smiling person) denotes a person who smiles habitually and excessively. The person referred here need not be engaged in the activity of smiling at the time of reference or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual.

N’wayitela (smile)

E. [Act]: vun’wayiteri (smiling)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vun’wayiteri bya muamukeri byi tsakisa vayeni
(The smiling of the receptionist impresses the visitors).

(b) Vun’wayiteri bya n’wana byi tisa swivutiso swo hlaya.
(The smiling of the child brings a lot of questions).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela vun’wayiteri bya ntiyiso.
(The people like honest smiling).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vun’wayiteri** (smiling) refers to the activity of smiling by an individual.

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<td>xiahlamuri</td>
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**Class 1/2**

Prefixes: **mu-/va-**

Suffix: **-i**

**Mun’wayiteri** (smiling person)
Class 3
Prefixes: μu-/mi-
Suffix: -ο

n’wayitelo (smile)

```
N
  AF
    V
      n’wa-
        -itel-
          -o
```

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -ο

Rin’wayitelo (excessive smiling)

```
N
  AF
    V
      ri-
        -nwayitel-
          -o
```

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -ι

Xin’wayiteri (excessively smiling person)

```
N
  AF
    V
      xi-
        -nwayiter-
          -i
```
Class 14
Prefix:   vu-
Suffix:   -i

Vun’wayiteri (smiling)

Verbs Involving the Body

(18) Nominalization from the verb: -n’wayitela (smile)

The term -n’wayitela (smile)
N’wana wa n’wayitela.
(The child is smiling).

-n’wayitela

ARGSTR   = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR    = E1 = e₁: process
QUALIA   = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE -n’wayitela_act (e₁, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smile – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -n’wayitela (smile) in (18) exemplifies one argument in its argument structure, namely the physical object (human) that performs the act of smiling. The event structure represents the process event of smiling. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (person) (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of smiling (e₁) of the physical object (x).
Nominalisation in class 1: mun’wayiteri (smiling person)

Mun’wayiteri u amukela vayeni.
(The smiling person welcomes the visitors).

mun’wayiteri

- ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human)
- EVSTR = E1 = e₁; process
- QUALIA = FORMAL = x
  AGENTIVE = -n’wayitela_actor (e₁, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smile – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mun’wayiteri (smiling person) in (19) displays one argument in its argument structure, namely the argument denoting human. The event structure represents the default process event of smiling. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of smiling (e₁) of a person (x).

Nominalisation in class 7: xin’wayiteri (excessively smiling person)

Xin’wayiteri xi amukela vayeni.
(An excessively smiling person welcomes visitors).

xin’wayiteli

- ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human)
- EVSTR = E1 = e₁; process
- QUALIA = FORMAL = x
  AGENTIVE = -n’wayitela_actor_excessive (e₁, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smile – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xin’wayiteri (excessively smiling person) in (20) is similar to that of mun’wayiteri in (19) above. The only distinction relates to the formal quale which represents the excessive act (process) of smiling.
Nominalisation in class 3: n’wayitelo (smile)

N’wayitelo wa muamukeri wu tsakisa vayeni
(The smile of the receptionist impresses the visitors).

n’wayitelo

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: phys. obj (human)
EVSTR = D–E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e, x)
AGENTIVE = -n’wayitela_result (e, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smile – Result

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative n’wayitelo (smile) in (21) exhibits two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object (human) who is smiling. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the process event of smiling. The event structure represents the default process event of smiling. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of smiling (e1) of a person (x).

Nominalisation in class 5: rin’wayitelo (excessive smiling)

Rin’wayitelo ra muamukeri ri tsakisa vayeni.
(The excessive smiling of the receptionist impresses the visitors).

rin’wayitelo

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: phys. obj (human)
EVSTR = D–E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e, x)
AGENTIVE = -n’wayitela_act_excessive (e, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smile – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative rin’wayitelo (excessive smile/smiling) in (22) exhibits two arguments in the argument structure, of which one is a default argument denoting the physical object (human) that smiles. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of smiling. The event structure represents the default process of smiling. The formal quale with the feature [excessive] in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of smiling (e1) of a person (x).
Nominalisation in class 14: *vun’wayiteri* (smiling)

Vun’wayiteri bya n’wana byi tsakisa vatswari vakwe.
(The smiling of the child pleases his parents).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D–ARG1} & = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = \text{–n’wayitela}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smile – Act – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *vun’wayiteri* (smiling) in (23) is similar to that of *rin’wayitelo* (excessive smiling) in (22) above. The only distinction that obtains is that *vun’wayiteri* (smiling) in (23) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *rin’wayitelo* (excessive smiling) in (22).

The suffix -i is found with deverbatives from *-n’wayitela* (smile) in classes 1 and 7 which denote humans. The suffix -i also occurs with class 14 deverivative with the feature [act]. The suffix -o occurs with class 3 deverivative with the interpretation of result. The suffix -o also occurs with class 5 deverivative, with the feature [excessive act].

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs involving the body have similar lexical semantic representations as that of *-n’wayitela* (smile) above. The difference relates to the fact that other verbs do not have class 3 deverbatives. It is interesting to note that no deverivative from *-vabya* (be sick) in class 5 with the suffix -o occurs as in other verbs. The deverivative *mavabyi* (sickness) in class 6 is the only deverivative that occurs in that class in this class of verbs. Other verbs do not have deverbatives in this class. Also to be noted is the fact that there is only one deverivative with the suffix -o in class 7 from the verb *-hefemula* (breath) with the interpretation of artifact.

**Hefemula** (breath)

A. [Actor]: muhefemuri (breather)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhefemuri wa okisijeni u susa xipfuneto.
(The breather of the oxygen removes the equipment).

(b) Muhefemuri wa moya wo titimela u lovile.
(The breather of cold air is dead).

(c) Dokodela u kambela muhefemuri wa oksijeni.
(The doctor examines the breather of the oxygen).
Plural: Class 2: vahefemuri (breathers)

The nominal *muhefemuri* (breather) refers to an individual who is engaged in the act of breathing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of breathing is something that happens in the individual as long as he is still alive.

**Hefemula** (breath)

**B.** [Excessive act]: rihefemulo (excessive breathing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihefemulo ra wanuna ri vavisa wansati.  
(The excessive breathing of the man hurts the woman).

(b) Rihefemulo ra wanuna ri hlongola vayeni.  
(The excessive breathing of the man chases away visitors).

(c) Wansati u yingisela rihefemulo ra wanuna.  
(The woman listens to the excessive breathing of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihefemulo* (excessive breathing) denotes an act of breathing which is done excessively.

**Hefemula** (breath)

**C.** [Excessive actor]: xihefemuri (excessive breather)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihefemuri xi susa xipfuneto xa okisijeni.  
(The excessive breather removes oxygen equipment).

(b) Xihefemuri xa okisijeni xi lovile.  
(The excessive breather of oxygen has died).

(c) Dokodela u kambela xihefemuri xa okisijeni.  
(The doctor examines the excessive breather the oxygen).

Plural: class 8: swihefemuri (excessive breathers)

The nominal *xihefemuri* (excessive breathers) refers to an individual who is breathing excessively. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal if the excessive breathing is something that has just started as a result of illness or other such causes which can be treated. However, if the excessive breathing is something that can no longer be cured, such an individual will be regarded as an individual-level nominal.

**Hefemula** (breath)

**D.** [Artifact/Instrument]: xihefemulo (breathing aid)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihefemulo xa okisijeni xi tshovekile.  
(The breathing aid of oxygen is broken).

(b) Xihefemulo xa okisijeni xi odiwile.  
(The excessive breather of oxygen has been ordered).
(c) Muongori u tlhoma xihefemulo xa okisijeni eka muvabyi.
(The nurse inserts the breathing aid of oxygen to the sick person).

Plural: class 8: swihefemulo (breathing aids)

The nominal **xihefemulo** (breathing aids) refers to the equipment used to assist the sick person who has difficulty of breathing.

**Hefemula** (breath)

E. [Act]: vuhefemuri (breathing)
Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhefemuri bya wanuna bya hunguteka.
(The breathing of the man subsides).
   (b) Vuhefemuri bya wanuna byi lava muchini.
   (The breathing of the man needs machine).
   (c) Wansati u yingisela vuhefemuri bya wanuna.
   (The woman listens to the breathing of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhefemuri** (breathing) refers to the act of breathing of an individual.

**Vabya** (be sick)

A. [Patient]: muvabyi (patient)
Class 1: 1. (a) Muvabyi u ya exibedhlele.
(The patient goes to the hospital).
   (b) Muvabyi u nwa murhi.
   (The patient drinks medicine).
   (c) Dokodela u kambela muvabyi.
   (The doctor examines the patient).

Plural: Class 2: vavabyi (patients)

The nominal **muvabyi** (patient) refers to an individual who is suffering from a particular sickness. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because normally an individual gets sick for a particular period of time and thereafter recover.

**Vabya** (be sick)

B. [Excessive State]: rivabyo (excessive getting sick/ill)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rivabyo ra wansati ri tikisela vana vakwe.
(The excessive getting sick of the woman makes life difficult for her children).
   (b) Rivabyo ra wansati ritsakisa valala vakwe.
   (The excessive getting sick/ill of the woman pleases her enemies).
The nominal **rivabyo** (sickness) refers to the excessive state of contracting sickness/illness.

**Vabya** (be sick)

C.  [Result/State]: mavabyi (sickness)

Class 6: 2. (a) Mavabyi yo tlulela ya na khombo eka vana. (Contagious diseases are dangerous on children).

(b) Mavabyi ya TB ya tshunguleka. (TB disease is curable).

(c) N'anga yi tshungula mavabyi ya tingana. (The traditional healer treats sexual transmitted diseases).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **mavabyi** (sickness) refers to a state in which a person is not feeling well in his body. But it may also denote disease or illness.

**Vabya** (be sick)

D.  [Excessive patient]: xivabyi (excessively sick person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivabyi xi halata murhi. (The excessively sick person spills medicine).

(b) Xivabyi xa mukhuhlwana xa khohlola. (The excessively sick person of flu is coughing).

(c) Muongori u vitana xivabyi ewadini. (The nurse calls for the excessively sick person of flu in the ward).

Plural: class 8: swivabyi (excessively sick persons)

The nominal **xivabyi** (excessively sick person) refers to an individual who suffers from a particular sickness or different sickness most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the sickness seems to be associated with this individual for his entire life.

**Vabya** (be sick)

E.  [State]: vuvabyi (sickness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuvabyi bya mufana byi lava xikhongelo. (The sickness of the young man needs prayer).

(b) Vuvabyi bya tinguluve bya tlulela. (Swine flu is contagious).

(c) N’anga yi tshungula vuvaby bya HIV/AIDS. (The traditional healer treats HIV/AIDS diseases).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuvabyi** (sickness) refers to a state of body or mental suffering which an individual undergoes.

**Jovota** (Nod head from drowsiness)

A.  [Experiencer]: mujovoti (nodding person from drowsiness)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mujovoti u orha ndzilo.
(The nodding person from drowsiness is sitting around the fire).

(b) Mujovoti u ala ku ya eku etleleni.
(The nodding person from drowsiness refuses to go to sleep).

(c) Wansati u susa mujovoti exitulwini.
(The woman removes the nodding person from the chair).

Plural: Class 2: vajovoti (nodding persons from drowsiness)

The nominal **mujovoti** (nodding person from drowsiness) refers to an individual who feels sleepy and jerks his head forward as a result of drowsiness or slumbering. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level-nominal because this property of nodding may not be associated with an individual in question throughout his entire life. It is something that happens once in a while.

**Jovota** (Nod head from drowsiness)

B.  [Excessive state]: rijovoto (excessive nodding from drowsiness)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rijovoto ri wisele Khazamula endziweni.
(Excessive nodding from drowsiness made Khazamula to fall into the fire).

(b) Rijovoto ri hlongorise varindzi vo tala emitirhweni ya vona.
(Excessive nodding from drowsiness got a lot of security guards dismissed from their jobs).

(c) N’anga yi tshungula rijovoto ra wansati.
(The traditional healer treats the excessive doing of the head of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rijovoto** (excessive nodding from drowsiness) refers to a phenomenon of excessive nodding from drowsiness by an individual.

**Jovota** (Nod from drowsiness)

C.  [Excessive Experiencer]: xijovoti (excessively nodding person from drowsiness)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xijovoti xi wisele n’wana endzilweni.
(The excessively nodding person from drowsiness made the child fall into the fire).

(b) Xijovoti xi nwa tiya leswaku xi ta xalamuka.
(The excessively nodding person from drowsiness makes the tea so as to make one strong).

(c) Wanuna u sukela xijovoti.
(The man leaves the excessively nodding person from drowsiness alone).
Plural: Class 8: swijovoti (excessively nodding peoples of the head from drowsiness)

The nominal xijovoti (excessively nodding person from drowsiness) refers to an individual who excessively nods his head from slumbering or drowsiness. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question bears the property of excessive nodding throughout his life.

Jovota (Nod the head from drowsiness)

D. [Act/State]: vujovoti (nodding from drowsiness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vujovoti bya wanuna byi twanana na laha ku nga tala vanhu.
   (The nodding from drowsiness of the man likes where there are many people).
   (b) Vujovoti bya le ntalweni wa vanhu a byi kahle.
   (Nodding from drowsiness in the midst of other people is not good).
   (c) Vana va hlalela vujovoti bya mukhalabye.
   (The children watch the nodding of a head of the old man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vujovoti (nodding from drowsiness) refers to the state of nodding from drowsiness which an individual undergoes.

Copeta (wink)

A. [Actor]: mucopeti (winker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mucopeti u languta movha leyi hundzaka.
   (The winker looks at the car that passes by).
   (b) Mucopeti u lahekele hi mali.
   (The winker lost money).
   (c) Vafana va khwenuta mucopeti enhlaneni.
   (The young tickle the winker at the back).

Plural: Class 2: vacopeti (winkers)

The nominal mucopeti (winker) refers to a person who winks his eyes. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of winking is something that an individual does for the entire life.

Copeta (wink)

A. [Excessive act]: ricopeto (excessive winking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ricopeto ra Makhanana ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
   (The excessive winking of Makhanana annoys the man).
   (b) Ricopeto ra n’wana ri nyanya nimadyambu.
   (The excessive winking worsens in the evening).
(c) Wansati u sola ricopeto ra n’wana.
(The woman disapproves the excessive winking of the child).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ricopeto** (excessive winking) refers to the act of winking which an individual does excessively.

**Copeta** (wink)

B.  [Excessive actor]: xicopeti (excessive winker)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xicopeti xi xeweta ntshungu.
(The excessive winker greets the congregation).

(b) Xicopeti xi tirha edorobeni.
(The excessive winker works in town).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala xicopeti enkhubyeni.
(The people are surprised at the excessive winker at the function).

Plural: Class 8: swicopeti (winkers)

The nominal **xicopeti** (excessive winker) refers to a person who winks his eyes excessively. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of winking is something that an individual does for the entire life.

**Copeta** (wink)

C.  [Act]: vucopeti (winking)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vucopeti bya mukhengula a bya ha hatlisi.
(The winking of the old woman is no longer fast).

(b) Vucopeti bya swiharhi byi hatlisa ku tlula bya vanhu.
(The winking of animals is faster than that of people).

(c) Muongori u sola vucopeti bya mukhegula.
(The nurse disapproves the winking of the old woman).

Plural: No plural for this noun.

The nominal **vucopeti** (winking) denotes an act of winking which is done by an individual.

**Hlala** (Make a dying struggle)

A.  [Experiencer/Actor]: muhlali (one who makes dying struggles)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlali u huwelela yana.
(One who makes dying struggles screams for the children).

(b) Muhlali u tsundzuka swidyoho swa yena.
(One who makes dying struggles remembers his sins).

(c) Wanuna u tsutsumerisa muhlali exibedhlele.
(The man rushes the person making dying struggles to the hospital).

Plural: Class 2: vahlali (people making dying struggle)
The nominal **muhlali** (person making dying struggles) refers to a person who makes dying struggles before he dies. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is an event which happens at the last stage of living of an individual, and it happens only once in an individual’s life time.

**Hlala (Make the dying struggles)**

**B. [Excessive act/State]: rihlalo (excessive making of dying struggles)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlalo ra wanuna emubedweni ri chavisa vaongori.
(The excessive making of dying struggles of the man on the bed frightens the nurses).

(b) Rihlalo ra mbyana leyi lumiweke hi nyoka ri teke siku hinkwaro.
(The excessive making of dying struggles of the dog which has been bitten by a snake took the whole day).

(c) Mufana u hlamala rihlalo ra wanuna emubedweni.
(The young man is afraid of the making of dying struggles of the man on the bed).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **rihlalo** (excessive making of dying struggles) refers to an excessive act of making dying struggles before one dies.

**Hlala (Make the dying struggles)**

**C. [Excessive Actor/Experiencer]: xihlali (one who makes excessive dying struggles)**

Class 7 3. (a) Xihlali xi vumbuluka emubedweni.
(One who makes excessive dying struggles rolls on the bed).

(b) Xihlali xi hefemulela ehenhla.
(The one who makes excessive dying struggles breathes heavily).

(c) Muongori u boha xihlali ni mubedwa.
(The nurse ties the person making dying struggles with the bed).

Plural: Class 8: swihlali (people making excessive dying struggles)

The nominal **xihlali** (person making excessive dying struggles) refers to a person who makes dying struggles for a long time before he dies. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it is an event which happens at the last stage of living of an individual, and it happens only once in an individual’s life time.

**Hlala (Make the dying struggles)**

**D. [Act/State]: vuhlali (dying struggles)**

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlali bya wanuna byi teke nkarhi wo leha.
(The dying struggles of the man took a long time).

(b) Vuhlali bya xihlangi a byi chavisi ku fana na lonkulu.
(The dying struggles of the child are not frightening like an old one).
(c) Muongori u languta vuhlali bya wanuna ewadini.
(The nurse looks at the dying struggles of the man in the ward).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlali** (making dying struggles) refers to an act/state in which an individual makes dying struggles before dying.

**Etlela** (sleep)

A. [Experiencer]: muetleri (sleeping person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muetleri u tshungela erivantini.
(The sleeping person rolls to the door).

(b) Muetleri wa lorha.
(The sleeping person is dreaming).

(c) Wansati u funengeta muetleri.
(The woman covers the sleeping person).

Plural: Class 2: vaetleri (sleeping persons)

The nominal **mueltleri** (sleeping person) refers to an individual who is sleeping. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level-nominal because this property of sleeping may not be associated with an individual in question throughout his entire life. It is something that only happens sometime.

**Etlela** (sleep)

B. [Excessive Act/State]: rietlelo (excessive sleeping)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rietlelo ra mufana ri vilerisa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive sleeping of a young man worries his parents).

(b) Rietlelo ra Makhanana ri tiveke na le ka vathori vakwe.
(Excessive sleeping of Makhanana is also known to his employers).

(c) Wansati u hlamala rietlelo ra nuna vakwe.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive sleeping of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rietlelo** (sleeping) refers to the excessive phenomenon of sleeping by an individual.

**Etlela** (sleep)

C. [Excessive Actor/Experiencer]: xietleri (excessive sleeping person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xietleri xi kombela ndhawu yo etlela.
(The excessive sleeping person asks for a place to sleep).

(b) Xietleri xi etlele emovheni.
(The sleeping person slept in the car).
The nominal **xietleri** (excessive sleeping persons) refers to an individual who undergoes an event of excessively napping. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question bears the property of excessive sleeping throughout his life. It has become more of a habit.

**Etlela (sleep)**

D. [State/Act]: vuetleri (sleep/sleeping)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuetleri bya wanuna enkosini byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The sleeping of the man in the funeral service annoys the woman).

(b) Vuetleri bya wanuna entirhweni a byi laveki.
(The sleeping of a man at work is not wanted).

(c) Mufambisi u nyenya vuetleri bya vatirhi entirhweni.
(The manager dislikes the sleeping of the workers at work).

The nominal **vuetleri** (sleeping) refers to the state of sleeping or the act of sleeping by an individual.

**Etlela (sleep)**

E. [Place]: vuetlelo (sleeping place)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuetlelo byi tele eka Hlungwani.
(The sleeping place is plenty at Hlungwani).

(b) Vuetlelo bya vavanuna byi le ka kamara ya le ndzhaku.
(Sleeping place for the men is at the back room).

(c) Vaendzi va kombela vuetlelo eka Hlungwani.
(People ask for sleeping place at Hlungwani).

The nominal **vuetlelo** (sleeping place) refers to a place where the activity of sleeping takes place.

**Khudzehela (slumber)**

A. [Experiencer]: mukhudzeheri (slumberer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhudzeheri u ya eku etleleni.
(The slumberer goes to sleep).

(b) Mukhudzeheri u venga ntirho wa navusiku.
(The slumberer hates night shift).

(c) Wansati u hlakahla mukhudzeheri.
(The woman shakes the slumberer).

Plural: Class 2: vakhudzeheri (slumberers)
The nominal **mukhudzeheri** (slumberer) refers to an individual who undergoes an event of napping. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level-nominal because this property of napping may not be associated with an individual in question throughout his entire life. It is something that only happens sometime.

**Khudzehela** (slumber)

**B.** [Excessive State]: rikhudzehelo (excessive slumbering)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rikhudzehelo ra Magayisa ri nyenyena ni loko a ri tirhweni. (The excessive slumbering of Magayisa worsens when he is at work).

(b) Rikhudzehelo i xilo xa khombo entirhweni. (Excessive slumbering is a dangerous thing at work).

(c) Mufambisi u hlamala rikhudzehelo ra wanuna entirhweni. (The manager is surprised at the excessive slumbering of the man at work).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhudzehelo** (slumbering) refers to the excessive phenomenon of slumbering by an individual.

**Khudzehela** (slumber)

**C.** [Excessive experiencer]: xikhudzeheri (excessive slumberer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhudzeheri xi kombela ndhawu yo etlela. (The excessively slumberer asks for a place to sleep).

(b) Xikhudzeheri xi etlele emovheni. (The slumberer slept in the car).

(c) Wansati u siya xikhudzeheri emovheni. (The woman leaves the slumberer in the car).

Plural: Class 8: swikhudzeheri (slumberers)

The nominal **xikhudzeheri** (excessive slumberer) refers to an individual who undergoes an event of excessive napping. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question bears the property of excessive napping throughout his life. It has become more of a habit.

**Khudzehela** (slumber)

**D.** [State]: vukhudzeheri (slumbering)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhudzeheri bya wanuna enkosini byi nyenyetsa wansati. (The slumbering of the man in the funeral service annoys the woman).

(b) Vukhudzeheri bya wanuna entirhweni a byi laveki. (The slumbering of a man at work is not wanted).
(c) Mufambisi u nyenya vukhudzeheri bya vatirhi entirhweni.
(The manager dislikes the slumbering of the workers at work).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhudzeheri** (slumbering) refers to the state of snapping by an individual.

**Khudzehela** (slumber)

E. [Place]: vukhudzehelo (sleeping place)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vukhudzehelo byi tele eka Hlungwani.
(The sleeping place is plenty at Hlungwani).

(b) Vukhudzehelo bya vavanuna byi le ka kamara ya le ndzhaku.
(Sleeping place for the men is at the back room).

(c) Vaendzi va kombela vukhudzehelo eka Hlungwani.
(People ask for sleeping place at Hlungwani).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhudzehelo** (sleeping place) refers to a place where the activity of sleeping takes place.

**Zumba** (Rest)

A. [Actor]: muzumbi (rester)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muzumbi u hlaya buku ya Xisomisana.
(The rester reads Xisomisana book)

(b) Muzumbi u hlalelthelevhixini.
(The rester is watching the television).

(c) Manana u venga muzumbi wo ka a nga tirhangi nchumu.
(My mother hates the rester who did not do anything)

Plural: Class 2: vazumbi (resters)

The nominal **muzumbi** (rester) denotes an individual who gives oneself time to relax after work. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the act of resting after work is something that takes place for a particular time. Once the moment of resting has passed, the individual involved may no longer be referred to as **muzumbi** (rester).

**Zumba** (Rest)

B. [Excessive act]: rizumbo (excessive resting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rizumbo ra tihomu ninhlekanhi ri tsakisa varisi.
(The excessive resting of the cattle at midday pleases the herdboys).

(b) Rizumbo ra vatirhi va le mapurasini ri karhata muthori.
(The excessive resting of the farm workers troubles the employer).

(c) Muthori u nyenya rizumbo ra vatirhi ninhlekanhi.
(The employer dislikes the excessive resting of the workers during midday).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rizumbo** (excessive resting) refers to the excessive act relaxing of an individual after work.

**Zumba** (Rest)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xizumbi** (excessive rester)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xizumbi xi hlalela thelevhixini.
(The excessive rester is watching the television).

(b) Manana u venga xizumbi xo ka xi nga tirhi nthumili.
(My mother hates the excessive rester who does not do anything)

Plural: Class 8: **swizumbi** (excessive resters)

The nominal **xizumbi** (excessive rester) refers to an individual who excessively relaxes after work. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of the act of resting of the individual in question and not the act of resting as such. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be involved in the act of resting at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muzumbi (excessive rester) because the act of resting will always be associated with him.

**Zumba** (Rest)

D. [Act]: **vuzumbi** (resting)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuzumbi bya tihomu byi tsakisa varisi.
(Resting of cattle makes the herd men happy)

(b) Vuzumbi bya tihomu byi va nindzhenga.
(Resting of cattle is in the afternoon)

(c) Vafana va rhandza vuzumbi bya le hansi ka misinya.
(The young men like resting under the trees)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuzumbi** (resting) refers to the act relaxing of an individual after work.

**Juluka** (sweat)

A. [Experiencer]: **mujuluki** (sweating person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mujuluki u tshama endzhutini.
(The sweating person sits in the shade).

(b) Mujuluki u hluvula xikipta.
(The sweating person takes off the t-shirt).
The nominal **mujuluki** (sweating person) refers to an individual who produces drops of salty liquid on the surface of his skin because he is hot, sick or afraid. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in sweating for a short period of time. In other words, the nominal **mujuluki** (sweating person) makes reference to the defining event of sweating. Once such an event of sweating passes, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mujuluki** (sweating person).

**Juluka** (sweat)

B. [State]: njuluko (sweating)

Class 1: 1. (a) Njuluko wa wanuna wu nuhisa mpahla.
(The sweating of the man makes clothes stink).

(b) Njuluko wa mufana wu vilerisa wansati.
(The sweating of the young man worries the woman).

(c) Wansati u hlamala njuluko wa mufana.
(The woman is surprised at the sweating of the young man).

Plural: Class 2: mijuluko (sweatings)

The nominal **njuluko** (sweating) refers to the state of producing sweat by an individual.

**Juluka** (sweat)

C. [Excessive state]: rijuluko (excessive sweating)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rijuluko ra wanuna entirhweni ri hlamara is foromani.
(The excessive sweating of the man at work surprises the foreman).

(b) Rijuluko ra n’wana emikumbeni ri chuhwisa wansati.
(The excessive sweating of the child in the blankets frightens the woman).

(c) Wansati u hlamala rijuluko ra n’wana emikumbeni.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive sweating of the child in the blankets).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rijuluko** (excessive sweating) denotes the state of excessive producing of sweat by an individual.

**Juluka** (sweat)

D. [Excessive actor]: xijuluki (person who excessively sweats)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xijuluki xi kombela mati.
(The excessively sweating person asks for water).
(b) Xijuluki xi wela ehansi.
(The excessively sweating person falls to the ground).

(c) Wansati u nyika xijuluki thawula.
(The woman gives the excessively sweating person a towel).

Plural: Class 8: swijuluki (person who excessively sweats)

The nominal xijuluki (person who excessively sweats) denotes an individual who regularly sweats excessively. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of sweating is something that will always be associated with an individual in question regardless of whether or not such an individual will be sweating at the time of reference.

Juluka (sweat)

E. [State]: vujuluki (sweating)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vujuluki bya n’wana emikumbeni byi hlamarisa wansati.
(The sweating of the child in the blankets surprises the woman).

(b) Vujuluki bya wanuna byi chavisa wansati.
(The sweating of the man scares the woman).

(c) Wansati u chava vujuluki bya n’wana wakwe.
(The woman is afraid of the sweating of her child).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vujuluki (sweating) refers to the state of producing of sweat by an individual.

Khohlola (coughing person)

A. [Patient/Actor]: mukhohlori (coughing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhohlori u ya exikolweni.
(The coughing person is going to school).

(b) Mukhohlori u ya etliliniki.
(The coughing person is going to the clinic).

(c) Wansati u languta mukhohlori exikandzeni.
(The woman looks at the coughing person on the face).

Plural: Class 2: vakhohlori (coughing people)

The nominal mukhohlori (coughing person) refers to an individual who forces out air suddenly and noisily through his throat, as one has a cold. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in the act of coughing for a particular time. In other words, the nominal mukhohlori (coughing person) makes reference to the defining event of coughing. Once the act of coughing or the attack that makes the person cough is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to mukhohlori (coughing person).
Khohlola (cough)

B. [Excessive state/Act]: rikhohlolo (excessive coughing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhohlolo ra n’wana ri chuhwisa vadyondzisi.
(The excessive coughing of the child scares the teachers).

(b) Rikhohlolo ra wanuna karhata wansati.
(The excessive coughing of the man worries the woman).

(c) Wansati u sandza rikhohlolo ra wanuna hi nkarhi wa swakudyia.
(The woman criticizes the excessive coughing of the man during eating).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhohlolo (excessive coughing) denotes an excessive act of coughing of an individual.

Khohlola (cough)

C. [Excessive patient/Actor]: xikhohlori (excessively coughing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhohlori xi ya exibedhlele.
(The excessively coughing person is going to the hospital).

(b) Xikhohlori xi nwa murhi.
(The excessively coughing person drinks medicine).

(c) Wansati u nyika xikhohlori murhi.
(The woman gives medicine to the excessively coughing person).

Plural: Class 8: swikhohlori (excessively coughing people)

The nominal xikhohlori (excessively coughing person) denotes an individual who excessively coughs on a regular basis. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of coughing will be associated with an individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, an individual in question will always be referred to as xikhohlori (excessively coughing person) whether or not such an individual will be engaged in the act of coughing at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xikhohlori (excessively coughing person) does not modify the event of coughing, but the excessiveness of coughing thereof.

Khohlola (cough)

D. [Result]: xikhohlola (mucus spat out)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhohlola xa wanuna xi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The mucus spat out of the man annoys the woman).

(b) Xikhohlola xa mufana xi tlurhukile etilasini.
(The mucus spat out of the young man shot out in the class).

(c) Wansati u sula xikhohlola enengeni.
(The woman is wiping the mucus spat on the foot).

Plural: Class 8: swikhohlola (mucus spat out)
The nominal **xikhohlola** (mucus spat out) refers to the mucus which is spat out by an individual when one is coughing, usually when he has flu or TB.

**Khohlola** (cough)

E. [State/Act]: **vukhohlri** (coughing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhohlri bya n’wana byi chavisa wansati.
(The coughing of the child scares the woman).

(b) Vukhohlri bya wanuna byi pfuxe n’wana.
(The coughing of the man has awakened the child).

(c) Wansati u sola vukhohlri bya wanuna ekusuhi ni swakudya.
(The woman disapproves of the coughing of the man near food).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhohlri** (coughing) refers to the act of coughing by an individual.

**Geva** (belch)

A. [Actor]: **mugevi** (belching person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugevi u humela ehandle.
(The belching person goes out).

(b) Mugevi u yima hi milenge.
(The belching person stands on his feet.

(c) Wansati u komba mugevi xitulu.
(The woman shows the belching person a chair).

Plural: Class 2: **vagevi** (belching people)

The nominal **mugevi** (belching person) refers to an individual who lets air come out noisily from his stomach and out through his mouth. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in the act of belching for a short period of time. In other words, the nominal **mugevi** (belching person) makes reference to the defining event belching. Once such an act is past, such an individual may no longer be referred to **mugevi** (belching person).

**Geva** (belch)

B. [Excessive act]: **rivego** (excessive belching)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivego ra wanuna ri nyenyetsa vayeni.
(The excessive belching of the man annoys the guests).

(b) Rivego ra mukhegula ri hlekisa wansati.
(The excessive belching of the old woman makes the woman laugh).

(c) Wanuna u nyena rivego ra mufana endzilweni.
(The woman hates the excessive belching of the young man on the fire).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rigevo** (excessive belching) denotes an act of excessive belching by an individual.

**Geva** (belch)

C.  

[Excessive actor]: xigevi (excessively belching person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigevi xi wele ehansi.  
(The excessively belching person has fallen to the ground).

     (b) Xigevi xa rhurhumela.  
     (The excessively belching person is trembling).

     (c) Wansati u khoma xigevi hi voko.  
     (The woman is holding the excessively belching person with a hand).

Plural: Class 8: swigevi (excessively belching people)

The nominal **xigevi** (excessively belching person) denotes an individual who excessively belches on regular basis. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessive belching will be associated with an individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, whether an individual in question will be involved in the act of belching or he may not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xigevi** (the belching person). This shows that the nominal **xigevi** (excessively belching person) does not modify the event of belching, but the excessiveness thereof.

**Geva** (belch)

D.  

[Act]: vugevi (belching)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugevi bya n’wana endlwini byi tsakisa mana wakwe.  
(The belching of the child in the house pleases his mother).

     (b) Vugevi bya n’wana byi chuhwisa mana wakwe.  
     (The belching of the child frightens his mother).

     (c) Wansati u hlamala vugevi bya n’wana.  
     (The woman is surprised at the belching of the child).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugevi** (belching) refers to the act of belching of an individual.

**Ahlamula** (yawn)

A.  

[Actor]: muahlamuri (yawning person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muahlamuri u twa vurhongo.  
(The yawning person is sleepy).

     (b) Muahlamuri u tshame emasofeni.  
     (The yawning person is sitting on the sofas).

     (c) Wanuna u kombetela muahlamuri hi rintiho.  
     (The man is pointing the yawning person with a finger).

Plural: Class 2: vaahlamuri (yawning people)
The nominal **muahlamuri** (yawning person) refers to an individual who stretches his mouth wide and takes a deep breath because he is tired or bored. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is involved in the act of yawning for a specified period of time. Once this act of yawning is over, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **muahlamuri** (yawning person). In other words, the nominal **muahlamuri** (yawning person) makes reference to the defining act of yawning, without which the person may not be referred to as **muahlamuri** (yawning person).

**Ahlamula** (yawn)

B. **[Excessive act]: riahlamulo (excessive yawning)**
   Class 5: 2. (a) Riahlamulo ra wansati enhlengetanini ri nyenyetsa mufambisi. (The excessive yawning of the woman at the meeting annoys the chairperson).
   (b) Riahlamulo ra mufana etilisasini ri vilerisa mudyondzisi. (The excessive yawning of the young man in the class worries the teacher).
   (c) Mufana u nyenya riahlamulo ra vavanuna enhlengetanini. (The woman dislikes the excessive yawning of men at the meeting).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riahlamulo** (excessive yawning) denotes an act of excessive yawning of an individual.

**Ahlamula** (yawn)

C. **[Excessive actor]: xiahlamuri (excessively yawning person)**
   Class 7: 3. (a) Xiahlamuri xi tshama ehansi. (The excessively yawning person is sitting down).
   (b) Xiahlamuri xi yima hi milenge. (The excessively yawning person is standing on his feet).
   (c) Vanhu va sola xiahlamuri enhlengeletanini. (The people criticize the excessive yawning person at the meeting).

Plural: Class 8: swiahlamuri (excessively yawning people)

The nominal **xiahlamuri** (excessively yawning person) denotes an individual who excessively yawns. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of yawning will be associated with an individual in question for the rest of his life regardless of whether an individual in question will be yawning at the time of reference or not. In this sense then, the nominal **xiahlamuri** (excessively yawning person) does not modify the event of yawning as such, but the excessiveness of yawning.
Ahlamula (yawn)

D. [Act]: vuahlamuri (yawning)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuahlamuri bya wanuna byi chavisa n’wana. (The yawning of the man scares the child).

(b) Vuahlamuri bya wansati byi tsakisa mufana. (The yawning of the woman pleases the young man).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vuahlamuri bya n’wana. (The man is surprised at the yawning of the child).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuahlamuri (yawning) refers to the act of yawning of an individual.

5.6. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM PSYCH/EXPERIENCER VERBS

According to Levin (1995: 191) Psych/Experiencer Verbs denote verbs which describe the bringing of a change in psychological or emotional state. Levin (Ibid) contends that such verbs typically take two arguments, whose object is the experience of the motion and whose subject is the cause of the change in psychological state. In this section however, focus will be on Psych/Experiencer verbs of Xitsonga which take only one argument, an animate subject, which experiences the psychological state expressed by the verb.

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Tsaka (be glad)

A. [Experiencer]: mutsaki (the happy one)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsaki u yimbelela risimu.
(The happy one sings a song).
(b) Mutsaki u xeweta vanhu.
(The happy one greets people).
(c) Vanhu va xeweta mutsaki exitolo.
(The people greet the happy person in the shop).

Plural: Class 2: vatsaki (the happy people)

The nominal mutsaki (happy person) refers to the person experiencing happiness as a result of something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since happiness can be temporary. It is defined in terms of the experience of happiness that an individual undergoes.

Tsaka (be glad)

B. [State]: ntsako (happiness)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntsako wa wansati wu kavanyetiwile.
(The happiness of the woman was disrupted).
(b) Ntsako wa wanuna i wukulu.
(The happiness of a man is great).
(c) Vanhu vo tala va pfumala ntsako.
(Many people lack happiness).

Plural: Class 4: mitsako (happiness)

The nominal ntsako (happiness) denotes a state of happiness which an individual undergoes.

Tsaka (be glad)

C. [Excessive state]: ritsako (excessive happiness)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritsako ra wansati ri tisa swivutiso.
(The excessive happiness of a woman brings questions).
(b) Ritsako ra wanuna ri nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excessive happiness of a man disgusts a woman).
(c) Vavanuna va tsundzuka ritsako ra mutholi entirhweni wa vona.
(The men remember the excessive happiness of the employer at their work).

Plural: No plural for this noun.

The nominal ritsako (excessive happiness) denotes a state of happiness which is experienced excessively by an individual.

Tsaka (be glad)

D. [Excessive experiencer]: xitsaki (the excessive happy one)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitsaki xi yimbelela risimu.
(The excessive happy one sings a song).
(b) Xitsaki xi amukela vayeni.  
(The happy one welcomes visitors).

(c) Mufambisi u vitana xitsaki exitejini.  
(The programme director calls the happy person on the stage).

Plural: Class 8: switsaki (happy people)

The nominal xitsaki (excessive happy person) denotes a person who experiences happiness in an excessive way. This nominal is regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual denoted usually experiences happiness in an excessive manner most of the time.

**Penga** (be mad)

A. [Experiencer]: mupengi (mad person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupengi u hleka timbuti.  
(The mad person is laughing at the goats).

(b) Mupengi u lahlekile.  
(The mad person is lost).

(c) Maphorisa va lava mupengi.  
(The police are looking for the mad person).

Plural: Class 2: vapengi (mad people)

The nominal mupengi (mad person) refers to the person who suffers mental illness. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since madness may be a mental state which an individual experiences for his whole life.

**Penga** (be mad)

B. [Excessive state]: ripengo (excessive madness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ripengo ra mufana ra nyenyetsa.  
(Excessive madness of the boy is disgusting).

(b) Ripengo ra wanuna ri n’wi khomisile.  
(Excessive madness of the man got him arrested).

(c) Phorisa ri baleka ripengo ra wanuna.  
(The police man runs away from the excessive madness of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripengo (excessive madness) refers to the state of mental illness which is experienced excessively or from time to time by an individual.

**Penga** (be mad)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xipengi (excessive mad person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xipengi xi balekile.  
(The excessive mad person has run away).
(b) Xipengi xi tisungile
(The mad person hanged him/herself).

(c) Vanhu va chava xipengi.
(The people are afraid of the excessive mad person).

Plural: Class 8: swipengi (mad people)

The nominal xipengi (mad person) denotes a person who excessively suffers from mental illness.

**Penga (be mad)**

D. [State]: vupengi (madness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vupengi a byi tsunguleki.
(Madness is not curable).

(b) Vupengi byi hambana hi mimpimo.
(Madness differs in degrees).

(c) Vanhu va hlalela vupengi bya wanuna.
(The people watch the madness of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupengi (madness) denotes a state of mental illness experienced by an individual.

**Tlhariha (be wise/clever)**

A. [Experiencer]: mutlharihi (wise/clever person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlharihi u kuma tinyeleti eka tidyondzo ta yena hinkwato.
(The wise/clever person finds stars in all his subjects).

(b) Mutlharihi u hlaya tibuku ta yena siku rin’wna ni rin’wana.
(The wise/clever person reads his books every day).

(c) Vafana va yivela mutlharihi tibuku.
(The young men steal the books from the wise/clever person).

Plural: class 2: vatlharihi (wise/clever people)

The nominal mutlharihi (wise person) denotes an individual who has the power of discerning and judging properly as to what is true or right. Although conceptually mutlharihi (wise person) seems more appropriate but to Vatsonga such a nominal sounds somewhat awkward and is not used.

**Tlhariha (be wise/clever)**

B. [Excessive state]: ritlhariho (excessive wisdom/cleverness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritlhariho ra mufana ri n’wi kumisile sagwadi.
(The excessive wisdom of the young man made him get an award).

(b) Ritlhariho ra mufana ri hlamarisa vadyondzisi.
(The excessive wisdom of the young man surprises the teachers).

(c) Vadyondzisi va hlamala ritlhariho ra mufana.
(The teachers are surprised at the excessive wisdom of the young man).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithariho (excessive wisdom) refers to the extra-ordinary wisdom which an individual in question possesses. However, it is rare to hear such a nominal being used in an everyday discourse.

**Tlhariha** (be wise/clever)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xitlharihi (excessive wise/clever person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xitlharihi xi kuma tineleti eka tidingo ta xona hinkwato. (The excessive wise/clever person finds stars in all his subjects).

   (b) Xitlharihi xi hlaya tibuku ta xona masiku hinkwawo. (The excessive wise/clever person reads his books every day).

   (c) Vafana va yivela xitlharihi tibuku. (The young men steal the books from the excessive wise/clever person).

Plural: class 8: switlharihi (excessive wise/clever people)

The nominal xitlharihi (excessive wise person) refers to an individual possesses an extra-ordinary wisdom. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessive wisdom which is inherent in an individual in question will remain in him throughout his lifetime.

**Tlhariha** (be wise/clever)

D. [Experiencer]: Ntlharhi (wise/clever person)

Class 9:  4. (a) Ntlharhi yi kuma tineleti eka tidingo ta yona hinkwato. (The wise/clever person finds stars in all his subjects).

   (b) Ntlharhi yi hlaya tibuku ta yona siku rin’wna ni rin’wana. (The wise/clever person reads his books every day).

   (c) Vafana va yivela ntlharhi tibuku. (The young men steal the books from the wise/clever person).

Plural: class 10: tintlhari (wise/clever people)

The nominal ntlhari (wise person) refers to someone who discerns correctly. It should be noted however, that although semantically this nominal is acceptable, theoretically such a nominal is not complete because the last part -hi of the verb stem -tlhariha from which it was derived has been elided. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of wisdom which defines this nominal will remain an inherent feature of an individual in question for the rest of his life.
**Tlhariha** (be wise/clever)

E. **[State]**: vutlharihi (wisdom/cleverness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutlharihi bya mufana byi n’wi kumisile sagwadi.
(The wisdom of the young man made him get an award).

(b) Vutlharihi bya mufana byi hlamarisa vadyondzisi.
(The wisdom of the young man surprises the teachers).

(c) Vadyondzisi va hlamala vutlharihi bya mufana.
(The teachers are surprised at the wisdom of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutlharihi* (wisdom) sounds very well theoretically since it has a complete verb stem *tlhariha* (be wise) from which it was derived. However, in every day discourse such a nominal is unacceptable. Among Vatsonga speakers such a nominal is unacceptable.

**Tlhariha** (be wise/clever)

A. **[State]**: vutlharhi (wisdom/cleverness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutlharhi bya mufana byi n’wi kumisile sagwadi.
(The wisdom of the young man made him get an award).

(b) Vutlharhi bya mufana byi hlamarisa vadyondzisi.
(The wisdom of the young man surprises the teachers).

(c) Vadyondzisi va hlamala vutlharhi bya mufana.
(The teachers are surprised at the wisdom of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutlhari* (wisdom) is the one which is acceptable in every day speech of Vatsonga. It should be noted however, that the last part -*ha* of the verb stem *tlhariha* (be wise) from which it was derived has been elided. It is not clear why such part was elided. It is not even clear why a nominal with such a missing part is not acceptable.

**Phunta** (be stupid)

A. **[Experiencer]**: muphunti (stupid person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphunti a nga tikarhati exikolweni.
(The stupid person is not serious at school).

(b) Muphunti a nga yingisi switsundzuxo swavan’wana.
(The stupid person does not listen to the advice of others).

(c) Vafana va hlekula muphunti.
(The young men scorn at the stupid person).

Plural: class 2: vaphunti (stupid people)
The nominal **muphunti** (stupid) refers to an individual who lacks ordinary quickness and keenness of mind. Although conceptually, **muphunti** (stupid) seems more appropriate, but to Vatsonga such a nominal sounds somewhat awkward and thus less acceptable.

**Phunta** (be stupid)

B.  
[**Excessive state**]: riphunto (excessive stupidity)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphunto ra mufana ri n’wi bisa hi vanhwanyana.  
(The excessive stupidity of the young man makes him beaten by girls).

(b) Riphunto ra wanuna ri nyumisa nsati wakwe exikarhi ka vanhu van’wana.  
(The excessive stupidity of the man embarrasses his wife among other people).

(c) Vanhu va nyanyetsa hi riphunto ra wanuna.  
(The people are annoyed by the excessive stupidity of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphunto** (excessive stupidity) refers to the state or quality of being excessively slow to learn and less clever or intelligent.

**Phunta** (be stupid)

C.  
[**Experiencer**]: xiphunta (stupid person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiphunta a xi tikarhati exikolweni.  
(The stupid person is not serious at school).

(b) Xiphunta a xi yingisi switsundzuxo swa van’wana.  
(The stupid person does not listen to the advice of others).

(c) Vafana va hlekula xiphunta.  
(The young men scorn at the stupid person).

Plural: class 8: swiphunta (stupid people)

The nominal **xiphunta** (stupid) refers to an individual who lacks ordinary quickness and keenness of mind. It should be noted however, that although semantically this nominal is acceptable, such a nominal behaves differently from other deverbal nominal because the last part -a of the verb stem **phunta** from which it was derived, has not changed into -i as it is the case with other deverbal nominals. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of dullness which defines this nominal will remain an inherent feature of an individual in question for the rest of his life.

**Phunta** (be stupid)

D.  
[**State**]: vuphunta (stupidity)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuphunta bya mufana byi n’wi bisa hi vanhwanyana.  
(The stupidity of the young man makes him get beaten by girls).
(b) Vuphunta bya wanuna byi nyumisa nsati wakwe exikarhi ka vanhu van’wana.
(The stupidity of the man embarrasses his wife among other people).

c) Vanhu va nyanyetsa hi vuphunta bya wanuna.
(The people are annoyed by the stupidity of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuphunta** (stupidity) refers to the state of being slow to learn and not clever or intelligent. It should be noted that unlike other deverbal nominals, this nominal does not change the last vowel -a into -i, otherwise such a nominal will sound odd to the speakers and will not be acceptable.

**Dakwa** (be drunk)

A. **[Experiencer]: mudakwi (drunkard)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudakwi u vuya ethavheneni.
(The drunkard is coming from the tavern).

(b) Mudakwi wa dedeleka.
(The drunkard is staggering).

(c) Vafana va ba mudakwi exitolo.
(The young men beat the drunkard in the shop).

Plural: class 2: vadakwi (drunkards)

The nominal **mudakwi** (drunkard) refers to an individual who is under the influence of alcohol. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is understood to be in this mental state for a short period of time and that a little later such an individual will be in his sober mind again.

**Dakwa** (be drunk)

B. **[Excessive state]: ridakwo (excessive drunkenness)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridakwo ra Tsatsawana ri ta n’wi onhela vukati.
(The excessive drunkenness of Tsatsawana will destroy her marriage).

(b) Ridakwo ra vachayeri ri vanga makhombo yo tala emagondzweni.
(The excessive drunkenness of drivers causes a lot of accidents on the roads).

(c) Dokodela u tshungula ridakwo ra wanuna.
(The doctor treats excessive drunkenness of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridakwo** (excessive drunkenness) refers to a state in which an individual is excessively under the influence of alcohol.
Dakwa (be drunk)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xidakwa (excessive drunkard)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidakwa xi tlumbiwire hi movha.
(The drunkard was hit by a car).

(b) Xidakwa xi hlantela vanhu.
(The drunkard vomits on people).

(c) Vafana va susumeta xidakwa.
(The young men push the drunkard).

Plural: Class 8: swidakwa (drunkards)

The nominal Xidakwa (excessive drunkard) refers to an individual who is under the influence of alcohol most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question is understood to be in this mental state throughout his entire life.

Dakwa (be drunk)

D. [State]: vudakwa (drunkenness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudakwa byi onha vumundzuku bya vantshwa.
(Drunkenness destroys the future of the youth).

(b) Vudakwa byi vanga vusiwana.
(Drunkenness causes poverty).

(c) Mfumo wu sola vudakwa bya vadyondzi eswikolweni.
(The government condemns the drunkenness of the students at school).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudakwa (drunkenness) refers to a state of mind in which an individual is under the influence of alcohol. It should be noted that unlike with other deverbal nominals, this nominal does not change the last vowel -a into -i, otherwise such a nominal will sound odd to the speakers and will not be acceptable.

Hlundzuka (be angry)

A. [Experiencer]: muhlundzuki (angry person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlundzuki u lava mali ya yena.
(The angry person is angry for his money).

(b) Muhlundzuki u ba n’wana hi mpama.
(The angry person slaps the child).

(c) Vanhu va xavelela muhlundzuki.
(People beg the angry person).

Plural: class 2: vahlundzuki (angry people)
The nominal **muhlundzuki** (angry person) refers to someone who is enraged about a wrong (or something) that he dislikes. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because anger is something that is temporary. Once the moment of anger has past, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhlundzuki** (angry person).

**Hlundzuka** (be angry)

B. [State]:  
Class 3:  
(a) Nhulundzuko wa mudyondzisi wu chavisa vana va xikolo.  
(The anger of the teacher scares learners).
(b) Nhulundzuko wa wanuna wu rilisa wansati.  
(The anger of the man makes the woman cry).
(c) Vana va xikolo va hlamala nhulundzuko wa mudyondzisi.  
(The learners are afraid of the anger of the teacher).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **nhlundzuko** (anger) refers to a violent, bitter feeling of an individual against someone or something that has provoked him (or that which has gone wrong).

**Hlundzuka** (be angry)

C. [Excessive state]:  
Class 5:  
(a) Rihlundzuko ra wanuna ri sungurile nakambe.  
(Excessive anger of a man has started again).
(b) Rihlundzuko ra wansati ri n’wi bisile hi nuna wa yena.  
(Excessive anger of a woman made her to be beaten by her husband).
(c) Wansati u venga rihlundzuko ra nuna wa yena.  
(The woman hates the excessive anger of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlundzuko** (excessive anger) refers to a feeling of anger that an individual experiences in an extreme/excessive manner when something which he thinks is bad and unfair has happened.

**Hlundzuka** (be angry)

D. [Excessive actor]:  
Class 7:  
(a) Xihlundzuki xi hlongorisa mufana.  
(Excessive angry person chases the young man).
(b) Xihlundzuki xi rhuketela vanhu.  
(Excessive angry person curses the people).
(c) Vanhu va khoma xihlundzuki lexi baka n’wana.  
(People catch the excessive angry person who is beating a child).

Plural: class 8: swihlundzuki (angry people)
The nominal **xihlundzuki** (excessive angry person) refers to a person who is extremely/excessively furious about something that went wrong. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of extreme/excessive anger is a property which will be associated with an individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether an individual in question is angry or not at the time of reference, such a person will be referred to as **xihlundzuki** (extremely/excessively angry person).

**Hlundzuka** (be angry)

E.  [State]:  vuhlundzuki (anger)

Class 14: 5.  (a)  Vuhlundzuki bya wanuna bya chavisa.
   (The anger of the man is frightening).
   (b)  Vuhlundzuki bya wansati byi chuhwisa nuna wa yena.
   (The anger of a woman frightens her husband).
   (c)  Vana va chava vuhlundzuki bya vatswari va vona.
   (Children fear the anger of their parents).

Plural: no plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlundzuki** (anger) refers to a feeling that an individual has when something has gone wrong, or when something has happened which he thinks is bad and unfair.

**Nyanyuka** (be excited)

A.  [Experiencer]:  munyanyuki (excited person)

Class 1:  1.  (a)  Munyanyuki wa hlekela.
   (The excited person is laughing).
   (b)  Munyanyuki u hleka munghana wa yena.
   (The excited person laughs at his friend).
   (c)  Wanuna u hlongola munyanyuki enhlengeletanini.
   (The man chases the excited person from the meeting).

Plural: class 2: vanyanyuki (excited persons)

The nominal **munyanyuki** (excited person) refers to someone who feels very pleased or enthusiastic about an interesting thing that has happened or will happen. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the feeling of excitement that an individual in question is experiencing may be temporary. Once the feeling is over, an individual may no longer be referred to as **munyanyuki** (excited person).

**Nyanyuka** (be excited)

B.  [State]:  nyanyuko (excitement)

Class 3:  2.  (a)  Nyanyuko wa wanuna wu hlamarisa wansati.
   (The excitement of the man surprises the woman).
(b) Nyanyuko wa wansati wu hlundzukisa nuna wa yena. (The excitement of the woman angers her husband).

(c) Varhambiwa va sola nyanyuko wa n’winyi wa nkhuvo. (The invited people criticise the excitement of the owner of the Party).

Plural: class 4: minyanyuko (excitements)

The nominal nyanyuko (excitement) denotes the state of being excited or happy mood.

Nyanyuka (be excited)

C. [Excessive state]: rinyanyuko (excessive excitement)

Class 3: 3. (a) Rinyanyuko ra wanuna ri hlamarisa wansati. (The excessive excitement of the man surprises the woman).

(b) Rinyanyuko ra wansati ri hlundzukisa nuna wa yena. (The excitement of the woman angers her husband).

(c) Varhambiwa va sola rinyanyuko ra n’winyi wa nkhuvo. (The invited people criticise the excessive excitement of the owner of the party).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rinyanyuko (excessive excitement) refers to the state of being excited excessively which an individual experiences.

Nyanyuka (be excited)

D. [Excessive experiencer]: xinyanyuki (excessive excited person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xinyanyuki xi cinela byalwa. (The excessive excited person dances for beer).

(b) Xinyanyuki xi nyanyukisiwa hi mali leyi xi yi holeke. (The excessive excited person is excited because of the money that he was paid).

(c) Wanuna u sola xinyanyuki enhlengelatanini. (The man criticizes the excessive excited person at the meeting).

Plural: class 8: swinyanyuki (Excessive excited persons)

The nominal xinyanyuki (excited person) refers to someone who excessively feels very pleased about an interesting event that has happened. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining quality in this nominal is the excessiveness of the feeling of excitement. It is clear that an individual in question has this feeling on a regular basis. It implies therefore that whether an individual in question is in a state of excitement or not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xinyanyuki (excessive excited person).
Nyanyuka (be excited)

E. [State]: vunyanyuki(excitement)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vunyanyuki bya vahlaleri byi tiyisa vatlangi va xipano xa vona.  
(The excitement of the spectators strengthens the players of their team).

(b) Vunyanyuki bya vahlaleri byi kavanyetile ntlangu.  
(The excitement of the spectators disturbed the game).

(c) Vatlangi va sola vunyanyuki bya vaseketeri va vona.  
(The players blame the excitement of their supporters).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunyanyuki (excitement) denotes the state or action of being excited.
### Psych/Experiencer Verbs

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<td>dlakuta</td>
<td>vudlakuta</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va
Suffix: -i
munyanyuki (excited person)

Class 3/4
Prefixes: mu-/mi-
Suffix: -o
Nyanyuko (excitement)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Rinyanyuko (excessive excitement)
Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
Xinyanyuki (excessive excited person)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vunyanyuki (excitement)

Psych/Experiencer verbs

(24) Nominalization from the verb: -nyanyuka (be excited)

(iii) The verb –nyanyuka (be excited)
Mufana u nyanyukile ngopfu.
(The young man is very excited).

-nyanyuka

\[
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x; \text{phys. obj. (human)}
\]
\[
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E1} = e_1; \text{state}
\]
\[
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x
\]
AGENTIVE –nyanyuka_state (e_1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Excite – State
The lexical semantic representation of the psych/experiencer verb *-nyanyakain* (24) exhibits one argument in the argument structure, namely, the physical object (human) who is excited. The event structure represents the state of excitement. The qualia structure displays the identity of the physical object (person) in the formale quale, and the agentive quale represents the state of excitement \((e_1)\) of a person \((x)\).

(25) **Nominalisation in class 1: munyanyuki** (the excited person)

Munyanyuki u khandziya movha.
(The excited person boards a car).

```
munyanyuki
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: (phys. obj. (human))
EVSTR = E1 = e1: state
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -nyanyakai_experiencer (e1, x)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Excite – State – Experiencer - Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal munyanyuki (the excited person) in (25) exhibits one argument in the argument structure, namely, the physical object (human) who is excited. The event structure represents the state of excitement. The qualia structure displays the identity of the physical object (person) in the formale quale, and the agentive quale represents the state of excitement \((e_1)\) of a person \((x)\).

(26) **Nominalisation in class 5: rinyanyuko** (excessive excitement)

Rinyanyuko ra wansati ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive excitement of the woman annoys the man).

```
rinyanyuko
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: c: r
D-ARG1 = x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: state
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e1, x)
AGENTIVE = -nyanyakai_state_excessive (e1, x)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Excite – State – Excessive

The lexical semantic representation of rinyanyuko (excessive excitement) in (26) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument, namely, the human that is excited. The other argument represents the reference \(\odot\) of the state of excitement.
ominalisation in class 7: *xinyanyuki* (the excessively excited person)

Xinaynyuki xa hlekelela.
(The excessively excited person is laughing).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xinyanyuki} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG}1=x: \text{phys.obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E}1 = e; \text{state} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x) \\
& = \text{AGENTIVE} \_\text{nyanyuka} \_\text{experiencer\_excessive} \ (e, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Excite – Experiencer – Excessive

The lexical semantic representation of *xinyanyuki* (the excessively excited person) in (27) is similar to that of *munyanyuki* (excited person) in (25) above. The only difference relates to the feature excessive, which occurs in the agentive quale of *xinyanyuki* (excessively excited person) in (27), which is absent in *munyanyuki* (excited person) in (25).

Nominalisation in class 14: *vunyanyuki* (excitement)

Vunyanyuki bya wanuna exikarhi ka vanhu byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excitement of the man among people annoys the woman).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vunyanyuki} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG}1=x: \ e: \ r \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-ARG}1=x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{D-E}1 = e; \text{state} \\
& = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x) \\
& = \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{nyanyuka} \_\text{state} \ (e, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Excite – State

The lexical semantic representation of *vunyanyuki* (excitement) in (28) corresponds to that of *rinyanyuko* (excessive excitement) in (26) above. The difference is represented in the formal quale, where *rinyanyuko* (excessive excitement) in (26) has the feature [excessive state], whereas *vunyanyuki* (excitement) in (28) has the feature [state].
(29) Nominalisation in class 3: nyanyuko (excitement)

Nyanyuko wa wansati wu hlamarisa wanuna.
(The excitement of the woman surprises the man).

nyanyuko

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>ARGSTR</th>
<th>1ARG1=x: e: r</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>D–ARG1</td>
<td>x: phys. obj. (human)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| EVSTR   | D-E1 = e1; state |

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>QUALIA</th>
<th>FORMAL = (e1, x)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>AGENTIVE</td>
<td>–nyanyuka_state/result (e1, x)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Excite – State/Result

The lexical semantic representation of nyanyuko (excitement) in (3) above displays two arguments in its argument structure of which one is a default argument, namely the physical object (person) which gets excited. The other argument ARG1 represents the reference of the state of excitement.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of psych/experience verbs have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -nyanyuka above. The difference relates to the fact that no deverbatives in classes 1 and 7 with the affix -i from the verbs -dlakuta (be dull witted), -dakwa (be drunk), and -phunta (be stupid) are possible. The deverbatives from these three verbs which refer to people are found in classes 5 and 7 respectively and they all occur with the affix -a. The deverbatives from these verbs also appear in class 14 with the affix -a with the feature state. No deverbatives from these verbs in class 5 with the affix -o are possible. Generally, these classes contain nouns which refer to non-human objects. It may also be noted that there are no class 3 deverbatives from the following verbs: tlhariha (be wise), -phunta (be stupid), -dakwa (be drunk), -penga (be mad), -rhurhumela (tremble/shiver), -vilela (worry), -kariha (be angry), -leva (be aggressive), -tshuka (be frightened), -oswa (fornicate), -leva (prostitute/ sleep around), and -dlakuta (be dull witted). The suffix -o occurs with class 7 deverbatives from the verbs -vilela (worry) and -poyila (embarrass/humiliate) with a result reading. The suffix -i occurs with class 9 deverbative from -tlhariha (be wise) which denote a person. It should be noted that -ha has been elided from such a noun. It should be realized that another deverbative from the deverbative -holova (quarrel) appears in class 9 with a result reading.

Rhurhumela (tremble/shake)

A. [Experiencer]: murhurhumeli (trembling/shaking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhurhumeli u twa xirhami.  
(The trembler feels cold).

                (b) Murhurhumeli u ambala jersey.  
(The trembler wears the jersey).
(c) Wansati u nyika murhurhumeli nkumba.
(The womangives the blanket to the trembler).

Plural: class 2: varhurhumeli (trembling/shaking persons)

The nominal murhurhumeli (trembling/shaking person) refers to a person who shakes involuntarily because he is nervous, excited or frightened. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of trembling can be temporary. Once the feeling thereof is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as murhurhumeli (trembler/shaker).

Rhurhumela (tremble/shake)

B. [Excessive state]:  rirhurhumelo (excessive trembling/shaking)
Class 5:  2. (a) Rirhurhumelo ra wanuna ri n’wi lahlisile mali.
(The excessive shaking of the manmade him to lose money).

(b) Rirhurhumelo ra muvabyi ri chavisa muongori.
(The excessive trembling of the patient scares the nurse).

(c) Mutswari u hlamala rirhurhumelo ra n’wana.
(The parent is surprised at the excessive trembling of the child).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rirhurhumelo (excessive trembling) refers to the state of trembling which happens in an excessive manner to an individual.

Rhurhumela (tremble/shake)

C. [Excessive experiencer]:  xirhurhumeli (excessive trembling/shaking person)
Class 7:  3. (a) Xirhurhumeli xi funengela mikumba yimbirhi.
(The excessive trembler puts on two blankets).

(b) Xirhurhumeli xi rhurhumerisiwa hi vuvabyi.
(The excessive trembler is trembling because of sickness).

(c) Vanhu va tshamisa xirhurhumeli ehansi.
(The people make the excessive trembler sit down).

Plural: class 8: swirhurhumeli (excessive trembling persons)

The nominal xirhurhumeli (excessive trembling/shaking person) refers to an individual who excessively shakes involuntarily. Such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of trembling is something that often sticks to an individual. In this case then, whether such an individual is engaged in the act of trembling or not, for the mere fact that he is associated with regular trembling, such an individual will always be referred to as xirhurhumeli (excessive trembling/shaking person).
**Rhurhumela** (tremble/shake)

D. [State/act]: vurhurhumeli (trembling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurhurhumeli bya wanuna byi chavisa vanhu.
(The trembling of the man scares people).
(b) Vurhurhumeli bya xikoxa byi chuhwisa vatukulu va xona.
(The trembling of the old woman frightens her grand children).
(c) Wansati u chava vurhurhumeli bya n´wana wa yena.
(The woman is afraid of the trembling of her child).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vurhurhumeli** (trembling) refers to the state or the act of trembling by an individual.

**Vilela** (be worried)

A. [Experiencer]: muvileri (worried person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvileri u gungulela swakudya.
(The worried person is murmuring for food).
(b) Muvileri u khongela xikhongelo xo gungula.
(The worried person prays a murmuring prayer).
(c) Rito ra Xikwembu a ri lavi muvileri.
(The word of God does not like a worried person).

Plural: class 2: vavileri (worried people)

The nominal **muvileri** (worrying person) refers to an individual who is anxious about unpleasant things that have happened or that might happen. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since worrying may be temporary. Once he overcomes it, such a person may no longer be referred to as **muvileri** (worrying person).

**Vilela** (be worried)

B. [Excessive state]: rivilelo (excessive worrying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivilelo ra wanuna ri n´wi vangela mavabyi.
(The excessive worrying causes illness for him).
(b) Rivilelo ra wansati ri karhata nuna wakwe.
(The excessive worrying of the woman troubles her husband).
(c) Wanuna u lemuka rivilelo ra nsati wakwe.
(The man notices the excessive worrying of his wife).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivilelo** (excessive worrying) refers to the state or act of worry which an individual has excessively.
Vilela (be worried)

C.  [Result]: xivilelo (worry/complaint)
Class 7:  2. (a) Xivilelo xa vatrhi a xi tekeriwi enhlokweni hi mfumo.
(The worry of the workers is not taken into consideration by government).
    (b) Xivilelo xa vaaki xi amukeriwile hi masipala.
(The worry of the community members has been accepted by the municipality).
    (c) Vadyondzi va yisa xivilelo eka nhloko ya xikolo.
(The learners submit the worry to the school principal).

Plural: class 8: swivilelo (worries)

The nominal xivilelo (worry/complaint) refers to something unpleasant that may have happened or may happen that makes an individual feel anxious.

Vilela (be worried)

D.  [Excessive experiencer]: xivileri (excessive worried person)
Class 7:  3. (a) Xivileri xi lava muholo wa xona.
(The excessive worried person needs his salary).
    (b) Xivileri xi hlamusela xivilelo xa xona.
(The excessive worried person explains his worry).
    (c) Maphorisa va bile xivileri lexi a xi rhangela vatereki.
(The police officers have beaten the excessive worried person who was leading the strike).

Plural: class 8: swivileri (worried people)

The nominal xivileri (excessive worried person) refers to an individual who is excessively and regularly anxious about unpleasant things that have happened or that might happen. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the anxiousness of an individual is something that he often experiences on regular basis. In this way, whether an individual in question is experiencing anxiousness or not at the time of reference, he is always referred to as xivileri (excessive worrier).

Vilela (be worried)

E.  [State]: vuvileri (worry)
Class 14:  4. (a) Vuvileri bya wansati bya n’wi ondzisa.
(The worry of the woman makes her lean).
    (b) Vuvileri bya vadyondzi byi karhalisa nhloko ya xikolo.
(The worry of the learners tires the school principal).
    (c) Mudzaberi u venga vuvileri bya vaseketeri va xipano xa yena.
(The coach hates the worry of the supporters of his team).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvileri (worry) refers to the state of anxiousness which an individual is going through.
Poyila (embarrass)

**Class 1:**

(a) Mupoyiri u ya edorobeni ni thyaka.  
(The embarrasser goes to town dirty).

(b) Mupoyiri u tisola eka tata wa yena.  
(The embarrasser apologises to his father).

(c) Ntshungu wu humesa mupoyiri exitejini.  
(The crowd takes out the embarrasser from the stage).

Plural: **Class 2:** vapoyili (embarrassers)

The nominal *mupoyiri* (embarrasser) refers to a person who makes someone feel shy or ashamed, especially in a social situation. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of embarrassment which can last for a short period. Once the embarrassment is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mupoyiri* (embarrasser).

Poyila (embarrass)

**B.** [State]: mpoyilo (embarrassment)

Class 3:

(a) Mpoyilo wa wanuna eka nsati wakwe enkhubyeni wu hlamarise vanhu.  
(The embarrassment to the man of his wife at the function surprised people).

(b) Mpoyilo wa mufana wa nwhana wakwe exikolweni wu nyenyetse vanghana vakwe.  
(The embarrassment of the young man of his girl friend at school annoyed her friends).

(c) Mufana va sola mpoyilo wa wanuna wa nsati wakwe enkhubyeni.  
(The young man condemns the embarrassment to the man of his wife at the function).

Plural: **Class 5:** mipoyilo (embarrassments).

The nominal *mpoyilo* (embarrassment) refers to the feeling of shame which an individual has when his inadequacy or guilt is made public.

Poyila (embarrass)

**C.** [Excessive act]: ripoyilo (excessive embarrassment)

Class 5:

(a) Ripoyilo ra wansati ra vana va yena ri nyanya exikarhi ka vanhu.  
(The excessive embarrassment of the woman of her children is worsening among people).

(b) Ripoyilo ra wanuna ra nsati wa ywna entlangwini ri sola hi vanhu vo tala.  
(The excessive embarrassment of the man of his wife at the function is condemned by many people).
The nominal ripoyilo (excessive embarrassment) refers to the guilt feelings or a feeling of shame which an individual excessively has when his inadequacy or guilt is made public.

**Poyila** (embarrass)

D.  [Excessive actor]:  xipoyiri (excessive embarrasser)

Class 7:  3.  (a)  Xipoyiri xi ambala buruku ro thyaka entlangwini.  
(The excessive embarrasser wears dirty trousers at the function).

(b)  Xipoyiri xi vulavula xilungu xo tshoveka ekerekeni.  
(The excessive embarrasser speaks broken English in the church).

(c)  Wanuna u hlongola xipoyiri entlangwini.  
(The man chases the excessive embarrasser from the function).

Plural: class 8: swipoyili (excessive embarassers)

The nominal xipoyiri (excessive embarrasser) refers to a person who excessively makes someone feel shy or ashamed, especially in a social situation. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of embarrassment is something that sticks with this individual for the rest of his life.

**Poyila** (embarrass)

E.  [Result]:  xipoyilo (embarrassment)

Class 3:  4.  (a)  Xipoyilo lexi endliweke hi wanuna ekerekeni xi hlundzukise vana va yena.  
(The embarrassment done by the man at the church made his children angry).

(b)  Xipoyilo xa wansati xo ambala mpahla ya thyaka xi hlamarise vanhu.  
(The embarrassment of the woman of wearing dirty clothes surprised the people).

(c)  Vavasati va tumbeta xipoyilo xa mufunndhisi xo rhandzana ni nsati wa munhu.  
(The women cover the embarrassment of the pastor of having an affair with another man’s wife).

Plural: class 4: swipoyilo (embarrassments)

The nominal xipoyilo (embarrassment) refers to the guilty feelings or a feeling of shame which an individual has when his inadequacy or guilt is made public.

**Poyila** (embarrass)

F.  [Act]:  vupoyiri (embarrassment)

Class 14:  5.  (a)  Vupoyiri bya wanuna bya vana vakwe enkhubyeni byi hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The embarrassment of the man of his children at the function surprises the people).
(b) Vupoyiri bya wanuna byi tsan’wisa ndyangu wa yena.
(The embarrassment of the man despises his family).

(c) Vana va nyenya vupoyiri bya tata wa vona bya mana wa vona exikarhi ka vanhu.
(The children dislike the embarrassment of their father of their mother among people).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupoyiri (embarrassment) refers to the act of embarrassment which is done by an individual.

**Lorha** (dream)

A. [Experiencer]: mulorhi (dreamer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulorhi wa hundzuluka.
(The dreamer turns around).

(b) Mulorhi u hlamusela wansati norho wa tolo.
(The dreamer tells the woman yesterday’s dream).

(c) Mungoma u byela mulorhi nhlamusele ya norho.
(The diviner tells the man the meaning of the dream).

Plural: Class 1: valorhi (dreamers)

The nominal mulorhi (dreamer) refers to an individual who is undergoing an experience of dreaming in his sleep. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual denoted is characterized by the defining event of dreaming. In other words, an individual referred to here has to be engaged in the activity of dreaming at the time of reference.

**Lorha** (dream)

B. [Result]: norho (dream)

Class 3: 2. (a) Norho wa wanuna wa rifu wu vilerisa wansati.
(The dream of a man of death worries the woman).

(b) Norho wa wanuna wa kanakanisa.
(The dream of a man is doubtful).

(c) Vanhu va venga norho wo chavisa.
(People hate a terrifying dream).

Plural: Class 4: milorho (dreams)

The nominal norho (dream) refers to a result of the activity of dreaming done by an individual during a sleep.

**Lorha** (dream)

C. [Excessive state]: rilorho (excessive dreaming)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rilorho ra swipuku ri vilerisa mukhegula.
(The excessive dreaming of ghosts worries the old woman).
(b) Rilorho ra vana ri vilerisa mukhegula.
(The excessive dreaming of the children worries the old woman).

(c) N’anga yi tshungula rilorho ra wanuna.
(The traditional healer treats the excessive dreaming of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilorho** (excessive dreaming) refers to the act of dreaming during sleep by an individual which is done excessively.

**Lorha** (dream)

D.  [Excessive experiencer]: xilorhi (excessive dreamer)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xilorhi xa hundzuluka.
(The excessive dreamer turns around).

(b) Xilorhi xi ya emungomeni.
(The excessive dreamer consults the diviner).

(c) N’anga yi byela xilorhi nhlamuselo ya norho wa xona.
(The traditional healer tells the excessive dreamer the meaning of his dream).

Plural: Class 8: swilorhi (excessive dreamers)

The nominal **xilorhi** (excessive dreamer) denotes a person who dreams habitually and excessively during sleep. The person referred, need not be engaged in the event of dreaming at the time of reference or he may be engaged in it. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of an individual.

**Lorha** (dream)

E.  [State]: vulorhi (dreaming)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vulorhi bya wanuna byi vilerisa mukhegula.
(The dreaming of a man worries the old woman).

(b) Vulorhi bya rifu byi vilerisa manana.
(The dreaming of death troubles mother).

(c) N’anga yi tshungula vulorhi bya wanuna bya rifu.
(The traditional healer treats the maws dreaming about death).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulorhi** (dreaming) refers to the state/activity of dreaming by an individual during sleep.
**Kariha** (sharp/ be angry)

[Experiencer]: Mukarihi (angry person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukarihi u rhukana wansati.  
(The angry person insults the woman).

(b) Mukarihi u bukutela vafana enambyeni.  
(The angry person beats young men in the river).

(c) Vanhu va chava mukarihi.  
(The people are afraid of the angry person).

Plural: class 2: vakarihi (angry people)

The nominal *mukarihi* (angry person) refers to an individual who has a strong feeling about something that he dislikes about unfair situation. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the feeling of anger may go away after a short while. In other words, once that feeling of anger is over, such a person will no longer be referred to as *mukarihi* (angry person).

**Kariha** (sharp/ be angry)

B.  [Excessive state]: rikariho (excessive anger)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikariho ra Makhanani etihlengeletanini ri nyangatsa vanhu.  
(The excessive anger of Makhanana at the meetings disgusts the people).

(b) Rikariho ra n’wana etlilasini ri hlamarisa mathicara.  
(The excessive anger of the child in the class surprises the teachers).

(c) Wanuna u venga rikariho ra nsati wakwe.  
(The man hates the excessive anger of his wife).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nopminal *rikariho* (excessive anger) refers to a feeling of becoming excessively angry most of the time by an individual.

**Kariha** (sharp/ be angry)

C.  [Excessive experiencer]: xikarihi (excessive angry person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikarihi xi rhandza ngopfu madzolonga.  
(The excessive angry person likes violence).

(b) Xikarihi xi hlongola nsati wa xona.  
(The excessive angry person chases away his wife).

(c) Magezi u holovela xikarihi endlwini.  
(Magezi reprimands the excessive person in the house).

Plural: Class 8: swikarihi (excessive angry people)

The nominal *xikarihi* (excessive angry person) refers to an individual who is excessively angry most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of
getting angry of an individual in question has developed into a habit. In other words, it is something that is always associated with him, whether at that particular point in time he is excessively angry or not.

**Kariha** (sharp/be angry)

D. [State]: vukarihi (anger)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukarihi bya Tsatsawana byi chavisa vana vakwe. (The anger of Tsatsawana scares her children).

(b) Vukarihi bya kokwana byi nyangatsa vantukulu va yena. (The anger of grandmother disgusts her grand children).

(c) Vadyondzisi va sola vukarihi bya Khazamula exikolweni. (The teachers condemn the anger of Khazamula at school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukarihi (anger) refers to the strong feeling that an individual has when something has happened which he thinks is bad and unfair. However, in every day discourse such a nominal is unacceptable. Among Vatsonga speakers such a nominal sounds ungrammatical. The nominal vukari (anger) is the one which is acceptable in every day speech of Vatsonga. It should be noted however, that the last part -ha of the verb stem kariha (be angry) from which it was derived has been elided. It is not clear why such part was elided. It is not even clear why a nominal with such a missing part is acceptable.

**Leva** (be aggressive)

[Experiencer]: Mulevi (aggressive person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulevi u ba wanuna entirhweni. (The aggressive person beats the man at work).

(b) Mulevi u handzula buku ya mudyondzi exikolweni. (The aggressive person tears the book of the learner at school).

(c) Vanhu va chava mulevi. (The people are afraid of the aggressive person).

Plural: class 2: valevi (aggressive people)

The nominal mulevi (aggressive person) refers to an individual who deliberately coerces someone into anger. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the coercion of someone into anger. Once the act of coercion is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as mulevi (aggressive person).
**Leva** (be aggressive)

**B.** [Excessive state]: rilevo (excessive aggressiveness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilevo ra mbyana ya kokwana ra hlamarisa.
(The excessive aggressiveness of the dog of my grandfather is surprising).

(b) Rilevo ra n’wana ra tiviwa exikolweni.
(The excessive aggressiveness of the child is well known at school).

(c) Kokwana u hlamala rilevo ra mbyana ya Malume.
(The grandfather is surprised at the excessive aggressiveness of my uncle’s dog).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilevo** (excessive aggressiveness) refers to an act of excessive deliberate coercion of someone into anger.

**Leva** (be aggressive)

**C.** [Excessive experiencer]: xilevi (excessive aggressive person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilevi xi rhuketela malume.
(The excessive aggressive person insults my uncle).

(b) Xilevi xi bukutela vana exikolweni.
(The excessive aggressive person beats children at school).

(c) Vana va chava xilevi enambyeni.
(The children are afraid of the excessive aggressive person in the river).

Plural: Class 8: swilevi (excessive people becoming aggressive)

The nominal **xilevi** (excessive aggressive person) refers to an individual who excessively coerces someone into anger. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of coercing someone into anger has now formed into a habit. In other words, whether an individual in question will be in the act of coercing someone into anger or not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be associated with excessive coercing other people into anger.

**Leva** (be aggressive)

**D.** [State]: vulevi (aggressiveness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulevi bya mukhegula emutini byi chavisa vana.
(The aggressiveness of the old woman in the family scares the children).

(b) Vulevi bya mbyana ya Magezi byi hlongola makhamba.
(The aggressiveness of Magezi’s dog chases away thieves).

(c) Swigevenga swi chava vulevi bya timbyana ta Yingwana.
(The criminals are afraid of the aggressiveness of Yingwana’s dogs).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulevi** (aggressiveness) refers to an act of deliberate coercion of someone into anger.
**Tshuka** (be frightened)

[Experiencer]: Mutshuki (frightened person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshuki u titivarile.  
(The frightened person is unconscious).

(b) Mutshuki wa rhurhumela.  
(The frightened person is shivering).

(c) Wansati u khongotela mutshuki.  
(The woman comforts the frightened person).

Plural: class 2: vatshuki (frightened people)

The nominal *mutshuki* (frightened person) refers to an individual who feels fearful. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the feeling of fear which is a defining property in this nominal can be temporary. However, in a case where an individual in question always has a feeling of fear, especially as a result of bad experience he went through in the past, such an individual will be regarded as an individual-level nominal since a feeling of fear will remain in him for the rest of his life.

**Tshuka** (be frightened)

B. [Excessive state]: ritshuko (excessive fright)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritshuko ra n’wana exikolweni ri vilerisa vadyondzisi.  
(The excessive fright of the child at school worries the teachers).

(b) Ritshuko ra kokwana ri n’wi vangele mavabyi ya mbilu.  
(The excessive fright of grandmother has made her develop heart disease).

(c) Wansati u hlamala ritshuko ra nuna wakwe nivusiku.  
(The woman is surprised at the excessive fright of her husband at night).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ritshuko* (excessive fright) refers to an excessive feeling of fear which is always experienced by an individual.

**Tshuka** (be frightened)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xitshuki (excessive frightened person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitshuki xi titivarile.  
(The excessive frightened person is unconscious).

(b) Xitshuki xa rhurhumela.  
(The excessive frightened person is shivering).

(c) Wansati u khongotela xitshuki.  
(The woman comforts the excessive frightened person).

Plural: Class 8: switshuki (excessive frightened people)
The nominal *xitshuki* (excessive frightened person) refers to an individual who is excessively fearful most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of being fearful will be associated with an individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether an individual in question is experiencing excessive fear or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be regarded as *xitshuki* (excessive frightened person).

**Tshuka** (be frightened)

D.  

**[State]**: vutshuki (fright)

Class 14: 4.  

(a) Vutshuki bya n’wana exikolweni byi vilerisa vadyondzisi.  
(The fright of the child at school worries the teachers).

(b) Vutshuki bya kokwana byi n’wi vangele mavabyi ya mbilu.  
(The fright of grandmother has made her develop heart disease).

(c) Wansati u hlamala vutshuki bya n’wana wakwe nivusiku.  
(The woman is surprised at the fright of her child at night).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutshuki* (fright) refers to a feeling of fear which is experienced by an individual.

**Holova** (quarrel)

**[Actor]**: Muholovi (quarrelsome person)

Class 1: 1.  

(a) Muholovi u fayetela swibye.  
(The quarrelsome person breaks utensils).

(b) Muholovi u rhuketela wanuna.  
(The quarrelsome person insults the man).

(c) Mukhegula u hlongola muholovi emutini wakwe.  
(The old woman chases the quarrelsome person from her family).

Plural: class 2: vaholovi (quarrelsome people)

The nominal *muholovi* (quarrelsome person) denotes an individual who has an angry argument with someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the quarrel may be for a particular time. Once such a person has stopped making a quarrel, he may no longer be regarded as *muholovi* (quarrelsome person).

**Holova** (quarrel)

**[Excessive act]**: riholovo (excessive quarrelling)

Class 5: 2.  

(a) Riholovo ra wansati endyangwini ri nyangatsa mukhegula.  
(The excessive quarrel of the woman in the family disgusts the old woman).

(b) Riholovo ra wansati na vayeni ri poyilisa ndyangu.  
(The excessive quarrelling with the guests makes the family get embarrassed).
(c) Kokwana u sola riholovo ra wansati ni vana va yena endlwini.
(The grandmother disapproves the excessive quarrelling of the woman with her children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riholovo** (excessive quarrel) refers to an excessive act of making an angry argument with someone.

**Holova** (quarrel)

C. [Excessive experiencer]: xiholovi (excessive quarrelsome person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiholovi xi fayetela swibye.
(The excessive quarrelling person breaks the utensils).

(b) Xiholovi xi rhuketela wanuna.
(The excessive quarrelling person insults the man).

(c) Mukhegula u hlongola xiholovi emutini wakwe.
(The old woman chases the quarrelling person from her family).

The nominal **xiholovi** (excessive quarrelsome person) denotes an individual who regularly or excessively engages in angry arguments with someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of quarrelling by the individual in question will be associated with him for the whole life. In other words, whether the person in question will be involved in a quarrel or not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xiholovi** (excessive quarrelsome person).

**Holova** (quarrel)

D. [Act]: vuholovi (quarrel)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuholovi bya wansati endyangwini byi nyangatsa mukhegula.
(The quarrel of the woman in the family disgusts the old woman).

(b) Vuholovi bya wansati na vayeni byi poyilisa ndyangu.
(The quarrel of the woman with the quests makes the family embarrassed).

(c) Kokwana u sola vuholovi bya wansati ni vana va yena endlwini.
(The grandmother disapproves of the quarrel of the woman with her children in the house).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuholovi** (quarrel) refers to an act of making an angry argument with someone.

**Oswa** (fornicate)

[Actor]: Muoswi (fornicator)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muoswi u faya midyangu ya vanhu.
(The fornicator destroys other people’s families).
(b) Muoswi u khomiwile hi vuvabyi bya HIV/AIDS.
(The fornicator has contracted HIV/AIDS disease).

(c) Wanuna u hlongola muoswi emutini wakwe.
(The man chases the fornicator from his family).

Plural: class 2: vaoswi (fornicators)

The nominal muoswi (fornicator) refers to an individual who engages in sexual affair with someone he is not married to. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal, especially when an individual’s relationship is something that is still going on. However, such a nominal may also be regarded as a stage-level nominal, especially if the affair has just been started and an individual in question decides to end it.

Oswa (fornicate)

B. [Excessive act]: rioswo (excessive fornication)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rioswo ra wanuna ri n’wi fayele ndyangu.
(The excessive fornication of the man destroys his family).
(b) Rioswo ra wanuna ri n’wi khomisile hi vuvabyi bya AIDS.
(The excessive fornication of the man made him contract AIDS disease).
(c) Wansati u nyenya rioswo ra nuna wakwe.
(The woman dislikes the excessive fornication of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rioswo (excessive fornication) refers to an excessive act of marital unfaithfulness, especially the one in which a person is involved with multiple partners.

Oswa (fornicate)

C. [Excessive actor]: xioswi (excessive fornicator)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xioswi xi faya midyangu ya vanhu.
(The excessive fornicator destroys other people’s families).
(b) Xioswi xi khomiwile hi vuvabyi bya HIV/AIDS.
(The excessive fornicator has contracted HIV/AIDS disease).
(c) Wanuna u hlongola xioswi emutini wakwe.
(The man chases away the excessive fornicator from his family).

Plural: Class 8: swioswi (excessive fornicators)

The nominal xioswi (excessive fornicator) refers to an individual who is progressively involved in multiple sexual affairs with people he is not married to. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of fornication is something that has formed into a habit in an individual concerned.
**Oswa** (fornicate)

**D. [Act]:** vuoswi (fornication)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuoswi byi faya mindyangu ya vanhu.
(Fornication destroys people’s families).

(b) Vuoswi a byi pfuleleriwi eBibeleni.
(Fornication is not allowed in the Bible).

(c) Wansati u sola vuoswi bya nuna wakwe.
(The woman disapproves of the fornication of her husband).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuoswi* (fornication) refers to an act of engaging in sexual affair with someone you are not married to.

**Feva** (sleep around)

**[Actor]:** Mufevi (prostitute)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufevi u hangalasa vuvabyi bya AIDS.
(The prostitute spreads AIDS disease).

(b) Mufevi u hahlula mindyangu ya vanhu.
(The prostitute dismantles people’s families).

(c) Khazamula u nyika mufevi mali.
(Khazamula gives money to the prostitute).

Plural: class 2: vafevi (prostitutes)

The nominal *mufevi* (prostitute) refers to a woman, usually unmarried, who sleeps around with different men, married and unmarried. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of sleeping around with men has formed into a habit.

**Feva** (sleep around)

**B. [Excessive act]:** rifevo (excessive prostitution)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifevo ra Tsatsawana ri nyangatsa vanhu.
(The excessive prostitution of Tsatsawana disgusts people).

(b) Rifevo ra Khazamula ri n’wi fayele ndyangu wakwe.
(The excessive prostitution of Khazamula destroyed his family).

(c) Wansati u nyenya rifevo ra nuna wakwe.
(The woman dislikes the excessive prostitution of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rifevo* (excessive prostitution) refers to an act of sleeping around with many men, which is done excessively and has formed into a habit.
**Feva (sleep around)**

C. [Excessive actor]: xifevi (excessive prostitute)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifevi xi khwenuta wanuna etlangwini.  
(The excessive prostitute tickles the man at the function).

(b) Xifevi xi hahlula mindyangu ya vanhu.  
(The excessive prostitute dismantles people’s families).

(c) Wansati u rhukana xifevi lexí n’wi tekelaka nuna.  
(The woman swears at the excessive prostitute who is in love with her husband).

Plural: Class 8: swifevi (excessive prostitutes)

The nominal **xifevi** (excessive prostitute) refers to a woman, usually unmarried, who regularly sleeps around with different men, married and unmarried. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of excessive sleeping around with different men has formed into a habit.

**Feva (sleep around)**

D. [Act]: vufevi (prostitution)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vufevi bya Tsatsawana byi n’wi vangerile vuvabyi bya AIDS.  
(The prostitution of Tsatsawana made her contract AIDS disease).

(b) Vufevi bya Sasavona byi nyagatsa vingi vakwe.  
(The prostitution of Tsatsawana disgusts her parents-in-law).

(c) Vanhu va sola vufevi bya Mamayila.  
(People criticise the prostitution of Mamayila).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vufevi** (prostitution) refers to an act of sleeping around with many men and has become a habit in the person in question.

**Dlakuta (be dull-witted)**

B. [Actor]: dlakuta (dull-witted young woman)

Class 5: 1. (a) Dlakuta ri bakanya switsundzuxo swa vatswari va rona.  
(The dull-witted young woman ignores the advice of her parents).

(b) Dlakuta ri rhandzana ni vavanuna lava nga teka.  
(The dull-witted young woman is in love with married men).

(c) Wansati u ba dlakuta leri rhandzanaka na nuna wa yena.  
(The woman beats the dull-witted young woman who is in love with her husband).

Plural: Class 6: madlakuta (dull-witted young women)

The nominal **dlakuta** (dull-witted young woman) refers to a young unmarried woman who usually has affairs with married men. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of having affairs with married people is going on.
Dlakuta (be dull-witted)

C. [Act]: vudlakuta (dull-wittedness)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vudlakuta bya Makhanana byi n’wi bise hi vafana.
(The dull-wittedness of Makhanana made her get beaten up by young men).

(b) Vudlakuta bya Sasavona byi n’wi fayele ndyangu.
(The dull-wittedness of Sasavona broke her family).

(c) Wansati u venga vudlakuta hi mbilu ya yena hinkwayo.
(The woman hates dull-wittedness with all her heart).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudlakuta (dull-wittedness) refers to an act of having affairs by a young unmarried woman with married men.

5.7. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

Levin (1995: 200) defines verbs of Social Interaction as verbs that inherently involve more than one participant. According to him, even those verbs that do not inherently involve a group require more than one participant in their use. Levin (op cit) argues that when these verbs take a subject that refers to a single person, such verbs must take either a direct object or a with phrase. Generally, verbs in this class take animate arguments.

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Lwa (fight)

A. [Actor]: mulwi (fighter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulwi u tsutsuma maphorisa.
The fighter runs away from the police).

(b) Mulwi u hlula maphorisa.
(The fighter defeats the police).

(c) Vavanuna va khoma mulwi.
(The men hold the fighter).

Plural: Class 1: valwi (fighters)
The nominal **mulwi** (fighter) refers to an individual who is engaged in the act of fighting. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual referred to here may carry this property for a greater part of his life, especially if he fights in the professional boxing.

**Lwa** (fight)

B. [Excessive act]: rilwo (excessive fighting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilwo ra wansati ri ta n’wi hlongorisa entirhweni.
(The excessive fighting of the woman will get her chased from the job).

(b) Rilwo ra wansati ri n’wi bisa hi vanhu.
(The excessive fighting of the woman gets her beaten up by people).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rilwo ra wansati.
(The man is surprised at the excessive fighting of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilwo** (excessive fighting) refers to the act of fighting which is excessively done by an individual.

**Lwa** (fight)

B. [Expert actor]: xilwi (expert fighter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilwi xi nghena erivaleni.
(An excessive fighter gets into the ground).

(b) Xilwi xi hluvula swimandlamandla.
(The excessive fighter removes the gloves).

(c) Vanhu va hlongola xilwi.
(The people chase the excessive fighter).

Plural: Class 8: swilwi (fighters)

The nominal **xilwi** (expert fighter) refers to an individual who has the skill of fighting expertly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of fighting which this nominal modifies is an inherent property of an individual in question which cannot be taken away from that individual. In other words, whether an individual in question is engaged in the skillful act of fighting, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xilwi** (expert fighter).

**Lwa** (fight)

C. [Event/Act]: vulwi (fighting)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulwi bya wanuna byi n’wi khomisile.
(The fighting of the man got him arrested).

(b) Vulwi bya wanuna byi chavisa vanhu.
(The fighting of the man scares people).
(c) Vafana va rhandza vulwi bya tinkuzi.
(The young men like the fighting of the bulls).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vulwi* (fighting) denotes an act of fighting which an individual is engaged in. There is a habitual reading and a specific reading of activity in this nominal.

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**Class 1/2**

Prefixes: **mu-/va-**

Suffix: **-i**

**mulwi** (fighter)

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Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
**Rilwo** (excessive fighting)

![Diagram of Rilwo]

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
**Xiliwi** (excessive/expert fighter)

![Diagram of Xiliwi]

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
**Vulwi** (fighting)

![Diagram of Vulwi]
Verbs of Social Interaction

(30) Nominalization from the verb: -lwa (fight)

(iv) The verb –lwa (fight)
Wanuna wa lwa.
(The man is fighting).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys.obj} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&[\text{AGENTIVE} = -lwa_{\text{act}} (e_1, x)]
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Fight – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -lwa (fight) in (30) displays one argument in the argument structure, namely the physical object (human/animal) which is fighting. The event structure specifies the act (process) of fighting. The qualia structure displays the physical object (human/animal) in the formal quale, whereas the agentive quale represents the process of fighting of the physical object (human/animal).

(31) Nominalisation in class 1: mulwi (fighter)

Mulwi u tshovekile voko.
(The fighter broke his hand).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&[\text{AGENTIVE} = -lwa_{\text{actor}} (e_1, x)]
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Fight – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mulwi (fighter) in (31) displays one argument in the argument structure, namely the physical object (human/animal) which is fighting. The event structure specifies the act (process) of fighting. The qualia structure displays the physical object (human/animal) in the formal quale, whereas the agentive quale represents the process of fighting of the physical object (human/animal).
Nominalisation in class 7: xilwi (expert fighter)

Xilwi xi nghena erivaleni.
(The expert fighter gets into the ring).

xilwi

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -lwa_actor_expert (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Fight – Expertise – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xilwi (expert fighter) in (32) is similar to that of mulwi (fighter) in (31) above. The difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [expertise] in xilwi (expert fighter), which is absent, in mulwi (fighter).

Nominalisation in class 5: rilwo (excessive fighting)

Rilwo ra wansati ni vatirhikuloni ri ta n’wi hlongorisa entirhweni.
(The excessive fighting of the woman with fellow workers will get her chased away from the job).

rilwo

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: phys. obj
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e1, x)
AGENTIVE = -lwa_act_excessive (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Fight – Excessive act – Event

The lexical semantic representation of rilwo (excessive fighting) in (33) exhibits two arguments in the argument structure, of which one is a default argument (ARG1), namely the physical object which is fighting. The other argument represents the reference of the event of fighting.
(34) **Nominalisation in class 14: vulwi (fighting)**

Vulwi bya wanuna ni satsi wakwe byi n’wi khomisile.
(The fighting of the man with his wife got him arrested).

\[
\begin{array}{|l|}
\hline
\text{vulwi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-lwa\_event/act} (e_1, x) \\
\hline
\end{array}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Fight – Act/Event

The lexical semantic representation of *vulwi* (fighting) in (34) corresponds to that of *rilwo* (excessive fighting) in (33) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive], which occurs in the agentive quale of *rilwo* (excessive fighting) in (33), which is absent in *vulwi* (fighting) in (34).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of social interaction have similar lexical semantic representations to that of *-lwa* (fight) above with the exception of deverbatives from *-khomba* (undergo initiation ritual for women). The deverbatives from the verb *-khomba* (undergo initiation ritual for women) seems to behave differently from the deverbatives of other verbs. There are no deverbatives from *-khomba* in classes 1, 2, 5 and 7 as in other deverbatives from other verbs. The suffix *-a* also occurs with a deverbative from *-khomba* in class 9 which denotes a human (woman initiate). The nominal *muphungeri* (misbehaving person) refers to a naughty and troublesome person or a person who behaves badly or in an unacceptable manner. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the naughtiness of an individual in question is something that characterizes his behaviour and cannot be taken away from him. In this way, an individual in question will always be referred to as *muphungeri* (misbehaving person) even if he is not doing anything unpleasant at the time of reference.
Phungela (misbehave)

B. [Excessive act]: riphungelo (excessive misbehaving)

Class 5:  2. (a) Riphungelo ra n’wana loyi a ri tsakisi.
(The excessive misbehaving of his child is not pleasing).

(b) Riphungelo ra Mr. Bean a ri va khomi kahle vanhu.
(The excessive misbehaving of Mr. Bean does not impress people).

(c) Vanhu va sola riphungelo ra mufana.
(The people condemn the excessive misbehaving of the boy).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphungelo (excessive misbehaviour) refers to excessive improper, wicked or immoral conduct.

Phungela (misbehave)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xiphungeri (expert/excessively misbehaving person)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xiphungeri xi borha vanhu.
(The expert/excessively misbehaving person is boring people).

(b) Xiphungeri xi tichicha xiyimo.
(The expert/excessively misbehaving person degrades his dignity).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza xiphungeri.
(People love the expert/excessively misbehaving person).

Plural: class 8: swiphungeli (expert/excessively misbehaving people)

The nominal xiphungeri (expert/excessively misbehaving person) refers to a person who excessively behaves badly or in an unacceptable way. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the excessiveness of the naughtiness of an individual in question which an individual in question fails to control. This type of behaviour has formed a habit in an individual in question. In this way, whether an individual is misbehaving or he may not be at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as xiphungeri (excessively misbehaving person).

Phungela (misbehave)

D. [Act]: vuphungeri (misbehaviour)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vuphungeri bya n’wana byi n’wi bisa hi wansati.
(The misbehaviour of the child makes him to be beaten by the woman).

(b) Vuphungeri bya wanuna byi nyenyetsa vana.
(The misbehaviour of the man annoys the children).

(c) Vanhu va venga vuphungeri bya wanuna.
(The people dislike the misbehaviour of the man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphungeri (misbehaviour) refers to improper or wicked or immoral conduct.
Phungela (clown)

A. [Actor]: muphungeri (clown)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphungeri u hlekisa vanhu.
(The clown makes people laugh).

(b) Muphungeri u encenyeta mavulavulelo ya Mandela.
(The clown imitates the manner of speaking of Mandela).

(c) Vanhu va bela muphungeri mavoko.
(The crowd clap hands for the clown).

Plural: class 2: vaphungeli (clowns)

The nominal muphungeri (clown) refers to an entertainer who wears funny clothes and does silly practices to make people laugh. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the funniness of entertainment of an individual in question. This type of behaviour has formed a habit in an individual in question. In this way, whether an individual is clowning or not at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as muphungeri (clown).

Phungela (clown)

B. [Excessive act]: riphungelo (excessive clowning)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphungelo ra n’wana loyi ri hlekisa ntshungu.
(The excessive clowning of this child makes the crowd laugh heartily).

(b) Riphungelo ra Mr. Bean ri nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The excessive clowning of Mr. Bean annoys his children).

(c) Vanhu va sola riphungelo ra mufana.
(The people disapprove the excessive clowning of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphungelo (excessive clowning) refers to the act of clowning of an individual which is excessively done.

Phungela (clown)

C. [Expert actor]: xiphungeri (expert clown)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphungeri xi fikile eholweni.
(The expert clown has arrived in the auditorium).

(b) Xiphungeri xi tiendla wansati loyi a nga ni khwiri).
(The expert clown makes himself look like a woman who is pregnant).

(c) Vanhu va qhavula xiphukeri.
(The people shake hands with the expert clown).

Plural: class 8: swiphungeli (clown)

The nominal xiphungeri (expert clown) refers to an individual who has an extra ordinary skill of doing funny practices which make other people laugh. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-
level nominal because the property of extra skill which this nominal modifies is an inherent thing and forms part of the character of an individual in question. In this way, it cannot be taken away from an individual, whether an individual is displaying this extra skill of clowning or not at the time of reference and will always be referred to as xiphungeri (expert clown).

**Phungela** (joke)

D. [Event/Act]: vuphungeri (clowning)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuphungeri byi tekeriwa ehansi eAfrika-dzonga.
(Clowning is despised in South Africa).
(b) Vuphungeri bya wanuna byi tsakisa vana.
(The clowning of the man pleases the children).
(c) Vanhu va rhandza vuphungeri bya wanuna.
(The people like the clowning of a man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphungeri (clowning) refers to the act of clowning by an individual.

**Huhwa** (Play)

A. [Actor] muhuhwi (player)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhuhwi u vumba ximunhwana.
(The player moulds a human doll)
(b) Muhuhwi u thyakile.
(The player is dirty).
(c) Wansati u hlongola muhuhwi etaleni.
(The woman chases the player from the ash/rubbish hill).

Plural: Class 2: vahuhwi (players)

The nominal muhuhwi (player) denotes an individual who engages himself in a non serious or informal activity just for pleasure. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of playing which an individual in question is engaged in is for a short time. Once the act of playing is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhuhwi (player).

**Huhwa** (Play)

B. [Excessive playing]: rihuhwo (excessive playing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihuhwo ra mufana hi misava ri nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excessive playing of the young man with soil annoys the woman).
(b) Rihuhwo ra n’wana ri hlamarisa wansati.
(The excessive playing of the child surprises the woman).
(c) Wansati u venga rihuhwo ra n’wan hi misava.
(The woman hates the excessive playing of the child with soil).
The nominal **rihuhwo** (excessive playing) refers to an informal activity which an individual is involved in just for pleasure which is done excessively.

**Huhwa (Play)**

C.  [State]:  rihuhwo (slight madness)

Class 5:  3.  (a)  Rihuhwo ra wanuna ri nyanya hi ximun’wana.
(The slight madness of the man worsens during spring).

(b)  Rihuhwo ra wanuna ri tshunguriwile.
(The slight madness of the man has been cured).

(c)  N’anga yi tshungula rihuhwo ra wanuna.
(The traditional healer cures the slight madness of the man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihuhwo** (slight madness) may also refer to a slight mental disorder of an individual. In most cases, the person who suffers does not harm other people, but can speak to oneself, or moves about with untidy clothes.

**Huhwa (Play)**

D.  [Excessive actor]:  xihuhwi (excessive player)

Class 7:  4.  (a)  Xihuhwi xi rhamba swihuhwi kuloni.
(The excessive player invites other excessive players).

(b)  Xihuhwi xi karhele.
(The excessive player is tired).

(c)  Wansati u hlongola xihuhwi etaleni.
(The woman chases the excessive player from the ash/rubbish hill).

Plural: Class 8:  swihuhwi (excessive players)

The nominal **xihuhwi** (excessive player) refers to an individual who excessively engages in an informal activity just for pleasure. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of playing, which is the defining property in this nominal has formed into a habit in an individual concerned and will thus always be associated with an individual. In other words, whether the person in question will be engaged or not engaged in the activity of playing at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as **xuhuhwi** (excessive player).

**Huhwa (Play)**

E.  [Act]:  vuhuhwi (playing)

Class 14:  5.  (a)  Vuhuhwi bya vana byi va susa xivundza.
(The playing of the children takes away boredom from them).
(b) Vuhuhwi bya vana byi tsakisa vatswari.
(The playing of the children pleases the parents).

(c) Wansati u languta vuhuhwi bya vana etaleni.
(The woman watches the playing of the children in the rubbish hill).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhuhwi (playing) refers to an informal activity in which an individual is involved, just for pleasure.

Khomba (undergo initiation ritual for females)

A. [Excessive actor]: khomba (woman initiate)

Class 9: 1. (a) Khomba yi humile tolo.
(The woman initiate formally graduated yesterday).

(b) Khomba yi huwelela mudzabi wa yona.
(The woman initiate calls for her guide).

(c) Mudzabi u nyika khomba swakudya.
(The guide gives the woman initiate food).

Plural: Class 10: tikhomba (women initiates)

The nominal khomba (woman initiate) refers to a young woman who undergoes initiation ritual for females. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the event of undergoing the initiation is for a specified season. Once the event comes to an end, such a nominal may no longer be referred to as khomba (woman initiate).

Khomba (undergo initiation ritual for females)

B. [Event]: vukhomba (initiation ritual for females)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vukhomba bya Mamayila byi ve hi N’wendzamhala.
(The initiation ritual for Mamayila took place in December).

(b) Vukhomba bya Tsatsawana byi tsakise vatswari vakwe.
(The initiation ritual for Tsatsawana pleased her parents).

(c) Vakhegula va sola vukhomba bya N’wendzamhala.
(The old women disapprove of the initiation ritual for females which is conducted in December).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhomba (initiation ritual for females) refers to an event whereby a young woman undergoes the initiation ritual as a sign that she is now a grown up woman ready for courtship. In this event the young woman is taught how to behave when she will be married.
**Hungasa** (pass the time having some leisure with others)

A.  [Actor]: muhungasi (person who passes the time by having leisure with others)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muhungasi u twa ndlala.
   (The person who passes the time by having leisure time with others is hungry).
   
   (b) Muhungasi u hembela vafana.
   (The person who passes the time by having leisure time with others is lying to the young men).
   
   (c) Wanuna u vitana muhungasi.
   (The man calls the person who passes the time by having leisure time with others).

Plural: Class 2:  vahungasi (people who pass the time by having leisure time with others)

The nominal **muhungasi** (person who passes the time by having leisure with others) refers to an individual who passes the time by having leisure with others, usually during the day by relating stories and telling each other and discussing issues that are taking place in their community, the province, or around the country. These people may be playing cards or **ncuva** (a traditional game for men). There is usually a common place where they come together. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is act of passing time leisurely. Once such an act is over, an individual in question will no longer be referred to as **muhungasi** (person who passes the time by having leisure with others).

**Hungasa** (pass the time having some leisure with others)

B.  [Excessive act]: rihungaso (excessive passing the time by having leisure with others)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rihungaso ra wanuna ni vafana ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
   (The excessive passing of time leisurely of the man and young men annoys his wife).
   
   (b) Rihungaso ra nhwana ni majaha ri hlundzukisa mana wakwe.
   (The excessive passing the time leisurely of the young woman with the young men makes her mother angry).
   
   (c) Wansati u venga rihungaso ra nuna wakwe ni vanhwanyani.
   (The woman hates passing the time leisurely of her husband with girls).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihungaso** (excessive passing the time by having leisure with others) denotes an excessive act of passing the time by having leisure time with others, usually during the day by relating stories to one another and discussing issues that are taking place in their community, the province, the country. They may also playing cards or **ncuva** (a traditional game of men). There is usually a common place where come together.
Hungasa (pass the time having some leisure with others)

C. [Excessive actor]: xihungasi (person who excessively passes the time by having leisure with others)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihungasi xi ya encuveni.
(The person who excessively passes the time by having leisure time with others goes to the game for males).

(b) Xihungasi xi tsundzuka nkarhi wo ya encuveni.
(The person who excessively passes the time by having leisure with others remembers the time for going to the game for males).

(c) Wanuna u ba xihungasi ebolweni.
(The man beats the person who excessively passes the time by having leisure with others at the soccer game.

Plural: Class 8: swihungasi (people who excessively pass the time by having leisure with others)

The nominal xihungasi (person who excessively passes the time by having leisure time with others) denotes an individual who excessively passes the time by having leisure time with others, usually during the day. They relate stories to each other and discuss issues that are taking place in their community, the province, or the country. They may also playing cards or ncuva (a traditional game for men). There is usually a common place where such people come together. This nominal maybe regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness or habit of passing the time leisurely by individuals in the company with others. This habit will always be associated with him for the rest of his life regardless of whether an individual in question may be engaged in the act of passing the time leisurely with others. In this case then, the nominal xihungasi (person who excessively passes the time by having leisure time with others) does not modify the event of passing the time by having leisure time with others, but the excessiveness or the habit thereof

Hungasa (pass the time having some leisure with others)

D. [Act]: vuhungasi (passing the time by having leisure with others)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhungasi bya wanuna ni vafana byi karhata nsati wakwe.
(The passing of time by having leisure with others of the man with young men worries his wife).

(b) Vuhungasi bya mufana exikarhi ka vhiki byi nyangatsa mudyondzisi.
(The passing the time by having leisure with others of the young men During the week disgusts the teacher.

(c) Wansati u sola vuhungasi bya mufana exikarhi ka vhiki.
(The woman disapproves of the passing of the time by having leisure with others of the young man during the week.

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhungasi (passing the time by having leisure with others) refers to the act of passing the time by having leisure with others, usually during the day by relating stories and telling each other
and discussing issues that are taking place in their community, the province or even around the country. They may be playing cards or *ncuva* (a traditional game of men). There is usually a common place where people who pass time come together.

**Xuxa** (spend the evening sitting up together)

E.  
[Actor]: muxuxi (person who spend the evening sitting up with others)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Muxuxi u dya vuswa.  
   (The person who spends the evening sitting up is eating porridge).

2. (b) Muxuxi u oxa swifaki.  
   (The person who spends the evening sitting up is roasting mealie cobs).

3. (c) Wanuna u komba muxuxi nkarhi.  
   (The man shows time to the person who spends the evening sitting up).

Plural: Class 2: vaxuxi (people who spends the evening sitting up together)

The nominal *muxuxi* (person who spend the evening sitting up with others) refers to an individual who spends the evening sitting up with others, usually around the fire relating folktales, or stories to one another. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is act of spending the evening with others. Once such an act is over an individual in question will no longer be referred to as *muxuxi* (person who spends the evening sitting up with others). In other words, the nominal *muxuxi* (person who spends the evening sitting up with others) makes reference to the defining event of spending the evening sitting up with others.

**Xuxa** (spend the evening sitting up together)

F.  
[Excessive act]: rixuxo (excessive spending the evening sitting up together)

Class 5:  
2. (a) Rixuxo ra wanuna ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.  
   (The spending of the evening sitting up with others of the man annoys his wife).

2. (b) Rixuxo ra wanuna ni vafana ri hlamarisa vanhu.  
   (The excessive spending the evening sitting up with young men surprises people).

2. (c) Wansati u sola rixuxo ra nuna wakwe ni vanhwanyani.  
   (The woman disapproves of the excessive spending of the evening sitting up of the man with girls).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rixuxo* (excessive spending the evening sitting up together) denotes an excessive act of spending the evening sitting up with others, usually around the fire relating folktales or stories to one another.
**Xuxa** (spend the evening sitting up together)

G. [Excessive actor]: xixuxi (person who excessively spends the evening sitting up with others)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xixuxi xi orha ndzilo.
(The person who excessively spends the evening sitting up with others is sitting around the fire).
(b) Xixuxi xi hlwaya tibuku.
(The person who excessively spends the evening sitting up with others is reading books).
(c) Wanuna u hlongola xixuxi endzilweni.
(The man is chasing away the person who excessively spends the evening sitting up with others from the fire.

Plural: Class 8: swixuxi (people who excessively spend the evening sitting up together)

The nominal xixuxi (person who excessively spend the evening sitting up with others) denotes an individual who excessively spends the evening sitting up with others, usually around the fire relating folktales or stories to one another. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is not the act of spending the evening sitting up with others of the man, but the excessiveness/habit of this act. In other words, the excessiveness/habit of spending the evening sitting up with others of an individual in question will be associated with him for the most part of his life irrespective of whether an individual in question may be engaged in the act of spending the evening sitting up with others, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Xuxa** (spend the evening sitting up together)

H. [Act]: vuxuxi (spending the evening sitting up together)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuxuxi bya wanuna ni vafana byi karhata nsati wakwe.
(The spending of the evening sitting up together of the man with young men worries his wife).
(b) Vuxuxi bya mufana exikarhi ka vhiki byi nyangatsa mudyondzisi.
(The spending of the evening sitting up with others of the young men during the week disgusts the teacher).
(c) Wansati u sola vuxuxi bya mufana exikarhi ka vhiki.
(The woman disapproves of the spending of the evening sitting up with others of the young man during the week.

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuxuxi (spending the evening sitting up together) refers to the act of spending the evening sitting up with others, usually around the fire relating folktales or stories to each other.
**Vundza** (rest of animals after feeding)

A. [Excessive act]: rivundzo (excessive resting of animals after feeding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivundzo ra tihomu ri nyika mufana nkarhi wo khida.
(The excessive resting of cows gives the young man time of swimming).

(b) Rivundzo ra tinghala ekusuhi ni nambu ri chavisa varisi.
(The excessive resting of the lions near the river scares the herd boys).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela rivundzo ra tihomu ekusuhi ni nambu.
(The man likes the excessive resting of the cows near the river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivundzo** (excessive resting of animals after feeding) denotes an excessive act of resting of animals after feeding, especially in the afternoon.

**Vundza** (rest of animals after feeding)

B. [Act]: vuvundzi (resting of animals after feeding)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuvundzi bya tihomu ekusuhi ni muti byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The resting of cows near the homestead annoys the woman).

(b) Vuvundzi bya tihomu ninhlakanhi byi tsakisa varisi.
(The resting of cows at noon pleases the herd boys).

(c) Wansati u sola vuvundzi bya tihomu ekusuhi ni patu.
(The woman disapproves of the resting of cows near the road).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuvundzi** (resting of animals after feeding) refers to the act of resting of animals after feeding, especially in the afternoon.

5.8. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF SOUND EXISTENCE

The verbs of Sound Existence are defined by Levin (1995:253) as verbs which describe the existence of sound, although they are vague as to the exact nature of the sound. According to Levin (op cit), the verbs included in this class are typically intransitive in nature. He however, points out that a verb such as *sound* behaves differently in that it allows transitive causative uses. In his view, this may be attributed to the fact that in its transitive use this verb does not simply describe the bringing into the existence of a sound, but rather describes the bringing into existence of a particular type of sound. Levin (op cit) argues that his assertion is evidenced by the fact that the transitive use of the verb *sound* appears to allow a more limited range of noun phrases as direct object than its intransitive use allows as subject. This section will focus on two of such Xitsonga verbs, including of course, the verb *sound*. Most of the verbs in this class take an inanimate subject.
Class 3 | Class 5a | Class 14a
--- | --- | ---
**pfuma** | mpfumo | ripfumo | vupfumi
**duma** | mudumo | ridumo | vudumi

**Pfuma** (make sound)

A. [Result]: mpfumo (sound)

Class 3: 1. (a) Mpfumo wa mhalamhala wu twala kule.
(The sound of the horn is heard from far away).
(b) Mpfumo wa xidzedze wa chavisa.
(The sound of the tornado is scary frightening).
(c) Vanhu va chava mpfumo wa xibamu.
(The people fear the sound of the gun).

Plural: Class 4: mipfumo (sounds)

The nominal **mpfumo** (sound) refers to the sound produced by a horn or calabash when blown by air.

**Pfuma** (make sound)

B. [Excessive act]: ripfumo (excessive resounding)

Class 5: 1. (a) Ripfumo ra xitsemba ri karhata vayeni.
(The excessive resounding of a calabash troubles visitors).
(b) Ripfumo ra mhalamhala ri hlamarisa vayeni.
(The excessive resounding of the horn surprises the visitors).
(c) Vanhu va chava ripfumo ra tilo.
(The people are afraid of the excessive resounding of the thunder).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ripfumo** (excessive resounding) refers to the sound which is produced excessively by a horn or calabash when blown by air.

**Pfuma** (make sound)

C. [Act]: vupfumi (blowing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vupfumi bya mhalamhala byi lava matimba.
(The blowing of the horn needs energy).
(b) Vupfumi bya mhalamhala byi olova nimixo.
(The blowing of the horn is easy in the morning).
(c) Vavasati va hlalela vupfumi bya mhalamhala hi mukhengula.
(The women watch the blowing of the horn by the old woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vupfumi** (resounding) refers to the act of blowing the horn or calabash by a person in order to produce the sound.

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
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<tr>
<td><strong>pfuma</strong></td>
<td>mpfumo</td>
<td>ripfumo</td>
<td>vupfumi</td>
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<tr>
<td><strong>duma</strong></td>
<td>mudumo</td>
<td>ridumo</td>
<td>vudumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class 3/4**

Prefixes: **mu-*/mi-**

Suffix: **-o**

**Mpfumo** (sound)

```
N
AF  N^R
  V  AF
  m-  -pfum-  -o
```

**Class 5**

Prefix: **ri-**

Suffix: **-o**

**Ripfumo** (excessive resounding)

```
N
AF  N^R
  V  AF
  ri-  -pfum-  -o
```
Verbs of Sound Existence

(35) **Nominalization from the verb: -pfuma** (make sound)

(v) The verb –pfuma (make sound)
Mhalamhala ya pfuma.
(The horn is making sound).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = -\text{pfuma}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Sound – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -pfuma (make sound) in (35) displays one argument in its argument structure, namely, the physical object, which is an inanimate object that makes the sound. The event structure represents the process event of making sound. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical argument, namely, inanimate object, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of making sound (e₁) of a physical object (x).
(36) **Nominalisation in class 5: ripfumo** (excessive resounding)

Ripfumo ra xitsemba ri karhata vayeni.
(The excessive resounding of the calabash troubles the visitors).

**ripfumo**

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r  
D–ARG1 = x: phys. obj.(non human)  
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process  
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e1, x)  
AGENTIVE = -pfuma_act_excessive (e1, x)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Sound – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbal **ripfumo** (excessive resounding) in (36) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which produces the sound. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of producing sound. The event structure represents the default process event of producing sound. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x) which makes the sound, and the agentive quale represents the [excessive act] of the event of making sound (e1) of a physical object (x).

(37) **Nominalisation in class 14: vupfumi** (blowing)

Vupfumi bya mhalamhala byi lava matimba.
(The blowing of the horn needs energy).

**vupfumi**

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r  
D–ARG1 = x: phys. obj.  
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process  
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e1, x)  
AGENTIVE = -pfuma_act (e1, x)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Sound – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vupfumi** (making sound/blowing) in (37) corresponds to that of **ripfumo** (excessive making sound/blowing) in (36) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive], which occurs in the agentive quale of **ripfumo** (excessive making sound/blowing) in (36), which is absent in **vupfumi** (making sound/blowing) in (37).

(38) **Nominalisation in class 3: mpfumo** (sound)

Mupfumo wa mhalamhala wu twala ekule.
(The sound of the horn is heard from afar).
The lexical semantic representation of deverbative *mpfumo* (sound) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which produces the sound. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference of the event of producing sound. The event structure represents the default process event of producing sound. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x) which makes the sound, and the agentive quale represents the resultant act of the event of making sound (e₁) of a physical object (x).

The other deverbative in this sub-class of verbs of sound existence has similar lexical semantic representations to that of *-pfuma* above. It should be noted that the deverbatives in this sub-class are found in classes 3, 5, and 14 only. There are no deverbatives in classes 1, 7, and 9.

**Duma** (make sound)

A. [Result]: mudumo (sound)

Class 3: 1. (a) Mudumo wa lori wu chavisa vana.
(The sound of the truck scares children).

    (b) Mudumo wa moya wu ririsa vana.
    (The sound of the wind makes children cry).

    (c) Muchayeri u hlamala mudumo wa lori.
    (The driver is surprised at the sound of the truck).

Plural: class 4: midumo (sounds)

The nominal mudumo (sounds) refers to a loud noise made by an object.

**Duma** (make sound)

B. [Excessive act]: ridumo (excessive resounding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridumo ra ra mabazi ri chavisa vana.
(The excessive resounding of the buses scares the children).

    (b) Ridumo ra tilori ri tsutsumisa varisi.
    (The excessive resounding of the trucks makes the herd boys run away).

    (c) Vafana va chava ridumo ra tilori.
    (The young men are afraid of the excessive resounding of the trucks).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridumo** (excessive resounding) refers to the excessive resounding of an object.

**Duma** (make sound)

A.  [Act]:  vudumi (resounding)

Class 14:  3. (a)  Vudumi bya bazi byi chavisa vana.  
(The resounding of the truck scares children).

(b)  Vudumi bya muchini wo pompa mati byi dlaya tindleve.  
(The resounding of the borehole engine damages the ears).

(c)  Vana va chava vudumi bya muchini wo pompa mati.  
(The children are afraid of the resounding of the borehole engine).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vudumi** (resounding) refers to the resounding of an object.

5.9. **DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF GROOMING AND BODILY CARE**

Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care are defined by Levin (1995: 228) as verbs which relate to taking care or grooming the whole body. However, in this section these verbs also include the verbs that relate to the neglecting of the body. Levin (op cit) states that the Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care can be found with either Xself or with the appropriate body part as direct object. Levin (op cit) contends that when these verbs are used intransitively they exhibit the understood reflexive object alternation, that is, the action is understood to be directed at a subject.

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<tr>
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<th>Class 1</th>
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<th>Class 5a</th>
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A.  [Actor]:  mubombi (smartly dresser)

Class 1:  1. (a)  Mubombi u khandziya bazi.  
(The smartly dresser climbs the bus)

(b)  Mubombi u phumundha tintangu.  
(The smartly dresser dusts the shoes)

(c)  Wansati u yimisa mubombi.  
(The woman stops the smartly dresser)

Plural: Class 2: vabombi (smartly dressing people)
The nominal **mubombi** (smartly dresser) refers to an individual who is neatly dressed up in latest fashion clothes. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an individual in question is only smartly dressed at a particular time or event. It is not a property that is associated with an individual for the rest of his life.

**Bomba** (Dress smartly)

B.  
[Result]: ribombo (excessive dressing smartly)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribombo ra vavasati hi maburuku ri tsakisa vavanuna.  
(The excessive smartly dressing of the women with trousers pleases the men).

(b) Ribombo ra vana va masiku lawa ri durhela vatswari.  
(The excessive smartly dressing of the children these days is costly for the parents).

(c) Wanuna u nyenya ribombo ra vavasati va namuntlha ra maburuku.  
(The man dislikes the excessive smartly dressing of today’s women with trousers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6

The nominal **ribombo** (excessive dressing smartly) denotes the excessive act of dressing well of an individual which has formed into a habit in him.

**Bomba** (Dress smartly)

C.  
[Result]: bombo (dressing smartly)

Class 5: 2. (a) Bombo ra vavasati ri tsakisa vavanuna.  
(Smartly dressing of the women pleases the men).

(b) Bombo ra vana ri hlohlotela hi thelevhixini.  
(Smartly dressing of the children is influenced by the television).

(c) Vana va masiku lawa va rhandza ngopfu bombo.  
(Today’s children like dressing smartly very much).

Plural: Class 6: mabombo (smartly dressings)

The nominal **bombo** (dressing smartly) denotes a phenomenon in which an individual dresses smartly.

**Bomba** (dress smartly)

D.  
[Excessive smartly dresser]: xibombi (excessive smartly dresser)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibombi xi dya KFC.  
(The excessive smartly dresser eats KFC).

(b) Xibombi xi vhakela wansati.  
(The excessive smartly dresser visits the Woman).

(c) Vana va landzelela xibombi epatwini.  
(The children follow the excessive smartly dresser on the road).

Plural: Class 8: swibombi (excessively smartly dressers)
The nominal **xibombi** (excessive smartly dresser) refers to an individual who excessively likes and is always neatly dressed up in recent fashion clothes. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because this property of dressing smartly is something that is associated with an individual for the rest of his life.

**Bomba** (Dress smartly)

E.  [Act]: vubombi (smartly dressing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubombi bya wanuna byi tiveka kule.  
(The smartly dressing of the man is known in faraway places).

(b) Vubombi bya vavasati byi koka mahlo.  
(The smartly dressing of the women is attractive).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza vubombi bya swiambalo swa ndhavuko.  
(People like smartly dressing of traditional clothes).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vubombi** (smartly dressing) refers to an act in which an individual dresses neatly with beautiful or new clothes which are in fashion.

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**Class 1/2**

Prefixes: mu-/va-

Suffix: -i

**Mubombi** (smartly dresser)
Class 3
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -o
bombo (dressing smartly)

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
Xibombi (excessive smartly dresser)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vubombi (smartly dressing)
Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care

(39) Nominalization from the verb: -bomba (dress smartly)
The verb –bomba (dress smartly)
Wanuna u bomba ngopfu masiku lawa.
(The man is dressing so smartly these days).

-bomba

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: phys.obj. (human)
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -bomba_act (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Dress smartly – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -bomba (dress smartly) in (39) displays one argument in its argument structure, namely, the physical object (human) that performs the action. The event structure represents the process event of dressing smartly. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical argument (human), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of dressing smartly (e1) of a physical object (x).

(40) Nominalisation in class 1: mubombi (smartly dresser)
Mubombi u tichela fendlele.
(The smart dresser puts on perfume).

mubombi

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -bomba_actor (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smartly dress – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mubombi (smartly dresser) in (40) displays one argument in its argument structure, namely, the physical object (human) that performs the action. The event structure represents the process event of dressing smartly. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical argument (human), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of dressing smartly (e1) of a physical object (x).
(41) Nominalisation in classes 7/8: xibombi (excessive smartly dresser)

Xibombi xa wansati xi rhandza ngopfu vavanuna.
(The excessive smartly dresser of the woman likes men a lot).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xibombi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{bomba}_\text{actor}\_\text{excessive} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Smartly dress – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xibombi (excessive smartly dresser) in (41) is similar to that of mubombi (smartly dresser) (40) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive], which occurs in the agentive quale of xibombi (excessive smartly dresser) in (41), which is absent in mubombi (smartly dresser) in (40).

(42) Nominalisation in class 5 with the suffix -o: ribombo (excessive smartly dressing)

Ribombo ra vavasati hi maburuku ri tsakisa vavanuna.
(The excessive smartly dressing of the women with trousers pleases the men).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ribombo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D-ARG1}= x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{bomba}_\text{act}\_\text{excessive} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Dress smartly – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbal ribombo (excessive smartly dressing) in (42) displays two arguments in the argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which dresses smartly. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference \( \mathbb{R} \) of the event of dressing smartly. The event structure represents the default process event of dressing smartly. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x) which dresses smartly, and the agentive quale represents the [excessive act] of the event of dressing smartly (e_1) of a physical object (x).
Nominalisation in class 14: vubombi (smartly dressing)

Vubombi bya wansati byi tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The dressing smartly of the woman pleases her husband).

vubombi

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{bomba}_\text{act} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Dress smartly – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vubombi (smartly dressing) in (43) corresponds to that of ribombo (excessive smartly dressing) in (42) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive], which occurs in the agentive quale of ribombo (excessive smartly dressing) in (42) which is absent in vubombi (smartly dressing) in (43).

Nominalisation in class 3: bombo (dressing smartly)

Bombo ra vavasati ri tsakisa vavanuna.
(The dressing smartly of the women pleases men).

bombo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1}=x: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{bomba}_\text{result} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Dress smartly – Result

The lexical semantic representation of bombo (dressing smartly) (44) displays two arguments in its argument structure, of which one is default arguments, namely the physical object that is engaged in the act of dressing smartly. The other argument represents the reference of the act (event) of dressing smartly.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of grooming bodily care have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -bomba above. No class 3 deverbatives may be found with this sub-class of verbs. The suffix -a occurs with class 5 dervebative, -thyaka (dirt), from the verb -thyaka (be dirty) with the result reading and class 7 deverbative, xibasa (smooth white porridge) from the verb -basa (be clean), also with a result reading.

Thyaka (Be dirty)
A. [Actor]: muthyaki (dirty person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muthyaki u khandziya bazi.
       (The dirty person boards the bus).
        
       (b) Muthyaki u phumundha tintangu.
       (The dirty person dusts the shoes).

       (c) Wansati u yimisa muthyaki.
       (The woman stops the dirty person).

Plural: Class 2: vathyaki (dirty people)

The nominal muthyaki (dirty person) refers to a person who is not clean. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because a person may be dirty at a particular time because of doing some work, but after that washes himself and become clean. In other words, such a nominal applies to a person in question during that time when he has not washed himself. Once such a person washes himself and puts on clean clothes, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muthyaki (dirty person).

Thyaka (Be dirty)

B. [Excessive state]: rithyako (excessive dirtiness)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rithyako ra mati ya Nandoni ri dlaya tihlamfi.
       (The excessive dirtiness of Nandoni water kills fish).

       (b) Rithyako ra bazi ri nyenyetsa vakhandziya.
       (The excessive dirtiness of the bus annoys the passengers).

       (c) Wauna u sola rithyako ra yindlu.
       (The man disapproves the excessive dirtiness of the house).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithyako (excessive dirtiness) refers to a state in which something is excessively soiled or covered in dust.

Thyaka (Be dirty)

C. [Result]: thyaka (dirt)

Class 5:  3. (a) Thyaka ri vabyisa wanuna.
       (Dirt makes the man sick).

       (b) Thyaka ra nyenyetsa.
       (Dirt is disgusting).

       (c) Wansati u kukula thyaka.
       (The woman sweeps the dirt away).

Plural: Class 5: mathyaka (dirts)

The nominal thyaka (dirt) refers to any substance, such as soil, dust, mud, and oil that makes someone dirty.
Thyaka (Be dirty)

D. [Excessive actor]: xithyaki (excessively dirty person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xithyaki xi khandziya bazi.  
(The excessively dirty person boards the bus).
(b) Xithyaki xi phumundha tintangu.  
(The excessively dirty person dusts the shoes).
(c) Wansati u hlongola xithyaki emasofeni.  
(The woman chases the excessively dirty person from the sofas).

Plural: Class 8: swithyaki (excessively dirty people)

The nominal xithyaki (excessively dirty person) refers to an individual who stays excessively dirty most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of dirtiness has now formed a habit in an individual in question. In other words, an individual in question is always associated with excessive dirtiness throughout his lifetime.

Thyaka (Be dirty)

E. [State]: vuthyaki (dirtiness)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuthyaki bya mati ya Nandoni byi dlaya tihlampfi.  
(The dirtiness of Nandoni water kills fish).
(b) Vuthyaki bya bazi byi nyenyetsa vakhandziya.  
(The dirtiness of the bus annoys the passengers).
(c) Wauna u sola vuthyaki bya yindlu.  
(The man disapproves the dirtiness of the house).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuthyaki (dirtiness) refers to a state in which an object is soiled or covered in dust, oil, mud or any such substance.

Basa (Be neat/clean)

A. [Actor]: mubasi (neat/clean person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubasi u khandziya bazi.  
(The neat/clean person boards the bus).
(b) Mubasi u phumundha tintangu.  
(The neat/clean person dusts the shoes).
(c) Wansati u amukela mubasi endlwini.  
(The woman welcomes the neat/clean person in the house).

Plural: Class 2: vabasi (neat/clean people)

The nominal mubasi (neat/clean person) denotes an individual who is free from dirt. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the defining property here is the cleanliness of an
individual in question. In other words, he will be referred to as **mubasi** (clean person) only at the time when he shall have washed himself and put on clean clothes.

**Basa** (Be neat/clean)

B. **[Excessive state]:** ribaso (Excessive neatness/cleanliness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribaso ra mufana ri n’wi rhandzisa hi tintombi.  
(The excessive neatness/cleanliness makes him liked by young women).

(b) Ribaso ra mufana masiku lawa ri hleketerisa swin’wana.  
(The excessive neatness/cleanliness of the young men is suspicious of something).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala ribaso ra mufana masiku lawa.  
(The man is surprised at the neatness/cleanliness of the young man these days).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribaso** (excessive cleanliness) refers to the state of excessive cleanliness of an individual.

**Basa** (Be neat/clean)

C. **[excessive actor]:** xibasi (excessive neat/clean person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibasi xi ya enkhubyeni.  
(The neat/clean person goes to the function).

(b) Xibasi u xa tinyanga exivonini.  
(The neat/clean person looks at himself on the mirror).

(c) Wansati u sula xibasi nyuku.  
(The woman wipes sweat from the excessive neat/clean person).

Plural: Class 8: swibasi (excessive neat/clean people)

The nominal **xibasi** (excessive clean person) denotes an individual who stays clean most of the time. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal which is the excessiveness of cleanliness will always be associated with an individual in question. In other words, whether at a time of reference such an individual is clean or not, he will always be referred to as **xibasi** (excessive clean person).

**Basa** (Be neat/clean)

D. **[State]:** vubasi (neatness/cleanliness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubasi byi hloniphisa munhu.  
(Neatness/cleanliness makes a person to be respected).

(b) Vubasi bya vhengele byi tisa vaxavi vo tala.  
(The neatness/cleanliness of the shop brings many customers).

(c) Vaxavi va khensa vubasi bya vhengele ra ka Spar.  
(The customers appreciate the neatness/cleanliness of Shoprite supermarket).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vubasi** (cleanliness) refers to the state in which an individual is free from dirt.

**Nyakafala** (Be filthy)

A. [Actor]: munyakafali (filthy person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munyakafali u famba exitarateni.
   (The filthy person walks on the street).
   
   (b) Munyakafali wa nuhwa.
   (The filthy person is stinky).
   
   (c) Wansati u siya munyakafali endlwini.
   (The woman leaves the filthy person in the house).

Plural: Class 2: vanyakafali (filthy people)

The nominal **munyakafali** (filthy person) denotes an individual who is completely dirty. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the state of dirtiness of an individual in question is what modifies this nominal. In other words, once such an individual makes himself clean and presentable such a nominal may no longer apply to him.

**Nyakafala** (Be filthy)

B. [Excessive state]: rinyakafalo (excessive filthiness)

Class 1: 1. (a) Rinyakafalo ra misisi ya wansati ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
   (The excessive filthiness of the hair of the woman disgusts the man).
   
   (b) Rinyakafalo ra wansati ri hlantisa vayeni.
   (The excessive filthiness of the woman makes visitors vommit).
   
   (c) Wansati u sola rinyakafalo ra misisi ya mufana.
   (The woman disapproves the excessive filthiness of the hair of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 5.

The nominal **rinyakafalo** (excessive filthiness) refers to a excessive state of dirtiness of an individual.

**Nyakafala** (Be filthy)

C. [Excessive actor]: xinyakafali (excessive filthy person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xinyakafali xi nghena evhengeleni.
   (The excessive filthy person gets into the shop).
   
   (b) Xinyakafali xi etlela ephayiphini.
   (The excessive filthy person sleeps in the pipe).
   
   (c) Maphorisa ma hlongola xinyakafali ephayiphini.
   (The police are chasing the excessive filthy person from the pipe).

Plural: Class swi: swinyakafali (excessive filthy people)

The nominal **xinyakafali** (excessive filthy person) denotes an individual who is completely dirty on a regular basis. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness...
of dirtiness of an individual in question has now formed a habit in him. In other words, it is something that is always associated with him throughout his entire life.

**Nyakafala (Be filthy)**

D.  [State]: vunyakafali (filthiness)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vunyakafali bya misisi ya wansati byi nyenyetsa wanuna.  
(The filthiness of the hair of the woman disgusts the man).

(b) Vunyakafali bya wansati byi hlantisa vayeni.  
(The filthiness of the woman makes visitors vommit).

(c) Wansati u sola vunyakafali bya misisi ya mufana.  
(The woman disapproves of the filthiness of the hair of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vunyakafali** (filthiness) refers to a state of dirtiness of an individual.

**Nyuka (flourish/blossom)**

A.  [Actor]: munyuki (excessively blossoming/ flourishing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munyuki u ya edorobeni.  
(The blossoming/ flourishing person is going to town).

(b) Munyuki u xava buruku.  
(The flourishing/blossoming person is buying a pair of trousers).

(c) Wanuna u languta munyuki edorobeni.  
(The man is looking at the person flourishing/blossoming person in town).

Plural: Class 8: vanyuki (flourishing/blossoming people)

The nominal **munyuki** (flourishing /blossoming person) denotes an individual who looks very fresh, healthy and happy. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the condition/habit of flourishing which an individual in question is in. This condition seems to be a permanent property of this individual and it will be associated with for the most part of his life.

**Nyuka (flourish/blossom)**

B.  [Result]: nyuku (excessively flourishing/blossoming person)

Class 3: 3. (a) Nyuku wa wanuna wa xixirika.  
(The sweat of the man is flowing down).

(b) Nyuku wa wanuna wu nuhisa mpahla.  
(The sweat of the man makes the clothes stink).

(c) Wansati u sola nyuku exikandzeni.  
(The woman is wiping sweat from her face).

Plural: Class 8: minyuku (sweats)
The nominal **nyuku** denotes (sweat) drops that appear on the surface of your skin when you are hot, ill/sick or afraid.

**Nyuka** (flourish/blossom)

C.  [Excessive act]:  rinyuko (excessive flourishing/blossoming)

Class 5:  3.  (a)  Rinyuko ra wansati ri kanakanisa vingi vakwe.
(The excessive flourishing/blossoming person of the woman makes her parents-in-law be doubtful).

(b)  Rinyuko ra nhwanyana ri tsakisa vafana.
(The excessive flourishing/blossoming of the young men pleases the young men).

(c)  Wansati u hlamala rinyuko ra n’hwana wakwe.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive flourishing/blossoming of her daughter).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rinyuko** (excessive flourishing/blossoming) refers to the excessive condition of looking very fresh, healthy and happy of an individual.

**Nyuka** (flourish/blossom)

D.  [Excessive actor]:  xinyuki (excessively flourishing/blossoming person)

Class 7:  4.  (a)  Xinyuki xi pholicha tintangu.
(The excessively flourishing/blossoming person is polishing his shoes).

(b)  Xinyuki xi tola mafurha.
(The excessively flourishing/blossoming person is putting on lotion).

(c)  Wanuna u languta xinyuki epatwini.
(The woman is looking at the person excessively flourishing/blossoming person on the road).

Plural: Class 8:  swinyuki (excessively flourishing/blossoming people)

The nominal **xinyuki** (excessively flourishing/blossoming person) denotes an individual who excessively looks very fresh, healthy and happy. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of the habit of flourishing which an individual in question has. This habit of flourishing seems to be a permanent property of this individual and it will be is associated with for the most part of his life.

**Nyuka** (flourish/blossom)

E.  [State]:  vunyuki (flourishing/blossoming)

Class 14:  4.  (a)  Vunyuki bya nhwanyana byi hlamarisa vadyondzisi.
(The flourishing/blossoming of the girl surprises the teachers).

(b)  Vunyuki bya wansati byi tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The flourishing/blossoming of the woman pleases her husband).
(c) Wanuna u tsakela vunyuki bya nsati wakwe.
(The man likes the flourishing/blossoming of his wife).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunyuki (flourishing/blossoming) refers to the condition of looking very fresh, healthy and happy of an individual.

5.10. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM WEATHER VERBS

Levin (1995: 286) defines Weather verbs are verbs which describe different types of weather. He states that these verbs take the pronoun it as subject, which is described by some as expletive, while Bolinger describes it as “ambient” it. This pronoun it stands for various subjects which are usually not mentioned but which are inherently represented by it. It should be noted that it may still be possible for these verbs to occur with their full subjects without the pronoun it. Lewin (op cit) points out that some of the weather verbs can sometimes take a with phrase.

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
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Hunga (blow)

A. [Actor]: muhungi (blower)

Class 1:
(a) Muhungi u hunga tinhongani.
(The blower blows off the flies).
(b) Muhungi u hungela n’wana moya wo titimela.
(The blower blows cold air on the child).
(c) Vana va hleka muhungi wa tinhongana.
(The children laugh at the blower of the flies).

Plural: class 2: vahungi (blowers)

The nominal *muhungi* (blower) refers to the person who sends forth a current of air or who moves something with an air current. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of blowing is something that takes place for a short time. Once the blowing is over, such a nominal may no longer be referred to as *muhungi* (blower).

**Hunga** (blow)

B.  [Excessive act]: rihungo (excessive blowing)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rihungo ra moya wa tolo ri onhile swinene.
(The excessive blowing of yesterday’s wind caused a major damage).

   (b) Rihungo ra moya wo titimela ri vangele vanhu mukhuhlwana.
(The excessive blowing of cold wind made people catch flu).

   (c) Vanhu va chava rihungo ra moya wo titimela.
(The people are scared of the excessive blowing of the cold wind).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *vuhungi* (blowing) refers to the act of blowing of air which occurs excessively.

**Hunga** (blow)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xihungi (excessive blower)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xihungi xi tihungela moya wo titimela.
(The excessive blower blows cold air to himself/herself).

   (b) Xihungi xa rithsuri etafuleni xi vuyile.
(The excessive blower of the dust on the table has returned).

   (c) Wanuna u hlongola xihungi xa tinhongana endlwini.
(The man chases the blower of the flies from the house).

Plural: class 8: swihungi (excessive blowers)

The nominal *xihungi* (excessive blower) refers to the person who excessively sends forth a current of air or who excessively moves something with an air current. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of blowing by an individual is done regularly. In other words, whether an individual in question will be engaged in the act of blowing, or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as *xihungi* (excessive blower).

**Hunga** (blow)

D.  [Artifact/Result]: xihungo (blowing object)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xihungo xa phepha xi hunga moya wa kahle).
(The blowing object of paper blows fresh air).
(b) **Xihungo xa tinhongana xi nyamalarile.**
(The blowing object of the flies has disappeared).

(c) **Wanuna u tshova xihungo xa tinhongana ensinyeni.**
(The man breaks the blowing object of the flies from the tree).

**Plural: class 8: swihungo (blowing objects)**

The nominal **xihungo** (blowing object) refers to the object which a person uses to blow things such as flies and dust with.

**Hunga** (blow)

E. **[Act]:** vuhungi (blowing)

**Class 14: 3.**

(a) **Vuhungi bya moya byi hangalasile maphepha eswitarateni.**
(The blowing of the wind scattered papers on the streets).

(b) **Vuhungi bya moya byi wisa matluka emirhini.**
(The blowing of the wind drops leaves on the trees).

(c) **Muvhumbi wa maxelo u tivisile vuhungi bya moya wa matimba.**
(The meteorologist announced the blowing of strong wind).

**Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.**

The nominal **vuhungi** (blowing) refers to the act of blowing of air.

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</table>
Class 1/2
Prefixes: mu-/va-
Suffix: -i
**Muhungi** (blower)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
**Rihungo** (excessive blowing)

Class 7/8
Prefixes: xi-/swi-
Suffix: -i
**Xihungi** (expert blower)
Class 7/8
Prefix: \textit{xi-/swi-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textbf{Xihungi} (blowing object)

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}

\node (word) at (0,0) {Xihungi};
\node (n) at (-1,1) {N};
\node (af) at (-2,2) {AF};
\node (n') at (-1,3) {N'};
\node (v) at (-2,4) {V};
\node (af') at (-1,5) {AF};
\node (xi) at (-2,6) {xi-};
\node (hung) at (-1,7) {-hung-};
\node (o) at (0,8) {-o};

\draw (word) -- (n);
\draw (n) -- (af);
\draw (af) -- (n');
\draw (n') -- (v);
\draw (v) -- (af');
\draw (af') -- (xi);
\draw (xi) -- (hung);
\draw (hung) -- (o);
\end{tikzpicture}
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Class 14
Prefix: \textit{vu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textbf{Vuhungi} (blowing)

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}

\node (word) at (0,0) {Vuhungi};
\node (n) at (-1,1) {N};
\node (af) at (-2,2) {AF};
\node (n') at (-1,3) {N'};
\node (v) at (-2,4) {V};
\node (af') at (-1,5) {AF};
\node (vu) at (-2,6) {vu-};
\node (hung) at (-1,7) {-hung-};
\node (i) at (0,8) {-i};

\draw (word) -- (n);
\draw (n) -- (af);
\draw (af) -- (n');
\draw (n') -- (v);
\draw (v) -- (af');
\draw (af') -- (vu);
\draw (vu) -- (hung);
\draw (hung) -- (i);
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Weather verbs

(45) \textbf{Nominalization from the verb} – \textit{hunga} (blow)

\begin{quote}
\begin{itemize}
  \item The verb \textit{–hunga} (blow)
  \end{itemize}
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
Moya wa hunga.
(\textsc{The wind is blowing}).
\end{quote}

\begin{quote}
\begin{align*}
\text{-hunga} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1=e: \text{process}} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL=x} \\
&\text{AGENTIVE = -hunga}_\text{act (e, x)}
\end{align*}
\end{quote}

\textbf{Hierarchy of semantic concepts}: Blow – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb \textit{–hunga} (blow) in (45) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is a physical object, specifically a human. The event structure represents the
process event of blowing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of blowing of a physical object (x).

(46) **Nominalisation in class 1: muhungi** (blower)

Muhungi wa tinhongana u karhele.
(The blower of the flies is tired).

```
muhungi
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: phys. obj. (human)
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=x
AGENTIVE=–hunga_actor (e1, x)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Blow – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **muhungi** (blower) in (46) displays one argument in its argument structure, which is a physical object, specifically a human. The event structure represents the process event of blowing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the physical object (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of blowing of a physical object (x).

(47) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihungi** (expert blower)

Xihungi xa tinhongana xi fambile.
(The excessive blower of the flies is gone).

```
xihungi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hunga_actor_excessive (e1, x)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Blow – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xihungi** (excessive blower) in (47) is corresponds to that of **muhungi** (blower) in (46) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive], which occurs in the agentive quale of **xihungi** (excessive blower) in (47), which is absent in **muhungi** (blower) in (46).

(48) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihungo** (excessive blowing)

Rihungo ra moya wo titimela ri vanga mukuhlwanwa.
(The excessive blowing of the cold wind causes flu).
The lexical semantic representation of **rihungo** (excessive blowing) in (48) displays two arguments in its argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which blows the air. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of blowing. The event structure represents the default process event of blowing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human (x), and the agentive quale represents the feature [excessive act] of the event of blowing (e₁) of a physical object (x).

(49) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhungi** (blowing)

Vuhungi bya xipelupelu byi vanga mukhulwana.
(The blowing of the fan causes flu).

The lexical semantic representation of **vuhungi** (blowing) in (49) corresponds to that of **rihungo** (excessive blowing) in (48) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive], which occurs in the agentive quale of **rihungo** (excessive blowing) in (48), which is absent in **vuhungi** (blowing) in (49).
Nominalisation in class 7: xihungo (blowing object/instrument)

Xihungo xa moya wo titimela xa le hofisini xi onhakile.
(The blowing instrument of the cold air of the office is broken).

xihungo
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: physical object
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x)
AGENTIVE=hunga_artifact/instrument (e1, x)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Blow – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative xihungo (blowing instrument) in (50) displays two arguments in its argument structure, one of which is a default argument (D-ARG), namely, the physical object which blows the air. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of blowing. The event structure represents the default process event of blowing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human (x), and the agentive quale represents the feature [excessive act] of the event of blowing (e1) of a physical object (x).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of weather verbs have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -hunga above. However, there are exceptions with some of the deverbatives. No deverbatives occur in class 1 and 7 from the verbs -tsutsuxa, -dzindza, -thona, -na, -xa, and -gamuka. Thus no deverbative denoting human is possible with these verbs. It is interesting to note that with the deverbative xithoni (dripping liquid) from the verb -thona (drip) in class 7, unlike with the other set of deverbatives in the same class which denotes humans; this deverbative denotes non-human entity. Again, unlike with other deverbatives from other verbs, where class 5 deverbatives with the meaning of act appear with the suffix -o, there is no similar deverbative from -thona, instead there is a deverbative with the affix -i, thonsi (drop), with the meaning of result. It should also be noted that no deverbatives in class 3 are possible from the following verbs: -hunga, -ndzinda, -hatima, -hisa, -titimela, and -kufumela. An exception also occurs with the deverbative switsutsuxo from -tsutsuxa in class 8 with the suffix -o. This deverbative always takes the plural form and cannot be written in a singular form. This kind of behaviour is not realized with deverbatives from other verbs in a similar sub-class. Only two deverbatives with the suffix -o occur in class 7 in this sub-class, the first is xihungo (blowing instrument) from the verb -hunga (blow) and the other being xihiso (forge) from the verb -hisa (be hot) both with the feature artifact/result.

Tsutsuxa (drizzle)
A. [Result/Act]: ntsutsuxo (drizzle)
Class 3: 1. (a) Ntsutsuxo wa mpfula wu tsakamisile varisi.
   (The drizzle of rain has made the herd boys wet).
   (b) Ntsutsuxo wa vhiki ra ku hela wu phumisile mirhi.
       (Last week’s drizzle has made the trees sprout leaves).
   (c) Ntsutsuxo wa tolo wu vange xirhami.
       (The drizzle of yesterday has brought coldness).

Plural: class 4: mitsutsuxo (drizzles)

The nominal ntsutsuxo (drizzle) refers to light fine rain.

Tsutsuxa (drizzle)

B. [Excessive act]: ritsutsuxo (excessive drizzling)
Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsutsuxo ra swimpfulana ri ta vanga xirhami.
       (The excessive drizzling of rain will cause coldness).
       (b) Ritsutsuxo ra pfula ri kavanyeta varimi).
       (The excessive drizzling of the rain disturbs the farmers).
       (c) Vanhu va hlamala ritsutsuxo ra mpfula hi xixika.
       (The people are surprised at the excessive drizzling of the rain in winter).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritsutsuxo (excessive drizzling) refers to the excessive falling of light fine rain.

Tsutsuxa (drizzle)

C. [Result]: switsutsuxo (drizzles)
Class 8: 3. (a) Swtsutsuxo swi mirisa byanyi.
       (The drizzles make grass grow).
       (b) Swtsutsuxo swa tolo swi tise xirhami.
       (The drizzles of yesterday brought the coldness).
       (c) Mapapa lawa ma ta tisa switsutsuxo nimadyambu.
       (These clouds will bring drizzles in the evening).

Singular: No singular for the corresponding noun in class 7.

The nominal switsutsuxo (drizzles) refers to the light fine rains falling over a longer period of time.

Tsutsuxa (drizzle)

D. [Act]: vutsutsuxi (drizzling)
Class 14: 4. (a) Vutsutsuxi bya mpfula byi tsakamisa murisi enhoveni.
       (The drizzling of the rain makes the herd boy wet in the bush).
       (b) Vutsutsuxi bya mpfula byi susa ritshuri.
       (The drizzling of the rain removes dust).
(c) Muvhumbi wa maxelo u tivisa vutsutsuxi bya mpfula mundzuku.
(The meteorologist announces the drizzling of rain tomorrow).

Plural: no plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsutsuxi (drizzling) refers to the falling of light fine rain.

Dzindza (thunder)

C. [Excessive act]: ridzindzo (excessive thundering)
Class 5: 2. (a) Ridzindzo ra tilo ra tolo ri chavise vanhu vo talo.
(The excessive thundering of yesterday’s thunder scared many people).
   (b) Ridzindzo ra tilo ri rilisa vana.
   (The excessive thundering of the thunder makes children cry).
   (c) Wansati u hlamala ridzindzo ra tilo ra tolo.
   (The woman is surprised at the excessive thundering of yesterday’s thunder).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ridzindzo (excessive thundering) refers to the excessive thundering of the thunder.

Dzindza (thunder)

B. [Act]: vudzindzo (thundering)
Class 14: 3. (a) Vudzindzo bya tilo bya chavisa.
(The thundering of thunders is scary).
   (b) Vudzindzo bya tilo byi dlaya tindleve.
   (The thundering of thunder kills the ears).
   (c) Vana va chava vudzindzo bya tilo.
   (The kids are scared of the thundering of the thunder).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudzindzo (thundering) refers to the thundering of the thunder.

Hatima (flash/shine)

A. [Actor]: muhatimi (shining person)
Class 1: 1. (a) Muhatimi u tola mafurha yo durha.
   (The shining person smears expensive lotion).
   (b) Muhatimi u rhandza mpahla yo hatima.
   (The shining person likes shining clothes).
   (c) Wanuna u languta muhatimi epatwini.
   (The man looks at the shining person on the road).

Plural: class 2: vahatimi (shining persons)

The nominal muhatimi (shining person) refers to an individual who glistens because of the type of lotion or dress he wears. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once an
individual in question changes the shiny lotion or clothes, he may no longer be referred to as
muhatimi (shining person). But if this is how he looks all the time then such a nominal will be
regarded as an individual-level nominal.

**Hatima** (flash/shine)

B. [Excessive act]: rihatimo (excessive shine)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihatimo ra tilo ri chavisa vanhu vo tala.
(The excessive shining of the sky scares many people).
(b) Rihatimo ra dyambu ri dlaya mahlo.
(The excessive shining of the sun damages eyes).
(c) Wanuna u venga rihatimo ra dyambu.
(The man hates the excessive shining of the sun).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihatimo** (excessive shine) refers to an act of excessive brightness of an object.

**Hatima** (flash/shine)

C. [Result]: xihatimi (flash/shining object)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihatimi xi hlamarisa vana.
(The shining object scares the children).
(b) Xihatimi xi tshunela ekusuhi.
(The shining object is drawing closer).
(c) Wanuna u languta xihatimi epatwini.
(The man looks at the shining object on the road).

Plural: class 8: swihatimi (flashing/shining objects)

The nominal **xihatimi** (shining object) refers to a bright or glowing object.

**Hatima** (flash/shine)

D. [Act]: vuhatimi (flashing/shining)

Class 1: 1. (a) Vuhatimi bya dyambu byi vavisa mahlo.
(The shining of the sun damages eyes).
(b) Vuhatimi bya dyambu byi ririsa vana.
(The shining of the sun makes children shine).
(c) Wanuna u hlamaral vuhatimi bya nsuku.
(The man is surprised at the shining of gold).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhatimi** (shining) refers to the event of giving forth glow or light.

**Hisa** (be hot)
A. [Excessive state]: rihiso (excessive hotness)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rihiso ra dyambu ri dlaya swimilana.
(The excessive hotness of the sun kills plants).

(b) Rihiso ra dyambu ri omisa milambu.
(The excessive hotness of the sun makes the rivers dry up).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala rihiso ra dyambu ra Sunguti.
(The people are surprised at the excessive hotness of the sun in January).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihiso (excessive hotness) refers to an excessively very high temperature.

Hisa (be hot)

B. [State]: vuhisi (hotness)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuhisi bya dyambu byi vilerisa varimi.
(The hotness of the sun worries the farmers).

(b) Vuhisi bya dyambu byi omisa milambu.
(The hotness of the sun makes the rivers dry up).

(c) Vanhu va chava vuhisi bya le Xifundzeninkulu xa Limpopo.
(The people are afraid of the hotness in the Limpopo Province).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal vuhisi (hotness) refers to a very high temperature.

Titimela (be cold)

A. [Actor]: mutitimeli (cold person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutitimeli u ambala jersey.
(The cold person is wearing a jersey).

(b) Mutitimeli u orha ndzilo.
(The cold person is warming himself at the fire).

(c) Wansati u nyika mutitimeli tiya.
(The woman gives the cold person some tea).

Plural: class 2: vatitimeli (cold people)

The nominal mutitimeli (cold person) refers to an individual who does not have proper warmth. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once an individual in question receives sufficient warmth he may no longer be referred to as mutitimeli (cold person). In other words, what modifies this nominal is the coldness, which once is prevented such a nominal may no longer apply to such an individual.
**Titimela (be cold)**

**B. [Excessive state]: rititimelo (excessive coldness)**

Class 5: 3. (a) Rititimelo ra nan’waka ri dlaye vanhu emapurasini.  
(The excessive coldness of this year killed people on farms).  
(b) Rititimelo ra xigwitsirisi ri omisa mati emabodhleleni.  
(The excessive coldness of the refrigerator solidifies water in the bottles).  
(c) Wanuna u rhandza rititimelo ra xigwitsirisi xa yena.  
(The man likes the excessive coldness of his refrigerator).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rititimelo** (excessive coldness) refers to the excessive state of being cold.

**Titimela (be cold)**

**C. [Excessive actor]: xititimeli (excessive cold person)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xititimeli xa rhurhumela.  
(The excessive cold person is shivering).  
(b) Xititimeli xi funengela nkumba.  
(The excessive cold person covers himself with a blanket).  
(c) Wansati u nyika xititimeli tiya.  
(The woman gives the excessive cold person some tea).

Plural: class 8: swititimeli (excessive cold people)

The nominal **xititimeli** (excessive cold person) refers to an individual who regularly feels excessive cold. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question regularly feels cold. In other words, even if an individual concerned may or may not be feeling cold at the time of reference, for the fact that he feels cold most of the time, makes him to be referred to as **xititimeli** (excessive cold person).

**Titimela (be cold)**

**D. [State]: vutitimeli (coldness)**

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutitimeli bya nan’waka byi dlaye vanhu emapurasini.  
(The coldness of this year killed people on farms).  
(b) Vutitimeli bya xigwitsirisi byi omisa mati emabodhleleni.  
(The coldness of the refrigerator solidifies water in the bottles).  
(c) Wanuna u rhandza vutitimeli bya xigwitsirisi xa yena.  
(The man likes the coldness of his refrigerator).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutitimeli** (coldness) refers to the state of being cold.
Kufumela (be warm)

A. [Actor]: mukufumeli (warm person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukufumeli u hlaya phephahungu.
(The warm person is reading a newspaper).
(b) Mukufumeli u ambale jersey.
(The warm person has worn a jersey).
(c) Wansati u nyika mukufumeli swakudya.
(The woman gives the warm person some food).

Plural: class 2: vakufumeli (warm people)

The nominal mukufumeli (warm person) refers to an individual who enjoys enough warmth. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once an individual in question stops having sufficient warmth he may no longer be referred to as mukufumeli (warm person). In other words, what modifies this nominal is the warmness, which once changes such a nominal may no longer apply to such an individual.

Kufumela (be warm)

B. [Excessive state/manner]: rikufumelo (excessive warmth/manner)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikufumelo ra yindlu ri tsakisa vana.
(The excessive warmth/manner of warmth of the house pleases children).
(b) Rikufumelo ra movha ri khudzeherisa muchayeri.
(The excessive/manner of warmth of the car makes the driver slumber).
(c) Wansati u tsakela rikufumelo ra kamara yakwe.
(The woman likes the excessive/manner of warmth in her room).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikufumelo (excessive warmth) refers to the state of being excessively warmth/manner of warmth.

Kufumela (be warm)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikufumeli (excessive warm person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Xikufumeli xi hlaya phephahungu.
(The excessive warm person is reading a newspaper).
(b) Xikufumeli xi ambale jersey.
(The excessive warm person has worn a jersey).
(c) Wansati u nyika xikufumeli swakudya.
(The woman gives the excessive warm person some food).

Plural: class 8: swikufumeli (excessive warm people)

The nominal xikufumeli (excessive warm person) refers to an individual feels excessively warm. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question regularly
feels warm. In other words, even if an individual concerned may or may not be feeling warm at the
time of reference, for the fact that he feels warm most of the time, makes him to be referred to as
xikufumeli (excessive warm person).

Kufumela (be warm)

D. [State]: vukufumeli (warmth)

Class 1: 1. (a) Vukufumeli bya movha byi vanga vurhongo.
(The warmth of the car brings slumbering).

(b) Vukufumeli bya movha byi tsakisa vana.
(The warmth of the car pleases the children).

(c) Wansati u rhandza vukufumeli bya ofisi ya yena.
(The woman likes the warmth of her office).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukufumeli (warmth) refers to the state of being warm/manner of warmth.

Thona (drip)

A. [Excessive act]: rithono (excessive dripping)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rithono ra mpfula ri tsakamisa mubedo.
(The excessive dripping of rain makes the bed wet).

(b) Rithono ra oyili ri thyakisa lapi.
(The excessive dripping of oil makes the cloth dirty).

(c) Wanuna u baleka rithono ra mpfula endlwini.
(The man runs away from the excessive dripping of the rain in the house).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithono (excessive dripping) refers to the excessive falling of drops of a liquid or rain.

Thona (drip)

B. [Result]: xithoni (dripping liquid)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xithoni xi tsakamisa mubedo.
(The dripping liquid makes the bed wet).

(b) Xithoni xi thyakisa lapi.
(The dripping liquid makes the cloth dirty).

(c) Wanuna u baleka xithoni endlwini.
(The man runs away from the dripping liquid in the house).

Plural: class 8: sithoni (dripping liquids)

The nominal xithoni (dripping liquid) refers to a small drop of liquid continuously falling from
something.
**Thona (drip)**

C.  [Result]:  thonsi (drip)

Class 7:  3. (a) Thonsi ra mpfula ri tsakamisa mubedo.
(The drip of the rain makes the bed wet).
(b) Thonsi ra oyili ri thyakisa lapi.
(The drip of the oil makes the cloth dirty).
(c) Wanuna u sula thonsi ra mati.
(The man wipes the drip of the water in the house).

Plural: class 10: mathonsi (drips)

The nominal *thonsi* (drip/drop) refers to a very small amount of liquid that forms a round shape that falls from an object.

**Thona (drip)**

D.  [Act]:  vuthoni (dripping)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vuthoni bya mpfula byi tsakamisa mubedo.
(The dripping of rain makes the bed wet).
(b) Vuthoni bya oyili byi thyakisa lapi.
(The dripping of oil makes the cloth dirty).
(c) Wanuna u baleka vuthoni bya mpfula endlwini.
(The man runs away from the dripping of the rain in the house).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuthoni* (dripping) refers to the falling of drops of a liquid or rain.

**Na (Rain)**

A.  [Excessive act]:  rino (excessive falling of rain)

Class 5:  1. (a) Rino ra mpfula ri tsakamisa mubedo.
(The excessive falling of rain makes the bed wet).
(b) Rino ra mpfula ri tsakisa varimi.
(The excessive falling of the rain makes the farmers happy).
(c) Wanuna u tsakela rino ra mpfula.
(The man likes the excessive falling of the rain).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rino* (excessive falling of rain) refers specifically to an excessive dropping down of rain.

**Na (Rain)**

B.  [Act]:  vuni (falling of rain)

Class 14:  2. (a) Vuni bya mpfula byi tata milambu.
(The falling of the rain makes the rivers run full).
(b) Vuni bya mpfula byi tsakisa varimi.
(The falling of the rain makes the farmers happy).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vuni bya mpfula.
(The man likes the falling of the rain).

Plural: No plural in class 14.

The nominal vuni (falling of rain) refers specifically to the dropping down of rain.

**Halaka (Spill over)**

A. [Excessive act]: rihalako (excessive spilling over/excessive pouring)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rihalako ra mpfula ri tsakamisa mubedo.
(The excessive pouring of the rain makes the bed wet).

(b) Rihalako ra mpfula ri tsakisa varimi.
(The excessive pouring of the rain makes the farmers happy).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela rihalako ra mpfula.
(The man likes the excessive pouring of the rain).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihalako (excessive spilling over/excessive pouring) refers to the act of excessively filling a container and go over the edge. But it may also mean the excessive out pouring of rain.

**Halaka (Spill over)**

B. [Result]: xihalaki (liquid)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xihalaki xi tsakamise mudedo.
(The liquid has made the bed wet).

(b) Xihalaki xa khuluka ekhumbini.
(The liquid is flowing on the floor).

(c) Wanuna u sula xihalaki ekhumbini.
(The man wipes the liquid on the floor).

Plural: class 8: swihalaki (liquids)

The nominal xihalaki (liquid) refers to a substance that flows freely and is not a solid or gas.

**Halaka (Pour)**

C. [Act]: Vuhalaki (spilling over/pouring)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuhalaki bya mpfula byi tsakamisa mubedo.
(The pouring of the rain makes the bed wet).

(b) Vuhalaki bya mpfula byi tsakisa varimi.
(The pouring of the rain makes the farmers happy).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vuhalaki bya mpfula.
(The man likes the pouring of the rain).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal *vuhalaki* (spilling over/pouring) refers to the act of filling a container and go over the edge. But it may also mean the out pouring of rain.

**Xa** (Stop of rain)

A.  [Excessive act]: rixo (excessive stopping)

Class 5:  1. (a) Rixo ra mpfula ri nyika vanhu nkarhi wo tirha.
   (The excessive stopping of rain gives people the time to work).

   (b) Rixo ra mpfula ri humesa dyambu.
   (The excessive stopping of the rain makes the sun to come out).

   (c) Varimi va hlamala rixo ra mpfula.
   (The farmers are surprised at the excessive stopping of the rain).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rixo* (excessive stopping of rain) refers specifically to the act of excessive stopping of rain.

**Xa** (Stop of rain)

A.  [Excessive act]: vuxi (stopping of rain)

Class 14:  2. (a) Vuxi bya mpfula byi nyika vanhu nkarhi wo tirha.
   (The stopping of rain gives people the time to work).

   (b) Vuxi bya mpfula byi humesa dyambu.
   (The stopping of the rain makes the sun to come out).

   (c) Varimi va hlamala vuxi bya mpfula.
   (The farmers are surprised at the stopping of the rain).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuxi* (stopping of rain) refers specifically to the act of stopping of rain.

**Gamuka** (clear of sky)

A.  [Excessive act]: rigamuko (excessive clearing)

Class 5:  1. (a) Rigamuko ra tilo ri humesa dyambu.
   (The excessive clearing of the sky makes the sun to come out).

   (b) Rigamuko ra tilo ri vanga mumu.
   (The excessive clearing of the sky causes hotness).

   (c) Varimi va sola rigamuko ra tilo.
   (The farmers disapprove of the excessive clearing of the sky).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rigamuko* (excessive clearing of the sky) refers specifically to the act of excessive clearing of the sky.
Gamuka (clear of sky)

B.  [Excessive act]: vugamuki (clearing of the sky)

Class 14: 2.  (a) Vugamuki bya tilo byi humesa dyambu.
(The clearing of the sun makes the sun come out).

(b) Vugamuki bya tilo byi vanga mumu.
(The clearing of the sun causes hotness).

(c) Varimi va sola vugamuko bya tilo.
(The farmers disapprove of the clearing of the sky).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vugamuki (clearing of the sky) refers specifically to the act of clearing of the sky.

Wa (fall of snow)

A.  [Excessive act]: riwo (excessive falling)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Riwo ra gamboko eKapa ri vanga mukhulwana.
(The excessive falling of the snow at the Cape causes flu).

(b) Riwo ra gamboko entshaveni ri wisa mimovha emagondzweni.
(The excessive falling of the snow on the mountain makes car capsize on the roads).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala riwo ra gamboko etintshaveni.
(The people are surprised at the excessive falling of the snow on the mountain).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riwo (excessive falling) denotes an act of excessive falling of snow or hail from the sky.

Wa (fall of snow)

B.  [Act]: vuwi (falling)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vuwi bya gamboko entshaveni byi kavanyeta nkhuluko wa mimovha.
(The falling of the snow on the mountain disrupts the flow of cars).

(b) Vuwi bya gamboko eNghilandi byi hlwerisa vuhahi bya swihahampfhuka.
(The falling of the snow in England delays the flying of the flights).

(c) Wansati u venga vuwi bya gamboko hi xixika.
(The woman dislikes the falling of the snow in winter).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuwi (falling) refers to an act of falling of snow or hail from the sky.

Boboma (pour heavily as rain)

A.  [Excessive act]: ribobomo (excessive heavily pouring as rain)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Ribobomo ra mpfula ri khukhula swiyariwa.
(The excessive heavily pouring of rain destroys crops).
(b) Ribobomo ra mpfula ri onha mabiloho.
(The excessive heavily pouring of rain damages bridges).

c) Wansati hlamala ribobomo ra mpfula eka Mushiyani.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive heavily pouring of rain at Mushiyani).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribobomo (excessive heavily pouring as rain) denotes an act of pouring out of heavy rain in an excessive manner.

**Boboma** (pour heavily as rain)

B.  [Act]:  vubobomi (heavily pouring as rain)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vubobomi bya mpfula eGiyani byi tata milambu.
(The heavily pouring of rain at Giyani has filled up rivers).

   (b) Vubobomi bya mpfula eLimpopo byi dlaye swirimiwa swo tala.
(The heavily pouring out of rain in Limpopo has destroyed a lot of crops).

   (c) Wansati u languta vubobomi bya mpfula hi fasitere.
(The woman looks at the heavily pouring of rain through the window).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubobomi (heavily pouring as rain) denotes an act of pouring out of rain in a heavy manner.

**Khidzimbela** (darken of the sky)

C.  [Excessive act]:  rikhidzimbelo (excessive darkening of the sky)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Rikhidzimbelo ra n’wana erivaleni ri tsakisa mana wakwe.
(The excessive darkening of the sky pleases his mother).

   (b) Rikhidzimbelo ra n’wana ekusuhi na ndzilo ri nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excessive darkening of the sky annoys the woman).

   (c) Wansati u sola riwo ra n’wana ekusuhi na ndzilo.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive darkening of the sky near the fire).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhidzimbelo (excessive darkening of the sky) denotes an act of excessive darkening of the sky, especially as a result of rain which is about to fall.

**Khidzimbela** (darken of the sky)

D.  [Act]:  vukhidzimbeli (darkening of the sky)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vukhidzimbeli bya tilo byi chavisa varisi.
(The darkening of the sky frightens the herd boys).

   (b) Vukhidzimbeli bya tilo byi tsakisa varimi.
(The darkening of the sky pleases the farmers).
(c) Wansati u tsakela vukhidzimbeli bya tiło.
(The woman likes the darkening of the sky).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhidzimbeli (darkening of the sky) refers to the act darkening of the sky, especially as a result of rain which is about to fall.
## 5.11. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The work in this chapter examined deverbatives derived from verbs belonging to two major categories, namely, agentive verbs and non-agentive verbs, although deverbatives from agentive verbs are in the majority. It was found that generally, deverbatives derived from agentive verbs inherit the feature of agentivity from their verbal counterparts. It was demonstrated that all deverbatives that are derived from the semantic verb classes of verbs of Communication, verbs of Ingestion/Consumption, verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, verbs of Social Interaction, verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care are agentive in nature and have the semantic feature of [Actor]. It was revealed that there are also some of the deverbatives derived from the verbs in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Involving the Body, and Weather verbs which also exhibit the semantic feature of [Actor]. It was illustrated that deverbatives which are derived from non-agentive verbs also inherently display the same character of non-agenticity just like the verbs from which they are derived. It was demonstrated that deverbatives derived from semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs are all non-agentive in nature; hence they cannot occur with the semantic feature of [Actor].

It was found that non-agentive deverbatives are also obtainable from semantic verb classes such as verbs Involving the Body which include the following: rivabyo (excessive getting sick) derived from the verb -vabya (become sick/ill), rijovoto (excessive nodding from sleep or drowsiness), rihlalo (excessive making dying struggles) derived from -hlala (make dying struggles), rietlelo (excessive sleeping) derived from the verb -etlela (sleep), rikhudzehelo (excessive slumbering) derived from the verb -khudzehala (slumber), rijuluko (excessive sweating) derived from the verb -juluka (sweat), and rikhohlolo (excessive coughing) derived from the verb -khohlola (cough) and the semantic verb class of Weather verbs such as rihiso (excessive hotness) derived from the verb -hisa (be hot), rititimelo (excessive coldness) derived from the verb -titimela, and rikufumelo (excessive warmth) derived from the verb -kufumela (be warm).

The work examined in this chapter demonstrated that class 1 nominalization occurs in all semantic verb classes treated in this chapter. It was also found that class 1 deverbatives derived from the range of verb classes identified in this chapter refer only to humans and nothing else. It was revealed that the dominant semantic feature with agentive deverbatives is that of [Actor], although a sporadic occurrence of other semantic features may also be realized. It was also found that no deverbative denoting non-human entity occur class 1. It was demonstrated that the deverbatives in this class are formed through the affixation of the class 1 prefix mu- and the suffix -i. It was illustrated that class 1 deverbatives from the verbs in the semantic verb subclasses of Communication, Ingestion/Consumption, and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care occur with the semantic feature of [Actor]. It was stated that although it is also possible to derive nominals from a range of verbs from the verb classes such as verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, and verbs of Social Interaction with the semantic feature of [Actor], there are some verbs from these classes whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit nominalization in class 1, for example, verbs such
as -dzika (sink), -hluka (germinate), and -rhumbuka (sprout) from verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, do no allow nominalization in class 1 because these verbs take non-human argument. It was found that no deverbal occurs in class 1 from the verb of Social Interaction such as -khomba (undergo initiation rituals for women) although this verb take a human argument only. The reason which was advanced is that its intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit nominalization in this class but allows it in class 9. It was also illustrated that the verb -vundza (rest after feeding) which is also a member of the class of verbs of Social Interaction does not allow nominalization in class 1 solely because it takes an argument which denotes animals.

It was demonstrated that all deverbatives in class1 that are derived from Psych/Experiencer verbs exhibit the semantic feature of [Experiencer], that is, an individual denoted by the deverbative is psychologically affected by the act denoted by the deverbative. It was stated that it is not possible for deverbatives derived from this set of semantic verb classes to display the feature [Actor] because there is no act that an individual signified in the aforesaid deverbatives is involved in. It was found that Nominalisation in class 1 also occurs in all the verbs from the semantic verb subclasses of verbs Involving the Body. It was found the deverbatives derived from this class may denote the semantic feature of [Actor/Experiencer/Patient], that is, each deverbative may display two or three of these semantic features at the same time. It was also found that generally it is not very common to derive nominals from Weather verbs since they take an inanimate argument. It was revealed that some Weather verbs do allow nominalization to occur which exhibit the semantic feature of [Actor/Experiencer]. It was however found that nominalizations from the following Weather verbs: -tsutsuxa (drizzle), -thona (drip), -xa (stop of rain), -gamuka (clear up of sky), -wa (fall of snow), -boboma (heavily pouring as rain), and -khidzimbela (darken of the sky) are totally excluded because of the fact that these verbs take an inanimate argument denoting natural processes.

It was revealed that Nominalisation in class 3 seems to be possible with most of the range of semantic verb classes in this chapter, (although with few verbs) in contrast with those in chapter four. It was also stated that the deverbatives in this class are formed through the affixation of the class prefix mu- and the suffix -o. It was found that the semantic feature which occurs in most verbs is that of [Result]. The work in this chapter found that deverbatives which are derived from the semantic verb class of verbs of Communication include the following: ncemo (scream) derived from the verb -cema (scream), muhahamo (speaking during one’s sleep) derived from the verb -hahama (speak during one’s sleep), and nchumayelo (sermon) derived from the verb -chumayela (preach). It was illustrated that all of these nominals display the semantic feature of [Result]. It was illustrated that only the nominalization of the deverbative mfihlulo (breakfast) derived from the verb -fihlula (eat breakfast) with the meaning of [Result] occurs in class 3 from the semantic verb class of Ingestion/Consumption. It was demonstrated that both verbs from the semantic verb class of verbs of Sound existence, namely -pfuma (make sound) from which the deverbative mpfumo (sound) is derived and -duma (make
sound) which gives rise to **mudumo** (sound) allow nominalizations in class 3 with the semantic feature of [Result]. All other verbs in this verb class disallow nominalization in class 3. An interesting observation found is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, verbs of Social Interaction, and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care do not permit nominalization at all in class 3.

It was found that Nominalisation from the semantic verb class of verbs Involving the Body is possible with two deverbatives only, namely **n’wayitelo** (smile/smiling) derived from the verb **-n’wayitela** (smile) and **njuluko** (sweat/sweating) derived from the verb **-juluka** (sweat), both with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was revealed that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in this class of verbs do not permit nominalization in class 3. It was also stated that the only nominalization possible from weather verbs in class 3 is that of the deverbative **ntsutsuxo** (drizzle) derived from the verb **-tsutsuxa** (drizzle) which exhibit the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was found that nominalization is not possible with all other verbs in this class.

It was demonstrated that the semantic feature of [Result] in class 3 may also be realized with the deverbative **norho** (dream) derived from the verb **-lorha** (dream) which belong to the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer Verbs. It was also found that Nominalisation is also possible with the following deverbatives from the verbs in the verb class of Psych/experience Verbs: **ntsako** (happiness) derived from the verb **-tsaka** (be happy), **nhlundzuko** (anger) derived from the verb **-hlundzuka** (be angry), **nyanyuko** (excitement) derived from the verb **-nyanyuka** (be excited), and **mpoyilo** (embarrassment) derived from the verb **-poyila** (embarrass/humiliate). It was observed that the verb **jamuka** (speak nonsense) is the only one in this chapter that allows nominalization in class 4 with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was stated that this behaviour could be attributed to the fact that the verb **jamuka** (speak nonsense) in its nature is an abstract noun.

It was found that there are two categories to which class 5 deverbatives belong, the first category is of deverbatives in this class is that which takes the feature [Excessive] which also do not take pluralisation in class 6, and the second category is for deverbatives which do not take the feature [Excessive] and which are able to take pluralisation in class 6. It was indicated that the deverbatives which are discussed in this chapter are found in both categories, although the deverbatives belonging to the latter category are few. The chapter demonstrated that is possible for nominalization to occur in class 5 with all the verbs from the semantic verb classes of Communication, verbs of Ingestion and verbs of Sound Existence with the semantic feature of [Excessive Act]. It was found that although nominalization also occurs with the range of verbs from the verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence with the meaning of [Excessive Act], the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb **-fa** (die) from this class of verbs disallow nominalization. It was demonstrated that the verbs from the semantic verb class of verbs of Social Interaction also allow Nominalisation in
class 5, however, a verb such -khomba (undergo initiation rituals for women) disallows nominalization. It was illustrated that all verbs belonging to the semantic verb classes of verbs Involving the Body, Psych/State verbs, and Weather verbs permit nominalization as well with the semantic feature of [Excessive Act/State]. Class 5 Nominalisations also takes place with all the verbs from the verb class of verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care and a semantic feature of [State] always occurs with them.

It was revealed that Nominalisations in the second subclass of class 5 occur only with the verbs of the semantic verb classes of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, Psych/Experiencer verbs, and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care. It was indicated that no nominalizations occur with the verbs from the semantic verb classes of verbs of Communication, Verbs of Ingestion/Consumption, verbs Involving the Body, verbs of Social Interaction, verbs of Sound Existence, and Weather verbs. It was illustrated that from the semantic class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, derivation occurs with only one verb, -fa (die) from which the deverbative rifu (death) emanates. It was stated that this deverbative has the semantic feature of [State/Event]. It was also stated that the deverbative dlakuta (dull-witted woman) occurs in this class from the semantic verb class of Psych/experience with the meaning of [Actor]. It was demonstrated that the deverbatives that are derived from the semantic verb class of verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care are bombo (dressing smartly) derived from the verb -bomba (dress smartly), and thyaka (dirt) derived from the verb -thyaka (be dirty), both with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was noted that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb vabya (become sick/ill) of the semantic verb class of verbs Involving the Body allows a nominalization of the deverbative mavabyi (sickness) in class 6 in contrast with other verbs in this verb class.

It was observed that class 7 Nominalisations may be classified into two categories, namely the category of deverbatives which regularly occur with the semantic feature of [Expert/Excessive] which always takes a human argument; and the deverbatives which do not occur with the feature [Expert/Excessive] and which only take non human argument. It was found that the derivation of deverbatives which occur in the first category is made possible through the affixation of the class prefix xi- and the suffix -i. It was illustrated that these deverbatives display similar characteristics with those exemplified by class 1 deverbatives. It was found that the only distinction is that class 7 deverbatives occur with the feature [Excessive] whereas this feature is absent with class 1 deverbatives. It was demonstrated that the dominant semantic feature is that of [Expert/Excessive actor]. It was illustrated that most deverbatives that are derived from the verbs of the semantic verb class of Communication express the semantic feature of [Excessive actor] only. It was observed that there are however few deverbatives derived from the same semantic verb class which express the semantic feature of [Expert] only. It was found that all deverbatives contained in this chapter which are derived from the range of verbs of the semantic verb classes of verbs of Ingestion/Consumption
and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care exhibit the semantic feature of [Excessive actor]. It was also found that generally, deverbatives that are derived from verbs of the semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence display the feature [Excessive]. It was stated that the only exception occurs with the deverbative xifi (exceptional deceased) derived from the verb -fa (die) which exhibit the feature [Exceptional].

It was found that the deverbatives that are derived from verbs which belong to the semantic verb class of verbs Involving The Body exhibit the semantic feature of [experience/Patient] in contrast with the deverbatives derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs which display the semantic feature of [Excessive experience] only. It was realised that no deverbatives occur from the following verb of the semantic verb class of verbs of Social Interaction: -khomba (undergo initiation rituals for women) and -vundza (rest of animals). It was illustrated that the semantic feature which is realized with the deverbatives from the verbs of the semantic verb class of Weather verbs is that of [Expert/Excessive actor/experiencer]. It was found that no deverbatives in this sub class occur with the following verbs: -tsutsuxa (drizzle), -thona (drip), -xa (stop of rain), -gamuka (clear of sky), -wa (fall of snow), -boboma (pour of rain), and -khidzimbela (darken of sky) since all of these verbs denote natural processes and the fact that they take an inanimate argument.

It was demonstrated that the occurrence of the deverbatives in the second category of class 7 is regular in most of the semantic verb classes, although such a nominalization occurs with only some of the verbs. It was indicated that the verbs which disallow nominalization are also found in the verbs of the semantic verb classes in this chapter. It was revealed that nominalization in this category is made possible through the affixation of the class prefix xi- and the suffix -o. It was found that generally, the deverbatives in this category, across the semantic verb classes refer to objects in contrast with the deverbatives in the first category whose reference is strictly to humans. It was noted that an exception may be found with some of the deverbatives which are derived from the Psych/experiencer verbs which also make reference to humans. It was illustrated that the main semantic features of the deverbatives which occur in this category are those of [Result] and/or [Artifact].

It was found that only two verbs from the verb class of Communication allow nominalization to occur, namely, -rila (cry) from which the deverbative xirilo (cry) is derived, and -tereka from which the deverbative xiterek (strike) is formed. It was demonstrated that the semantic feature of [Result] occurs with both verbs. It was found that derivation does not occur with all other verbs from the same semantic verb class. It was also found that there are only two deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Ingestion/Consumption, namely -lalela (eat supper) from which the deverbative xilalelo (Lord’s supper) is derived, and -fihlula (eat breakfast) which produces the deverbative xifihlulo (breakfast food). It was indicated that both these nominals occur with the meaning of [Result] as well. It was illustrated that it may be possible for nominalization to take place
from the two verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, which are -fa (die) from which the deverbative xifo (exceptional disease) and -hluka (sprout) from which comes the deverbative xihluke (offspring). It was demonstrated that the semantic feature of [Result] may occur with these deverbatives. It was found that generally, Nominalisation in this verb class takes place through the class prefix xi- and the suffix -o. It was also found that, in some cases however, other suffixes such as -e may also occur as is demonstrated by the deverbative xihluke (offspring). It was illustrated that other verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence disallow the derivation of nominals to occur in them.

It was found that Nominalisation is not a regular occurrence in the verb class of verbs Involving the Body. It was illustrated that only two verbs in this verb class allow nominalization, the first is -khohlola (cough) from which the deverbative xikhohlola (spat mucus) is generated with the semantic feature of [Result], and the suffix -a occurs with this nominal; the second deverbative is -hefemula (breath) from which the deverbative xihefemulo (breathing instrument) is derived and it is assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. It was observed that with Psych/Experiencer verbs, four deverbatives occur, of which two refer to humans, namely xiphunta (stupid) derived from the verb -phunta (be stupid) and xidakwa (drunkard) which is derived from the verb -dakwa (be drunk) and occurs with the suffix -a. It was noted that these two deverbatives have the semantic feature of [Actor]. The other two deverbatives are xivilelo (complaint) derived from the verb -vilela (be worried) and xipoyilo (embarrassment) derived from the verb -poyila (embarrass). It was demonstrated that both these deverbatives are assigned the semantic feature of [Result]. It was found that there is only one deverbative that occur in the verb from the semantic verb class of verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, which is xibasa (smooth white porridge) derived from the verb -basa (be clean) with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was illustrated that the suffix -a occurs with this deverbative. It was found that Nominalisation with Weather verbs in this class is not very regular also. It was noted that only two deverbatives occur with verbs in the semantic verb class of weather verbs, namely xihiso (hearth stone) derived from the verb -hisa (be hot) and xihungo (fan or blowing instrument) derived from the verb -hunga (blow). It was revealed that both these deverbatives are assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] and the suffix -o occurs with them.

An interesting event which was observed in this chapter is the fact that the deverbative switsutsuxo (drizzles) derived from weather verb -tsutsuaxa appears in class 8 in plural form only in contrast with all other deverbatives in this chapter which occurs in singular form. It was found that class 9 Nominalisation, which is rare phenomenon, occurs in the two verbs which take human argument, namely ntlharhi (wise man) derived from the psych verb -tlhariha (be wise) and khomba (female initiate) derived from the verb of Social Interaction -khomba (undergo initiation rituals for females). It was indicated that the deverbative has the semantic feature of [Expert person] while the deverbative
**khomba** has the semantic feature of [Actor]. It was demonstrated that both these deverbatives appear with the suffix -a.

It was found that Nominalisation in class 14 takes place in two subclasses, namely the subclass of deverbatives which are formed through the affixation of the class prefix **vu**- and the suffix -i on the verbs stem, and another subclass of deverbatives which are derived through the affixation of the class prefix **vu**- and the suffix -o, including those that are occur with suffixes such as -a or even -u. It was illustrated in table which is presented above that these two subclasses of class 14 deverbatives are treated separately. It was found that the first subclass of class 14, which will hence forth in this study be referred to as subclass 14 (a) refers mainly to [Act], although other semantic features also occur. It was established that the deverbatives that occur in this subclass are similar to the deverbatives that occur in class 5 (a). It was noted that the only distinction that obtains is that class 5 deverbatives occur with the feature [Excessive] which the deverbatives in subclass 14 (a) lack. It was realized that nominalization in subclass 14 (a) occurs regularly with all the verbs of the semantic verb classes which are included in this chapter. It was observed that all the deverbatives derived from the verbs in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Communication, verbs of Ingestion/Consumption, verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, and verbs of Sound Existence display the semantic feature of [Act].

It was found that the deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs Involving the Body may be categorized into three groups, namely those that display the semantic feature of [Act] only, such as **vun’wayiteri** (smiling) derived from the verb -n’wayitela (smile), **vuhefemuri** (breathing) derived from the verb -hefemula (breath), **vucopeti** (winking) derived from the verb -copeta (wink), **vuzumbi** (resting) which emanates from the verb -zumba (rest), **vugevi** (belching) which is derived from the verb -geva (belch), and **vuahlamuri** (yawning) derived from the verb -ahlamula (yawn), the others are those that display the semantic feature of [State] only, such as **vuvabyi** (sickness/illness) derived from the verb -vabya (be sick/ill), **vujuluki** (sweating) derived from the verb -juluka (sweat), and **vukhudzeheli** (slumbering/dosing) derived from the verb -khudzehela (slumber/dose) and the third being a category of those that exhibit both the features of [Act] and [State] at the same time such as **vuhlali** (making dying struggles) derived from the verb -hlala (make dying struggles), **vujovoti** (nodding of one head from drowsiness/slumbering) derived from the verb -jovota (nod one’s head from drowsiness or slumbering), **vuetleri** (sleeping) derived from the verb -etlela (sleep), and **vukhohlori** (coughing) which is derived from the verb -khohlola (cough). It was noted that the semantic feature of the last category is that of [Act/State].

It was established that derivation of nominals from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Social Interaction occurs in the same way as in the verbs from the verb class of Involving the Body. It was found that there are three categories of deverbatives which are distinguished in terms of the
semantic features that each category displays. It was stated that the first category is of deverbatives which exhibit the semantic feature of [Act]. The following deverbatives were demonstrated as belonging to that category: vupungeri (misbehaving) derived from the verb -phungela (misbehave), vuhuhwi (playing) derived from the verb -huhwa (play), vuhungasi (sitting up with others whiling away time) derived from the verb -hungasa (sit up with others whiling away time), vuxuxi (sitting up with others in the evening derived from the verb -xuxa (sit up in the evening with others), and vuvundzi (resting of animals after feeding) which is derived from the verb -vundza (rest of animals after feeding). It was contended that in the second category, only deverbatives occurs, namely vukhomba (initiation ritual for females) which is derived from the verb -khomba (undergo initiation ritual for females). It was noted that only two deverbatives constitute the third category which are vulwi (fighting) derived from the verb -lwa (fight) and vupungeri (clowning) derived from the verb -phungela (clown).

It was found that the deverbatives from the semantic verb class of Weather verbs display two types of semantic features, namely [Act] and [State]. It was illustrated that the deverbatives that exhibit the feature of [Act] are the following: vutsutsuxi (drizzling) which is derived from the verb -tsutsuxa (drizzle), vudzindzi (thundering) derived from the verb -dzindza (thunder), vuhatimi (flashing/shining) which comes from the verb -hatima (flash/shine), vuthoni (dripping) which is derived from the verb -thona (drip), vuni (raining) derived from the verb -na (fall as rain), vuhalaki (spilling over/pouring) derived from the verb -halaka (pour out), vuxi (stopping of rain) derived from the verb -xa (stop of rain), vugamuki (clearing of sky) which is emanates from the verb -gamuka (clear up of sky), vuwi (falling as of snow) derived from the verb -wa (fall as rain), vubobomi (heavily pouring as rain) derived from the verb -boboma (pour heavily as rain), and vukhidzimbeli (darkening of the sky) which is derived from the verb -khidzimbela (darken of sky). It was established that all the deverbatives that occur in the semantic verb classes of Psych/Experiencer verbs as well as those that occur in the verb class of verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care display the semantic feature of [State].

It was found that Nominalisation in the second subclass of deverbatives in class 14, which is subsequently be referred to as subclass 14 (a) in this study, occurs only in the verbs which are members of the semantic verb classes of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, verbs of Social Interaction, and Psych/Experiencer verbs. It was realized that only one deverivative is derived from semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, namely vukulu (bigness) which is derived from the verb -kula (grow) and it occurs with the suffix -u. It was noted that this deverivative is assigned the semantic feature of [Result]. It was further found that the derivation of three deverbatives occur from in the verbs of the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs, which are, vudlakuta (unbecoming conduct/ill-manneredness) derived from the verb -dlakuta (be dull-witted/be ill-mannered), vuphunta (stupidity) which comes from the verb -
phunta (be stupid), and vudakwa (drunkenness) derived from the verb -dakwa (become drunk). It was established that all of the deverbatives from Psych/Experiencer verbs above occur with the semantic feature of [State] and the suffix -a. It was found that from the semantic verb class of the verbs of social Interaction, only one deverbative occur, namely vukhomba (initiation ritual for the females) derived from the verb -khomba (undergo initiation rituals for the females). It was noted that this deverbative has the semantic feature of [Event] and the suffix -a appears with it.
CHAPTER SIX

DEVERBAL NOMINALS FROM MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

Verbs of Creation and Transformation, Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, Judgement, Change of State, Separating, Change of Possession, Obtaining, Contact by Impact, Combining and Attaching, and verbs of Communication

6.1. INTRODUCTION

The aim of this chapter is to explore possible semantic features which may be associated with the deverbal nominals derived from monotransitive verbs with particular reference to the verbs identified above. In this chapter, deverbatives derived from the same verb class are thoroughly discussed in order to ascertain whether the semantic features that are found within them are similar or not. This chapter also presents the morphological structure of the deverbatives across different noun classes so as to see whether they adapt to the general morphological structure of the Xitsonga noun as presented in chapter three. The morphological structure follows that of the X-bar syntax. Another aim of this chapter is to determine whether it may be possible for the range of deverbatives from various classes to conform to the nature of lexical inheritance structure which has been developed by Pustejovsky (1996). Busa’s (1996) notion of distinguishing nominals into stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals also applies in this chapter so as to determine whether it may be feasible to classify the deverbatives presented in this chapter into such types. Section 6.2. explores the derivation of nominals from Verbs of Creation and Transformation Verbs, section 6.3. deals with deverbatives from the verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence, section 6.4. examines deverbatives derived from Judgement verbs, section 6.5. looks at deverbatives derived from verbs of Change of State, section 6.6 discusses verbs of Separating and Disassembling, section 6.7. presents verbs of Change of Possession, section 6.8. is concerned with verbs of Obtaining, 6.9. deals with contact by Impact, section 6.10. examines Combining and Attaching, and section 11 discusses the verbs of Communication. Section 6.12. provides the summary of the main findings and the conclusion of the chapter.

6.2. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM CREATION AND TRANSFORMATION VERBS

Levin (1995: 172-3) defines Creation and Transformation verbs as the verbs which have other uses but describes activities that might result in the creation or assembly of an entity. Levin (op cit) states that the other uses of these verbs are more basic, but that this is particularly true of certain verbs of state such as verbs of change of state and verbs of cooking, verbs of writing and verbs of attaching. Levin (op cit) shows that these verbs take what he calls “affected objects”, that is, objects brought into existence as a result of an action named by the verb as well as objects that qualify as either raw
material or as (he cites Dowty’s (1991) “representation source” what I would rather prefer to call “processed product”.

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**Aka (Build)**

**A. [Actor]: muaki (builder)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Muaki u hetisa tisemendhe.  
(The builder finishes the cement).

(b) Muaki u phama khumbi ra xikolo.  
(The builder plasters the wall of the school).

(c) Vakamberi va lava muaki wa xikolo.  
(The inspectors are looking for the builder of the school).

Plural: Class 2: vaaki (builders)

The nominal **muaki** (builder) refers to an individual who has a skill of building houses. This nominal may therefore be regarded as individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the skill of building that an individual has. This skill of building will remain in this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, this nominal may refer to both an individual who is engaged in the activity of building, and the individual who is not engaged in it at the time of reference as long as the individual in question has the necessary skill of building.

**Aka (build)**

**B. [Artifact/Result]: muako (building)**

Class 3: 2. (a) Muako wa ka Shoprite eThohoyandou wu tshwile.  
(The building of Shoprite in Thohoyandou is burnt).

(b) Muako wa kereke wu herile.  
(The church building if finished).
(c) Vanhu va languta muako wa xikolo xa ka Mushiyani.
(The people look at the building of Mushiyani).

Plural: Class 4: miako (buildings)

The nominal muako (building) refers to a man-made structure which houses people and other entities. This nominal may have the meaning of artifact for the mere fact that it is man-made. But it may also have the meaning of result since a building is a result of the activity of building by an individual.

**Aka (Build)**

C. [Excessive act]: riako (excessive building)

Class 5: 3. (a) Riako ra Khazamula ra swidakani ra nyenyetsa.
(The excessive building of Khazamula of informal settlements is annoying).

(b) Riako ra tiyindlu ta RDP eGiyani ri yimisiwile.
(The excessive building of RDP houses at Giyani has been stopped).

(c) Mfumo wu sola riako ra vahlapfa ra swidakani.
(The government condemns the excessive construction of refugees of informal settlements).

Plural: No plural in the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riako (excessive building) refers to the act of erecting buildings by an individual in an excessive manner.

**Aka (Build)**

D. [Expert actor]: xiaki (expert builder)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiaki xa le ka Makhuva xi lovile.
(The expert builder of Makhuva passed away).

(b) Xiaki xa mavhengele ya ka Ximusa xi balekile.
(The expert builder of Ximusa shops has run away).

(c) Vakamberi va hlongola xiaki entirhweni.
(The inspectors dismiss the expert builder from work).

Plural: Class 8: swiaki (expert builders)

The nominal xiaki (expert builder) refers to an individual who has acquired an extensive skill of building. This nominal may therefore be regarded as individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the extra-ordinary skill of building that an individual acquired. This extra-ordinary skill of building will remain in this individual for the rest of his life. It is not something that he possesses for a moment and disappears after a short while.
Aka (Build)

A. [Artifact/Instrument]: xiako (bricklaying tool/ trowel)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xiako xa wanuna xi tshovekile xikhomo.
(The bricklaying tool/ trowel of the man had its handle broken.)

(b) Xiako xa wanuna xi petsekile.
(The bricklaying tool/ trowel of the man is bent).

(c) Wanuna u xava xiako eka Cash Build.
(The man buys the bricklaying tool/ trowel at Cash Build).

Plural: Class 8: swiako (bricklaying tools/ trowels)

The nominal xiako (bricklaying tool/ trowel) refers to a small tool with a flat blade, used in building for spreading plaster.

Aka (Building)

B. [Event/Act]: vuaki (brick laying/building)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuaki bya xitediyamu xa Peter Mokaba ePolokwane byi kavanyetiwile hi xitereko xa vatirhi.
(The building of the stadium of Peter Mokaba has been disrupted by the protest of workers).

(b) Vuaki bya tindlu ta RDP etikweni byi ya mahlweni.
(The building of the RDP houses in the country is continuing).

(c) Vanhu va sola vuaki bya tindlu ta RDP.
(The people disapprove the building of RDP houses).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuaki (building) refersto the act of erecting something or the event of brick laying, particularly a house by an individual who has the skill of building.

Aka (Build)

C. [Artifact/Result]: vuako (inhabitation space/build-up area)

Class 14: 7. (a) Vuako byi tele endlwini ya Tatana.
(Abode is plenty in my Father’s house).

(b) Vuako bya swidakani swa Mandela Ville eTembisa byi tshwile.
(The built-up area of Mandela Ville squatter camps in Tembisa is burnt down).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va pfumala vuako exilungwini.
(Many people do not have a place to stay in towns).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuako** (Inhabitation space) refers to a built-up area or a place to stay.

**Chaya (Play instrument)**

A. [Actor]: muchayi (instrument player)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muchayi wa mhalamhala u tirhisa moya wo tala.  
(The player of the trumpet uses a lot of air).

   (b) Muchayi wa ogene ekerekeni wa ha dyondza.  
   (The player of the organ in the church is still learning).

   (c) Vanhu va languta muchayi wa mhalamhala.  
   (People look at the blower of the trumpet).

Plural: Class 2: vachayi (instrument players)

The nominal **muchayi** (instrument player) refers to an individual who plays a musical instrument such as a piano, guitar or any other instrument. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the skill of playing an instrument, and not the act of playing. In other words, this nominal may refer to both an individual who is engaged in the activity of playing, and the individual who is not engaged in it at the time of reference as long as the individual in question has the necessary skill of playing an instrument. Thus we may say the nominal **muchayi** (instrument player) modifies the skill of playing a musical instrument and not the act thereof.

**Chaya (Play instrument)**

B. [Excessive act]: richayo (excessive playing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Richayo ra mufana ra katara ya muyeni ri ta n’wi bisa hi tatana.  
(The excessive playing of the young man of the guitar of the guest will get him beaten by the father).

   (b) Richayo ra mufana ra katara ri ta n’wi fikisa ekule.  
   (The excessive playing of the young man of the guitar will take him far).

   (c) Wanuna u sola richayo ra mufana ra katara ekerekeni.  
   (The man disapproves the playing of the young man of the guitar in the church).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **richayo** (excessive playing) refers to the act of playing a musical instrument in an excessive manner.
Chaya (Play instrument)

C. [Expert actor]: xichayi (expert player)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xichayi xa katara ya Xinyori xi tsakela ntirho wa xona.
(The expert player of Xinyori’s guitar likes his job).

(b) Xichayi xa ogene ya Xirindza xi kume sagwadi.
(The expert player of Xirindza got an award).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza xichayi xa katara ya ntlawa wa Xinyori.
(People like the expert player of the guitar for Xinyori’s band).

Plural: Class 2: swichayi (expert players)

The nominal xichayi (expert instrument player) refers to an individual who has the extra-ordinary expertise of playing musical instrument such as a piano, guitar and any other. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the extra-ordinary skill of playing an instrument, and not the act of playing. In other words, this nominal may refer to both an individual who is engaged in the activity of playing, and the individual who is not engaged in it at the time of reference as long as the individual in question has the necessary extra-ordinary skill of playing an instrument. Thus we may say the nominal xichayi (expert instrument player) modifies the extra-ordinary skill of playing a musical instrument and not the act thereof.

Chaya (Play instrument)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: xichayo (instrument)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xichayo xa bende ya Amajita xi onhakile.
(The instrument of Amajita band is out of order).

(b) Xichayo xa kereke ya hina xi sasekile.
(The instrument of our church is beautiful).

(c) Makhamba ya yivile xichayo xa bende ya hina.
(Thieves stole the instrument of our band).

Plural: Class 8: swichayo (instruments)

The nominal xichayo (instrument) refers to a musical instrument which an individual plays. This nominal may have the reading of result because it is as a result used for playing that this instrument was given the name xichayo (instrument). But it may also have a reading of artifact because the instrument in question is man-made.
**Chaya (Play instrument)**

E. [Act]: vuchayi (playing of instrument)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuchayi bya mhalamhala byi lava moya wo tala. (Playing of the trumpet requires a lot air).

(b) Vuchayi bya ogene ekerekeni byi tisa vantshwa vo tala. (Playing of the organ in the church brings a lot of young people).

(c) Vafana va rhandza vuchayi bya ogene ekerekeni. (The young men like the playing of the organ in the church).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuchayi (playing) refers to the act of playing a musical instrument by an individual.

**Chaya (Beat floor)**

A. [Actor]: muchayi (floor beater)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muchayi wa khumbi u vavisekile xandla. (The floor beater hurt his arm).

(b) Muchayi wa khumbi u ta fika nimixo. (The floor beater will arrive in the morning).

(c) Wansati u pfuna muchayi wa khumbi. (The woman helps the floor beater).

Plural: Class 2: vachayi (floor beaters)

The nominal muchayi (floor beater) refers to an individual who beats the mud floor with a wooden floor beater in order to level and batten the floor. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of beating which an individual does at a particular time. Once the act of beating has stopped, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muchayi (floor beater).

**Chaya (Beat floor)**

B. [Excessive act]: richayo (excessive floor beating)

Class 5: 2. (a) Richayo ra wansati ra khumbi ri tsakisa n’wingi wakwe. (The excessive beating of the floor pleases her mother-in-law).

(b) Richayo ra khumbi ri vabyisa wansati. (The excessive beating of the floor makes the woman sick).

(c) Wanuna u sola richayo ra wansati ra khumbi. (The man disapproves the excessive beating of the floor of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **richayo** (excessive floor beating) refers to the act of beating the floor by an individual which is done excessively.

**Chaya** (Beat floor)

C.  

Class 7: 3.  

(a) Xichayi xa khumbi xi vavisekile xandla.  
(The expert floor beater hurt his arm).

(b) Xichayi xa khumbi xi tshovile xichayo.  
(The expert floor beater broke the wooden floor beater).

(c) Wansati u khensa xichayi xa khumbi.  
(The woman thanks the expert floor beater).

Plural: Class 8: swichayi (expert floor beaters)

The nominal **xichayi** (expert floor beater) refers to an individual who has a skill of beating the mud floor with a wooden floor beater in order to level and batten the floor. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of beating the floor which this individual has will remain within her for the rest of her life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of floor beating or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xichayi** (expert floor beater).

**Chaya** (Beat floor)

A.  

Class 7: 4.  

(a) Xichayo xa wansati xi pandzekile.  
(The wooden floor beater has cracked).

(b) Xichayo xi tshovekile xikhomo.  
(The wooden floor beater has broken the handle).

(c) Wansati u lomba xichayo eka manana.  
(The woman borrows the wooden floor beater from her mother).

Plural: Class 8: swichayo (wooden beaters)

The nominal **xichayo** (wooden floor beater) refers to an object made of wood which is used by women to level and batten down mud floors.

**Chaya** (Play instrument)

A.  

Class 14: 5.  

(a) Vuchayi bya wansati bya khumbi byi tsakisa n’wingi wa yena.  
(The beating of the floor of the woman pleases her mother-in-law).
(b) Vuchayi bya khumbi byi vavisa makatla.
(The beating of the floor hurts the shoulders).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vuchay bya wansati bya khumbi.
(The man likes the beating of the woman of the floor).

Plural: Class 8: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuchayi (floor beating) refers to the act of beating the floor by an individual.

**Sweka (Cook)**

A. [Actor]: musweki (cook)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musweki u tshivela ndzilo exitangeni.
(The cook makes fire in the kitchen).

(b) Musweki u hlantswa tipuleti.
(The cook washes plates).

(c) Khanyisa u huwelela musweki.
(Khanyisa shouts at the cook).

Plural: Class 2: vasweki (cooks)

The nominal musweki (cook) refers to an individual who prepares food by heating it in order to make it ready for consumption. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the defining property in this nominal is the act of cooking. In this context, anyone who is engaged in the activity of cooking may be referred to as musweki (cook), and once the moment of cooking has passed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as musweki (cook). But this nominal may also be regarded as an individual level-nominal in the situation where an individual in question is employed as a cook in her job. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of cooking or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will be referred to as musweki (cook).

**Sweka (Cook)**

B. [Excessive act/manner]: risweko (excessive cooking/ manner of cooking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risweko ra Yingwana ra nyama ri n’wi rhandzisa hi vana.
(The excessive cooking/manner of cooking of Yingwana of the meat makes him to be liked by children).

(b) Risweko ra wanuna ra nyama ehotela ri n’wi kumise masagwati.
(The excessive cooking/manner of cooking of the man of the meat at the hotel made him get awards).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela risweko ra Khazamula ra nyama.
(The man likes the excessive cooking/manner of cooking of Khazamula of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **risweko** (excessive cooking/manner of cooking) refers to the act of cooking which is done excessively by an individual. But it may also refer to the manner of cooking of meat by an individual.

**Sweka** (Cook)

C. [Result/Instrument]: sweko (hearth stone)

Class 5: 3. (a) Sweko ri khehlekile.
(The hearth stone has cracked).

(b) Sweko lerikulu ra tika.
(The big hearth stone is heavy).

(c) Kokwana u vekela sweko embiteni.
(My grandmother puts the hearth stone under the pot).

Plural: Class 6: masweko (hearth stones)

The nominal **sweko** (hearth stone) refers to the burnt stone which has turned black in colour as a result of the heat from the fire, which is always placed underneath the pot during cooking in order to keep the pot raised above the fire.

**Sweka** (Cook)

D. [Expert Actor]: xisweki (expert cook)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xisweki xa le hodela xi kunile sagwati.
(The expert cook of the hotel got an award).

(b) Xisweki u xi lulamisa swakudya swa vayeni.
(The expert cook prepares the food for the quests).

(c) Wanuna u nyika xisweki mali.
(The man is giving money to the expert cook).

Plural: Class 2: swisweki (expert cooks)

The nominal **xisweki** (expert cook) denotes an individual who has the expertise of cooking delicious food. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise of cooking will be inherent in this individual for the rest of his life. What is being modified by this nominal is not the act of cooking something of the individual in question as such, but his expertise in cooking. This expertise of cooking is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of cooking something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xisweki** (expert cook) because the property of expertise of cooking of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make
reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Sweka (Cook)**

D. [Event/ Act]: vusweki (cooking)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vusweki bya swakudya swa kahle byi lava vutivi. (The cooking of good food needs expertise).
(b) Vusweki bya swakudya swa le mitlangwini bya karhalisa. (The cooking of food in the functions is tiresome).
(c) Khanyisa u dyondzele vusweki bya swakudya ekholichi. (Khanyisa trained for cooking at the college).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusweki (cooking) refers to the act of cooking by an individual. But it may also refer to a career which an individual has trained for.

**Thopa (Pack into a heap)**

A. [Actor]: muthopi (packer of things into a heap)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muthopi wa tihunyi u rhwele tshwinga. (The packer of a heap of wood is carrying the bundle of wood).
(b) Muthopi u dyondzisa vanhwanyana ku thopa tihunyi. (The packer of the heap of wood is teaching girls to pack a heap of wood).
(c) Wansati u yimisa muthopi wa tihunyi endleleni. (The woman stops the packer of the wood on the path).

Plural: Class 2: vathopi (packers of woods)

The nominal muthopi (packer of heap of fire wood) refers to an individual who packs wood for making fire into a bundle/heap at home. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it may refer to anyone who is engaged in the act of packing wood. In other words, once the act of packing wood is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as muthopi (packer of wood into a heap).

**Thopa (Pack into a heap)**

B. [Excessive act]: rithopo (excessive packing of things into a heap)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rithopo ra wansati ra tihunyi ri ta n’wi vabyisa. (The excessive packing of the woman of the wood will make her sick).
(b) Rithopo ra tihunyi ri pfuna hi nkarhi wa xixika.
(The excessive packing of the wood helps during winter time).

(c) Wanuna u sola rithopo ra wansati ra tihunyi.
(The man disapproves the packing of wood into a heap of the woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithopo (excessive packing of woods into a heap) refers to a process by which a woman excessively collects firewood from the bush and brings it home and puts it on the to make a big heap of five wood.

**Thopa (Pack into a heap)**

C.  [Expert/excessive actor]: xithopi (expert/excessive packer of a heap of firewood)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xithopi xa tihunyi xi lumiwile hi nyoka enhoveni.
(The expert/excessive packer of fire wood has been bitten by a snake in the bush).

   (b) Xithopi xa tihunyi xi endlile swithopo swimbirhi.
   (The expert/excessive packer of fire wood has made two heaps of fire wood).

   (c) Xigevenga xi hlasela xithopi enhoveni.
   (The criminal attacks the expert/excessive packer of fire wood in the bush).

Plural: Class 8: swithopi (Expert/excessive packer)

The nominal xithopi (expert/excessive packer of wood into a heap) refers to an individual who skillfully/excessively packs woods for making fire into a heap at home. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of skillfulness/excessiveness is something that has become part of the character of the individual in question and cannot be separated from him. In this way then, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of skillful/excessive packing of wood into a heap or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xithopi (expert/excessive packer of woods into a heap).

**Thopa (Pack into a heap)**

D.  [Result]: xithopo (heap of firewood)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xithopo xo leha xi nga wela vana.
(The high heap of wood can fall on to children).

   (b) Xithopo xa tihunyi xi endlile tihuku ndzhuti.
   (The heap of wood made a shade for chickens).

   (c) Makhanana u paka xithopo ni vana va yena.
   (Makhanana packs a heap of wood with her children).

Plural: Class 8: swithopo (heaps of wood)
The nominal **xithopo** (heap of fire wood) refers to a bundle of fire wood collected and packed by a woman for making fire at home.

**Thopa** (Pack into a heap)

E. [Act]: vuthopi (packing things into a heap)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuthopi bya tihunyi byi endliwa nimadyambu.  
(The packing of wood into a heap is done during the evening).

(b) Vuthopi bya tihunyi byi tsakisa vakhegula.  
(The packing of wood into a heap make old women happy).

(c) Vana va hlalela vuthopi bya tihunyi endzhaku ka yindlu.  
(The children watch the packing of wood into a heap at the back of the house).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuthopi** (packing wood into a heap) refers to a process by which a woman collects fire wood from the bush and brings it home and puts it on the ones which were collected in the past so that together they become a heap.

**Tirha** (Work)

A. [Actor]: mutirhi (worker/employee)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutirhi u hlayisa mali ebangini.  
(The worker/employee saves money in the bank).

(b) Mutirhi u hakela swikweleti exitolo.  
(The worker/employee pays his debts at the shop).

(c) Mfumo wu thole mutirhi exikolweni.  
(The government has employed a worker/employee at school).

Plural: Class 2: vatirhi (workers)

The nominal **mutirhi** (worker/employee) refers to a person who does a particular kind of work. But it may also refer to a person who is employed in a company or factory. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal in the event where an individual in question does work which will be finished within a short space of time. Once such a work is completed such a person may no longer be referred to as **mutirhi** (worker/employee). However, in a situation where an individual in question is employed in a company as a permanent worker, such a nominal will be referred to as an individual-level nominal because he will always be associated with his job even if he may not necessarily be engaged in it at the time of reference.
**Tirha** (Work)

B. [Result/Place]: ntirho (work)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntirho wa tatana a wu holeli mali yo nyawula.  
(The job of my father does not pay well).

(b) Ntirho wa vuncingelani wu tele edorobeni.  
(Security job is plentiful in town).

(c) Mininjhere u kambele ntirho wa mufana.  
(The manager checked the job of the young man).

Plural: Class 4: mitirho (works/jobs)

The nominal ntirho (work/job) refers to a paid employment or a person’s place of work or what a person has been employed to do.

**Tirha** (Work)

B. [Experienced Actor]: xitirhi (Experienced worker/employee)

Class 1: 3. (a) Xitirhi xi ta huma peceni lembe leri.  
(The experienced worker/employee will retire this year).

(b) Xitirhi xi xavile movha wuntshwa.  
(The experienced worker/employee has bought a brand new car).

(c) Wanuna u endzela xitirhi xa Joni.  
(The man is visiting the experienced worker/employee in Johannesburg).

Plural: Class 2: switirhi (experienced workers)

The nominal xitirhi (experienced worker/employee) denotes an individual who has worked for a company for many years. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the vast experience of the individual in question will remain in the individual concerned for the rest of his life. What is being modified by this nominal is not the act of working of the individual in question, but his experience of working. This experience is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of working, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitirhi (experienced worker/employee) because the property of the vast amount of experience of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
**Tirha** (Work)

C. [Artifact]: xitirho (tool)

Class 14: 4. (a) Xitirho xo hlakula hi xona xi tshovekile.  
(The tool for removing weed is broken).

(b) Xitirho xa pulasitiki a xi tiyangi  
(The plastic tool is not strong).

(c) Yingwani u xava xitirho exitolo.  
(Yingwana buys a tool at the shop).

Plural: Class 8: switirho (tools)

The nominal xitirho (tool) refers to an object that is used by a person to do his job.

**Tlanga** (Play)

A. [Actor]: mutlangi (player)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlangi wa bolo ya milenge u endla vutiolori.  
(The soccer player is excersising).

(b) Mutlangi wa piyano u ya eGiyani.  
(The piano player goes to Giyani).

(c) Vafana va huwelela mutlangi exitdiyamu.  
(The young men shout at the player at the stadium).

Plural: Class 2: vatlangi (players)

The nominal mutlangi (player) refers to a person who takes part in a game or sport. But it may also refer to someone who performs on a musical instrument. It may still denote an individual who acts in a play, film or movie. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property is the person’s involvement in the sport and not the act of playing per se. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the paying of a sport or he may not be playing at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mutlangi (player) on account that he participates in any sporting activity.

**Tlanga** (Play)

B. [Event]: ntlangu (play/game)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntlangu wa bolo ya milenge wa namuntha wu kavanyetiwile hi mpfula.  
(Today’s soccer game was disturbed by the rain).

(b) Ntlangu wa xibakele wu vanga mitirho yo tala etikweni.  
(Boxing creates a lot of jobs in the country).
(c) Vafana va hlalela ntlangu wa xibakela eka thelevhixini.
(The young men watch the boxing on the television).

Plural: Class 4: mitlango (plays/games)

The nominal ntlangu (play/game) refers to things that children do for pleasure rather than as work. It may also refer to a piece of writing performed by actors in a theatre or on television or radio. But it may again refer to in general sport.

Tlanga (Play)

C. [Excessive Act/Manner]: ritlango (excessive /manner/playing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritlango ra Simpiwe Tshabalala ri tsakisa vaseketeri.
(The excessive playing of Simpiwe Tshabalala excites the fans).

(b) Ritlango ra mufana ra bolo ri hlamarisa vadyondzisi.
(The excessive playing of the young man of football surprises the teachers).

(c) Mudzaberi u rhandza ritlango ra mufana ra bolo.
(The coach likes the excessive playing/manner of playing of the young man of the foot ball).

Plural: No plural in the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritlango (excessive playing/excessive manner of playing) refers to the excessive act of playing in a game. Although theoretically the nominal ritlango (excessive playing) does make some sense, it seems to be unacceptable in everyday language of Vatsonga. This nominal requires the occurrence of the applied affix -el- as in ritlangelo (manner of exceptional playing).

Tlanga (Play)

C. [Expert Actor]: xitlangi (expert player)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitlangi xa le mahlweni xa Kaiizer Chiefs xi vavisekile.
(The front expert soccer player of Kaizer Chiefs is injured).

(b) Xitangi xa Amazulu xi sukile.
(The expert player of Amazulu has left).

(c) Muzaberi u huwelela xitlangi exitediyamu.
(The coach is shouting at the expert player at the stadium).

Plural: Class 2: switlangi (expert players)

The nominal xitlangi (expert player) denotes an individual who has an exceptional skill of playing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the exceptional skill of playing will be inherent in this individual for the rest of his life. What is being modified by this nominal is not the act of playing of something by the individual in question, but his exceptional skill of playing. This
exceptional skill of playing is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of playing, or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xitlangi* (expert player) because the property of exceptional skill of playing of the individual in question still holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tlanga (Play)**

D.  [Act/Manner]: vutlangi (playing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutlangi bya xipano xa rixaka byi yile hansi. (The playing of the national squad has dropped).

(b) Vutlangi bya Matimba bya bolo byi tsakisa vahlaleri. (The playing of Matimba of the ball impresses the fans).

(c) Mufana u vona vutlangi bya xipano xa rixaka exitediyamu. (The young man watches the playing of the national squad on television).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutlangi* (playing) refers to the act of playing in a game, or a piece of music, but it may also refer to the manner in which someone plays something in any game.

**Tsala (Write)**

A.  [Actor]: mutsari (writer/author)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsari u tsala hi timhaka leti humelelaka masiku hinkwawo. (The writer/author writes about issues which take place every day).

(b) Mutsari wa Xisomisana u ta vulavula eka rhadiyo nimadyambu. (The writer/author of Xisomisana will speak on the radio in the evening).

(c) Huvo ya ririmi ra Xitsonga yi ta tlhoma mutsari wa xitori lexi nga ta hlula risiva. (The Xitsonga Language Board will give the writer of a winning story an award).

Plural: Class 2: vatsari (writers/authors)

The nominal *mutsari* (writer/author) refers to a person who writes something in a book or on a chalk board. However, in everyday use it refers to someone who writes books or the person who has written a particular book. For a person who is writing something in a book or chalk board at that particular moment, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once the act of writing is finished such a person may no longer be referred to as *mutsari* (writer). But for a person who writes books, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of writing
which is being modified by this nominal will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of writing or not, at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **mutsari** (writer/author).

**Tsala (Write)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: **ritsalo** (excessive writing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsalo ra mufana ra swirungulwana ri tiveka kule.  
(The excessive writing of the young man is known far away).

(b) Ritsalo ra Hasani ra xikambelo xa ka Geredi 12 ri vilerisa vatswari vakwe.  
(The excessive writing of Hasani of grade 12 examination worries his parents).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela ritsalo ra n’wana ra switori.  
(The man likes the excessive writing of the child of the stories).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsalo** (excessive writing) denotes a process of writing things which is done excessively by an individual.

**Tsala (Write)**

**C.** [Artifact/Information]: **tsalwa** (document/book)

Class 5: 3. (a) Tsalwa ra Xisomisana ri dyondziwa eka Geredi 12.  
(Xisomisana (book) is studied at grade 12).

(b) Tsalwa ra timfanelo ta vatirhi ri humesiwile).  
(The document on the rights of workers has been issued).

(c) Wanuna u hlaya tsalwa ra Magaisa.  
(The man is reading Magaisa publication).

Plural: Class 6: **matsalwa** (Books/documents/literature).

The nominal **tsalwa** (book/document/literature) refers to an official paper or book that gives information about something, or that can be used as evidence or proof of something. It may also refer to pieces of writing that are valued as works of art, especially those that involve plays and poems. It may also denote a piece of writing or printed information about a particular subject.

**Tsala (Write)**

**D.** [Expert actor]: **xitsari** (prolific author)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitsari xa vuthokovetseri bya risuna eka Xitsonga i Magaisa.  
(The prolific author of good poetry in Xitsonga is Magaisa).
(b) Xitsari xa tinovhele ta Xitsonga xi tshama eNkowankowa.
(The prolific author of Xitsonga novels stays at Nkowankowa).

(c) Huvo ya ririmi ra Xitsonga yi xixima xitsari xa vutlhokovetseri.
(The Xitsonga Language Board honours the prolific author of Poetry).

Plural: Class 8: switsari (prolific authors).

The nominal xitsari (prolific writer) refers to a person who has produced and still produces many books. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since the writing of books by the individual in question happens throughout his entire life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be busy writing a book or not, such an individual will always be referred to as xitsari (prolific writer/author). In other words what is being modified by the nominal here is not the writing per se, but the regular use of the talent of writing by the individual in question.

Tsala (Write)

E. [Artifact/Instrument]: xitsalo (object used for writing)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitsalo xa ntima xi tsala kahle.
(Black pen writes well).

(b) Xitsalo xa Khanyisa xi tshovekile.
(Khanyisa’s pen is broken).

(c) Mufana u lomba xitsalo eka mudyondzisi.
(The boy borrows the pen from the teacher).

Plural: Class 8: Switsalo (objects used for writing).

The nominal xitsalo (object used for writing) refers to any object used for writing, such as a pen or a piece of chalk.

Tsala (Write)

B. [Act]: vutsari (authorship)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vutsari bya tibuku ta Xitsonga byi ehlile nan’waka.
(The authorship of the Xitsonga books has declined this year).

(b) Vutsari bya Magaisa i bya xiyimo xa le henhla.
(The authorship of Magaisa is of high standard).

(c) Valeteri va rhandza vutsari bya S.J. Malungana.
(Lecturers like the authorship of S.J. Malungana).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsari (authorship) refers to the activity of writing books or articles.
## Class 1

**Prefix:** mu-

**Suffix:** -i

**mutsari** (writer)

![Diagram for Class 1]

## Class 5

**Prefix:** mu-

**Suffix:** -o

**ritsalo** (excessive writing)

![Diagram for Class 5]
Class 5
Prefix:  ri-
Suffix:  -o

tsalwa (book/document)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -i

Xitsari (prolific writer)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -o

Xitsalo (writing instrument/pen)
Class 14
Prefix:    vu-
Suffix:   -i

**Vutsari** (writing)

```
AF          N
  |       |
   V       AF
    vu-   -tsar-   -i
```

**Verbs of Creation and Transformation**

(1) **Nominalization from the verb** -tsala *(write)*

(i) The verb -tsala *(write)*

Mufana u tsala xirungulwana.
(The young man is writing a short story).

```
-tsala
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1= e₁: process
= E2 = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e₂, y)
AGENTIVE = -tsala\_act (e₁, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Write – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative -tsala *(write)* in (1) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely the person who is writing and the physical object (book/information) which he is writing on/about. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of writing and the resultant state (e₂). These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the process event (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the result of the process of writing, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) (e₁) of writing (e₁) of the person (x).

(2) **Nominalisation in class 1: mutsari** *(writer)*

Mutsari u lulumisa swihoxo.
(The writer is correcting mistakes).
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal form mutsari (writer) in (2) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely the person who is writing and the physical object (book/information) on which the writing takes place. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of writing and the resultant state. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the process event ($e_1$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the result of the process of writing, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) ($e_1$) of writing ($e_1$) of the person ($x$).

**Hierarchical of semantic concepts:** Write – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal form xitsari (expert/prolific writer) in (3) above is similar to that of mutsari (writer) in (2) above. The distinction is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] xitsari (expert/prolific writer) in (3), which is absent in mutsari (writer) in (2).

**Hierarchical of semantic concepts:** Write – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of ritsalo (excessive writing) in (4) is similar to that of mutsari (writer) in (2) above. The distinction is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] xitsari (expert/prolific writer) in (3), which is absent in mutsari (writer) in (2).
Ritsalo ra wanuna ra swirungulwana swa Xitsonga ri fuwisa ririmi.
(The excessive excessive writing of the man of the Xitsonga short stories enriches the language).

\[
\text{ritsalo}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
& = \text{D-ARG2} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D-ARG3} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{tsala\_act\_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Write – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **ritsalo** (excessive writing) in (4) above displays three arguments in its argument structure two of which are default arguments, namely, the human that is writing and the physical object (book/information) which is being written. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference \( \Phi \) of the event of writing. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of writing and the resultant state \( e_2 \). These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the process event \( e_1 \). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the result of the process of writing, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) \( e_1 \) of writing \( e_1 \) of the person \( x \).

(5) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutsari** (writing)

Vutsari bya tibuku ta ririmi byi tlakukile.
(The writing of language books has increased).

\[
\text{vutsari}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& = \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{tsala\_event/act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Write – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vutsari* (writing) in (5) above corresponds to that of *ritsalo* (excessive writing) in (4) above. The distinction is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in (4), which is absent, in (5).

(6) Nominalisation in class 7: *xitsalo* (writing instrument/pen)

Xitsalo xo tshwuka xi hele inki.
(The red pen has run out of ink).

**xitsalo**

- **ARGSTR** = ARG1 = x: e: r
  - D–ARG1 = x: human
  - D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
- **EVSTR** = D-E1 = e1: process
  - D-E2 = e2: result
  - Restr = Temporally ordered
  - Head = e2
- **QUALIA** = FORMAL = (e_r, x, y)
  - AGENTIVE = –tsala_artifact/instrument (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Write – Artifact/Instrument – Result

The lexical semantic representation of *xitsalo* (pen/writing instrument) in (6) displays three arguments in its argument structure two of which are default arguments, namely, the human that is writing and the physical object (book/information) which is being written. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of writing. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of writing and the resultant state (e2). These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the process event (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the result of the process of writing, while the agentive quale represents the artifact/instrument of writing (e1) of the person (x).

(7) Nominalisation in class 5: *tsalwa* (book/document)

Tsalwa ra *Mulunguntima* ra tsakisa.
(The *Mulunguntima* book is interesting).

**tsalwa**

- **ARGSTR** = ARG1 = x: e: r
  - D–ARG1 = x: human
  - D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
- **EVSTR** = D-E1 = e1: process
  - D-E2 = e2: result
  - Restr = Temporally ordered
  - Head = e2
- **QUALIA** = FORMAL = (e_r, x, y)
  - AGENTIVE = –tsala_artifact/result(e1, x, y)
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Write – Artifact/Result

The lexical semantic representation of *tsalwa* (book/document) in (7) is similar to that of *xitsalo* (6) above. The difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [Artifact/Result] in (7), in contrast with [Artifact/Instrument] in (6).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of Creation and Transformation verbs illustrate a similar lexical semantic representation as that of the deverbative from the verb -tsala (write). The difference that obtains is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -aka (build), -tirha (work), -tlanga (play) and -tumbuluxa (create) permits a nominalization in class 3 denoting artifact and/or result and/or event, in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -chaya (play instrument), -chaya (beat/stamp floor), -sweka (cook), -thopa (pack into a heap), -tsala (write) and -vumba (mould) which does not allow such a nominalisation. The second distinction is found with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -tirha (work) and -tlanga (play) which does not permit a nominalization in class 5 with the meaning of excessive act as it is the case with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -aka (build), -chaya (play instrument), -chaya (beat/stamp floor), -sweka (cook), -thopa (pack into a heap), -tsala (write), -vumba (mould) and -tumbuluxa (create) which allows such a nominalization. On the other hand, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -aka (build), -chaya (play instrument), -chaya (beat/stamp floor), -thopa (pack into a heap), -tirha (work) and -vumba (mould) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -sweka (cook), -tlanga (play), -tumbuluxa (create) and -vumba (mould) which does not allow such a nominalisation.

**Tumbuluxa** (Create)

A. [Actor]: mutumbuluxi (creator)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutumbuluxi u rhandza swivumbiwa swakwe.  
(The creator loves his creatures).

(b) Mutumbuluxi u nisela lavo lulama na lavo homboloka mpfula.  
(The creator brings rain to the good and bad people alike.

(c) Vanhu va tsundzuka mutumbuluxi wa vona hi masiku.  
(The people remember their creator every day).

Plural: Class 2: vatumbuluxi (creators)

The nominal mutumbuluxi (creator) denotes an individual who causes something that is not made by ordinary processes to come into being. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal
because the ability to create will be inherent in this individual for the rest of his life. What is being modified by this nominal is not the act of creating of something of the individual in question, but his skill of creating things. This skill of creating things is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of creating something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *mutumbuluxi* (creator) because the property of skill of creating things of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tumbuluxa (Create)**

B. **[Result]:** ntumbuluko (creation/nature)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntumbuluko wu saseka hi nkarhi wa ximumu.
(The nature is beautiful during summer).

(b) Ntumbuluko wu hlayisa swivumbiwa swa Xikwembu.
(The nature takes care of the creatures of God).

(c) Vanhu va onha ntumbuluko.
(People destroy the creation).

Plural: Class 4: mitumbuluko (creations)

The nominal *ntumbuluko* (creation) refers to the world and all the things in it.

**Tumbuluxa (Create)**

C. **[Excessive Act]:** ritumbuluxo (excessive creating)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritumbuluxo ra timovha ta rivilo ri vangila makhombo yo tala.
(The excessive creating/inventing of speedy cars causes a lot of accidents).

(b) Ritumbuluxo ra tintlharhi ra matlharhi ya khombo ri vangala vanhu nchavo.
(The excessive creating/inventing brings rain to the bad and good people alike).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza ritumbuluxo ra tikhamphani ra tiselula ta tikhamera.
(The people like the excessive creating/inventing of companies of camera cellphones).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ritumbuluxo* (excessive creation/inventing) refers to the excessive act or process of making something that is new or of causing something to exist that did not exist before.

**Tumbuluxa (Create)**
D. [Expert Actor]: xitumbuluxi (expert creator/inventor)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xitumbuluxi xa selula foni xi kume mali yo tala.
         (The expert creator/inventor of cellphone got a lot of money).

         (b) Xitumbuluxi xa tikhompyuta xi olovisele vanhu vutomi.
         (The expert creator/inventor of computers is making life easier for people).

         (c) Vanhu va tsundzuka xitumbuluxi xa movha.
         (The people commemorate the creator/inventor of the car).

Plural: Class 8: switumbuluxi (expert creators/inventors)

The nominal xitumbuluxi (expert creator/inventor) refers to an individual who is an expert in creating/inventing something. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the creating/inventing of something as such, but the expertise of the individual in question in creating/inventing something. This property of expertness is a permanent property of such an individual and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of creating/inventing something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitumbuluxi (expert creator/inventor). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Tumbuluxa (Create)

E. [Act]: vutumbuluxi (creating/creation)

Class 14:  3. (a) Vutumbuluxi bya mitirho eAfrika-Dzonga byi yile ehansi.
          (Job creation in South Africa has decreased).

          (b) Vutumbuluxi bya swivumbiwa byi tekile masiku ya nkombo.
          (The creation of creatures took seven days).

          (c) Mfumo wu khensa vutumbuluxi bya matirho hi tifeme.
          (The government appreciates the creation of jobs by firms).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutumbuluxi (creation/creating) refers to the act or process of making something that is new or of causing something to exist that did not exist before.

Vumba (Mould)

A. [Actor]: muvumbi (moulder)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muvumbi wa timbita u cela vumba enambyeni.
         (The moulder of clay pots digs mould in the river)
(b) Muvumbi wa makhuwana u hisa makhuwana yakwe.
(The moulder of clay pots bakes her clay pots).

(c) Vavanuna va nyika muvumbi mali.
(The men give the moulder some money).

Plural: Class 2: vavumbi (creators)

The nominal *muvumbi* (moulder) denotes an individual who shapes or forms something in a mould. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of moulding which takes place at a particular time. However, it may be possible for the very nominal to be interpreted as an individual-level nominal, especially in the case where the moulding of things by the individual in question is done on a regular basis as a form of a career. In such a case then, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of moulding or not, such an individual will be referred to as *muvumbi* (moulder).

**Vumba** (Mould)

B.  

[Excessive act]: rivumbo (excessive moulding)

Class 5:  

2. (a) Rivumbo ra wansati ra timbita ri nghenisa mali yo tala.
(The excessive moulding of the woman of the clay pots generates a lot of money).

(b) Rivumbo ra makhuwana ri tsakisa vapfhumba.
(The excessive moulding of the clay pots pleases the tourists).

(c) Mfumo wu seketela rivumbo ra vavasati ra timbita.
(The government supports the excessive moulding of the women of the clay pots).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rivumbo* (excessive moulding) refers to an act of creating something by casting it in a mould which is done regularly.

**Vumba** (Mould)

B.  

[Instrument/Result]: vumba (clay)

Class 5:  

3. (a) Vumba bya kahle byi ceriwa eRivubye.
(Good mould is dug at Levubu).

(b) Vumba byi vumba swibye swo saseka.
(The mould makes beautiful utensils).

(c) Vakhegula va pfuva vumba hi swandla.
(Old women mix mould with hands).

Plural: Class 6: mavumba (clays)

The nominal *vumba* (mould) refers to a clay mud on which an object is formed or shaped.
**Vumba** (Mould)

C. **[Excessive Actor]: xivumbi (excessive moulder)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xivumbi xa makhuwana xi kelela mati. 
(The moulder of clay pots fetches water).

(b) Xivumbi xa makhuwana xi xavisa makhuwana epatwini. 
(The moulder of clay pots sells clay pots along the road).

(c) Vafana va hlongola xivumbi etshukeni. 
(Young men chase away the woman from the ant hill).

Plural: Class 8: swivumbi (excessive creators)

The nominal *xivumbi* (expert moulder) denotes an individual who has an expertise of shaping or forming something in a mould. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of moulding articles of the individual in question, but his special skill of moulding articles. This special skill of moulding things is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of moulding something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xivumbi* (expert moulder) because the property of special skill of moulding things of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate

**Vumba** (Mould)

D. **[Event, Act]: vuvumbi (moulding)**

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuvumbi bya makhuwana byi endliwa eMakonde. 
(The moulding of the clay pots is done at Makonde).

(b) Vuvumbi bya makhuwana byi kotiwa hi vakhegula. 
(The moulding of the clay pots is mastered by old women).

(c) Vadyuhari va hlohlotela vuvumbi bya swibye swa vumba eka lavantshwa. 
(Old women encourage the moulding of the clay utensils among the youth).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuvumbi* (moulding) refers to an act of creating something by casting it in a mould.
6.3 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF APPEARANCE, DISAPPEARANCE AND OCCURRENCE

The definition of verbs of Appearance, disappearance and occurrence has been given in Section 5.4. of Chapter five which deals with deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition also applies in this chapter. The only deference, however, is that in this chapter deverbatives are derived from monotransitive verbs.

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**Andlala (Spread out)**

A. [Actor]: muandlali (spreader of a thing out)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muandlali u veka xuka ewadiropeni.  
(The spreader of a thing puts a blanket into the wardrobe).

(b) Muandlali u lata n’wana emubedweni.  
(The spreader of thing put a child on the bed).

(c) Wansati u nyika muandlali malakani ya mubedwa.  
(The woman gives the spreader of a thing the sheets of the bed).

Plural: Class 2: vaandlali (spreaders of a thing)

The nominal muandlali (spreader of a thing) refers to an individual who spread out a thing such as a a sheet on a bed or a mat for people to sit on. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the spreading of a thing is something which may be done just for a moment. After the activity of spreading has been completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as a spreader. In other words, the defining feature in this nominal is the act of spreading.

**Andlala (Spread out)**

B. [Excessive act]: riandlalo (excessive spreading of a thing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riandlalo ra malakani ematafuleni ri kavanyakaira.  
(The excessive spreading out of sheets on the tables disturbs the function).

(b) Riandlalo ra masangu endleleni ya vatekani ri sasekisa nkuvo.  
(The excessive spreading out of mats on the path of the bride and groom beautify the function).

(c) Wanuna u yimisa riandlalo ra masangu emikhubyeni.  
(The man stops the excessive spreading of mats at functions).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riandlalo (excessive spreading) refers to the act of spreading out of a thing by an individual which is done excessively. Although it is theoretically possible to have a nominal such as this in Xitsonga, it is not common to hear a person using it in everyday discourse. Other people may find this nominal odd.

Andlala (Spread out)

A. [Expert actor]: xiandlali (expert spreader of a thing)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xiandlali xi lulumisa mibedwa ka ha ri mpundzu.
(The expert spreader of a thing prepares the beds while it is still early).

(b) Xiandlali xi nghena ekamareni ni mikumba.
(The expert spreader of a thing gets into the room with blankets).

(c) Mufambisi ukhensa xiandlali xa mibedwa ya vayeni.
(The manager thanks the expert preparer of the beds of the guests).

Plural: Class 8: swiandlali (excessive bed spreaders)

The nominal xiandlali (expert spreader) refers to an individual who has a skill of spreading things well, especially sheets on the beds. This nominal may thus be regarded as individual-level nominal because this skill of spreading is something that will not change over time; it is something that will remain inherent in the individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the nominal xiandlali (expert spreader) does not modify the act of spreading but the skill of spreading.

Andlala (Spread out)

B. [Artifact/Result]: xiandlalo (bedspread, blanket)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiandlalo xa mhana nhwana xi xaviwile.
(The blanket of the mother of the bride has been bought).

(b) Xiandlalo xa mubedo wa mina xi thyakile.
(The bedspread of my bed is dirty).

(c) Wansati u susa xiandlalo xa thyaka emubedweni.
(The woman removes the dirty bedspread from the bed).

Plural: Class 8: swiandlalo (bed spreads)

The nominal xiandlalo (bedspread, blanket) refers to linen cloth used to cover a table, bed. But it may also refer to a woollen cloth used to cover an individual during sleep. This nominal has a reading of artifact because the cloth in question is man-made.
**Andlala (spread out)**

A.  **[Act]:** vuandlali (spreading out)

Class 14:  5.  (a) Vuandlali bya mibedwa ya vayeni bya tika.  
(The preparing of guests beds is difficult).

(b) Vuandlali bya sangu byi tsakisa vana. 
(The spreading out of the mat excites children).

(c) Vana va encenyeta vuandlali bya sangu endlwini. 
(The children imitate the spreading out of the mat in the house).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuandlali** (prepare by spreading) refers to the act of preparing the bed by spreading out the sheet or duvet.

**Andlala (spread out)**

B.  **[Result]:** vuandlalo (breadth and width of a thing)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuandlalo bya muganga wa ka Mushiyani byi helela eka N’wa Marhanga. 
(The breadth and width of Mushiyani village ends at N’wa Marhanga).

(b) Vuandlalo bya doroba ra Polokwane byi fika kusuhi na Seshego. 
(The breadth and width of Polokwane city reaches Seshego).

(c) Hosi Mushiyani u tiva vuandlalo bya tiko ra yena. 
(Chief Mushiyani knows the breadth and width of his village).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuandlalo** (breadth and width of a thing) refers to the landscape of a land or a space.

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Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i
Muandlali (spreading person)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Riandlalo (excessive spreading of a thing)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xiandlali (expert spreader of a thing)
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
**Xiandlalo** (bed spread)

```
  N
 /   \
AF    N^R
  |    |
  V    AF
 xi-  -andlal-  -o
```

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

**Vuandlali** (spreading out)

```
  N
 /   \
AF    N^R
  |    |
  V    AF
 vu-  -andlal-  -i
```

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -o

**Vuandlalo** (breadth and width of a thing)

```
  N
 /   \
AF    N^R
  |    |
  V    AF
 vu-  -andlal-  -o
```
Verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence

(8) Nominalization from the verb -andlala (spread)

(ii) The verb -andlala (spread)
Wansati u andlala sangu.
(The woman is spreading the mat).

-andlala

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{andlala}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Spread – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -andlala in (8) above displays two arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that spreads a thing and a physical object representing an entity that is being spread. The event structure represents the process event of spreading. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument involved in the act of spreading. The agentive quale represents the act (process) ($e_1$) of the human argument ($x$).

(9) Nominalisation in class 1: muandlali (spreading person)

Muandlali wa sangu u humela ehandle.
(The spreading person of the mat goes out).

muandlali

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{andlala}_\text{actor} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Spread – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative muandlali (spreading person) in (9) above displays two arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that spreads a thing and a physical object representing an entity that is being spread. The event structure represents the process event of spreading. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument involved in the act of spreading. The agentive quale represents the act (process) ($e_1$) of the human argument ($x$).
(10) **Nominalisation in class 7: xiandlali** (expert/excessive spreading person of a thing)

Xiandlali xa mpahla yo xavisiwa exitarateni xī biwile.
(The excessive/expert spreading person of the clothes sold at the street has been beaten).

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Spread – Expert/Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xiandlali** (expert/excessive spreading person) in (10) is similar to that of **muandlali** (spreading person) in (9) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] in **xiandlali** (expert/excessive spreading person) in (10) above, which is absent, in **muandlali** (spreading person) in (9) above.

(11) **Nominalisation in class 5: riandlalo** (excessive spreading of a thing)

Riandlalo ra n’wana ra mikumba ehansi ri nyenyetsa mana wakwe.
(The excessive spreading out of the blankets on the ground annoys her mother).

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Spread – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **riandlalo** (excessive spreading of a thing) in (11) shows that its argument structure contains three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument, denoting the person that spreads a thing and the physical object, denoting an entity which is affected by the act of spreading. The other argument represents the reference to the act of spreading. The event structure represents the process event of spreading. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument involved in the act of spreading. The agentive quale represents the act (process) \((e_1)\) of the human argument \((x)\).
(12) Nominalisation in class 14: vuandlali (spreading out)

Vuandlali bya masangu emahlweni ka vatekani byi tsakisa vafundhisi.
(The spreading out of the mats in front of the bride and groom pleases pastors).

\[
\text{vuandlali}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
D-\text{ARG1} &= x: \text{human} \\
D-\text{ARG2} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{andlala} \_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Spreading – Act

The lexical semantic representation of \text{vuandlali} (spreading) in (12) is similar to that of \text{riandlalo} (excessive spreading) in (11) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] in \text{riandlalo} (excessive spreading) in (11) above, which is absent in \text{vuandlali} (spreading) in (12) above.

(13) Nominalisation in class 7: xiandlalo (bedspread/blanket)

Xiandlalo xa mubedo wa mufana xi thyakile.
(The bedspread/blanket of the young man is dirty).

\[
\text{xiandlalo}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
D-\text{ARG1} &= x: \text{human} \\
D-\text{ARG2} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{andlala} \_\text{artifact/result} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Spread – Artifact/Result

The lexical semantic representation of \text{xiandlalo} (bedspread/blanket) in (13) shows that its argument structure contains three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument, denoting the person that spreads a thing and the physical object, denoting an entity which is affected by the act of spreading. The other argument represents the reference to the act of spreading. The event structure represents the process event of spreading. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument involved in the act of spreading. The agentive quale represents the artifact/result of the act of spreading (e_1) of the human argument (x).
(14) Nominalisation in class 14: **vuandlalo** (breadth and width of a thing)

Vuandlalo bya xifundzhankulu xa Limpopo byi tlula bya Gauteng).
(The breadth and width of Limpopo Province is bigger than that of Gauteng).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vuandlalo} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG} 1 = x: e: r \\
\text{D} - \text{ARG1} & = x: \text{human} \\
\text{D} - \text{ARG2} & = y: \text{physic. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D} - \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = -\text{andlala}_- \text{place} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Spread – Place

The lexical semantic representation of **vuandlalo** (breadth and width) in (14) is similar to that of **xiandlalo** (bed spread/blanket) in (13) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [artifact/result] in **xiandlalo** (bed spread/blanket) in (13) above, while in **vuandlalo** (breadth and width) in (14) above it represents [place].

**Khuvula** (baptise)

A. [Actor]: mukhuvuli (baptist)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhuvuli u vuya enambyeni.
(The baptist comes from the river).

(b) Mukhuvuli wa rhurhumela.
(The baptist is shivering).

(c) Mufana u nyiketa mukhuvuli mpahla yo oma.
(The young man gives the baptist dryclothes).

Plural: Class 2: vakhuvuli (baptists)

The nominal **mukhuvuli** (baptist) refers to an individual, usually a priest, who immerses people in water as a symbol that the person has truly converted to a particular religion. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question is will be associated with baptising people even when at a time he is not involved in the act of baptising someone.

**Khuvula** (baptise)

B. [Result]: nkhuvulo (baptism)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nkhuvulo wa vakhegula wa tsakisa.
(The baptism of the old women is interesting).

(b) Nkhuvulo wa Yohana wa ha endliwa ni namuntlha.
(The baptism of John is still being practised even today).

(c) Wansati u bumabumela nkhuvulo wa Yohana Mukhuvuri.
(The woman commends the baptism of John the Baptist).
Plural: Class 4: mikhuvulo (baptisms)

The nominal nkhuvulo (baptism) refers to a Christian religious rite in which a person is immersed in or sprinkled with water as a sign of being cleansed from sin and accepted as a member of the church.

Khuvula (baptise)

C. [Excessive act]: rikhuvulo (excessive baptising)

Class 1: 1. (a) Rikhuvulo ra mufundhisi ra vapfumeri ri tsakisa vakhegula.
   (The excessive baptising of the pastor of the believers excites the old women).

   (b) Rikhuvulo ra mufundhisi ra vana lavantsongo ri sandzisa rito ra Xikwembu.
   (The excessive baptising of the pastor of young children makes the word of God to be criticised).

   (c) Wanuna u hlamala rikhuvulo ra mufundhisi ra vana.
   (The man is surprised at excessive baptising of the pastor of the children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhuvulo (excessive baptising) denotes an excessive act of immersing people in water or sprinkle with water as a sign of being cleansed from sin and accepted as a member of the church (Ibid).

Khuvula (baptise)

D. [Excessive actor]: xikhuvuli (person who excessively baptises people)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhuvuli xa vapfumeri xi ya ekerekeni.
   (The person who excessively baptises believers goes to church).

   (b) Xikhuvuli xa vavasati xi ambale suti.
   (The person who excessively baptises women has worn a suit).

   (c) Wansati u xeweta xikhuvuli xa vapfumeri.
   (The woman greets the excessively baptiser of believers).

Plural: Class 8: swikhuvuli (person who excessively ties cloth around the waist)

The nominal xikhuvuli (person who excessively ties cloth around the waist) denotes an individual who regularly or excessively acts in immersing people in water or sprinkling with water as a sign of being cleansed from sin and accepted as a member of the church. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of baptising people of the individual in question. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of baptising people, at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikhuvuli (person who excessively ties cloth around the waist).
Khuvula (baptise)

E. [Act]: vukhuvuli (baptising)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhuvuli bya mufundhisi bya vana byi vilerisa kereke.
(The baptising of the pastor of the children worries the church).

(b) Vukhuvuli bya mufundhisi bya xidakwa byi hlamarisa ntshungu.
(The baptising of the pastor of the drunkard surprises the crowd).

(c) Vanhu va sola vukhuvuli bya mufundhisi bya xipengo.
(The people disapprove of the baptising of the pastor of the mad person).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhuvuli (baptising) refers to the act of immersing people in water or sprinkle with water as a sign of being cleansed from sin and accepted as a member of the church.

Loveka (soak)

A. [Actor]: muloveki (soaking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muloveki wa mpahla wa yimbelela.
(The soaking person of the clothes is singing).

(b) Muloveki wa mikumba wa gungula.
(The soaking person of the blankets is grumbling).

(c) Mukhalabye u sola muloveki wa mpahla ya vana ematini ya thyaka.
(The old man criticises the soaking person of the children’s clothes in dirty water).

Plural: Class 2: valoveki (soaking people)

The nominal muloveki (soaking person) refers to an individual who puts something in a liquid so as to become thoroughly wet. This nominal may be assigned the interpretation of a stage-level nominal because what is being modified here is the act of soaking an object. Once such an act is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muloveki (soaking person).

Loveka (soak)

B. [Excessive act]: riloveko (excessive soaking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riloveko ra wansati ra mpahla ya vana ri tsakisa vathori vakwe.
(The excessive soaking of the woman of the children’s clothes pleases her employers).

(b) Riloveko ra nhwanyana ra mikumba ri vilerisa wansati.
(The excessive soaking of the girl of the blankets worries the woman).

(c) Wansati u nyenya riloveko ra wansati ra mikumba.
(The woman dislikes the excessive soaking of the woman of the blankets).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riloveko (excessive soaking) denotes an excessive act of putting something in a liquid so as to become thoroughly wet (Ibid)
Loveka (soak)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiloveki (expert/excessively soaking person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiloveki xa mpahla ya thyaka xi vona thelevhixini.
(The expert/excessively soaking person of the dirty clothes is watching the television).

(b) Xiloveki xa mavele yi kukula rivala.
(The expert/excessively soaking person of the mealies is sweeping the yard).

(c) Mufana u twela xiloveki xa mavele vusiwana.
(The young man is feeling pity for the expert/excessively soaking person of the mealies).

Plural: Class 8: swiloveki (excessively soaking people)

The nominal xiloveki (excessively soaking person) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively puts something in a liquid so as to become thoroughly wet (Ibid). This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the modifying property in this nominal is the expertise/excessiveness of soaking something by an individual which will be associated with him for the rest of his life irrespective of whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of soaking something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Loveka (soak)

D. [Act]: vuloveki (soaking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuloveki bya mavele wansati bya mavele byi khata vingi vakwe..
(The soaking of the woman of the mealies pleases his parents-in-law).

(b) Vuloveki bya mpahla ya vana byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The soaking of the childrens’ clothes annoys the woman).

(c) Mukhegula u rhandza vuloveki bya mavele.
(The old woman likes the soaking of mealies).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuloveki (soaking) refers to the act of putting something in a liquid so as to become thoroughly wet (Ibid)

6.4 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM JUDGEMENT VERBS

According to Levin (1995: 196) Judgement Verbs relate to a judgement or opinion that someone may have in reaction to something. He asserts that these verbs do not typically take sentential complements as object. According to him many of these verbs do not have derived nominals with a process interpretation. However, it will be demonstrated in this section that in Xitsonga most Judgement verbs do have derived nominals. Generally, Judgement verbs take two arguments, a subject and an object, a subject being an animate argument, specifically human.
Avanyisa (judge)

A. [Actor]: muavanyisi (judge)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muavanyisi wa nandzu wa Presidente Jacob Zuma u herisile nandzu.
(The judge of President Jacob Zuma’s case has cancelled the case).

(b) Muavanyisi wa khoto ya vumbiwa u voniwile nandzu wo chayela a pyopyiwile.
(The judge of the constitutional court has been found guilty for driving under the influence of alcohol).

(c) Wansati u hehla muavanyisi hi nandzu wo pfinya.
(The woman accuses the judge of rape).

Plural: Class 2: vaavanyisi (judges)

The nominal muavanyisi (judge) refers to an individual who is an arbiter of justice who presides over a court of law. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question who is appointed as a judge is associated with this position for the most part of his life.

Avanyisa (judge)

B. [Excessive act]: riavanyiso (excessive judging).

Class 5: 2. (a) Riavanyiso ra Muzamana ri n’wi vengisa hi vanhu.
(The excessive judging of Muzamana makes him to be hated by people).

(b) Riavanyiso ri tala ku endliwa hi lava vo tikukumuxa.
(Excessive judging is usually done by proud people).

(c) Wanuna u lemuka riavanyiso ra Khazamula ra vanhu.
(The man notices the excessive judging of Khazamula of the people).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riavanyiso** (excessive judging) refers to the act of judging others excessively by an individual. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of judging which the defining feature in this nominal will remain with this individual for the rest of his life.

**Avanyisa** (judge)

C. [Expert Actor]: xiavanyisi (expert judge)

Class 7: 1. (a) Xiavanyisi xa khotonkulu ya Pitori xi lovile. (The expert judge of the high court of Pretoria has died).
   (b) Xiavanyisi xa milandzu yo pfinya xa khotonkulu ya Pitori xa xa vabya. (The expert judge on rape cases of the high court of Pretoria is ill).
   (c) Wansati u hlamusela xiavanyisi leswi humeleleke enkhubyeni. (The woman tells the expert judge what happened in the party).

Plural: Class 2: swiavanyisi (expert judges)

The nominal **xiavanyisi** (expert judge) refers to an arbiter of justice who has an extra-ordinary skill of presiding over cases in a court of law. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because an individual in question will be associated with this extra-ordinary skill of presiding over court cases for the better part of his life. In other words, the nominal xiavanyisi (expert judge) modify the extra-ordinary skill of judging and not the act judging itself.

**Avanyisa** (Judge)

D. [Act]: vuavanyisi (judging/judgement)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuavanyisi bya nandzu wa Motata byi ta nyikiwa namuntlha. (The judging/judgement of the case of Motata will be made today).
   (b) Vuavanyisi bya vanhu byi ta va hi siku ra makumu. (The judging/judgement of the people will be in the last day).
   (c) Vanhu va khensa vuavanyisi bya nandzu wa Selebi. (The people appreciate the judging/judgement of the case of Selebi).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuavanyisi** (judging/judgement) refers to the act of evaluation of evidence in the making of a decision or verdict.
**Avanyisa** (Judge)

E. [Result]: vuavanyiso (judge profession)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuavanyiso i ntirho wa risima.
(Judge Profession is a nice job).

(b) Vuavanyiso byi holela mali yo tala.
(Judge Profession pays a lot of money).

(c) N’wana wa mina u tsakela vuavanyiso hi mbilu yakwe hinkwayo.
(My child likes judge profession with all of her heart).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuavanyiso** (judging) refers to the occupation of judge of the court.

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Class 1
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**muavanyisi** (judge)
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Riavanyiso (excessive judging)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xiavanyisi (expert judge)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vuavanyisi (judging)
Class 14
Prefix:    vu-
Suffix:   -o

**Vuavanyiso** (judgement)

![Diagram of semantic structure]

**Verbs of Judgement**

(16) **Nominalization from the verb** -avanyisa (judge)

(iii) The verb -avanyisa (judge)

Hosi yi avanyisa nandzu.
(The chief is judging the case).

\[
\text{-avanyisa} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1=x: human} \\
\text{ARG2 = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E1 = e1: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL = x} \\
\text{AGENTIVE = -avanyisa\_act (e1, x,y)}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts**: Judge – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -avanyisa (judge) in (16) above displays two arguments in the argument structure, namely, the human argument performing the judging and the physical object. The event structure represents the default process event of judging. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of judging (e1) of a person (x).

(17) **Nominalisation in class 1: muavanyisi** (judge)

Muavanyisi wa nandzu wa Presidente Jacob Zuma u herisile nandzu.
(The judge of President Jacob Zuma’s case has cancelled the case).
**muavanyisi**

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG2= y: phys. obj
EVSTR = E1=e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=x
AGENTIVE=–avanyisa_actor (e₁, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Judge – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal **muavanyisi** (judge) in (17) above displays two arguments in the argument structure, namely, the human argument performing the judging and the physical object. The event structure represents the default process event of judging. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of judging (e₁) of a person (x).

(18) Nominalisation in class 7: xiavanyisi (expert judge)

Xiavanyisi xa khotonkulu ya Pitori xi lovile.
(The expert judge of the high court of Pretoria has died).

**xiavanyisi**

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG2= y: phys. obj
EVSTR = E1=e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=x
AGENTIVE=–avanyisa_actor_expert (e₁, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Judge – Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xiavanyisi** (excessive judge) in (18) is similar to that of **muavanyisi** (17) above. The only difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [expert] in (18), which is absent, in (17).

(19) Nominalisation in class 5: riavanyiso (excessive judging)

Riavanyiso ra Muzamani ehubyeni eka timhaka ta vanhu ri tsakisa hosí.
(The excessive judging of Muzamani at the traditional court on other people’s cases pleases the chief).

**riavanyiso**

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj
EVSTR = D–E1 = e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e₁, x, y)
AGENTIVE=–avanyisa_act_excessive (e₁, x, y)
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Judge – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal riavanyiso (excessive judging) in (19) above exhibits three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human that is engaged in the act of judging, and the physical object (case) that is being judged. The other argument is the reference of the act of judging.

(20) Nominalisation in class 14: vuavanyisi (judging)

Vuavanyisi bya nandzu wa Jackie Selebi byi tekile nkarhi wo leha.
(The judging of Jackie Selebi took a long time).

\[
\text{vuavanyisi}
\]

\[
\text{ARGSTR } = \text{ ARG}1 = x: e: r
\]

\[
\text{D–ARG}1 = x: \text{human}
\]

\[
\text{D–ARG}2 = y: \text{phys. obj}
\]

\[
\text{EVSTR } = \text{ D–E}1 = e_1: \text{ process}
\]

\[
\text{QUALIA } = \text{ FORMAL } = (e_1, x, y)
\]

\[
\text{AGENTIVE } = \text{-avanyisa}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Judge – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuavanyisi (judging) in (20) is correspond to that of riavanyiso (excessive judging) (19) above. The only difference relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in (19), which is absent in vuavanyisi (judging) in (20).

(21) Nominalisation in class 14: vuavanyiso (judging/judgement)

Vuavanyiso i ntirho wa risima.
(Judging is a noble job).

\[
\text{vuavanyiso}
\]

\[
\text{ARGSTR } = \text{ ARG}1 = x: e: r
\]

\[
\text{D–ARG}1 = x: \text{human}
\]

\[
\text{D–ARG}2 = y: \text{phys. obj}
\]

\[
\text{EVSTR } = \text{ D–E}1 = e_1: \text{ process}
\]

\[
\text{QUALIA } = \text{ FORMAL } = (e_1, x, y)
\]

\[
\text{AGENTIVE } = \text{-avanyisa}_\text{act/event} (e_1, x, y)
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Judge – Event/Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal vuavanyiso (judging/judgement) in (21) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the
human that is engaged in the act of judging, and the physical object (case) that is being judged. The other argument is the reference of the act/event of judging.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of judgement verbs have similar lexical semantic representation as that of the deverbatives from the verb -avanyisa (judge). The exceptions are that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hlekula (mock), -rhukana (insult), -xixima (show respect), -xumbadza (humiliate) and -xupula (punish) permits a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -avanyisa (judge), -fundza (honour), -hehla (accuse), -phata (praise), -sola (blame), -thopa (praise), -venga (hate) and -vonga (praise) which does not allow such a nominalization. On the other hand, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs such as -fundza (honour), -hehla (accuse), -phata (praise), -sola (blame), -thopa (praise) and -vonga (praise) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o denoting result as opposed to the encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -avanyisa (judge), -hlekula (mock), -rhukana (insult), -xixima (show respect), -xumbadza (humiliate), -venga (hate) and -xupula (punish) which does not allow such a nominalization. Furthermore, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -avanyisa (judge) and -phata (praise) permits a nominalization in class 14 with the suffix -o which denotes event and/or result as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the other verbs in this sub-class which does not allow such a nominalisation.

**Fundza (Show respect)**

A.  [Actor]: mufundzi (honourer)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mufundzi u nyikile Mandela xifundzo xa Nobel peace price.
(The honourer presented to Mandela the honour of Nobel peace price).

(b) Mufundzi u komba vanhu xifundzo xa Nobel peace price).
(The honourer shows the people the Nobel peace price honour).

(c) Vanhu va yimele mufundzi wa xifundzo xa Nobel peace price exitediyamu.
(The people are waiting for the honourer of the Nobel peace price at the stadium).

Plural: Class 2: vafundzi (honourers)

The nominal mufundzi (honourer) refers to an individual who recognizes and shows great respect to a person who has a good reputation by doing something outstanding and benefiting to the society.

**Fundza (Show respect)**

B.  [Excessive act]: rifundzo (excessive honouring)

Class 5:  1. (a) Rifundzo ra mfumo ra valwela ntshuxeko ri tsakisa maxaka ya vona.
(The excessive honouring of government of freedom fighters pleases their relatives).
(b) Rifundzo ra tiyunivhesiti ra Nelson Mandela ri kombisa nxiximo wa mitirho yakwe).  
(The excessive honouring of the universities of Nelson Mandela shows a respect of his deeds).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza rifundzo ra matiko ya misava ya Nelson Mandela.  
(People like the excessive honouring of countries of the world of Nelson mandela).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rifundzo (excessive honouring) refers to the excessive act of recognizing and showing great respect to a person who has a good reputation by doing something outstanding and benefiting to the society.

Fundza (Show respect)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifundzi (excessive honouring person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xifundzi xa vanhu lava tirhelaka rixaka xi lovile.  
(The excessive honouring person of the people who serve the nation has died).

(b) Xifundzi xa valwela ntshunxeko xi ta vulavula epalamente mundzuku).  
(The excessive honouring person of freedom fighters will speak in parliament tomorrow).

(c) Vanhu va yingisela xifundzi xa valwela ntshunxeko.  
(The people are listening to the excessive honouring person of freedom fighters).

Plural: Class 8: swifundzi (honouring people)

The nominal xifundzi (excessive honouring person) refers to an individual who excessively and regularly recognizes and shows great respect to a person who has a good reputation by doing something outstanding and benefiting to the society.

Fundza (Show respect)

D. [Result]: xifundzo (honour)

Class 7:  2. (a) Xifundzo xi nyika mufundziwa matimba yo ya emahlw eni a tirhela vanhu kahle.  
(The honour gives the honoured strength to continue serving the people well).

(b) Xifundzo xa Nobel peace price xi kumiwe hi De Klerk Tutu na Mandela eAfrika-Dzonga.  
(The honour of Nobel peace price was presented to De Klerk,Tutu and Mandela in South Africa).

(c) Vanhu va languta xifundzo xa Nobel peace price.  
(People look at the Nobel peace price award).

Plural: Class 8: swifundzo (honours)
The nominal **sifundzo** (honour) refers to personal dignity that sometimes leads to recognition or glory. But it may also refer to a recognition given to an individual in a form of a degree or a title in appreciating the outstanding contribution he made to the nation. This nominal has a result reading.

**Fundza** (Show respect)

E. [Act]: vufundzi (honouring)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vufundzi bya Mandela bya Nobel peace price byi endleriwe eAmerika. (The honouring of Mandela of Nobel peace price was conducted in America).

(b) Vufundzi bya Vameyara lava tirheke kahle byi fanela endliwa endzhaku ka nthlanu wa malembe man’wana ni man’wana. (The honouring of mayors who did well should be conducted after every five years).

(c) Vanhu va hlalela vufundzi bya vameyara exitediyamu. (People watch the honouring of the mayors at the stadium).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vufundzi** (honouring) refers to an act of awarding an individual a degree or a title in recognition of his outstanding contribution in the society.

**Hehla** (Accuse)

A. [Actor]: muhehli (accuser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhehli wa Jackie Selebi u nyika vumbhoni mundzuku. (The accuser of Jackie Selebi will give evidence tomorrow).

(b) Muhehli a nga pfaleriwa loko a hembela huvo. (The accuser can be locked up if he tells lies to the court).

(c) Maphorisa ma sirhelela muhehli wa Jacob Zuma. (The police protect the accuser of Jacob Zuma).

Plural: Class 2: vahehli (accusers)

The nominal **muhehli** (accuser) denotes an individual who claims that someone has done something wrong. This nominal may be viewed as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question will be so called only during the period in which he holds the claim. Once the offense between the individual in question and the accused is discussed and sorted out the nominal **muhehli** (accuser) may no longer apply to him.
**Hehla** (accuse)

**Hehla** (accuse)

**B.** [Excessive act]: rihehlo (excessive accusing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihehlo ra Tsatsawana ri n’wi vengisa hi vanhu.  
(Excessive accusing of Tsatsawana makes her to be hated by people).

(b) Rihehlo ra Tsatsawana ra vanhu ri kale ri n’wi pfalerisa ekhotsweni lemba leri nga hela.  
(The excessive accusing of Tsatsawana of the people once had her imprisoned last year).

(c) Wanuna u lemuka rihehlo ra Makhanana ra vanhu.  
(The man notices the excessive accusing of Makhanana of the people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihehlo (excessive accusing) refers to an act of accusation which is done by someone in an excessive manner.

**Hehla** (Accuse)

**C.** [Excessive/notorious actor]: xihehli (excessive/notorious/main accuser)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihehli xa Hosí Yesu xi tisungile.  
(The excessive/notorious/main accuser of Jesus Christ hanged himself).

(b) Xihehli xa Nelson Mandela xi kombela ku khomeriwa.  
(The excessive/notorious/main accuser of Nelson Mandela asks for forgiveness).

(c) Vafana va hlasela xihehli xa vanhu emugangeni.  
(The young men attack the excessive/notorious/main accuser of people in the village).

Plural: Class 8: swihehli (excessive/notorious/main accusers)

The nominal xihehli (excessive/notorious/main accuser) denotes the main individual who claims that someone has done something wrong. But it may also refer to someone who excessively or notoriously accuses someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property of mainess/excessiveness/notoriousness will be associated with the individual in question through out his entire life.

**Hehla** (Accuse)

**D.** [Result]: xihehlo (accusation)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihehlo xa vukungundzwana ehenhla ka Presidente Jacob Zuma xi herisiwile.  
(The accusation of corruption labelled against President Jacob Zuma has been set aside).
(b) Xihehlo lexi pumbiwaka muavanyisi Motata I xa ku chayela movha a pyopyiwile.  
(The accusation labelled against judge Motata is that of driving under the influence of alcohol).

(c) Muavanyisa u herise xihehlo ehenhla ka Presidente Jacob Zuma)  
(The judge has cancelled the accusation against President Jacob Zuma).

Plural: Class 8: swihehlo (accusations)

The nominal xihehlo (accusation) refers to a charge or claim that someone has done something wrong. Such a nominal has a result reading.

**Hehla** (Accuse)

E.  
[Act]: vuhehli (accusing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhehli bya presidente hi xikongomelo xo n’wi wisa swi nga khomisa munhu.  
(Accusing the president with the motive of bringing him down can get a person arrested).

(b) Vuhehli bya munhu wihi kumbe wihi bya nandzu wo dlaya byi nga va na mbuyelo wo biha.  
(Accusing any person with a case of murder can have bad consequences).

(c) Vandla ri sola vuhehli bya president hi vanhu.  
(The organization condemns the accusation of the president by the people).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhehli (accusing) refers to the act or process of laying a charge or making a claim against someone whom is believed to have done something wrong.

**Hlekula** (mock)

A.  
[Actor]: muhlekuri (mocking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlekuri wa xisiwana u oxa nyama ehandle.  
(The mocking person of the poor person roasts the meat outside).

(b) Muhlekuri wa-swisiwana u rhandza ntsena vanhu lava nga na timali.  
(The mocking person of the poor likes only people who have money).

(c) Vanhu va sola muhlekuri wa-swisiwana enhlenegetanini.  
( People criticize the mocking person of the poor in the meeting).

Plural: Class 2: vahlekuri (mocking people)

The nominal muhlekuri (mocking person) refers to an individual who laughs at someone or something in an unkind way, or who shows a strong feeling that someone is stupid or is not good. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because usually, an attitude of this nature will
always be displayed by the individual in question whenever he sees or talks about the person whom he
thinks is not clever enough.

Hlekula (Mock)

B.  [Act]: nhlekuló (mockery)

Class 3:  2.  (a) Nhlekuló wa swisiwana wu nyenyetsa vanhu vo tala.
(The mockery of the poor disgusts many people).

(b) Nhlekuló wa swisiwana vangela makhombo.
(The mockery of the poor people causes troubles).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va venga nhlekuló wa swisiwana hi vafana.
(Many people hate the mockery of the poor by young men).

Plural: Class 3: mihlekuló (mockeries)

The nominal nhlekuló (mockery) refers to behaviour or an expression showing that one thinks that
someone or something is ridiculous.

Hlekula (Mock)

C.  [Excessive act]: rihlekuló (excessive mockery)

Class 5:  3.  (a) Rihlekuló ra vakhegula hi vafana ri fanele ku soriwa.
(The excessive mockery of old women by young men should be condemned).

(b) Rihlekuló ra vafana eka vanhu lavakulu ri fanele ku soriwa.
(The excessive mockery of young men on elderly people should be condemned).

(c) Vanhu va venga vuhlekuló bya mufana bya swilema.
(The people hate the excessive mockery of the young man of the disabled).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihlekuló (excessive mockery) refers to excessive actions that are intended to make
someone seem ridiculous.

Hlekula (Mock)

D.  [Actor]: xihlekuri (excessively mocking person)

Class 7:  4.  (a) Xihlekuri xa swisiwana xi oxa nyama ehandle.
(The excessively mocking person of the poor person roasts the meat outside).

(b) Xihlekuri xa swisiwana xi rhandza ntsena vanhu lava nga na timali.
(The excessively mocking person of the poor likes only people who have money).

(c) Vanhu va sola xihlekuri xa swisiwana enhlengeletanini.
(The people criticize the mocking person of the poor at the meeting).
Plural: Class 2: swihlekuri (excessively mocking persons)

The nominal xihlekuri (excessively mocking person) refers to an individual who excessively scorns other people. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of undermining someone here will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether he will be scorning at someone or he will not be scorning at the time of reference, the mere fact that he usually scorns makes this individual to be always referred to as xihlekuri (excessively mocking person).

Hlekula (Mock)

E. [Act]: vuhlekuri (mocking)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhlekuri bya vakhegula hi vafana byi fanele ku soriwa.
(The scorning of old women by young men should be condemned).

(b) Vuhlekuri bya vafana eka swilemu byi fanele ku soriwa.
(The scorning of the young men on the cripples should be condemned).

(c) Vafana va tsakela ngopfu vuhlekuri bya vanhu lavakula.
(The young men like a lot the scorning of elderly people).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlekuri (mocking) refers to comments or actions that are intended to make someone seem ridiculous.

Phata (Praise)

A. [Actor]: muphati (praise poet)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphati u phata Mandela.
(The praise poet praises Mandela).

(b) Muphati u khandziya exitejini.
(The praise poet climbs the stage).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela muphati wa le Giyani.
(People like the praise poet from Giyani).

Plural: Class 2: vaphati (praise poets)

The nominal muphati (praise poet) refers to a person who writes and/or recites poems which praises a warrior, a chief or any person who has made a remarkable contribution in the society. This nominal may be regarded as an-individual-level nominal because the expertise of composing, writing and reciting praise poems will remain with the individual in question for the rest of his life.
Phata (Praise)

B. [Excessive act]: riphato (excessive praising)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphato ra mufana ra vachaviseki ri n’wi dumisile.
   (The excessive praising of the young man of the dignitaries made him popular).

   (b) Riphato ra Comrade Xigevenga ra van’watipolitiki ri tsakisa vavasati.
   (The excessive praising of Comrade Xigevenga of the politicians excites the women).

   (c) Vavasati va rhandza riphato ra Comrade Xigevenga ra van’watipolitiki.
   (People like the excessive praising of Comrade Xigevenga of the politicians).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphato (excessive praising) refers to the excessive act or event in which a praise poet shows appreciation and admiration to someone for doing an outstanding work for the people.

Phata (Praise)

C. [Expert actor]: xiphati (expert praise poet)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphati xi phata mfumo wa Afrika-Dzonga.
   (The expert praise poet praises the government of South Africa).

   (b) Xiphati xi lulamisa xiphato.
   (The expert praise poet prepares a praise poem).

   (c) Vanhu va bela xiphati mavoko.
   (People clap hands for the expert praise poet).

Plural: Class 8: swiphati (expert praise poets)

The nominal xiphati (expert praise poet) refers to a person who has an extra-ordinary skill of writing and/or reciting poems which praises a warrior, a chief or any person who has made a remarkable contribution in the society. This nominal may be regarded as an-individual-level nominal because the extra-ordinary expertise of composing, writing and reciting praise poems will remain with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in writing or reciting a praise poem or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiphati (expert praise poet).

Phata (Praise)

D. [Result]: xiphato (praise poem)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiphato xa Mandela xa tsakisa.
   (The praise poem of Mandela is exciting).
(b) Xiphato xo tsala hi Chavalala xi tele misavu.
(The praise poem written by Chavalala is full of humor).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela xiphato xa Mandela.
(People like the praise poem of Mandela).

Plural: Class 8: swiphato (praise poems)

The nominal xiphato (praise poem) refers to a poem which praises a warrior, a chief or any person who has made a remarkable contribution in the society.

**Phata (Praise)**

E. [Act]: vuphati (praising)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuphati bya nhenha byi lava munhu wa vuswikoti.
(Praising of the hero needs a person with ability).

(b) Vuphati bya mucini hi nkarhi wa vukanyi byi tsakisa ngopfu.
(Praising of the dancer during Marula drinking is very exciting).

(c) Vanhu vo hlalela vuphati bya wanuna exitediyamu.
(The people are watching the praising of the man at the stadium).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns

The nominal vuphati (praising) refers to the act or event in which a praise poet shows appreciation and admiration to someone for doing an outstanding work for the people.

**Phata (Praise)**

F. [Result]: vuphato (praise poetry)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuphato byi hi dyondzisa hi ta vusaseki bya vutomi.
(Praise poetry teaches us about the beauty of life).

(b) Vuphato byi hi dyondzisa ku khensa mitirho le yinene.
(Praise poetry teaches us to appreciate good deeds).

(c) Vanhu va le Kwazulu-Natala va rhando ngopfu vuphato.
(People in Kwazulu-Natal like praise poetry very much).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphato (praise poetry) refers to a collection of poems or poems which praise or show approval of or admiration for particular personalities for their remarkable deeds in the society.
**Rhukana (Insult)**

**A. [Actor]: murhukani (insulter)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhukani wa kokwana u khomiwile.
(The insulter of the grand father has been arrested).

(b) Murhukani wa Vaisrayele u sola Davhida.
(The insulter of the Israelites despises David).

(c) Vanhu va hlongola murhukani emugangeni wa vona.
(The people chase away the insulter from their village).

Plural: Class 2: varhukani (insulters)

The nominal *murhukani* (insulter) refers to an individual who say or do something rude or insensitive that offends somebody. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the modifying property in this nominal is the act of insulting. In other words, once the act comes to an end such an individual may no longer be referred to as *murhukani* (insulter).

**Rhukana (Insult)**

**B. [Result/Act]: ndzhukano (insult)**

Class 3: 2. (a) Ndzhukano wa yirisiwa etikweni leri.
(An insult is forbidden in this village).

(b) Ndzhukano wa wansati wu hlundzukisile vaakatiko.
(The insult of the woman angered the citizens).

(c) Mudyondzisi u venga ndzhukano hi mbilu ya yena hinkwayo.
(The teacher hates an insult with all his heart).

Plural: Class 4: midzhukano (insults)

The nominal *ndzhukano* (insult) refers to an offensive remark or action on somebody.

**Rhukana (Insult)**

**C. [Excessive act]: rirhukano (excessive insult)**

Class 5: 3. (a) Rirhukano ra Goliyadi ra Vaisirayele ri n’wi dlayisile hi Davhida.
(The excessive insult of the Goliath of the Israelites had him killed by David).

(b) Rirhukano ra mufana ra vavasati ri n’wi bisile hi vavanuna.
(The excessive insult of the man of the woman had him beaten by men).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala rirhukano ra mufana ra vavasati.
(The people are surprised at the excessive insult of the young man of the women).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal rirhukano (excessive insult) refers to an excessive offensive remark or action on somebody.

**Rhukana** (Insult)

Plural: Class 8: swirhukani (excessive/notorious insulters)

The nominal xirhukani (excessive/notorious insulter) refers to an individual who excessively or regularly say or do something rude or insensitive that offends somebody. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of insulting will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of insulting or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xirhukani (excessive/notorious insulter).

**Rhukana** (Insult)

D. **[Act]:** vurhukani (insult)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vurhukani bya mufana bya kokwana byi karhata tatana.
(The excessive/notorious insult of the young man of the grandmother troubles my father).

(b) Vurhukani bya Goliyadi bya Vaisrayele byi hlundzukisile Davhida.
(The insult of Goliath of the Israelites angered David).

(c) Vanhu va sola vurhukani bya mufana bya mukhegula.
(The people condemn the insult of the young man of the old woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurhukani (insult) refers to an offensive remark or action on somebody.

**Sola** (Blame)

A. **[Actor]:** musoli (blamer/criticiser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musoli wa mfumo wa Nghilandi u tisorile.
(The criticizer of the British government has apologized).

(b) Musoli wo pfumala vumbhomi a nga seketeriwi.
(The criticiser who lacks evidence is not supported).

(c) Wanuna u vutisa musoli mavonelo yakwe.
(The man asks the criticizer of his views).

Plural: Class 2: vasoli (criticisers/ blamers)

The nominal musoli (blamer/criticizer) refers to an individual who points out real or perceived flaws with something. This nominal may have a stage-level interpretation since the defining property in this
nominal is the act of finding flaws at a time of reference. However, it may be possible for this nominal to be regarded as an individual-level nominal, especially if the individual in question is one who always has to find fault with something. In other words, such an individual always criticizes and never appreciates anything.

**Sola (Blame)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: risolo (excessive blaming/criticism)

Class 5: 4. (a) Risolo ra mavandla yo kokela ethelo eka vukorhokeri bya mfumo wa Afrika-Dzonga a ri hlamarisi.  
(The excessive criticism of opposition parties on the services of the South African government is not surprising).

(b) Risolo ri endliwa hi vanhu va mavondzo eka lava va va vengaka.  
(The excessive criticism is done by jealous people on those they hate).

(c) Wanuna u venga risolo ra xilo xin’wana na xin’wana.  
(The man hates the criticism of anything).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **risolo** (excessive criticism/blaming) refers to an act of always finding faults with something.

**Sola (Blame)**

**C.** [Excessive actor]: xisoli (excessive blaming/criticizer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xisoli xa mfumo wa Zimbabwe xi khomiwile.  
(The excessive criticizer of Zimbabwean government has been arrested).

(b) Xisoli xa mafumelo ya president Zuma xi ta vulavula eka rhadiyo.  
(The excessive criticizer of President Zuma will speak on the radio).

(c) Vanhu va sola xisoli xa mfumo wa ANC.  
(The people condemn the excessive criticizer of ANC government).

Plural: Class 8: swisoli (excessive blamers/criticisers)

The nominal **xisoli** (excessive blamer/criticizer) refers to an individual who always points out real or perceived flaws with something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question has to always find faults with something. In other words, such an individual always criticizes and never appreciates anything. The property of excessiveness of criticising/blaming will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of criticizing/blaming or may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xisoli** (excessive blamer/criticizer).
**Sola** (Blame)

D. [Result]: xisolo (blame/criticism)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xisolo xi nga vangela munhu ntshikilelo.
           (Criticism can cause stress on a person).
          
          (b) Xisolo xi wisile varhangeri vo tala va mfumo.
           (Criticism made many leaders in the government fall down).
          
          (c) Yesu a ri hava xisolo na xin’we emahlweni ka Pilato.
           (Jesus did not have a single blame before Pilate).

Plural: Class 8: swisolo (blames/criticism)

The nominal xisolo (blame/criticism) refers to a fault, an accusation that someone is responsible for some misdeed, or

**Sola** (Blame)

E.[Act]: vusoli (criticism/disapproval)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vusoli bya vanhu byi ni swikongomelo swo hambana.
           (The criticism of people has different objectives).
           
           (b) Vusoli lebyinene byi pfune vanhu vo tala.
           (Positive criticism helped many people).
           
           (c) Vakhalabye va hlela vusoli bya wanuna eka mhaka leyi.
           (The old men analyse the disapproval of the man on this issue).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusoli (criticism) refers to the act of finding fault, or disapproval of something.

**Thopa** (Praise/motivate)

A. [Actor]: muthopi (praiser/motivator)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muthopi wa vanhu lavanene wa kala etikweni.
           (The praiser/motivator of good deeds is rare to find in the country).
           
           (b) Muthopi wa vana u tsakela ntirho wakwe.
           (The praiser/motivator of children likes his job).
           
           (c) Xikolo xi ta rhamba muthopi wa vana enkhubyen.
           (The school will invite the praiser/motivator of children to the function).

Plural: Class 2: vathopi (praisers/motivators)

The nominal muthopi (praiser/motivator) refers to an individual who expresses admiration for somebody’s achievements or for something’s good qualities. This nominal may be interpreted as a
stage-level nominal because the modifying property in this nominal is the act of praising. In other words, once the act of praising is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muthopi. However, if the individual is someone who performs praises as a form of a permanent job, such a nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal.

**Thopa (Praise/motivate)**

B. [Excessive act]: rithopo (excessive praising)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rithopo ra vanhu lavanene ra kala etikweni.  
(The excessive praising/motivating of good people is rarely found in the country).

   (b) Rithopo ra mufana ra murhangeri wa tiko ri tsakisile vapfhumba.  
   (The excessive praising of the young man of the president pleased the guests).

   (c) Mfumo wu tsakela rithopo ra varhangeri ra vati rih lavanene.  
   (The government likes the excessive praising/motivating of the leaders of good workers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithopo (excessive praise/motivation) refers to the act of expressing excessive approval or admiration for someone or something.

**Thopa (Praise/motivate)**

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: xithopi (expert/excessive praiser)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xithopi xa president xi kumile sagwati.  
(The expert/excessive praiser of the president got an award).

   (b) Xithopi xa vachaviseki xi fanele ku va ni mahanyelo lamanene.  
   (The praiser of the honourables should have good behaviour).

   (c) Xikolo xi ta rhamba xithopi xa vana enkhubyeni.  
   (The school will invite the expert/excessive praiser of children at the function).

Plural: Class 8: swithopi (excessive praisers)

The nominal xithopi (expert/excessive praiser/motivator) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively expresses admiration for somebody’s achievements or for something’s good qualities. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of praising of the individual in question have become a habit or permanent property.
**Thopa** (Praise)

D. [Result]: xithopo (praise)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xithopo xa mitirho ya Mandela xi nyanyule vanhu vo tala.
   (The praise of the deeds of Mandela made many people get excited).

   (b) Xithopo xi edleriwa vanhu va mitirho leyinene.
   (The praise is done for people with good deeds).

   (c) Mudyondzisi u hlaya xithopo xa Mandela etilasini.
   (The teacher reads out the praise of Mandela in the class).

Plural: Class 8: swithopo (praise)

The nominal xithopo (praise) refers to an expression of approval, commendation or admiration.

**Thopa** (Praise)

E. [Act]: vuthopi (praising)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuthopi byi hlohlotela mitirho leyinene evanhwini.
   (Praising encourages good deeds among people).

   (b) Vuthopi bya Mandela byi tsakisa vanhu vo tala.
   (The praising of Mandela excites many people).

   (c) Vanhu va yingisa vuthopi bya Mandela exitediyamu.
   (The people listen to the praising of Mandela at the stadium).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns

The nominal rithopo (excessive praise/motivation) refers to the act of expressing approval or admiration for someone or something.

**Xixima** (show respect)

A. [Actor]: muxiximi (respector)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muxiximi u khomela vayeni mindzwalo.
   (The respecter holds luggages for the guests).

   (b) Muxiximi u nyika vayeni switulu.
   (The respecter gives chairs to the visitors).

   (c) Muyeni u nyika muxiximi nyiko.
   (The guest gives the gift to the respecter).

Plural: Class 2: vaxiximi (respectors)

The nominal muxiximi (respecer) refers to an individual who shows a positive feeling of esteem to someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of respect in the
individual in question may change as time goes on as a result of something unpleasant that the person who was respected did. However, such a nominal may also be interpreted as an individual-level, especially if the person respected retains the qualities for which he is respected for his entire life.

**Xixima** (Show respect)

B. [Result]: nxiximo (respect)

Class 3:  
2. (a) Nxiximo wa n’wana wu paluxa ndyangu lowu a humaka eka wona.  
   (The respect of the child portrays the home which he/she comes from).
   
   (b) Nxiximo wa munhu un’wana wa kala eka vana va sweswi.  
   (The respect of another person is rare among today’s children).
   
   (c) Mfumo wu khensa nxiximo wa vanhu eka vadyuhari.  
   (The government appreciates the respect of the people to the old people).

Plural: Class 4: mixiximo (respects)

The nominal nxiximo (respect) refers to a polite behaviour towards or care for someone or something that you think is important.

**Xixima** (show respect)

B. [Excessive act]: rixiximo (excessive respect)

Class 5:  
3. (a) Rixiximo ra mutirho ra ntirho wakwe ri n’wi nyikile xitulu xa le henhla.  
   (The excessive respect of the worker of his job gave him a senior position).
   
   (b) Rixiximo ra mukhalabye ra vanhu lavantsongo ri hlamaris vanhu.  
   (The excessive respect of the old man of the young people stuns people).
   
   (c) Wanuna u hlamala rixiximo ra mukhalabye eka vana lavantsongo.  
   (The man is surprised at the excessive respect of the old man on young children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rixiximo (excessive respect) refers to the condition of being excessively honored, or the act of excessive showing a positive feeling of esteem to someone.

**Xixima** (show respect)

C. [Excessive act]: xixiximi (excessive respector)

Class 7:  
4. (a) Xixiximi xa vana xi lovile.  
   (The excessive respector of children passed away).
   
   (b) Xixiximi xi nyika vayeni switulu.  
   (The excessive respector gives chairs to the visitors).
(c) Hosi yi nyika xixiximi xa vana nyiko.  
(The chief gives the respecter of the children a gift).

Plural: swixiximi (excessive respecters)

The nominal xixiximi (excessive respecter) refers to an individual who excessively shows a positive feeling of esteem to someone. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of showing a respect by the person concerned seems to be a property which he will retain for his entire life.

Xixima (Show respect)

C.  [Act]:  vuxiximi (respect)

Class 14:  3. (a) Vuxiximi byi nyikiwa vanhu vo tikarhata.  
(Respect is given to hard working people).

(b) Vuxiximi byi fanele ku endleriwa vanhu hinkwavo.  
(Respect should be done to all people).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala vuxiximi bya hosi eka malandza.  
(The people are surprised at the respect of the chief to his subjects).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuxiximi (respect) refers to the condition of being honored, or the act of showing a positive feeling of esteem to someone.

Xumbadza (Humiliate)

A.  [Actor]:  muxumbadzi (humiliator)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muxumbadzi u khomisa nsati wakwe tingana enkhubyeni.  
(The humiliator embarrasses his wife at the function).

(b) Muxumbadzi u hlongola wansati enkhubyeni.  
(The humiliator chases away the woman at the function).

(c) Mutshamaxitulu u nyefula muxumbadzi wa wansati.  
(The chairperson scolds the humiliator of the woman).

Plural: Class 2: vaxumbadzi (humiliators)

The nominal muxumbadzi (humiliator) refers to an individual who makes someone feel ashamed or stupid and lose the respect of other people. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of humiliating someone may be a temporary activity.
Xumbadza (Humiliate)

B. [Result]: nxumbadzo (humiliation)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nxumbadzo wo endliwa hi munhu loyi u n’wi tivaka wa nyumisa. (The humiliation which is done by someone you know is embarrassing).

(b) Nxumbadzo wu endliwa hi vanhu vo pfumala mapfalo. (Humiliation is done by people who lack conscience).

(c) N’wana lonene u hava nxumbadzo eka vatswari va yena. (A good child does not humiliate his parents).

Plural: Class 4: mixumbadzo (humiliations)

The nominal nxumbadzo (humiliation) denotes a feeling or condition of being lessened in dignity or pride.

Xumbadza (Humiliate)

C. [Excessive act]: rixumbadzo (excessive humiliation)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rixumbadzo ra munhu ra vanhu van’wana ri khomisa vahlaleri tingana. (The excessive humiliation of someone of other people embarrasses the onlookers).

(b) Rixumbadzo ra Makhanana ra nuna wakwe exikarhi ka vanhu ri nyenyetsa vatswari va yena. (The excessive humiliation of Makhanana of her husband annoys his/her parents).

(c) Khataza u venga rixumbadzo ra nuna wakwe ra swisiwana. (Khataza hates the excessive humiliation of her husband of the poor).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rixumbadzo (humiliation) denotes an act of excessively damaging somebody’s dignity or pride.

Xumbadza (Humiliate)

D. [Excessive actor]: xixumbadzi (excessive humiliator)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xixumbadzi xi khomisa nsati wakwe tingana enkhubyeni. (The excessive humiliator embarrasses his wife at the function).

(b) Xixumbadzi xi ba wansati hi mpama wansati enkhubyeni. (The excessive humiliator claps the woman at the function).

(c) Wansati u hlongola xixumbadzi enkhubyeni. (The woman chases away the excessive humiliator to the function).

Plural: Class 8: swixumbadzi (excessive humiliators)
The nominal **sixumbadzi** (excessive humiliator) refers to an individual who excessively makes someone feel ashamed or stupid and lose the respect of other people. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of humiliation of the individual in question has formed into a habit which may not be easy to break. In other words, whether the individual concerned will be engaged in the act of humiliating someone or not, he will always be associated with excessive humiliation.

**Xumbadza** (Humiliate)

E.  [Act]: vuxumbadzi (humiliating)

Class 14: 5.  (a) Vuxumbadzi bya n’wana exikarhi ka vanhu byi bihile.  
(Humiliating a child among people is bad).

(b) Vuxumbadzi bya mutswari byi vangela makhombo.  
(Humiliating the parent causes troubles).

(c) Vanhu va sola vuxumbadzi bya wanuna bya nsati wakwe.  
(The people condemn the humiliation of the man of his wife).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuxumbadzi** (humiliation) denotes an act of damaging somebody’s dignity or pride.

**Venga** (Hate)

A.  [Experiencer/actor]: muvengi (hater)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvengi wa mina a nga ngheni emutini wa mina.  
(My hater does not come into my family).

(b) Muvengi wa wanuna u n’wi lavele swigevenga.  
(The hater of the man has arranged criminals for him).

(c) Wanuna u rhamba muvengi wa yena enkhubyeni.  
(The man invites his hater at the function).

Plural: Class 2: vavengi (haters)

The nominal **muvengi** (hater) refers to an individual who dislike somebody or something intensely. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since hatred may become a permanent property of the individual in question. However, it may be possible for the nominal to be viewed as a stage-level nominal because it may be possible for someone to get rid of his hatred against someone.
**Venga (Hate)**

B. [Result]: rivengo (hatred)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivengo ra mufana eka nhwanyana a ri nga pfuki ri herile.  
(The hatred of the young man against the young woman will never end).

(b) Rivengo ra mufana ra nhwanyana ri sungule exikolweni.  
(The hatred of the young man of the young woman started from school).

(c) Vanhu va sola rivengo ra wanuna ra kereke.  
(The people disapprove the hatred of the man of the church).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivengo** (hatred) refers to a very strong feeling of dislike for someone.

**Venga (Hate)**

B. [Excessive experiencer]: xivengi (excessive hater)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivengi xa fole xa hlanta ethekisini.  
(The excessive hater of tobacco is vomiting in the taxi).

(b) Xivengi xa wansati xi n’wi hlongola enkhubyeni.  
(The excessive hater of the woman chases her away from the function).

(c) Wanuna u humesa xivengi xa yena endlwini.  
(The man throws out his excessive hater from the house).

Plural: Class 8: swivengi (excessive haters)

The nominal **xivengi** (excessive hater) refers to an individual who excessively and intensely dislike somebody or something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessive feeling of hatred is ever residing in this individual.

**Vonga (Praise)**

A. [Actor]: muvongi (praise poet)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvongi u nyikiwile nkarhi wo vonga Presidente eka Mushiyani.  
(The praise poet was given the opportunity to praise the president at Mushiyani).

(b) Muvongi u lulamisile khale xiphato xo phata Presidente.  
(The praise poet has long prepared his praise poem for praising the president).

(c) Vafana va ta heleketa muvongi hi ncino wa makhwaya.  
(The young men will accompany the praise poet to the stage with makhwaya dance).

Plural: Class 2: vavongi (praise poets)
The nominal **muvongi** (praise poet) refers to an individual who writes and/ or renders a poem which expresses commendation and admiration for somebody’s achievements or for something’s good qualities. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because the modifying property in this nominal is the act of praising. In other words, once the act of praising is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muvongi** (praise poet). However, if the individual is someone who performs praise poetry as a form of a permanent job, such a nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal.

**Vonga (Praise)**

B.  [Excessive act]: rivongo (excessive praising)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rivongo ra wanuna ra hosì Mushiyani ri tsakisa vavukosi.  
(The excessive praising of the man of chief Mushiyani pleases the royal members).

(b) Rivongo ra mufana ra valwela ntshunxeko ri n’wi dumisile.  
(The excessive praising of the young man of the freedom fighters has made him popular).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza rivongo ra mufana ra valwela ntshunxeko.  
(The people like the excessive praising of the young man of the freedom fighters).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivongo** (excessive praising) refers to the excessive act of expressing commendation and admiration for somebody’s achievements or for something’s good qualities through a praise poem.

**Vonga (Praise)**

C.  [Expert actor]: xivongi (expert praise poet)

Class 7:  2. (a) Xivongi xi nyikiwile nkarhi wo vonga Presidente eka Mushiyani.  
(The praise poet was given the opportunity to praise the president at Mushiyani).

(b) Xivongi xi lulamisile khale xiphato xo phata Presidente.  
(The praise poet has long prepared his praise poem for praising the president).

(c) Vafana va ta heleketa xivongi hi ncino wa makhwaya.  
(The young men will accompany the praise poet to the stage with makhwaya dance).

Plural: Class 8: swivongi (expert praise poets)

The nominal **xivongi** (expert praise poet) refers to an individual who is gifted in writing and/ or rendering poems which expresses commendation and admiration for somebody’s achievements or for something’s good qualities. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise of writing and rendering praise poetry is a permanent property of the individual in question.
In other words, such an individual may be someone who performs praise poetry as a form of a permanent job.

**Vonga (Praise)**

C. **[Result]:** xivongo (clan name/ surname/geneology)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivongo xa wanuna loyi i Hlungwani.
(The surname of this man is Hlungwani).
(b) Xivongo xi dyondzisa vana hi nsinya wa ndyangu wa ka vona.
(The clan name teaches children about their family tree).
(c) Mukhalabye u dyondzisa n’wana xivongo xa yena.
(The old man teaches the child his clan name).

Plural: Class 8: swivongo (surnames/clan names)

The nominal xivongo (clan name/surname) refers to the name that identifies somebody as belonging to a particular family and that he or she has in common with other members of that family. But it may also denote a line of descent that can be traced directly from an ancestor.

**Vonga (Praise)**

D. **[Act]:** vuvongi (praising)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuvongi byi lava vanhu va misavu.
(Praising needs people clowning people).
(b) Vuvongi bya kala exikarhi ka Vatsonga va namuntlha.
(Praising is scarce among Vatsonga of today).
(c) Ntshungu wu nyanyula hi vuvongi bya mufana.
(The crowd gets excited because of the praising of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvongi (praise/motivation) refers to the act of expressing approval or admiration for someone or something through a praise poem.

**Xupula (punish)**

A. **[Actor]:** muxupuli (punisher)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muxupuli u ba n’wana hi nkhabi.
(The punisher hit the child with a stick).
(b) Muxupuli u vavisile mubohiwa.
(The punisher injured the prisoner).
(c) Wanuna u chava muxupuli loyi a tirhisaka mbhoma.
(The man fears the punisher who uses a sjambok).

Plural: class 2: vaxupuli (punishers)
The nominal **muxupuli** (punisher) denotes a person who subjects somebody under penalty for wrong doing. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of imposing a penalty could be a temporary activity.

**Xupula** (punish)

B.  

[Act]:  

nxupulo (punishment)

Class 3:  

2.  

(a) Nxupulo lowu nyikiweke wansati wa vava.  
(The punishment which is given to a woman is painful).

(b) Nxupulo wa rifu wu vavisa misavi hinkwayo.  
(The punishment of death oppresses the whole world).

(c) Mudyondzi u chava nxupulo lowu a nyikiweke hi mudyondzisi.  
(The learner fears the punishment given by the teacher).

Plural: class 4: mixupulo (punishments)

The nominal **nxupulo** (punishment) refers to a penalty that is imposed on somebody for wrongdoing.

**Xupula** (punish)

C.  

[Excessive act]:  

rixupulo (excessive punishing)

Class 5:  

3.  

(a) Rixupulo ra mudyondzisi ri onhile vulawuri bya tlilasi.  
(The excessive punishing of the teacher has corrupted the control of the class).

(b) Rixupulo ra wanuna ri karhata nsati wa yena.  
(The excessive punishing of a man distracts his wife).

(c) Vabohiwa va toloverile rixupulo ra phorisa.  
(The prisoners are used to the excessive punishing of the police officer).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rixupulo** (excessive punishment) refers to an excessive act of punishing.

**Xupula** (punish)

D.  

[Expert actor]:  

xixupuli (expert punisher)

Class 7:  

3.  

(a) Xixupuli xi vavisile n’wana loyi xi n’wi beke.  
(The expert punisher has injured the child he has beaten).

(b) Xixupuli xi ba wanuna hi nkhavi.  
(The expert punisher beat the man with a verge).

(c) Wanuna u tsutsuma xixupuli lexi n’wi beke.  
(The man runs in fear of the expert punisher who punished him).

Plural: class 8: swixupuli (excessive punishers)
The nominal **xixupuli** (excessive punisher) denotes a person who excessively subjects somebody under penalty for wrong doing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of punishing is something that has formed a habit to an individual in question.

**Xupula** (punish)

E.  [Act]:  vuxupuli (punishing)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuxupuli bya vadyondzisi byavadyondzi byi hlundzukisile vatswari.  
(The punishing of the teachers of the learners has angered the parents).

   (b) Vuxupuli bya wanuna bya vana byi n’wi khomisile.  
(The punishing of a man of the children got him arrested).

   (c) Vana va chava vuxupuli bya tata wa vona.  
(The children fear the punishing of their father).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuxupuli** (punishment) refers to an act or an instance of punishing.

### 6.5 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CHANGE OF STATE

The definition of Verbs of Change of State has been given in 4.3. of Chapter four under deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. In this section however, the same definition will be used but focusing on deverbatives derived from monotransitives verbs.

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Khotsa (Bend)

A. [Actor]: mukhotsi (bender)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhotsi u xava pulayere exitolo.
(The bender buys a plier at the shop).

(b) Mukhotsi u rhwalela tinsimbhi ta khale.
(The bender picks up old metals).

(c) Vanhu va nyika mukhotsi tidarata ta khale.
(The people give the bender old wires).

Plural: Class 2: vakhotsi (benders)

The nominal mukhotsi (bender) refers to an individual who causes something such as an iron bar to assume a curved shape. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of bending may be a short term thing. Once the act of bending is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as mukhotsi. However, in the event where such a person is involved in bending things as part of his job, then that can be viewed as an individual-level nominal because even if the individual in question may or may not be engaged in bending at the time of reference, such a person will always be associated with bending, and will thus be referred to as mukhotsi (bender).

Khotsa (Bend)

B. [Excessive act]: rikhotso (excessive bending)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhotso ra mufana ra tidarata ri nyenyetsa vadyondzisi.
(The excessive bending of the young man of the wires annoys the teachers).

(b) Rikhotso ra wanuna ra tinsimbhi letikulu ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive bending of the man of huge metals surprises people).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala rikhotso ra wanuna ra tidarata.
(The people are surprised at the excessive bending of the man of the wires).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhotso (excessive bending) refers to an excessive act of causing something such as an iron bar to assume a curved shape.

Khotsa (Bend)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xikhotsi (Expert/Excessive bender)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhotsi xa tinsimbhi xi xava pulayere exitolo.
(The expert/excessive bender of metals buys the pliers at the shop).

(b) Xikhotsi xi veka tinsimbhi etafuleni.
(The expert/excessive bender puts metals on the table).

(c) Vafana va hleka xikhotsi xa tinsimbhi.
(The young men laugh at the excessive bender of metals).
Plural: Class 8: swikhotsi (expert/excessive benders)

The nominal xikhotsi (expertly/excessive bender) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly causes something such as an iron bar to assume a curved shape. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness or the excessiveness of bending of things by the individual in question remains a permanent property of the individual concerned. In other words, even if the individual in question may or may not be engaged in bending at the time of reference, such a person will always be associated with expert/excessive bending, and will thus be referred to as xikhotsi (expert/excessive bender).

Khotsa (Bend)

D. [Act]: vukhotsi (bending)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhotsi bya tinsimbhi i ntirho wo tika. (Bending of metals is a difficult job).
(b) Vukhotsi bya tihangara byi lava switirho swa kona. (The bending of hangers needs relevant tools).
(c) Vanhu va chava ntirho wa vukhotsi bya tinsimbhi. (People are afraid of the job of bending of metals).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhotsi (bending) refers to an act of causing something such as an iron bar to assume a curved shape.

Pfala (Close)

A. [Actor]: mupfari (closer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupfari wa rivanti u tikhanyile rintiho. (The closer of the door hit his finger).
(b) Mupfari wa rivanti ra movha u khiyelele makhiya endzeni ka movha. (The closer of the car door locked in the keys of the car inside the car).
(c) Wanuna u vitana mupfari wa rivanti ra yindlu. (The man calls the closer of the door of the house).

Plural: Class 2: vapfari (closers)

The nominal mupfari (closer) refers to someone who put something in a position so that it covers an opening or to move parts of something together such as a book so that it is no longer open. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of closing something takes place for a very short time. Once the act of closing has been completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mupfari (closer).
Pfala (Close)

B. [Excessive act]: rhipfalo (excessive closing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rhipfalo ra muhana ra rivanti ra movha ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive closing of the young man of the door of the car annoys the man).
(b) Rhipfalo ra rivanti ra yindlu ri tsakisa n’wana.
(The excessive closing of the door of the house pleases the child).
(c) Wanuna u hlamala rhipfalo ra muhana ra rivanti.
(The man is surprised at the excessive closing of the young man of the door).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rhipfalo (excessive closure/closing) denotes an excessive shutting down of something such as a firm or a school or an excessive temporary closing of a structure such as a road or a bridge.

Pfala (Close)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xhipfali (Excessive closer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xhipfali xa rivanti ra movha xi vavisa xikhomo.
(The expert/excessive closer of the door of the car damages the handle).
(b) Xhipfali xa mavanti ya titilasi xa vabya.
(The expert/excessive closer of the doors of the classes is sick).
(c) Mudyondzisi u nyika xhipfali xa mavanti ya titilasi makhiya.
(The teacher gives keys to the expert/excessive closer of the doors of the classes).

Plural: Class 8: Swipfali (Expert/excessive closing persons)

The nominal xhipfari (expert/excessive closer) refers to someone who excessively put something in a position so that it covers an opening or to expertly/excessively move parts of something together such as a book so that it is no longer open. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of closing of the door of the individual in question has become his permanent property. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the expert/excessive act of closing something, he will always be referred to as xhipfari (expert/excessive closer).

Pfala (Close)

D. [Artifact]: xhipfalo (door, lid)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xhipfalo xa movha wa mina xi tshovekile.
(The door of my car is broken).
(b) Xhipfalo xa bodhelele xi lahlekile.
(The lid of the bottle is lost).
(c) Vafana va lava xhipfalo xa jara.
(The young men are searching for the lid of the jar).
Plural: class 8: swipfalo (lids/doors)

Xipfalo (door) refers to a piece of wood, glass, etc. that is opened and closed so that people can get in and out of something such as a room.

Pfala (Close)

E. [Act]: vupfari (closure/closing)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vupfari bya feme ya malamula byi vangele vanhu vo tala vusiwana.
(The closing down of the firm of oranges caused poverty for many people).

(b) Vupfari bya swikolo byi nyika vana nkarhi wo wisa.
(The closing of the schools gives children time to rest).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va vilerisiwa hi vupfari bya feme ya malamula.
(Many people are troubled by the closing of the firm of the oranges).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupfari (closure) denotes a permanent shutting down of something such as a firm or a school. But it may also denote a temporary closing of a structure such as a road or a bridge.

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Class 1
Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: -i
\textbf{mupfari} (bending person)

Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: -o
\textbf{ripfalo} (excessive bending)

Class 7
Prefix: \textit{xi-}
Suffix: -i
\textbf{Xipfali} (excessively/expert bending person)
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
**Xipfali** (excessive/expert bending person)

\[
\text{N} \\
\text{AF} \quad \text{N}^R \\
\text{V} \quad \text{AF} \\
\text{xi-} \quad \text{-pfal-} \quad \text{-o}
\]

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
**Vupfari** (bending)

\[
\text{N} \\
\text{AF} \quad \text{N}^R \\
\text{V} \quad \text{AF} \\
\text{vu-} \quad \text{-pfar-} \quad \text{-i}
\]

**Verbs of Change of State**

(22) **Nominalization from the verb -pfala** (close)

(iv) The verb -pfala (close)
Mufana u pfala movha.
(The young man is closing the car).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-pfala} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{RG1 = x: person} \\
& = \text{RG2 = y: phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=e1: process} \\
& = \text{E2 = e2: state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr = Temporally ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head = e2} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL = (e2, y)} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE = -pfala\_act (e2, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Close – State – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb **pfala** (close) in (22) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the person who is closing and the physical object (gate/door) which is being closed. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of closing and the resultant state of closing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event ($e_2$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state ($e_2$) of the process of closing ($e_1$), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of closing ($e_1$) of the person ($x$).

(23) **Nominalisation in class 1: mupfari** (closing person)
Mupfari wa gede u sukile.
(The closing person of the gate has left).

```
mupfari
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
         = ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
        = E2 = e2: state
        Restr = Temporally ordered
        Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y)
AGENTIVE = pfala_actor (e1, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Close – State – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbalive **mupfari** (closing person) in (23) above displayss two arguments in its argument structure, namely the person who is closing and the physical object (gate/door) which is being closed. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of closing and the resultant state of closing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the process event ($e_1$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the result of the process of closing, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) ($e_1$) of closing ($e_1$) of the person ($x$).

(24) **Nominalisation in class 7: xipfali** (excessively/expert bending person)
Xipfali xa gede xi vavisekile rintiho.
(The excessive/expert closing person of the gate has hurt his finger).
The interpretation of the lexical semantic representation of *xipfali* (excessively/expert closing person) in (24) is similar to that of *mupfari* in (23) above. The distinguishing difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessiveness] in (24), which is absent, in (23).

(25) Nominalisation in class 5: *ripfalo* (excessive bending)

Ripfalo ra mufana ra gede nimadyambu ri tsakisa tata wakwe.
(The excessive closing of the young man of the gate pleases his father.)

The lexical semantic representation of *ripfalo* (excessive closing) in (25) displays three arguments in its argument structure two of which are default arguments, namely, the human that is writing and the physical object (book/information) which is being written. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference ® of the event of writing. The event structure represents the default events, namely, the process of writing and the resultant state. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the process event (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the result of the process of writing, while the agentive quale represents the act (process) (e₁) of writing (e₁) of the person (x).
(26) Nominalisation in class 14: *vupfali* (closing)

Vupfari bya wanuna bya gede byi nyangatsa makhaba.
(The closing of the man of the gate disgusts the thieves).

\[\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
= \text{D-ARG2} = x: \text{human} \\
= \text{D-ARG3} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
= \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{pfala}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Close – State – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vupfali* (closing) in (26) is similar to that of *ripfalo* (excessive closing) in (25) above. The distinguishing difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in *ripfalo* (excessive closing) in (25), which is absent, in *vupfali* (closing) in (26).

(27) Nominalisation in class 7: *xipfalo* (Instrument)

Xipfalo xa bazi xi thovekile.
(The door of the bus is broken).

\[\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
= \text{D-ARG2} = x: \text{human} \\
= \text{D-ARG3} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
= \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{pfala}_\text{instrument} (e_1, x, y)\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Close – State – Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of *xipfalo* (door) in (27) is corresponds to that of *vupfali* (26) above. The only difference relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [instrument] in (27), and [act] in (26).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of change of state have similar lexical semantic representation with that of the deverbatives from the verb -pfala (close). The distinction is that the
intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -petsa (fold), and -tshova (break) permits a nominalization in class 3 denoting act and/or result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -pfala (close), -khotsa (bend), -pfula (open), -phema (break piece of porridge), -faya (break glass), -vandza (break nut), -hisa (burn), -oxa (roast), -phata (dent), and -handzula (tear) which does not allow such a nominalization. On the other hand, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs such as -pfala (close), -pfula (open), -hisa (burn), -handzula (tear) and -handzula (operate) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o denoting instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -khotsa (bend), -petsa (fold), -phema (break piece of porridge), -tshova (break), -faya (break glass), -vandza (break nut), -oxa (roast) and -phata (dent) which does not allow such a nominalization.

**Pfula (open)**

A.  [Actor]: mupfuri (opening person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mupfuri wa gede u thyakile.
   (The opening person of the gate is dirty).

   (b) Mupfuri wa rivanti u vitana mufana.
   (The opening person of the door calls the young man).

   (c) Vanhu va nyika mupfuri wa rivanti mali.
   (The people give the opening person of the door money).

Plural: class 2: vapfuli (opening people)

The nominal mupfuri (opening person) refers to an individual who removes a lid or who adjust the barrier as to allow passage or free access to inside. But it may also denote an individual who official opens an event or officially handing over a new structure to be used. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the defining act of opening takes place for a short time.

**Pfula (open)**

B.  [Excessive act]: ripfulo (excessive opening)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ripfulo ra n’wana ra rivanti ri vavisa xikhomo.
   (The excessive opening of the child of the door damages the handle).

   (b) Ripfulo ra wansati ra mafasitere ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
   (The excessive opening of the woman of the windows annoys the man).

   (c) Wanuna u sola ripfulo ra wansati ra mafasitere.
   (The man disapproves the excessive opening of the woman of the windows).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripfulo (excessive opening) refers to the excessive act or process of making something open.
**Pfula (open)**

C.  [Expert/excessive actor]: xipfuri (expert/excessive opening person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xipfuri xa tshanga ra tihomu xi fikile.
        (The excessive/habitual opening person of the cattle kraal has arrived).

        (b) Xipfuri xa wadiropo xi tshovile rivati.
        (The excessive/habitual opening person of the wardrobe has broken the door).

        (c) Vanhu va rindzela xipfuri xa gede ya xibedhlele.
        (The people are waiting for the excessive/habitual opening person of the get of the hospital).

Plural: class 8: swipfuli (excessive/habitual opening person)

The nominal xipfuri (expert/excessive opening person) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively removes a lid or who adjusts the barrier as to allow passage or free access to inside. But it may also denote an individual who expertly/excessively official opens an event or officially handing over a new structure to be used. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level because the expertness/excessiveness of the opening of an individual of the thing involved has become a permanent property of the individual. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the activity of opening or not, he will always be referred to as xipfuri (expert/excessive opening person).

**Pfula (open)**

D.  [Excessive actor]: xipfulo (opener)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xipfulo xa swikotela xi tshovekile.
        (The tin opener is broken).

        (b) Xipfulo xa bodhlele ra namuneti xi thyakile.
        (The opener of cold drink bottle is dirty).

        (c) Wanuna u xava xipfulo xa swikotela evhengeleni.
        (The man purchases the tin opener at the shop).

Plural: class 8: swipfulo (openers)

The nominal xipfulo (opener) refers to a tool that is used to open things.

**Pfula (open)**

E.  [Event/Act]: vupfuli (opening)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vupfuli bya swikolo byi sungurile.
        (The opening of the school commences).
(b) Vupfuli bya Magezi bya rivati bya nyangatsa.
(The opening of Magezi of the door annoys).

(c) Manana u sola vupfuli bya n’wana bya rivati.
(The mother criticises the opening of the kid of the door).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupfuri (opening) refers to the act or process of making something open. But it may also refer to the ceremony to celebrate the start of a public event or the first time a new structure such as a building is used.

Petsa (fold)

A. [Actor]: mupetsi (folding person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupetsi u songa mikumba ya yena.
(The folding person is folding his blankets).

(b) Mupetsi u paka mpahla ebekeni.
(The folding person is packing the clothes in the bag).

(c) Wansati u nyika mupetsi wa mpahla bege.
(The woman gives the folding person the bag).

Plural: class 2: vapetsi (folding persons)

The nominal mupetsi (folding person) refers to someone who bends something such as a paper so that one part lies on top of another part. Such a nominal may be either a male or female of any age group. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because the act of folding something happens for a short time. In other words, once such an act is over the individual concerned may no longer be referred to as mupetsi (folding person).

Petsa (fold)

B. [Act/Result]: mpetso (fold)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mpetso wa buruku ra Muzamani wu sasekile.
(The fold of the trouser of Muzamani is beautiful).

(b) Mpetso wa mavoko a wu tiyangi.
(The fold of hand is not tight).

(c) Wansati tlhantlha mpetso wa bokati.
(The woman is removes the fold of the jean).

Plural: class 4: mipetso (folds)

The nominal mpetso (fold) denotes a part of something, especially cloth that is folded. But it may also refer to a mark or line made by folding.
Petsa (fold)

C. [Excessive act]: ripetso (excessive folding)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ripetso ra wansati ra maburuku ri tsakisa tikhasitama.
(The excessive folding of the woman of the trousers pleases the customers).

(b) Ripetso ra wansati ra tibokati hi swandla ri sasekile.
(The excessive folding of the woman of the jeans with hands is beautiful).

(c) Wansati u nyika mupetsi wa mpahla bege.
(The woman gives the folding person the bag).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripetso (excessive folding) refers to an excessive act of folding something by an individual.

Petsa (fold)

D. [Expert/excessive act]: xipetsi (expert folding person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xipetsi xi hoxile mpahla ya xitalo ebekeni.
(The expert/excessive folding person has put many clothes in the bag).

(b) Xipetsi xa malakani exitolo xi balekile.
(The expert/excessive folding person of sheets in the shop has run away).

(c) Wanuna u komba xipetsi xa malakani nkarhi.
(The man shows the expert/excessive folding person of the sheets time).

Plural: class 8: swipetsi (expert folding persons)

The nominal xipetsi (expert/excessive folding person) refers to someone who expertly/excessively bends something such as a paper so that one part lies on top of another part. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of folding of the individual in question is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether or not the individual in question is engaged in the act of folding, such an individual will always be referred to as xipetsi (expert/excessive folding person).

Petsa (fold)

E. [Act/quality]: vupetsi (folding)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vupetsi bya mufana bya mikumba byi tsakisa vatswari vakwe.
(The folding of the young man of the blankets pleases his parents).

(b) Vupetsi bya mpahla ewadiropeni byi lava vurhonwana.
(The folding of the clothes in the wardrobe needs carefulness).
(c) Wansati u sola vupetsi bya mufana bya mikumba.
(The woman disapproves the folding of the young man of the blankets).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupetsi (folding) refers to an act of folding something by an individual. But it may also refer to the quality of folding of something.

**Phema** (break food)

A.  [Actor]:  muphemi (breaker of food)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Muphemi wa vuswa u swikuta tihuku.
(The breaker of the porridge chases chickens away).

(b) Muphemi u dya swakudya.
(The breaker of food is eating porridge).

(c) Vuswa byi hisile muphemi tintiho.
(Porridge has burnt the breaker of food the fingers).

Plural: class 2: vaphemi (breakers of food)

The nominal muphemi (breaker of food) refers to an individual who split something with hands, especially food into pieces so that it could fit into the mouth when eaten. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the event of breaking food into pieces may be done within a short space of time. In other words, once such an act is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as muphemi (breaker of food).

**Phema** (break food)

B.  [Excessive act]:  riphemo (excessive breaking of food)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Riphemo ra Tsatsawana ra xinkwa hi swandla ri nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excessive breaking of Tsatsawana of the bread with hands annoys the woman).

(b) Riphemo ra mufana ra vuswa bya van’wana ri karhata mhani wakwe.
(The excessive breaking of the young man of other people’s food troubles his mother).

(c) Wansati u nyenya riphemo ra mufana ra swinkwa ekhefini.
(The woman dislikes the excessive breaking of the young man of the bread at the café).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphemo (excessive breaking of food) refers to the excessive act of splitting something with hands, especially food.
Phema (break)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiphemi (excessive breaker of food)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphemi xi hlamba mavoko.
   (The excessive breaker of food is washing hands).
   
   (b) Xiphemi xi phemela n’wana vuswa byo hisa.
   (The excessive breaker of food person is breaking hot food for the child).
   
   (c) N’wana u lava xiphemi lexi nga ta n’wi phemela vuswa.
   (The child wants the excessive breaker of the food who will break porridge for him).

Plural: class 8: swiphemi (excessive breakers of food)

The nominal xiphemi (excessive breaker of food) refers to an individual who excessively split something with hands into pieces, especially food so that it could fit into the mouth when eaten. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nomina because the excessiveness of breaking food by the individual in question has become a permanent property in him. In other words, whether he will be engaged in the act of breaking food or not, he will always be referred to as xiphemi (excessive breaker of food).

Phema (break food)

D. [Event/Act]: vuphemi (breaking of food)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuphemi bya n’wana bya vuswa byi hlundzukisa kokwana.
   (The excessive breaking of the child of the food makes the grandmother angry).
   
   (b) Vuphemi bya kokwana bya xikwa byi hlekisa n’wana.
   (The breaking of the grandmother of the bread makes the child to laugh).
   
   (c) Wansati u nyenya vuphemi bya Magezi bya tihove.
   (The woman dislikes the breaking of Magezi of the samp).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphemi (breaking of food) refers to the act of splitting something with hands, especially food.

Tshova (break stick)

A. [Actor]: mutshovi (breaking person of stick)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshovi wa rihunyi u tivavisile.
   (The breaking person of the wood has hurt herself).
   
   (b) Mutshovi wa xitulu u tsutsumile.
   (The breaking person of the chair has run away).
(c) Wanuna u languta mutshovi wa tihunyi.
(The man looks at the breaking person of wood).

Plural: class 2: vatshovi (breakers of wood)

The nominal **mutshovi** (breaking person) refers to an individual who damages and split something such as a wood into two or more parts as a result of force. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of breaking something is something that can be done within a short space of time. In other words, once such an act is completed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mutshovi** (breaking person).

**Tshova** (break stick)

B. [Act/Result]: **ntshovo** (reduction of something)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntshovo wa nxavo wa swakudya wu tsakise vaxavi.
(The reduction of the price of food has pleased consumers).

(b) Ntshovo wa mpahla eka De Jager wu hete nkarhi wo leha.
(The sale of clothes at de Jager stretched over a long period).

(c) Vanhu va khensa ntshovo wa nxavo wa mafurha.
(The people appreciate the reduction of fuel prices).

Plural: class 4: mitshovo (reductions)

The nominal **ntshovo** (reduction) denotes an act of selling of stores of goods at a lower price. But it may also refer to such an occasion.

**Tshova** (break stick)

C. [Excessive act]: **ritshovo** (breaking of stick)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritshovo ra mufana ra switulu ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The breaking of the young man of the chairs annoys the man).

(b) Ritshovo ra vavasati ra tihunyi ri heta miri ehoveni.
(The breaking of the women of the wood finishes the wood in the veld).

(c) Maphorisa ma sivela ritshovo ra vavasati ra tihunyi.
(The police prevent the excessive breaking of the women of the wood).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritshovo** (excessive breaking) refers to an excessive act or process of splitting something into two or more pieces by an individual who exert force on it.
**Tshova** (break stick)

D. **[Expert/Excessive actor]:** xitshovi (Expert/excessive breaker of stick)

Class 1: 4. (a) Xitshovi xa tihunyi xi tivavisile.
(The expert/excessive breaker of the wood hurt herself).

(b) Xitshovi xa switulu xi tsutsumile.
(The expert/excessive breaker of the chair has run away).

(c) Wanuna u ba xitshovi xa switulu.
(The man beat the expert/excessive breaker of chairs).

Plural: class 8: switshovi (expert/excessive breakers of wood)

The nominal xitshovi (excessive breaking person) refers to an individual who excessively damages and split something such as a wood into two or more parts as a result of force. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of breaking something by the individual in question has formed into a habit which cannot be easily broken.

**Tshova** (break stick)

E. **[Act]:** vutshovi (breaking of stick)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutshovi bya tihunyi byi lumise vavasati vo tala hi tinyoka.
(Wood breaking had many women bitten by snakes).

(b) Vutshovi bya tihunyi byi hundzula vavasati mahlonga.
(Wood breaking turns women into slaves).

(c) Wanuna u khensa vutshovi bya wansati bya tihunyi.
(The man appreciates the breaking of the woman of the wood).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutshovi (breaking) refers to an act or process of splitting something into two or more pieces by an individual who exert force on it. But it may also mean the act of making the price of something less.

**Faya** (break/smash glass)

A. **[Actor]:** mufayi (breaker/smasher of glass)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufayi wa puleti wa rila.
(The breaker/smasher of the plate is crying).

(b) Mufayi wa nghilazi ya movha u kumekile.
(The breaker/smasher of the windscreen of the car has been found).

(c) Phorisa ri khoma mufayi wa fasitere ra movha.
(The police arrest the breaker/smasher of the windscreen of the car).
Plural: class 2: vafayi (breakers of glass)

The nominal mufayi (breaking person/smashing person) denotes an individual who damages and separate something such as a plate of glass into pieces, or who hits something hard against solid the surface or object so that it crashes. This can happen intentionally or unintentionally by the actor. This nominal may be regarded as stage-level nominal because the act of breaking is the defining property here. In other words, once the act of breaking is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as mufayi (breaking/smashing person).

Faya (break/smash glass)

B. [Excessive act]: rifayo (excessive breaking/smashing of glass)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifayo ra mufana ra tipuleti ri nyenyetsa mhani wakwe.
(The excessive breaking/smashing of the young man of the plates annoys his mother).

(b) Rifayo ra wansati ra tinghilazi ri vilerisa wanuna.
(The excessive breaking/smashing of the woman of the glasses worries the man).

(c) Wanuna u sola rifayo ra wansati ra tipuleti.
(The man disapproves the excessive breaking/smashing of the woman of the glasses).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rifayo (breakage/smashing) refers to the excessive act of breaking something.

Faya (break/smash glass)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifayi (excessive breaker/smasher of glass)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifayi xa tipuleti xa rhurhumela.
(The excessive breaker/smasher of the plate is shivering).

(b) Xifayi xa tinghilazi ta mafasitere ya timovha xi kumekile.
(The excessive breaker/smasher of the windscreens of the cars has been found).

(c) Phorisa ri khoma xifayi xa manghilazi ya timovha ta vanhu.
(The police arrest the excessive breaker/smasher of the windscreens of the cars of the people).

Plural: class 8: swifayi (excessive breakers of glass)

The nominal xifayi (excessive breaking person/smashing person) denotes an individual who excessively damages and separate something such as a plate of glass into pieces, or who excessively hits something hard against the solid surface or object so that it crashes. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of breaking something which is the defining property in this nominal has formed a habit in this individual.
**Faya** (break/smash glass)

D.  [Act]:  vufayi (breakage/smashing of glass)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vufayi bya swigevenga bya mafasitere ya timovha ta vanhu byi ndlandlamukile. (The breaking/smashing of the criminals of the windscreen of the cars of the people has increased).

(b) Vufayi bya wansati bya tikhapu ta nghilazi byi karhata wanuna. (The breaking/smashing of the woman of the glass cups worries the man).

(c) Wanuna u sola vufayi bya wansati bya tipuleti. (The man disapproves the breaking/smashing of the woman of the plates).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vufayi* (breakage/smashing) refers to the act of breaking something.

**Vandza** (crack nut )

A.  [Actor]:  mvundzi (cracker of nut)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mvundzi u rhwalela timongo. (The cracker of nut is picking nuts).

(b) Mvundzi u dya timongo. (The cracker of the nuts is eating nuts).

(c) Wansati u vitana mvundzi wa timongo. (The woman is calling the cracker of the nuts).

Plural: class 2: vavundzi (crackers of nuts)

The nominal *mvundzi* (cracker of nut) denotes an individual who uses a stone to split a nut of marula fruit into parts violently. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of cracking a nut. Once the act of cracking is over, such a nominal may no longer be referred to as *mvundzi* (cracker of nut).

**Vandza** (crack nut)

B.  [Excessive act]:  rivandzo (excessive cracking of nut)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rivandzo ra mukhegula ra timongo ri nghenisa mali yo tala. (The excessive cracking of the old woman of the nuts brings a lot of money).

(b) Rivandzo ra timongo ri vavisa tintiho. (The excessive cracking of the nuts hurts fingers).

(c) Mfumo wu sekete rivandzo la vakhegula ra timongo. (The government supports the excessive cracking of the old women of the nuts).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivandzo (excessive cracking of nuts) refers to an excessive act of splitting a nut by hitting it hard with a stone so that it splits into parts.

**Vandza (crack nut)**

C.  [Expert/excessive actor]: xivandzi (expert/excessive cracker of nut)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xivandzi xi rhwalela timongo.
           (The expert/excessive cracker of nut is picking nuts).

           (b) Muvandzi u dya timongo.
           (The expert/excessive cracker of the nuts is eating nuts).

           (c) Wansati u vitana xivandzi xa timongo.
           (The woman is calling the expert/excessive cracker of the nuts).

Plural: class 8: swivandzi (expert/excessive crackers of nuts)

The nominal xivandzi (expert/excessive cracker of nut) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively uses a stone to split a nut of marula fruit into parts violently. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of splitting a nut is a property which will remain in the individual for his entire life.

**Vandza (crack nut)**

D.  [Act]: vuvandzi (cracking of nut)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuvandzi bya mukhegula bya timongo byi nghenisa mali yo tala.
           (The cracking of the old woman of the nuts brings a lot of money).

           (b) Vuvandzi bya timongo byi vavisa tintiho.
           (The cracking of the nuts hurts fingers).

           (c) Mfumo wu seketela vuvandzi bya vakhegula bya timongo.
           (The government supports the cracking of the old women of the nuts).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvandzi (cracking of nuts) refers to an act of splitting a nut by hitting it hard with a stone so that it splits into parts.

**Hisa (burn)**

C.  [Actor]: muhisi (burning person)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Muhisi wa nhova u kumiwile.
           (The burning person of the veld has been found).
(b) Muhisi wa yindlu u khomiwile.
   (The burning person of the house has been arrested).

(c) Vana va hleka muhisi wa makamba.
   (The children laugh at the burning person of the leaves).

Plural: class 2: vahisi (burning people)

The nominal **muhisi** (burning person) refers to an individual who destroys, or injure something by fire. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the burning, which is the defining property in this nominal is something that takes place for a particular time. Once the burning is completed, such a nominal may no longer apply.

**Hisa** (burn)

D. [Excessive act]: rihiso (excessive burning)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rihiso ra nhova ri vanga dyandza.
   (The excessive burning of the veld causes drought).

   (b) Rihiso ra vanhu ra mathayere ri thyakisa mbangu.
   (The excessive burning of the people of the tyres pollutes the environment).

   (c) Mfumo wu sola rihiso ra vanhu ra misinya.
   (The government condemns the excessive burning of the people of the trees).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihiso** (excessive burning) refers to the act of excessive destruction of things by fire.

**Hisa** (burn)

E. [Excessive actor]: xihisi (excessive burning person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xihisi xa nhova xi kumiwile.
   (The excessive burning person of the veld has been found).

   (b) Xihisi xa misinya xi khomiwile.
   (The excessive burning person of the trees has been arrested).

   (c) Maphorisa ma khoma xihisi xa mirhi.
   (The police arrest the excessive burning person of the trees).

Plural: class 8: swihisi (excessive burning people)

The nominal **xihisi** (excessive burning person) refers to an individual who excessively destroys things by fire. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of burning has formed into a habit in this person. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be involved in the act of burning something at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as **xihisi** (excessive burning person).
**Hisa** (burn)

F. **[Artifact/Instrument]: xihiso (earthenware grater)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihiso xi fayekile.  
(‘The earthenware grater is broken.’)

(b) Xihiso xa kala masiku lawa.  
(‘The earthenware grater is scarce these days.’)

(c) Vana va hlamala xihiso xa manana.  
(‘The children are surprised at the mother’s earthenware grater.’)

Plural: class 8: swihiso (earthenware graters)

The nominal **xihiso** (earthen grater) refers to a traditional utensil used for pounding mealies on.

**Hisa** (burn)

G. **[Act]: vuhisi (burning)**

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhisi bya nhova byi vanga dyandza.  
(‘The burning of the veld causes drought.’)

(b) Vuhisi bya vanhu bya mathayere byi thyakisa mbangu.  
(‘The burning of the people of the tyres pollutes the environment.’)

(c) Mfumo wu sola vuhisi bya vanhu bya misinya.  
(‘The government condemns the burning of the people of the trees.’)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhisi** (burning) refers to the act of destruction of things by fire.

**Oxa** (roast)

A. **[Actor]: muoxi (roasting person)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Muoxi wa nyama u hlanganyeta ndzilo.  
(‘The roasting person pushes fire wood further into the fire.’)

(b) Muoxi u tshwile voko hi kala.  
(‘The roasting person has burnt his finger with the coal.’)

(c) Nyama yi nandzhihela muoxi.  
(‘The meat is delicious to the roasting person.’)

Plural: class 2: vaoxi (roasting persons)

The nominal **muoxi** (roasting person) refers to a person who heat something such as meat by embedding it in hot coals. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of
roasting takes place for a short time. Once such an act is completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as muoxi.

Oxa (roast)

B. [Excessive act]: rioxo (excessive roasting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rioxo ra wanuna ra nyama ebarheni ri tsakisa vavasati.
(The excessive roasting of the man of the meat at the bar pleases women).

(b) Rioxo ra mufana ra nyama ri vilerisa vavanuna.
(The excessive roasting of the young man of the meat worries the men).

(c) Vavanuna va hlamala rioxo ra mufana ra nyama.
(The men are surprised at the excessive roasting of the young man of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rioxo (roasting) denotes an act of excessive roasting of something by an individual.

Oxa (roast)

C. [Expert actor]: xioxi (expert roasting person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xioxi xa tincondzo xi tshivela ndzilo.
(The expert roasting person of chicken feet makes fire).

(b) Xioxi xa nyama xi khomile mukwana.
(The expert roasting person of the meat is holding a knife).

(c) Ndzilo wu hisa xioxi.
(The fire is burning the expert roasting person.)

Plural: class 8: swioxi (expert roasting persons)

The nominal xioxi (expert roasting person) refers to a person who expertly heat something such as meat by embedding it in hot coals. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise of roasting something of the individual in question is a permanent property. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of roasting or he may not, he will always be referred to as xioxi (expert roasting person).

Oxa (roast)

D. [Event/Act]: vuoxi (roasting)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuoxi bya nyama bya karhalisa.
(The roasting of meat is wearying).

(b) Vuoxi bya nyama byi tsakisa entlangwini.
(The roasting of the meat pleases at the party).
(c) Vanhu va tsakela vuoxi bya nyama.  
(The people like the roasting of meat).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuoxi** (roasting) denotes an act of roasting of something by an individual.

**Phata (Dent)**

A.  [Act]: muphati (denter)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muphati wa rivanti ra movha wa baleka.  
(The denter of a car runs away).

(b) Muphati wa xikotela xa hlampfi wa rila.  
(The denter of the tin of fish is crying).

(c) Vafana va hlongorisa muphati wa rivanti ra movha.  
(The young men chase the denter of the door of the car).

Plural: Class 2: vaphati (denters)

The nominal **muphati** (denting person) refers to an individual who makes a hollow place in a hard surface, such as a body of a car, by hitting or forcefully pressing it. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of denting happens within a few minutes. In other words, once the act of denting has come to an end, the individual in question may no longer be viewed as **muphati** (denting person).

**Phata (Dent)**

B.  [Excessive act]: riphato (excessive denting)

Class 5:  2. (a) Riphato ra wanuna ra swikotelo ri n’wi nghenisela mali.  
(The excessive denting of the man of the empty tins brings him a lot of money).

(b) Riphato ra mufana ra timovha ta vanhu ri nyenyetsa wansati.  
(The excessive denting of the young man of the cars of the people annoys the woman).

(c) Wanuna u sola riphato ra wansati ra rivanti ra movha.  
(The man condemns the excessive denting of the woman of the door of the car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphato** (excessive denting) refers to an act of excessive denting of something by an individual.
Phata (Dent)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiphati (excessive denter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphati xa swikotela xi khomiwile.  
(The excessive denter of empty tins has been arrested).

(b) Xiphati xa timovha ta vanhu evupakelweni xi nyamalarile.  
(The excessive denter of the cars of the people in the parking has disappeared).

(c) Vafana va hlongorisa xiphati xa mavanti ya timovha ta vanhu.  
(The young men chase after the excessive denter of the doors of the cars of the people).

Plural: Class 2: swiphati (excessive denters)

The nominal xiphati (excessive denting person) refers to an individual who excessively makes a hollow place in a hard surface, such as a body of a car, by hitting or forcefully pressing it. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of denting, which is a defining property in this nominal will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether or not the person concerned will be engaged in the act of denting, he will always be referred to as xiphati (excessive denting person).

Phata (Dent)

D. [Act]: vuphati (denting)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuphati bya rivanti ra movha wa mina hi mufana byi ndzi tlierisele endzhaku.  
(The denting of my car’s door by the young man has taken me backward).

(b) Vuphati bya mavanti ya timovha ePolokwane byi tinyike matimba.  
(Denting of cars’ doors in Polokwane is rife).

(c) Van’wamimovha va fanele ku tivonele eka vuphati bya tivanti ta mimovha.  
(Motorists should beware of the denting of the doors of the cars).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphati (denting) refers to an act of denting of something by an individual.

Handzula (tear)

A. [Actor]: muhandzuri (tearer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhandzuri wa phepha u lahla vumbhoni.  
(The tearer of the paper destroys the evidence).

(b) Muhandzuri wa xikipa xa mufana wa baleka.  
(The tearer of the T-shirt of the young man is fleeing).

(c) Mufana u ba muhandzuri wa phepha ra yena.  
(The young man beats the tearer of his paper).

Plural: class 2: vahandzuli (tearers)
The nominal **muhandzuri** (tearer) denotes an individual who damages something by pulling it apart or in pieces or by cutting in on something sharp. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of tearing something is a temporary occurrence. In other words, once the act of tearing is past, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhandzuri** (tearer).

**Handzula** (tear)

B. [Excessive act]: rihandzulo (excessive tearing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihandzulo ra mufana ra tibuku ta van’wana ri n’wi hlongorisile exikolweni. (The excessive tearing of the young man of others’s books has made him dismissed from the school).

(b) Rihandzulo ra vadyondzi ra maphepha etlilasini ri nyenyetsa mudyondzisi. (The excessive tearing of the learners of the papers in class annoys the teacher).

(c) Wansati u sola rihandzulo ra mufana ra swikipa. (The woman disapproves the excessive tearing of the young man of the T-shirts).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihandzulo** (excessive tearing) refers to the excessive act or process of tearing of something by an individual.

**Handzula** (tear)

C. [Excessive tearer]: xihandzuri (excessive tearer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihandzuri xa tidokete ta vanhu xi kholiwile. (The excessive tearer of the docket has been arrested).

(b) Xihandzuri xa tibuku ta vadyondzi xi hlongoriwile exikolweni. (The excessive tearer of the books of the learners has been chased from the school).

(c) Mudyondzisi u vitana xihandzuri xa maphepha. (The teacher is calling the excessive tearer of the papers).

Plural: class 2: swihandzuli (excessive tearers)

The nominal **xihandzuri** (excessive tearer) denotes an individual who excessively damages something by pulling it apart or in pieces or by cutting in on something sharp. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of tearing of things by the individual concerned will always be associated with him. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of tearing or not, such an individual will always be referred to as **xihandzuri** (excessive tearer).
Handzula (tear)

D. [Artifact]: xihandzulo (tearing instrument)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xihandzulo xa maphepha xi lahlekile.
(The tearing instrument of the papers is lost).

(b) Xihandzulo xa malapi xi tshovekile.
(The tearing instrument of the fabrics is broken).

(c) Mudzondzi mu xava xihandzulo xa maphepha.
(The learner buys the tearing instrument of the papers).

Plural: class 8: swihandzulo (tearing instruments)

The nominal xihandzulo (tearing instrument) refers to an object which is used by an individual to rear something apart or in pieces.

Handzula (operate)

E. [Act]: vuhandzuri (tearing)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vuhandzuri bya wanuna bya maphepha byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The tearing of the man of the papers annoys the woman).

(b) Vuhandzuri bya mufana bya maphepha etilasini byi karhata vadyondzi.
(The rearing of the young man of the papers in class troubles the learners).

(c) Mudyondzisi u hlamala vuhandzuri bya vadyondzi bya maphepha.
(The teacher is surprised at the tearing of the learners of the papers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhandzuri (tearing) refers to the act or process of tearing of something by an individual.

Handzula (tear)

A. [Actor]: muhandzuri (operator)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muhandzuri wa muvabyi u hlamba swandla.
(The operator of the sick person washes his hands).

(b) Muhandzuri wa wansati u fikile.
(The operator of the woman has arrived).

(c) Muongori u fonela muhandzuri wa vavabyi exibedhlele.
(The nurse is phoning the operator of the sick people in the hospital).

Plural: class 2: vahandzuli (operators)

The nominal muhandzuri (operator) refers to an individual who cut open someone’s body in order to remove a part that has a disease or to repair a part that is damaged. This nominal may be regarded as
an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the expertise in conducting operations and not the act itself. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of operation or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference such a person will always be referred to as muhandzuri (operator).

**Handzula** (operate)

**B. [Excessive act]: rihandzulo (excessive operating)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihandzulo ra dokodela ra vavabyi ri n’wi winisile sagwadi.  
(The excessive operating of the doctor of the sick people made him win an award).

(b) Rihandzulo ra dokodela ra vavabyi ri ponisa vutomi byo tala.  
(The excessive operating of the doctor saves many lives).

(c) Mfumo wu khensa rihandzulo ra dokodela ra vavabyi. 
(The government appreciates the excessive operating of the doctor of the sick people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihandzulo (excessive operation) refers to an excessive act or process of cutting open someone’s body in order to remove a part that has a disease or to repair a part that is damaged.

**Handzula** (operate)

**C. [Expert operator]: xihandzuri (expert operator)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihandzuri xa vavabyi xi nyikiwile sagwadi..  
(The expert operator of the sick people has been given an award).

(b) Xihandzuri xa wansati xi ambala swimandlamandla.  
(The expert operator of the woman wears hands gloves).

(c) Muongori u landza xihandzuri xa muvabyi exibedhlele.  
(The nurse follows the expert operator of the sick person at the hospital).

Plural: class 2: swihandzuli (expert operator)

The nominal xihandzuri (expert operator) refers to an individual who has an extra-ordinary expertise of cutting open someone’s body in order to remove a part that has a disease or to repair a part that is damaged. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the extra-ordinary expertise of conducting operations which the individual in question has. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of operation or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference such a person will always be referred to as xihandzuri (expert operator).
**Handzula** (operate)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: **xihandzulo** (operating instrument)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihandzulo xa muvabyi xi lahleklele.
(The operating instrument for the sick person is lost).

(b) Xihandzulo xa muvabyi xa ha ri xintshwa.
(The operating instrument of the sick person is still new).

(c) Muongori u sula xihandzulo.
(The nurse wipes the operating instrument).

Plural: class 8: **swihandzulo** (operating instruments)

The nominal **xihandzulo** (operating instrument) refers to an object or a scissor which is used by an individual to cut open someone’s body in order to remove a part that has a disease or to repair a part that is damaged.

**Handzula** (tear)

E. [Act]: **vuhandzuri** (operation/operating)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhandzuri bya wanuna byi teke tiawara timbirhi.
(The operation of the man took two hours).

(b) Vuhandzuri bya dokodela bya muvabyi byi fambe kahle.
(The operating of the doctor of the sick person went well).

(c) Wanuna u languta vuhandzuri bya dokodela bya n’wana wa yena.
(The man looks at the operation/operating of the doctor of his child).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhandzuri** (operation) refers to an act or process of cutting open someone’s body in order to remove a part that has a disease or to repair a part that is damaged.

6.6 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF SEPARATING AND DISASSEMBLING

Levin (1992: 164) defines the verbs in this class as the verbs related to separating and disassembling. He asserts that these verbs participate in the simple reciprocal alternation or the *apart* reciprocal alternations. According to him, verbs in this class are never found in the *together* reciprocal alternations. In terms of Levin (op cit) these verbs may have the meaning of results or means. However, the Xitsonga verbs falling under this subset contained in this section are all agentive verbs.
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**Ava (Divide)**

A. **[Actor]: muavi (divider)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Muavi u nyika vana xinkwa. 
(The divider gives children bread).
(b) Muavi wa ndzhaka ya tatana i majisitarata. 
(The divider of father’s estate is the magistrate).
(c) Wansati u endzela muavi wa ndzhaka ya tatana ekhoto. 
(The woman visits the divider of the estate of my father at the court).

Plural: Class 2: vaavi (dividers)

The nominal *muavi* (dividing person) refers to an individual split things into smaller parts. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of dividing which an individual is performing. Once the act of dividing is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *muavi* (dividing person).

**Ava (Divide)**

B. **[Excessive act]: riavo (excessive dividing)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Riavo ra Khazamula ra nhundzu ri ta n’wi bisa hi vatirhi. 
(The excessive dividing of Khazamula of goods will make him to be beaten by people).
(b) Riavo ra Khazamula ra nyama ri nyenyetsa vatirhi. 
(The excessive dividing of Khazamula of meat annoys workers).
(c) Wanuna u lemuka riavo ra Khazamula ra swilo. 
(The man notices the excessive dividing of Khazamula of things).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **riavo** (excessive dividing) refers to the act of dividing things into smaller parts by an individual which is done excessively.

**Ava** (Divide)

C.  [Expert/Excessive actor]: xiavi (expert/excessive divider)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiavi xa tindzhaka ta vanhu xi lovile.  
(The expert excessive divider of people’s estates has died).

(b) Xiavi xa nhundzu ya mufi a xi kona namuntlha enkosini.  
(The expert/excessive divider of the goods of the deceased is not available today at the funeral).

(c) Vanhu va lahla xiavi xa tinhundzu ta vanhu namuntlha.  
(The people bury the expert/excessive divider of the goods of the people today).

Plural: Class 8: swiavi (expert/excessive dividers)

The nominal **xiavi** (expert/excessive divider) refers to an individual who has a skill of splitting things into smaller parts, or it may refer to an individual who has a tendency of splitting things into smaller parts. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature here is the skill or the excessiveness inherent in the individual in question and not the act of dividing. This skill or the property of excessiveness may be associated with the individual for the whole life of an individual. In other words, whether the individual is engaged in the act of dividing or not the nominal he will be referred as **xiavi** (expert/excessive divider).

**Ava** (Divide)

A.  [Artifact/Instrument]: xiavo (dividing tool/partitioning tool)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xiavo xa vuswa na nyama xa xibye xa manana xi lahlekile.  
(The partition instrument for porridge and meat of the mother is lost).

(b) Xiavo xa mhandzi lexi avanyisaka tihofisi xa durha.  
(The wooden partition which is used for dividing offices is expensive).

(c) Makhamba ya tshovile xiavo xa mhandzi xo avanyisa hofisi ya Hlungwani na Dr Molapo.  
(The thieves broke the wooden partition which divides the office of Hlungwani and Dr Molapo).

Plural: Class 8: swiavo(dividing tool)

The nominal **xiavo** (dividing tool) refers to an instrument used by an individual to split things into smaller parts.
**Ava (Divide)**

**B.** [Result]: xiave (portion)

Class 7: 4.  
(a) Xiave xa Makhanana hi xona xikulu eka hinkwaswo.  
(The portion of Tsatsawana is the biggest of them all).

(b) Xiave xa Nsovo xi ta sala exibyeni.  
(The portion of Nsovo will be left in the container).

(c) Wanuna u nyika wansati xiave xa yena.  
(The man gives the woman her portion).

Plural: Class 8: swiave (portions)

The nominal **xiave** (portion) refers to individual’s part or share of something.

**Ava (Divide)**

**C.** [Act]: vuavi (division)

Class 14: 6.  
(a) Vuavi bya ndzhaka ya tatana byi sungurile eka majisitarata.  
(The division of the estate of the father has begun at the magistrate).

(b) Vuavi bya nhundzu ya tatana byi vanga timholovo.  
(The division of the goods of the father causes quarrels).

(c) Vanhu va hlalela vuavi bya nhundzu ya tatana.  
(The people watch the division of the goods of my father).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuavi** (dividing) refers to the act of dividing things into smaller parts by an individual.

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</table>
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i

muavi (divider)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

Riavo (excessive dividing)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

Xiavi (expert/excessive divider)
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
Xiavo (dividing tool/partitioning tool)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -e
Xiave (portion)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vuavi (dividing)
Verbs of Separating and disassembling

(28) Nominalization from the verb -ava (divide)

(v) The verb -ava (divide)

Wanuna u ava ndzhaka yakwe.
(The man is dividing his estate).

{arg

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: person
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
= E2 = e2: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -ava_act (e2, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Divide –Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -ava (divide) in (28) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely, the human that performs the act of dividing and the physical object that is being divided. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of dividing and the resultant state of dividing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of closing (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e1) identity of the human (x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of dividing of the person (x).

(29) Nominalisation in class 1: muavi (dividing person)

Muavi wa ndzhaka ya wanuna u fikile.
(The dividing person of the estate of the man has arrived).
(The young man is closing the car).

{arg

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
= E2 = e2: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e1
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e2, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -ava_actor (e1, x, y)
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Divide – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *muavi* (dividing person) in (29) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely, the human that performs the act of dividing and the physical object that is affected by the act of dividing. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of dividing and the resultant state of dividing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \(e_2\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_2\) of the process of closing \(e_1\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_1\) identity of the human \(x\), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of dividing of the person \(x\).

(30) **Nominalisation in class 7:** *xiavi* (expert/excessive dividing person)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{xiavi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{ava_act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{array}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Divide – Expert/Excessive Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xiavi* (expert/excessive dividing person) in (30) is similar to that of *muavi* (dividing person) (29) above. The only difference relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [expert/excessive] in *xiavi* (expert/excessive dividing person) (30), which is absent in *muavi* (dividing person) in (29).

(31) **Nominalisation in class 5:** *riavo* (excessive dividing)

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{riavo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{ava_act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{array}
\]
The lexical semantic representation of *riavo* (excessive dividing) in (31) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of dividing, and the physical object. The other argument is the reference of the act of dividing.

(32) Nominalisation in class 14: *vuavi* (dividing)

*Vuavi bya ndzhaka ya tatana byi sungurile eka majisitarata.*
(The dividing of the estate of the father has begun in the magistrate).

The lexical semantic representation of *vuavi* (dividing) in (32) corresponds to that of *riavo* (excessive dividing) (31) above. The only difference relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in *riavo* (excessive dividing) in (31) above which is absent in *vuavi* (dividing) in (31) above.

(33) Nominalisation in class 7: *xiavo* (dividing tool/partitioning tool)

*Xiao xa vuswa na nyama xa xibye xa manana xi lahlekile.*
(The partition instrument for porridge and meat of the mother is lost).
The lexical semantic representation of **xiavo** (dividing tool) in (33) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of dividing, and the physical object. The other argument is the reference of the act of dividing.

(34) Nominalisation in class 7: **xiave** (portion)

Xiave xa Makhanana hi xona xikulu eka hinkwaswo.
(The portion of Tsatsawana is the biggest of all).

The lexical semantic representation of **xiave** (portion) in (34) is similar to that of **xiavo** (dividing tool)(33) above. The only distinction is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [result] in the case of **xiave**(portion) in (34) above and [artifact/instrument] in the case of **xiavo**(dividing tool) in (33) above.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of separating and disassembling have similar lexical semantic representations with that of -ava (divide). The only distinction is that the intrinsic or
encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hahlula (dismantle), -tshika (divorce/leave alone), -hambanyisa (separate) and -thanthla (disassemble) does not allow a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix –o as is the case with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -ava (divide).

**Hahlula** (dismantle)

A. **[Actor]:** muhahluri (dismantling person)

   Class 1: 1. (a) Muhahluri u rhwalela makenya lama hahluriweke.
   (The dismantling person is carrying dismantled grass).

   (b) Muhahluri u hahlula yindlu.
   (The dismantling person is pulling down roof of hut).

   (c) Wanuna u lava muhahluri loyi a nga ta hahlula yindlu ya yena.
   (The man wants the dismantling person who will pull down his hut’s roof).

   **Plural:** class 2: vahahluli (dismantling persons)

   The nominal **muhahluri** (dismantling person) refers to an individual who takes apart a structure so that it is a separate pieces. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the property of dismantling which modifies this nominal is a temporary occurrence. In other words, once the act of dismantling is finished, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhahluri** (dismantling person).

**Hahlula** (dismantle)

B. **[Excessive act]:** rihahlulo (excessive dismantling)

   Class 5: 2. (a) Rihahlulo ra wanuna ra tindlu ri kwatisile nsati wa yena.
   (The excessive dismantling of a man of the houses angers his Wife).

   (b) Rihahlulo ra wanuna ra matshanga ri hlamarisa vanhu.
   (The excessive dismantling of the man of the craals suprises people).

   (c) Wansati u venga rihahlulo ra nuna wa yena ra miti ya vanhu.
   (The woman hates the excessive dismantling of his husband of other people’s families).

   **Plural:** No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

   The nominal **rihahlulo** (excessive dismantling) refers to an act or process of expertly or excessively taking apart a structure so that it is a separate piece.
Hahlula (dismantle)

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: xihahluri (expert/excessive dismantling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihahluri xi fayile muti wa munghana wa xona.
(The expert dismantling person has destroyed his friend’s family).

(b) Xihahluri xi tthatlha lwangu.
(The expert dismantling person is thatching the roof).

(c) Wansati u thola xihahluri xa tindlu.
(The woman hires the expert dismantling person of the houses).

Plural: class 8: swihahluli (expert/excessive dismantling persons)

The nominal xihahluri (expert/excessive dismantling person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of taking apart a structure so that it is a separate pieces or who excessively dismantles something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness or excessiveness of the individual of dismantling a thing will remain a permanent property of his life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of dismantling something at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xihahluri (expert/excessive dismantling person).

Hahlula (dismantle)

D. [Act]: vuhahluri (dismantling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhahluri bya tindlu ta makenya bya olova.
(The dismantling of hut is simple).

(b) Vuhahluri bya miti byi kwatisa vakhalabya.
(The dismantling of families angers old men).

(c) Wanuna u endla vuhahluri bya lwangu.
(The man is doing the dismantling of the roof).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhahluri (dismantling) refers to an act or process of taking apart a structure so that it is a separate piece.

Tshika (divorce/leave alone)

A. [Actor]: mutshiki (divorcing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshiki u tshikile nsati wa yena.
(The divorcing person has divorced his wife).

(b) Mutshiki u kumile nsati un’wana.
(The divorcing person has found another wife).
(c) Wansatu u kwaterile mutshiki wa yena.
(The woman is angry at her divorcing person).

Plural: class 2: vatshiki (divorcing persons)

The nominal mutshiki (divorcing person) refers to someone who ends the marriage between oneself and one’s spouse. This person in question may be either an adult male or female. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of ending marriage. Once that act or process is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutshiki (divorcing person).

Tshika (divorce/leave alone)

B. [Excessive act]: ritshiko (excessive divorcing)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ritshiko ra wanuna ra vavasati ri n’wi hundzurile xihlekiso emugangeni.
(The excessive divorcing the man has made him a laughing stock in the village).

(b) Ritshiko ra wansati ra vavanuna ri n’wi hundzurile ngwavava.
(The excessive divorcing of a woman of the men turned her into a prostitute).

(c) Mukhalabye u nyenya ritshiko ra wanuna ra vavasati.
(The old man dislikes the excessive divorcing of the man of the wives).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritshiko (excessive divorcing) refers to an act or process of ending one’s marriage to one’s spouses.

Tshika (divorce/leave alone)

C. [Excessive actor]: xitshiki (excessively divorcing person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xitshiki xi tshikile wansati wa vumune.
(The excessively divorcing person has divorced the fourth wife).

(b) Xitshiki xi lovorable un’wana nsati.
(The excessively divorcing person has paid lobola for another wife).

(c) Tiko ri hleka xitshiki lexi tshikeke nuna wo lungha.
(The community laughs the excessively divorcing person who divorced good husband).

Plural: class 8: switshiki (excessive divorcing persons)

The nominal xitshiki (excessively divorcing person) refers to someone who excessively ends the marriages between oneself and one’s spouses. The spouses could be married at the same time to the individual in question or they could be married to him at different times, each after the divorce of another one. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is not the act of divorcing itself, but the excessiveness of divorcing thereof.
In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act or process of divorcing someone or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xitshiki* (excessively divorcing person).

**Tshika** (divorce/leave alone)

D. [Act]: vutshiki (divorcing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutshiki bya vavasati byi tele ngopfu eAfrika-Dzonga.
(The divorcing of women has is rife in South Africa).

(b) Vutshiki bya vavanuna byi endliwa hi lavantsongo.
(The divorcing of men is done by the young people).

(c) Vanhu lavakulu va venga vutshiki bya vafana bya vavasati.
(Old people hate the divorcing of the young men of women).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutshiki* (divorcing) refers to an act or process of ending one’s marriage to one’s spouse.

**Hambanyisa** (separate)

A. [Actor]: muhambanyisi (separating person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhambanyisi u hahlurile muti wa munghana wa yena.
(The separating person has demolished his friend’s family).

(b) Muhambanyisi u hambanyisile munhu na vatswari va yena.
(The separating person has disassembled a man with his parents).

(c) Wanuna u rhukana muhambanyisi wa yena na nsati wa yena.
(The man is rebuking the separating person of him and his wife).

Plural: class 2: vahambanyisi (separating persons)

The nominal *muhambanyisi* (separating person) refers to an individual who divides something into different parts or groups. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of dividing a thing. In other words, once such an act or process of dividing is finished it may no longer be necessary to refer to the individual in question as *muhambanyisi* (separating person).

**Hambanyisa** (separate)

B. [Excessive act]: rihambanyiso (excessive separation)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihambanyiso ra wanuna ra maxaka ri nyumisa vana vakwe.
(The excessive separation of the man of the relatives embarrasses his children).

(b) Rihambanyiso ra wansati ra vatekani ri karhata vanhu vo tala.
(The excessive separation of the woman of married people worries many people).
(c) Wanuna u venga rihambanyiso ra wanhwana ra vatekani.
(The man hates the excessive separation of the young woman of the married people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihambanyiso (excessive separation) refers to the act of excessive division of something into different parts or groups by an individual.

Hambanyisa (separate)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xihambanyisi (excessive/expert separator)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihambanyisi xa vatekani xi biwile exitolo.
(The expert/excessive separator of the married people was beaten at the shop).

(b) Xihambanyisi xa vanghana xi tiva hi vanhu vo tala.
(The expert/excessive separator of friends is known by many people).

(c) Vaaki va venga xihambanyisi xa varhandzani.
(The residents hate the expert/excessive separator of the lovers).

Plural: class 8: swihambanyisi (separator)

The nominal xihambanyisi (expert/excessive separator) refers to an individual who excessively divides something into different parts or groups. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertness/excessiveness of separating something and not the act of separating itself. The expertness/excessiveness has become a permanent property of the individual in question which will always be associated with him. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of separating at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihambanyisi (expert/excessive separator).

Hambanyisa (separate)

D. [Act]: vuhambanyisi (separation)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhambanyisi bya wanhwana bya varhandzani byi nyenyetsa vatswari vakwe.
(The separation of the young woman of the lovers disgusts her parents).

(b) Vuhambanyisi bya wansati bya vanghanabyi onha vumunhu bya yena.
(The separation of the woman of the friends turnishes her reputation).

(c) Vunhu va sola vuhambanyisi bya wansati bya maxaka.
(The people criticise the separation of the woman of the relatives).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhambanyisi (separation) refers to the act of dividing something into different parts or groups by an individual.
Tlhantlha (disassemble)

A. [Actor]: mutlhantlhi (disassembling person)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Mutlhantlhi wa njhini u karhele.  
   (The disassembling person of the engine is exhausted).
   
   (b) Mutlhantlhi wa khompyuta u fikile.  
   (The disassembling person of the computer has arrived).
   
   (c) Wanuna u rhukana mutlhantlhi wa njhini ya movha ya yena.  
   (The man is insulting the disassembling person of the engine of his car).

Plural: class 2: vatlhantlhi (disassembling persons)

The nominal mutlhantlhi (disassembling person) refers to an individual who takes apart a machine or structure so that it is in a separate pieces. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of disassembling a thing. In other words, once such an act or process of disassembling is finished it may no longer be necessary to refer to the individual in question as mutlhantlhi (disassembling person).

Tlhantlha (disassemble)

B. [Excessive act]: rithhantlho (excessive disassembling)

Class 5:  
2. (a) Rithhantlho ra wanuna ra tinjhini ta mimovha ri n’wi vavise tintiho.  
   (The excessive disassembling of a man of the engines of cars has hurt his fingers).
   
   (b) Rithhantlho ra mufana ra khomphyuta ri nghenisa mali yo tala.  
   (The excessive disassembling of the young man generates a lot of money for him).
   
   (c) Wanuna u sola rithhantlho ra mufana ra tirhadiyo.  
   (The man disapproves of the excessive disassembling of the young man of the radio).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithhantlho (excessive disassembling) refers to an act or process of excessive disassembling of something such as a computer.

Tlhantlha (disassemble)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xitlhantlhi (expert/excessive disassembling person)

Class 7:  
3. (a) Xitlhantlhi xi tinjhini ta movha xi lovile.  
   (The expert/excessive disassembling person of car engines has passed away)
   
   (b) Xitlhantlhi xa tikhomphyuta xi vuyile eJoni.  
   (The expert/excessive disassembling person of computers has returned from Johannesburg).
   
   (c) Wanuna u xeweta xitlhantlhi xa tinjhini ta mimovha.  
   (The man greets the expert/excessive disassembling person of car engines).
Plural: class 8: switlhantlhi (expert/excessive disassembling persons)

The nominal xitlhantlhi (expert/excessively disassembling person) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively takes apart a machine or structure so that it is in a separate pieces. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise or excessiveness of the individual in question will remain his permanent property. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged or not in the act of disassembling, such a person will always be referred to as xitlhantlhi (expert/excessively disassembling person).

Tlhantlha (disassemble)

D. [Act]: vutlhantlhi (disassembling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutlhantlhi bya tinhini ta mimovha byi hlakata tinto.  
(The disassembling of car engines damages the fingers).

(b) Vutlhantlhi bya mufana bya khomphyuta byi hlundzukise tata wakwe.  
(The disassembling of the boy of the computer has engered his father).

(c) Wanuna u languta vutlhantlhi bya mufana bya khomphyuta.  
(The man looks at the disassembling of the young man of the computer).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutlhantlhi (disassembling) refers to an act or process of disassembling something such as a computer.

Lamula (separate combatants/intervene in a fight)

A. [Actor]: mulamuli (person who separate fighters/intervene in a fight)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulamuli wa vafana u vavisekile.  
(The person who separates combatants has been hurt).

(b) Mulamuli wa valwi u hluvula hembe.  
(The person who separates combatants takes off his shirt).

(c) Wanuna u ba mulamuli wa valwi.  
(The man beats the person who separates the combatants).

Plural: Class 2: valamuli (people who separate combatants)

The nominal mulamuli (person who separate combatants) refers to an individual who separates people or animals that are fighting. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of separating fighting people or animals which individual in question has to be engaged in at the time of reference. Once such an act is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mulamuli (person who separate combatants)because the meaning of this nominal is dependent on the act of separating the fighting people or animals.
**Lamula** (separate combatants/intervene in a fight)

B. **[Excessive act]**: rilamulo (excessive separation of combatants)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilamulo ra wanuna ra valwi ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.  
(The excessive separation of the man of the fighters annoys his wife).

(b) Rilamulo ra wanuna ra timbyana ri n’wi lumisile.  
(The excessive separation of the dogs got him bitten).

(c) Wansati u venga rilamulo ra wanuna ra valwi.  
(The woman hates the excessive separation of the man of the fighters).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilamulo** (excessive separation of combatants) denotes an excessive act of separating people or animals that are fighting.

**Lamula** (separate combatants/intervene in a fight)

C. **[Excessive actor]**: xilamuli (person who excessively separate combatants)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilamuli xa valwi xi huma ngati.  
(The person who excessively separates fighters is oozing blood).

(b) Xilamuli xa vavasati xi badlhe nyuku.  
(The person who excessively separates women has sweat).

(c) Wansati u khoma xilamuli xa valwi hi voko.  
(The woman is holding the excessively separating person of the fighters with a hand).

Plural: Class 8: swilamuli (people who excessively separate combatants)

The nominal **xilamuli** (person who excessively separate combatants) denotes an individual who excessively separates people or animals that are fighting from each other. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of separating fighting people/animals of the individual in question and not the act of separating the fighting people/animals as such. The excessiveness of separating fighting people of the individual in question will always be associated with him for a the most part of his life irrespective of whether such an individual may be engaged in the act of separating the fighting people or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. This illustrates that what modifies this nominal is not the act of separating the fighting people, but the excessiveness thereof.

**Lamula** (separate combatants/intervene in a fight)

D. **[Act]**: vulamuri (separation of combatants)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulamuri bya wanuna bya valwi byi karhata wansati.  
(The separation of the man of the combatants worries the woman).

(b) Vulamuri bya wansati bya valwi byi chuhwisa nuna wakwe.  
(The separation of the woman of the combatants scares his husband).
(c) Mukhegula u nyenya vulamuri bya mufana bya valwi.
(The old woman dislikes the separating of the young man of the fighters).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vulamuri (separation of combatants) refers to the act of separating people or animals that are fighting.

**Phatlula** (break off)

A. [Actor]: muphatluli (breaking off person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphatluli wa xitulu u hlundzukile.
(The breaking off person of the chair is angry).

   (b) Muphatluli wa thireyi wa rila.
   (The breaking off person of the tray is crying).

   (c) Wansati u venga muphatluli wa thireyi.
   (The woman hates the breaking off person of the tray).

Plural: Class 2: vaphatluli (breaking off people)

The nominal muphatluli (breaking off person) refers to an individual who removes/separates something from which it is attached by force. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the act of removing/separating something at the time of reference. In other words, the nominal muphatluli (breaking off person) makes reference to the defining event of trying to walk. After that, such an individual may no longer be referred to muphatluli (breaking off person).

**Phatlula** (break off)

B. [Excessive act]: riphatlulo (excessive breaking off)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphatlulo ra mufana ra switulu ri nyangatsa wanuna.
(The excessive breaking off of the young man of the chairs disgusts the man).

   (b) Riphatlulo ra vayivi ra swifaki ri hlundzukisa wanuna.
   (The excessive breaking off of the thieves of the mealie cobs angers the man).

   (c) Wanuna u hlamala riphatlulo ra vafana ra swifaki.
   (The man is surprised at the excessive beaking off of the young men of the mealie cobs).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphatlulo (excessive breaking off) denotes excessive an act of removing/separating something from which it is attached by force.
Phatlula (break off)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xiphatluli (excessively breaking off person)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xiphatluli xa switulu swa kereke xi nyamalarile.
(The person who excessively breaks off chairs of the church has disappeared).

(b) Xiphatluli xa swifaki xa tumbela.
(The person who excessively breaks off mealie cobs is hiding).

(c) Wansati u komba xiphatluli xa mavele ehubyeni.
(The woman shows the person who excessively breaks off mealies at the traditional court).

Plural: Class 8: swiphatluli (excessively breaking off people)

The nominal xiphatluli (excessively breaking off person) denotes an individual who excessively removes/separates something from which it is attached by force. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of removing/separating something will be associated with an individual in question in spite of whether such a person will be engaged in the act of removing/separating something from which it is attached by force or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Phatlula (break off)

D.  [Act]: vuphatluri (breaking off)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuphatluri bya vafana bya switulu byi vilerisa vadyondzisi.
(The breaking off of the young men of the chairs worries the teachers).

(b) Vuphatluri bya makhamba bya swifaki byi lemukiwile.
(The breaking off of the thieves of the mealie cobs has been noticed).

(c) Wanuna u nyenya vuphatluri bya vafana bya swifaki.
(The man dislikes the breaking off of the young men of the mealie cobs).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphatluri (breaking off) refers to the act of removing/separating something from which it is attached by force.

Mbindzimuxa (demolish/tear down)

A.  [Actor]: mumbindzimuxi (demolishing/tearing down person)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mumbindzimuxi wa yindlu u vavisekile.
(The demolishing/tearing down person of the house has been hurt).

(b) Mumbindzimuxi wa muako u karhele.
(The demolishing/tearing down person of the building is tired).

(c) Wanuna u khumba mumbindzimuxi wa yindlu.
(The woman touches the demolishing/tearing down person of the house).

Plural: Class 2: vambindzimuxi (demolishing/tearing down people)
The nominal **mumbindzimuxi** (demolishing/tearing down person) refers to an individual who destroys a structure such as a building. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question has to be involved in the act of destroying a particular structure at the time of reference. Once such an act is completed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to **mumbindzimuxi** (demolishing/tearing down person).

**Mbindzimuxa** (demolish/tear down)

B. **[Excessive act]: rimbindzimuxo (excessive demolishing/tearing down)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rimbindzimuxo ra wanuna ra swihambukelo ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive demolishing/tearing down of the man of the toilets surprises the people).

(b) Rimbindzimuxo ra masipala ra mikhukhu ya vanhu ri hlundzukisa vaaki.
(The excessive demolishing/tearing down of the municipality of the informal housing of the people angers the residents).

(c) Vaaki va sola rimbindzimuxo ra masipala ra mikhukhu ya vanhu.
(The residents condemn the demolishing/tearing down of the municipality of the informal housing of the people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rimbindzimuxo** (excessive demolishing/tearing down) denotes an excessive act of destroying a structure such as a building.

**Mbindzimuxa** (demolish/tear down)

C. **[Excessive actor]: ximbindzimuxi (person who excessively demolishes/tears down a building)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Ximbindzimuxi xa miako leyi nga riki enawini xi duvuriwile.
(The person who excessively demolishes/tears down illegal buildings has been shot down).

(b) Ximbindzimuxi xa mikhukhu xi khomiwile.
(The person who excessively demolishes/tears down the informal housing has been arrested).

(c) Wanuna u nyika ximbindzimuxi xa miako xipedi.
(The man gives the person who excessively demolishes/tears down buildings a spade).

Plural: Class 8: swimbindzimuxi (people who excessively demolishes/tears down a building)

The nominal **ximbindzimuxi** (person who excessively demolish/tears down a building) denotes an individual who excessively destroys a structure such as a building. This nominal may thus be regarded as individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of carrying out the act of demolishing/tearing down of a structure but not the act itself. The individual in question may be engaged in the act of demolishing/tearing down a structure or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.
Mbindzimuxa (demolish/tear down)

D. [Act]: vumbindzimuxi (demolishing/tearing down)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vumbindzimuxi bya miako yo ka ya nga ri nawini byi karhata vaaki. (The demolishing/tearing down of illegal buildings troubles the residents).

(b) Vumbindzimuxi bya masipala bya mikhukhu byi hlamarisa vanhu. (The demolishing/tearing down of the municipality of the informal housing surprises the people).

(c) Wansati u sola vumbindzimuxi bya wanuna bya xihambukelo. (The woman disapproves of the demolishing/tearing down of the man of the toilet).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vumbindzimuxi (demolishing/rearing down) refers to the act of destroying a structure such as a building.

Phendla (push apart)

A. [Actor]: muphendlli (pushing apart person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphendli wa vanhu ebazini u dakwile. (The pushing apart person of the people in the bus is drunk).

(b) Muphendli wa tibuku elayiburari u lava jenali. (The pushing apart person of the books in the library is looking for a journal).

(c) Mufana u koka muphendli wa ntshungu entlangwini. (The young man pulls the pushing apart person of the crowd at the party).

Plural: Class 2: vaphendli (pushing apart people)

The nominal muphendlli (pushing apart person) refers to an individual who separates something into pieces by pulling different parts of it in different directions. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the modifying property in this nominal is the act of pushing something apart in pieces. In other words, the nominal muphendlli (pushing apart person) makes reference to the defining event of pushing something apart. The individual in question may no longer be referred to as muphendlli (pushing apart person) once such an act has stopped.

Phendla (push apart)

B. [Excessive act]: riphendlo (excessive pushing apart)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphendlo ra wanuna ra vanhu entlangwini ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe. (The excessive pushing apart of the man of the people at the party annoys his wife).

(b) Riphendlo ra mufana ra switulu ekerekeni ri vanga hansahansa. (The excessive pushing apart of the young man of the chairs in the church causes confusion).
(c) Muhlegula umona riphendlo ra mufana ra ntshungu entlangwini.
(The old woman scorns the excessive pushing apart of the young man of the crown at the party).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphendlo** (excessive pushing apart) denotes an excessive act of pushing of something apart in its pieces.

**Phendla** (push apart)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiphendli (excessively pushing apart person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphendli xa vanhu entlangwini xi vavisekile nenge.
(The excessively pushing apart person of the people at the party has hurt his leg).

(b) Xiphendli xa tibuku elayiburari xi karhele.
(The excessively pushing apart person of the books in the library is tired).

(c) Wanuna u siva xiphendli xa vanhu entlangwini.
(The man blocks the excessive pushing apart person at the function).

Plural: Class 8: swiphendli (excessively pushing apart people)

The nominal **xiphendli** (excessively pushing apart person) denotes an individual who excessively pushes something apart. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act is not the defining property here, but the excessiveness of pushing apart. This property will be permanently associated with the individual in question regardless of whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of pushing something apart or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xiphendli** (excessively pushing apart person) does not modify the event of trying to walk, but the excessiveness of pushing apart.

**Phendla** (push apart)

D. [Act]: vuphendli (pushing apart)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuphendli bya tibuku bya mufana elayiburari byi karhata vatirhi.
(The pushing apart of the young man of the books in the library troubles the workers).

(b) Vuphendli bya mufana bya vanhu entlangwini byi nyangatsa mufambisi.
(The pushing apart of the young man of the people disgusts the programme director).

(c) Wanuna u sola vuphendli bya mufana bya ntshungu entlangwini.
(The man condemns the pushing apart of the young man of the crowd at the function).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuphendli** (pushing apart) refers to the act of pushing of something apart in its pieces.

**Anyula** (pull/stretch apart)
A. [Actor]: muanyuri (person who pulls/stretches something apart)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muanyuri wa sindza u vavisekile rintiho. (The person who pulls apart/stretches a bracelet of brass has hurt his finger).
   (b) Muanyuri wa tintangu ta n’wana u vuya exikolweni. (The person who pulls apart/stretches the shoes of the child is coming from the school).
   (c) Wanuna u hlamula muanyuri wa sindza ra n’wana. (The woman talks to the person who pulls apart/stretches the bracelet of brass of the child).

Plural: Class 2: vaanyuri (person who pulls/stretches something apart)

The nominal muanyuri (person who pulls/stretches something apart) refers to an individual who pulls something hard apart by force, usually one whose jaws are closed tight together. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question has to be involved in the act of pulling something apart at the time of reference. Once the act of pulling something apart is over, such a nominal may no longer be referred to as muanyuri (person who pulls something apart).

Anyula (pull/stretch apart)

B. [Excessive act): rianyulo (excessive pulling/stretching apart of something)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rianyulo ra wanuna ra masindza ra hlamarisa. (The excessive pulling/stretching apart of the man of the bracelets of brass is so surprising).
   (b) Rianyulo ra mufana ra tintangu ta vana ri nyenyetsa wansati. (The excessive pulling/stretching apart of the young man of the children’s shoes annoys the woman).
   (c) Wansati u sola rianyulo ra mufana ra tintangu ta vana. (The woman disapproves of the excessive pulling/stretching apart of the young man of the shoes of the children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rianyulo (excessive pulling/stretching apart of something) denotes an excessive act of pulling something hard apart by force, usually one whose jaws are closed tight together.

Anyula (pull/stretch apart)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xianyuli (person who excessively pulls/stretches something apart)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xianyuli xa masindza xi fambile. (The person who expertly/excessively pulls/stretches the bracelets of brass is gone).
   (b) Xianyuli xa tintanghu ta vanhu xi fikile. (The person who excessively pulls/stretches people’s shoes apart has arrived).
(c) Mukhalabye u khoma xianyuli xa sindza.  
(The old man holds the person who excessively pulls/stretchesthe bracelet of brass.

Plural: Class 8: swianyuli (people who excessively pull/stretch something apart)

The nominal **xianyuli** (person who excessively pulls/stretch something apart) denotes an individual who pulls something apart with force. This nominal may be interpreted as a individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of pulling something apart with force, but the excessiveness of pulling something apart with force. This property of this individual will be associated with him irrespective of whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of pulling something apart by force or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Anyula** (pull/stretch apart)

D.  [Act]:  vuanyuli (pull/stretch apart)

Class 14:  4.  (a)  Vuanyuli bya mufana bya sindza byi hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The pulling/stretching apart of the young man of the bracelet of brass surprises people).

(b)  Vuanyuli bya mufana bya tintangu ta vana byi nyangatsa wansati.  
(The pulling/stretching apart of the young man of the children’s shoes disgusts the woman).

(c)  Wansati u vona vuanyuli bya mufana bya sindza.  
(The woman sees the pulling/stretching apart of the young man of the bracelet of brass).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuanyuli** (pulling/stretching apart) refers to the act of pulling something hard apart by force, usually one whose jaws are closed tight together.

**Hangama** (stand with wide apart legs)

A.  [Actor]:  muhangami (person who stand with wide apart legs)

Class 1:  1.  (a)  Muhangami wa ximilani u rhwalela makamba.  
(The person who stands with legs wide apart is picking up leaves).

(b)  Muhangami wa ribye u endal vutiolori.  
(The person who stands with legs wide apart is excercising).

(c)  Wanuna u ba muhangami wa swakudya.  
(The man beat up the person who stands with legs wide apart on food).

Plural: Class 2:  vahangami (person who with wide apart legs)

The nominal **muhangami** (person who with wide apart legs) refers the person who stands with wide apart legs. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the act of standing with wide apart legs. In other words, the nominal **muhangami** (person who with wide apart legs) makes reference to the defining event of standing with

...
wide apart legs. Once such an act is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to **muhangami** (person who with wide apart legs).

**Hangama** (stand with wide apart legs)

B. [Excessive act]: **rihangamo** (excessive widening one’s feet apart)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihangamo ra mufana ra swakudya ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive widening apart of the legs while standing of the young man on food annoys the man).

(b) Rihangamo ra n’wana ra mbyana ri chuhwisa wansati.
(The excessive widening apart of the legs of the child on the dog frightens the woman).

(c) Wansati u sola rihangamo ra n’wana ra ndzilo.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive widening apart of the legs of the child of the fire).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihangamo** (excessive widening one’s feet apart) denotes an act of excessive widening one’s feet apart while standing.

**Hangama** (stand with wide apart legs)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xihangami** (person who excessively widens his legs apart)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihangami xa goji xi ya entshangeni.
(The person who excessively widens his legs apart is going to the kraal).

(b) Xihangami xa swakudya xi tsema murhi.
(The person who excessively widens his legs on food is cutting the tree).

(c) Mukhalabye u tshinya xihangami xa swkudya.
(The old man is reprimanding the person who excessively widens his legs apart on food).

Plural: Class 8: **swihangami** (people who excessively widen their legs apart)

The nominal **xihangami** (person who excessively widens his legs apart) denotes an individual who excessively stands with wide apart legs. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of standing with wide apart legs and not the act thereof. This property will be associated with an individual in question whether he will be standing with wide apart legs or he will not be standing with wide apart legs at the time of reference.

**Hangama** (stand with wide apart legs)

D. [Act]: **vuhangami** (widening legs apart)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhangami bya n’wana bya ndzilo byi hlamarisa wansati.
(The widening of legs apart of the child) on the fire surprises the woman.
(b) Vuhangami bya mufana bya swakudya byi nyangatsa wanuna.
(The widening of legs apart of the young man disgusts the man).

(c) Nhswana u nyenya vuhangami bya n’wana bya ndzilo.
(The young woman dislikes the widening of legs apart of the child on the fire).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhangami** (widening legs apart) refers to the widening one’s feet apart while standing.

**Ngundzuvanya** (scatter things which were in order)

A.  [Actor]: mungundzuvanyi (scatterer of things which were in order)

Class 1: 1.  (a) Mungundzuvanyi wa swibye exitangeni u lava swakudya.
(The scatterer of things which were in order in the kitchen is looking for food).

(b) Mungundzuvanyi wa kamara ya vana u hlangane nhloko.
(The scatterer of things which were in order of the children’s room is mad).

(c) Wansati u kuma mungundzuvanyi wa swibye exitangeni.
(The woman finds the scatterer of things which were in order in the kitchen).

Plural: Class 2: vangundzuvanyi (scatterer of things which were in order)

The nominal **mungundzuvanyi** (scatterer of things which were in order) refers to an individual who noisily scatter things which were found in order as when searching for something in a hut. This nominal will be may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of noisily scattering things around is the main defining property in this nominal. Such an individual in question will no longer be referred to as **mungundzuvanyi** (scatterer of things which were in order) once the act of noisily scattering stops.

**Ngundzuvanya** (scatter things which were in order)

B.  [Excessive act]: ringundzuvanyo (excessive scattering of things which were in order)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Ringundzuvanyo ra wanuna ra swibye exitangeni ri karhata wansati.
(The excessive scattering of utensils which were in order in the kitchen worries the woman).

(b) Ringundzuvanyo ra mufana ra thulusu egirachi ri nyenyetsa tata wakwe.
(The excessive scattering of the young man of the tools which were in order in the garage annoys his father).

(c) Wansati u nyenya ringundzuvanyo ra vana ra swibye exitangeni.
(The woman dislikes the excessive scattering of the children of the utensils which were in order in the kitchen).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ringundzuvanyo** (excessive scattering of things which were in order) refers to the excessive act of noisily scattering things which were found in order as when searching for something in a hut by an individual (Ibid).
**Ngundzuvanya** (scatter things which were in order)

C. [Excessive actor]: xingundzuvanyi (person who excessively widens his legs apart)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xingundzuvanyi xa swibye exitangeni xi ya eGiyani.
(The person who excessively scatters utensils in the kitchen is going to Giyani).

(b) Xingundzuvanyi xa kamara ya vana xi hlaya phephahungu.
(The person who excessively scatters things in the room of the children is reading a newspaper).

(c) Wansati u hlongola xingundzuvanyi xa swibye exitangeni.
(The woman chases away the person who excessively scatters utensils in the kitchen).

Plural: Class 8: swingundzuvanyi (people who excessively widen their legs apart)

The nominal xingundzuvanyi (excessively scatterer of things which were in order) denotes an individual who excessively noisily scatters things which were found in order. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal the act of scattering of the individual in question will always be associated with whether he will be noisily scattering things or he will not be noisily scattering things at the time of reference, such a person will be referred to as xingundzuvanyi (excessively scatterer of things which were in order).

**Ngundzuvanya** (scatter things which were in order)

D. [Act]: vungundzuvanyi (scattering things which were in order)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vungundzuvanyi bya vana bya swibye exitangeni byi hlamarisa vayeni.
(The scattering utensils which were in order in the kitchen of the children surprises the visitors).

(b) Vungundzuvanyi bya mufana bya thulusu egirachi byi nyangatsa wanuna.
(The scattering tools which were in order in the garage of the young man disgusts the man).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vungundzuvanyi bya mufana bya thulusu ya yena.
(The man is surprised at the scattering of the tools which were in order of the young man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vungundzuvanyi (scattering things which were in order) refers to the act of noisily scattering of things which were found in order as when searching for something in a hut by an individual (Ibid).

### 6.7 DEVRBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CHANGE OF POSSESSION

Verbs of Change of Possession refer to verbs which involves the act of changing or passing over of possession, which may be animate or inanimate, from one individual to another. The possession signified in this class of verbs may be concrete or abstract. The verbs in this class generally take an object.
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**Letela** (train)

**A. [Actor]: muleteri (trainer)**

**Class 1:**
1. (a) Muleteri wa ntlangu wa xibakele u lovile.
   (The trainer of boxing has passed away).

   (b) Muleteri wa Xitsonga eYunivhesiti ya Venda u xava xinkwa eka Spar.
   (The Xitsonga lecturer of the University of Venda buys bread at Spar).

   (c) Vahlaleri va tsakela muleteri wa Cacius Baloyi.
   (Most people like the trainer of Cacius Baloyi).

**Plural: Class 2: valeteri (trainers)**

The nominal **muleteri** (trainer) refers to an individual who instruct or teach a person or animal the skills for a particular job or activity. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of training requires a skill which will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the person concerned will be engaged or not in the act of training at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **muleteri** (trainer).

**Letela** (Train)

**B. [Event]: ndzetelo (training)**

**Class 3:**
2. (a) Ndzetelo wa vanhu hi va ka Vodacom wu sungurile.
   (The training of people by Vodacom has started).

   (b) Ndzetelo wa vadyondzisi wu ta pfuxiwa etikholicyi ta dyondzo.
   (The training of teachers will be revived in the colleges of Education).

   (c) Vodacom yi ta nyika ndzetelo wa swa matirhiselo ya tiselula.
   (Vodacom will give training on the use of cellular phones).

**Plural: mindzetelo (trainings)**

The nominal **ndzetelo** (training) refers to the event of leading someone to skilled behaviour.
**Letela** (train)

C. **[Excessive act]: riletelo (excessive training)**

Class 5: 1. (a) Riletelo ra wanuna ra vafana eka ntlangu wa xibakelo ri karhata muganga. (The training of the man of the young men in boxing worries the village).

   (b) Riletelo ra kholichi ra vadyondzisi va metse ri vuyerisa tiko. (The excessive training of the college of maths teachers benefits the country).

   (c) Vavanuna va sandza riletelo ra wanuna ra vafana eka ntlangu wa karate. (The men criticize the excessive training of the man of the young men in karate).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riletelo** (excessive training) refers to the excessive instructing or teaching of a person or animal the skills for a particular job or activity

**Letela** (train)

D. **[Expert actor]: xileteri (expert trainer)**

Class 7: 1. (a) Xileteri xa ntlangu wa xibakele eGiyani xi kumile sagwadi. (The expert trainer of boxing in Giyani got an award).

   (b) Xileteri xa ntlangu wa karate xi nyamalarile. (The expert trainer of karate has disappeared).

   (c) Vanhu va khensa xileteri xa philip Ndou. (People thank the expert trainer of Phillip Ndou).

Plural: Class 8: swileteri (expert trainers)

The nominal **xileteri** (expert trainer) refers to an individual who possesses the extra-ordinary expertise of instructing or teaching a person or animal the skills for a particular job or activity. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the expertise of instructing/training which the individual in question possesses, and not the act of instructing/training per se. This property will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the person concerned will be engaged or not in the act of training at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xileteri** (expert trainer).

**Letela** (Train)

E. **[Act]: vuleteri (training)**

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuleteri bya vudyondzisi byi ta sungula lembe leri taka. (Teaching training will begin next year).

   (b) Vuleteri bya maphorisa byi ta endliwa eka swifundza hinkwaswo swa kaye. (Training of police will be conducted in all the nine provinces of the country).

   (c) Vanhu va komberiwa ku nghenelela eka vuleteri bya swa vuongori. (People are requested to participate in the training for nursing).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuleteri** (training) refers to a process of teaching or learning the skills that one needs for a job. But it may also mean a process of preparing to take part in a competition by doing physical exercises.

**Hlayisa** (keep/save money in the bank)

A.  
[Actor]: muhlayisi (money saver)  
Class 1:  
1. (a) Muhlayisi wa mali u teka mali ebangi.  
   (The money saver withdraws money from the bank).  
   (b) Muhlayisi wa mali u endlile ntswalo wo vonaka.  
   (The money saver made a lot of interest).  
   (c) Mutirhi wa le bangi u hlamusela muhlayisi hi swa vuvekisi.  
   (Bank employer explains to the money saver about investment).  

Plural: class 2: vahlayisi (money savers)

The nominal **muhlayisi** (money saver) refers to an individual who keeps the money in the bank so that he could buy a particular thing. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal, especially to someone who keeps it for a little while and then withdraws it. But for somebody who always keeps some money in the bank, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of saving money has become a permanent property of the individual in question.

**Hlayisa** (keep/save money in the bank)

B.  
[Act]: nhlayiso (saving)  
Class 3:  
2. (a) Nhlayiso wa wanuna wa mali ebangini wu tsakisa nsati wakwe.  
   (The saving of the man of the money in the bank pleases his wife).  
   (b) Nhlayiso wa mali ebangini wa pfuna eka mikarhi yo nonoha.  
   (The saving of the money in the bank helps during difficult moments).  
   (c) Muthori u tsakela nhlayiso wa mali wa mutirhi wakwe.  
   (The employer likes the saving money of his worker).  

Plural: class 4: mihlayiso (savings)

The nominal **nhlayiso** (saving) refers to the act of keeping money instead of spending it.

**Hlayisa** (keep/save money in the bank)

C.  
[Excessive act]: rihlayiso (excessive saving)  
Class 5:  
3. (a) Rihlayiso ra mali ra wanuna ri sikisa muti wa yena.  
   (Excessive saving of money of the man starves his family).  
   (b) Rihlayiso ra mali ra wansati ri kurisa bindzu ra yena.  
   (Excessive saving of money of a woman grows her business).  
   (c) Wansati u sola rihlayiso ra mali ra nuna wa yena.  
   (The woman criticises the excessive saving of money of her husband).  

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rihlayiso** (excessive saving money) refers to the act of excessive keeping money in the bank.

**Hlayisa** (keep/save money in the bank)

D.  **[Expert/Excessive actor]: xihlayisi (expert/excessively saving money person)**

Class 7:  4. (a) Xihlayisi xa mali xi bindzurisile mali yo tala.
   (The expert/excessively money saver profited a lot of money).
   (b) Xihlayisi xa mali xi teka mali ya xona ebenge.
   (The expert/excessively money saver takes his/her money in the bank).
   (c) Mutirhi wa le benge u rhoba xihlayisi xa mali cinci ya xona.
   (The bank worker robs the expert/excessively money saver his/her change).

Plural: class 8: **swihlayisi (Expert/Excessively money savers)**

The nominal **xihlayisi** (excessively money saver) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively keeps money in the bank. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is not necessarily the act of saving money, but the expertness/excessiveness of saving money. In other words, this act has formed into a habit in this person. In this case then, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of saving money or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihlayisi** (expert/excessively money saver).

**Hlayisa** (keep/save money in the bank)

E.  **[Act]: vuhlayisi (saving)**

Class 14:  5. (a) Vuhlayisi bya mali bya olova swinene.
   (The saving of money is very simple).
   (b) Vuhlayisi bya mali byi dlayisa vanhu ndlala.
   (The saving of money makes people starve).
   (c) Wanuna u venga vuhlayisi bya mali.
   (The man hates the saving of money).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlayisi** (saving money) refers to the act of keeping money in the bank.

**Vekisa** (invest)

A.  **[Actor]: muvekisi (investor)**

Class 1:  1. (a) Muvekisi u kumile ntswalo wo tala swinene.
   (The investor got a lot of interests).
   (b) Muvekisi u teka mali leyi a yi vekiseke.
   (The investor takes the money he invested).
   (c) Bangi yi rhoba muvekisi ntswalo wa yena.
   (The bank robs the investor of his interest).

Plural: class 2: **vavekisi (investors)**
The nominal **muvekisi** (investor) refers to an individual who deposit money in a bank or other financial institution in an account that pays interest. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal in the event where such an investment is for a short period of time. However, if an investment is for a lifetime, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal.

**Vekisa** (invest)

B.  
[Excessive act]:  rivekiso (Excessive investing)

Class 5:  
3.  
(a) Rivekiso ra wanuna ra mali ri sikisa muti wa yena.  
(The excessive investing of a man starves his family).

(b) Rivekiso ra mali ra wansati ri kurisa bindzu ra yena.  
(The excessive saving of a woman grows her business).

(c) Wansati u sola rivekiso ra mali ra nuna wa yena.  
(The woman criticises the investing of money of her husband).

Plural: No plural in the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivekiso** (excessive investment) refers to an act of excessive investing of money in the bank or other financial institution by an individual.

**Vekisa** (invest)

C.  
[Excessive actor]:  xivekisi (excessive investor)

Class 7:  
4.  
(a) Xivekisi xa mali xi vuyeriwile swinene.  
(The excessive investor has profited a lot).

(b) Xivekisi xa mali xi vekisile mali yo tala swinene.  
(The expert investor of money has invested lot of money).

(c) Benge yi rhoba xivekisi ntswalo wa xona.  
(The bank robs the expert investor of his/her interest).

Plural: class 8: swivekisi (expert investor)

The nominal **xivekisi** (excessive investor) refers to an individual who excessively deposit money in a bank or other financial institution in an account that pays interest. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not necessarily the act of investing, but the excessiveness of investing of the money by the individual in question.

**Vekisa** (invest)

D.  
[Event/Act]:  vuvekisi (investment/investing)

Class 14:  
5.  
(a) Vuvekisi bya mali bya pfuna eka lava holaka swimalana.  
(The investment/investing of money helps those who earn little money).

(b) Vuvekisi bya mali byi dlayisa munhu ndlala.  
(The investment/investing of money starves a person).

(c) Mutirhi wa le benge u dyondzisa vuvekisi eka vavekisi.  
(The bank worker teaches the investment/investing to the investors).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuvekisi* (investment/investing) refers to an act of investing money in the bank or other financial institution by an individual.

**Xavisa** (sell)

A.  

[Actor]: muxavisi (Seller)

Class 1:  

1. (a) Muxavisi wa mihandzu u heleriwile hi tibanana.  
   (The seller of fruits has run out of bananas).

   (b) Muxavisi u xavisa matsavu.  
   (The seller is selling vegetables).

   (c) Tikhasimende ti kwatela muxavisi wa mbangi.  
   (The customers are angry with the seller the dagga).

Plural: class 2: vaxavisi (sellers)

The nominal *muxavisi* (seller) refers to an individual who gives something to someone in exchange for money. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of selling, especially to someone who selling is not his day to day activity. However, if an individual in question sells things such as furniture as part of the activities of his job, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because selling has become part of his daily activities.

**Xavisa** (sell)

B.  

[Result]: nxaviso (sale)

Class 3:  

2. (a) Nxaviso wa swimakiwa swa Afrika-Dzonga wu ehile hi tiphesente ta nkombo.  
   (South African products are down by seven percent).

   (b) Nxaviso wa nsuku wu tlakukile hi tiphesente ta khume.  
   (The gold sale is up by ten percent).

   (c) Migodi yi tsakela nxaviso wa nsuku lowu tlakukeke hi tiphensete timbirhi.  
   (The mines like the sale of gold which went up by two percent).

Plural: class 4: mixaviso (sales)

The nominal *nxaviso* (sale) refers to the number of items sold.

**Xavisa** (sell)

C.  

[Excessive act]: rixaviso (excessive selling)

Class 5:  

3. (a) Rixaviso ra wanuna ra swiambalo ri hetile mpahla ya yena.  
   (The excessive selling of a man of clothes has finished his clothes).

   (b) Rixaviso ra miri ra vanhu va Afrika-dzonga ri onha tiko.  
   (The excessive selling of the body of people in South Africa corrupts the country).
(c) Wanuna u sungurile nakambe rixaviso ra tinhundzu.
(The man has again started the excessive selling of goods).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rixaviso** (excessive sale) refers to the act of excessive selling of things by an individual.

**Xavisa** (sell)

D.  [Expert/Excessive actor]:  xixavisi (expert/excessive seller)

Class 7:  4.  (a) Xixavisi xa mbangi xi khomiwile hi maphorisa.
(The expert/excessive seller of dagga is arrested by the police).

   (b) Xixavisi xa titanghu xi heleriwire hi xitoko.
(The expert/excessive seller of shoes has run out of stock).

   (c) Vaxavi va tsakela xixavisi lexi bazelaka.
(The buyers like the expert/excessive seller who gives them additional things).

Plural: class 8: swixavisi (expert/excessive sellers)

The nominal **xixavisi** (expert/excessive seller) refers to an individual who expertly or excessively sells things to people. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is important here is the expertness or the excessiveness of selling of this individual and not the act of selling itself. In other words, the expertise or the excessiveness of this individual in selling things will remain a permanent property of him throughout his life time.

**Xavisa** (sell)

E.  [Act]:  vuxavisi (selling)

Class 14:  5.  (a) Vuxavisi bya swiambalo bya kala ematikoxikaya.
(The selling of clothes is rare in the rural areas).

   (b) Vuxavisi bya pfuna swinene eka lava va byi kotaka.
(The selling is helpful to those who are capable of doing it).

   (c) Vavasati va kota ngopfu vuxavisi bya matsavu.
(The women are able to do the selling of vegetable).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuxavisi** (sale) refers to the act of selling things by an individual.

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**Class 1**
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Muxavisi** (seller)

```
N
  AF
    N^R
      V
        AF
          mu- -xavis- -i
```

**Class 5**
Prefix: **ri-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Rixaviso** (excessive selling)

```
N
  AF
    N^R
      V
        AF
          ri- -xavis- -o
```
Class 7
Prefix:  \textit{xi-}
Suffix:  \textit{-i}
\textbf{Xixavisi} (expert seller)

Class 9
Prefix:  \textit{-}
Suffix:  \textit{-o}
\textbf{nxaviso} (selling)

Class 14
Prefix:  \textit{vu-}
Suffix:  \textit{-i}
\textbf{Vuxavisi} (selling)
Verbs of Change of Possession

(35) Nominalization from the verb -xavisa (sell)

(vi) The verb -xavisa (sell)

Wanuna u xavisa miroho.
(The man is selling vegetables).

-xavisa

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y, z) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{xavisa} _{\text{act}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Sell – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -xavisa (sell) in (35) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that is selling and the physical object denoting the entity that is being sold. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of selling and the resultant state of selling. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_2) of the process of selling (e_1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of selling of the person (x).

(36) Nominalisation in class 1: muxavisi (seller)

Muxavisi wa miroho wa hundza.
(The seller of vegetables is passing).

muxavisi

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y, z) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{xavisa} _{\text{actor}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Sell – Actor – Human
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *muxavisi* (seller) in (30) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that is selling and the physical object denoting the entity that is being sold. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of selling and the resultant state of selling. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event ($e_2$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state ($e_2$) of the process of selling ($e_1$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of selling of the person (x).

(37) **Nominalisation in class 7: xixavisi** (excessive payer)

Xihakeri xi hlayela swikweleti swa xona.
(The excessive payer counts his accounts).

```
xixavisi
ARGSTR  = ARG1= x: person  
         = ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR   = $E_1 = e_1$: process 
         = $E_2 = e_2$: state  
         Restr = Temporally ordered  
         Head = $e_1$
QUALIA  = FORMAL = ($e_2, x, y, z$)  
         AGENTIVE = xavisa_actor_expert ($e_1, x, y$)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Sell – Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xixavisi* (expert seller) in (37) corresponds to that of *muxavisi* (seller) in (36) above. The only distinction that obtains is that *muxavisi* (seller) in (36) above lacks the feature of [expert] in its agentive quale which occurs with *xixavisi* (expert seller) in (37) above.

(38) **Nominalisation in class 5: rixaviso** (excessive selling)

Rixaviso ra wanuna ra miroho ri tsakisa vathori va yena.
(The excessive selling of the man of the vegetables pleases his employers).

```
rixaviso
ARGSTR  = ARG1= e: r   
         = D-ARG2 = x: human 
         = D-ARG3 = y: phys. obj. 
EVSTR   = D-$E_1 = e_1$: process  
         = D-$E_2 = e_1$: state 
         Restr = Temporally ordered  
         Head = $e_1$
QUALIA  = FORMAL = (er, x, y)  
         AGENTIVE = xavisa_act_excessive ($e_1, x, y$)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Sell – Excessive – Act
The lexical semantic representation of rixaviso (excessive selling) in (38) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of selling, and the physical object that is affected by the process of selling. The other argument is the reference to the act of selling. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of selling and the resultant state of selling. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event ($e_2$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state ($e_2$) of the process of selling ($e_1$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument($x$), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of selling of the person ($x$).

(39) Nominalisation in class 14: vuxavisi (selling)

Vuxavisi bya wansati bya matamatisi byi pfuna ndyangu wakwe.
(The selling of the woman of tomatoes helps her family).

```
vuxavisi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = e: r
         = D-ARG2 = x: human
         = D–ARG3 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E$_1$ = e$_1$: process
         = D–E$_2$ = e$_2$: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e$_1$
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e$_r$, x, y)
         AGENTIVE=-xavisa_act (e$_1$, x, y)
```

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Pay – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuxavisi (selling) in (39) corresponds to that of rixaviso (excessive selling) in(38) above. The only distinction that obtains is that vuxavisi (selling) in (39) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rixaviso(excessive selling in (38) above.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of change of possession verbs have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -xavisa (sell). The exception is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -letela (train), -hlayisa (keep/save money in the bank), -xavisa (sell), -hlawula (choose/select) and -hlenga (contribute/collect) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of result and/or event in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -vekisa (invest), -dyondzisa (teach), -bala (pay tax) and -hlenga (help the sick person to walk) which does not allow such a nominalization. On the other hand, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -
bala (pay tax) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the reading of result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -letela (train), -hlayisa (keep/save money in the bank), -xavisa (sell), -hlawula (choose/select) and -hlenga (contribute/collect) which does not allow such a nominalization.

Dyondzisa (teach)

A. [Actor]: mudyondzisi (teacher)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mudyondzisi u dyondzisa vadyondzi.
   (The teacher is teaching learners).
   (b) Mudyondzisi u ba vadyondzi.
   (The teacher is beating learners).
   (c) Nhloko ya xikolo yi vitana mudyondzisi ehofisini.
   (The school principal is calling the teacher in the office).

Plural: class 2: vadyondzisi (teachers)

The nominal mudyondzisi (teacher) refers to a person who gives lessons to students in a school, especially does it as a profession. This nominal is an individual-level nominal because teaching involves having certain expertise to do the job. In this case then skills will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual concerned will be engaged in the activity of teaching or he may not be engaged in it, such a person will always be referred to as mudyondzisi(teacher).

Dyondzisa (teach)

B. [Excessive act/manner]: ridyondziso (excessive teaching)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridyondziso ra mudyondzisi ra tinhlayo ri pfuna vadyondzi.
   (The excessive teaching of the teacher of maths helps the learners).
   (b) Ridyondziso ra wanuna ra mufana ra movha ri karhata n’wini wa wona.
   (The teaching of the man of the young man of the car troubles its owner).
   (c) Vadyondzi va sola ridyondziso ra mudyondzisi ra tinhalyo ninhlakani).
   (The learners criticize the teaching of the teacher of maths during the day).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ridyondziso (excessive/manner of teaching) refers to the act of teaching which is done excessively or the manner of teaching.
Dyondzisa (teach)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xidyondzisi (expert teacher)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidyondzisi xi pasisile vadyondzi hinkwavo.
(The expert teacher made his entire learners pass).

(b) Xidyondzisi xi tsala swilo swo vonaka kahle.
(The expert teacher writes things that are very clear).

(c) Vadyondzisi va tsakela xidyondzisi xa tinhlayo.
(The learners like the expert teacher of mathematics).

Plural: class 8: swidyondzisi (expert teachers)

The nominal xidyondzisi (expert teacher) refers to a person who posses extra-ordinary skills of teaching. This nominal is an individual-level nominal because the defining property of this nominal is the extra-ordinary skill of teaching which he possesses and not the act of teaching itself. In this case then the extra skills of teaching will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual concerned will be engaged in the activity of teaching or he may not be engaged in it, such a person will always be referred to as xidyondzisi (expert teacher).

Dyondzisa (teach)

D.  [Event/Act]: vudyondzisi (teaching)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vudyondzisi bya Tatana Hlungwani byi tsakisa vadyondzi.
(The teaching of Mr Hlungwani excites learners).

(b) Vudyondzisi byi holela mali yintsongo.
(The teaching profession pays little money).

(c) Vantshwa va tsakela vudyondzisi.
(The youth like the teaching profession).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudyondzisi (teaching) refers to the profession or work of a teacher. But it may also mean the act of teaching.

Hlawula (choose/select)

A.  [Actor]: muhlawuri (selector)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlawuri u vhota vandla ro kaneta.
(The selector votes the opposite party).

(b) Muhlawuri u tsakisiwa hi vandla leri a ri hlawuleke.
(The selector is pleased by the party he voted).

(c) Vanhu va sola muhlawuri eka xiboho xa yena.
(The people criticise the selector in his decision).
Plural: class 2: vahlawuri (selectors)

The nominal **muhlawuri** (selector) refers to an individual who choose someone or something from a group of people or things. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of selecting. Once such an activity is past such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhlawuri** (selector).

**Hlawula** (choose/select)

B. [Event/Result]: nhlawulo (election/selection)

Class 3:  
1. (a) Nhlawulo wa le Amerika wu fambile kahle.  
   (The American election was good).
2. (b) Nhlawulo wa le Afrika-Dzonga wu ta va kona mundziku.  
   (The South African election will be held tomorrow).
3. (c) Vanhu va tsakela nhlawulo lowu nga ta endlewa mundzuku.  
   (The people like the selection that will be done tomorrow).

Plural: class 4: mihlawulo (elections/selections)

The nominal **nhlawulo** (selection) refers to the event or process of choosing someone or something from a group of people or things. But it may also refer to a range from which somebody or something is chosen.

**Hlawula** (choose/select)

C. [Excessive act]: rihlawulo (excessive discrimination/selection)

Class 5:  
1. (a) Rihlawulo ra wanuna ra vana va yena ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.  
   (The excessive discrimination/selection of the man of his children disgusts his wife).
2. (b) Rihlawulo ra wansati ra maxaka ya nuna ri karhata nuna wakwe.  
   (The excessive discrimination/selection of the woman of the relatives of her husband troubles her husband).
3. (c) Wanuna u nyenya rihlawulo ra wansati ra maxaka ya yena.  
   (The man dislikes the excessive discrimination/selection of the woman of her relatives).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlawulo** (discrimination/excessive selection) refers to an act or process of discrimination by an individual or the act or process of excessively choosing somebody or something from a wide variety of others.
Hlawula (choose/select)

D. [Excessive actor]: xihlawuri (expert selector)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlawuri xa van’wambhuri xi ta tivisa nhwana loyi a humeleleke mundzuku. (The expert selector of beautiful girls will announce the girl who has won tomorrow).

(b) Xihlawuri xi bumabumerile nhwana loyi xi n’wi hlawuleke. (The expert selector recommended the young woman hechose).

(c) Vanhu va sola xihlawuri lexi hlawuleke vandla ro kaneta. (The people criticise the expert elector who voted the opposite party).

Plural: class 8: swihlawuri (expert electors)

The nominal xihlawuri (expert selector) refers to an individual who has an expertise of choosing an appropriate someone or something from a group of people or things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise of choosing appropriately will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, what is being modified in this nominal is the expertise of the individual concerned to choose appropriately and not the act of choosing. This means that whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of choosing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xihlawiri (expert electors).

Hlawula (choose/select)

E. [Act]: vuhwlawuri (selection)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlawuri bya leswinene byi tsakisa Xikwembu. (The selection of good things pleases God).

(b) Vuhlawuri bya leswinene bya tsakeriwa hi lavantshwa. (The selection of good things is liked by young people).

(c) Vantshwa va rhandza vuhwlawuri bya leswobiha. (The youth like the selection of bad things).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhwlawuri (selection) refers to an act or process of choosing somebody or something from a wide variety of others.

Bala (Pay tax)

A. [Actor]: mubali (tax payer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubali a nga si tlerisa tifomo eka SARS. (The tax payer has not yet returned the forms to SARS).
(b) Mubali u vilerisa hi ku tlakusiwa ka xibalo xa mafurha.
(The tax payer is troubled by the raising of the fuel tax).

(c) Vanhu va hakela xibalo eka mfumo.
(People pay tax to the government).

Plural: Class 2: vabali (tax payers)

The nominal **mubali** (tax payer) refers to an individual who pays tax to the state. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the event of paying tax happens throughout an individual’s life time. In other words, the individual in question may be regarded as a tax payer even at a time when he will not be engaged in the act of paying tax.

**Bala** (pay tax)

B.  [Excessive act]: ribalo (excessive taxpaying)

Class 5:

2.  (a) Ribalo wanuna ra xibalo lembe na lembe ri n’wi kumisile sagwadi.
(The excessive taxpaying of the man made him got an award).

(b) Ribalo ra vanhu va Afrika-Dzonga ri tiyisa ikhonomi.
(The excessive taxpaying of the people of South Africa strengthens the economy).

(c) Ndzawulo ya swa Timali yi khensa ribalo ra vanhu va Afrika-Dzonga.
(The Department of Finance appreciates the excessive taxpaying of the people of South Africa)

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribalo** (taxpaying) refers to the excessive process of paying tax to a state by an individual.

**Bala** (Pay tax)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xibali (regular/habitual tax payer)

Class 7:

2.  (a) Xibali xi tlherise khale tifomo eka SARS.
(The regular/habitual tax payer has long submitted SARS forms).

(b) Xibali xi fola layeni yo tlherisa tifomo.
(The regular/habitual tax payer joins a line for returning the forms).

(c) Vanhu va vutisa xibali matatelo ya tifomo.
(People ask the regular/habitual tax payer how to fill in the forms).

Plural: Class 8: swibali (regular/habitual tax payers)

The nominal **xibali** (regular/habitual tax payer) refers to an individual who pays his tax in time and on a regular/habitual basis. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the trait of habitual paying of tax is something inherent in this individual and it will be associated with him for
the rest of his life. In other words, he will be referred to as xibali (regular/habitual tax payer) whether he is engaged in the act of taxpaying or he is not at the time of reference.

**Bala** (Pay tax)

D. [Result]: xibalo (tax)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibalo xi ta tlakusiwa hi tiphesente timbirhi nan’waka. (The tax will be raised by two percent this year).

(b) Xibalo xa swakudya xi ta hungutiwa. (The tax on food will be reduced).

(c) Vanhu va hakela xibalo hi vhiki ro hetelela. (People pay tax during the last week).

Plural: Class 8: swibalo (taxes)

The nominal xibalo (tax) refers to a charge or other levy imposed upon a taxpayer by a state such that failure to pay is punishable by law.

**Bala** (pay tax)

E. [Act]: vubali (taxpaying)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubali byi tumbuluxa mitirho yo tala etikweni. (Taxpaying creates a lot of jobs in the country).

(b) Vubali byi nghenisa mali yo tala eka mfumo hi lembe. (Taxpaying brings a lot of money to the government in a year).

(c) SARS yi kambisisa vubali bya munhu un’wana ni un’wana. (SARS checks the taxpaying of every one)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubali (taxpaying) refers to the process of paying tax to a state by an individual.

**Hlenga** (contribute/collect)

A. [Actor]: muhlengi (contributor/collector)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlengi la tluleke hinkwavo u nyikiwile nyiko. (The contributor/collector who gave more than everyone was given a gift).

(b) Muhlengi u’nwana ni un’wana u tsarisa vito ebukwini. (Every contributor/collector records his name on a book).

(c) Vanhu va languta muhlengi la humeseke R500, 00. (The people look at the contributor/collector who gave R500, 00).

Plural: Class 2: vahlengi (contributors/collectors)

The nominal muhlengi (contributor/collectors) refers to an individual who provides money to help pay for someone or something, or to support someone or something. This nominal may be regarded as
a stage-level nominal because the determining factor in this nominal is the act of giving. In other words, once such an act has been completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhlengi** (contributor/collectors).

**Hlenga** (contribute/collect)

B.  

[Result]: nhlengo (contribution/collection)

Class 3:  2.  

(a) Nhlelengwana namuntlhanwena wutlulewa n'tolo.  
(Today’s contribution/collection is more than that of yesterday).

(b) Nhlelengwena lowu wata nyikìwa vatsonwana eRivoni.  
(This contribution/collection will be given to the disabled at Rivoningo).

(c) Murhangeri waklavantswana u yiva nhlelengwana kereke.  
(The youth leader is stealing the contribution/collection of the church).

Plural: Class 3: mihlengo (contributions/collection)

The nominal **nhlelengwana** (contribution/collection) refers to a sum of money to help pay for something.

**Hlenga** (contribute/collect)

C.  

[Excessive act]: rihlelengwana (excessive contribution/collection)

Class 5:  3.  

(a) Rihlelengwa kereke ra mali ya muako ri karhata swisiwana.  
(The excessive contribution/collection of the church of the building fund troubles the poor).

(b) Rihlelengwa tiko ra mali ya mikosi ri pfuna swisiwana.  
(The excessive contribution/collection of the money for the funerals helps the poor).

(c) Wanuna u sola rihlelengwana vamanana ra mali ya khisimusi n’hwetí yin’wana ni yin’wana.  
(The man disapproves of the excessive contribution/collection of women of Christmas fund which is done every month).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlelengwana** (excessive contribution/collection) refers to the excessive act of giving something, especially money, to help a person or an organization.

**Hlenga** (contribute/collect)

D.  

[Excessive act]: xihlengi (contributor/collector)

Class 7:  4.  

(a) Xihlelengi lexi tluleke hinkwavo xi nyikìwile nyiko.  
(The excessive contributor/collector who surpassed all was given an award).

(b) Xihlelengi xin’wana ni xin’wana xi tsarisa vito ebukwini.  
(Extraordinary contributor/collector records his name on a book).

(c) Wanhu va languta xihlengi lexi tluleke hinkwavo.  
(The people look at the excessive contributor/collector who surpassed all).
Plural: Class 8: swihlengi (excessive contributors/collector)

The nominal xihlengi (excessive contributor/collector) refers to an individual who excessively provides money to help pay for someone or something, or to support someone or something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of contribution of the individual in question and not the act of contribution itself. In other words, whether the person concerned will be engaged in the activity of contributing or not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xihlengi (excessive contributor/collector).

Hlenga (Contribute/collect)

E. [Act]: vuhlengi (contribution/collection)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuhlengi endlwinini ya Hosi byi tisa mikateko. (Contribution in the house of the Lord brings blessings).

(b) Vuhlengi eka projeke yo aka xikolo byi ta pfala mundzuku. (Contribution in the project of building the school will close tomorrow).

(c) Vanhu va nyenyetsa hi vuhlengi bya mali ya xikolo nkarhi na nkarhi. (People are annoyed by contribution the school fees every time).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlengi (contribution/collection) refers to the act of giving something, especially money, to help a person or an organization.

6.8 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF OBTAINING

Verbs of Obtaining are defined by Levin (1995: 142) as verbs which participate in the benefactive alternation. He asserts that these verbs take a benefactive argument that can be expressed as the first object in the double object construction or in a for preposition. According to Levin (op cit) this class of verbs includes verbs which express the notion of obtaining in their basic sense and those which express the notion of obtaining in their extended sense, since in terms of their basic sense the latter also belong to another subset of verbs such as steal verbs or kill verbs. However, in this section only the verbs of obtaining which express the notion of obtaining in their basic meaning will be considered. All these verbs take two arguments, of which the subject argument is typically a huma argument whereas the object argument may be an inanimate or inanimate entity.
### Xava (Buy)

**A. [Actor]: muxavi (buyer)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Muxavi u hlayela cinci ya yena.
   (The buyer counts his change).

   (b) Muxavi u teka ntsena leswi tsariweke eka nongonoko.
   (The buyer takes only what is written on the list).

   (c) Muxavisi u komba muxavi swilo leswi chipisiweke.
   (The sales person shows the buyers things which are on sale).

Plural: Class 2: vaxavi (buyers)

The nominal **muxavi** (buyer) refers to an individual who pays money for something in order to obtain it. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of buying. Once such act is completed, an individual concerned may no longer be referred to as **muxavi** (buyer).

### Xava (Buy)

**B. [Result]: nxavo (cost/price)**

Class 3: 2. (a) Nxavo wa swakudya wu ehlile.
   (The cost of food has gone down).

   (b) Nxavo wa mafurha wu ta tlakuka vhiki leritaka.
   (The price of fuel will increase next week).

   (c) Wanuna u vutisa nxavo wa buku eka muxavisi.
   (The man asks the price of the book from the sales person).

Plural: Class 4: mixavo (prices)

The nominal **nxavo** (cost/price) refers to the amount of money that a person needs in order to buy something.
**Xava (Buy)**

C.  [Excessive act]: rixavo (excessive buying)

Class 5:  3.  (a) Rixavo ra wanuna ra timovha ta khale ri nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The excessive buying of the man of old cars annoys his children).

(b) Rixavo ra wanuna ra mpahla ri tsakisa vavasati.
(The excessive buying of the man of the clothes pleases women).

(c) Wansati u nyenya rixavo ra wanuna ra vhanichara yak hale.
(The woman hates the excessive buying of the man of old furniture).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rixavo (excessive buying) refers to the act of excessive buying of something by an individual.

**Xava (Buy)**

D.  [excessive actor]: xixavi (excessive buyer)

Class 7:  4.  (a) Xixavi xi xavile timovha timbirhi tolo.
(The excessive buyer bought two cars yesterday).

(b) Xixavi xi xavile swakudywa swo tala.
(The excessive buyer has bought much food).

(c) Wanuna u susumetela xixavi xigolonyana exitolo.
(The man pushes the trolley for the excessive buying person in the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swixavi (excessive buyers)

The nominal xixavi (excessive buyer) refers to an individual who excessively or regularly buys something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of buying of the individual concerned and not the act of buying itself. In other words, whether the person in question will or will not be engaged in the activity of buying at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xixavi (excessive buyer).

**Xava (Buy)**

C.  [Act]: vuxavi (buying)

Class 14:  5.  (a) Vuxavi bya swiambalo byi tlakuka hi nkarhi wa N’wendzamhala.
(The buying of clothes increases during December).

(b) Vuxavi bya timovha byi yile ehansi hi nhweti ya Sunguti.
(The buying of cars declined during the month of January).

(c) Mfumo wu hlohotela vuxavi bya swimakiwa swa laha tikweni.
(The government encourages the buying of local products).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal vuxavi (buying) refers to the act of buying something by an individual.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
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<td>xiveleki</td>
<td>vuveleki</td>
</tr>
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</table>

**Class 1**

Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Muxavi** (buyer)

```
N

AF     N^R

    V     AF

mu-  -xav-  -i
```

**Class 3**

Prefix: **n-**
Suffix: **-o**

**nxavo** (cost/price)

```
N

AF     N^R

    V     AF

n-  -xav-  -o
```
Class 5
Prefix:  ri-
Suffix:  -o
Rixavo (excessive buying)

\[ \text{N} \]
\[ \text{AF} \]
\[ \text{V} \]
\[ \text{AF} \]
\[ \text{ri-} \]
\[ \text{-xav-} \]
\[ \text{-o} \]

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -i
Xixavi (excessive buyer)

\[ \text{N} \]
\[ \text{AF} \]
\[ \text{V} \]
\[ \text{AF} \]
\[ \text{xi-} \]
\[ \text{-xav-} \]
\[ \text{-i} \]

Class 14
Prefix:  vu-
Suffix:  -i
Vuxavi (buying)

\[ \text{N} \]
\[ \text{AF} \]
\[ \text{V} \]
\[ \text{AF} \]
\[ \text{vu-} \]
\[ \text{-xav-} \]
\[ \text{-i} \]
Verbs of Obtaining

(40) Nominalization from the verb -xava (buy)

(vii) The verb –xava (buy)

Wanuna u xava xinkwa.
(The man is buying bread).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-xava} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E}_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= \text{E}_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{-xava}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Buy – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -xava (buy) in (40) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that is buying and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of buying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of buying and the resultant state of buying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of buying (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of buying of the person (x).

(41) Nominalisation in class 1: muxavi (buyer)

Muxavi u languta vhanichara leyi a yi xaveke.
(The buyer looks at the furniture which he bought).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muxavi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E}_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= \text{E}_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{-xava}_\text{actor} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Buy – Actor – Human
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal 

**muxavi** (buyer) in (41) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that is buying and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of buying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of buying and the resultant state of buying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \( e_2 \). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \( e_2 \) of the process of buying \( e_1 \). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument \( x \), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of buying of the person \( x \).

**Nominalisation in class 7: xixavi** (excessive buyer)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xixavi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \neg\text{xava\_actor\_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Buy – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xixavi** (excessive buyer) in (42) is similar to that of **muxavi** (buyer) in (41) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in **xixavi** (excessive buyer) which is absent in **muxavi** (buyer).

**Nominalisation in class 5: rixavo** (excessive buying)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rixavo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} =(e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \neg\text{xava\_act\_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Buy – Excessiveness – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rixavo* (excessive buying) in (43) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of buying, and the physical object that is affected by the process of buying. The other argument is the reference to the act of buying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of buying and the resultant state of buying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \(e_2\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_2\) of the process of buying \(e_1\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument \(x\), and the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of buying of the person \(x\).

**Nominalisation in class 14: vuxavi (buying)**

Vuxavi bya wanuna bya nhundzu ya le ndlwini byi tsakisa nsati wakwe.
(The buying of the man of house goods pleases his wife).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vuxavi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
&\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
&\text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
&\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{xava}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Buy – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vuxavi* (buying) in (44) is similar to that of *rixavo* (excessive buying) in (43) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in *rixavo* (excessive buying) in (43) above which is absent in *vuxavi* (buying) in (44) above.

**Nominalisation in class 3: nxavo (cost/price)**

Nxavo wa swakudy wa ehlile.
(The cost of food has gone down).
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nxavo (cost/price) in (45) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of buying, and the physical object that is affected by the process of buying. The other argument is the reference to the act of buying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of buying and the resultant state of buying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of buying (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agentive quale represents the resulting act (process) of buying of the person (x).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of the verbs of obtaining exhibits similar lexical semantic representations to that of nxavo (buy). The only exception is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -kha (pick) and -hlula (win) does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hola (receive payment) and -veleka (give birth), which just like in the case of nxavo (buy), permits such a nominalization with the reading of result or event.

Hola (Receive payment)

A. [Actor]: muholi (payee/earner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muholi wa mali ya kokwana u lovile.
(The one receiving payment of my grandmother’s old age grant has passed away).

(b) Muholi un’wana na un’wana u hakela mali ya xibalo.
(Each and every payee pays tax).

(c) Kokwana va mangalerile muholi wa mali ya vona eka social worker.
(My grandmother has reported the receiver of her money to the social worker).

Plural: Class 2: vaholi (payees)
The nominal **muholi** (earner/payee) refers to an individual who receives money for the job that he does. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal, especially for a person who is on a short term contract. However, the very nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal for somebody who is appointed permanently, who earns money monthly.

**Hola** (Receive payment)

B.  
[Result]: muholo (payment)

Class 3:  
2. (a) Muholo wa vatirhelamfumo wu ta tlakusiwa hi tiphesente ta nhungu.  
(The salary of the civil servants will be increased by eight percent).

(b) Muholo wa lava nga eka xitereko wu ta hungutiwa.  
(The wage of those who are in the strike will be reduced).

(c) Wanuna u yiva muholo wa wansati.  
(The man steals the wage of the woman).

Plural: Class 3: miholo (payments)

The nominal **muholo** (payment) refers to the money that someone earns for the job that he does. But it may also refer to a reward or punishment given in return for something.

**Hola** (Receive payment)

C.  
[Excessive act]: riholo (excessive earning)

Class 5:  
3. (a) Riholo ra wansati ra mali ya kokwana ri nyenyetsa vamakhelwana.  
(The excessive earning of the woman of the money of the grandmother annoys the neighbours).

(b) Riholo ra mufana ra mali ya mufi ri hlundzukisa vamakwenu vakwe.  
(The excessive earning of the young man of the money of the deceased makes his siblings angry).

(c) Vandla ro kokela thelo ri sola riholo ra vanhwanyana ra mali ya nhlayiso wa vana.  
(The opposition party criticizes the excessive of the young women of the child support grant).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riholo** (excessive payment) refers to the act of excessive earning of money by someone who did some work for an individual.

**Hola** (Receive payment)

D.  
[Excessive actor]: xiholi (excessive payee/earner)

Class 7:  
4. (a) Xiholi xa le P.M.C. xi xave bazi.  
(The excessive payee/earner of P.M.C. bought a bus).
(b) Xiholi xi xavele xikolo tikhomphyuta.
(The excessive payee/earner bought computers for the school).

(c) Wanuna u sandza xiholi xo ka xi nga pfuni van’wana.
(The man criticizes the excessive payee/earner that does not help others).

Plural: Class 8: swiholi (excessive payees/earners)

The nominal xiholi (excessive payee/earner) refers to an individual who receives huge money for the job that he does. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining element in this nominal is not the act of earning, but the hugeness of the mount he earns. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of receiving money or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as xiholi (excessive payee/earner).

Hola (Receive payment)

E. [Act]: vuholi (payment/paying)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuholi bya vana bya mudende byi famba kahle.
(Payment/paying of the children’s grant goes well).

(b) Vuholi bya mali ya midende ya vana byi sungula ka ha ri mixo.
(Payment/paying of the children’s grant begins very early).

(c) Vanhwanyana va tsakela vuholi bya mali ya mudende wa vana.
(Girls like the payment/paying of the children’s grant).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuholi (payment/paying) refers to the act of earning money by someone who did some work for an individual.

Kha (pick fruit/vegetable)

A. [Actor]: mukhi (picker of fruit/vegetable)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhi u khandziya nsinya wa lamula.
(The fruit picker is climbing the tree of oranges).

(b) Mukhi wa miroho u nghena exirhapeni.
(The vegetable picker enters the garden).

(c) Kokwana u huwelela mukhi wa miroho.
(The grandmother screams to the vegetable picker).

Plural: class 2: vakhi (pickers of vegetables/fruits)

The nominal mukhi (picker of vegetables/fruits) refers to a person who removes a flower, fruit or vegetable from the plant or tree where they are growing. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of picking something takes place for a particular period of time.
Kha (pick fruit/vegetable)

B. [Excessive act]: rikho (excessive picking of fruit/vegetable)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikho ra wansati ra malamula ri tsakisa muthori wa yena.  
(The excessive picking of the woman of the oranges pleases his employer.  

(b) Rikho ra khamba ra miroho ri vilerisa wansati.  
(The excessive picking of the woman of the vegetables worries the woman).  

(c) Wanuna u sola rikho ra wansati ra miroho.  
(The man disapproves of the excessive picking of the woman of the vegetables).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikho (excessive picking up of vegetables/fruits) refers to an act of excessive picking up of vegetables or fruits by an individual.

Kha (pick fruits)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikhi (excessive picker of fruit)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhi xa malamula xi wile emurhini.  
(The excessive fruit picker of the oranges fell from the tree).  

(b) Xikhi xi kulula tidiriva ensinyeni.  
(The fruit excessive picker removes with a sliding movement of hand grapes from the tree).  

(c) N’wamapurasi u hlongola xikhi lexi yiveke malamula epurasini.  
(The farmer fires the fruit picker who stole oranges in the farm).

Plural: class 8: swikhi (excessive pickers of fruits)

The nominal xikhi (expert/excessive picker of vegetables/fruits) refers to a person who expertly or excessively removes a flower, fruit or vegetable from the plant or tree where they are growing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertness or excessiveness of the individual in question in picking fruits which will remain his permanent property.

Kha (pick fruit)

D. [Act]: vukhi (picking of fruit)

Class 14: 4. (a)Vukhi bya mihandzu i ntirho lowu kotiwaka ngopfu hi vavanuna.  
(The picking of fruits is the work that men are capable of).  

(b) Vukhi bya mihandzu byi tikela vavasati.  
(The picking of fruits is difficult to women).  

(c) Wanuna u rhandzu vukhi bya mihandzu.  
(The man likes the picking of fruits).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhi** (picking vegetables/fruits) refers to an act of picking up vegetables or fruits by an individual.

**Hlula (win)**

**A.** [Actor]: muhluri (winner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhluri u kumile sagwadi.
(The winner got an award).

(b) Muhluri u ta tlhela a nghenelela mphikizano.
(The winner will enter the competition again).

(c) Vakondleteri va mphikizano va holela muhluri.
(The owners of the competition pay the winner).

Plural: class 2: vahluri (winners)

The nominal **muhluri** (winner) refers to a person who wins a competition or contest. This nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act/result of winning. A few days after the event such an individual will no longer be referred to as **muhluri** (winner).

**Hlula (win)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: rihlulo (excessive winning)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlulo ra mufana ra vabi va xibakele ri n’wi dumisile.
(The excessive winning of the young man of the boxers made him popular).

(b) Rihlulo ra vakriste ra miringo ri tsakisa Xikwembu.
(The excessive overcoming of the Christians of the temptations pleases God.).

(c) Wanuna u sandza rihlulo ra Chiefs ra Pirates.
(The man criticises the excessive defeat of Chiefs of Pirates).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlulo** (excessive win) refers to the act of excessively achieving victory, or to get something for defeating other competitors.

**Hlula (win)**

**C.** [Expert/Excessive actor]: xihluri (expert/excessive winner)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihluri xi tlerile xi humelela nakambe.
(The expert/excessive winner has won again).

(b) Xihluri xi tirlha tindlela ta vuthlari entlangwini.
(The expert/excessive winner uses wise methods in game).
(c) Ntlangu wu olovela xihluri.
(The game is simple for the expert/excessive winner).

Plural: class 8: swihluri (expert/excessive winners)

The nominal xihluri (expert/excessive winner) refers to a person who regularly wins a competition or contest. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of the winning of the individual in question which has become the permanent property of the individual.

Hlula (win)

D. [Act]: vuhluri (winning)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhluri eka mitlangu byi lava ku tikarhata.
(The winning in the games needs diligence).

(b) Vuhluri eka swa mitlangu byi olovela vanhu va vulhari.
(The winning in games is simple for intelligent people).

(c) Vatlangi va tikarhatela vuhluri eka ntlangu wa vona.
(The player work hard for winning in their game).

Plural: no plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhluri (win) refers to the act of achieving victory, or to get something for defeating other competitors.

Veleka (give birth)

A. [Actor]: muveleki (birth giver)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muveleki wa vaviseka hi hanyelo ro biha ra n’wana wa yena.
(The birth giver is hurt by his child’s bad behaviour).

(b) Muveleki u amukeriwile ekamareni ra vayimani ra xibedhlele.
(The birth giver is admitted in the labour ward).

(c) Vaongori va pfuna muveleki loyi a tshunxekaka.
(The nurses help the birth giver who is delivering).

Plural: class 2: vaveleki (birth givers)

The nominal muveleki (birth giver/parent) refers to a parent; a person who has given birth to children. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal, especially when it applies to woman who has just given birth to a baby because the defining property in this case will be the act of giving birth of the individual concerned. However, when it applies to just a parent in general, this nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the parenthood of an individual in question and not the act of giving birth per se. in other words, everyone who has children
is referred to as a **nuveleki** (giving birth person/parent), but not implying that the person in question is in the process of giving birth at that particular time.

**Veleka** (give birth)

B. [Result]: mbeleko (capacity to conceive)

Class 3:  2. (a) Mbeleko wa wansati wu pfariwile.
(The capacity to conceive of the woman has been stopped).

(b) Mbeleko wu tseme mubya.
(Person leads a bad life contrary to that of the parents.) (Proverb)

(c) Wansati u pfarislile mbeleko eka dokodela.
(The woman has stopped her capacity to conceive at the doctor).

Plural: class 4: mimbeleko (capacities to conceive)

The nominal **mbeleko** (capacity of giving birth) refers to the capacity of a person to conceive.

C. [Excessive act]: riveleko (excessive giving birth)

Class 5:  3. (a) Riveleko ra wansati ra vana va vafana ri tsakisa nuna wa yena.
(The excessive giving birth of the woman of the boys pleases his husband).

(b) Riveleko ra wansati ra swilema ri nyumisa nuna wa yena.
(The excessive giving birth of the woman of the disabled children embarrasses her children).

(c) Wanuna u sandza riveleko ra wansati ra swilema.
(The man criticizes the excessive giving birth of the woman of the disabled children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riveleko** (giving birth) refers to the process of excessively having a baby or young emerging from the womb.

**Veleka** (give birth)

D. [Excessive actor]: xiveleki (excessive birth giver)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xiveleki xi kumile n’wana wa jaha.
(The excessive birth giver got a boy child).

(b) Xiveleki xi na vana va khume.
(The excessive birth giver has ten children).

(c) Vaongori va tshuxa xiveleki lexi teke tolo exibedlhele.
(The nurses discharge the excessive birth giver who came to hospital yesterday).

Plural: class 8: swiveleki (excessive birth givers)
The nominal *xiveleki* (excessive birth giver) refers to a parent or a person who excessively gives or has given birth to many children. This nominal may be treated as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of giving birth of the individual in question and not necessarily the act of giving birth itself.

**Veleka** (give birth)

E. [Act]: vuveleki (giving birth)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuveleki bya majaha bya wansati byi tsakisa nuna wa yena.
(The giving birth of boys of the woman pleases her husband).

(b) Vuveleki bya majaha byi tsakisa wansati.
(The giving birth of boys pleases the woman).

(c) Wanuna u venga vuveleki bya vana va vanhwana bya wansati.
(The man hates the giving birth of female children of the woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuveleki* (giving birth) refers to the process of having a baby or young emerging from the womb.

6.9 **DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CONTACT BY IMPACT**

Verbs of Contact by Impact are defined by Levin (1995: 150) as the verbs which involve moving one entity to bring it into contact with another entity, but does not necessarily entail that this contact has any effect on the second entity. According Levin (op cit) these verbs participate in the *with/against* alternation and that some of them allow unintentional as well as intentional action interpretations with body-part or reflex object in the *with* variant. Levin argues that these verbs seem to overlap greatly with the verbs of sound emission since there are sounds that can be produced by contact through motion. He further states that some of the *hit* verbs are found with the preposition *on* rather than, or *at* in the conative construction.

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</table>
**Hula (Thresh)**

A. [Actor]: muhulí (thresher)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhulí wa mavele ya kokwana u ta ta namuntlha.
   (The thresher of the maize of the grandmother will come today).

   (b) Muhulí u humesa mavele exitlatini.
   (The thresher takes out maize from the barn).

   (c) Manana va komba muhulí saka ro chela mavele.
   (My mother shows the thresher the bag for putting in maize).

Plural: Class 2: vahulí (threshers)

The nominal *muhulí* (thresher) refers to an individual who separate the seed of a harvested plant from the straw and chaff, husks, or other residue using a machine or by hitting it with a flail. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the determining factor in this nominal is the act or process of threshing. Once the act is completed an individual in question may no longer be referred to as *muhulí* (thresher).

**Hula (Thresh)**

B. [Actor]: rihuló (excessive threshing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihuló ra wansati ra mavele ri tsakisa vingi va yena.
   (The excessive threshing of the woman of the mealies pleases his parents-in-law).

   (b) Rihuló ra wansati ra tinyawa ra n’wi vabyisa.
   (The excessive threshing of the woman of the beans makes her ill).

   (c) Manana hlamala rihuló ra wansati ra tinyawa.
   (My mother is surprised at the excessive threshing of the woman of the beans).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihuló* (excessive threshing) refers to the act or process of excessive threshing by an individual.

**Hula (Thresh)**

C. [Actor]: xihulí (expert thresher)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihulí xa tinyawa xa vabya.
   (The expert thresher of the beans is ill).

   (b) Xihulí xi humesa mavele exitlatini.
   (The expert thresher takes out maize from the barn).

   (c) Manana va khensa xihulí xa mavele yakwe.
   (My mother gives thanks to the expert thresher of her maize).

Plural: Class 8: swihulí (expert threshers)
The nominal **xihuli** (expert thresher) refers to an individual who has an expertise of separating the seed of a harvested plant from the straw and chaff, husks, or other residue using a machine or by hitting it with a flail. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertise of the individual in question of threshing and not the act of threshing per se. In other words, whether the individual concerned will be engaged in the act of threshing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihuli** (expert thresher).

**Hula (Thresh)**

D. [Artifact]: **xihulo** (flail)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihulo xa manana xi lombiwe hi vamakhelwana. (My mother’s flail has been borrowed by our neighbours).

(b) Xihulo xa nsimbi xi tsakeriwa ngopfu hikuva xi tiyile. (Metal flail is liked the most because it is durable).

(c) Vanhu vo tala a va xi tivi xihulo xa mhandzi. (Most people do not know the wooden flail).

Plural: Class 8: **swihulo** (flails)

The nominal **xihulo** (flail) refers to a manual threshing implement consisting of a wooden handle attached to a free swinging wooden or metal bar.

**Hula (Thresh)**

E. [Act]: **vuhuli** (threshing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhuli bya mavele byi endliwa hi vavasati. (The threshing of the maize is done by the women).

(b) Vuhuli bya mavele byi lava vanhu lava ha tiyek. (The threshing of maize needs people who are still strong).

(c) Vana va masiku lawa va nyenya vuhuli bya mavele. (Today’s children dislike threshing of maize)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhuli** (threshing) refers to the act or process of threshing by an individual.
### Class 1
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Muhuri** (thresher)

```
  N
 / \                     / \                     / \                     / \
AF   NR                  V   AF                  V   AF                  V   AF
   / \                    / \                    / \                    / \
mu-  -huri-  -i          mu-  -huri-  -i          mu-  -huri-  -i          mu-  -huri-  -i
```

### Class 5
Prefix: **ri-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Rihulo** (excessive threshing)

```
  N
 / \                     / \                     / \                     / \
AF   NR                  V   AF                  V   AF                  V   AF
   / \                    / \                    / \                    / \
ri-  -ji;  -o           ri-  -ji;  -o           ri-  -ji;  -o           ri-  -ji;  -o
```
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xihuri (expert thresher)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
Xihulo (flail)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
Vuhuli (threshing)
Verbs of Contact by Impact

**Nominalization from the verb -hula** (thresh)

Wansati u hula mavele.
(The woman is threshing mealies).

\[-hula\]

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E₁ = e₁: process
= E₂ = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e₂, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -hula_act (e₁, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts**: Thresh – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -hula (thresh) in (46) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the first one is the human argument which performs the act of threshing and the second one is the physical object representing the entity which is affected by the process of threshing. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of threshing and the resultant state of threshing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of threshing (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of threshing of the person (x).

**Nominalisation in class 1: muhuli** (thresher)

Muhuri wa mavele ya kokwana u ta ta namuntlha.
(The thresher of the maize of the grandmother will come today).

\[muhuli\]

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E₁ = e₁: process
= E₂ = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e₂, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -hula_actor (e₁, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts**: Thresh – Actor – Human
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *muhuli* (threshing person) in (47) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the first one is the human argument which performs the act of threshing and the second one is the physical object representing the entity which is affected by the process of threshing. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of threshing and the resultant state of threshing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state of threshing (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of threshing of the person (x).

(48) Nominalisation in class 7: *xihuli* (expert thresher)
Xihuli xa mavele xa vabya.
(The expert thresher of mealies is sick).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xihuli} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-hula\_actor\_expert} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Thresh – Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xihuli* (expert thresher) in (48) is similar to that of *muhuli* in (47) above. The only distinction relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [expert] in (48), which is absent, in (47).

(49) Nominalisation in class 5: *rihulo* (excessive threshing)
Rihulo ra wansati ra mavele ri tsakisa vingi vakwe.
(The excessive threshing of the woman of the mealies pleases his parents-in-law).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rihulo} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = e; r \\
& = \text{D-ARG2} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D-ARG3} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (er, x, y) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-ava\_act\_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Thresh – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rihulo* (excessive threshing) in (49) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of dividing, and the physical object. The other argument is the reference of the act of dividing. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of threshing and the resultant state of threshing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of threshing (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of threshing of the person (x).

(50) Nominalisation in class 14: *vuhuli* (threshing)

[Vuhuli bya mavele byi endliwa hi vavasati.  
(The threshing of the maize is done by the women).]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vuhuli} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
&= \text{D-ARG2} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D-ARG3} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= \text{D-E2} = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (er, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{ava}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Thresh – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vuhuli* (threshing) in (50) is similar to that of *rihulo* (excessive threshing) in (49) above. The only difference relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in *rihulo* (excessive threshing) in (49) above which is lacking with *vuhuli* (threshing) in (50) above.

(51) Nominalisation in class 7: *xihulo* (flail)

[Xihulo xa manana xi lombiwe hi vamakhelwana.  
(My mother’s flail has been borrowed by our neighbours).]
The lexical semantic representation of xihulo (flail) in (51) is corresponds to that of vuhuli (threshing) in (50) above. The only difference relates to the formal quale which specifies the feature [act] with vuhuli (threshing) in (50) above whereas it specifies artifact or instrument with xihulo (flail) in (51) above.

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of obtaining have similar lexical semantic representation to that of hula (thresh). The exception is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb tlumba (hit) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument, as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs kanda (pound), phakata (slap), faya (break), pandza (divide by cutting), tova (claw), tlhava (stab) and luma (bite) which does not allow such a nominalization. It is interesting to note that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb balesa (shoot) is the only one in this sub-set of verbs which permits a nominalisation in class 7 with the suffix -a in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs hula (thresh) and tlumba (hit) which disallows a nominalization in class 7 with a suffix -a. However, the deverbative from the verb balesa (shoot) retains the same meaning of artifact/instrument as that of the deverbatives from the verbs hula (thresh) and tlumba (hit) with a suffix -a. Another observation is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb tlhava (stab) permits a nominalization in class 9 with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs hula (thresh), balesa (shoot), tlumba (hit), kanda (pound), phakata (slap), faya (break as glass), pandza (divide by cutting), tova (claw) and luma (bite) in this sub-set of verbs of obtaining which does not allow such a nominalization.

Balesa (Shoot)

A. [Actor]: mubalesi (shooter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubalesi wa tindlopfu u khomiwile.
   (The shooter of elephants has been arrested).
(b) Mubalesi wa wansati u tisungile.
   (The shooter of the woman has committed suicide).

(c) Vanhu va lava mubalesi wa wansati enhoveni.
   (The people are searching the shooter of the woman in the bush)

Plural: Class 2: vabalesi (shooters)

The nominal mubalesi (shooter) refers to an individual who fires a gun with a bullet at something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal; especially to a person who is not doing it as his duty because he is only referred to as mubalesi (shooter) at the time in which he is engaged in the act of shooting. But for an individual whose career is to shoot, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the shooting will be associated with him for a longer time. In other words, whether he will be engaged in the act of shooting or he will not be engaged in it at the time of reference such an individual will always be referred to as mubalesi (shooter).

**Balesa (Shoot)**

B. [Excessive act]: ribaleso (excessive shooting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribaleso ra wanuna ra swiharhi ri hlundzukisa vahlayisi va ntumbuluko.
   (The excessive shooting of the man of animals angers Nature conservers).

(b) Ribaleso ra maphorisa ra swigevenga ri hunguta vukhamba.
   (The excessive shooting of the police of the criminals reduces theft).

(c) Mfumo wu nyenya ribaleso ra swigevenga ra vanhu.
   (The government dislikes the excessive shooting of the criminals of the people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribaleso (excessive shooting) refers to the act of shooting at something by an individual which is done excessively.

**Balesa (Shoot)**

C. [Expert/Notorious actor]: xibalesi (expert/notorious shooter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibalesi xa varhandzani edorobeni xi tinyiketile emaphoriseni.
   (The expert/notorious shooter of lovers in town has handed himself to the police).

(b) Xibalesi xa lembe evuphoriseni xi nyikiwa sagwati.
   (The expert/notorious shooter of the year in the police is given an award).

(c) Vanhu va tumbela xibalesi exitolo.
   (The people are hiding from the expert/notorious shooter in the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swibalesi (Expert/notorious shooters)

The nominal xibalesi (expert/notorious shooter) refers to an individual who has an extra-ordinary skill of firing a gun with a bullet at something. But it may also refer to an individual who fires randomly at
the people who have not done a thing to him. This nominal may be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the shooting will be associated with him for his entire life. In other words, whether he will be engaged in the act of shooting or he will not be engaged in it at the time of reference such an individual will always be referred to as **mubalesi** (shooter). What is important here is the expertise or the notoriousness of the individual in question, and not the act itself.

**Balesa (Shoot)**

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: xibalesa (rifle)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xibalesa xa tatana xi yiviwile.  
(The rifle of my father is stolen).

   (b) Xibalesa xa swiharhi xi kumeka eka NTK.  
(The rifle of animals is obtainable from NTK).

   (c) Wanuna u languta xibalesa exitolo.  
(The man looks at the rifle in the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swibalesa (rifles)

The nominal **xibalesa** (rifle) refers to a rifled bore, designed to be fired from the shoulder. This nominal has a reading of artifact/instrument because it is a man-made object and is something that is used for shooting things.

**Balesa (Shoot)**

E. [Event/Act]: vubalesi (shooting)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vubalesi bya swiharhi i nandzu lowukulu eAfrika-Dzonga.  
(The shooting of animals is a serious offence in South Africa).

   (b) Vubalesi bya tindlovu byi sungula nimixo.  
(The shooting of elephantss begins in the morning).

   (c) i. Wanuna u dyondzela vubalesi eGiyani.  
(The man is learning shooting at Giyani).

   ii. Wanuna u dyondza vubalesi eGiyani.  
(The man learns shooting at Giyani).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vubalesi** (shooting) refers to the act of shooting something by an individual using a rifle. But it may also refer to the training for shooting.
Tlumba (hit)

A. [Actor]: mutlumbi (hitting person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlumbi u tlumba pala ya gezi.
(The hitting person is hitting the electricity pole).

(b) Mutlumbi u onhile khumbi leri a ri tlumbeke hi movha.
(The hitting person has destroyed the wall he hit by car).

(c) Movha wu manyile mutlumbi milenge.
(The car has squeezed the hitting person the legs).

Plural: class 2: vatlumbi (hitting persons)

The nominal mutlumbi (hitting person) refers to an individual who comes into violent contact with something. But it may also denote a person who crashes a speeding car he is driving into something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of hitting which may last for a few minutes. In other words, once the act of hitting has passed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as mutlumbi (hitting person).

Tlumba (hit)

B. [Excessive act]: ritolumbo (excessive hitting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritolumbo ra wanuna ra timbuti ta vanhu ri n’wi khomisile.
(The excessive hitting of the man of other people’s goats got him arrested).

(b) Ritolumbo ra wansati ra gede ri n’wi bisile hi nuna wakwe.
(The excessive hitting of the woman of the gate got her beaten by her husband).

(c) Wanuna u sola ritolumbo ra wansati ra gede.
(The man condemns the excessive hitting of the woman of the gate).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritolumbo (excessive hitting) refers to the excessive act of coming into violent contact with someone or something.

Tlumba (hit)

C. [Excessive actor]: xitlumbi (excessive hitter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitlumbi xi rihela vinyi va yindlu leyi xi yi tlumbeke.
(The excessive hitter compensates the owners of the house he hit).

(b) Xitlumbi xi lunghisa movha leyi xi yi tlumbeke.
(The excessive hitter is fixing the car which he bumped agaisist).

(c) Maphorisa va tekela xitlumbi pfumelelo wo chayela.
(The police officers take for the excessive hitter a driver’s Licence).

Plural: class 8: switlumbi (excessive hitter)
The nominal xitlumbi (excessive hitting person) refers to an individual who regularly comes into violent contact with something, or a person who regularly crashes a speeding car he is driving into something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of hitting, but the excessiveness of hitting. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of hitting or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitlumbi (excessive hitting person).

**Tlumba (hit)**

D.  [Artefact/Instrument]:  xitlumbo (bull bar)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xitlumbo xa movha ya Magezi xi potsekile.  
(The bull bar of Magezi’s car has been bent).

(b) Xitlumbo xa movha xi ponise Tsatsawana eka khombo ra movha.  
(The bull bar of the car has saved Tsatsawana from the car accident).

(c) Wanuna u vekela xitlumbo eka movha wa yena.  
(The man installs the bull bar on his car).

Plural: class 8: switlumbo (bull bars)

The nominal xitlumbo (bull bar) refers to a set of strong metal bars fixed to the front of a vehicle to protect it from damage.

**Tlumba (hit)**

E.  [Act]:  vutlumbi (hitting)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vutlumbi bya mimovha byi tele emagondzweni.  
(The hitting of cars is too much on the roads).

(b) Vutlumbi bya mimovha byi teka vutomi bya vanhu.  
(The hitting of cars takes people’s lives).

(c) Vanhu va chava vutlumbi bya mimovha.  
(The people fear the hitting of cars).

Plural: No plural in class 1 4 nouns.

The nominal vutlumbi (hitting) refers to the act of coming into violent contact with someone or something.

**Kandza (pound)**

A.  [Actor]:  mukandzi (pounder)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mukandzi u kandza mavele.  
(The pounder is pounding maize).
(b) Mukandzi wa timanga u karhele.
(The pounder of nuts is tired).
(c) Wansati u nyika mukandzi musi.
(The woman gives the pounder a pestle).

Plural: class 2: vakandzi (pounders)

The nominal mukandzi (pounding person) refers to an individual who hit something many times in order to break it into smaller pieces. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of pounding, which once completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mukandzi (pounding person).

Kandza (pound)

B. [Excessive act]: rikandzo (excessive pounding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikandzo ra wansati ra viriviri ri n’wi vangele TB.
(The excessive pounding of the woman of the chili pepper made her contract TB).

(b) Rikandzo ra wansati ra timanga ri n’wi nghenisela mali yo tala.
(The excessive pounding of the woman of the nuts brings her a lot of money).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rikandzo ra wansati ra viriviri.
(The man is surprised at the excessive pounding of the woman of the chili pepper).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikandzo (excessive pounding) refers to the act of excessive pounding of something by an individual.

Kandza (pound)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xikandzi (expert/excessive pounder.)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikandzi xi kandzile masaka ya mune ya mavele.
(The expert/excessive pounder has pounded four bags of maize).

(b) Xikandzi xi tshovile musi.
(The expert/excessive pounder has broken the pestle).

(c) Wansati u nyika xikandzi musi.
(The woman gives the pestle to the expert/excessive pounder).

Plural: class 8: swikandzi (expert pounders)

The nominal xikandzi (expert/excessive pounding person) refers to an individual who expertly or excessively hits something many times in order to break it into smaller pieces. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertise or the excessiveness of pounding. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged
in the act of pounding or he may not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xikandza** (expert/excessive pounding person).

**Kandza** (pound)

D. [Act]: vukandzi (pounding)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukandzi bya mavele byi tiyisa miri.
(The pounding of maize makes the body strong).

(b) Vukandzi bya mavele i ntirho wa vavasati.
(The pounding of maize is the work of women).

(c) Wanuna u sola vukandzi bya nhwanyana bya timanga.
(The man disapproves of the pounding of the girl of the nuts).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukandzi** (pounding) refers to the act of pounding of something by an individual.

**Phakata** (slap)

A. [Actor]: muphakati (slapping person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphakati u ba n’wana.
(The slapping person beats a child).

(b) Muphakati u vavisile n’wana.
(The slapping person hurts a child).

(c) Maphorisa va khoma muphakati loyi a beke wansati.
(The police officers are arresting the slapping person who beat the woman).

Plural: class 2: vaphakati (slapping people)

The nominal **muphakati** (slapping person) refers to an individual who hits someone or something with the flat part of his hand. This nominal may be regarded a stage-level nominal because it derives its meaning from the act performed by the individual in question. In other words, once the act of slapping is past, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muphakati** (slapping person).

**Phakata** (slap)

B. [Excessive act]: riphakato (excessive slapping)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphakato ra wanuna ri balekisile vana va yena ekaya.
(The excessive slapping of a man made his children to run away from home).

(b) Riphakato ra wanuna ra vana ri hlundzukisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive slapping of the man of the children makes his wife angry).

(c) Vana va chava riphakato ra mana wa bona.
(The children fear the excessive slapping of their mother).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphakato** (slap) refers to the excessive action of hitting something or someone with the flat part of his hand.

**Phakata** (slap)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xiphakati (excessive slapping)
Class 7:  3. (a) Xiphakati xi vavisile n’wana exikolweni.
   (The excessive slapping hurt the child at school).
   (b) Xiphakati xa mufana xa tsutsuma.
   (The excessive slapping of the boy is running away).
   (c) Wanuna u tsutsuma xiphakati.
   (The man runs away from the excessive slapping person).

Plural: class 8: swiphakati (excessive slapping person)

The nominal **xiphakati** (excessive slapping person) refers to an individual who excessively hits someone or something with the flat part of his hand. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property of this nominal is the excessiveness of slapping of the individual in question and not necessarily the action of slapping itself. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the action of slapping someone or he will not be engaged in it, he will always be referred to as **xiphakati** (excessive slapping person).

**Phakata** (slap)

D.  [Act]: vuphakati (slapping)
Class 14:  4. (a) Vuphakati bya wanuna byi n’wi vengisa hi vana va yena.
   (The slapping of a man makes his children to hate him).
   (b) Vuphakati bya wansati bya vana byi hlundzukisa wanuna.
   (The slapping of a woman of the children makes the man angry).
   (c) Vanhu va sola vuphakati bya wanuna bya wansati.
   (The people condemn the slapping of the man of the woman).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuphakati** (slap) refers to the action of hitting something or someone with the flat part of his hand.

**Faya** (break as glass)

A.  [Actor]: mufayi (breaker)
Class 1:  1. (a) Mufayi wa mabodhlela u titsemile tiniho.
   (The breaker of bottles cut his fingers).
(b) Mufayi u tirhisa hamela.
   (The breaker is using a hammer).

(c) Wanuna u thola mufayi wa yindlu ya yena.
   (The man employs the breaker of his house).

Plural: class 2: vafayi (breakers)

The nominal **mufayi** (breaker) refers to someone who damages and separate something, especially glass, into two or more parts, as a result of force. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of breaking, which once completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mufayi** (breaker).

**Faya** (break as glass)

B. [Excessive act]: rifayo (excessive breaking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifayo ra wanuna ra tipuletli ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
   (The excessive breaking of the man of the plates annoys his wife).

   (b) Rifayo ra mufana ra manghilazi ya mafasitere ri karhata tata wakwe.
   (The excessive breaking of the young man of the window glasses troubles his father).

   (c) Wansati u hlamala rifayo ra mufana ra manghilazi ya mafasitere.
   (The woman is surprised at the excessive breaking of the young man of the window glasses).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rifayo** (excessive breaking) refers to the act of excessive damaging and separating of something, especially glass, into two or more parts, as a result of force.

**Faya** (break as glass)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifayi (expert/excessive breaker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifayi xa khumbi xi vavisekile voko.
   (The expert breaker of the wall hurt his hand).

   (b) Xifayi xi lava mpfuno entirhweni wo faya khumbi.
   (The expert breaker needs help to the work of breaking the wall).

   (c) Khumbi ri werile xifayi.
   (The wall has fallen on the expert breaker).

Plural: class 8: swifayi (expert breakers)

The nominal **xifayi** (expert/excessive breaker) refers to an individual who has an expertise of breaking something into parts, or an individual who excessively breaks things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise or the excessiveness of breaking will be associated
with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of breaking something or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xifayi (expert/excessive breaker).

Faya (break as glass)

D. [Act]: vufayi (breaking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vufayi bya mabodhlele emapatwini byi tsakisa vana.
(The breaking of the bottles on the roads pleases the children).

(b) Vufayi bya mufana bya tipuleti byi tshikilela mana wakwe.
(The breaking of the young man of the plates depresses his mother).

(c) Wanuna sola vufayi bya mabodhlele emapatwini.
(The man condemns the breaking of the bottles on the roads).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufayi (breaking) refers to the act or process of breaking something.

Pandza (divide by cutting)

A. [Actor]: mupandzi (divider)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupandzi u pandza rihunyi.
(The divider is dividing a wood).

(b) Mupandzi u tirhisa xihloka.
(The divider is using an axe).

(c) Rihunyi ri harile mupandzi.
(The wood has scratched the divider).

Plural: class 2: vapandzi (dividers)

The nominal mupandzi (dividing/splitting person) refers to an individual who divides something into two or several parts. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of dividing which can only take place for a particular time. In other words, once the act of dividing is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mupandzi(dividing/splitting person).

B. [Excessive act]: ripandzo (excessive dividing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ripandzo ra wanuna ra switandi ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive dividing of the man of the people’s stands annoys his wife).

(b) Ripandzo ra mufana ra mathayere ya khale ri khomisa nsati wakwe tingana).
(The excessive dividing of the young man of old tyres embarrasses his wife).
(c) Wansati u sola ripandzo ra wanuna ra switandi swa vanhu.
(The woman condemns the excessive dividing of the man of the people’s stands).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ripandzo** (excessive dividing) refers to the excessive act of dividing a thing by an individual.

**Pandza** (divide by cutting)

C.  

[Expert/excessive actor]: xipandzi (expert/excessive divider)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xipandzi xi rihunyi xi thayere xi karhele.
(The expert/excessive dividing person is tired).

(b) Xipandzi xi ringanisa timhandzi leti xi ti pandzeke.
(The expert/excessive dividing person is equalising the poles he divided).

(c) Wanuna u nyikaxipandzi xa mathayere mukwana.
(The man gives the expert/excessive dividing person of tyres a knife).

Plural: class 8: swipandzi (expert/excessive dividing person)

The nominal **xipandzi** (expert dividing person) refers to an individual who has the expertise to divide things well. The defining property here is not the act of dividing but the expertise of dividing thereof. In other words, the individual in question need not be engaged in the act of dividing at the time of reference. Whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of dividing, such an individual will be referred to as **xipandzi** (expert/excessive dividing person).

**Pandza** (divide by cutting)

D.  

[Act]: vupandzi (dividing)

Class 1: 4. (a) Vupandzi bya switandi byi ta endliwa mundzuku.
(The dividing of stands will be done tomorrow).

(b) Vupandzi bya mathayere byi endliwa hi vafana.
(The dividing/dividing of tyres is done by young men).

(c) Wanuna u languta vupandzi bya musweki bya huku.
(The man looks at the dividing/division of the cook of the chicken).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vupandzi** (dividing) refers to the act of dividing something by an individual.

**Tova** (claw)

A.  

[Actor]: mutovi (clawing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutovi wa n’wana u languta etlheho.
(The person who claws the child looks aside).
(b) Mutovi wa n’wana u ni minwala yo leha.
(The clawing person of the child has long nails).

(c) N’wana u bakeka mutovi.
(The child runs away from the clawing person).

Plural: class 2: vatovi (clawing people)

The nominal mutovi (clawing person) refers to an individual who claws at someone or something. This nominal may be referred to as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of clawing. In other words, once the act of clawing has stopped such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutovi (clawing person).

Tova (claw)

B. [act]: ritovo (excessive clawing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritovo ra mufana ra n’wana ri nyenyetsa wansati.
(The excessive clawing of the young man of the child annoys the woman).

(b) Ritovo ra mudyondzisi ra vadyondzi ri n’wi vengisa hi vanhu.
(The excessive clawing of the teacher of the learners makes him hated by people).

(c) Wanuna u venga ritovo ra mudyondzisi ra vadyondzi.
(The man hates the excessive clawing of the teacher of the learners).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritovo (excessive clawing) refers to the act of clawing which is done excessively by an individual.

Tova (claw)

C. [Excessive actor]: xitovi (excessively clawing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitovi xa vana xi basisa min’wala.
(The excessively clawing person of the children cleans his nails).

(b) Xitovi xa vana xi xava tllipara.
(The excessively clawing person of the children buys a nail clipper).

(c) N’wana u chava xitovi exikolweni.
(The child is afraid of the excessively clawing person at school).

Plural: class 8: switovi (excessively clawing people)

The nominal xitovi (excessively clawing person) denotes an individual who habitually and excessively claws at someone or something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of clawing of the individual in question and not the act of clawing itself. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act
of clawing at someone or he may not at the time of reference; such an individual will always be referred to as xitovi (excessively clawing person).

**Tova** (claw)

D. [Act]: vutovi (clawing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutovi bya nhwanyana bya n’wana byi karhata wansati. (The clawing of the girl of the child worries the woman).

(b) Vutovi bya mudyondzisi bya vadyondzi byi vikiwile emaphoriseni. (The clawing of the teacher of the learners has been reported to the police).

(c) Nhloko ya xikolo yi sola vutovi bya mudyondzisi bya vadyondzi. (The school principal condemns the clawing of the teacher of the learners).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutovi (clawing) refers to the act of clawing at someone by an individual.

**Tlhava** (stab)

A. [Actor]: mutlhavi (stabbing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlhavi wa mufana u ya ekhoto. (The stabbing person of the young man goes to the court).

(b) Mutlhavi u boha homu leyi nga ta dlayiwa. (The stabbing person ties up the cow that will be killed).

(c) Maphorisa va khomile mutlhavi la tlhaveke wanuna. (The police officers have arrested the stabber who stabbed a Man).

Plural: class 2: vatlhavi (stabbing people)

The nominal mutlhavi (stabbing person) refers to an individual who pierces or plunges a sharp or pointed weapon or instrument into something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because stabbing is an act which may take place within a few minutes. Once the act of stabbing is over the individual may no longer be regarded as mutlhavi (stabbing person).

**Tlhava** (stab)

B. [Excessive act]: rithlavo (excessive stabbing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rithlavo ra mufana ra vanhu ri hlundzukisile maphorisa. (The excessive stabbing of the young man of the people has angered the police).

(b) Rithlavo ra mufana ra vadyondzi exikolweni hi xitsalo ri vikiwile eka vatswari vakwe. (The excessive stabbing of the young man of the learners at school with a pen has been reported to his parents).
(c) Mudyondzisi u sola rithavo ra mufana ra vadyondzi.
(The teacher condemns the excessive stabbing of the young man of the learners).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithavo (excessive stabbing) refers to an act of stabbing which is excessively done by an individual.

Tlhava (stab)

C. [Excessive/notorious actor]: xithavi (excessive/notorious stabbing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xithavi xa vanhu ebarheni xi khomiwile.
(The excessive stabbing person of the people has been arrested).

(b) Xithavi xa vadyondzi exikolweni hi xitsalo xi hlongoriwile.
(The excessive stabbing person of the learners at school with a pen has been dismissed).

(c) Maphorisa ma khoma xithavi xa vanhu ebarheni.
(The police arrest the stabbing person of the people in the bar).

Plural: class 8: swithavi (excessive/notorious stabbing persons)

The nominal xithavi (excessive/notorious stabbing person) denotes an individual who is excessively involved in the act of stabbing others. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessive or notoriousness of stabbing is a property which will be associated with the individual in question for his entire life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of stabbing at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xithavi(excessive/notorious stabbing person).

Tlhava (stab)

D. [Result]: xithavi (stitch/pain)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xithavi xa mukhegula xi n’wi ba hi le xifuveni.
(The stitch/pain of an old woman is hitting her in the chest).

(b) Xithavi xi karhata mutlangi wa bolo.
(The stitch/pain is troubling a soccer player).

(c) Mukhegula u karhele hi xithavi lexi tshamelaka ro n’wi hlupha.
(The old woman is tired of the stitch/pain which usually troubles her).

Plural: class 8: swithavi (stitches/pains)

The nominal xithavi (stitch/pain) refers to a sudden pain in the side of your body.
**Tlhava** (stab)

E.  [Artifact]: ntlhavo (piercing wire)

Class 9:  5. (a) Ntlhavo ya mukhegula yi lahlekile.
(The piercing wire of the old woman is lost).

(b) Ntlhavo ya hahani yi vhinyekile.
(The piercing wire of my ant is blunt).

(c) Mukhegula u lota ntlhavo eribyeni.
(The old woman is sharpening the piercing wire on the stone).

Plural: class 10: tintlhavo (piercing wires)

The nominal ntlhavo (piercing wire) refers to a small wire tool with a sharpened point, wood handle for boring holes when making mats and traditional baskets.

**Tlhava** (stab)

F.  [Act]: vutlhavi (stabbing)

Class 14:  6. (a) Vutlhavi bya mufana bya vanhu eswitarateni byi karhata vaakatiko.
(The stabbing of the young man of the people on the streets worries the residents).

(b) Vutlhavi bya mufana bya vadyondzi exikolweni hi xitsalo byi nyenyetsa vadyondzi).i.
(The stabbing of the young man of the learners at school in a pen annoys the teachers).

(c) Wanuna u sola vutlhavi bya mufana bya vadyondzi exikolweni.
(The man condemns the stabbing of the young man of the learners at school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutlhavi (stabbing) refers to the act of stabbing something or someone by an individual.

**Luma** (bite)

A.  [Actor]: mulumi (biting person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mulumi wa mufana u tshovekile tino.
(The biting person has broken his tooth).

(b) Mulumi wa wanuna wa penga.
(The biting person of the man is mad).

(c) Wanuna u makala mulumi wa n’wana.
(The man slaps the biting person of the child).

Plural: class 2: valumi (biting people)

The nominal mulumi (biting person) refers to an individual who cut, wound, or tear something or someone with teeth. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of biting
which is the defining property in this nominal is a temporary occurrence. Once such an act is finished the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mulumi (biting person).

**Luma (bite)**

**B. [Excessive Act]: rilumo (excessive biting)**

Class 1: 2. (a) Rilumo ra n´wana ra vele ri vavisa mahni wakwe.
(The excessive biting of the child of the breast hurts her mother).

(b) Rilumo ra mbyana ra vahundzi va ndlela ri hlundzukisa vaaki.
(The excessive biting of the dog of passersby makes the residents angry).

(c) Wanuna u sola rilumo ra mbyana ra vanhu.
(The man condemns the excessive biting of the dog of the people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rilumo (excessive biting) refers to the act of biting which is done excessively by an individual.

**Luma (bite)**


Class 7: 3. (a) Xilumi xa vana exikolweni xi tshemba meno ya xona.
(The expert/excessive biting person of the children trusts his teeth).

(b) Xilumi xi ndleve ya mufana xi balekile ekaya
(The expert/excessive biting person of the boy has run away from home).

(c) Mudyondzisi u vitana xilumi xa vana exikolweni.
(The teacher calls the expert/excessive biting person of the children at school).

Plural: class 8: swilumi (expert/excessive biting persons)

The nominal xilumi (expert/excessive biting person) refers to an individual who excessively bites others. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness of biting of the individual in question which will always be associated with him. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of biting or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xilumi(expert/excessive biting person).

**Luma (bite)**

**D. [Result]: xilumi (internal pains peculiar to women)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xilumi xa wansati xi n´wi karhata hi mahele ya n´hweti.
(The internal pains peculiar to women trouble the woman during month end).
(b) Xilumi xa Tsatsawana xi miyela endzhaku ka masiku mambirhi.
(The internal pains peculiar to women become better after two days).

(c) Mukhegula u lapha xilumi xa wansati.
(The old woman is treating the pains peculiar to women).

Plural: class 8: swilumi (internal pains peculiar to women)

The nominal xilumi (internal pains peculiar to women) may also denote a kind of pain/cramp which women usually have during their monthly circles.

Luma (bite)

E. [Act]: vulumi (biting )

Class 14: 5. (a) Vulumi bya mbyana bya vanhu byi vangela mavabyi.
(The biting of the dog of the people causes diseases).

(b) Vulumi bya tinsuna bya vanhu byi vangela malariya.
(The biting of the mosquitoes of the people causes malaria.

(c) Mfumo wu lawula vulumi bya tinsuna bya vanhu.
(The government reduces the biting of the mosquitoes of the people).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vulumi (biting) refers to the act of biting of something or someone by an individual.

6.10 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF COMBINING AND ATTACHING

Levin (1995:159) define the verbs of Combining and Attaching as the verbs which relate to combining or attaching. According to Levin (op cit) verbs in this class involve a participation in the simple reciprocal alternations, and/or together alteration. He asserts that these verbs are never found in the apart reciprocal alternations. Levin (op cit) contends the meanings of these verbs vary according to whether they involve a result or means component. However, this section contains verbs which involve action or agentive interpretation and all these verbs take two arguments, a subject and an object. A wide range of subjects in these verbs are human argument whereas the object arguments are typically inanimate objects.
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**Boha (tie)**

A. [Actor]: mubohi (tier)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubohi wa mbyana u balekile.
   (The tier of this dog has run away).

   (b) Mubohi wa mhaka leyi i mani ke?
   (The decider of this case who is he?).

   (c) Vanhu va yela mubohi wa vana.
   (The people go for the tier of the children).

Plural: Class 2: vabohi (tiers)

The nominal mubohi (tier) refers to an individual who fastens something with a rope or strap. The nominal may be regarded as stage-level nominal because the act of tying can be temporary. It applies to a person who is engaged in the activity of tying. Once such an activity is over, such a person may no longer bear the nominal mubohi (tier). In other words, this nominal modifies the act of tying. This means that the defining feature in this nominal is the act of tying, which once completed the reference of this nominal to this individual no longer apply.

**Boha (tie)**

B. [Excessive act]: riboho (excessive tying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riboho ra tinjhovo emikhubyeni ri tlakusa ndhavuko.
   (The excessive tying of skin garments with loose straps promotes culture).

   (b) Riboho ra tithayi emikhubyeni ri le fexenini masiku lawa namuntlha.
   (The excessive tying of ties in functions is in fashion these days).

   (c) Vatswari va sandza riboho ra n’wana ra titambhu ta kereke.
   (Parents condemn the excessive tying of the child of the ropes of the church).
Plural: Class 8: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riboho (excessive tying) refers to the act of tying a thing excessively with a rope or strap by an individual.

Boha (tie)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xibohi (expert/excessive tier)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xibohi xa timhaka ta ka Hlungwani i Magezi.
(The expert/excessive decider of Hlungwani’s cases is Magezi).

(b) Xibohi xa thayi ya vadyondzisi exikolweni a xi tangi namuntlha.
(The expert/excessive tier of the ties of teachers at school did not come today)

(c) Vanhu va chava xibohi xa vana.
(People are afraid of the expert/excessive tier of the children).

Plural: Class 8: swibohi (expert/excessive tiers)

The nominal xibohi (expert/excessive tier) refers to an individual who fastens something expertly/excessively with a rope or strap. The nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature here is the expertness/excessiveness of tying and not the act of tying. It may apply to a person who is engaged in the activity of tying or who is not engaged. This nominal will be associated with the individual for the rest of his life. In other words, this nominal modifies the excessiveness and not the act.

Boha (Tie)

D. [Result]: xiboho (resolution)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiboho xa ANC xo susa Thabo Mbeki eka xitulu xa vupresidente xi sola hi vanhu vo tala.
(The resolution of the ANC of removing Thabo Mbeki from the presidency position is criticised by many people).

(b) Xiboho xa vatirhi xo tereka xi ta ngenisa van’wana ekhombyeni).
(The resolution of the workers to engage in protest action will put others in danger).

(c) Vanhu va teka xiboho xo hlongola mudyondzisi.
(People take the resolution of expelling the teacher).

Plural: Class 8: swiboho (resolutions)

The nominal xiboho (resolution) refers to a formal statement of a decision of opinion adopted by a committee.
Boha (tie)

E. [Act]: vubohi (tying/taking a resolution)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubohi bya valwi bya mabandi byi hlamarisa vafana.
(The tying of fighters belts surprises young men).

(b) Vubohi bya vafana bya xikungu xo faya bangi a byi fambangi kahle.
(The plotting of the young men of the plot to break the bank did not do well)

(c) Vavanuna va sola vubohi bya vafana bya xikungu xo faya bangi.
(The men disapprove the plotting of the boys of the plot to break the bank).

Plural: No plural in class 14 noun

The nominal **vubohi** (tying/taking a decision) refers to an act of fastening a strap or taking a decision on a matter.

Gaya (grind)

A. [Actor]: mugayi (grinding person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugayi u layicha masaka elorini.
(The grinding person loads bags into the truck).

(b) Mugayi u kamba oyili exigayini.
(The grinding person checks the oil in the mill).

(c) Vanhu va kolota mugayi mali.
(People owe money to the grinding person).

Plural: Class 2: vagayi (grinding people)

The nominal **mugayi** (grinding people) refers to an individual who crushes something into smaller pieces through a machine. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal especially to an individual who is not always involved in grinding during. In other words, he is a grinder during the activity of grinding. Once the act of grinding is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as a grinder. But the same nominal may be regarded as a an individual-level nominal in a situation where the individual in question performs the act of grinding as a job, that is, something that he does regularly for livelihood. Such an individual will always be associated with the event of grinding even if he is not engaged in it at the time of reference.

Gaya (grind)

B. [Result]: mugayo (grinded mealies)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mugayo wu herile exitolo.
(The grinded maize is finished at the shop).

(b) Mugayo wa Iwisa wu rhandziwa hi vanhu vo tala.
(Iwisa grinded maize is liked by many people).
(c) Wanuna u xava mugayo exitolo.
(The man buys grinded maize from the shop).

Plural: Class 3: migayo (grinded mealies)

The nominal **mugayo** (grinded mealies) refers to the grinded mealies which are ready to be used for cooking porridge.

**Gaya** (grind)

C. [Excessive act]: **rigayo** (Excessive grinding of mealies)

Class 2: 2. (a) Rigayo ra wanuna ra mavele ri tsakisa vanhu.
(The excessive grinding of the man of the mealies pleases people).

(b) Rigayo ra vatirhi ra tisimbhi ri tsakisa muthori.
(The excessive grinding of the workers of the metals pleases the employer).

(c) Muthori u languta rigayo ra vatirhi ra tisimbhi.
(The employer looks at the excessive grinding of the workers of the metals).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rigayo** (excessive grinding) refers to the act of crushing of something into pieces/powder which is performed excessively by an individual.

**Gaya** (grind)

D. [Expert/Excessive actor]: **xigayi** (expert/excessively grinding person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigayi xi dumisa xigayo.
(The expert/excessively grinding person starts the mill engine).

(b) Xigayi xi kamba oyili exigayini.
(The expert/excessive grinding person checks the oil in the mill).

(c) Vanhu va kolota xigayi mali.
(People owe money to the expert/excessive grinding person)

Plural: Class 2: swigayi (expert/excessive grinding person)

The nominal **xigayi** (expert/excessive grinding person) refers to an individual who has an extraordinary skill of crushing something into smaller pieces/powder through a machine. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question will possess this extraordinary skill for the rest of his life. In other words, such an individual may be performing the act of grinding as a job, that is, something that he does regularly for livelihood. Such an individual will always be associated with the event of grinding even if he is not engaged in it at the time of reference.
**Gaya (grind)**

E.  
**[Artifact/Instrument]: xigayo (mill)**

Class 7:  
4. (a) Xigayo xa ka Hlungwani xa hatlisa.  
(The mill of Hlungwani is fast).

(b) Xigayo xi olovisela vanhu vutomi.  
(The mill makes life easier for people).

(c) Wanuna u dumisa xigayo.  
(The man starts the mill (engine)).

Plural: Class 8: swigayo (mills)

The nominal *xigayo* (mill) refers to the machine which crushes something into pieces/power which is operated by an individual.

**Gaya (Grind)**

F.  
**[Act]: vugayi (grinding)**

Class 14:  
5. (a) Vugayi bya mapulanga byi endliwa eTzaneen.  
(Grinding of planks is done in Tzaneen).

(b) Vugayi bya mavele byi nga vangela munhu asima.  
(The grinding of maize can cause asthma to a person).

(c) Wanuna u kambela vugayi bya mavele hi vafana.  
(The man checks the grinding of the maize by boys).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vugayi* (grinding) refers to an act of grinding which is done by the machine operated by an individual.

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Class 1
Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
Mugayi (grinding person)

Class 3
Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
Mugayo (grinded mealies)

Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
Rigayo (excessive grinding)

Class 7
Prefix: \textit{xi-}
Suffix: -i

**Xigayi** (expert/excessively grinding person)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o

**Xigayo** (grinding mill)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

**Vugayi** (grinding)
Verbs of Combining and Attaching

(52) Nominalization from the verb -gaya (grind)
   (ix) The verb –gaya (grind)

   Wanuna u gaya mavele.
   (The man is grinding mealies).

   -gaya
   ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person
   EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
   QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y)
   AGENTIVE = –gaya_act (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Grind – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -gaya (grind) in (52) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the first one is the human argument which performs the act of grinding and the second one is the physical object representing the entity which is affected by the process of grinding. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of grinding and the resultant state of grinding. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of grinding (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of grinding of the person (x).

(53) Nominalisation in class 1: mugayi (grinding person)

   Mugayi wa mavele wa vabya.
   (The grinding person of the mealies is sick).

   mugayi
   ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person
   EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
   QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y)
   AGENTIVE = –gaya_actor (e1, x, y)
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Grind – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *mugayi* (grinding person) in (53) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the first one is the human argument which performs the act of grinding and the second one is the physical object representing the entity which is affected by the process of grinding. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of grinding and the resultant state of grinding. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \(e_2\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_2\) of the process of grinding \(e_1\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument \(x\), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of grinding of the person \(x\).

(54) **Nominalisation in class 7:** *xigayi* (expert/excessively grinding person)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{xigayi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
&= \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{gaya}_\text{actor_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Grind – Excessive/Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xigayi* (expert/excessively grinding person) in (54) is similar to that of *mugayi* (grinder) in (53) above. The distinction that obtains is that *mugayi* (grinder) in (53) above lacks the feature [expert/excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *xigayi* (expert/excessive decider) in (54) above.

(55) **Nominalisation in class 5:** *rigayo* (excessive tying)

\[\begin{align*}
\text{rigayo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{Restr} &= \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} &= e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{gaya}_\text{actor_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}\]
The lexical semantic representation of **rigayo** (excessive grinding) in (55) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of grinding, and the physical object. The other argument is the reference of the act of grinding. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of grinding and the resultant state of grinding. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of grinding (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of grinding of the person (x).

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Grind – Excessiveness – Act

(56) **Nominalisation in class 14: vugayi** (grinding)

Vugayi bya mavele byi tsakisa vafana.
(The grinding of mealies excites the young men).

The lexical semantic representation of **vugayi** (grinding) in (56) is similar to that of **rigayo** (excessive grinding) in (55) above. The distinction that obtains is that **vugayi** (grinding) in (56) above
lacks the feature [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rigayo (excessive grinding) in (55) above.

(57) **Nominalisation in class 3: mugayo** (maize meal)

Mugayo wa Iwisa wa nandziha.
(Iwisa maize meal is nice).

```
mugayo
ARGSTR  =  ARG1 = e: r
         =  D-ARG2 = x: human
         =  D–ARG3 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR   =  D-E1 = e₁; process
         =  D-E2 = e₂; state
    Restr = Temporally ordered
         =  Head = e₁
QUALIA  =  FORMAL = (er, x, y)
         =  AGENTIVE= gaya_result (e₁, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Grind – Result

The lexical semantic representation of mugayo (maelie meal) in (57) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of grinding, and the physical object. The other argument is the reference of the act of grinding. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of grinding and the resultant state of grinding. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of grinding (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of grinding of the person (x).

(58) **Nominalisation in class 7: xigayo** (mill)

Xigayo xa mavele xi sthovekile.
(The mill for the mealies is broken).

```
xigayo
ARGSTR  =  ARG1=x: human
         =  ARG2= y: phys. obj.
EVSTR   =  E1=e₁; process
QUALIA  =  FORMAL=x
         =  AGENTIVE= gaya_artifact/instrument (e₁, x, y)
```
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Grind – Artifact

The lexical semantic representation of xigayo (mill) in (58) is corresponds to that of mugayo (maelie meal) in (57) above. The only difference relates to the agentive quale which represents [artifact] with xigayo (mill) in (58) above whereas in mugayo (maelie meal) in (57) above it represents [result].

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of obtaining have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -gaya (grind). The exception being that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -boha (tie), -rhunga (sew), -siva/-tlhoma (plug), -tsimba (tie), -damarheta (paste), -damarhela (cling/stick to), -gandla (stamp), -belela (nail) and -phama (plaster) does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -gaya (grind) which allows such a nominalization which denotes result. In this sub-class, it seems to be a common occurrence for the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of most verbs such as -gaya (grind), -boha (tie), -siva (plug), -tsimba (tie), -damarheta (paste), -damarhela (cling/stick to), -gandla (stamp) and -phama (plaster) to permit a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact or /and instrument or /and result as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -rhunga (sew) and -phama (plaster) which does not allow such a nominalization. Furthermore, it is only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -damarhela (cling/stick to) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -a with the meaning of result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -gaya (grind), -boha (tie), -rhunga (sew), -siva/-tlhoma (plug), -tsimba (tie), -damarheta (paste), -gandla (stamp), -belela (nail) and -phama (plaster) which does not permit such a nominalization.

Rhunga (sew)

A. [Actor]: murungini (sewer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murungini u komba wansati xiambalo.
   (The sewer shows a garment to the woman).
   (b) Murungini u endla patironi ya xikete.
   (The sewer makes the pattern of the skirt).
   (c) Vanhu va yimele murungini evhengeleni.
   (The people are waiting for the sewer in the shop).

Plural: Class 2: varhungi (sewers)
may be regarded as a stage-level nominal. The individual in question will only be referred to as **murhungi** (sewer) only when he is engaged in the act of sewing at the time of reference.

**Rhunga (sew)**

B. [Excessive act]: **rirhungo** (excessive sewing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rirhungo ra Makhanana ra tisuti ri vanga mitirho.
   (The excessive sewing of Makhanana creates jobs).

   (b) Rirhungo ra wansati ra swiambalo ri nghenisa mali yo tala.
   (The excessive sewing of the woman of clothing brings in a lot of money).

   (c) Mfumo wu seketela rirhungo ra Tsatsawani ra swiambalo.
   (The government supports the excessive sewing of Tsatsawana of clothing).

Plural: Class 8: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rirhungo** (excessive sewing) refers to the act of sewing which is done excessively by an individual.

**Rhunga (sew)**

C. [Expert actor]: **xirhungi** (expert sewer)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xirhungi xi xava malapi.
   (The expert sewer buys fabric).

   (b) Xirhungi xi tsema malapi.
   (The expert sewer cuts fabric).

   (c) Nhlangano wu nyika xirhungi xa swiambalo michini.
   (The organization gives the expert sewer machines).

Plural: Class 2: **swirhungi** (expert sewers)

The nominal **xirhungi** (expert sewer) refers to a person who has an extra-ordinary expertise of sewing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level because the defining property here is the expertise of sewing which an individual in question has. Such an individual will always be referred to as **xirhungi** (expert sewer) whether such a person will be engaged in the act of sewing or not at the time of reference.

**Rhunga (Sew)**

D. [Act]: **vurhungi** (sewing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vurhungi bya swiambalo byi endliwa etikholichi ta FET.
   (Garment sewing is done at FET colleges)

   (b) Vurhungi i ntirho wo xonga.
   (Sewing is a nice job)
(c) Wansati u tsakela vurhungi bya swiambalo.
(The woman likes garment sewing)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vurhungi* (sewing) refers to the act, occupation, or hobby of one who sews.

**Siva/tlhoma** (Plug)

A. [Actor]: musivi (pluger)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musivi wa timbhovo elwangwini u ta fika namuntlha.
(The sealer of openings on the roof will arrive today)

(b) Musivi u ta lema thangi ra mati mundzuku.
(The sealer will seal the water tank tomorrow)

(c) Wanuna u vitana musivi wa malwangu.
(My father calls the sealer of the roof)

Plural: Class 2: vasivi (plugers)

The nominal *musivi* (plugging person) refers to an individual who fills a hole tightly with something, or one who stops up something.

B. [Excessive act]: risivo (excessive plugging)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risivo ra vana ra mbhovo ya xihlantswelo ri karhata wansati.
(The excessive plugging of the opening of the basin troubles the woman).

(b) Risivo ra wanuna ra timbhovo emalwangwini ri n’wi nghenisela mali yo tala.
(The excessive sealing of the man of the holes on the roofs brings him a lot of money).

(c) Wanuna u sola risivo ra vana ra mbhovo ya xihlantswhelo.
(The man condemns the excessive plugging of the children of the opening of the basin).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *risivo* (excessive plugging) refers to the act of plugging of something which is excessively done by an individual.

**Siva** (Plug)

C. [Expert/excessive act]: xisivi (expert/excessively plugging person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xisivi xa malwangu yo pfuta xi lovile.
(The expert/excessively sealing person of leaking roofs is dead).

(b) Xisivi xa mathangi ya mati xi xavile movha.
(The expert/excessively sealing person of water tanks has bought a car).

(c) Wanuna u komba musivi mbhovo elwangwini.
(The man shows the expert/excessively sealing person an opening on the roof).
Plural: Class 8: swisivi (expert/excessively plugging person)

The nominal xisivi (expert/excessively plugging person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of stooping up something properly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual –level nominal because the expertise of plugging which the individual in question possesses will remain in him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of plugging or not at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as xisivi (expert/excessively plugging person).

Siva (Plug)

D. [Artefact/Result]: xisivo (plug)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xisivo xa xihlantswelo xi lahlekile. (The lid for the basin is lost)

(b) Xisivo xa tiphayiphi ta mati xi herile. (The seal for the water pipes is finished)

(c) Mutirhi u xava xisivo xa lwangu exitolo. (The worker buys the seal of the roof at the shop)

Plural: Class 8: swisivo (seals/lids)

The nominal xisivo (plug) refers to a piece of wood or other material used to stop up a hole or aperture, or to fill a gap, or to act as a wedge.

Siva (Plug)

E. [Act]: vusivi (plugging)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vusivi bya milambu byi lava vutivi bya kona. (The blocking of rivers needs relevant skills).

(b) Vusivi bya mutirhi loyi a nga riki kona entirhweni byi herisiwile. (The replacement of a person who is not at work has been done away with).

(c) Mininjhere u languta vusivi lebyi endliwaka etiphayiphini. (The manager looks at the plugging which is done on the pipes).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusivi (plugging) refers to the act of plugging something by an individual.

Tsimba (Tie)

A. [Actor]: mutsimbi (tier)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsimbi wa thayi u ambala baji. (The tier of the tie puts on the jacket)
(b) Mutsimbi wa thayi ya mufana u mukile.
(The tier of the tie of the young man has gone home)

(c) Wanuna u kaneta mutsimi wa thayi.
(The man opposes the tier of the tie)

Plural: Class 2: vatsimbi (tiers)

The nominal **mutsimbi** (tying person) refers to an individual who fastens or secure something with a cord, rope, or strap. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of tying something is a temporary occurrence. Once such an act is completed an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mutsimbi** (tying person).

**Tsimba** (Tie)

B. [Excessive act]: ritsimbo (excessive tying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsimbo ra wansati ra tihunyi ri tsakisa n’wana.
(The excessive tying of the woman of the firewood pleases the child).

(b) Ritsimbo ra vafana ra tithayi ekerekeni khaneseka.
(The excessive tying of the young men of the ties in church is appreciable).

(c) N’wana u rhandza ritsimbo ra wansati ra rhiboni.
(The child likes the excessive tying of the woman of the ribbon).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsimbo** (excessive tying) refers to an excessive act of tying of something by an individual.

**Tsimba** (Tie)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xitsimbi (expert/excessive tier)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitsimbi xa thayi xi tisula nyuku exikandzeni.
(The excessive tier of the tie wipes sweat on his face).

(b) Xitsimbi xa tinjhovo xi tsakisa ntshungu.
(The excessive tier of strips made of animal skins entertains the crowd).

(c) Wanuna u nyika xitsimbi xa tinjhovo mali).
(The man gives the excessive tier strips of animal skins money).

Plural: Class 7: switsimbi (excessive tiers)

The nominal **xitsimbi** (excessive/expert tying person) refers to an individual who excessively or who has an extra-ordinary skill of fastens or secure something with a cord, rope, or strap. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property I this nominal is not just the act of tying, but the excessiveness or the extra-ordinary skill of tying thereof. In other words, whether
the individual in question will be engaged in the act of tying or he may not be engaged in it, such a person will always be referred to as **xitsimbi** (excessive/expert tying person).

**Tsimba** (Tie)

B. **[Artifact]**: xitsimbo (tying thing/ string)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitsimbo xa nhundzu emovheni xi tsemekile.  
(The tying thread of the goods in the car is torn apart)

(b) Xitsimbo xa misisi ya nhwanyana xi lahllekile.  
(The tying string of the hair of the young woman is lost)

(c) Phorisa ri xava xitsimbo xa swibochwa exitolo.  
(The police man buys the tying string for convicts from the shop)

Plural: Class 8: switsimbo (tying thread)

The nominal **xitsimbo** (tying string) refers to a cord, a strip or a band or other flexible material used for fastening, binding or securing things.

**Tsimba** (Tie)

C. **[Act]**: vutsimbi (tying)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutsimbi bya tihunyi byi kotiwa hi vavasati.  
(The tying of woods is well done by women).

(b) Vutsimbi bya misisi hi vavasati bya yirisiwa etikerekeni tin’wana.  
(The tying of the hair by women is prohibited in some churches).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vutsimbi bya tithayi hi vavasati.  
(The men disapprove of the tying of ties by women).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutsimbi** (tying) refers to the act of binding or fastening things together by an individual.

**Damarheta** (paste)

A. **[Actor]**: mudamarhethi (pasting person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudamarhethi u damarheta maphepha ya swinavetiso.  
(The pasting person is pasting advertisement papers).

(b) Mudamarhethi u lomba swilo swo damarheta hi swona.  
(The pasting person is borrowing things to paste with).

(c) Swinavetiso swi lava mudamerhethi wo swi damarheta kahle.  
(Advertisements want the pasting person to paste them well).

Plural: class 2: vadamarhethi (pasting persons)
The nominal **mudamarheti** (pasting person) refers to an individual who applies glue on a thing in order to attach it on something such as a wall. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of pasting is a temporary occurrence. In other words, once the pasting has been completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as **mudamarheti** (pasting person).

**Damarheta** (paste)

B. [Excessive act]: **ridamarheto** (excessive pasting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridamarheto ra wanuna ra maphepha eka swikoweto swa le magondzweni ri karhata maphorisa.
(The excessive pasting of the man of man of the papers on road signs troubles the police).

(b) Ridamarheto ra n’wana loyi ra maphepha ekhumbini ri bihisa muako.
(The excessive pasting of this child of the papers on the wall is makes the building ugly).

(c) Mudyondzisi u venga ridamarheto ra n’wana ra swifaniso ebukwini ya switoloveto.
(The teacher hates the excessive pasting of the child of pictures in an exercise book)

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridamarheto** (excessive pasting) refers to the act of excessive pasting something on a thing by an individual.

**Damarheta** (paste)

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: **xidamarheti** (expert/excessive pasting person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidamarheti xi damarheta phepha ekhumbini.
(The expert/excessive pasting person is pasting papers on the wall).

(b) Xidamarheti xi heleriwile hi maphepha.
(The expert/excessive pasting person has run out of papers)

(c) Wansati u nyika xidamarheti glulu.
(The woman gives glue to the expert/excessively pasting person).

Plural: class 8: **swidamarheti** (expert/excessively pasting persons)

The nominal **xidamarheti** (excessive pasting person) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively applies glue on a thing in order to attach it on something such as a wall. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of pasting is done regularly and has formed into a habit in the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of pasting or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xidamarheti** (expert/excessively pasting persons).
Damarheta (paste)

D. [Result]: xidamarheto (sticky substance)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xidamarheto xa maphepha xi herile.
(The sticky substance of the papers is finished).

(b) Xidamarheto xa swifaniso xi humundzeriwe hi nkarhi.
(The sticky substance has expired).

(c) Mufana u xava xidamahreto xa swifaniso evhengeleni.
(The young man buys the pasting sticky substance of the pictures from the shop).

Plural: class 8: swidamarheto (sticky substances)

The nominal xidamarheto (sticky substance) refers to a smooth viscous mixture that is used as an adhesive for joining light materials such as paper and cloth.

Damarheta (paste)

E. [Event/Act]: vudamarhetai (pasting)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vudamarhethi bya maphepha byi thyakisa makhumbi.
(The pasting of papers litters walls).

(b) Vudamarhethi bya swinavetiso byi lemukisa vaaki hi mitshovo.
(The pasting of the advertisements alerts residents of sales).

(c) Vaxavisi va tsakela vudamarhethi bya maphepha ya swinavetiso.
(Sellers like the pasting of the advertisement papers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudamarhethi (pasting) refers to the act of pasting something on a thing by an individual.

Damarhela (Cling/stick to)

A. [Actor]: mudamarheli (clinging/sticking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudamarheli wa wanuna u rhandza mali ngopfu.
(The clinging/sticking person of the man likes money very much).

(b) Mudamarheli wa wanuna u n’wi xavela tinyiko.
(The clinging/sticking person of the man buys gifts for him).

(c) Wanuna u nyumisa mudamarheli wa mutholi.
(The man embarrasses the person who clings/sticks on the employer).

Plural: class 2: vadamarheli (clicking/sticking persons)

The nominal mudamarheli (clinging person) refers to an individual who remain attached or who is in close association with someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of clinging to someone has become a habit to the individual in question. Whether such an
individual will be seen with the person he always associates with or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mudamarheli** (clinging person).

**Damarhela** (Cling/stick to)

B. [Excessive act/state]: ridamarhelo (excessive clinging/sticking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridamarhelo ra wansati ra nuna wa yena ri nyumisa maxaka ya wanuna. (The excessive clinging/sticking of the woman of her husband embarrasses the man’s relatives).

(b) Ridamarhelo ra tichungama eka swiambalo swa vana ri nyangatsa wansati. (The excessive clinging/sticking of the chewing gum on the clothes of the children disgusts the woman).

(c) Wansati u nyenya ridamarhelo ra tichungama eka mpahla ya vana. (The woman dislikes the excessive clinging/sticking of the chewing gum on the clothes of the children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridamarhelo** (excessive clinging/sticking) refers to the act of excessive holding fast or adhering to something.

**Damarhela** (Cling/stick to)

C. [Expert actor]: xidamarheli (excessive adhering person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidamarheli xa wanuna xi rhandza mali ngopfu. (The excessive clinging/sticking person of the man likes money very much).

(b) Xidamarheli xa wanuna xi n’wi xavela tinyiko. (The excessive clinging/sticking person of the man buys gifts for him).

(c) Wanuna u nyumisa xidamarheli xa mutholi. (The man embarrases the person who execessively clings/sticks on the employer).

Plural: class 8: swidamarheli (excessive clinging/sticking persons)

The nominal **xidamarheli** (excessive clinging person) refers to an individual who excessively remain attached or who is in very close association with someone.

**Damarhela** (Cling/stick to)

A. [Result]: xidamarhelo (clinging/sticking object)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xidamarhelo a xi namuki hi ku olova. (The clinging/sticking object is not easily removable).

(b) Xidamarhelo xi onha mpahla. (The clinging/sticking object damages the clothes).
(c) Mufana u susa xidamarhelo ebukwini.
(The young man removes the clinging/sticking object from the trousers).

Plural: class 8: swidamarhelo (clinging/sticking objects)

The nominal *xidamarhelo* (clinging/sticking thing) refers to a type of weed seed which is sticky and usually sticks in people’s clothing when they touch it.

**Damarhela** (Cling/stick to)

B.  
[Result]: xidamarhela (clinging/sticking lizard)

Class 7:  
4. (a) Xidamarhela xi khandziya nsinya.
(The clinging/sticking lizard climbs the tree).

(b) Xidamarhela xi nghena endlwini.
(The excessive clinging/sticking lizard gets into the house).

(c) Mufana u chava xidamarhela endlwini.
(The young man is afraid of the clinging/sticking lizard in the house).

Plural: class 8: swidamarhela (clinging/sticking lizards)

The nominal *xidamarhela* (sticking lizard) refers to some kind of a lizard which there is belief that if it gets on to a woman’s breasts it will cling to them and suck.

**Damarhela** (Cling/stick to)

C.  
[Act]: vudamarheli (clinging/sticking to)

Class 14:  
6. (a) Vudamarheli bya maphepha emakhumbini byi thyakisa miako.
(The clinging/sticking of the papers on the walls makes the building dirty).

(b) Vudamarheli bya tichungama empahleni ya vana byi karhata wansati.
(The clinging/sticking of the chewing gums on the clothes of the children worries the woman).

(c) Wansati u venga vudamarheli bya tichungama eka mpahla ya vana.
(The woman dislikes the clinging/sticking of the chewing gums on the clothes of the children).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vudamarheli* (clinging/sticking) refers to the act of holding fast or adhering to something.

**Gandla** (stamp)

A.  
[Actor]: mugandli (stamper)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Mugandli u bela vanhu switembe.
(The stamper is stamping stamps for the people).
(b) Mugandli u gandla papila ra xikombelo.
   (The stamper is stamping the application letter).

(c) Vanhu va yimela mugandli wa xitembe ehojisini.
   (The people are waiting for the stamper to stamp in the office).

Plural: class 2: vagandli (stampers)

The nominal mugandli (stamping person) refers to an individual who attach a stamp on a document. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of stamping which is done at a particular time. In other words, once the stamping of the document is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mugandli (stamping person). However, if stamping of documents is his main duty at work which he performs regularly, the nominal mugandli (stamping person) will be regarded as an individual-level nominal. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of stamping or he may not he will always be referred to as mugandli (stamping person).

Gandla (stamp)

B. [Excessive act]: rigandlo (excessive stamping)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigandlo ra wanuna ra mapapila ya vanhu ri tsakisa varhangeri vakwe.
   (The excessive stamping of the letters of the people pleases his leaders).

   (b) Rigandlo ra maphorisa ra swikombelo swa vanhu ri hlwerisa vakomberi.
   (The excessive stamping of the police of people’s applications delays applicants).

   (c) Wansati u nyefula rigandlo ra maphorisa ra maphepha ya vanhu.
   (The woman scorns the excessive stamping of the police of the papers of the people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rigandlo (excessive stamping) refers to an excessive act of putting a mark on documents as a mark of genuineness or authenticity.

Gandla (stamp)

A. [Expert/excessive ctor]: xigandli (expert/excessive stamper)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigandli xi bela vanhu switembe.
   (The expert/excessive stamper is stamping stamps for the people).

   (b) Xigandli xi gandla papila ra xikombelo.
   (The excessive stamper is stamping the application letter).

   (c) Vanhu va yimela xigandli xa switembe ehojisini.
   (The people are waiting for the expert/excessive stamper of stamps in the office).

Plural: class 8: swigandli (expert/excessive stampers)
The nominal **xigandli** (expert/excessive stamping person) refers to an individual who excessively attaches a stamp on a document. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertise or excessiveness will remain with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the person in question will be engaged in the act of stamping or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xigandli** (expert/excessive stamping person).

**Gandla** (stamp)

B. [Result/Artifact/Instrument]: xigandlo (stamp)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xigandlo xa maphorisa xi hambanile na xa xikolo. (The stamp of the police officers is different to the school one).

(b) Xigandlo xi tiyisisa vumbhoni bya maphepha. (The stamp strengthens the evidence of papers).

(c) Wanuna u cinca xigandlo siku. (The man is changing the stamp date).

Plural: class 8: swigandlo (stamps)

The nominal **xigandlo** (stamp) refers to a mark printed or placed on a document as a mark of genuinness or authenticity. But it may also refer to the instrument which has a mark which is printed on the documents.

**Gandla** (stamp)

C. [Act]: vugandli (stamping)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vugandli bya maphepha byi lehisa swilo. (The stamping of papers prolongs things).

(b) Vugandli bya mapapila byi tiyisa timhaka. (The stamping of papers confirms issues).

(c) Vanhu va folela vugadli bya maphepha emaphoriseni. (People are queuing for the stamping of papers at the police station).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugandli** (stamping) refers to an act of putting a mark on a document as a mark of genuinness or authenticity.

**Belela** (nail)

A. [Actor]: mubeleli (nailing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubeleli u belela lwangu. (The nailing person is nailing the roof).
(b) Mubeleli u heleriwile hi swipikiri.
(The nailing person has run out of nails).

(c) Lwangu ra xikoci ri tikela mubeleri.
(The scotch roof is difficult for the nailing person).

Plural: class 2: vabeleli (nailing persons)

The nominal **mubeleri** (nailing person) refers to an individual who attaches something somewhere by means of nails. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of nailing. Once this activity is completed, an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mubeleri** (nailing person).

**Belela** (nail)

B. [Excessive act]: ribelelo (excessive nailing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribelelo ra wanuna ra malwangu ri tsakisa vanhu.
(The excessive nailing of the roofs pleases the people).

(b) Ribelelo ra mutirhi ra matafula ri bela vanhu huwa.
(The excessive nailing of the worker of the tables makes noise for the people).

(c) Wanuna u sola ribelelo ra mutirhi ra lwangu.
(The man disapproves the excessive nailing of the worker of the roof).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribelelo** (excessive nailing) refers to an excessive act of attaching something somewhere by means of nails.

**Belela** (nail)

C. [Expert actor]: xibeleri (expert nailing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibeleri lexi beleleke Yesu xi na tihanyi.
(The notorious nailing person that nailed Jesus is cruel).

(b) Xibeleri xi tsandzeka lwangu ra yindlu ya makenya.
(The expert nailing person does not know the roofing of grass house).

(c) Tikapa ta kahle ti tsakisa xibeleri xa lwangu.
(Good timbers excite the expert nailing person of the roof).

Plural: class 8: swibeleri (expert nailing people)

The nominal **xibeleri** (expert nailing person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of attaching something somewhere by means of nails. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertness of nailing of the individual in question. This expertness will remain with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of nailing or he may not be engaged in it
at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xibeleri (expert nailing person).

Belela (nail)

D. [Event/Act]: vubeleri (nailing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubeleri bya malwangu bya tika.
(The nailing of the roofs is difficult).

(b) Vubeleri bya malwangu byi tsakisa wanuna.
(The nailing of the roofs makes the man happy).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela vubeleri bya malwangu ya xikoci.
(People like the nailing of Scotch roofs).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubeleri (nailing) refers to an act of attaching something somewhere by means of nails.

Phama (plaster)

A. [Actor]: muphami (plastering person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphami u pfuva daka.
(The plastering person mixes the mud)

(b) Muphami u boxa semendhe.
(The plastering person tears the cement bag.)

(c) Wanuna u nyika muphami mali.
(The man gives money to the plastering person.)

Plural: class 2: vaphami (Plastering people)

The nominal muphami (plastering person) refers to an individual who spread plaster on a surface, such as a wall of a house. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal, especially if plastering is not the individual’s occupation or hobby. However, if the individual in question does plastering as part of his duty, such a nominal will be regarded as an Individual-level nominal.

Phama (plaster)

B. [Excessive act/Manner]: riphamo (excessive plastering)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphamo ra wanuna ra tindlu ta RDP ra nyenyetsa.
(The excessive plastering of the man of RDP houses is annoying).

(b) Riphamo ra muaki ra xikolo ri tsakisa vadyondzisi.
(The excessive plastering of the builder of the school pleases the teachers).

(c) Wansati u sola riphamo ra mukhegula ra tindlu.
(The woman disapproves the excessive plastering of the old woman of the houses).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphamo (excessive plastering) refers to an excessive act of spreading plaster on a surface, such as a wall of a house.

**Phama (plaster)**

C. [Expert actor]: xiphami (expert plastering person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphami xa xitolo xi koxa muholo wa xona.
(The expert plastering person of he shop demands his payment).

(b) Xiphami xi holela vatirhi va xona kahle.
(The expert plastering person pays his workers well).

(c) Wanuna u nyika xiphami tibutsu.
(The man gives boots to the expert plastering person).

Plural: class 8: swiphami (expert plastering people)

The nominal xiphami (expert plastering person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of plastering. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertise which is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of plastering or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiphami (expert plastering person).

**Phama (plaster)**

D. [Artifact]: xiphamo (plastering tool)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphamo xa wanuna xi tshovekile.
(The plastering tool of the man is broken).

(b) Xiphamo xa wanuna xi phama kahle.
(The plastering tool plasters well).

(c) Wanuna u xava xiphamo eka Cash Built).
(The man buys the plastering tool from Cash Built).

Plural: class 8: swiphamo (plastering tools)

The nominal xiphamo (plastering tool) refers to a small hand tool with a handle and a flat metal blade used for scooping or spreading plaster.

**Phama (plaster)**

E. [Act]: vuphami (plastering)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuphami bya xikolo xa Chameti byi hetile mavhiki mambirhi.
(The plastering of Chameti School took three weeks).
(b) Vuphami bya vavasati bya tindlu byi tsakisa vaendzi va le ndzandzeni.
(The plastering of the women of the houses pleases guests from abroad).

(c) Vaaki va rhandza vuphami bya Yingwani bya tindlu.
(Residents like the plastering of Yingwani of the houses).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphami (plastering) refers to an act of spreading plaster on a surface, such as a wall of a house.
### 6.11 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF COMMUNICATION

The definition of Communication Verbs has been given in Section 5.2. of Chapter five which deals with deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition will still apply in this section. However, in this chapter the focus will be with deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

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**Hlamula (reply)**

A. [Actor]: muhlamuri (replier)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlamuri wa papila ra mina u tile.
   (The replier of my letter has come).

   (b) Muhlamuri u kaneta leswi vuriweke hi wanuna.
   (Every replier opposes what was said by the man).

   (c) Mufambisi u nyika muhlamuri nkarhi wo vulavula.
   (The programme director gives time to the answerer to speak).

Plural: Class 2: vahlamuri (repliers)

The nominal *muhlamuri* (replier) refers to an individual who responds in words or writing to something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of replying is something that takes place within a given time and passes. Once the act of replying has passed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as *muhlamuri* (replier) because the act of replying is no longer in place.

**Hlamula (Reply)**

B. [Excessive act]: rihlamulo (excessive replying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlamulo ra Makhanana eka timhaka ta van’wana ri ta n’wi bisa.
   (The excessive replying of Tsatsawana to other people’s affairs will have her beaten).

   (b) Rihlamulo ehenhla ka timhaka ta van’wana ri vanga rivengo.
   (Excessive answering in other people’s affairs causes hatred).

   (c) Wanuna u nyenya rihlamulo ra Makhanana eka timhaka ta van’wana.
   (The man dislikes the excessive answering of Tsatsawana in other people’s affairs)

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihlamulo* (excessive replying) refers to the speech act of continuing a conversational exchange which is done excessively, or just an excessive act of responding, in words or writing, to something or someone.

**Hlamula (Reply)**

C. [Excessive actor]: xihlamuri (excessive replier)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlamuri xa siku enhlengeletanini a xi nyikiwa sagwati.
   (The excessive replier of the day at the meeting was given an award).

   (b) Xihlamuri lexi va nga tshemba xona emhakeni leyi a xi nge ti namuntlha.
   (The excessive replier whom they trust in this case will not come today).
(c) Vavanuna va languta xihlamuri lexì nga tshamela endzhaku.
(The men look at the replier who is seated at the back)

Plural: Class 8: xihlamuri (replier)

The nominal xihlamuri (excessive replier) refers to an individual who excessively responds in words or writing to something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of replying of the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness of replying will always be associated with the individual in question whether at the time of reference he will be involved in the act of replying or not.

Hlamula (Reply)

D. [Result]: nhlamulo (answer)

Class 9: 4. (a) Nhlamulo ya xikombelo xa hina eka masipala yi vuyile.
(The answer to our application from the municipality has returned).

(b) Nhlamulo ya xikombelo xa wena u ta yi kuma vhiki leri taka.
(The answer to your application will be obtainable next week).

(c) Wanuna u rindzele nhlamulo yo huma eka masipala.
(The man is waiting for the answer from the municipality)

Plural: Class 3: tinhlamulo (answers)

The nominal nhlamulo (reply) refers to a statement, spoken or written, made in response to a question or request or criticism.

Hlamula (Reply)

E. [Act]: vuhamuri (replying)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhamuri bya wanuna eka mhaka leyi byi karihise vanhu.
(The (manner of) answering of the man in this matter angered people).

(b) Vuhamuri bya wansati ekhoto byi pfune muhehliwa.
(The (manner of) answering of the woman in court helped the accused).

(c) Wansati u tsakela vuhamuri bya wanuna.
(The woman likes the answering of the man)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhamuri (replying) refers to the speech act of continuing a conversational exchange, or just an act of responding, in words or writing, to something or someone.
Deverbatives derived from Verbs of Communication

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<td>vurhambi</td>
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</table>
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i
Muhlamuri (replier/answerer)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Rihlamulo (excessive replying)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xihlamuri (excessive replier)
Class 9
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o

nhlamulo (answer)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

Vuhlamuli (answering)

(59) Nominalization from the verb -hlamula (reply)

(x) The verb –hlamula (reply)
Mufana u hlamula xivutiso xo sungula ntsena.
(The young man answers the first question only).

\[
\begin{align*}
-\text{hlamula} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = x: \text{phys.obj} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlamula}\_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Reply – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -hlamula (replies) in (59) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that replies and the physical object...
that is affected by the act of replying. The event structure represents the process of replying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument, and the agentive quale represents the process of replying \((e_1)\) of the human argument\((x)\).

(60) **Nominalisation in class 1: muhlamuri** (replying person)

Muhlamuri wa mukhalabye u miyetiwile.
(The replying person of the old man was silenced)
(The replying person who was an old man was silenced).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muhlamuri} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E}1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlamula}_{\text{actor}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Reply – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **muhlamuri** (replying person) in (60) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that replies and the physical object that is affected by the act of replying. The event structure represents the process of replying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument, and the agentive quale represents the process of replying \((e_1)\) of the human argument\((x)\).

(61) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihlamuri** (excessive replier)

Xihlamuri xa siku enhlenegetanini a xi nyikiwa sagwati.
(The excessive replying person of the day at the meeting was given an award).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xihlamuri} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E}1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlamula}_{\text{actor\_expert/excessive}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Reply – Expert/Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xihlamuri** (expert/excessive replying person) in (61) is corresponds to that of **muhlamuri** (replying person) (60) above. The only difference that obtains is that **muhlamuri** (replying person) in (60) above lacks the feature of [expert/excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with **xuhlamuri** (expert/excessive replying person) in (61) above.
(62) Nominalisation in class 5: rihlamulo (excessive replying)

Rihlamulo ra Makhanana eka timhaka ta van’wana ri ta n’wi bisa. (The excessive replying of Tsatsawana in other people’s affairs will have her beaten).

\[
\text{rihlamulo}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = _{-hlamula_{excessive \text{ act}}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Reply – Excessiveness – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative rihlamulo (excessive replying) in (62) above exhibits three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that replies and the physical object that is affected by the act of replying. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of replying. The event structure represents the process of replying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who replies, and the agentive quale represents the process of replying (e_1) of the human argument(x).

(63) Nominalisation in class 14: vuhlamuri (answering)

Vuhlamuri bya wanuna eka mhaka leyi byi karihise vanhu. (The answering of the man in this matter angered people).

\[
\text{vuhlamuri}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = _{-hlamula_{act}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Reply – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuhlamuri (replying) in (63) corresponds to that of rihlamulo (excessive replying) in (62) above. The only difference that obtains is that vuhlamuri (replying) in (63) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rihlamulo (excessive replying) in (62) above.
(64) Nominalisation in class 9: nhlamulo (answer)

Nhlamulo ya xikombelo xa hina eka masipala yi vuyile.
(The answer to our application from the municipality has returned).

\[
\text{nhlamulo}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlamula\_result} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Reply – Result

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nhlamulo (reply) exhibits three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that replies and the physical object that is affected by the act of replying. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of replying. The event structure represents the process of replying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who replies, and the agentive quale represents the result of replying (e_1) of the human argument(x).

The other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of obtaining have similar lexical semantic representations to that of -hlamula (reply). The exceptions are that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -kanela (discuss), -senga (discuss court case), -vitana (call), -jhekajhekisa (debate) and -vulavula (speak) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix -o which denote result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -lumbeta (accuse), -tenga (discuss in court), -hleva (gossip), -vika (report) and -rhamba (invite) which does not allow such a nominalization. It is interesting to note that only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -rungula (best wish) which permits a nominalization in class 5 with the suffix -a with the meaning of result in contrast with all other verbs in this sub-class whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit such nominalization. The intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -vika (report) and -rhamba (invite) allows a nominalisation in class 3 denoting resultopposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hlamula (reply), -kanela (discuss), -lumbeta (accuse), -senga (discuss court case), -tenga (discuss in court), -vitana (call), -jhekajhekisa (debate), -hleva (gossip), -vika (report), -vulavula (speak) and -rhamba which does not permsits such a nominalization. Furthermore, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hlamula (reply) and -tenga (discuss in court) permits a nominalization in class 9 with the suffix -o with the meaning of result in contrast with the verbs -kanela (discuss), -lumbeta (accuse), -rungula (best wish) -senga (discuss court case),
vitana (call), jhekajhekisa (debate), hleva (gossip), vika (report), vulavula (speak) and rhamba which does not allow such a nominalization.

Kanela (Discuss)

A. [Actor]: mukaneri (discussing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukaneri u kombela phepha ro tsalela eka rona.
   (The discussing person is asking for the answer book).

   (b) Mukaneri wa nhlokombaka leyi u kume timakisi ta le henhla.
   (The discussing person of this topic got higher marks).

   (c) Muleteri u nyika mukaneri papilla ra swivutiso.
   (The lecturer gives the question paper to the discussing person).

Plural: Class 2: vakaneri (discussing person)

The nominal mukaneri (discussing person) refers to a person who talk about a particular subject with someone and tell each other their ideas. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of discussing is a temporary thing. Once the discussion comes to an end the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mukaneri (discussing person) since the defining property in this nominal is the act of discussing which has already taken place.

Kanela (Discuss)

B. [Event]: nkanelo (discussion)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nkanelo wa muleteri na muchudeni wu teke nkarhi wo leha.
   (The discussion between the lecturer and the student took a long time).

   (b) Nkanelo wa mhaka ya Zimbabwe hi SADC wu ta va hi Ravunthlanu eMidrand.
   (The discussion of Zimbabwe issue by SADC will be on Friday at Midrand).

   (c) Wanuna u nghenela nkanelo wa timhaka ta Zimbabwe.
   (The man participates in the Zimbabwean issues discussion).

Plural: mikanelo (discussions)

The nominal nkanelo (discussion) refers to an extended communication between two or more people dealing with some particular topic or a formal discourse on a topic.

Kanela (Discuss)

C. [Excessive act]: rikanelo (excessive discussion)

Class 5: 1. (a) Rikanelo ra vufambisi bya xikolo ra tindlela to antswisa mapaselo ri tsakisa vatswari.
   (The excessive discussion of the management of the school about strategies of improving pass rate pleases the parents).
(b) Rikanelo ra vaaki ra xiphiqo xa mati emugangeni ri tswarile mihandzu.
(The excessive discussion of the residents of the water problem in the area has borne fruits).

(c) Mufambisi u sola rikanelo ra vavanuna ra mhaka yin’we.
(The chairperson disapproves of the excessive discussion of the men of one issue).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikanelo** (excessive/intensive discussion) refers to an act or instance of excessive or intensive discussing of a particular topic or issue by two or more individuals.

**Kanela** (Discuss)

D.  [Expert/excessive actor]:  xikaneri (expert/excessive discussing person/negotiator)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Xikaneri xi hlamule swivutiso hinkwaswo.
(The expert/excessive discussing person has written all the questions).

(b) Xikaneri xa nhlokomhaka leyi xi kume timakisi ta le henhla.
(The expert/excessive discussing person of this topic got higher marks).

(c) Muleteri u nyika xikaneri papila ra swivutiso.
(The lecturer gives the question paper to the discussing person).

Plural: Class 2: swikaneri (expert discussing person/negotiators)

The nominal **xikaneri** (excessive/expert discussing person/negotiator) refers to an individual who excessively/intensively/expertly discusses an issue. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness/intensiveness/expertness of discussing is the defining property in this nominal and this property will permanently remain in this individual. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in discussion or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikaneri** (excessive/expert discussing person/negotiator).

**Kanela** (Discuss)

E.  [Act]:  vukaneri (discussion)

Class 14:  3.  (a) Vukaneri bya SADC na Presidente Mugabea byi tswalangi mihandzu.
(The discussion between SADC and President Mugabe did not bear fruits).

(b) Vukaneri bya mhaka ya Zimbabwe hi SADC byi nyika vanhu va tiko leriya ntshembo).
(The discussion of the Zimbabwe issue by SADC gives the people of that country hope).

(c) Wanuna u yingisela nkanelo wa mhaka ya mphakelo wa mati.
(The man listens to the discussion of the issue of water supply).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal *vukaneri* (discussion) refers to an act or instance of discussing; consideration or examination by argument, comment to explore solutions.

**Lumbeta** (Accuse)

A. [Actor]: mulumbeti (accuser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulumbeti wa wanuna u nyamalarile.
   (The accuser of the man has disappeared).

   (b) Mulumbeti u cinca nhlamuselo ya yena yo sungula.
   (The accuser changes his first statement).

   (c) Mulumbeti wa tisola eka leswi a nga swi vula.
   (The accuser is sorry for what he has said).

Plural: Class 2: valumbeti (accusers)

The nominal *mulumbeti* (accuser) refers to an individual who charges someone with a shortcoming or wrongdoing. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because accusing someone is an act which takes place and passes thereafter. Once the process of accusation has passed such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mulumbeti* (accuser).

**Lumbeta** (Accuse)

B. [Act]: rilumbeto (excessive accusation)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilumbeto ra wansati ri n’wi holovise na vingi vakwe.
   (The excessive accusation of the woman caused quarrels between her and the in-laws).

   (b) Rilumbeto ri susa ndzhuti wa munhu.
   (Excessive accusation takes away the dignity of a person).

   (c) Vanhu a va twanani na munhu wa rilumbeto.
   (People do not like the person of excessive accusation).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rilumbeto* (excessive accusation) refers to an act of excessive accusing of a person by someone or the state of being accused.

**Lumbeta** (Accuse)

C. [Excessive/notorious accuser]: xilumbeti (excessive accuser)

Class 5: 2. (a) Xilumbeti xa vavanuna xi ta ya ekhoto mundzhuku.
   (The excessive accuser of the men will appear in court tomorrow).

   (b) Xilumbeti xa vafana xi cinca xitatimente.
   (Excessive accuser of the young men changes his statement).
(c) Vanhu va hlongola xilumbeti xa vavasati etikweni.
(The people chase away the excessive accuser of the women from the village).

Plural: Class 8: Swilumbeti (Excessive accusers)

The nominal xilumbeti (excessive accuser) refers to an individual who excessively charges someone with wrongdoing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of accusing is a permanent property of the individual in question which will always be associated with him. In other words, whether the individual in question will be accusing someone or not at the time of reference such a person will always be referred to as xilumbeti (excessive accuser).

Lumbeta (Accuse)

D.  [Act]:  vulumbeti (accusation)

Class 14:  3.  (a) Vulumbeti bya wansati hi mufana byi n’wi onhela ntirho.
(The accusation of the woman by the young man destroys her job).

(b) Vulumbeti bya wanuna eka wansati a byi ri xikungu.
(The accusation of the man by the woman was a plot).

(c) Vavasati va sola vulumbeti bya wanuna eka nsati wakwe.
(The women condemn the accusation of the man on his wife).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vulumbeti (accusation) refers to an act of accusing or the state of being accused.

Rungula (Best wish)

A.  [Actor]:  murunguli (best wisher)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Murunguli wa le ka MunghanaLonene FM u lovile.
(The best wisher at the MunghanaLonene FM has passed away)

(b) Murunguli wa manana u ta vhaka mundzuku.
(The best wisher of manana will visit tomorrow)

(c) Matimba u rhandza murunguli wa yena swinene.
(Matimba likes his best wisher very much)

Plural: Class 2: varunguli (best wishers)

The nominal murunguli (best wisher) refers to an individual who expressed words of wishing other people well, especially relatives. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of expressing words of wishing well on other people which may take place for a short time. Once the expression of best wishing has passed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as murunguli (best wisher).
**Rungula** (Best wish)

**B.** [Excessive act]: rirungulo (best wishing)

**Class 5:** 2. (a) Rirungulo ra wanuna ra vanghana vakwe eka rhadiyo ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
   (The best wishing of the man of his friends on radio annoys his wife).
   
   (b) Rirungulo ra vavasati ra vingi va vona ri tsakisa vanuna va vona.
   (The best wishing of the women of their parents-in-law pleases their husbands).
   
   (c) Wansati u sola rirungulo ra nuna vakwe ra vanhu eka rhadio.
   (The woman disapproves of the excessive best wishing of her husband of the people on radio).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

**Rungula** (Best wish)

**C.** [Result]: rungula (best wish message/news)

**Class 5:** 3. (a) Rungula ra khisimusi ro suka eka munghana ra tsakisa.
   (The christmas best wish message from a friend is interesting).
   
   (b) Rungula ra rifu ra munghana wa mina ri twarile hi Sonto.
   (The news of the passing away of my friend was heard on Sunday).
   
   (c) Manana u hlaya rungula ra khisimusi leri humaka eka tatana.
   (My mother is reading the Christmas best wish message from my father).

Plural: Class 6: Marungula (Best wish messages/news)

The nominal rungula (best wish message) refers to the message of wishing other people well. But it may also refer to any other news.

**Rungula** (Best wish)

**D.** [Excessive ctor]: xirunguli (excessive best wisher)

**Class 7:** 4. (a) Xirunguli xa le ka MunghanaLonene FM xi lovile.
   (The popular best wisher at the MunghanaLonene FM has passed away)
   
   (b) Xirunguli xa vavasati eka rhadiyo xi tshama eGiyani.
   (The excessive best wisher of the women on radio stays in Giyani).
   
   (c) Wanuna u ta endzela xirunguli xa yena eGiyani.
   (The man will visit his excessive best wisher in Giyani).

Plural: Class 2: swirunguli (excessive best wishers)

The nominal xirunguli (excessive best wisher) refers to an individual who excessively wishes well to other. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of best wishing of the individual in question. In other words, whether
the individual in question will be engaged in the act of wishing other people well or not at the time of reference, such person will always be referred to as xirunguli (excessive best wisher).

**Rungula** (Best wish)

E.  
[Act]: vurunguli (best wishing)

Class 14:  
(a) Vurunguli byi endliwa hi nkarhi wa maxuxu eka rhadiyo.  
(The best wishing is done during early hours on the radio)

(b) Vurunguli bya ka rhadiyo byi rhandziwa ngopfu hi vayingiseri.  
(The best wishing of the radio is greatly liked by listeners)

(c) Manana u yingisela vurunguli eka rhadiyo.  
(My mother listens to the best wishing on the radio)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurunguli (best wishing) refers to the act of wishing other people well by an individual.

**Senga** (Discuss court case)

A.  
[Actor]: musengi (discussor of a court case)

Class 1:  
(a) Musengi u yima ebokisini.  
(The discussing person takes a stand).

(b) Musengi u kaneta muyimeri.  
(The discussing person opposes the lawyer).

(c) Muahluri u nyika musengi nkarhi wo vulavula.  
(The judge gives the discussing person an opportunity to talk).

Plural: Class 2: vasengi (discussing persons)

The nominal musengi (case discussing person) refers to an individual who discusses court case in the court of law before the magistrate. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of discussing court case. Once the act or the process of discussing court case comes to an end, such a person may no longer be referred to as musengi (case discussing person). In other words, for the individual in question has to be involved in the process of discussing court case in order for this nominal to refer to such a person.

**Senga** (Discuss court case)

B.  
[Event]: nsengo (discussion of court case)

Class 3:  
(a) Nsengo wa nandzu wu teka nkarhi wo leha.  
(This discussion of the case takes a long time).

(b) Nsengo lowu wu paluxile manyala yo tala lawa a ya endliwa.  
(This discussion revealed a lot of corruptions which were being done).
(c) Vakhalabye va yingisela nsengo wa timhaka ta Makhanana.
(Old men listen to the discussion of the cases of Makhanana).

Plural: Class 4: misengo (discussions)

The nominal nsengo (discussion of the case) refers to the act or process of discussing the court case by the individual.

Senga (Discuss court case)

C. [Excessive act]: risengo (excessive court case discussion)

Class 5: 3. (a) Risengo ra mhaka ya Tsatsawana ri dye mali yo tala.
(The excessive court of Tsatsawana spent a lot of money).

(b) Risengo ra Khazamula ri endla leswaku a tiviwa ngopfu ehubyeni.
(The excessive court case discussion of Khazamula makes him popular in the court).

(c) Wanuna u chava risengo ra Khazamula ekhoto.
(The man is afraid of the excessive case discussion of Khazamula in the court).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risengo (excessive discussion of the case) refers to the excessive act or process of discussing the court case by the individual.

Senga (Discuss court case)

D. [Expert/excessive ctor]: xisengi (expert/excessive case discussing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Xisengi xi ta pfaleriwa loko xi kumiwa a ri ni nandzu.
(The expert/excessive case discussing person will be locked up if he is found guilty)

(b) Xisengi xi fanele ku landzelela milawu hinkwayo ya huvo.
(The expert/excessive case discussing person should observe all rules of the court)

(c) Muahluri u vutise xisengi loko xi tivona nandzu.
(The judge asked the expert/excessive case discussing person if he is guilty)

Plural: Class 2: swisengi (excessive/expert case discussing persons)

The nominal xisengi (excessive/expert case discussing person) refers to an individual who excessively or expertly discusses court case in the court of law before the magistrate. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it is not the act of discussing case which characterizes the meaning of this nominal, but the excessiveness/expertness of discussing case of the individual in question. In other words, the property of excessiveness/expertness discussing case is a permanent property which will be associated with the individual in question for his entire life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is,
there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act or process of discussing a court case or not, such a person will always be regarded as *xisengi* (excessive/expert case discussing person).

**Senga (Discuss court case)**

E.  

[Act]  

vusengi (discussion of the court case)

Class 14:  

4.  

(a) Vusengi bya khale a byi endleriwa entsindza.  
(Past case discussions were conducted in the house)

(b) Vusengi byi rhandziwa ngopfu hi vanhu vo rhandza timhaka ta vanhu.  
(Case discussion is liked by people who like other people’s affairs)

(c) Vaavanyisi va teka vusengi byi ri xidziva xa ntirho wa vona.  
(Judges regard case discussion as the gist of their work)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vusengi* (discussion of the case) refers to the act or process of discussing the court case by the individual.

**Tenga (Discuss in court)**

A.  

[Actor]: mutengi (discussor of a court case)

Class 1:  

1.  

(a) Mutengi u ta khomiwa loko o voniwa nandzu.  
(The discussor of the court case will be arrested if found guilty)

(b) Mutengi u hlamusela majisitarata leswi humeleleke.  
(The discussor of the court case explains to the magistrate what happened)

(c) Huvo yi nyike mutengi nkarhi wo tihlamulela.  
(The court has given the court discussor the time to respond)

Plural: Class 2: vatengi (court case case discussor)

The nominal *mutengi* (case discussing person) refers to an individual who discusses court case in the court of law before the magistrate. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of discussing court case. Once the act or the process of discussing court case comes to an end, such a person may no longer be referred to as *mutengi* (case discussing person). In other words, for the individual in question has to be involved in the process of discussing court case in order for this nominal to refer to such a person.
**Tenga** (Discuss in court)

B. [Excessive act]: ritengo (excessive discussion of a court case)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritengo ra mhaka ya Selébi ri teke nkarhi wo leha.
   (The excessive discussion of Selébi’s case took a long time).
   
   (b) Ritengo ra khoto ra mhaka ya vuxavi bya matlhari ri heta mali ya xibalo.
   (The excessive discussion of the court of the arms deal wastes the tax).
   
   (c) Vanhu va sola ritengo ta khoto ra mhaka yin’we.
   (The people disapprove of the excessive discussion of the court of one case).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritengo** (excessive discussion of the case) refers to the excessive act or process of discussing the court case by the individual.

**Tenga** (Discuss in court)

C. [Expert/excessive ctor]: xitengi (expert/excessive discusser of a court case)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitengi xi ta khomiwa loko xo voniwa nandzu.
   (The expert/excessive discusser of the court case will be arrested if found guilty).
   
   (b) Xitengi xi hlamusela majisitarata leswi humeleleke.
   (The expert/excessive discusser of the court case explains to the magistrate what happened).
   
   (c) Huvo yi nyike xitengi nkarhi wo tihlamulela.
   (The court has given the expert/excessive discusser the time to respond)

Plural: Class 8: switengi (discussers of court cases)

The nominal **xitengi** (excessive/expert case discusser) refers to an individual who excessively or expertly discusses court case in the court of law before the magistrate. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it is not the act of discussing case which characterizes the meaning of this nominal, but the excessiveness/expertness of discussing case of the individual in question. In other words, the property of excessiveness/expertness discussing case is a permanent property which will be associated with the individual in question for his entire life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act or process of discussing a court case or not, such a person will always be regarded as **xitengi** (excessive/expert case discussing person).
**Tenga (Discuss in court)**

D.  [Event]: ntengo (discussion of court case/court case hearing)

Class 9:  4.  (a) Ntengo wu ta endliwa vhiki leritaka.
   (Discussion of court case/court hearing will be done next week)
   
   (b) Ntengo wa chavisa loko u nga wu tolovelangi.
   (Discussion of court case/court hearing is scary when you are not used to it)
   
   (c) Majisitarata u yisile ntsengo emahlweni.
   (The magistrate has postponed the discussion of court case/ court hearing)

Plural: Class 4: mitengo (court hearings)

The nominal ntengo (discussion of the case/court hearing) refers to the act or process of discussing the court case by the individual, or court hearing.

**Tenga (Discuss in court)**

E.  [Act]: vutengi (discussing of a case)

Class 14:  3.  (a) Vutengi bya milandzu ya vukhamba bya tika.
   (The discussion of cases of stealing is difficult)
   
   (b) Vutengi bya timhaka ta vatswantsi byi khomisa tingana.
   (The discussion of cases of elderly women is disappointing)
   
   (c) Makhanana u yingisa vutengi bya mhaka ya mhani wakwe.
   (Makhanana listens to the discussion of the case of her mother)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutengi (discussion of the case) refers to the act or process of discussing the court case by the individual.

**Vitana (call)**

A.  [Actor]: muvitani (caller)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Muvitani u tlakusa rito rakwe.
   (The caller lifts up his voice)
   
   (b) Muvitani u nyika mufana xitulu.
   (The caller gives chair to the young man.)
   
   (c) Wanuna u miyeta muvitani.
   (The man silences the caller.)

Plural: class 2: vavitani (callers)

The nominal muvitani (caller) refers to an individual who says or announce someone’s name in a loud voice. But it may also mean an individual who demand or asks for the presence of someone. This
nominal is defined in terms of the act of calling. In other words, the name only applies to an individual in question during the time when the calling is still taking place. Once the act of calling stops, such a person may no longer be referred to as *muvitani* (caller).

**Vitana** (call)

B.  
   [Result/Act]  \ mbitano (call)  
   Class 3:  
   (a) Mbitano wa Samuele hi Xikwembu wu humelerile khale.  
       (The calling of Samuel by God happened a long time ago.)  
   (b) Mbitano wa wanuna wa vafana wu kavanyeta nhlengeletano.  
       (The calling of the man of the young men disrupts the meeting.)  
   (c) Swigevenga swi sola mbitano wa wanuna wa maphorisa.  
       (The Criminals condemn the calling of the man of the police.)

Plural: Class 4: mimbitano (calls)

The nominal *mbitano* (call) refer a strong inner impulse towards a particular course of action when accompanied by conviction.

**Vitana** (call)

C.  
   [Excessive act]:  \ rivitano (excessive calling)  
   Class 5:  
   (a) Rivitano ra Khazamula ra vafana ri kavanyeta nhlengeletano.  
       (The excessive calling of Khazamula of the young men disrupts the meeting.)  
   (b) Rivitano ra mufana ra vanhwanyana ri karhata vatswari.  
       (The excessive calling of the young man of the young women troubles the parents.)  
   (c) Wanuna u sola rivitano ra mufana ra vanhu.  
       (The man disapproves the excessive calling of the young man of the people.)

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rivitano* (excessive calling) refers to the act of excessive calling of someone by somebody.

**Vitana** (call)

D.  
   [Excessive actor]:  \ xivitani (excessive caller)  
   Class 7:  
   (a) Xivitani xi huwelela vahundzi va ndlela.  
       (The excessive caller screams at the passersby.)  
   (b) Xivitani xi tumbela hi nsinya.  
       (The excessive caller hides behind the tree.)  
   (c) Wanuna u ba xivitani nomu.  
       (The man hits the excessive caller on the mouth).
Plural: class 8: swivitani (excessive callers)

The nominal xivitani (excessive caller) refers to an individual who excessively calls someone or others. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of calling which is done by the individual in question and not the calling itself. In other words, the excessiveness of calling other people will always be associated with the individual in question. Whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of calling or he may not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xivitani (excessive caller).

Vitana (call)

E.     [Act] vuvitani (calling)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vuvitani bya Samuele hi Xikwembu byi humelerile khale.
(The calling of Samuel by God happened a long time ago).

(b) Vuvitani bya wanuna bya vafana byi kavanyeta nhleneletano.
(The calling of the man of the young men disrupts the meeting).

(c) Swigevenga swi sola vuvitani bya wanuna bya maphorisa.
(The Criminals condemn the calling of the man of the police).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvitani (calling) refers to the act of calling of someone by somebody.

Jhekanjhekisana (debate)

A.     [Actor]: mujhekanjhekisani (debater)

Class 1: 1.  (a) Mujhekanjhekisani u kumile sagwati.
(The debater has won the award).

(b) Mujhekanjhekisani u yima emahlweni ka ntshungu.
(The debater stands before the audience).

(c) Mufambisi u komba mujhekanjhekisani nkarhi.
(The director shows time to the debater).

Plural: class 2: vajhekanjhekisani (debaters)

The nominal mujhekanjhekisano (debater) refers to a person who discusses or argues opposing reasons. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of debating which an individual in question is involved in. Once the act of debating comes to an end, such a person may no longer be referred to as mujhekanjhekisano (debaters).
Jhekanjhekisana (debate)

B. [Act]: njhekanjhekisano (debate)

Class 3: 2 (a) Njhekanjhekisano wa ANC na COPE a wu tsakisa.
(The debate of ANC and COPE was interesting).

(b) Njhekanjhekisano wa van’wamabindzu ni mfumo wu sungula mundzuku.
(The debate of business people and government starts tomorrow).

(c) Maphorisa va kavanyetile njhekanjhekisano wa van’watipolotiki.
(The police disrupted the debate of politicians).

Plural: class 4: minjhekanjhekisano (debates)

The nominal njhekanjhekisano (debate) refers to a serious discussion of a subject in which people take part.

Jhekanjhekisana (debate)

C. [Excessive act]: rijhekanjhekisano (excessive debating)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rijhekanjhekisano ra vadyondzi ri tsakisa vadyondzisi exikolweni.
(The excessive debating of students impresses the teachers at school).

(b) Rijhekanjhekisano ra Magezi na Mzamani ri nyanyula ntshungu.
(The excessive debating of Magezi and Mzamani excites the crowd).

(c) Vanhu va sola rijhekanjhekisano ra Mamayila na mphephu entirhweni.
(People criticise the excessive debate of Mamayila and Mphephu at work).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rijhekanjhekisano (excessive debating) refers to an act of engaging in excessive argument with other people.

Jhekanjhekisana (debate)

D. [Expert actor]: xijhekanjhekisani (expert debater)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xijhekanjhekisani xi rhambiwile enhlengeletanini.
(The expert debater has been invited at the meeting).

(b) Xijhekanjhekisani xa ANC xi lovile.
(The expert debater of ANC has passed away).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza xijhekanjhekisani xa swa tipolitiki xa le Unisa.
(People like the political expert debater from Unisa).

Plural: class 8: swijhekanjhekisani (expert debaters)

The nominal xijhekanjhekisani (expert debater) refers to an individual who always puts forward convincing opinions when engaged in serious discussion of a subject with other people. This nominal
may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because in defining property in this nominal is the skill of putting forward convincing reasons in a debate which is an inherent and a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in debate or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as *xijhekanjhekisani* (expert debater).

**Jhenjhekisana** (debate)

E. [Event, act]: vujhekanjhekisani (debating)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vujhekanjhekisani bya Magezi na Mzamani byi nyangatsa vanhu.
(The debating of Magezi and Mzamani irritates people).

(b) Vujhekanjhekisani bya van’wamabindzu ni mfumo byi teka nkarhi wo leha.
(The debating of the business people and the government takes a long time).

(c) Vadyondzi va sola vujhekanjhekisani bya vadyondzisi ni SGB exikolweni.
(Students criticise the debating of teachers and SGB at school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vujhekanjhekisani* (debating) refers to an act of engaging in serious discussion of a subject/argument with other people.

**Hleva** (gossip)

A. [Actor]: muhlevi (gossiper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlevi u holovisa vamakhelwana.
(The gossiper makes the neighbours quarrel against each other).

(b) Muhlevi u tenga milandzu ya yena ehubyeni.
(The gossiper discusses her cases in the court).

(c) Wanuna u ba muhlevi wan sati wa yena.
(The man beats the gossiper of his wife).

Plural: class 2: vahlevi (gossipers)

The nominal *muhlevi* (gossiper) refers to an individual who talks or reports about other people’s private lives which might be unkind, disapproving or not true. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of gossiping which once the case which he was gossiping about has been settled or buried such a person may no longer be referred to as *muhlevi* (gossiper).
**Hleva** (gossip)

B. **[Excessive act]**: rihlevo (gossip/excessive gossiping)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlevo ra wansati ri holovisa vanhu.
   (The excessive gossip makes people quarrel).

   (b) Rihlevo ra Sasavona ri nyangatsa vanhu.
   (The excessive gossip of Tsatsawana annoys people).

   (c) Makhanani u sola rihlevo ra Tsatsawana.
   (Makhanani disapproves the gossiping of Tsatsawana).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlevo** (excessive gossip) refers to an act of gossip which is done excessively by an individual.

**Hleva** (gossip)

C. **[Excessive/notorious actor]**: xihlevi (excessive/notorious gossiper)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlevi xi lwisa vanhu.
   (The excessive/notorious gossiper makes people fight).

   (b) Xihlevi xi rhandza timhaka ta vanhu.
   (The excessive/notorious gossiper likes the affairs of other People).

   (c) Magezi u rhukana xihlevi.
   (Magezi swears at the excessive/notorious gossiper).

Plural: class 8: swihlevi (excessive notorious gossipers)

The nominal **xihlevi** (excessive notorious gossiper) refers to a person who habitually spreads lies, intimate or private rumors about someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of gossiping will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether such an individual will be involved in the act of gossip or he may not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihlevi** (excessive notorious gossiper).

**Hleva** (gossip)

D. **[Act]**: vuhlevi (gossip)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlevi bya Tsatsawani byi n’wi dlayisile.
   (The gossip of Tsatsawana got her into trouble).

   (b) Vuhlevi bya wansati byi hahlula midyangu ya vanhu.
   (The gossip of the woman destroys other people’s families).

   (c) Muzamani u nyenya vuhlevi bya kokwana bya n’wingi wa wakwe.
   (Muzamani dislikes the gossip of the grandmother of her daughter in-law).
Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlevi** (gossip) refers to an idle talk or rumor, especially about the personal or private affairs of others.

**Vika** (report)

A.  [Actor]: muviki (reporter)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muviki wa vugevenga u fambile.
(The reporter of the crime is gone).

(b) Muviki wa mahungu u lovile.
(The reporter of news is dead).

(c) Manana u sola muviki wa mahungu.
(My mother criticises the reporter of the news).

Plural: class 2: vaviki (reporters)

The nominal **muviki** (reporter) refers to a person who gives an account of something or one who gives information about something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal especially if it is something that he is requested to do only for that particular time. However, if reporting is something that is done on a given interval or regular basis and is part of his occupation, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because such a task will always be associated with the individual in question.

**Vika** (report)

B.  [Act/Result]: mbiko (report)

Class 3:  2. (a) Mbiko wa wanuna wa vukungundzwana bya swa timali exikolweni wu ta vivisiwa mundzuku.
(The report of the man of the embezzlement of funds at school will come out tomorrow).

(b) Mbiko wa murindzi wa vafana lava yiveke tibuku wu tsakise mufambisi.
(The reporting of the guard of the young men who stole books pleased the manager).

(c) Wanuna u nyika mbiko wa leswi a swi kumeke eka vulavisisi.
(The man is giving a report of his findings in his investigation).

Plural: Class 4: mimbiko (reports)

The nominal **mbiko** (report) refers to an act of giving response, in respect of a matter inquired of, a duty enjoined, or information expected. But it may also refer to a response or document containing the findings. This nominal is not used in official domains.
Vika (report)

C. [Excessive act]: riviko (excessive reporting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riviko ra mahungu ya vukungundzwana eka maphephahungu ri tsakisa mavandla yo kaneta.
(The excessive reporting of corruption news in newspapers pleases opposition parties).

(b) Riviko ra mahungu ya vugevenga eka swiyanimoya ri hloholotela ugevenga.
(The excessive reporting of crime news on radios encourages crime).

(c) Manana u sola riviko ra mahungu ya vugevenga eka xiyanimoya.
(My mother criticises the excessive reporting of crime news on the radio).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riviko (excessive reporting) refers to an excessive act or instance of giving report by an individual.

Vika (report)

D. [Expert/excessive reporter]: xiviki (Expert/excessive reporter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiviki xa mahungu xi fambile.
(The expert/excessive reporter of the news is gone).

(b) Xiviki xa vugevenga xi lovile.
(The expert/excessive reporter of crime is dead).

(c) Vanhu va yingisa xiviki xa vugevenga eka Rhadiyo.
(People listen to the expert/excessive reporter of crime on Radio).

Plural: class 8: swiviki (Expert/excessive reporters)

The nominal xiviki (excessive/expert reporter) refers to an individual who usually give reports to people in meetings. But it may refer to someone who has an expertise of giving out a report. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness or the expertness or giving report by an individual. This property will always be associated with the individual in question.

Vika (report)

E. [Result]: xiviko (report)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiviko xa nhlengeletano xi ta tivisiwa mundzuku.
(The report of the meeting will be announced tomorrow).

(b) Xiviko xa swikoxo swa vuhosi xa khomixini xa Nhlapo xi humesiwile.
(The report of the claims of chieftainships of Nhlapo commission is out).

(c) Vanhu va yingisa xiviko xa swikoxo swa vuhosi.
(People listen to the claims of chieftainships).
Plural: class 8: swiviko (reports)

The nominal xiviko (report) refers to a response, in respect of a matter inquired of, a duty enjoined, or information expected.

Vika (report)

F. [Event./act]: vuviki (reporting)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuviki bya mahungu byi tsakisa vanhu.
(News reporting pleases people).

(b) Vuviki bya vugevenga byi sungula mundzuku eka Munghana lonene.
(The reporting of crime starts tomorrow on Munghana Lonene Fm).

(c) Vanhu va yingisa vuviki bya maphorisa bya vugevenga.
(People listen to the reporting of the police of the crime).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuviki (reporting) refers to an act or instance of giving report by an individual.

Vulavula (speak)

A. [actor]: muvulavuri (speaker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvulavuri u xeweta nhlengelatano.
(The speaker greets the gathering).

(b) Muvulavuri u sola mfumo wa ANC.
(The speaker criticises the ANC government).

(c) Mufambisi u nyika muvulavuri microphone.
(The programme director gives the speaker the microphone).

Plural: class 2: vavulavuri (speakers)

The nominal muvulavuri (speaker) refers to an individual who utters words, or one who expresses his thoughts, opinions, or feelings orally. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the context needs to make reference to the defining characteristics of an individual in question.

Vulavula (speak)

B. [Result/Act]: mbulavulo (speech)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mbulavulo wa Tsatsawani wu nyanyula ntshungu.
(The speech of Tsatsawana excites the crowd).

(b) Mbulavulo wa Jacob Zuma wu ta sungula mundzuku.
(The speech of Jacob Zuma will start tomorrow).

(c) Magezi u nyika mbulavulo enhlenegetanini.
(Magezi gives speech at the gathering).
Plural: class 4: mimbulavulo (speeches)

The nominal mbulavulo (speech) refers to the act of speaking; expression or communication of thoughts and feelings by spoken words; the power or ability to speak or the manner of speaking.

Vulavula (speak)

C. [Excessive act]: rivulavulo (excessive speaking)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rivulavulo ra Magezi eka timhaka ta van’wana ri ta n’wi ngenisa ekhombyeni. (The excessive speaking of Magezi about other people’s affairs will get him in trouble).

(b) Rivulavulo ra wansati hi swilo swa vanhu ri n’wi vangele valala vo tala. (The excessive speaking of the woman about other people’s affairs has created for her a lot of enemies).

(c) Vanhu va nyenya rivulavulo ra wansati eka timhaka ta van’wana. (People dislike the excessive speaking of the woman about other people’s affairs).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivulavulo (excessive peaking) refers to the excessive act or manner of speaking of the individual.

Vulavula (speak)

D. [Expert actor]: xivulavuri (guest speaker)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xivulavuri xi tshamile emahlweni. (The guest speaker sat in the front).

(b) Xivulavuri xa siku xi ta fika mundzuku enhlengelatanini. (The guest speaker for the day will arrive tomorrow at the meeting).

(c) Vanhu va yingisa xivulavuri xa siku enhlengelatanini. (The people listen to the guest speaker at the gathering).

Plural: class 8: swivulavuri (guest speakers)

The nominal guest xivulavuri (guest speaker) refers to a short-term invited visitor who engages in symposia, workshops, classes, demonstrations, and special lectures for honoraria. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the event in which the person in question serves as a guest speaker is a temporary occurrence which passes by in a few moments. Once the event has passed such an individual may no longer be referred to as xivulavuri (guest speaker).
Vulavula (speak)

E. [Event, act]: vuvulavuri (speaking/grammar)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuvulavuri bya wanuna eka mhaka leyi byi karihise vanhu.
(The speaking/grammar of the man on this issue has angered people).

(b) Vuvulavuri bya wansati enhlengelatanini byi tsakise vanhu.
(The speaking/grammar of the woman in the meeting cheered people).

(c) Vanhu va sola vuvulavuri bya Mzamani enhlengelatanini.
(People criticise the speaking/grammar of Mzamani at the meeting).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvulavuri (speaking/grammar) refers to the act or manner of speaking of the individual. But it may also refered to grammar.

Rhamba (Invite)

A. [Actor]: murhambi (inviter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhambi wa nhlengeletano a nga si fika.
(The inviter of the meeting has not yet arrived).

(b) Murhambi wa swigevenga i nuna wa yena.
(The inviter of the criminals is her husband).

(c) Vanhu va chava murhambi wa nhlengeletano.
(People are afraid of the inviter of the meeting).

Plural: Class 2: varhambi (inviters)

The nominal murhambi (inviter) refers to an individual who asks the presence or participation of someone into something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of inviting someone is a temporary thing. Once the act of inviting has been completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as murhambi (inviter).

Rhamba (Invite)

B. [Excessive inviting]: rirhambo (excessive inviting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rirhambo ra masipala ra tinhlengelatano ta vaaki ri nyenyetsa vanhu vo tala.
(The excessive inviting of the municipality of the residents annoys a lot of people).

(b) Rirhambo ra wanuna ra swigevenga emugangeni ri lemukiwile.
(The excessive inviting of the criminals in the village has been noticed).

(c) Vanhu va sola rirhambo ra hosi ra vaakatiko.
(The people disapprove of the excessive inviting of the chief of the residents).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rirhambo** (excessive invitation) refers to an excessive act of inviting someone by an individual.

**Rhamba (Invite)**

C. [Excessive ctor]: xirhambi (excessive inviter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirhambi xa nhlengeletano a xi si fika.
   (The excessive inviter of the meeting has not yet arrived).

   (b) Xirhambi xa swigevenga i nuna wa yena.
   (The excessive inviter of the criminals is her husband).

   (c) Vanhu va yimela xirhambi xa nhlangelatano.
   (The people are waiting for the excessive inviter of the meeting).

Plural: Class 8: swirhambi (excessive inviters)

The nominal **xirhambo** (invitation) refers to a spoken or written request for someone’s presence or participation in something.

**Rhamba (Invite)**

D. [Result]: xirhambo (invitation)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xirhambo xa nhlengeletano xi rhumeriwile vanhu.
   (The invitation of the meeting has been sent to the people).

   (b) Xirhambo xa vatswari xo huma exikolweni xi fikile.
   (The invitation of the parents to the school has arrived).

   (c) Vanhu va tsakela xirhambo xa nhlengeletano ya ndzhenga.
   (People like the invitation of the afternoon meeting).

Plural: Class 8: swirhambo (invitations)

The nominal **xirhambo** (invitation) refers to a spoken or written request for someone’s presence or participation in something.
(b) Vurhambi bya hosi bya nhleneletano ya xihatla byi chavisa vanhu.
   (The inviting of the chief of the residents’ meeting scares people).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala vurhambi bya nhloko ya xikolo bya nhleneletano ya vaakatiko.
   (The people are surprised at the inviting of the school principal of the residents’ meeting).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurhambi (invitation) refers to an act of inviting someone by an individual.
## 6.10. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The chapter presented a systematic examination of the deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the semantic verb classes contained in this chapter with a view of determining the noun classes which allow nominalization and those that disallow nominalization. It was demonstrated that a variety of semantic features may be distinguished with these deverbatives. Although in general deverbatives are of two kinds, the agentive and the non-agentive deverbatives, only one kind, namely the agentive deverbatives, which occur in this chapter. The chapter showed that it is possible to derive deverbatives in class 1 through the affixation of the class 1 prefix mu- and the suffix -i. The material that are presented in this chapter demonstrated that nominalization in class 1 is possible with all the verbs which have been selected in the various verb classes. The chapter illustrated that there is no verb that disallows nominalization in class 1. As has already been stated in chapter four and five, the chapter indicated that the reference of the deverbatives in this class is always to humans. It was also demonstrated that the semantic feature of [Actor] is found with all deverbatives in the various semantic verb classes.

An exciting observation which was found in this chapter is that class 3 seems to be more productive with respect to nominalization. It was demonstrated that out of the ten semantic verb classes that have been discussed in this chapter, only two classes, namely verbs of Separating and Disassembling and verbs Contact by Impact disallow nominalization in class 3. It was illustrated that derivation in class 3 occurs through the affixation of the class prefix mu- and the suffix o-. It was also indicated that deverbatives in class 3 usually make reference to inanimate objects. The chapter demonstrated that most prominent semantic feature in this class is that of [Result/Act], although other semantic features such as [Event] and/or [Artifact] is realized. It was found that in the semantic verb class of the verbs of Creation and Transformation, deverbatives that occur in class 3 are the following: muako (building) derived from the verb -aka (build) with the semantic feature of [Artifact/Result], ntirho (work) derived from the verb -tirha (work) which exemplifies the semantic feature of [Result], ntumbuluko (nature) derived from the verb -tumbuluka (originate) with the semantic feature of [Result], and ntlangu (play) derived from the verb -tlanga (play) with the semantic feature of [Event]. The chapter showed that nominalization in the semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence occurs from the verb -khuvula (baptise) only, from which the deverbative nkhuvelo (baptism) is derived. It was then found that the semantic meaning of [Event] occurs with such a deverbative. It was noted that all other verbs in this semantic verb class disallow nominalization.

It was demonstrated that although generally, nominalisation in class 3 from the verbs which are members of the semantic verb class of Judgement verbs occurs with all other verbs with the meaning of [Result/Act], the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs such as -avanyisa, (judge) -fundza (honour), -phata (praise), -sola (criticize), -thopa (praise), -venga (hate), -vonga (praise)
disallow nominalization in class 3. It was found that derivation in the Change of State verbs takes place with the verbs -petsa (fold) and -tshova (break) which result in the formation of the following deverbatives: mpetso (fold) and ntshovo (sale/reduction) respectively, and they all occur with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was illustrated that deverbatives that are formed from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Change of Possession have the semantic meaning of [Event/Act/Result]. It was also found that derivation of nouns with the verbs of obtaining takes place with the verbs such as -xava (buy), -hola (receive payment), and -veleka (give birth) from which the deverbatives nxavo (price/cost), muholo (payment) and mbeleko (birth) are derived. It was revealed that no derivation occurs with the verbs such as -kha (pick) and -hlula (win). It was found that the verb -gaya (grind) is the only one in the semantic verb class of the verbs of Combining and Attaching that allows the derivation of the deverbative mugayo (grinded mealies) in class 3 with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was stated that other verbs that are also members of this class disallow such a derivation. It was demonstrated that most verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Communication permits nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of [Event/Act/Result]. However, It was indicated that no derivation can take place from the following verbs: -hlamula (reply), -lumbeta (accuse), -rungula (express best wish), and -rhamba (invite).

It was demonstrated in this chapter that although it is possible for nominalization to take place in the two subcategories of class 5, nominalisation takes place more frequently in the first category than with the second category. The work revealed that derivation of nominals in class 5 is made possible through the affixation of the class prefix ri- and the suffix -o. It was illustrated that in the first category, nominalization occurs in all the classes indicated in the table above, but does no suggest that nominalization takes place in each an individual verb. It was shown that that this is possible with some verbs, but there are semantic verb classes where nominalization occurs in a very limited number of verbs. It was found that the derivation of nominals in the first category of class 5 is made possible through the affixation of the class prefix ri- and the suffix -o. It was demonstrated that the most prominent semantic feature in the deverbatives belonging to first category is that of [Excessive Act]. It was revealed that this feature occurs with all the verbs across the semantic verb classes contained in this chapter, except only for the verb -tirha (work) whose intrinsic semantics disallows such a derivation in this class. It was demonstrated that nominalisation in the second category occurs through the class prefix ri- and the suffix -o. It was found that in some cases however, other suffixes may also occur. The work in this chapter illustrated that the derivation of deverbatives in the second category is not a frequent phenomenon. It showed that out of the ten semantic verb classes included in this chapter, derivation in this second category occurs in only two verb classes, namely verbs of Creation and Transformation, and verbs of Communication. It was demonstrated that the intrinsic semantics of all verbs in other verb classes does not permit a nominalization in class 5. It was further demonstrated that the following verbs are derived from the semantic verb class of verbs of Creation and
Transformation: *sweko* (hearth stone) derived from the verb *-sweka* (cook) and *vumba* (mould) derived from *-vumba* (mould), both occurring with the semantic feature of [Result/Instrument]. It was illustrated that the deverbative *tsalwa* (document) derived from the verb *-tsala* (write) also occurs in this class and has a feature [Result/Artifact]. It was established that only the verb *-rungula* (express best wish) from the semantic verb class of Communication allows nominalization in class 5. It was revealed that all other verbs in this verb class do not permit such a nominalization. It was demonstrated that the deverbatives in the second category may appear in plural in class 6, in contrast with the deverbatives in the first category which cannot take pluralization.

It was found that nominalisation proves to be a regular phenomenon with both categories of class 7. It was again found, just like in the chapters four and five that the first category of class 7, which in this study is referred to as subclass 7 (a) deals with class 1 deverbatives, that is, deverbatives which make reference to humans. It was observed that the only deference being that class 7 deverbatives occur with the feature [Expert/Excessive] while this feature is absent with class 1 deverbatives. It was established that derivation of deverbatives in the first category of class 7 occurs in all the verbs of the semantic verb classes which are treated in this chapter. The only difference which was found among the deverbatives in this class may be in terms of their semantic features, especially the regularity and the irregularity of occurrences with various verbs. It was revealed that the most common semantic feature in the first category of class 7 deverbatives is that of [Expert/Excessive]. It was found that the dominant semantic feature among the verbs of Creation and Transformation is that of [Expert]. It was observed that although, the semantic feature of [Excessive Actor] may be realized in this class, it only occurs with only a few verbs. It was found that a similar phenomenon occurs with verbs of Combining and Attaching. It was realized that this is in contrast with the deverbatives derived from the verbs of Judgement whose dominant semantic feature is [Excessive Actor], although the semantic feature of [Expert Actor] also occurs with other deverbatives in this class. It was established that the semantic feature of [Expert/excessive Actor] occurs in all other semantic verb classes.

It was found that the most prominent semantic feature with the deberbatives in the second subclass of class 7 is that of [Result]. It was demonstrated that other semantic features that occur in this subclass are [Artifact/Instrument] and [Result/Instrument]. It was illustrated that nominalisation with the verbs from the semantic verb class of Creation and Transformation occurs regularly since it able to take place with six verbs in this verb class. It was found that the following deverbatives may be derived from the verbs in this verb class: *xiako* (building instrument) derived from the verb *-aka* (build), *xichayo* (playing instrument) which comes from the verb *-chaya* (play), *xichayoi* (floor beating instrument) which is generated from the verb *-chaya* (flatten floor by beating), *xithopo* (heap of wood) which is produced by the verb *-thopa* (pack into a heap), *xitirho* (working tool) derived from the verb *-tirha* (work), and *xitsalo* (pen/writing instrument) which emanates from the verb *-tsala* (write). It was found that all of these deverbatives occur with the semantic feature of
[Artifact/Instrument], with the exception of the deverbative *xithopo* (heap of wood) which has the semantic feature of [Result].

It was established that nominalisation is not a common phenomenon with the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence since only one deverbative occurs within this verb class, namely *xiandlalo* (bedspread) which is derived from the verb *-andlala* (spread a thing) and the meaning of [Artifact] occurs with it. It was found that the following deverbal nominals may be derived from the verbs in semantic verb class of Judgement verbs: *xifundzo* (honorary) derived from the verb *-fundza* (honour), *xihenhlo* (accusation) which is derived from the verb *-hehla* (accuse), *xiphato* (praise poem) which comes from the verb *-phata* (praise), *xisolo* (criticism/blame) which is generated from the verb *-sola* (criticize/put a blame), *xithopo* (praise) derived from the verb *-thopa* (praise), and *xivongo* (clan name) derived from the verb *-vonga* (praise). It was noted that the semantic feature of [Result] occurs with all of these deverbal nominals. It was observed that although nominalization proves to be a productive phenomenon with the verbs in the verb class of Judgement verbs, there are some verbs which disallow nominalization in this subclass. It was indicated that such verbs include the following: *-avanyisa* (judge), *-hlekula* (mock), *-rhukana* (insult), *-xixima* (honour), *-xumbadza* (humiliate), *-venga* (hate), and *-xupula* (punish).

It was noted that there are only four verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Change of State whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics permits nominalization in this subclass. It was illustrated that such verbs are *-pfala* (close) from which the deverbative *xipfalo* (door/lid) emanates, *-pfula* (open) from which the deverbative *xipfulo* (tin opener) originates, *-hisa* (burn) from which the deverbative *xihiso* (forge/thing that gets burnt), and *-handzula* (operate) from which the deverbative *xihandzulo* (operating instrument) is derived. It was observed that all these deverbal nominals are assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. The materials that are presented in this chapter showed that nominalization is not so common with the verbs in the following semantic verbs classes: verbs of Separating and Disassembling, verbs of Possession, verbs of Contact by Impact, and verbs of Communication. It was found that only one verb allows nominalization in each of these verb classes. It was indicated that such verbs are the following: *-ava* (dividing thing) from the verb class of verbs of Separating and Disassembling which gives rise to the deverbative *xiavo* (dividing thing) comes and it is assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. The materials that are presented in this chapter showed that nominalization is not so common with the verbs in the following semantic verbs classes: verbs of Separating and Disassembling, verbs of Possession, verbs of Contact by Impact, and verbs of Communication. It was found that only one verb allows nominalization in each of these verb classes. It was indicated that such verbs are the following: *-ava* (dividing thing) from the verb class of verbs of Separating and Disassembling which gives rise to the deverbative *xiavo* (dividing thing) comes and it is assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. *-bala* (pay tax) a member of verbs of Change of Possession from which the deverbative *xibalo* (tax) is generated which has the semantic feature of [Result], *-balesa* (shoot) from which the deverbative *xiblesa* originates which has the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument], and *-vika* (report) from which the deverbal nominal *xiviko* (report) comes which has the semantic feature of [Result].

It was established that nominalisation in this subclass occurs regularly with the verbs in the semantic verb class of Combining and Attaching. It was found that out of ten verbs which are included in this
chapter, eight allow nominalization, namely -gaya (grind) from which the deverbative xigayo (grinding mill) is derived, -boha (tie) from which the deverbative xiboho (resolution) emanates, -siva (block) from which the deverbal nominal xisivo (stopper/blocking thing) is derived, -tsimba (tie) from which the deverbal nominal xitsimbo (tying thing) emanates, -damarheta (paste) from which the deverbative xidamarheto (pasting thing) is derived, -damarhela (stick/cling) from which the deverbatives xidamarhelo (sticking thing) and xidamarhela (sticking lizard) originate. It was observed that the semantic feature of [Artifact/instrument] occurs with the deverbatives xigayo (grinding mill), xisivo (stopper/blocking thing), xitsimbo (tying thing), and xidamarheto (pasting thing). It was demonstrated that the deverbals such as xiboho (resolution), xidamarhelo (sticking thing), and xidamarhela (sticking lizard) are assigned the semantic feature of [Result]. It was noted that only two verbs from the verb class of verbs of Combining and Attaching do not allow nominalization in this subclass, namely -rhunga (sew), and -belela (nail).

It was established that nominalisation rarely occurs in class 9. It was demonstrated that from the verbs in the semantic verb classes contained in this chapter, nominalization occurs in only two verbs, which are -tlhava (stab) from the semantic verb class of Killing and -hlamula (reply/answer) from the semantic verb class of Communication. It was found that the deverbatives that may be derived from these two verbs are ntlhavo (piercing wire) which has the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] and nhlamulo (reply/answer) with the semantic feature of [Result]. Both these deverbatives are fromed through the affixation of the class prefix yi(n)- and the suffix -o and they inanimate argument. It has been established that class 14 deverbatives may be divided into two subclasses, the first subclass being of the deverbatives which have correlations with the deverbatives in class 5 which also occur with the suffix -i, and the second subclass relates to the deverbatives which refer to other things and occur with other suffixes such as -a, -u and -a. It was established that although the first subclass of class 14 deverbatives, which in this study is regarded as subclass 14 (a) have similarities with the deverbatives in subclass 5 (a), the difference is that class 5 (a) deverbatives occur with the feature [Excessive], whereas class 14 (a) deverbatives do no have this feature. It was noted that other than this exception, it was found that the dominant semantic feature in both classes is that of [Act]. It was realized that the semantic feature of [Act/Event] may sometimes be realized as well, although very rarely. It was further established that in this chapter, class 14 deverbatives occur in all the semantic verb classes and in most of the verbs. It was noted that it is only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs such as -tirha (work) from the semantic verb class of verbs of Creation and transformation, and -venga (hate) from the semantic verb class of the verbs of Judgement which disallow nominalization in subclass14 (a). It was found that all the deverbatives in the first subclass of class 14 are nominalised through the class prefix vu- and the suffix -i.

It was found that nominalisation in the second subclass of class 14, which is referred to as subclass 14 (b) in this study, is not so common. It was demonstrated that only a few verbs allow the occurrence of
nominalization in this subclass, namely -aka (build), a member of verbs in the semantic verb class of Creation and Transformation from which the deverbative vuako (abode) is derived, -andlala (spread) from the semantic verb class of verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence from which the deverbative vuandlalo (width and breadth of a thing), all with the semantic feature of [Place]. It was illustrated that the other verbs which allow derivation comes from the semantic verb class of Judgement, which are, -avanyisa (judge) from which the deverbative vuavanyiso (judging profession) is derived, and -phata (praise) which generates the deverbative vuphato (praise poetry). It was demonstrated that both these deverbatives occur with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was also found that these deverbatives in this subclass are formed through the class prefix vu- and the suffix -o.
CHAPTER SEVEN

DEVERBAL NOMINALS FROM MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

Verbs of Putting, Perception, Social Interaction, Motion, Killing, Sending and Carrying, Ingestion, Hold and Keep, and verbs of Cutting

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter entails a systematic exploration of the deverbatives derived from the monotransitive verbs which is subdivided into sections of various verb classes as listed above. Section 7.2. deals with the verbs of Putting, section 7.3. focuses on verbs of Perception, 7.4. discusses the verbs of social Interaction, 7.5. examines Motion Verbs, 7.6. explores verbs of Killing, 7.7. investigates verbs of Sending and Carrying, 7.8. looks at verbs of Ingestion/Consumption, 7.9.discusses Hold and Keep verbs, and 7.10. investigates verbs of Cutting. The aim is to outline the nature of the semantic features within the range of verb classes across noun classes and to determine whether there are correlations between these semantic features. Attention is also be given to the morphological structure of the noun within the framework of the x-bar theory to determine whether the deverbatives in this chapter employs the same structure as used by ordinary nominals or not. In each verb class, the morphological structure is only applied to deverbatives derived from one verb across possible noun classes and this is considered as representing all other deverbatives in the same verb class. It is also the aim of this chapter to employ Pustejovsky’s framework on the nature of the lexical semantic representation of the nominals as outlined in the Generative Lexicon Theory (1996). The main aim is to find out whether this structure is useful in analysing the meaning of Xitsonga deverbal nominals. The lexical semantic representation is applied on deverbatives derived from the one verb. The findings from such deverbatives are viewed as representing the behaviour of all deverbatives from other verbs found in that verb class. Another aim of this chapter is to employ Busa’s view (1996) in distinguishing between deverbal nominals which may be interpreted as stage-level and/or those that are individual-level nominal, as it may not always be easy to make such a distinction. Section 7.11. gives the summary of the main findings and the conclusion of the chapter.

7.2. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF PUTTING

Verbs of Putting are defined by Levin (1995:114) as the verbs which refer to putting an entity at some location. He asserts that the location is expressed via a prepositional phrase headed by one of a range of locative prepositions. He argues that the preposition heading this phrase cannot be the goal preposition to or the source from. Furthermore, Levin (op cit) points out that these verbs do not have related
intransitive uses. He stipulates that some of these verbs have zero-related nominals with a variety of meanings. However, in Xitsonga no such verbs which have zero-related nominals can be found. All verbs under consideration have action or agentive interpretation.

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Xaxa (Fence with branches)

A. [Actor]: muxaxi (fencer with branches).

Class 1: 1. (a) Muxaxi u tsema mahlampfu entshaveni.
(The fencer cuts branches on the mountain).

   (b) Muxaxi u xava xihloka exitolo.
   (The fencer buys an axe from the shop.

   (c) Wanuna u lomba muxaxi xihloka.
   (The man lends the axe to the fencer).

Plural: Class 2: vaxaxi (fencing people)

The nominal muxaxi (fencing person with branches) refers to an individual who uses tree branches to enclose a yard or field, or one who erects a temporary shelter through tree branches. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of fencing takes place for a short term. Once the fencing has been completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as muxaxi (fencing person with branches).
**Xaxa** (Fence with branches)

B. [Artifact/Result]: nxaxa (fence of branches)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nxaxa wa swikhombana wu tshwile.
(The fence of branches for the initiates has burnt down).

(b) Nxaxa wu sirhelela swikhombana eka moya.
(The fence of branches prevents winds from the initiates).

(c) Vafana va hahlula nxaxa wa nsimu ya tatana.
(The young men destroy the fence of branches of my father).

Plural: Class 4: mixaxa (fences of branches)

The nominal nxaxa (fence of tree branches/temporary shelter) refers to a fence of branches which encloses a yard or field. But it may also refer to a temporary shelter made of tree branches.

**Xaxa** (Fence with branches)

[Excessive act]: rixaxo (excessive fencing with branches)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rixaxo ra wanuna ra tinsimu ta vanhu ri n’wi nghenisela mali yo tala.
(The excessive fencing with branches of the man of the people’s fields gives him a lot of money).

(b) Rixaxo ra wanuna ra masimu ra n’wi ondzisa.
(The excessive fencing with branches of the man of the fields makes him lean).

(c) Wansati u sola rixaxo ra wanuna ra masimu ya vanhu.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive fencing with branches of other people’s fields).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rixaxo (excessive fencing with tree branches) refers to an excessive act of enclosing a yard or field with tree branches.

**Xaxa** (Fence with branches)

D. [expert]: xixaxi (expert fencer with branches)

Class 7: 1. (a) Xixaxi xi tsema mahlampfu entshaveni.
(The expert/excessive fencer cuts branches on the mountain).

(b) Xixaxi xi xava xihloka exitolo.
(The expert/excessive fencer buys an axe from the shop).

(c) Wanuna u lomba xixaxi xihloka.
(The man lends the axe to the expert/excessive fencer).
Plural: Class 2: swixaxi (expert fencing people)

The nominal *xixaxi* (expert fencer with branches) refers to an individual who has an expertise of making fence with tree branches. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness which this nominal modifies is a permanent trait of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of fencing or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be regarded as *xixaxi* (expert fencer with branches).

**Xaxa** (Fence with branches)

C. [Act]: vuxaxi (fencing with branches)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuxaxi bya masimu byi sirhelela swibyariwa eka swiharhi.  
(Fencing of the fields protect plants from animals).

(b) Vuxaxi byo endliwa hi mahlampfu ya nxanatsi byi tiyile.  
(Fencing made of branches of Mopani branches is strong).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza vuxaxi bya nsimu hi mahlampfu ya mitwa.  
(The man likes that fencing of the field by thorn branches).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuxaxi* (fencing with tree branches) refers to an act of enclosing a yard or field with tree branches, or an act of erecting a temporary shelter with tree branches.

**Bvimba** (Put a lid)

A. [Actor]: mubvimbi (placer of a lid)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubvimbi wa ha tatisa khuwana.  
(The placer of a lid is still filling up the clay pot).

(b) Mubvimbi u hlantswa xibvimbi.  
(The placer of a lid washes the lid).

(c) N’wana u huwelela mubvimbi wa khuwana enambyeni.  
(The child shouts at the placer of a lid on the clay pot in the river).

Plural: Class 2: vabvimbi (placers of lids)

The nominal *mubvimbi* (one who put a lid) refers to an individual who places a removable or hinged cover on box or pot. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of placing a lid on something is temporary. Once the act has been completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mubvimbi* (placer of a lid).
**Bvimba** (put a lid)

B.  [Excessive Act]:  ribvimbo (excessive putting a lid)

Class 5:  3.  (a) Ribvimbo ra Khanyisa ra tijara ta masi ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive putting a lid of Khanyisa on the jars of milk annoys the man).

(b) Ribvimbo ra Tsatsawana ra tibanana hi maphepha ri kahle.
(The excessive covering of Tsatsawana of the bananas with papers is good).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela ribvimbo ra Tsatsawana ra tibanana hi maphepha.
(The man likes the excessive covering of Tsatsawana of the bananas with papers).

Plural: No plural for a corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribvimbo** (excessive putting a lid) refers to the act of placing a removable or hinged cover on a box or pot which is done excessively.

**Bvimba** (Put a lid)

C.  [Expert/excessive actor]:  xibvimbi (Expert/Excessive putter of a lid)

Class 7:  2.  (a) Xibvimbi xa poto ra nyama xi tshwile tintiho.
(The expert/excessive putter of a lid of the pot of the meat burnt his fingers).

(b) Xibvimbi xa jara ya byalwa xi etele.
(The expert/excessive putter of a lid of the jar of beer is asleep).

(c) Wansati u sola xibvimbi xa poto ra nyama enkhubyeni.
(The woman disapproves the expert/excessive putter of a lid of the pot of the meat at the function).

Plural: Class 8:  swibvimbi (Expert/excessive putters of lids)

The nominal **xibvimbi** (expert/excessive putter of a lid) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively places a removable or hinged cover on a box or pot. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise or the excessiveness of putting a lid which is being modified by this nominal will remain with this individual for the rest of his life; it is not something that can change overtime.

**Bvimba** (Put a lid)

D.  [Artifact/Instrument]:  xibvimbo (lid)

Class 7:  2.  (a) Xibvimbo xa poto ra nyama xi fayekile.
(The lid of the pot of the meat has cracked).

(The lid of the meat pot has cracked).
(b) Xibvimbo xa ketele xi nyamalarile.
(The lid of the kettle has disappeared).

(c) Wansati u lava xibvimbo xa poto exitangeni.
(The woman is looking for the lid of the pot in the kitchen).

Plural: Class 8: swibvimbo (lids)

The nominal xibvimbo (lid) refers to a removable or hinged cover for a box or pot. It may have a reading of artifact because it is a man-made object.

Bvimba (put a lid)

E. [Act]: vubvimbi (putting a lid)

Class 14: (a) Vubvimbi bya pani yo hisa byi nga hisa vana.
(Putting a lid on the hot pan can burn the children).

(b) Vubvimbi bya jara ya meleke byi sivela mavabyi.
(Putting a lid on a jar of milk prevents diseases).

(c) Wanuna u xiya vubvimbi bya khuwana ra mati hi vana.
(The man checks the putting of a lid on the clay pot by the children).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubvimbi (putting a lid) refers to an act of putting a removable or hinged cover on a box or pot by an individual.

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Class 1
PREFIX: mu-
SUFFIX: -i

Mubvimbi (placer of a lid)

Class 5
PREFIX: ri-
SUFFIX: -o

Ribvimbo (excessive putting of a lid)

Class 7
PREFIX: xi-
SUFFIX: -i

Xibvimbi (expert/excessive putter of a lid)
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o

Xibvimbo (lid)

Verbs of Putting

(1) Nominalization from the verb bvimba (put a lid)

Wansati u bvimba khuwana ra mati.
(The woman is putting tree leaves on the clay pot of the water).
The lexical semantic representation of the verb -bvimba in (1) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, two of which are default arguments, namely the physical object that is affected by the act of placing a lid and the location on which the placing of the lid is done. The other argument, ARG1, represents the human who is involved in the act of placing a lid. The event structure represents two events, namely the process of placing a lid and the resultant state of placing a lid. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_2) of the process of placing a lid (e_1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument, and the agentive quale represents the process of placing a lid (e_1) of the human argument(x).

(2) Nominalisation in class 1: mubvimbi (placer of a lid)

Mubvimbi wa ha tatisa khuwana.
(The placer of a lid is still filling up the clay pot).

mubvimbi

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person
D-ARG1 = y: phys.obj.
D-ARG2 = z: location
EVSTR = E_1 = e_1: process
E_2 = e_2: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e_2
QUALIA = FORMAL = on (e_2, x, y, z)
AGENTIVE = -bvimba_actor (e_1, x)
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Place of a lid – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **mubvimbi** (placer of a lid) in (2) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, two of which are default arguments, namely the physical object that is affected by the act of placing a lid and the location on which the placing of the lid is done. The other argument, ARG1, represents the human who is involved in the act of placing a lid. The event structure represents two events, namely the process of placing a lid and the resultant state of placing a lid. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \(e_2\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_2\) of the process of placing a lid \(e_1\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument, and the agentive quale represents the process of placing a lid \(e_1\) of the human argument(x).

(3) **Nominalisation in class 7: xibvimbi** (expert/excessive putting of a lid)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xibvimbi} & = \text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{person} \\
& \text{D-ARG1} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
& \text{D-ARG2} = z: \text{location} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_2 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{on} (e_2, x, y, z) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–bvimba_actor_expert/excessive} (e_1, x)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Place a lid – Expert/Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xibvimbi** (expert/excessive placing person of a lid) in (3) is similar to that of **mubvimbi** in (2) above. The only distinction relates to the feature [expert/excessive] which is present with **xibvimbi** (expert/excessive placing person of a lid) in (3) above and absent with **mubvimbi** (placer of a lid) in (2) above.

(4) **Nominalisation in class 5: ribvimbo** (excessive putting of a lid)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ribvimbo ra Khanyisa ra tijara ta masi ri nyenyetsa wanuna.} \\
& (\text{The excessive putting a lid of Khanyisa annoys the man}).
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarcy of semantic concepts: Place a lid – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *ribvimbo* (excessive placing of a lid) in (4) above exhibits four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that places a lid, the physical object that is affected by the act of placing a lid and the location on which the lid is placed. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of placing a lid. The event structure represents two events, namely the process of placing a lid and the resultant state of placing a lid. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_2) of the process of placing a lid (e_1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument, and the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of placing a lid (e_1) of the human argument(x).

(5) Nominalisation in class 14: *vubvimbi* (putting a lid)

_vubvimbi_ bya pani yo hisa byi nga hisa vana.
(Putting a lid on the hot pan can burn the children).
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Place a lid – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vubvimbi** (placing of a lid) in (5) is similar to that of **ribvimbo** (excessive placing of a lid) in (4) above. The only distinction relates to the feature [excessive] which is present with **ribvimbo** (excessive placing of a lid) in (4) above but absent with **vubvimbi** (placing of a lid) in (5) above.

(6) Nominalisation in class 7: **xibvimbo** (lid)

Xibvimbo xa poto ra nyama xi fayekile.
(The lid of the meat pot is broken).

```
xibvimbo
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
    D–ARG1 = x: human
    D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
    D–ARG3 = z: location
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process
    D–E2 = e2: state
    Restr = Temporally ordered
    Head = e2
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y, z)
    AGENTIVE= -bvimbaartifact/instrument (e1, x)
```

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Place a lid – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **xibvimbo** (lid) in (55) above exhibits four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that places a lid, the physical object that is affected by the act of placing a lid and the location on which the lid is placed. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of placing a lid. The event structure represents two events, namely the process of placing a lid and the resultant state of placing a lid. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of placing a lid (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument, and the agentive quale represents the reading of artifact/instrument of the lid (e1) of the human argument(x).

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of putting corresponds to that of **-bvimba** (put a lid). The exception that obtains is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb **-xaxa** (fence with branches), **-simeka** (transplant), **-fafazela** (spray) and -
**hlanganisa** (assemble/mix) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix **-o** which denotes result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs **-bvimba** (put a lid), **-veka** (put), **-biya** (fence), **-wisa** (drop) and **-halata** (spill) which does not allow such a nominalization. On the other hand, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs **-bvimba** (put a lid) and **-simeka** (transplant) allows a nominalisation in class 7 with the suffix **-o** which denotes artifact and/or instrument as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs **-xaxa** (fence with branches), **-veka** (put), **-biya** (fence), **-wisa** (drop), **-halata** (spill), **-fafazela** (spray) and **-hlanganisa** (assemble/mix) which does not permits such a nominalization.

**Simeka** (transplant)

A.  [Actor]: musimeki (transplanter)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Musimeki wa nkanyi lowu u rhandza ngopfu vukanyi.  
(The transplanter of the marula tree likes marula very much).

   (b) Musimeki wa swimilana leswi u na vuswikoti.  
(The transplanter of these plants has expertise).

   (c) Tatana va ta vitana lava musimeki ya misinya leyi.  
(My father will look for the transplanter of these trees).

Plural: Class 2: vasimeki (transplanters)

The nominal **musimeki** (transplanter) refers to an individual who moves a plant from one location to another. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property is the act of uprooting and planting. Once these acts are completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **musimeki**. However, if transplanting is what he is employed to do as a job, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it will be something that the individual in question is associated with for the rest of his life. Thus, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of transplanting or not at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as **musimeki** (transplanter).

**Simeka** (transplant)

B.  [Result/Act]: nsimeko (transplantation)

Class 3:  3.  (a) Nsimeko wa swimilani wu lava munhu wa vurhonwana.  
(Tree transplantation needs a careful person).

   (b) Nsimeko wa misinya wu endleka kahle loko ku nile mpfula.  
(Tree transplantation is done well after it has rained).
(c) Yingwani u rhandza nsimeko wa swimilana swa mimango.
(Yingwana likes the transplantation of mango trees).

Plural: Class 4: misimeko (transplantations)

The nominal nsimeko (transplantation) refers to the state of being transplanted or the act or technique of moving a plant from one location to another.

**Simeka** (transplant)

C.  [Excessive act]: risimeko (excessive transplanting)

Class 5:  3. (a) Risimeko ra mikanyi ri tsakisa vanwi va vulanyi.
(The excessive transplanting of marula trees pleases the marula beer drinkers).

(b) Risimeko ra swimilana ri sirhelela tindlu eka mimoya ya matimba.
(The excessive transplanting of the plants prevents the houses from strong storms).

(c) Tatana u tsakela risimeko ra vafana ra mirhi.
(My father likes the excessive transplanting of the boys of the trees).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risimeko (excessive transplanting) refers to the excessive act of removing something from one location and introducing it in another location.

**Simeka** (transplant)

D.  [Expert actor]: xisimeki (expert/excessive transplanter)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xisimeki xa mikanyi xi rhandza ngopfu vulanyi.
(The expert/excessive transplanter of marula trees likes marula drink very much).

(b) Xisimeki wa swimilana leswi xi na vuswikoti.
(The expert/excessive transplanter of these plants has expertise).

(c) Tatana va ta vitana xisimeki ya misinya leyi.
(My father will call for the expert/excessive transplanter of these trees).

Plural: Class 8: swisimeki (expert/excessive transplanters)

The nominal xisimeki (excessive/expert transplanter) refers to a gardener who regularly moves plants from one location to another. But it may also refer to a gardener who has a skill of moving plants from one location to another. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness expertise of transplanting which this nominal modifies is the permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the person in question will be engaged in the act of...
transplanting or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xisimeki** (excessive/expert transplanter).

**Simeka** (transplant)

E.  [Artefact/Instrument]: xisimeko (transplanting tool)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xisimeko xo tiya xi xavisiwa eka NTK.  
(Durable transplanting tool is sold at NTK).

(b) Xisimeko xi endla leswaku ntirho wu olova.  
(Transplanting tool makes the job easier)

(c) Yingwani u languta xisimeko exitolo.  
(Yingwani looks for a transplanting tool at the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swisimeko (transplanting tools)

The nominal **xisimeko** (transplanting tool) refers to a garden tool used for the manual extraction and planting of seedlings.

**Simeka** (transplant)

F.  [Act]: vusimeki (transplanting)

Class 14:  2. (a) Vusimeki bya misinya byi endliwa etikweni hinkwaro hi Ndzati.  
(Tree transplanting is done throughout the country in September).

(b) Vusimeki bya misinya byi sivela nkhukhulo wa misava.  
(Tree transplanting prevents soil erosion).

(c) Vahlayisi va ntumbuluko va hlohlotela vusimeki bya misinya.  
(Nature conservation officers encourage tree transplanting).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vusimeki** (transplant) refers to the act of removing something from one location and introducing it in another location.

**Veka** (put)

A.  [Actor]: muveki (putter)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muveki wa tibuku etafuleni u fambile.  
(The putter of the books on the table is gone).

(b) Muveki wa tibege endlwini u vuyile.  
(The putter of the bags in the house has returned).
(c) Wansati u nyika muveki nhundzu ya yena.
(The woman gives the putter his luggage).

Plural: class 2: vaveki (putters)

The nominal *muveki* (putter) refers to an individual who place something in a specified location. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of putting something which is a short term thing. In other words, once the act of putting has been completed an individual in question may no longer be referred to as *muveki* (putter).

**Veka (put)**

A.  [Excessive act]: riveko (excessive putting)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Riveko ra Magezi ra tipuleti ekamareni yo etlela ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive putting of Magezi of plates in the bed room annoys his wife).

(b) Riveko ra wanuna ra mali ebangi ri tsakisa vana vakwe.
(The excessive putting of the man the money into the bank pleases his wife).

(c) Wansati u sola riveko ra vana ra mpahla ya thyaka ewadiropeni).
(The woman dislikes the excessive putting of the children of dirty clothes into the wardrobe).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riveko* (excessive putting) refers to the excessive act of placing something in a specified location.

**Veka (put)**

B.  [Expert/excessive actor]: xiveki (expert/excessive putter)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xiveki xa tibege xi fambile.
(The expert/excessive putter of the bags is gone).

(b) Xiveki xa tibuku exikolweni xi lovile.
(The expert/excessive putter of the books at school is dead).

(c) Kokwana u yimela xiveki xa tibege endlwini.
(My grandmother is waiting for the expert/excessive putter of bags in the house).

Plural: class 8: swiveki (expert/excessive putters)

The nominal *xiveki* (excessive putter) denotes an individual who excessively of puts things in a specified location. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness which this nominal modifies is the permanent feature which will be associated with the individual in question.
for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of putting something in a specified position or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xiveki* (expert/excessive putter).

**Veka** (put)

C. [Event, act]: vvekei (putting)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vvekei bya swigevenga bya mikumba etililasini byi hlamarisa vanhu.
   (The putting of the criminals of the blankets in the class surprises people).

   (b) Vvekei bya maphorisa bya swibalesa etinyongeni byi chavisa vana.
   (The putting of the police of the guns on the waists scares children).

   (c) Vanhu va hlamala vvekei bya swigevenga bya swibalesa exikolweni.
   (The people are surprised at the putting of the criminals of the guns at school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vvekei* (putting) refers to the act of placing something in a specified location.

**Biya** (fence)

A. [Actor]: mubiyi (fencer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubiyi wa nsimu u lovile.
   (The fencer of the field is dead).

   (b) Mubiyi wa muti u fambile.
   (The protector of the family through muti has gone).

   (c) Vanhu va thola mubiyi wa masimu wo huma eMozambiki.
   (The people hire the fencer of the fields from Mozambique).

Plural: class 2: vabiyi (fencers)

The nominal *mubiyi* (fencer) refers to an individual who encloses a yard or field with a fence. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of fencing is the defining property in this nominal. In other words, once the act of fencing is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as *mubiyi* (fencer).

**Biya** (fence)

B. [Excessive act]: ribiyo (excessive fencing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribiyo ra n’anga ra midyangu ri tsakisa vanhu.
   (The excessive fencing of traditional healers of the families excites people).
(b) Ribiyo ra Khazamula ra nsimu ri teka nkarhi wo leha.
(The excessive fencing of Khazamula of the farm takes a long time).

c) Vanhu va sola ribiyo ra muti ra xingomatanda.
(People criticize the excessive applying of medicine of the traditional healer of the home).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribiyo (excessive fencing) refers to the excessive act of enclosing a yard or field with a fence by an individual.

Biya (fence)

C. [Expert actor]: xibiyi (expert fencer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibiyi xa nsimu xi fikile.
(The expert fencer of the farm has arrived).

(b) Xibiyi xa midyangu xi endla ntirho wa xona nivasikhu.
(The expert fencer of the families does his job during the night).

(c) Kokwana u tsakela Xibiyi xa nsimu.
(The grandmother likes the expert fencer of the farm).

Plural: class 8: swibiyi (expert fencers)

The nominal xibiyi (expert fencers) refers to an individual who has an expertise of fencing a yard or a field. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise of fencing of the individual in question which this nominal modifies will remain an inherent permanent property of the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of fencing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xibiyi (expert fencer).

Biya (fence)

D. [Event, act]: vubiyi (fencing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubiyi bya masimu bya karhalisa.
(The fencing of the farms is tiresome).

(b) Vubiyi bya muti a byi tsakeriwi hi vakhongeri.
(The fencing of the home is not approved by Christians).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela vubiyi bya Magezi bya masimu.
(People like the fencing of Magezi to the farms).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vubiyi** (fencing) refers to the act of enclosing a yard or field with a fence by an individual.

**Wisa (drop)**

A.  [Actor]: **muwisi** (dropper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muwisi wa mali u fambile.
   (The dropper of the money is gone).

   (b) Muwisi wa wachi u vutisa malume.
   (The dropper of the watch asks the uncle).

   (c) Hahani u vitana muwisi wa mali.
   (Auntie is calling the dropper of the money).

Plural: class 2; **vawisi** (droppers)

The nominal **muwisi** (dropper) refers to an individual who voluntarily or involuntarily let something fall down from his hands. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of dropping is the defining property in this nominal. Once the act of dropping is over, the meaning of such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question.

**Wisa (drop)**

B.  [Excessive act]: **riwiso** (excessive dropping)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riwiso ra Magezi ra mali ri hlundzikisa wansati.
   (The excessive dropping of Magezi of money angers the woman).

   (b) Riwiso ra n’wana ra mabikiri ri n’wi bisile hi kokwana.
   (The excessive dropping of the child of the mugs made him/her to be beaten by the grandmother).

   (c) Manana u sola riwiso ra n’wana ra mabikirhi.
   (The mother criticizes the dropping of the child of the mugs).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riwiso** (excessive dropping) refers to the excessive act of dropping something by an individual.

**Wisa (drop)**

C.  [Expert actor]: **xiwisi** (excessive dropper)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiwisi xi lahlile mali.
   (The excessive dropper lost the money)
(b) Xiwisi xa mali xi vuyile.
(The excessive dropper of money came back).

(c) Vanhu va sola xiwisi xa mali.
(People criticize the excessive dropper of the money).

Plural: class 8: swiwisi (excessive droppers)

The nominal xiwisi (excessive dropper) refers to an individual who voluntarily or involuntarily excessively let something fall down from his hands. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness which this nominal modifies is the defining feature and will be associated with the individual concerned for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of dropping something down or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiwisi (excessive dropper).

Visa (drop)

D. [Act]: vuwisi (dropping)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuwisi bya Magezi bya swibye swo dyela byi tinyika matimba.
(The dropping of Magezi of eating untencils is getting worse).

(b) Vuwisi bya n’wana bya mali byi n’wi dlayise ndlala exikolweni.
(The dropping of the child of money made him suffer from hunger at school).

(c) Kokwana u sandza vuwisi bya Magezi bya mali.
(The grandmother criticizes the dropping of Magezi of money).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuwisi (dropping) refers to the act of dropping something by an individual.

Halata (Spill)

A. [Causative actor]: muhalati (spilling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhalati wa mati u faye khapi.
(The spilling person of the water broke the cup).

(b) Muhalati wa masi u balekile.
(The spilling person of the milk has run away).

(c) Wanuna u xupula muhalati wa masi.
(The man punishes the spilling person of the milk).

Plural: class 2: vahalati (spilling people)
The nominal **muhalati** (spilling person) refers to an individual who deliberately or accidentally allows the liquid to flow from a container. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of spilling happens for a short space of time. After such an act is completed an individual in question may no longer be referred to as **muhalati** (spilling person).

**Halata** (Spill)

B. [Excessive act]: **rihalato** (excessive spilling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihalato ra mufana ra mati ekhumbini ri nyenyetsa wansati.  
(The excessive spilling of the young man of the water on the floor annoys the woman).

(b) Rihalato ra mufana ra masi exitangeni ri karhata wanuna.  
(The excessive spilling of the young man of the milk in the kitchen worries the man).

(c) Wanuna sola rihalato ra mufana ra mati ekhumbini.  
(The man disapproves of the excessive spilling of the young man of the water on the floor).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihalato** (excessive spilling) refers to the act of excessive spilling of a liquid by an individual.

**Halata** (Spill)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xihalati** (excessive spilling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihalati xa mati xi faye khapi.  
(The excessive spilling person of the water broke the cup).

(b) Xihalati xa masi exitikweni xi balekile.  
(The excessive spilling person of the milk on the fire has run away).

(c) Wanuna u xupula xihalati xa masi.  
(The man punishes the excessive spilling person of the milk).

Plural: class 8: **swihalati** (excessive spilling people)

The nominal **xihalati** (excessive spilling person) refers to an individual who excessively or regularly spills liquids. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the spilling of liquid is done regularly by the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged or not engaged in the act of spilling liquid at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as **xihalati** (excessive spilling person). In fact, the tendency of spilling is associated with this individual.
Halata (Spill)

D. [Act]: vuhalati (spilling)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vuhalati bya mufana bya mati ekhumbini byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The spilling of the young man of the water on the floor annoys the woman).

(b) Vuhalati bya mufana bya masi exitangeni byi karhata wanuna.
(The spilling of the young man of the milk in the kitchen worries the man).

(c) Wanuna sola vuhalati bya mufana bya mati ekhumbini.
(The man disapproves of the spilling of the young man of the water on the floor).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhalati (spilling) refers to the act of spilling of a liquid by an individual.

Fafazela (spray)

A. [Actor]: mufafazeli (spraying person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mufafazeli wa madzedze u fikile.
(The spraying person of fleashas arrived).

(b) Mufafezeli u dlaya tisuna.
(The spraying person is killing the mosquitoes).

(c) Manana u vitana mufafazeli wa tisuna.
(The mother is calling the spraying person of mosquitoes).

Plural: class 2: vafafazeli (spraying people)

The nominal mufafazeli (spraying person) refers to an individual who disperses a liquid in a mass or jet of droplets. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of spraying is the defining property in this nominal. Once such an act is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mufafazeli (spraying person). However, if spraying of things by an individual in question is his occupation, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of spraying will be associated with the individual concerned for a long time. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of spraying or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference such a person will always be referred to as mufafazeli (spraying person).

Fafazela (spray)

B. [Event/Act]: mfafazelo (spray)

Class 3:  2. (a) Mfafazelo wu hunguta tisuna.
(The spray eliminates mosquitoes).
(b) Mfazelo wa tihomu edibini wu sungurile.
   (The spray of cattle at the dip has started).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela mfafazelo wa tisuma.
   (People like the spray of mosquitoes)

Plural: class 4: mimfazelo (sprays)

The nominal mfafazelo (spray) refers to the event or act of spraying.

Fafazela (spray)

C. [Excessive act]: rifafazelo (excessive spraying)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rifafazelo ra Magezi ra murhi exirhapani ri kavanyeta vatiiri.
   (The excessive spraying of Magezi of the poison disturbs the workers).

   (b) Rifafazelo ra manana ra tisuma ri sivela vuvabyi bya malaria.
   (The excessive spraying of the mother of mosquitoes prevents the sickness of Malaria).

   (c) Vanhu va tsakela rifafazelo ra yingwani ra tisuma.
   (People like the excessive spraying of Yingwani of mosquitoes).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rifafazelo (excessive spraying) refers to the excessive act of spraying of something by an individual.

D. [Expert actor]: xifafazeli (expert spraying person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xifafazeli xa tihomu edibini xi fikile.
   (The expert spraying person of the cattle at the dip has arrived).

   (b) Xifafazeli xa tinsuma xi lovile.
   (The expert spraying person of mosquitoes has passed away).

   (c) Kokwana u xeweta xifafazeli xa tinsuna.
   (The grandmother greets the expert spraying person of mosquitoes).

Plural: class 8: swifafazeli (expert spraying people)

The nominal xifafazeli (expert spraying person) refers to a person who has a skill of spraying things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property which this nominal modifies is the skill of spraying which is a permanent feature of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the process of spraying something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xifafazeli (expert spraying person).
Fafazela (spray)

E. [Event/Act]: vufafazeli (spraying)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vufafazeli bya tisuna byi pfuna vaakatiko.
(The spraying of mosquitoes helps residents).

(b) Vufafazeli bya Magezi exirhapeni byi nyenyetsa vanhu.
(The spraying of Magezi annoys the people).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela vufafazeli bya tinsuna.
(People like the spraying of the mosquitoes).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufafazeli (spraying) refers to the event or act of spraying of something by an individual.

Hlanganisa (assemble/mix)

A. [Actor]: muhlanganisi (assembler/uniter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlanganisi wa vanhu lava hambaneke khale u tsakela ntirho wa yena.
(The person who brings together people who parted in the past enjoys his work).

(b) Muhlanganisi wa vatekani wa khongela.
(The person who unites the bride and the groom is praying).

(c) Vanhu va xeweta muhlanganisi wa vatekani.
(The people greet the person who unites the bride and the groom).

Plural: class 2: vahlanganyisi (assemblers/uniter)

The nominal muhlanganisi (assembler/uniter) refers to an individual who gathers things or people together or who makes/arranges people to converge at a particular place. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the determining factor in this nominal is the act of gathering. Once the act of gathering things or people together has passed, such a person may no longer be referred to as muhlanganisi.

Hlanganisa (assemble/mix)

B. [Result/Act]: nhlanganiso (mixture)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nhlanganiso wa matamatisi na tinyala wu humesa nantswo wa kahle.
(The mixture of tomatoes and onions produce nice taste).

(b) Nhlanganiso wa mati na semendhe wu tiya hi ku hatlisa.
(The mixture of water and cement gets dry fast).
(c) Vana va rhandza nhlanganiso wa mafurha na tinyala.
(The children like the mixture of oil and onions).

Plural: class 4: mihlanganiso (mixtures)

The nominal **nhlanganiso** (mixture) refers to a blend made by mixing things together.

**Hlanganisa** (assemble/mix)

C. [Excessive act]: rihlanganiso (excessive uniting)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rihlanganiso ra mufundhisi ra vanhu lava hambaneke khale ri tsakela hi vanhu vo tala.
(The excessive uniting of the pastor of the people who parted in the past pleases a lot of people).

(b) Rihlanganisi ra wanuna ra pende ri hlamarisa vafana.
(The excessive mixing of the man of the paint surprises the young men).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela rihlanganisi ra wansati ra mafurha na tinyala.
(The man likes the expertness of mixing of the woman of the oil and the onions).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlanganiso** (excessive mixing/assembling) refers to the excessive act or process of mixing/gathering things or people together.

**Hlanganisa** (assemble/mix)

D. [Expert actor]: xihlanganisi (expert mixer/welcomer)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihlanganisi xa vayeni xi fambile.
(The expert welcomer of the guests has left).

(b) Xihlanganisi xa fulawuri na mafurha xi le ndleleni.
(The expert mixer of flour and oil is on the way).

(c) Kokwana u nyika xihlanganisi xa daka xipedi.
(The grandmother gives the expert mixer of the mud the spade).

Plural: class 8: swihlanganisi (expert assemblers/mixers/welcomers)

The nominal **xihlanganisi** (expert mixer/assembler) refers to an individual who regularly mixes/gathers things or people together. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the trait of mixing or gathering things or people together which this nominal modifies will remain the permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the person in question will be engaged in the act/process of mixing/gathering things or people together or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihlanganisi** (expert mixer/assembler).
**Hlanganisa** (assemble/mix)

E.  [Event, act]: vuhlanganisi (assembling/communication/mixing/welcoming)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vuhlanganisi bya vatekani byi ta endliwa hi Mufundhisi James Noko.
(The uniting of the bride and the groom will be conducted by Pastor James Noko).

(b) Vuhlanganisi bya fulawuri na matandza byi endliwa hi lepula.
(The mixing of flour and eggs is done with a spoon).

(c) Wanuna u sola vuhlanganisi bya vatekani lebyi endliweke hi mufundhisi Mnisi.
(The man disapproves of the uniting of the bride and the groom that was conducted
by Pastor Mnisi).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlanganisi** (mixing/assembling) refers to the act or process of mixing/gathering things or people together.

**7.3. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF PERCEPTION**

Levin (1995:186) states that Verbs of Perception describe the actual perception of some entity. According to him, these verbs take the perceiver as the subject and the perceived as the direct object. Levin (op cit) contends that some of the verbs in this class are tie to a particular sense modality, whereas others are not. He shows that these verbs take a variety of sentential complements. Levin (op cit) also claims that these verbs are odd in the progressive unless they receive a special interpretation.

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**Bvumba (Predict)**

A. [Actor]: mubvumbi (predictor)

Class: 1 1. (a) Mubvumbi wa ta maxelo u ri ku ta na mpfula eKapa mundzuku.
(The weather predictor says there will be rain in Cape Town tomorrow).

(b) Mubvumbi u bvumba leswaku Rhaxiya ri ta pfukela Irani matimba.
(The predictor predicts that Russia will rise against Iran).

(c) Vanhu va sandza muvhumbi wa ta maxelo.
(People scold the predictor of the weather)

Plural: Class 2: vabvumbi (predictors)

The nominal mubvumbi (predictor) refers to an individual who makes a statement of what he thinks will happen in the future. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of predicting requires a special prowess or expertise in order to carry it out. Generally, What mubvumbi (predictor) is involved in may be regarded as a profession of, hence it may be associated with him for the entire life.

**Bvumba (Predict)**

B. [Excessive act]: ribvumbo (excessive predicting/prediction)

Class: 5 2. (a) Ribvumbo ra Magezi ra ta maxelo ri rhandza hi vana.
(The excessive predicting of Magezi of the weather is liked by children).

(b) Ribvumbo ra Sasavona ra vumundzuku bya vanhu ri ta n’wi khomisa hi maphorisa.
(The excessive prediting of Sasavona of people’s future will get her arrested).

(c) Vana va hlalela ribvumbo ra Sasavona ra vumundzuku bya vanhu.
(The children watch the predicting of Sasavona of the future of the people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribvumbo (excessive predicting) refers to the act of making excessive statements by an individual of what he thinks will happen in the future.

**Bvumba (Predict)**

C. [Excessive actor]: xibvumbi (excessive predictor)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibvumbi xa ta maxelo lexi vanhu va xi tshembaka i Mugeri.
(The excessive weather predictor that people have confidence in is Mugeri).

(b) Xibvumbi xa vumundzuku bya vanhu eGiyani xi tsakeriwa hi vavasati.
(The excessive predictor of the future of the people is liked by women).
(c) Vanhu va vutisa xibvumbi xa ta maxelo swivutiso.
(People ask the excessive predictor of the weather questions)

Plural: Class 8: swibvumbi (excessive Predictors)

The nominal xibvumbi (expert predictor) refers to an individual who has a exceptional prowess/expertise of making statements of what will happen in the future. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of predicting requires an exceptional special prowess or expertise in order to predict about the future. In other words, the defining feature in this nominal is not the act of prediction itself, but the extra ordinary ability he possesses for making future predictions. This extra ordinary prowess may remain inherent in this individual for the rest of his life.

**Bvumba** (Predict)

D. [Act]: vubvumbi (predicting/prediction)

Class: 14 4. (a) Vubvumbi bya ta maxelo i ntirho wo saseka.
(Weather prediction is a nice job).

(b) Vubvumbi bya mungona byi tisa swivutiso swo hlaya.
(The prediction of the diviner brings a lot of questions).

(c) Vanhu va sandza vubvumbi bya mungoma.
(People scold the prediction of the diviner).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubvumbi (predicting/prediction) refers to the act of making a statement by an individual of what he thinks will happen in the future

**Femba** (divine)

A. [Actor]: mufembi (diviner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufembi u hlamusela wansati swirhalanganyi swa yena.
(The diviner explains to the woman her problems).

(b) Mufembi u endla mali yo tala hi siku.
(The diviner makes a lot of money in a day).

(c) Wanuna u nghena endlwini ya mufembi.
(The man gets into the house of the diviner)

Plural: Class 2: vafembi (diviners)

The nominal mufembi (diviner) refers to a person who has the supernatural power of detecting the causes of different diseases encountered by an individual and able to cure them. This nominal may be regarded
as an individual-level nominal because the supernatural power which is in this person is a permanent feature.

**Femba** (divine)

B. [Excessive act]: rifembo (excessive divining)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifembo ra Khanyisa ri n’wi endlela mali yo tala.  
(The excessive divining of Khanyisa makes for her a lot of money).

(b) Rifembo ra Magayisa ri n’wi bise hi vavanuna.  
(The excessive divining of Magayisa got him beaten by men).

(c) Maphorisa va yimisa rifembo ra Khanyisa edorobeni.  
(Police stop the excessive divining of Khanyisa in town).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *refembo* (excessive diviner) refers to the act of divining which is excessively performed by an individual.

**Femba** (divine)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifembi (expert diviner)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifembi xi hlongoriwile hikokwalaho ka vunwa bya xona.  
(The expert diviner has been chased away because of his lies).

(b) Xifembi xi ba swipengo hi ntshilana.  
(The expert diviner hits mad patients with a cane).

(c) Vanhu va hlongola xifembi edorobeni.  
(People chase away the expert diviner in town).

Plural: Class 8: *swifembi* (expert diviners)

The nominal *xifembi* (expert diviner) refers to an individual who has an extra ordinary prowess of divining. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of extra ordinary prowess which this nominal modifies is a permanent feature of this individual. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the act of divining or he is not engaged in it he will be referred to as **mufembi** (diviner). The property of extra ordinary prowess will be associated with an individual for the rest of his life.
**Femba** (divine)

D.  

[Act]: vufembi (divining)

Class 14:  

4. (a) Vufembi bya wanuna a byi na ntiyiso.  
(The divining of the man is not truthful).

(b) Vufembi byi nghenisa mali yo tala eka mufembi.  
(The divining brings a lot of money to the diviner).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza vufembi bya wanuna wa le Maputo.  
(People like the divining of the man from Maputo).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vufembi** (divining) refers to the act of divining which is performed by an individual.

**Hlahluva** (Consult divining bones)

A.  

[Actor]: muhlahlulvi (consulter of divining bones)

Class 1:  

1. (a) Muhlahluvi u vitana muvabyi.  
(Consulter of the divining bones calls the patient).

(b) Muhlahluvi u nyika muvabyi murhi.  
(The consulter of the divining bones gives medicine to the sick person).

(c) Wanuna u ba muhlahluvi endlwini.  
(The man beat the consulter of divining bones in the house).

Plural: Class 2: vahlahluvi (consulters of divining bones)

The nominal **muhlahluvi** (consulter of divining bones) refers to a traditional healer who consults divining bones for his client so that he could know the cause of the trouble in his life and how such trouble could be eradicated. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the trait of consulting divining bones remains in this individual for the rest of his life.

**Hlahluva** (Consult divining bones)

A.  

[Event]: nhlahluvo (consulting divining bones)

Class 3:  

2. (a) Nhlahluvo wa n’anga wu paluxe swihundla swa wanuna.  
(The event of consulting divining bones of the traditional Healer has revealed secrets of the man).

(b) Nhlahluvo wa nyamusoro wu teka nkarhi wo leha.  
(The event of consulting divining bones of nyamusoro takes a long time).
(c) Wanuna u baleka nhla hlulo wa nyamusoro.
(The man runs away from the event of consulting divining bones of the traditional healer).

Plural: Class 4: mihlahluvo (the events of consulting divining bones)

The nominal *nhlahluvo* (consulting divining bones) refers to the event of consulting the divining bones of the traditional healer to find out what is causing misfortunes or diseases in someone.

**Hlahluva** (Consult divining bones)

B.  [Excessive act]: rihlahluvo (the excessive consultation of divining bones)

Class 3: 2. (a) Rihlahluvo ra n’anga ri nghenisa mali yo tala.
(The excessive consultation of the divining bones brings a lot of money).

(b) Rihlahluvo ra nyamusoro kandziyisiwe eka phephahungu.
(The excessive consultation of nyamusoro of the divining bones has been published in the newspaper).

(c) Wansati u nyenya rihlahlvo ra n’anga ra vavabyi.
(The woman dislikes the excessive consulting of the divining bones of the traditional healer of the patients).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihlahluvo* (excessive consulting of the divining bones) refers to an act of consulting divining bones which is done excessively by the traditional healer.

**Hlahluva** (Consult divining bones)

C.  [Expert actor]: xihlahluvi (Expert consulter of divining bones)

Class 1: 1. (a) Xihlahluvi xi vitana muvabyi.
(Expert consulter of the divining bones calls the patient).

(b) Xihlahluvi xi nyika muvabyi murhi.
(The expert consulter of the divining bones gives medicine to the sick person).

(c) Wanuna u ba xihlahluvi endlwini.
(The man beat the expert consulter of divining bones in the house).

Plural: Class 2: swihlahluvi (expert consulters of divining bones)

The nominal *xihlahluvi* (expert consulter of divining bones) refers to a traditional healer who has the expertise of consulting divining bones for his client so that he could know the cause of the trouble in his life and how such a trouble could be eradicated. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level
nominal because the expertise of consulting divining bones remains in this individual for the rest of his life.

**Hlahluva (Consult divining bones)**

D.  

[Act]: vuhlahluvi (consulting divining bones)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuhlahluvi bya nyamusoro byi tiveka ni le ntsungeni wa malwandle.  
(Consulting of divining bones of nyamusoro is also known abroad).

(b) Vuhlahluvi bya masiku lawa bya durha.  
(Consulting divining bones of these days is very expensive).

(c) Vakhalabye va bumabumela vuhlahluvi bya nyamusoro.  
(Old men talk good about consulting divining bones of nyamusoro).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlahluvi** (consulting divining bones) refers to an act of consulting divining bones by the traditional healer so that he could diagnose the problem of the client.

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</table>
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i

muhlahluvi (consulter of divining bones)

Class 3
Prefix: n-
Suffix: -o

Nhlahluvo (consultation of divining bones)

Class 5
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -o

Rihlahluvo (excessive consultation of divining bones)
Class 7
Prefix: \( \text{xi-} \)
Suffix: \(-i\)

**Xihlahluvi** (excessive/expert consulter of divining bones)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
AF \\
V \\
\text{xi-} \\
\text{-hlahluv-} \\
\text{-i}
\end{array}
\]

Class 14
Prefix: \( \text{vu-} \)
Suffix: \(-i\)

**Vuhlahluvi** (consulting of divining bones)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
AF \\
V \\
\text{vu-} \\
\text{-hlahluv-} \\
\text{-i}
\end{array}
\]

**Verbs of Perception**

(7) **Nominalization from the verb** \(-hlahluva\) (consult divining bones)

(i) The verb \(-hlahluva\) (consult divining bones)

\[\text{N’anga yi hlahluva wanuna.}\]

(The traditional healer consults the divining bones for the man).

**-hlahluva**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1 = x: human} \\
\text{ARG2} &= \text{phys.obj} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1 = e1; process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL = x} \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{act (e1, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Consult divining bones – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb *hlahlulu* (consult divining bones) in (7) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that consults divining bones and the physical object that is affected by the consulting of divining bones. The event structure represents the process of consulting divining bones. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agentive quale represents the process of consulting divining bones (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(8) Nominalisation in class 1: muhlahluvi (consulter of divining bones)

Muhlahluvi u chela tinhlolo esangwini.
(The consulter of divining bones throws the divining bones on the mat).

\[
\text{muhlahluvi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG}1=x: \text{human} \\
\text{ARG}2= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E}1 = e₁: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlahlulu}_\text{actor} (e₁, x, y)
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Consult divining bones – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *muhlahluvi* (consulter of divining bones) in (8) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that consults divining bones and the physical object that is affected by the consulting of divining bones. The event structure represents the process of consulting divining bones. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agentive quale represents the process of consulting divining bones (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(9) Nominalisation in class 7: xihlahluvi (expert/excessive consulter of divining bones)

Xihlahluvi xa le gandlanani xi lovile.
(The excessive/expert consulter of divining bones of Gandlanani has died).

\[
\text{xihlahluvi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG}1=x: \text{human} \\
\text{ARG}2 = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{E}1 = e₁: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlahlulu}_\text{actor_expert/excessive} (e₁, x, y)
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Consult divining bones – Expert/Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xihlahluvi (expert/excessive consulter of divining bones) in (9) is similar to that of muhlahluvi (consulter of divining bones) in (8) above. The distinction that obtains is that xihlahluvi (expert/excessive consulter of divining bones) in (9) above has the feature [excessive] whereas muhlahluvi (consulter of divining bones) in (8) above does not have this feature.

(10) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihlahluvo** (excessive consultation of divining bones)

Rihlahluvo ra Khazamula ra vanhu ri nyenyetsa vafundhisi.
(The excessive consulting of divining bones of Khazamula for the people annoys the pastors).

\[
\text{rihlahluvo} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
D-\text{ARG1} &= x: \text{human} \\
D-\text{ARG2} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{hlahuva}\_\text{act} \_\text{excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Consult divining bones – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative rihlahluvo (excessive consulting of divining bones) in (10) above exhibits three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that consults divining bones and the physical object that is affected by the act of consulting divining bones. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of consulting divining bones. The event structure represents the process of consulting divining bones. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who consults divining bones, and the agentive quale represents the process of excessive consulting of divining bones (e_1) of the human argument(x).

(11) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhlahluvi** (consulting divining bones)

Vuhlahluvi bya wanuna bya vanhu byi tsakisa hosi.
(The consulting of the man of the divining bones for the people pleases the chief).
vuhlahluvi

\[\begin{aligned}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
D–\text{ARG1} &= x: \text{human} \\
D–\text{ARG2} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D–\text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{-hlahluva}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{aligned}\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Consult divining bones – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuhlahluvi (consultation/consulting of divining bones) in (11) is similar to that of rihlahluvo (excessive consultation/consulting of divining bones) in (10) above. The distinction that obtains is that vuhlahluvi (consultation/consulting of divining bones) in (11) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rihlahluvo (excessive consultation/consulting of divining bones) in (10) above.

(12)  **Nominalisation in class 5: nhlahluvo** (divining bones consultation)

Vuhlahluvi bya wansati bya vavabyi byi tiveka kule.
(The consulting of the woman of the divining bones for the patients is known at faraway places).

nhlahluvo

\[\begin{aligned}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
D–\text{ARG1} &= x: \text{human} \\
D–\text{ARG2} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D–\text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= \text{-hlahluva}_\text{act/event_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{aligned}\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Consult divining bones – Act/Event

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative nhlahluvo (consultation/consulting of divining bones) in (12) above exhibits three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that consults divining bones and the physical object that is affected by the act of consulting divining bones. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of consulting divining bones. The event structure represents the process of consulting divining bones. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who consults divining bones, and the agentive quale represents the process or event consulting of divining bones (e_1) of the human argument(x).
The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of perception is similar to that of -hlalhuva (consult divining bones). The exception is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -bvumba (predict), -femba (divine), -hlalela (look on/watch), -languta (look), -tiva (know), -lemuka (noticed), -thumba (discover), -vona (see), -yingisa (listen), -hoxa (err/make mistake) and -ehleketa (think) which does not allow a nominalization in class 3, in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -hlalhuva (consult divining bones) which permits such a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix -o and a reading of event. An important observation relates to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -ehleketa (think) which permits a nominalization in class 4 with the meaning of result, but disallows the occurrence of the corresponding noun in class 3. This phenomenon is uncommon with most deverbatives. This could be attributed to the fact that the deverbative miehleketo (thinking/thoughts) is a mass noun and as such has to always occur in plural form. On the other hand, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -hoxa (err/make a mistake) permits a nominalisation in class 7 with the suffix -o which denotes result as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -bvumba (predict), -femba (divine), -hlalhuva (consult divining bones), -hlalela (look on/watch), -languta (look), -tiva (know), -lemuka (noticed), -thumba (discover), -vona (see), -yingisa (listen) and -ehleketa (think) which does not permits such a nominalization.

**Hlalela (look on/watch)**

A. [Actor]: muhlaleri (watcher)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlaleri wa bolo u susumeta van’wana vanhu.
   (The watcher of soccer match is pushing other people).
   (b) Muhlaleri u rhuketela n’watimpepe.
   (The watcher insults the referee).
   (c) Vafana va hlalela muhlaleri.
   (The young men attack the watcher).

Plural: Class 2: vahlaleri (watchers)

The nominal muhlaleri (watcher) refers to an individual who attentively or carefully looks or observes at something, usually an event such as a sport. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of looking is a something that takes place for a specified period of time. Once the time for the event elapses, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as muhlaleri (watcher) because he will no longer be watching at something.
Hlalela (look on/watch)

B. [Excessive act]: rihlalelo (excessive watching)

Class 3: 2. (a) Rihlalelo ra mufana ra thelevhixini ri nyangatsa wansati.
(The excessive watching of the young man of the television disgusts the woman).

(b) Rihlalelo ra wanuna ra bolo ya mavoko ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive watching of the man of the net ball surprises people).

(c) Wansati u sola rihlalelo ra mufana ra switori swo homboloka.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive watching of the young man of bad movies).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihlalelo (excessive watching) refers to the excessive act of watching a particular event such a soccer game or boxing on the field or on the television set..

Hlalela (look on/watch)

C. [Excessive actor]: xihlaleri (excessive watcher)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xihlaleri xi khome n’watimpepe hi xikipa.
(The excessive watcher is holding the referee by the t-shirt).

(b) Xihlaleri xi ta ya eka komiti yo tshinya hi Ravumbirhi.
(The excessive watcher will appear before the disciplinary committee on Tuesday).

(c) Vafana va susumeta xihlaleri.
(The young men push the excessive watcher).

Plural: Class 8: swihlaleri (excessive watchers)

The nominal xihlaleri (excessive watcher) refers to an individual who excessively and attentively or carefully looks or observes at something, usually an event such as a sport. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of watching of the individual in question and not the act of watching itself. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of watching something or he may not be watching something at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihlaleri (excessive watcher).
**Hlalela** (look on/watch)

D. [Act]: vuhlaleri (watching)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuhlaleri bya bolo ya milenge bya tsakisi.  
(Watching soccer is interesting).

(b) Vuhlaleri bya bolo ya milenge esitediyamu byi na khombo.  
(Watching soccer in the stadium is dangerous).

(c) Vafana va rhandza vuhlaleri bya bolo ya milenge.  
(The young men like watching foot ball).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlaleri (watching) refers to the act of watching a particular event such a soccer game or boxing on the field or on the television set.

**Languta** (Look)

A. [Act]: mulanguti (looker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulanguti u tshunelela wansati.  
(The looker comes closer to the woman).

(b) Mulanguti u hlakahla nhloko.  
(The looker shakes his head).

(c) Wanuna u khwenuta mulanguti wa xifaniso.  
(The man prods the onlooker of the picture).

Plural: Class 2: valanguti (lookers)

The nominal mulanguti (looker) refers to an individual who fixes his eyes on something or in some direction in order to see something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of seeing of the individual in question. Once this act is over, such a nominal may no longer apply to an individual in question.

**Languta** (Look)

B. [Manner, Excessive Act]: rilanguto (manner of looking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilanguto leri Mukhacana a ndzi langutaka hi rona ra ndzi chavisa.  
(The manner in which Mukhacana is looking at me is frightening me).

(b) Rilanguto ra wanuna eka wansati ri ehleketelerisa swin’wana.  
(The manner of looking of the man on the woman is suspicious).
(c) Khazamula u nyenyetsa hi rilanguto ra vana va ndhawu leyi.
(Khazamula is degusted at the manner of looking of the children of this place).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rilanguto* (excessive looking) refers to the excessive act of fixing one’s eyes on something in order to see.

**Languta** (Look)

C. [Excessive actor]: *xilanguti* (excessive looker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilanguti xi tshunelela wansati.
(The excessive looker comes closer to the women).

(b) Xilanguti xi hlakahla nhloko.
(The excessive looker shakes his head).

(c) Wanuna u koka xilanguti xa wansati.
(The man pulls the excessive looker of the woman).

Plural: Class 8: *swilanguti* (excessive lookers)

The nominal *xilanguti* (excessive looker) refers to an individual who excessively fixes his eyes on something or in some direction in order to see something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of seeing per se, but the excessiveness of seeing of the individual concerned. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of seeing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as *xilanguti* (excessive looker). What should be noted is that in the case of *xilanguti* (excessive watcher), the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Languta** (Look)

D. [Manner, Act]: *vulanguti* (looking)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vulanguti bya vavanuna eka vavasati byi vula swo karhi.
(The (manner of) looking of the men at the women tells something).

(b) Vulanguti bya maphorisa eka vana byi chavisa vatswari.
(The (manner of) looking of the police at the children frighten the parents).

(c) Tsatsawana u tsakisa hi vulanguti bya vana va ndhawu leyi.
(Tsatsawana is impressed by the manner of looking of the children at this place).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vulanguti* (looking) refers to the act of fixing one’s eyes on something in order to see.

**Tiva** (Know)

A.  
[Actor/experiencer]: mutivi (expert/knowledgeable person)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Mutivi wa timhaka ta maxelo u hlamusela leswi nga ta Humelela mundzuku.  
   (The weather expert tells what will happen tomorrow).

   (b) Mutivi wa matimu ya ka hlungwani u lovile.  
   (The knowledgeable person on the history of Hlungwani has passed away).

   (c) Mudyondzisi u vitanile mutivi wa swavurimi exikolweni.  
   (The teacher has called the expert in agriculture at school).

Plural: Class 2: vativi (experts/ knowledgeable people)

The nominal *mutivi* (expert/knowledgeable person) refers to an individual who have the knowledge or information concerning something. This may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the knowledge which the individual in question has acquired will remain a permanent property of such a person for his entire life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tiva** (Know)

B.  
[Result]: ntivo (knowledge)

Class 3:  
3. (a) Ntivo wa mudyondzisi wa tinhlayo wu anamile.  
   (The knowledge of the teacher in mathematics is broad).

   (b) Ntivo wa mukhalabye wu hlamarisa swidyondzeki.  
   (The knowledge of the old man surprises the scholars).

   (c) Yingwani u kumile ntivo wa swa vurimi eYunivhesiti.  
   (Yingwana acquired the knowledge on farming from the University).

Plural: Class 4: mitivo (knowledges)

The nominal *ntivo* (knowledge) refers to acquaintance with facts, truths, and principles, as from study or investigation.
Tiva (Know)

B. [Expert actor]: xitivi (specialist)

Class 7:  1. (a) Xitivi xa timhaka ta maxelo u hlamusela leswi nga ta humelela mundzuku.
   (The expert specialist on weather tells what will happen tomorrow).

   (b) Xitivi xa matimu ya ka Hlungwani xi lovile.
   (The specialist on the history of Hlungwani has passed away).

   (c) Mudyondzisi u vitaniile xitivi wa swavurimi exikolweni.
   (The teacher has called the specialist in agriculture at school).

Plural: Class 8: switivi (specialist)

The nominal xitivi (specialist) refers to an individual who possesses in-depth insights or understanding of something. This may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the special knowledge which the individual in possesses will remain a permanent property of such a person for his entire life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate

Tiva (Know)

C. [Result]: vutivi (knowledge)

Class 14:  2. (a) Vutivi bya mudyondzisi bya fonoloji byi anamile.
   (The knowledge of the teacher of phonology is wide).

   (b) Vutivi byi kumiwa hi lava va tikarhataka.
   (Knowledge is obtained by those who work hard).

   (c) Mfumo wu xixima vutivi bya swidyondzeki.
   (The government respects the knowledge of scholars).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutivi (knowing/knowledge) refers to the state or fact of knowing. But it may also refer to familiarity, awareness, or understanding gained through experience or study.

Lemuka (notice)

A. [Experiencer/Actor]: mulemuki (noticing person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mulemuki u tlhelela foni leyi a yi rivaleke etafuleni.
   (The noticing person returns for the phone he forgot on the table).

   (b) Mulemuki u xeweta munhu loyi a ngheneke na yena xikolo hi 1974.
   (The noticing person greets the person with whom he schooled together in 1974).
(c) Wanuna u khensa mulemuki wa rihuho ra n’wana wa yena.
   (The man thanks the noticing person of the madness of his child).

Plural: class 2: valemuki (noticing persons)

The nominal mulemuki (noticing person) denotes an individual who sees or reutilizes something, especially someone doing something wrong. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because here the context needs to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. In other words, mulemuki (noticing person) has to be noticing something at the time of reference. Once the act of noticing is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as mulemuki (noticing person).

Lemuka (notice)

B. [Excessive act]: rilemuko (excessive noticing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilemuko ra Magezi ra vugangu bya nsati wakwe ri n’wi pfunile.
   (The excessive noticing of Magezi of the extra marital affairs of his wife helped him).

   (b) Rilemuko ra wansati ra vuyimana bya vanhwana ri hlamarisa vanhu.
   (The excessive noticing of the woman of the pregnancies of the young women surprises people).

   (c) Wanuna u hlamala rilemuko ra wansati ra vuyimana bya vanhwana.
   (The man is surprised at the excessive noticing of the woman of the pregnancies of the young women).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rilemuko (excessive noticing) refers to the excessive act of noting or observing.

Lemuka (notice)

C. [Expert actor]: xilemuki (expert noticing person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xilemuki xi tthelela foni leyi xi yi rivaleke etafuleni.
   (The expert noticing person returns for the phone he forgot on the table).

   (b) Xilemuki xi xeweta munhu loyi xi ngheneke na yena xikolo hi 1974.
   (The expert noticing person greets the person with whom he schooled together in 1974).

   (c) Maphorisa ma khensa xilemuki xa swigevenga leswi balekeke ekhotsweni.
   (The police thank the expert noticing person of the criminals who escaped from prison).

Plural: class 8: swilemuko (excessive noticing persons)
The nominal **xilemuki** (excessive noticing person) denotes an individual who excessively notices something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of noticing of the teacher by an individual in question which is his permanent property. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Lemuka** (notice)

D.  
[Act]: vulemuki (noticing)

Class 14:  
5.  
(a) Vulemuki bya wanuna bya swigevenga leswi yiveke movha byi hlamarisa maphorisa.  
(The noticing of the man of the criminals who stole the car surprises the police).

(b) Vulemuki bya mudyondzisi bya ku xanisiwa ka n’wana hi vatswari vakwe byi tsakise nhloko ya xikolo.  
(The noticing of the teacher of the abuse of the child by his parents pleased the principal).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala vulemuki bya wanuna bya mudyondzisi wa yena wa grade 4 wa hi 1970.  
(The people are surprised at the noticing of the man of his grade 4 teacher of 1970.

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulemuki** (noticing) refers to the act of noting or observing.

**Thumba** (discover)

A.  
[Actor]: muthumbi (discovering person)

Class 1:  
1.  
(a) Muthumbi wa mali u tsakile.  
(The discovering person of money is happy).

(b) Muthumbi wa mugodi wa nsuku u lovile.  
(The discovering person of the gold mine has passed away).

(c) Vana va landzelela muthubi wa mali.  
(people are following the discovering person of money).

Plural: class 2: vathumbi (discovering persons)

The nominal **muthumbi** (discoverer) refers to an individual who has found something out. Such a nominal inherit the properties of the event of discovering. This nominal assert an earlier occurrence of an event and the persistent property of an individual as having performed that event. It should be noted that with this nominal the event has to have occurred and be completed.
**Thumba (discover)**

B.  [Excessive act]:  rithumbo (excessive discovering)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rithumbo ra Yingwana ra swisaka swa matuva ri hlamarisa varisikuloni.
   (The excessive discovering of Yingwana of the nests of doves suprises fellow shepherds).
   
   (b) Rithumbo ra Magezi ra mali ra kanakanisa.
   (The excessive discovering of Magezi of money is doubtful).
   
   (c) Kokwana u sola rithumbo ra n’wana ra mali.
   (The grandmother criticises the excessive discovering of the child of money).

Plural:  No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rithumbo (excessive discovering) refers to the excessive act or instance of discovering out something.

**Thumba (discover)**

C.  [Expert actor]:  xithumbi (expert discovering person)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xithumbi xi rhwalela mali endleleni.
   (The expert discovering person picks up money along the way).
   
   (b) Xithumbi xa mali xi xavile tintangu tintshwa.
   (The expert discovering person of money bought new shoes).
   
   (c) Kokwana u tumbeta xithumbi xa nsuku endlwini.
   (Grandmother hides the expert discovering person of gold in the house).

Plural: class 8: swidthumbi (expert discoverer)

The nominal xithumbi (excessive discoverer) refers to an individual who has found a number of things out. Such a nominal inherits the properties of the discovering event. This nominal asserts an earlier occurrence of an event and the persistent property of an individual as having performed that event. It should be noted that with this nominal the event should have occurred and be completed.

**Thumba (discover)**

D.  [Event, act]:  vuthumbi (discovery/discovering)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuthumbi bya Magezi bya nsuku byi mangariwile emaphoriseni.
   (The discovering of Magezi of gold was reported at a police station).
   
   (b) Vuthumbi bya n’wana bya mali bya kanakanisa.
   (The discovering of the child of money is doubtful).
(c) Malume u sandza vuthumbi bya n’wana bya mali.
   (Uncle criticised the discovering of the child of money).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuthumbi (discovery/discovering) refers to the act or instance of discovering something out.
But it may also refer to something that was discovered.

**Vona** (see)

A.   [Actor]: muvoni (seer)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muvoni wa bolo u fambile.
         (The seer of soccer is gone).

         (b) Muvoni wa swigevenga u hlamusela maphorisa.
         (The seer of criminals tells the police officers).

         (c) Maphorisa va vutisa muvoni wa swigevenga laha swi yeke kona.
         (Police officers are asking the seer of criminals about where they have gone).

Plural: class 2: vavoni (seers)

The nominal muvoni (seer) refers to an individual who can supposedly see into the future or who can
foretell events or a person’s destiny, such as a prophet. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-
level nominal because the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual
in question that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and
the matrix predicate. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of
seeing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as
muvoni(seer). It should be noted that this nominal assert an earlier occurrence of an event and the
persistent property of an individual as having performed that event.

**Vona** (see)

A.   [Excessive act]: rivono (excessive seeing)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rivono ra Gezani ra swigevenga ra kanankanisa.
         (The excessive seeing of Gezani of the criminals is doubtful).

         (b) Rivono ra Malume ra bolo ra nyangatsa.
         (The excessive seeing of the uncle of soccer is disgusting).

         (c) Kokwana u sola rivono ra Magezi ra bolo.
         (The grandmother criticises the excessive seeing of Magezi of soccer).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal *rivono* (excessive seeing) refers to an excessive act or instance of seeing something by an individual.

**Vona (see)**

B. [Expert seer]: xivoni

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivoni xa bolo xi tsakile.
   (The expert seer of soccer is happy).

   (b) Xivoni xa swigevenga xi nyika vumbhoni.
   (The expert seer of criminals gives evidence).

   (c) Muhaxi u xeweta xivoni xa bolo.
   (The presenter is greeting the expert seer of soccer).

Plural: class 8: swivoni (expert seers)

The nominal *xivoni* (expert seer) refers to an individual whose prediction of the future is always accurate. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the precision of predicting the future is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the process of prediction or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xivoni* (expert seer). This nominal assert an earlier occurrence of an event and the persistent property of an individual as having performed that event.

**Vona (see)**

A. [Artifact]: xivoni (mirror)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xivoni xa movha xa durha.
   (The mirror of the car is expensive).

   (b) Xivoni xi fayekile.
   (The mirror is broken).

   (c) Malume u xavile xivoni evhengeleni.
   (The uncle buys the mirror at the shop).

Plural: class 8: swivoni (mirrors)

The nominal *xivoni* (mirror) refers to a smooth surface, usually of glass that reflects images.
Vona (see)

A. [Result]: xivono (vision/scene)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xivono xa Khazamula i ku va n’wamabindzu.
(The vision/scene of Khazamula is to a businessman).

(b) Xivono xa mupurofeta xi tsakeriwa ngopfu ekerekeni.
(The vision/scene of the prophet is being liked a lot at the church).

(c) Kokwana u sola xivono xa mupurofeta xa mavabyi.
(The grandmother criticises the vision/scene of the prophet of sickness).

Plural: class 8: swivono (visions/scenes)

The nominal xivono (vision) refers to a trance, or something seen or perceived by other than normal sight, as in a dream.

Vona (see)

B. [Event, act]: vuvoni (seeing)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuvoni bya Khazamula bya swigevenga byi pfuna maphorisa.
(The seeing of Khazamula to the criminals helps the police officers).

(b) Vuvoni bya wansati bya vayivi byi n’wi nghenisile ekhombyeni.
(The seeing of the woman of the thieves has put her into trouble).

(c) Maphorisa va khensa vuvoni bya wanuna bya swigevenga.
(The police officers are thanking the seeing of the man of the criminals).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvoni (seeing) refers to an act or power of seeing something with the eye; sense of sight or the power or supernatural ability of an individual to be able to see the future events. But it may also refer to the act or power of anticipating that which will or may come.

Yingisa (listen)

A. [Actor]: muyingisi (listener)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muyingisi u pfulela Rhadiyo.
(The listener switches on the radio).

(b) Muyingisi wa mahungu u miyeta vana.
(The listener of the news makes children to shut up).

(c) Muhaxi u nyika muyingisi Rhadiyo.
(The presenter gives the listener a radio).
Plural: class 2: vayingisi (listeners)

The nominal *muyingisi* (listener) refers to an individual who gives attention with the ear for the purpose of hearing or one who obeys instructions. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of listening which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of listening is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *muyingisi* (listener). However, in the case where *muyingisi* (listener) refers someone who heed to the instructions, especially at work, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it is assumed that such a person will always heed to instructions even in the future.

**Yingisa** (listen)

A. [Excessive act]: riyingiso (excessive listening)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riyingiso ra Magezi exikolweni ri tsakisa mathicara.
   (The excessive listening of Magezi at school impresses teachers).

   (b) Riyingiso ra mufanai ra mahungu ya vanhuri nyangatsa vatswari wakwe.
   (The attentive/excessive listening of the boy to people’s affairs disgusts his parents).

   (c) Vanhu va sola riyingiso ra wansati eka timhaka ta vona.
   (The people criticise the excessive listening of the woman to their affairs).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riyingiso* (attentive/excessive listening) refers to the excessive act or active process of receiving and responding to spoken and unspoken messages.

**Yingisa** (listen)

B. [Expert actor]: xiyingisi (attentive listener)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiyingisi xi tshamele emahlweni
   (The attentive listener sits infront).

   (b) Xiyingisi xa mahungu xi fikile.
   (The attentive listener of news has arrived).

   (c) Kokwana u tsakela xiyingisi xa mahungu ya mitlangu.
   (The grandmother is happy for the attentive listener of sports news).

Plural: class 8: swiyingeri (attentive listeners)

The nominal *xiyingisi* (attentive listener) refers to an individual who always listens attentively to something or one who always takes heed of instructions. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of attentive listening will permanently remain with the individual in
question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of listening or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be associated with attentive listening and thus will always be referred to as **xiyingisi** (attentive listener).

**Yingisa** (listen)

C. [Event, act]: **vuyingisi** (listening)

Class 14: 4. (a) **Vuyingisi bya Magezi bya mahungu byi nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.**
(The listening of Magesi to the news annoys his wife).

(b) **Vuyingisi bya mahungu ya vanhu bya vengisa.**
(The listening of other people’s affairs causes hatred).

(c) **Kokwana u sola vuyingisi bya n’wana bya mahungu ya vanhu.**
(The grandmother criticises the listening of the child of other people’s affairs).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuyingisi** (listening) refers to the act or active process of receiving and responding to spoken and unspoken messages.

**Hoxa** (Err/Make mistake)

A. [Actor]: **muhoxi** (the erring person)

Class 1: 1. (a) **Muhoxi u kombela ndzivalelo.**
(The erring person asks for forgiveness).

(b) **Muhoxi a nga amukeli xihoxo xakwe.**
(The erring person does not accept his mistake).

(c) **Mufambisi u tshinya muhoxi.**
(The Programme director rebukes the erring person).

Plural: class 2: **vahoxi** (erring persons)

The nominal **muhoxi** (erring person) denotes an individual who makes a mistake. Such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of erring. Once the committing of the mistake is past, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **muhoxi** (erring person).
**Hoxa** (Err/Make mistake)

B.  
[Excessive actor]: xihoxi (excessive erring person)
Class 7:  2. (a) Xihoxi xi khensa mutsundzuxi  
(The excessive erring person thanks the advicer).

(b) Xihoxi xi lemuka xihoxo xa xona.  
(The excessive erring person notices his mistake).

(c) Mufambisi u miyeta xihoxi enhlengetanini.  
(The Programme director silences the excessive erring person at the meeting).

Plural: class 8: swihoxi (excessive erring persons)

The nominal xihoxi (excessive erring person) denotes and individual who regularly makes mistakes. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because of the regularity of the erring of the individual in question. In other words, what this nominal modifies is the regularity of erring and not the erring per se. In this way then, the erring of the individual will be associated with him as long as he lives.

What it implies is that whether the individual in question is erring or not erring at the time of reference he will always be referred to as xihoxi (excessive erring person).

**Hoxa** (Err/Make mistake)

C.  
[Result]: xihoxo (mistake)
Class 7:  3. (a) Xihoxo xa mutlangi xi tsandzekisile xipano.  
(The mistake of the player made the team lose).

(b) Xihoxo xa wanuna xi n’wi hlongorisile enhlengetanini.  
(The mistake of the man made him chased out of the meeting).

(c) Ntirho wa le bangi a wu lavi xihoxo.  
(The job in the bank does not need a mistake).

Plural: class 8: swihoxo (mistakes)

The nominal xihoxo (mistake/error) refers to a deviation from accuracy or correctness.

**Hoxa** (Err/make mistake)

D.  
[Act]: vuhoxi (erring/making mistake)
Class 14:  4. (a) Vuhoxi bya wanuna enhlengetanini byi khomise nsati wakwe tingana.  
(The erring of the man at the meeting embarrassed his wife).
(b) Vuhoxi bya wanuna byi voniwile hi vanhu vo tala.
(The erring of the man was noticed by many people).

(c) Wansati u sola vuhoxi bya wanuna enhlenegetanini.
(The woman condemns the mistake of the man at the meeting).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns

The nominal vuhoxi (erring/errorness/making mistake) refers to an act of erring by an individual.

Ehleketa (Think)

A. [Actor/experiencer]: muehleketi (thinker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muehleketi u tsala swilo leswi a swi ehleketaka ebukwini.
(The thinker writes what he thinks in the book).

(b) Muehleketi u tsundzuka mhaka leyi a a yi rivele.
(The thinker remembers an issue that he had forgotten).

(c) Mhaka leyi yi tikela muehleketi.
(This issue is difficult for the thinker).

Plural: class 2: Vahleketi (thinkers)

The nominal muehleketi (thinker) refers to an individual who thinks seriously and often writes about important things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of thinking is something which will be associated the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the act of thinking or he may not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as muehleketi (thinker).

Ehleketa (Think)

B. [Result]: muehleketo (idea/thought)

Class 1: 2. (a) Muehleketo wo aka yindlu wu tile ni nsati wanga.
(The idea of building a house came with my wife).

(b) Muehleketo wo bha wu wu pfalerisile vanhu vo tala exitokisini.
(Evil thought got many people locked up in prison).

(c) Vanhu va sola muehleketo wo nyika vahlampfa mali ya mpfuneto wa vana.
(People criticise the idea of giving foreigners child support grants).

Plural: class 4: Miehleketo (ideas/thoughts)
The nominal **muhleketo** (idea) refers to a thought or suggestion, especially about what to do in a particular situation.

**Ehleketa** (Think)

C. [Excessive act]: riehleketo (excessive thinking)

Class 1: 3. (a) Riehleketo ra wanuna ra xitshunxo xa xiphiqo ri n’wi hlanganisa nhloko.
(The excessive thinking of the man of the solution of the problem makes him crazy).

(b) Riehleketo ra mulavisisi ra tihlamuselo ta swivulwa ri n’wi pandzisa nhloko.
(The excessive thinking of the researcher of the meanings of sentences makes his head ache).

(c) Mudyondzisi u tsakela riehleketo ra mudyondzi ra tihlamuselo ta swivulwa.
(The teacher likes the excessive thinking of the learner of the meaning of sentences).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riehleketo** (excessive thinking) refers to an act of thinking which an individual is always engaged in.

**Ehleketa** (think)

D. [Excessive experience/Actor]: xihleketi (expert thinker)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihleketi xi tsala buku ya swirungulwana.
(The expert thinker writes a short story book).

(b) Xihleketi xi nyika mbulavulo enkhubyeni.
(The expert thinker presents a speech at the function).

(c) Ntshungu wu rindzerile xiehleketi enhlengeletanini.
(The audience is waiting for the expert thinker at the meeting).

Plural: class 8: swihleketi (expert thinkers)

The nominal **xiehleketi** (expert thinker) denotes an individual who thinks deeply and is able to come up with new innovative ideas. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of serious thinking is something which will remain in this individual for his entire life. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the act of serious thinking or he may not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xiehleketi** (expert thinker). In other words, what this nominal modifies is the seriousness of thinking displayed by the individual in question and not the thinking itself.
Hleketa (think)

E.  [Process]: vuhleketi (thinking)

Class 14:  5.  (a) Vuhleketi bya tihlamuselo ta swivuriso byi tikela mudyondzi.
(The thinking of the meanings of proverbs is difficult for the learner).

(b) Vuhleketi bya xiyimo xa le henhla bya vuyerisa.
(High level thinking is profitable).

(c) Dyondzo ya sweswi yi koxa vuhleketi bya xiyimo xa le henhla.
(Current education system demands high level of thinking).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuehleketi (thinking) refers to the process of thinking about something.

7.4  DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF SOCIAL INTERACTION

The definition of Social Interaction has been provided in Section 5.7. of Chapter five. The same definition still applies in this section. The only difference that obtains is that the definition of Social Interaction given in 5.7. was concerned with deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs whereas in this section, the focus is on deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

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Cata (marry)

A.  [Actor]: mucati (bride/ groom)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mucati u xeweta ntshungu.
(The groom/bride greets the audience).

(b) Mucati u ambale suti ya ntima.
(The groom wore a black suit).
(c) Vavasati va tsona mucati swakudya.
   (Women refuse to give the groom/bride food).

Plural: Class 2: swicati (grooms/brides)

The nominal mucati (bride/groom) refers to an individual who commits himself/herself to somebody formally in marriage. This nominal may be regarded as an stage-level nominal because a person may only be referred to as a mucati (bride/groom) during their marriage ceremony; thereafter they are regarded as husband and wife. In other words, the defining feature in this nominal is the act of marrying which it modifies. Once such an act is completed such a nominal may no longer apply to such an individual.

**Cata** (marry)

A. [Event]: mucato (wedding)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mucato wa Abenego na Gloria a wu sasekile.
   (The wedding of Abednego and Gloria was beautiful).

   (b) Mucato lowu endleriwaka esitediyamu wu tsakisa ngopfu.
   (The wedding that is conducted at the stadium is interesting).

   (c) Vanhu va hlalela mucato wa Abednego na Gloria.
   (People watch the marriage of Abednego and Gloria).

Plural: Class 4: micato (weddings)

The nominal mucato (wedding) refers to the ceremony in which an individual formally commits himself to a woman in marriage.

**Cata** (marry)

B. [Excessive Act]: ricato (excessive wedding)

Class 1: 1. (a) Ricato ra wanuna na vavasati va Makula ri nyenyetsa vatswari vakwe.
   (The wedding of the man with Indian women annoys his parents).

   (b) Ricato ra vanhwana va Afrika-Dzonga na vavanuna vambe ri engetelekile.
   (The excessive wedding of South African young women with foreign men has increased).

   (c) Vavanuna va venga ricato ra vanhwana va Afrika-Dzonga na vavanuna vambe.
   (Men hate the excessive wedding of South African young women with foreign men).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ricato (excessive wedding) refers to the act of excessive weddings an individual commits himself to.
Cata (marry)

A. [Excessive Actor]: xicati (excessive bride/groom)

Class 1: 1. (a) Xicati xi xeweta vaendzi.
(The excessive bride/groom greets the audience).

(b) Xicati xi ambale suti ya ntima.
(The excessive bride/groom wore a black suit).

(c) Van’wamaphephahungu va teka xicati swifaniso.
(Newspaper people take the excessive pictures of bride/groom).

Plural: Class 2: swicati (excessive grooms/brides)

The nominal xicati (excessive bride/groom) refers to an individual who commits himself/herself excessively to somebody formally in marriage. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature here is the excessiveness of marrying and not the act of marrying itself. In other words, the nominal xicati (excessive bride/groom) may refer to the person engaged in the event of wedding ceremony or who is not engaged it it at the time of reference.

Cata (marry)

A. [Act]: vucati (wedding)

Class 1: 1. (a) Vucati bya wanuna ni nsati wa un’wana swi hlamarisile vanhu.
(The wedding of the man with someone’s wife surprised people).

(b) Vucati bya vanhwana va Afrika-Dzonga na vavanuna vambe byi nyenyetsa vanhu.
(The wedding of South African young women annoys the people).

(c) Vanhu va sola vucati bya wanuna na nsati wa munhu.
(People condemn the wedding of a man with someone’s wife).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vucati (wedding) refers to the act of wedding in which an individual formally commits himself to another for marriage.
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<td>xicati</td>
<td>vucati</td>
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<tr>
<td>Endza</td>
<td>muendzi</td>
<td>riendzo</td>
<td>riendzo</td>
<td>xiendzi</td>
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<td>Teka</td>
<td>muteki</td>
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<td>xiteki</td>
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<tr>
<td>Tswontswa</td>
<td>mutswontswi</td>
<td>ntsowntswi</td>
<td>ritswontswo</td>
<td>xitswontswi</td>
<td>vutswontswi</td>
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<tr>
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<td>muphikizani</td>
<td>mphikizano</td>
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<td>vuphikizani</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

Class 1
Prefix:   mu-
Suffix:   -i
mucati (groom/bride)

Class 3
Prefix:   mu-
Suffix:   -o
Mucato (wedding)
Class 5  
Prefix:  \textit{ri-}  
Suffix:  \textit{-o}  
\textbf{Ricato} (excessive wedding)  

Class 7  
Prefix:  \textit{xi-}  
Suffix:  \textit{-i}  
\textbf{Xicati} (excessive bride/groom)  

Class 14  
Prefix:  \textit{vu-}  
Suffix:  \textit{-i}  
\textbf{Vucati} (wedding)
Verbs of Social Interaction

(13) **Nominalization from the verb -cata** (marry)
    (ii) The verb –cata (marry)
    Wanuna wa cata.
    (The man is getting married).

- **ARGSTR**
  ARG1 = x: human
  ARG2 = y: human

- **EVSTR**
  E1 = e1: process

- **QUALIA**
  FORMAL = x
  AGENTIVE = -cata_act_agreement (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wed – Agreement - Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -cata (wed) in (13) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument (man) that marries and another human argument (woman) that is being married by the man. The event structure represents the process event of wedding which involves agreement between the two persons who are getting married. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) (man), and the agentive quale represents the process of getting married (e1) of the human argument (x).

(14) **Nominalisation in class 1: mucati** (groom/bride)

Mucati u xeweta ntshungu.
(The groom/bride greets the audience).

- **ARGSTR**
  ARG1 = x: human
  ARG2 = y: human

- **EVSTR**
  E1 = e1: process

- **QUALIA**
  FORMAL = x
  AGENTIVE = -cata_actor-agreement (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wed – Agreement - Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal mucati (bride/groom) in (14) above exhibits two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument (man) that marries, and another human argument (woman) that is being married by the man. The event structure represents the process event of marrying which involves agreement between the two persons who are getting married. The formal quale
in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument \( x \) (man), and the agentive quale represents the process of getting married \( e_1 \) of the human argument \( x \).

(15) **Nominalisation in class 7: xicati** (excessive bride/groom)

Xicati xi xeweta vaendzi.
(The excessive bride/groom greets the visitors).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xicati} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2}=y: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{cata}_\text{actor}_\text{Agreement}_{\text{excessive/exceptional}}(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wed – Excessive/Exceptional – Agreement - Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xicati (excessive/exceptional bride/groom) in (15) corresponds to that of mucati (bride/groom) in (14) above. The only difference relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive/exceptional] in xicati (excessive/exceptional bride/groom) in (15) above which is absent in mucati (bride/groom) in (14) above.

(16) **Nominalisation in class 5: ricato** (excessive wedding)

Ricato ra wanuna na vavasati va Makula ri nyenyetsa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive wedding of the man with Indian women annoys his parents).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ricato} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{e}: \text{r} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1}=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{cata}_\text{act}_\text{agreement}_{\text{excessive}}(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wed – Agreement - Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative ricato (excessive excessive wedding) in (16) above exhibits three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, the human argument (man) that marries, and another human argument (woman) that is being married by the man. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of wedding. The event structure
represents the process event of marrying which involves agreement between the two persons who are getting married. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) (man), and the agentive quale represents the process of getting married ($e_1$) of the human argument (x).

(17) **Nominalisation in class 14: vucati** (wedding)

Vucati bya wanuna ni nsati wa un’wana byi hlamarisile vanhu.
(The wedding of the man with someone’s wife surprised people).

$$
\begin{align*}
\text{vucati} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
& \quad D\text{--ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad D\text{--ARG2} = y: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D\text{--E1} =e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{cata}_\text{act\_agreement} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
$$

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wed – Agreement - Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vucati** (getting married) in (17) corresponds to that of **ricato** (excessive getting married) in (16) above. The only difference relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in **ricato** (excessive getting married) in (16) above which is absent in **vucati** (getting married) in (14) above.

(18) **Nominalisation in class 3: mucato** (wedding)

Mucato wa Abenego na Gloria a wu sasekile.
(The wedding of Abednego and Gloria was beautiful).

$$
\begin{align*}
\text{mucato} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
& \quad D\text{--ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad D\text{--ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj. (human)} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D\text{--E1} =e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{cata}_\text{event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
$$

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wed – Agreement - Event

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **mucato** (wedding) in (18) above exhibits three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, the human argument (man) that
marries, and another human argument (woman) that is being married by the man. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of wedding. The event structure represents the process event of marrying which involves agreement between the two persons who are getting married. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) (man), and the agentive quale represents the event of getting married (e₁) of the human argument (x).

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of social interaction is similar to that of -cata (wed). The distinction is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -hlangana (meet) does not permit a nominalization in classes 1 and 7 which is an uncommon phenomenon for nouns. The reason could be because the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of this verb requires the association of one person with another, not only one individual. On the contrary, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of verbs -cata (marry/wed), -endza (visit), -teka (marry), -tswontswa (kiss), -phikizana (compete) and -vukarha (hug) permits such a nominalization with the meaning of actor and expert/excessive. On the other side, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -tswontswa (kiss), -phikizana (compete) and -hlangana (meet), just like in the case of -cata (wed) permits a nominalisation in class 3 with the meaning of event and/or result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -endza (visit), -teka (marry) and -vukarha (hug) which does not allow such a nominalization. Furthermore, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -endza (visit) permits a nominalization in class 5 with the meaning of result, in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -cata (marry/wed), -teka (marry), -tswontswa (kiss), -phikizana (compete), -hlangana (meet) and -vukarha (hug) which does not permit such a nominalization.

**Endza (Visit)**

A. [Actor]:muendzi (visitor)

Class 1:
1. (a) Muendzi wa le xikolweni u ta fika nimixo.  
   (The guest of the school will arrive in the morning).

   (b) Muendzi u languta rivala ra xikolo.  
   (The guest looks at the ground of the school).

   (c) Vafana va heleketa muendzi exikolweni.  
   (The young men accompany the guest to the school).

Plural: Class 2: vaendzi (visitors)

The nominal muendzi (visitor) refers to an individual who goes and stay with somebody for a time as a guest in his/her home. This nominal may be regarded as a stage level nominal because the act of visiting
is not permanent. The individual in question will visit and then return to his/her home. The defining feature in this nominal is the act of visiting.

**Endza (Visit)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: riendzo (excessive visiting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riendzo ra Khanyisa eka Xigalo ri na swikongomelo swo karhi.  
   (The excessive visiting of Khanyisa at Xigalo has particular motives).

   (b) Riendzo ra mufana loyi laha ndyangwini ra ndzi vilerisa.  
   (The excessive visiting of this boy in the family is worrying me).

   (c) Vafana va sola riendzo ra mufana eka Xigalo.  
   (The young men disapprove the excessive visiting of the young man to Xigalo).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riendzo (excessive visiting) refers to the excessive act of travelling from one place to another. If not well thought of one may confuse this nominal with riendzo (journey) because that is the most commonly used nominal.

**Endza (Visit)**

**C.** [Result]: riendzo (journey)

Class 5: 3. (a) Riendzo ro ya eStellenbosch ri lehile.  
   (The journey to Stellenbosch is long).

   (b) Riendzo ro ya Mozambiki ri ta va hi Mudyaxihi.  
   (The journey to Mozambique will be in May).

   (c) Vakhegula va venga riendzo ro leha.  
   (Old women hate a long journey).

Plural: Maendzo (journeys)

The nominal riendzo (journey) refers to the distance travelled from one place to another.

**Endza (visit)**

**D.** [Excessive actor]: xiendzi (excessive visitor)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiendzi xa ka Nkomo xi ta fika hi siku ra ntlangu.  
   (The excessive visitor to Nkomo will arrive on the day of the function).

   (b) Xiendzi lexi xi na leswi xi lavaka swona eka ndhawu leyi.  
   (This excessive visitor, there is something he wants from this place).
(c) Vavanuna va amukela xiendzi entsindza.
(Men welcome the excessive guest at the royal homestead).

Plural: Class 8: swiendzi (excessive visitors)

The nominal **xiendzi** (excessive visitor) refers to an individual who pays visits to someone on a regular basis. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of regularity of visit will be associated with this individual for a long time. The nominal **xiendzi** (excessive visitor) modifies the excessiveness and not the act of visiting.

**Endza** (Visit)

E. [Act]: vuendzi (visitation/tourism/visitors)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuendzi bya Presidente Jacob Zuma eka Muxiyani byi hlamarise vanhu.
(The visitation of the President Jacob Zuma to Mushiyani surprised people).

(b) Vuendzi byi nghenisa mali yo tala etikweni.
(Tourism brings a lot of money into the country).

(c) Vanhu va yimele vuendzi byo huma eJoni.
(People are waiting for the tourism (visitors) from Johannesburg).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuendzi** (visitation/visitors/tourism) refers to visitation to another place by an individual. But it may also refer to tourism which an individual may study as a career.

**Teka** (Marry)

A. [Actor]: muteki (groom)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muteki wa Mariya u fikile.
(Mary’s groom has arrived).

(b) Muteki wa Nkiyasi u lehile.
(Nkiyasi’s groom is tall).

(c) Mufundhisi u vitana muteki.
(The Reverend calls the groom).

Plural: Class 2: vateki (grooms)

The nominal **muteki** (groom) refers to a man who is engaged to be married to a woman. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the ceremony of marriage which is a temporary occurrence. Once the ceremony of marriage is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as **muteki** (groom).
Teka (Marry)

B. [Act]: riteko (habit of marrying)

Class 5:  3. (a) Riteko ra Khazamula ri ta n’wi kumisa mavabyi.
          (The excessive marrying of Khazamula will get him diseases).

          (b) Riteko ra Khazamula ri karhata mana wakwe.
          (The excessive marrying of Khazamula troubles his mother).

          (c) Khazamula u tekela riteko ra tata wa yena.
          (Khazamula has adopted the excessive marrying of his father).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riteko (excessive marrying) refers to the act or state of excessive marrying of the individual in question.

Teka (Marry)

C.[Actor]: xiteki (excessively marrying person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Xiteki xa vavasati va Giyani xi lovile.
          (The excessively marrying person of the women of Giyani has passed away).

          (b) Xiteki xa swinhwanyetana xi khomiwile.
          (The excessively marrying person of young girls has been arrested).

          (c) Maphorisa va lava xiteki xa swinhwanyetana enhoveni.
          (The police are looking for the excessively marrying person of young girls in the bush).

Plural: Class 8: switeki (grooms)

The nominal xiteki (excessively getting married person) refers to an individual who excessively marries several wives, especially one who keeps on marrying and divorcing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the habit of marrying and divorcing will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of marrying or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiteki (excessively getting married person).

Teka (Marry)

D. [Act]: vuteki (marrying/marriage)

Class 14:  2. (a) Vuteki bya khale a byi tikisela vavasati.
          (Old ways of marrying was oppressive to women).
(b) Vuteki byo pfumala Xikwembu a byi tiyang.  
(Marriage without God is not strong).

(c) Vahlapfa van’wana va endla vuteki bya le xihundleni.  
(Certain foreigners conduct secret marriages).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuteki* (marrying) refers to the act or state of being united to a person of the opposite sex as husband or wife in consensual and contractual relationship recognized by law.

**Tswontswa (Kiss)**

A. [Actor]: mutswontswi (kisser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutswontswi u lela nsati wakwe hi ntswotswo.  
(The kisser bid her wife bye through a kiss).

(b) Mutswontswi wa Khanyisa u le rendzweni.  
(The kisser of Khanyisa is on the journey).

(c) Khanyisa u navelele mutswontswi wa yena riendzo lerinene.  
(Khanyisa wishes her kisser a nice journey).

Plural: Class 2: vatswontswi (kissers)

The nominal *mutswontswi* (kisser) refers to an individual who presses his lips against the lips of another person as an expression of affection, greeting, or love. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of kissing is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of kissing is over, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question.

**Tswontswa (Kiss)**

B. [Result]: ntswontswo (kiss)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntswontswo i xikonbiso xa rirhandzu ni ntsako.  
(Kiss is a symbol of love and happiness).

(b) Ntswontswo wa varhandzani wu pfuxeta rirhandzu ra vona.  
(The kiss of the lovers revives their love).

(c) Khanyisa u rhandza ntswontswo wa mahna wa yena.  
(Khanyisa likes the kiss of her mother).

Plural: Class 4: mitswontswo (kisses)

The nominal *ntswontswo* (kiss) refers to the touch or caress with the lips on the lips of another person.
Tswontswa (Kiss)

B. [Excessive act]: ritswontswo (excessive kissing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritswontswo ra mufana ra nhwana wa rona ri tumbeta vukanganyisi.
(The excessive kissing of the young man of his young woman hides his pretence).

(b) Ritswontswo ra wansati ra vana vakwe ri hlanganyeta vun’we).
(The excessive kissing of the woman of her children strengthens unity).

(c) Wanuna u ehlleleta ritswontswo ra nsati wakwe ekaya.
(The man thinks of the excessive kissing of his wife at home).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritswontswo (excessive kissing) refers to the excessive act of placing one’s lips on the lips of another person.

Tswontswa (Kiss)

C. [Excessively/expertly actor]: xitswontswi (excessively/expertly kisser)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitswontswi xi lela nsati wa xona hi ntswotswo.
(The excessively/expertly kisser bid her wife bye through a kiss).

(b) Xitswontswi xa Khanyisa xi le rendzweni.
(The excessively/expertly kisser of Khanyisa is on the journey).

(c) Khanyisa u navelele xitswontswi xa yena rendzo lerinene.
(Khanyisa wishes her excessively/expertly kisser a nice journey).

Plural: Class 8: switswontswi (excessively/expertly kisser)

The nominal xitswontswi (excessively/expertly kisser) refers to an individual who regularly kisses others or an individual who has a skill of kissing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property which this nominal modifies is the property of excessiveness or expertness of the individual in question which is a permanent property. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of kissing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitswontswi(excessively/expertly kisser).

Tswontswa (Kiss)

C. [Act]: vutswontswi (kissing)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vutswontswi byi pfuxeta rirhandzu eka nuna na nsati.
(Kissing revives love between husband and wife).
(b) Vutswontswi bya swifuwo byi andzile eka Valungu.
   (Kissing of animals is common among whites).

(c) Ntsungu wu hlalele vutswontswi bya vatekani enkhubyeni wa vukati.
   (The crowd watches the kissing of the bride and groom at the wedding).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutswontswi (kissing) refers to the act of placing one’s lips on the lips of another person.

Phikizana (compete)

A. [Actor]: muphikizani (competitor)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphikizani u kumile sagwati.
   (The competitor got an award).

   (b) Muphikizani u endla vutiolori.
   (The competitor makes an exercise).

   (c) Vanhu va qhavula muphikizani loyi a hluleke.
   (People hug the competitor who won).

Plural: class 2: vaphikizani (competitors)

The nominal muphikizani (competitor) denotes an individual who competes with another as in sport. But
it may also refer to a rival. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining
property is the act of competing in a particular event. Once such event has passed, such a person may no
longer be referred to as muphikizani (competitor). However, in the case where the nominal muphikizani
(competitor) refers specifically to a rival, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal
because the rivalry of the individual in question may be a permanent property of such an individual.

Phikizana (compete)

B. [Event]: mphikizano (competition)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mphikizano wa xibakele wu sungurile tolo.
   (The competition of boxing started yesterday).

   (b) Mphizano wa bolo ya milenge wu rhandziwa ngopfu.
   (The competition of football is liked a lot).

   (c) Vanhu va vona mphikizano wa bolo ya milenge.
   (The people are watching the competition of football).

Plural: class 4: mimphikizano (competitions)
The nominal **mphikizano** (competition) refers to the event in which people compete with each other, as for a profit or price. But it may also refer to a contest.

**Phikizana** (compete)

C. [excessive act]: riphikizano (excessive competing/argument)

Class 5: 3. (a) Riphikizano ra Tsatsawana na nuna wakwe ri khomisa tingana.
   (The excessive argument of Tsatsawana with her husband is embarrassing).

   (b) Riphikizano ra vafana ra timovha ri ta va vangela khombo.
   (The excessive competing of the young men of the cars will cause accident for them).

   (c) Vanhu va sola riphikizano ra Tsatsawana na nuna wakwe.
   (The people disapproves of the excessive argument of Tsatsawana with her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding in class 6.

The nominal **riphikizano** (competing) refers to the excessive act of competing, as for profit or a prize. But it may also refer to the act of exchanging words between two or more people.

**Phikizana** (compete)

D. [Expert actor]: xiphikizani (expert competitor)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiphikizani xi fikile.
   (The expert competitor has arrived).

   (b) Xiphikizani a xi nyikiwa saqwati.
   (The expert competitor was given an award).

   (c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela xiphikizani lexi hluleke.
   (The people are ululating for the expert competitor who won).

Plural: class 8: swiphikizani (expert competitor)

The nominal **xiphikizani** (expert competitor) refers to an individual who usually participates in competition and obtain first position. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question possesses a permanent trait. It should be noted that the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of competing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xiphikizani** (expert competitor).
Phikizana (compete)

E.  [Act]:  vuphikizani (competition/argument)

Class 14:  5.  (a) Vuphikizani byo tsutsuma bya vana va xikolo bya tsakisa.
           (The competition of athletics of school children is interesting).

           (b) Vuphikizani bya swikolo bya vuyimbeleri bya tikhwayere bya kala masiku lawa.
           (The competition of schools of choirs is scarce these days).

           (c) Vana va hlalela vuphikizani bya vutsutsumisi bya swithuthuthu enambyeni.
           (The children are watching the competition of the race of scooters in the river).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphikizani (competing) refers to act of competing, as for profit or a prize, or rivalry.

Hlangana (meet)

A.  [Result/Act]:  nhlangano (meeting/ organisation.)

Class 3:  1.  (a) Nhlangano wa ANC wu hlurile eka nhlawulo.
           (The meeting/organisation of ANC won at the voting)

           (b) Nhlangano wa vadyondzisi wu sungurile.
           (The meeting/organisation of the teachers has started).

           (c) Vadyondzi va sola nhlangano wa vadyondzisi.
           (The learners are criticising the meeting/organisation to the teachers).

Plural: class 4: mihlangano (meetings/ organisations)

The nominal nhlangano (meeting/organization) refers to a formal group of people with one or more shared goals. But it may also refer to the act of converging of people in one place for the purpose of doing or discussing something.

Hlangana (meet)

B.  [Excessive act]:  rihlangano (excessive meeting)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rihlangano ra mudyondzisi na vana va xikolo hi Muqgivela ri antswisile mimbuyelo.
           (The excessive meeting of the teacher with the school children improved the results).

           (b) Rihlangano ra wanuna na nsati loyi a loveriweke ri n’wi vangerile makhumo.
           (The excessive meeting of the man with a widow has brought incurable disease to him).

           (c) Vatswari va sola rihlangano ra mudyondzisi na mudyondzi wa xisati exikolweni hi Muqgivela.
(The parents condemn the excessive meeting of the teacher and the female learner at school on Saturday).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihlangano* (excessive meeting) refers to the excessive act of converging of people in one place for the purpose of doing or discussing something.

**Hlangana** (meet)

C. [Act]: *vuhlangani* (meeting)

Class 14: 2. (a) *Vuhlangani bya masipala ni vaaki byi antswisile vuxaka.*
(The meeting of the municipality with the residents has improved the relationship).

(b) *Vuhlangani bya tihosi ni mfumo byi ta va kona mundzuku eholweni.*
(The meeting of the chiefs with the government will take place tomorrow in the hall).

(c) *Vatswari va tsakela vuhlangani bya masipala ni vantshwa.*
(Parents like the meeting of the municipality with the youth).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhlangani* (meeting) refers to the act of converging of people in one place for the purpose of doing or discussing something.

**Vukarha** (hug)

A. [Actor]: *muvukarhi*

Class 1: 1. (a) *Muvukarhi u amukela vayeni.*
(The hugger welcomes the visitors).

(b) *Muvukarhi u xeweta vanhu.*
(The hugger greets the people).

(c) *Vanhu va tsakela muvukarhi.*
(People like the hugger).

Plural: class 2: *vavukarhi* (hugging people)

The nominal *muvukarhi* (hugging person) refers to an individual who clasps or embraces someone closely in the arms as affection. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of hugging which is a temporary occurrence. Once such an act passes, such a nominal may no longer be regarded as *muvukarhi* (hugging person).
Vukarha (hug)

B. [Excessive act]: rivukarho (excessive hugging)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivukarho ra Tsatsawani ra vayeni ri nyangatsa vatswari wakwe.
(The excessive hugging of Tsatsawani of the visitors disgusts her parents).

(b) Rivukarho ra n’wana ri tsakisa kokwana.
(The excessive hugging of the child makes the grandmother to be happy).

(c) Wansati u sola rivukarho ra Magezi ra vayeni.
(The woman criticises the excessive hugging of Magezi of the visitors).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivukarho (excessive hugging) refers to the excessive action of putting your arms around someone very tightly and quite roughly.

Vukarha (hug)

C. [Excessive actor]: xivukarhi (excessive hugging person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivukarhi xi xeweta vanhu.
(The excessive hugging person is greeting the people).

(b) Xivukarhi xi amukela vayeni.
(The excessive hugging person is welcoming the visitors).

(c) Kokwana u bakanya xivukarhi.
(The grandmother shrugs off the excessive hugging person).

Plural: class 8: swivukarhi (excessive hugging people)

The nominal xivukarhi (excessive hugging person) refers to an individual who excessively clasp his arms around someone/people very tightly as an affection. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of hugging is a permanent property of the individual in question. The context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of hugging or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xivukarhi (excessive hugging person).
**Vukarha** (hug)

D. **[Act]**: vuvukarhi (hugging)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuvukarhi bya kokwana byi tsakisa vana.
(The hugging of the grandmother makes children happy).

(b) Vuvukarhi bya wansati byi nyanyula nuna wakwe.
(The hugging of the woman excites her husband).

(c) Kokwana u bakanya vuvukarhi bya wanuna.
(The grandmother shrugs off the hugging of the man).

Plural: no plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuvukarhi** (hugging) refers to the action of putting your arms around someone very tightly and quite roughly.

### 7.5 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM MOTION VERBS

The definition of Motion verbs has been given in Section 4.4. of Chapter four which examines deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition applies in this section; however the focus in this section is on the deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
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</table>

**Cina** (dance)

A. **[Actor]**: mucini (dancer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mucini wa ntlawa wa M.J. Hlungwani u tsakisa vanhu.
(The dancer of M.J. Hlungwani group excites people).

(b) Mucini wa muchongolo wa le Manyeleti u ya eAmerika.
(The dancer of muchongolo from Manyeleti goes to America).
(c) Vanhu va hlalela mucini wa muchongolo exitediyamu.
(People watch the dancer of muchongolo at the stadium).

Plural: Class 2: vacini (dancers)

The nominal mucini (dancer) refers to an individual who moves his body and feet rhythmically to music, using prescribed or improvised steps and gestures. This nominal may refer to any individual who is engaged in the activity of dancing. In this case, this nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature here is the activity of dancing which an individual is engaged in. In other words, even an individual who does not have the trait of dancing can be engaged in it just for amusement. But the nominal mucini (dancer) may also refer to an individual who has a trait of dancing or a person whose profession is dancing. In this circumstance, this nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining event of skillful dancing is associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, whether at the time of reference the individual in question is engaged in the activity of dancing or he is not, he will always be referred to as mucini (dancer).

Cina (Dance)

B. [Result/Event]: ncino (dance)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ncino wa muchongolo wu nyanyula vaendzi.
(Muchongolo dance excites visitors).
(b) Ncino wa Vatsonga wu tiveka na le ntsungeni wa malwandle.
(Vatsonga dance is also well known abroad).
(c) Vanhu va hlalela ncino wa makhwaya exitediyamu.
(People watch the makhwaya dance at the stadium).

Plural: Class 4: micino (dances)

The nominal ncino (dance) refers to the event in which people dance or the dance itself or the type of dance.

Cina (Dance)

C. [Excessive act]: ricino (excessive dancing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ricino ra mufana ra makhwaya ri nyenyetsa tata wakwe.
(The excessive dancing of the makhwaya of the young man annoys his father).
(b) Ricino ra vavasati ra muchongolo ri tsakisa vakhegula.
(The excessive dancing of the women of muchongolo pleases old women).
(c) Wanuna u hlalela ricino ra vavasati ra muchongolo.
(The man is watching the excessive dancing of the women of muchongolo).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ricino** (excessive dancing) refers to the act of dancing which is done excessively by an individual.

Cina (Dance)

D. [Expert act]: xicini (expert dancer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xicini xa muchongolo xi ya eNghilandi.
(The expert dancer of muchongolo goes to England).

(b) Xicini xa Pop xa le Amerika xi lovile.
(The expert dancer of Pop of America has passed away).

(c) Vavasati bela xicini swandla exitediyamu.
(The women clap hands for the expert dancer at the stadium).

Plural: Class 8: xwicini (dancers)

The nominal **xicini** (expert dancer) refers to an individual who has an extra ordinary trait of dancing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining event here is the extra ordinary trait of dancing which this individual has. This extra ordinary trait of dancing will be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, whether he is engaged in the activity of dancing or he is not engaged in it at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as **mucini** (dancer) because this nominal modifies the extra ordinary trait of dancing and not the trait of dancing thereof.

Cina (Dance)

E. [Act]: vucini (dancing)

Class 7: 4. (a) Vucini bya vavasati bya tsakisa.
(Dancing of women is interesting).

(b) Vucini bya makhwaya byi tiyisa miri.
(Makhwaya dancing makes the body strong).

(c) Vavanuna va navela vucini bya vavasati exitediyamu.
(Men aspire the dancing of women at the stadium).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vucini** (dancing) refers to the act of moving the feet and body rhythmically to music, using prescribed or improvised steps and gestures by an individual. This nominal has a result reading.
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<thead>
<tr>
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</table>

**Class 1**

Prefix: **mu-**

Suffix: **-i**

**Mucini** (dancer)

```
N
AF        NR
  V       AF
mu- -cin- -i
```

**Class 3**

Prefix: **mu-**

Suffix: **-o**

**Ncino** (dancing)

```
N
AF        NR
  V       AF
n- -cin- -o
```
Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{o}
\textbf{Ricino} (excessive dancing)

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N};
  \node (af) [below left of=n] {AF};
  \node (nr) [below right of=n] {NR};
  \node (v) [below of=af] {V};
  \node (af2) [below of=af] {AF};
  \node (ri) [below of=v] {ri-};
  \node (cin) [below of=v] {-cin-};
  \node (o) [below of=cin] {-o};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Class 7
Prefix: \textit{xi-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textbf{Xicini} (expert dancer)

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N};
  \node (af) [below left of=n] {AF};
  \node (nr) [below right of=n] {NR};
  \node (v) [below of=af] {V};
  \node (af2) [below of=af] {AF};
  \node (xi) [below of=v] {xi-};
  \node (cin) [below of=v] {-cin-};
  \node (i) [below of=cin] {-i};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}

Class 14
Prefix: \textit{vu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textbf{Vucini} (dancing)

\begin{center}
\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (n) {N};
  \node (af) [below left of=n] {AF};
  \node (nr) [below right of=n] {NR};
  \node (v) [below of=af] {V};
  \node (af2) [below of=af] {AF};
  \node (vu) [below of=v] {vu-};
  \node (cin) [below of=v] {-cin-};
  \node (i) [below of=cin] {-i};
\end{tikzpicture}
\end{center}
Verbs of Motion

(19) **Nominalization from the verb -cina** (dance)

(iii) The verb -cina (dance)

Wanuna u cina muchongolo.
(The man is dancing muchongolo).

\[-cina\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = \text{x: human} \\
 & \quad \text{ARG2} = \text{y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = \text{e1: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{cina} _\text{act} (\text{e1}, \text{x}, \text{y})
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion - Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -cina (dance) in (19) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that dances and the physical object that is affected by the dancing. The event structure represents the process of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the process of dancing (e!) of the human argument (x).

(20) **Nominalisation in class 1: mucini** (dancer)

Mucini u languta vahlaleri.
(The dancer looks at the spectators).

\[\text{mucini}\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = \text{x: human} \\
 & \quad \text{ARG2} = \text{y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = \text{e1: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{cina} _\text{actor} (\text{e1}, \text{x}, \text{y})
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mucini (dancer) in (20) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that dances and the physical object that is affected by the dancing. The event structure represents the process of dancing. The formal quale in the
qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agentive quale represents the process of dancing \( e_1 \) of the human argument \( x \).

(21) Nominalisation in class 7: xicini (expert dancer)

Xicini xi ambala tieki.
(The expert dancer wears tekkies).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xicini} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{cina}_{\text{actor_expert}}(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Dance – Motion – Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xicini (expert dancer) in (21) corresponds to that of mucini (dancer) (20) above. The only distinction relates to the feature of [expert] which occurs in the agentive quale of xicini (expert dancer) in (21) above, which is absent in mucini (dancer) in (20) above.

(22) Nominalisation in class 5: ricino (excessive dancing)

Ricino ra wanuna etithavheneni ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive dancing of the man at the taverns annoys his wife).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ricino} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{cina}_{\text{act_excessive}}(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Dance – Motion – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative ricino (excessive dancing) in (22) above exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the activity of dancing and the physical object that is affected by the act of dancing. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the process event of dancing. The event structure represents the process of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the
identity of the human argument(x) who performs the dancing. The agentive quale represents the process of excessive dancing (e₁) of the human argument(x).

(23) **Nominalisation in class 14: vucini** (dancing)

Vucini bya young man byi tsakisa vanhwanyana.
(The dancing of the young man pleases the young women).

```
vucini
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2=y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 =e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e₁, x, y)
AGENTIVE=-cina_act(e₁, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vucini** (dancing) in (23) corresponds to that of **ricino** (excessive dancing) in (22) above. The only distinction relates to the feature of [excessive] which occurs in the agentive quale of **ricino** (excessive dancing) in (22) above, which is absent in **vucini** (dancing) in (23) above.

(24) **Nominalisation in class 3: ncino** (dancing)

Ncino wa vavasati wa tsakisa.
(The dance of the women is interesting).

```
ncino
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2=y: phy. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 =e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e₁, x, y)
AGENTIVE=-cina_event/act(e₁, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Dance – Motion – Event/Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal **ncino** (dance) in (24) above exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the activity of dancing and the physical object that is affected by the act of dancing. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the process event of dancing. The event structure
represents the process of dancing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument \((x)\) who performs the dancing. The agentive quale represents the process/event of dancing \((e_1)\) of the human argument \((x)\).

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of motion verbs is similar to that of -cina (dance). The distinction is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -gonya (go up), -khandziya (climb up), -gwedla (hoist/wind up), -gwimba (draw/pull hastily), -kongoma (go straight) and -ceceleta (bypass), -tsemakanya (cross) and -hundza (pass by) does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -cina (dance) which permits such a nominalization with the meaning of event. It is important to note that only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -gwedla (visit) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics the verbs -gonya (go up), -khandziya (climb up), -gwimba (draw/pull hastily), -kongoma (go straight/direct), -ceceleta (bypass), -tsemakanya (cross) and -hundza (pass by) which does not allow such a nominalisation.

**Gonya** (go up)

A. [Actor]: mugonyi (going up person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugonyi wa ntshava u karhele.
   (The going up person of the mountain is tired).

   (b) Mugonyi wa xiganga u jerile.
   (The going up person of the hill got stuck).

   (c) Wanuna u huwelela mugonyi wa ntshava.
   (The man screams to the going up person of the mountain).

Plural: class 2: vagonyi (going up people)

The nominal mugonyi (going up person) refers to an individual who moves up or who go upward with gradual or continuous progress. But it may also refer to someone who moves to a better position in life or to a better job. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the event of going up which is a temporary occurrence. In other words, once such an event has passed, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question.
Gonya (go up)

A. [Excessive act]: rigonyo (excessive going up)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rigonyo ra malume ra ntshava ri karhata nsati wakwe.
   (The excessive going up of the uncle of the mountain troubles his wife).
   
   (b) Rigonyo ra ntshava ri vangela torha.
   (The excessive going up of the mountain causes thirst).
   
   (c) Kokwana u sola rigonyo ra n’wana ra ntshava.
   (The grandmother criticises the excessive going up of the child to the mountain).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rigonyo (excessive going up) refers to an excessive act or instance of moving upwards or the act of increasing in value or to a higher point

Gonya (go up)

B. [Expert actor]: xigonyi (expert going up person)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xigonyi xi khandziya ntshava.
   (The expert going up person is climbing the mountain).
   
   (b) Xigonyi xa ntshava xi vavisekile.
   (The expert going up person of the mountain has been injured).
   
   (c) Malume u huwelela xigonyi xa ntshava.
   (The uncle is screaming to the expert going up person of the mountain).

Plural: swigonyi (expert going up people)

The nominal xigonyi (excessive/expert going up person) refers to an individual who excessively moves up or an individual who has an extra-ordinary skill of going upwards. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness or the skillfulness of going up of the individual in question which is the permanent property of the individual. In other words, the individual in question will always be associated with skillful or excessive going upward whether or not at the time of reference he will be engaged in the act of going upward.

Gonya (go up)

C. [Act]: vugonyi (going up)
Class 14: 4. (a) Vugonyi bya Khazamula bya ntshava byi tsariwile eka phephahungu.
   (The going up of Khazamula of the mountain is written in the newspaper).
(b) Vugonyi bya wanuna bya xiganga byi n’wi vangela torha.
(The going up of the man of the hill is causing him to be thirsty).

(c) Manana u venga vugonyi bya n’wana bya ntshava.
(The mother hates the going up of the child of the mountain).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vugonyi (going up) refers to an act or instance of moving upwards or the act of increasing in value or to a higher point

**Khandziya (climb up)**

A. [Actor]: mukhandziyi (climber)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhandziyi u tsutsumela movha.
(The climber is running for the car).

(b) Mukhandziyi wa yindlu u vavisekile.
(The climber of the house is injured).

(c) Malume u ba mukhandziyi wa nsinya.
(Uncle is beating the climber of the tree).

Plural: class 2: vakhandziyi (climbers)

The nominal mukhandziyi (climber) refers to an individual who goes up, especially by using the hands and feet or the feet alone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of climbing. Once such an act is completed, such a nominal may no longer apply to an individual in question. However, if climbing is something that the individual in question always does as his hobby, such as climbing mountains, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because climbing will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the event of climbing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mukhandziyi (climber).

**Khandziya (climb up)**

B. [Excessive act]: rikhandziyo (excessive climbing up)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhandziyo ra Magezi ra timovha ri nyangatsa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive climbing up of Magezi of the cars disgusts his wife).

(b) Rikhandziyo ra n’wana ra nsinya ri n’wi bisile exikolweni.
(The child’s excessive climbing up of the tree caused him to be beaten at school).

(c) Manana u sola rikhandziyo ra n’wana ra nsinya.
(The mother criticises the excessive climbing up of the child of the tree).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhandziyo** (excessive climbing) refers to the excessive act/event of climbing something which is high.

**Khandziya** (climb up)

C. [Expert actor]: xikhandziyi (Expert/excessive climber)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhandzi xi yimisa movha.
(An expert/excessive climber stops the car).
(b) Xikhandzi xi wa ensinyeni.
(An expert/excessive climber falls from the tree).
(c) Kokwana u huwelela xikhandziyi xa nsinya.
(The grandmother screams to the expert/excessive climber of the tree).

Plural: class 8: swikhandziyi (Expert/excessive climber)

The nominal **xikhandziyi** (excessive/expert climber) refers to an individual who excessive goes up, especially by using the hands and feet or the feet alone or one who has a skill of going up wards. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness or the trait of skillful climbing will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of climbing or may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikhandziyi** (excessive/expert climber).

**Khandziya** (climb up)

D. [Event/act]: vukhandziyi (climbing up)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhandziyi bya misinya byi tshova vana mavoko.
(The climbing up of the trees breaks children’s hands).
(b) Vukhandziyi bya n’wana bya nsinya byi nyenyetsa kokwana.
(The climbing up of the child of the tree disgusts the grandmother).
(c) Manana va sola vukhandziyi bya n’wana bya nsinya.
(The mother criticises the climbing up of the child of the tree).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhandziyi** (climbing) refers to the act/event of climbing.

**Gwedla** (hoist/ wind up)

[Actor]: mugwedli (The hoisting/ winding up person)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mugwedli wa muchini u karhele swinene.
(The hoisting/winding up person of the engine is so exhausted).

(b) Mugwedli wa muchini ephayiphini u fikile.
(The hoisting/winding up person of the engine in the borehole has arrived).

(c) Vavasati va vitana mugwedli wa muchini ephayiphini.
(The women call for the hoisting/winding up person in the borehole).

Plural: class 2: vagwedli (hoisting/ winding up people)

The nominal mugwedli (hoisting/winding up person) refers to an individual who turns a knob or handle of a clock or other piece of machinery several times with power and very fast in order to make it work.

This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual level nominal, depending on the context. When this nominal refers to any person who winds up something at a particular point in time, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of winding up something. Once the act of winding up is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as mugwedli (hoisting/winding up person).

However, if such a nominal refers to someone whose job is to wind up something such as the engine for pumping water, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the winding up of the machine will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of winding up something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mugwedli (hoisting/winding up person).

Gwedla (hoist/ wind up)

B. [Excessive act/manner]: rigwedlo (excessive hoist/ wind up)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigwedlo ra Yingwani ra muchini ri tsakisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive hoisting/winding up of Yingwana of the engine pleases his wife).

(b) Rigwedlo ra n’wana ra phayiphi exikolweni ri n’wi bisile.
(The excessive hoisting/winding up of the child of the pipe at school got him beaten).

(c) Kokwana u rhandza rigwedlo ra malume ra muchini.
(Grandfather likes the excessive hoisting/winding up of uncle of the engine).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rigwedlo (excessive hoisting/winding up) refers to the act of excessive turning of a knob or handle of a clock or other piece of machinery several times with power and very fast in order to make it work. But it may also refer to the manner in which an individual hoist or wind up something.
Gwedla (hoist/ wind up)

C. [Excessive/expert actor]: xigwedli (excessive/expert hoisting/ winding up person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigwedli xa muchini xi tshovekile voko.
(The excessive hoisting/winding up person broke his arm).

(b) Xigwedli xa muchini ephayiphini xi fikile.
(The excessive/expert hoisting/winding up person of the engine at the borehole has arrived).

(c) Kokwana u xeweta xigwedli xa muchini ephayiphini.
(Grandfather greets the excessive/expert hoisting/winding up person at the borehole).

Plural: Class 8: swigwedli (excessive/expert hoisting/ winding up)

The nominal xigwedli (excessive/expert hoisting/winding up person) refers to an individual who excessively or expertly turns a knob or handle of a clock or other piece of machinery several times with power and very fast in order to make it work. Such a nominal refers to someone whose job is to wind up something such as the engine for pumping water and who does irregularly or expertly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of winding as such, but the excessiveness or the expertness of winding by the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness/expertness of winding up something will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of winding up something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xigwedli (excessive/expert hoisting/winding up person).

Gwedla (hoist/ wind up)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: xigwedlo (Hoisting/winding up instrument)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xigwedlo xa muchini xi tshovekile.
(The hoisting/winding up instrument/handle is broken).

(b) Xigwedlo xa muchini xa durha.
(The hoisting/winding up instrument of the engine is expensive).

(c) Kokwana u veka xigwendlo xa muchini endlwini.
(The grandfather puts the hoisting/winding up instrument inside the house).

Plural: Class 8: swigwedlo (hoisting/ winding up instruments)

The nominal xigwedlo (hoisting/winding up instrument) refers to the handle used to wind up something in order to make it work.
**Gwedla** (hoist/ wind up)

E. [Act]: vugwedli (hoisting/winding up)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugwedli bya malume bya muchini bya hatlisa.
   (The hoisting/winding of uncle of the engine is fast).
   
   (b) Vugwedli bya Yingwani bya muchini byi n’wi karhalisile.
   (The hoisting/winding up of Yingwana of the engine made him exhausted).
   
   (c) Wansati u hlamala vugwedli bya kokwana bya muchini.
   (The woman is surprised at grandfather’s hoisting/winding up of the engine).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugwedli** (hoisting/winding up) refers to the act of turning a knob or handle of a clock or other piece of machinery several times with power and very fast in order to make it work

**Gwimba** (draw/pull fast)

[Actor]: mugwimbi (fast drawer/puller)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugwimbi wa ntambhu ya muchini u fikile.
   (The fast drawer/puller of the rope of the machine has arrived).
   
   (b) Mugwimbi wa rivanti ra movha u tsutsumela exitolo.
   (The fast drawer/puller of the door of the car runs to the shop).
   
   (c) Wanuna u chingela mugwimbi wa rivanti ra movha wakwe.
   (The man reprimands the fast drawer/puller of the door of his car).

Plural: class 2: vagwimbi (fast drawer/pullers)

The nominal **mugwimbi** (fast drawer/puller) refers to an individual who pull something hastily such as other piece of machinery with a rope and power in order to make it work. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of pulling. Once the act of pulling hastily is completed, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. In other words, for the nominal to be meaningful, the individual in question has to be engaged in the activity of pulling hastily at the time of reference.

**Gwimba** (draw/pull hastily)

B. [Excessive act]: rigwimbo (excessive fast drawing/pulling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigwimbo ra Magezi ra basikiri ri n’wi wisile.
   (The excessive fast drawing/pulling of Magezi of the bicycle has made him fall down).
(b) Rigwimbo ra Khazamula ra rivanti ri nyenyetsa vatswari.
   (The excessive drawing/pulling of Khazamula of the door annoys the parents).

(c) Wansati u sola rigwimbo ra Muzaman ra rivanti ra movha.
   (The woman disapproves of the excessive fast drawing/pulling of the door of the car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rigwimbo** (excessive hastily pulling) refers to an excessive act of pulling something hastily such as other piece of machinery with a rope and power in order to make it work.

**Gwimba** (draw/pull fast)

C.  [Excessive/Expert actor]:  xigwimbi (expert/excessive fast drawers/pullers )

Class 7:  3. (a) Xigwimbi xa rivanti xi pyanyile n’wana tintiho.
   (The excessive/expert fast drawer/puller of the door crushed the fingers of the child).

   (b) Xigwimbi xa ntambhu ya muchini xi fikile.
   (The expert/excessive fast drawer/puller of the rope of the machine has arrived).

   (c) Vafana va sola xigwimbi xa rivanti exikolweni.
   (The young men criticise the excessive/expert fast drawer/puller of the door).

Plural: Class 8: swigwimbi (people who draw/pull a thing very fast)

The nominal **xigwimbi** (excessive/expert fast drawer/puller) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly pull something hastily such as other piece of machinery with a rope and power in order to make it work. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the excessiveness/expertness of the individual in question in pulling hastily something. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of hastily pulling something or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xigwimbi** (excessive/expert fast drawer/puller). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Gwimba** (draw/pull fast)

D.  [Act]:  vugwimbi ( fast drawing/pulling)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vugwimbi bya n’wana bya vele byi vavisa mana wakwe.
   (The fast drawing/pulling of the child of the breast hurts the mother).

   (b) Vugwimbi bya Khazamula bya movha byi n’wi tlumbisile nsinya.
   (The fast drawing/pulling of Khazamula of the car made him hit the tree).
The nominal vugwimbi (pulling hastily) refers to an act of pulling something hastily such as other piece of machinery with a rope and power in order to make it work.

Kongoma (go straight/direct)

[Actor]: mukongomi (straight going person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukongomi wa xigevenga u khome xibamu.
   (The straight going person to the criminal is holding a gun).

   (b) Mukongomi wa vhengele u kamba mali exikhwameni.
   (The straight going person to the shop checks money in the pocket).

   (c) Wanuna u khoma mukongomi wa ngwenya enambyeni.
   (The man holds the straight going person to the crocodile in the river).

Plural: class 2: vakongomi (straight going people)

The nominal mukongomi (straight going person) refers to an individual who moves directly into a thing or towards something without any waste of time in beating around the bushes. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because the act of moving straight towards something may be a temporary occurrence. Once such an act passes, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mukongomi (straight going person). In other words, the meaning of such a nominal holds for the duration of the act.

Kongoma (straight going)

[Excessive act]: rikongomo (excessive straight going)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikongomo ra wanuna ra mhaka ri tsakisa vaaki.
   (The excessive straight talking of the man of the issue pleases the residents).

   (b) Rikongomo ra mufana ra vaonhi ri vilerisa vatswari vakwe.
   (The excessive facing of the young man of the criminals worries his parents).

   (c) Vaaki va khensa rikongomo ra vafana ra valoyi.
   (The residents commend the excessive facing of the young men of the witches).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikongomo (excessive act) refers to the excessive act of going straight towards a thing without a waste of time.
Kongoma (straight going)

[Excessive actor]: xikongomi (excessive straight going person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikongomi xa vayivi va tihomu xi hlaseriwile.  
(The excessive facing of the thieves of the cattle has been attacked).

(b) Xikongomi xa mhaka xi fikile ehubyeni.  
(The excessive straight talker of the issue has arrived at the court).

(c) Vafana va qhavula xikongomi xa mhaka ehubyeni.  
(The young men shake hands with the straight talker of an issue at the court).

Plural: Class 8: swikongomi (straight going people)

The nominal xikongomi (straight going person) refers to an individual who consistently moves towards a thing. This nominal may be regarded as a n individual-level nominal because the act of going straight towards a thing is a permanent property which will be associated with the individual in question for his or her entire life. In other words, this nominal will always apply to an individual in question whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of moving directly towards something or not at the time of reference.

Kongoma (straight going)

[Act]: vukongomi (straight going)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukongomi bya wanuna bya mhaka byi tsakisa vaaki.  
(The straight talking of the man of the issue pleases the residents).

(b) Vukongomi bya mufana bya vaonhi byi vilerisa vatswari vakwe.  
(The facing of the young man of the criminals worries his parents).

(c) Vaaki va khensa vukongomi bya vafana bya valoyi.  
(The residents commend the facing of the young men of the witches).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukongomi (excessive act) refers to the act of going straight towards a thing without any waste of time

Ceceleta (bypass)

[Actor]: muceceleti (bypasser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muceceleti wa maphorisa u tumblela hi murhi.  
(The bypasser of the police is hiding on a tree).

(b) Muceceleti wa timbyana u nyamalarile exihlahleni.  
(The bypasser of dogs is disappearing into the forest).
(c) Wanuna u languta muceceleti wa maphorisa.  
(The man looks at the bypasser of the police).

Plural: class 2: vaceceleti (bypassers)

The nominal **muceceleti** (bypass) refers to an individual who avoids passing by a place by taking a different route/direction. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of bypassing which is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of bypassing is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muceceleti** (bypass).

**Ceceleta** (bypass)

[Excessive act]: riceceleto (excessive bypassing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riceceleto ra xigevenga ra maphorisa ri lemukiwile.  
(The excessive bypassing of the criminal of the police has been noticed).

(b) Riceceleto ra wanuna ra timbyana ri nyumisa nsati wakwe.  
(The excessive bypassing of the man of the dogs embarrasses his wife).

(c) Vadyondzisi va hlamala riceceleto ra mufana ra xikolo.  
(The teachers are surprised at the excessive bypassing of the young man of the school).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riceceleto** (excessive bypassing) refers to an act of excessive taking of a different route/direction so as to avoid passing by a particular place.

**Ceceleta** (bypass)

[Excessive actor]: xiceceleti (excessive bypasser)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiceceleti xa maphorisa xi tumbela hi murhi.  
(The excessive bypasser from the police is hiding on a tree).

(b) Xiceceleti xa timbyana xi nyamalarile exihlahleni.  
(The excessive bypasser from dogs is disappearing into the forest).

(c) Wanuna u languta xiceceleti xa maphorisa.  
(The man looks at the excessive bypasser from the police).

Plural: class 8: swiceceleti (excessive passers)

The nominal **xiceceleti** (excessive bypasser) refers to an individual who excessively avoids passing by a place by taking a different route/direction. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of bypassing as such, but the excessiveness of
bypassing of a particular place by the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness of bypassing a particular place will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In a sense, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of bypassing, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiceceleti (excessive bypasser).

**Ceceleta** (bypass)

[Excessive act]: vuceceleti (bypassing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuceceleti bya xigevenga bya maphorisa byi lemukiwile.
(The bypassing of the criminal of the police has been noticed).

(b) Vuceceleti bya wanuna bya timbyana byi nyumisa nsati wakwe.
(The bypassing of the man of the dogs embarrasses his wife).

(c) Vadyondzisi va hlamala vuceceleti bya mufana bya xikolo.
(The teachers are surprised at the bypassing of the young man of the school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuceceleti (bypassing) refers to an act of taking a different route/direction so as to avoid passing by a particular place.

**Hundza** (pass by)

[Actor]: muhundzi (passerby)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhundzi wa mutsoniwa endleleni u hatlisela bazi.
(The passerby of the disabled person on the way is hurrying for the bus).

(b) Muhundzi wa ndlela u kombela swakudya.
(The passerby asks for food).

(c) Wanuna u nyika muhundzi wa ndlela swakudya.
(The man gives food to the passerby).

Plural: class 2: vahundzi (passersby)

The nominal muhundzi (passerby) refers to a person who goes past a particular place. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once the act of passing by the individual in question, such a person may no longer be referred to as muhundzi (passerby). In other words this is an event which lasts for a short time.
**Hundza** (pass by)

[excessive act]: rihundzo (excessive passing by)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihundzo ra wanuna ra vanhu lava lavaka mpfuno ri karhata maxaka yakwe.
(The excessive passing by of the man of the people who need help worries his relatives).

(b) Rihundzo ra muchayeri ra vafambi hi milenge ri nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The excessive passing by of the driver of the pedestrians annoys his children).

(c) Wanuna u sola rihundzo ra muchayeri ra vatsoniwa epatwini.
(The man condemns the excessive passing by of the man of the disabled people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihundzo (excessive passing by) denotes an excessive act of going past a particular place.

**Hundza** (pass by)

[excessive actor]: xuhundzi (excessive passerby)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihundzi xa mutsoniwa endleleni xi hatlisela bazi.
(The excessive passerby of the disabled person on the way is hurrying for the bus).

(b) Xihundzi xa ndlela xi kombele swakudya.
(The excessive passerby asks for food).

(c) Wanuna u nyika xihundzi xa ndlela swakudya.
(The man gives food to the excessive passerby).

Plural: class 8: swihundzi (excessive passersby)

The nominal xihundzi (excessive passerby) refers to a person who excessively goes past a particular place. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of passing-by as such, but the excessiveness of passing-by of the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness of passing-by at a particular place will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In a sense, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of passing-by, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihundzi (excessive passerby).

**Hundza** (pass by)

[Act]: vuhundzi (passing by)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhundzi bya wanuna bya vanhu lava lavaka mpfuno byi karhata maxaka yakwe.
(The passing by of the man of the people who needs help worries his relatives).
(b) Vuhundzi bya muchayeri bya vafambi hi milenge byi nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The passing by of the driver of the pedestrians annoys his children).

(c) Wanuna u sola vuhundzi bya muchayeri bya vatsoniwa epatwini.
(The man condemns the passing by of the man of the disabled people).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhundzi (passing by) denotes an act of going past a particular place.

**Hundza** (pass by)

[Place]: vuhundzo (passing by area)

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<th>Class 14</th>
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<td>5.</td>
<td>(a) Vuhundzo bya tilori byi pfariwie.</td>
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<td>(The passing by area of the trucks has been closed).</td>
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(b) Vuhundzo bya mimovha emapatwini ya le Joni byi engeteriwile.
(The passing by areas of the cars on Johannesburg roads have been increased).

(c) Mfumo wu engetela vuhundzo bya timovha epatwini ra N1.
(The government increases the passing by areas of the cars along N1 road).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhundzo (passing by area) refers to a place or lane meant for the passing by of something such as cars.

**Tsemakanya** (cross)

[Actor]: mutsemakanyi (crossing person)

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<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>(a) Mutsemakanyi wa gondzo u huwelela vafana.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>(The crossing person of road is shouting at the young men).</td>
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(b) Mutsemakanyi wa nambu u vona ngwenya eribyeni.
(The crossing person of the river sees crocodile on the rock).

(c) Wanuna u xeweta mutsemakanyi wa nambu.
(The man greets the crossing person of the river).

Plural: class 2: vatsemakanyi (crossing people)

The nominal mutsemakanyi (crossing person) refers to an individual who goes from one side to the other side. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of crossing is the defining property in this nominal. Once such an act is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutsemakanyi (crossing person).
Tsemakanya (cross)

[Excessive act]: ritsemakanyo (excessive crossing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsemakanyo ra mufana ra patu ri chuhwisa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive crossing of the young man of the road scares his parents).

(b) Ritsemakanyo ra tinyoka ejarateni ri hlamarisa wanuna.
(The excessive crossing of the snakes across the yard surprises the man).

(c) Wansati u hlamala ritsemakanyo ra tindlopfu enambyeni.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive crossing of the elephants in the river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritsemakanyo (excessive crossing) denotes an excessive act of going from one side to the other side.

Tsemakanya (cross)

[Excessive actor]: xitsemakanyi (excessive crossing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitsemakanyi xa gondzo xi huwelela vafana.
(The excessive crossing person of road is shouting at the young men).

(b) Xitsemakanyi xa nambu xi vona ngwenya eribyeni.
(The excessive crossing person of the river sees a crocodile on the rock).

(c) Wanuna u xeweta xitsemakanyi xa nambu.
(The man greets the excessive crossing person of the river).

Plural: class 2: switsemakanyi (excessive crossing people)

The nominal xitsemakanyi (excessive crossing person) refers to an individual who excessively goes from one side to the other side. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining element in this nominal is not the act of crossing per se, but the excessiveness of crossing. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of crossing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xitsemakanyi (excessive crossing person).

Tsemakanya (cross)

[Act]: vutsemakanyi (crossing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutsemakanyi bya mufana bya patu byi chuhwisa vatswari vakwe.
(The crossing of the young man of the road scares his parents).
(b) Vutsemakanyi bya tinyoka ejarateni byi hlamarisa wanuna.
(The crossing of the snakes across the yard surprises the man).

(c) Wansati u hlama la vutsemakanyi bya tindlopfu enambyeni.
(The woman is surprised at the crossing of the elephants in the river).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsemakanyi (crossing) denotes an act of going from one side to the other side.

Tsemakanya (cross)

[Place]: vutsemakanyo (crossing area)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutsemakanyo bya van’wamilenge exikontirini a byi xiximiwi.
(The crossing area of the pedestrians on the tarred road is not respected).

(b) Vutsemakanyo bya vanhu eHammaskraal byi hunguta mak honbo ya le patweni.
(The crossing area of people in Hammaskraal reduces road accidents).

(c) Wansati u hlama la vutsemakanyo bya vanhu eHammaskraal.
(The woman is surprised at the crossing area of the people in Hammaskraal).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsemakanyo (crossing area) refers to a marked place on the street or road for pedestrians to cross.

7.6 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF KILLING

Levin (1995: 231) defines the verbs in this class as the verbs which describe killing. He shows that the verb kill which is also a member of this class has a least specific meaning compared to the other members of this class. According to Levin (op cit) the verb kill fails to lexicalize the specific means, manner, or purpose involved in bringing about death in contrast with the other members of this class which are able to lexicalize something about the purpose or manner of killing, but which also fail to lexicalize for the means component, that is, they do not provide any information about how the killing came about. Levin (op cit) points out that few of the verbs of killing do take instrumental phrases headed by the preposition with. He goes on to say that fewer verbs in this class allow instrumental subjects that can be attributed to the fact that many of the allowable instruments are merely so-called “enabling” or “facilitating” instruments. In this study however, attention will be on the deverbatives derived from these verbs of killing.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
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Dlaya (kill)

A. [Actor]: mudlayi (killer/murderer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudlayi wa Lucky Dube u khomiwile.  
(The killer of Lucky Dube has been arrested).

   (b) Mudlayi eAfrika-Dzonga u nyikiwa xigwevo xa vutomi hinkwabyo.  
   (The killer in South Africa is given life imprisonment).

   (c) Vanhu va ba mudlayi wa wansati edorobeni.  
   (The people beat the killer of the woman in town).

Plural: class 2: vadlayi (killers)

The nominal mudlayi (killer) refers to an individual who kills a person or an animal or one who has killed someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal in the case where an individual erroneously kill another one. But as for a person who kills someone intentionally, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal. In other words, the act of killing will be permanently associated with this individual.

Dlaya (kill)

B. [Excessive act]: ridlayo (excessive killing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridlayo ra swigevenga hi maphorisa ri tsakisa vanhu.  
(The excessive killing of the criminals by police pleases the people).

   (b) Ridlayo ra swigevenga ra vanhu ri vohlile.  
   (The excessive killing of the criminals of the people has subsided).

   (c) Vanhu va sandza ridlayo ra vanhu hi swigevenga.  
   (The people critiques the excessive killing of the people by criminals).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridlayo** (excessive killing) refers to the excessive act of killing someone by an individual.

**Dlaya (Kill)**

C. [Serial/Notorious actor]: xidlayi (serial/notorious killer)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xidlayi xa van’wamathekisi lexia xi karhata eVenda va xi duvurile.  
(The serial/notorious killer of taxi owners which was troublesome in Venda has been gunned down).

(b) Xidlayi lexia xi heta vana etindhawini ta Joni xi khomiwile.  
(The serial/notorious killer who was killing children in Johannesburg areas has been arrested).

(c) Vanhu va rindzela xidlayi ekhoto.  
( People wait for the serial/notorious killer in court).

Plural: Class 8: swidlayi (killers)

The nominal **xidlayi** (serial/notorious killer) refers to a person who on several occasions kills many people in a cruel manner. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the serial killing will be associated with him for the rest of his life.

**Dlaya (Kill)**

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: xidlayo (weapon)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidlayo lexia tirhiweke ku dlaya Chris Hani i AK 47.  
(The weapon used to kill Chris Hani is AK 47).

(b) Xidlayo a xi fanelangi ku vekiwa laha vana va nga ku fikelelaka.  
(The weapon is not supposed to be placed where children can reach).

(c) Xigevenga xi tumbeta xidlayo exikhwameni.  
(The criminal hides the weapon inside the pocket).

Plural: Class 8: swidlayi (weapons)

The nominal **xidlayo** (weapon/sword) refers to a sharp instrument used to kill a person or an animal with. This nominal has a reading of artifact because is product made by man.

**Dlaya (kill)**

E. [Act]: vudlayi (killing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudlayi bya munhu i xidyoho lexikulu eAfrika-Dzonga.  
(Killing of person is a great offence in South Africa).
(b) Vudlayi bya munhu loyi a voniweke nandzu a byi pfumeleriwi laha tikweni.
(Killing of a person who has been found guilty is not allowed in this country).

(c) Mfumo wu herise vudlayi bya vabohiwa etikweni.
(The government has abolished the killing of the convicts in the country).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vudlayi (killing) refers to the act of taking or ending someone’s life.
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Ridlayo (excessive killing)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xidlayi (serial/notorious killer)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
Xidlayo (weapon)
Verbs of Killing

(25) **Nominalization from the verb -dlaya** (kill)

Wanuna u dlaya homu.
(The man slaughters the beast).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-dlaya} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=(e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-dlaya}_\text{act}(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Kill – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb **-dlaya** (kill) in (25) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the first one is the human argument which is engaged in the act of killing and the second one is the physical object that is being killed. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of killing and the resultant state of killing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_2) of the process of killing (e_1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the
identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of killing of the person (x).

(26) **Nominalisation in class 1: mudlayi** (killer/murderer)

Mudlayi wa vanhu vo tala u khomiwile.
(The serial killer has been arrested).

```
mudlayi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E₁ = e₁: process
= E₂ = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e₂, x, y)
AGENTIVE = –dlayアクター (e₁, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Kill – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **mudlayi** (killer) in (26) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the first one is the human argument which is engaged in the act of killing and the second one is the physical object that is being killed. The event structure represents the two default process events, namely the process of killing and the resultant state of killing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of killing (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of killing of the person (x).

(27) **Nominalisation in class 7: xidlayi** (serial/notorious killer)

Xidlayi xa vana na vavasati xi tidlayile.
(The serial/notorious killer of children and women has killed himself).

```
xidlayi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E₁ = e₁: process
= E₂ = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e₂, x, y)
AGENTIVE = –dlayアクター_excessive (e₁, x, y)
```
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Kill – Serial/notorious - Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xidlayi* (serial/notorious killer) in (27) is similar to that of *mudlayi* (killer) in (26) above. The only difference that obtains is that *mudlayi* (killer) in (26) above lacks the feature of [serial/notorious] in its agentive quale which occurs with *xidlayi* (serial/notorious killer) in (27) above.

(28) **Nominalisation in class 5: ridlayo** (excessive killing)

Ridlayo ra wanuna ra vana na vavasati ri vilerisa vaaki.
(The excessive killing of the man of the children and women worries the people).
(The excessive threshing of the woman of the mealies pleases his parents-in-law).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ridlayo} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
& = \text{D-ARG2} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D–ARG3} = y: \text{phys. Obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E}_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = \text{D–E}_2 = e_1: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{ava}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Kill – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *ridlayo* (excessive killing) in (28) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of killing, and the physical object that is being killed. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of killing. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of killing and the resultant state of killing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \(e_2\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_2\) of the process of killing \(e_1\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument\(x\) that kills. The agentive quale represents the act (process) of killing of the person \(x\).

(29) **Nominalisation in class 14: vudlayi** (killing)

Vudlayi bya vanhu byi hungutekile eVenda.
(The killing of people has subsided in Venda).
The lexical semantic representation of *vudlayi* (killing) in (29) is similar to that of *ridlayo* (excessive killing) in (28) above. The only difference that obtains is that *vudlayi* (killing) in (29) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *ridlayo* (excessive killing) in (28) above.

(30) **Nominalisation in class 7: xidlayo (weapon)**

Xidlayo a xi pfumeleriwi eka xihahampfhuka.
(Weapon is not allowed on airplane).

The lexical semantic representation of *xidlayo* (weapon/sword) in (30) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of killing, and the physical object that is being killed. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of killing. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of killing and the resultant state of killing. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event ($e_2$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state ($e_2$) of the
process of killing (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who kills. The agentive quale represents the artifact/instrument that is used for killing by the person (x).

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of killing is similar to that of -dlaya (kill). The difference is that in this sub-class only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -hlasela (attack) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of event or act in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -dlaya (kill) and -gevenga (murder) which does not allow such a nominalization. Again, we find that it is only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -dlaya (kill) that permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o and a meaning of artifact and/or instrument as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hlasela (attack) and -gevenga (murder) which does not allow such a nominalisation.

**Hlasela (Attack)**

**A. [Actor]:** muhlaseri (attacker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlaseri wa Amerika a nga si kumeka.
   (The attacker of America is not yet found).

   (b) Muhlaseri wa wansati u hoxa maphorisa hi maribye.
   (The attacker of a woman throws stones at the police).

   (c) Vanhu va khoma muhlaseri wa wansati.
   (People hold the attacker of the woman).

Plural: Class 2: vahlaseri (attackers)

The nominal muhlaseri (attacker) refers to an individual who uses force against something/someone in order to harm, or one who strikes out at something/someone with physical or military force or one who criticizes something/someone strongly or in a hostile manner. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of attacking which is the defining property in this nominal is temporary. Once the attack is over, such a nominal may no longer be referred to as muhlaseri(attacker).

**Hlasela (Attack)**

**B. [Event/Act]:** nhlaselo (attack)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nhlaselo wa tiko ra Amerika wu onhe ikhonomi ya tiko leriyà.
   (The attack on America has destroyed the economy of that country).

   (b) Nhlaselo wa Iraki hi Amerika wu sola hi misava hinkwayo.
   (The attack on Iraq by America is criticized by the whole world).
(c) Vanhu va sola nhlaselo wa Amerika.
(People condemn the attack on America).

Plural: Class 3: mihlaselo (attacks)

The nominal nhlaselo (attack) refers to the instance of striking out at something/someone with physical or military force or the act of attacking. But it may also refer to a sudden occurrence of an uncontrollable condition.

**Hlasela (Attack)**

C. [Excessive act]: rihlaselo (excessive attacking)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rihlaselo ra matherorisi ra swikepe ri ndlndlamukile.
(The excessive attacking of the terrorists of the ships is rife).

(b) Rihlaselo ra vahlampfa hi vaakatiko ri hungutekile.
(The excessive attacking of foreigners has declined).

(c) Mfumo wu sola rihlaselo ra vaakatiko ra vahlampfa.
(The government condemns the excessive attacking of the residents of the foreigners).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihlaselo (excessive attack) refers to the excessive act of striking out at something/someone with physical or military force or criticism of something/someone strongly or in a hostile manner.

**Hlasela (Attack)**

D. [Excessive actor]: xihlaseri (excessive attacker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlaseri xa vana na vavasati eJoni xi khomiwile.
(The excessive attacker of children and women in Johannesburg has been arrested).

(b) Xihlaseri xa presidente epalamente xi tshike ntirho.
(The excessive attacker of the president in parliament has resigned).

(c) Vanhu va hlongola xihlaseri xa wansati emugangeni.
(People chase away the attacker of the woman in the village).

Plural: Class 8: swihlaseri (attackers)

The nominal xihlaseri (excessive/notorious attacker) refers to an individual who excessively or regularly uses force against something/someone in order to harm, or one who strikes out at something/someone with physical or military force or one who criticizes something/someone strongly or in a hostile manner. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of attacking will be associated with this individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether he is engaged
in the activity of attacking or he is not engaged in it at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as *xhlaseri* (excessive/notorious attacker) because this nominal modifies the excessiveness of attacking and not the act of attacking per se.

**Hlasela** (Attack)

E. [Act]: vuhlaseri (attack)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlaseri bya president hi vandla ra lavantshwa byi fanele ku khalimiwa.
(The attack of the president by the youth league must be reprimanded).

(b) Vuhlaseri bya vana na vavasati etikweni byi le ku tlakukeni.
(The attack of children and women in the country is on the increase).

(c) Vanhu va tsundzuka vuhlaseri bya Amerika.
(People commemorate the attack on America).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhlaseri* (attack) refers to the act of striking out at something/someone with physical or military force or criticism of something/someone strongly or in a hostile manner.

**Gevenga** (murder)

[Actor]: Mugevengi (murderer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugevengi wa wansati u khomiwile.
(The murderer of the woman has been arrested).

(b) Mugevengi wa vavasati wa tiveka emaphoriseni.
(The murderer of women is known in the police).

(c) Maphorisa va kholmle mugevengi wa vana.
(The police have arrested the murderer of the child).

Plural: class 2: vagevengi (murderers)

The nominal *mugevengi* (murderer) refers to an individual who unlawfully kills another human being, especially with premeditated malice. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it is defined in terms of the activity already performed by the individual in question in the past. In other words, this noun asserts an earlier occurrence of an event and the persistent property of an individual as having performed that event, that is, the event has to have occurred and be completed. Thus, with causative SLNs: the general property of this class of noun is that the event is completed. With *mugevengi* (murderer): if x is a murderer, then x has to have murdered and will always be the murderer: the nominal thus have a reading that parallels the behaviour of perfect tense. The perfect reading of the
agentive noun is related to the left-headed property of the transition denoted by **gevenga** (murder). The perfect contributes a stative interpretation relative to the “having done” of the agent:

**Gevenga** (murder)

**B.** [Excessive act]: rigevengo (excessive murder)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigevengo ra Yingwana ra vanhu ri hlundzukisa vaakatiko.
(The excessive murdering of Yingwan of the people makes people angry).

(b) Rigevengo ra Muzamani ra vavasati ri n’wi khomisile.
(The excessive murdering of Muzamani of the women got him arrested).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala rigevengo ra Yingwana ra vafana enambyeni.
(The people are surprised at the excessive murdering of Yingwana of the boys in the river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rigevengo** (excessive murdering) refers to the excessive act of unlawful killing of one human by another, especially with premeditated malice.

**Gevenga** (murder)

**C.** [Excessive actor]: xigevenga (criminal)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigevenga xi tumbelela vanhu enambyeni.
(The criminal hides from people in the river).

(b) Xigevenga xi hlongorisa vafana enhoveni.
(The criminal chases after people in the bush).

(c) Wansati u baleka xigevenga enhoveni.
(The woman runs away from the criminal in the bush).

Plural: Class 8: swigevenga (excessive murderer/criminals)

The nominal **xigevenga** (excessive murderer/criminal) refers to an individual who excessively murders others or who excessively or regularly commits crime. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of murdering/committing crime will be associated with this individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether he is engaged in the activity of murdering someone/doing crime or he is not engaged in it at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as **xigevenga** (excessive murderer/criminal) because this nominal modifies the excessiveness of murdering/committing crime and not the act of murdering/committing crime per se.
**Gevenga (murder)**

D. [Act]: vugevengi (murder/crime)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugevengi bya wanuna bya vavasati byi tlakukile laha tikweni.
(The murdering of the man of the women has increased in this village).

(b) Vugevengi bya vanhu i nandzu lowukulu.
(The murdering of people is a great offence).

(c) Maphorisa va sola vugevengi bya vanhu eVenda.
(The police condemn the murdering of the people in Venda).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vugevengi* (murdering) refers to the act of unlawful killing of one human by another, especially with premeditated malice.

**Gevenga (murder)**

E. [Act]: vugevenga (crime)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugevenga bya vavasati byi tlakukile laha tikweni.
(The murder of women has increased in this village).

(b) Vugevenga a byi vuyerisi.
(Crime does not pay).

(c) Maphorisa va sivela vugevenga.
(The police prevent crime).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vugevenga* (crime) refers to the activity that involve breaking the law or an illegal act or activity that can be pushed by law.

**Tlimba (throttle)**

A. [Actor]: mutlimbi (throttling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlimbi wa wanuna u khiye yindlu.
(The throttling person of the man has locked the house).

(b) Mutlimbi wa mukhalabye u lava mali.
(The throttling person of the old man wants money).

(c) Wanuna u damurhuta mutlimbi wa mukhegula.
(The man pulls apart the throttling person of the old man).

Plural: Class 2: vatlimbi (throttling people)
The nominal mutlimbi (throttling person) denotes an individual who kills or injures someone by squeezing his or her throat. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified here is the act of throttling which an individual in question is involved in. In other words, once such an act is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mutlimbi (throttling person).

Tlimba (throttle)

B. [Result]: ntlimbo (conflict)

Class 1 1. (a) Ntlimbo wa ku tlakusiwa ka muholo exikarhi ka mfumo ni maphorisa wu ololoxiwile.
   (The conflict of salary increment between the government and police has been resolved).

   (b) Ntlimbo wa mufana na tata wakwe wu vikiwile eka hosi.
   (The conflict of the young man and his father has been reported to the chief).

   (c) Huvo yi ololoxa ntlimbo wa mufana na tata wakwe.
   (The council is sorting out the conflict between the young man and his father).

Plural: Class 2: mitlimbo (conflicts)

The nominal ntlimbo (conflict) refers to opposition between ideas or interests. But it may also refer to struggle or battle.

Tlimba (throttle)

C. [Excessive act]: ritlimbo (excessive throttling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritlimbo ra wanuna ra vakhalabye ri vikiwile emaphoriseni.
   (The excessive throttling of the man of the old men has been reported to the police).

   (b) Ritlimbo ra wansati ra vana lavantsongo ri karhata nuna wakwe.
   (The excessive throttling of the woman of little babies troubles her husband).

   (c) Wanuna u sola ritlimbo ra wansati ra mukhegula.
   (The man condemns the excessive throttling of the woman of the old woman).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritlimbo (excessive throttling) denotes an excessive act of killing or injuring someone by squeezing his or her throat.

Tlimba (throttle)

D. [Excessive actor]: xitlimbi (excessively throttling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitlimbi xa vakhegula xi khomiwile.
   (The excessively/notoriously throttling person of the old women has been arrested).
(b) Xitlimbi xa vana lavantsongo xi hlangane nhloko.
(The excessively/notoriously throttling person has gone mad).
(c) Wanuna u komba xitlimbi xa vakhegula ekhoto.
(The man shows excessively throttling person of the old women in court).

Plural: Class 8: switlimbi (excessively throttling people)

The nominal xitlimbi (excessively throttling person) denotes an individual who excessively throttles something. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness of throttling which will be associated with an him for the most part of his life regardless of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity of throttling or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In other words, the nominal xitlimbi (excessively throttling person) does not modify the event of throttling as such, but the excessiveness thereof.

Tlimba (throttle)

E. [Result]: xitlimbo (throttling/tightening thing)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitlimbo xa phayiphi xi sukile.
(The tightening thing of the pipe got removed).
(b) Xitlimbo xa mbyana xi xokoriwile.
(The throttling/tightening thing of the dog has been taken out).
(c) Wansati u xokola xitlimbo xa mbyana.
(The woman shows the throttling/tightening thing of maize in the first round the mealies).

Plural: Class 8: switlimbo (throttling/tightening thing)

The nominal xitlimbo (throttling/tightening thing) denotes an entity which throttles or tightens something.

Tlimba (throttle)

F. [Act]: vutlimbi (throttling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutlimbi bya wanuna bya vakhegula bya tiveka emaphoriseni.
(The throttling of the man of the old women is known at the police).
(b) Vutlimbi bya wansati bya n’wana byi poyila nuna wakwe.
(The throttling of the woman of the baby embarrasses her husband).
(c) Hosi yi sola vutlimbi bya vavasati bya swihlangi.
(The chief condemns the throttling of the women of the babies).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vutlimbi** (throttling) refers to the act of killing or injuring someone by squeezing his or her throat.

**Sunga** (hang/strangle)

A. [Actor]: musungi (hanging person/strangler)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musungi wa n’wana u ya ejele.  
(The hanging person/strangler of the child goes to jail).

(b) Musungi wa swigevenga u lovile.  
(The hanging person/strangler of the criminals is dead).

(c) Wanuna venga musungi wa n’wana wa yena.  
(The man hates the hanging person/strangler of his child).

Plural: Class 2: vasungi (hanging people/stranglers)

The nominal **musungi** (hanging person/strangler) denotes an individual who kills someone by griping or squeezing the neck tightly or one who kills by tightening the cord or rope round the neck and tie it on something high so as to allow the body of the person to dangle in the air so that the person is suffocated to death. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of hanging/strangling a person is a temporary occurrence. Once such an act is over, the person in question will no longer be referred to as **musungi** (hanging person/strangler).

**Sunga** (hang/strangle)

A. [Excessive act]: risungo (excessive hanging/strangling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risungo ra wansati ra vana ri karhata mfumo.  
(The excessive hanging/strangling of the woman of the babies troubles the government).

(b) Risungo ra mufundhisi ra vakhegula ri hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The excessive hanging/strangling of the pastor of the old women surprises the people).

(c) Maphorisa ma lemuka risungo ra mufana ra vakhegula.  
(The police notice the excessive hanging/strangling of the young man of the old women).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **risungo** (excessive hanging/strangling) denotes an excessive act of killing an individual by griping or squeezing the neck tightly or one who kills by tightening the cord or rope round the neck and tie it on something high so as to allow the body of the person to dangle in the air so that the person is suffocated to death.
**Sunga (hang/strangle)**

B. **[Excessive actor]: xisungi (expert/serial hanging person/strangler)**

Class 7:

(a) Xisungi xa swibochwa xi dzaha mbagi.
(The expert/serial hanging person/strangler of the convicts smokes dagga).

(b) Xisungi xa vakhegula xi kholiwele.
(The expert/serial hanging person/strangler of the old women has been arrested).

(c) Mukhalabye u tumbela xisungi xa vanhu.
(The old man is hiding from the expert/serial hanging person/strangler of the people).

Plural: Class 8: swisungi (expert/serial hanging person/stranglers)

The nominal **xisungi** (expert/serial hanging person/strangler) denotes an individual who excessively kills someone by gripping or squeezing the neck tightly or one who kills by tightening the cord or rope round the neck and tie it on something high so as to allow the body of the person to dangle in the air so that the person is suffocated to death. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of hanging/strangling, but not the act of hanging/strangling of the individual in question as such. This property will be associated with such an individual for the most part of his life irrespective of whether at the time of reference he has hanged/strangled someone or not.

**Sunga (hang/strangle)**

C. **[Act]: vusungi (hanging/strangling)**

Class 14:

(a) Vusungi bya vafana bya vanhwanyana byi karhata mfumo.
(The hanging/strangling of the young men of the girls troubles the government).

(b) Vusungi bya mfumo bya swibochwa byi hlundzukise matiko mambe.
(The hanging/strangling of the government of the convicts has angered foreign countries).

(c) Wanuna u sandza vusungi bya mfumo bya swigevenga.
(The man criticises the hanging/strangling of the state of the criminals).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vusungi** (hanging/strangling) refers to the act of killing an individual by gripping or squeezing the neck tightly or one who kills by tightening the cord or rope round the neck and tie it on something high so as to allow the body of the person to dangle in the air so that the person is suffocated to death.
Sombha (twist)

A.  [Actor]: musombhi (twister)
Class 1: 1. (a) Musombhi wa nhamu ya xihlangi u khomiwile.
(The twister of the baby’s neck has been arrested).
(b) Musombhi u wa vakhegula u nyamalarile.
(The twister of the old women has disappeared).
(c) Mukhalabye u chavisa musombhi wa tihuku.
(The old man scares the twister of the chickens).

Plural: Class 2: vasombhi (twisters)

The nominal musombhi (twister) denotes an individual who kills or injures someone by turning part of his body, especially the neck, into abnormal position with his hands. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what modifies it is the incident of twisting of the individual in question. In other words, once such an incident of twisting is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as musombhi (twister).

Sombha (twist)

B.  [Excessive act]: risombho (excessive twisting)
Class 5: 2. (a) Risombho ra wansati ra ra swihlangi ri hlamarisa maxaka ya yena.
(The excessive twisting of the woman of the babies surprises her relatives).
(b) Risombho ra mufana ra tihuku ri vikiwile ehosini.
(The excessive twisting of the young man of the chickens has been reported to the chief).
(c) Wansati u sola risombho ra nhwana ra swihlangi.
(The woman condemns the excessive twisting of the young woman of the babies).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risombho (excessive twisting) denotes an excessive act of killing or injuring someone by turning part of his body, especially the neck, into abnormal position with his hands.

Sombha (twist)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xisombhi (excessive twister)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xisombhi xa tihuku ta vanhu xi duvuriwile.
(The excessive twister of the people’s chickens has been arrested).
(b) Xisombhi xa swihlangi xi ya ekhoto mundzuku.
(The excessive twister of babies goes to court tomorrow).
(c) Hosi yi ba xisombhi xa tihuku ta yona.
(The chief beats the excessive twister of his chickens).
The nominal *xisombhi* (excessive twister) denotes an individual who excessively kills people by twisting their necks. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the excessiveness of the incident of twisting of the individual in question and not the incidents of twisting itself. This excessiveness will be associated with an the individual in question for the rest of his life irrespective of whether he will be involved in the incident of twisting someone’s neck or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal *xisombhi* (excessive twister) does not modify the event of the incident of twisting of someone by the individual in question, but the excessiveness thereof.

**Sombha** (twist)

D. [Act]: vusombhi (twisting)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vusombhi bya vafana bya tihuku byi karhata vaaki.  
(The twisting of the young men of the chickens troubles the residents).

(b) Vusombhi bya vanhwanyana bya swihlangi byi hungutekile.  
(The twisting of the young women of the babies has gone down).

(c) Wanuna u nyefula vusombhi bya vanhwanyana bya swihlangi.  
(The man expresses contempt at the twisting of the young women of the babies).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vusombhi* (twisting) refers to the act of killing or injuring someone by turning part of his body, especially the neck, into abnormal position with his hands.

**Hlikihla** (cut the throat with knife)

A. [Actor]: muhlikihli (person who cuts the throat with knife)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlikihli wa homu u tlhambukele hi ngati ehembeni.  
(The person who cuts the throat of the cow with knife has been spat with blood on the shirt).

(b) Muhlikihli wa mbuti u cakunya chepisi.  
(The person who cuts the throat of the goat with knife is chewing the chappies).

(c) Wanuna xeweta muhlikihli wa mbuti.  
(The man greets the person who cuts the throat of the goat with knife).

Plural: Class 2: vahlikihli (people who cut the throat with knife)

The nominal *muhlikihli* (person who cuts the throat with knife) denotes an individual who kills something by cutting its throat by a knife. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property *h* in this nominal is the incident of killing by cutting with a knife. In other
words, once that incident is past such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhlikihli (person who cuts the throat with knife. In other words, the nominal **muhlikihli** (person who cuts the throat with knife) makes reference to the defining event of cutting with knife, after which such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhlikihli** (person who cuts the throat with knife).

**Hlikihla** (cut the throat with knife)

B.  

- **[Excessive act]: rihlikihlo (excessive cutting of the throat with knife)**

Class 5:  

   2. (a) Rihlikihlo ra wanuna ra homu ri chavisa wanuna.  
       (The excessive cutting of the man of the throat of the cow with knife scares the man).

   (b) Rihlikihlo ra mufana ra nguluve ri ririsa n’wana.  
       (The excessive cutting of the young man of the throat of the pig with knife makes the child cry).

   (c) Mukhalabye u sola rihlikihlo ra wanuna ra mbuti.  
       (The man disapproves of the excessive cutting of the man of the throat of the goat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlikihlo** (excessive cutting of the throat with knife) denotes an excessive act of killing something by cutting its throat with a knife.

**Hlikihla** (cut the throat with knife)

C.  

- **[Excessive actor]: xihlikihli (person who expertly/excessively cut the throat with knife)**

Class 7:  

   3. (a) Xihlikihli xa vana eVenda xi pfaleriwile.  
       (The person who expertly/excessively cuts the throats of the children in Venda has been locked up).

   (b) Xihlikihli xa tihomu xi ni mikwana yo tala.  
       (The person who expertly/excessively cuts the throats of the cows with knife has many knives).

   (c) Wansati u nyika xihlikihli xa mbuti mati yo hlamba swandla.  
       (The woman gives the person who expertly/excessively cuts the throat of the goat with knife water for washing hands).

Plural: Class 8: **swihlikihli** (people who expertly/excessively cut the throat with knife)

The nominal **xihlikihli** (person who expertly/excessively cuts the throat with knife) denotes an individual who expertly/excessively cuts the throat of something with a knife. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property of this nominal is the skill/excessiveness of cutting with a knife which will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity of cutting the throat with knife or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal **xihlikihli** (person who cuts the throat with knife)
expertly/excessively cut the throat with knife) does not modify the event of cutting the throat, but the skill/excessiveness of cutting the throat.

**Hlikihla** (cutting of throat with knife)

D.  
[Act]: vuhlikhli (twisting)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlikhli bya wanuna bya homu byi ririsa vana.  
(The cutting of the man of the throat of the cow with knife makes the children cry).

(b) Vuhlikhli bya mufana bya nyimpfu byi chavisa wansati.  
(The cutting of throat of the young man of the sheep with knife scares the woman).

(c) Wanuna u chava vuhlikhli bya wanuna bya homu.  
(The man is afraid of the cutting of the man of the throat of the cow with knife).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhlikhli* (cutting of throat with knife) refers to the act of killing something by cutting its throat with a knife.

**Xindla** (cut throat)

A.  
[Actor]: muxindli (person who cuts something)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Muxindli wa huku u na mukhulwana.  
(The person who cuts the chicken has contracted flu).

(b) Muxindli wa mbuti wa rhurhumela.  
(The person who cuts the goat is shivering).

(c) Wanuna u dliva mixindli wa huku.  
(The man is poking the person who cuts the chicken).

Plural: Class 2: vaxindli (people who cut something)

The nominal *muxindli* (person who cuts the throat of an animal) refers to an individual who cuts the throat of a slaughtered animal before it is dead. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining act of chopping. Once such an act of chopping stops, such an individual will no longer be referred to as *muxindli* (person who cuts the throat of an animal).

**Xindla** (cut throat)

B.  
[Excessive act]: rixindlo (excessive cutting)

Class 5:  
3. (a) Rixindlo ra wanuna ra homu ri chavisa wansati.  
(The excessive cutting of the man of the cow scares the woman).
(b) Rixindlo ra swigevenga ra vanhu enhoveni ri vilerisa varhangeri.
(The excessive cutting of the people’s throats of the criminals in the bush worries the leaders).

(c) Wanuna u sandza rixindlo ra mufana huku.
(The man criticizes the excessive cutting of the young man of the neck of the chicken).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rixindlo** (excessive cutting) denotes an excessive act of cutting the throat of a slaughtered animal before it is dead (ibid).

**Xindla** (cut throat)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: Xixindli (person who expertly/excessively cuts the throat of an animal)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xixindli xa tihomu ebucareni xi lovile.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the throats of cows in the butchery is dead).

(b) Xixindli xa vana enambyeni xi kumiwile.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the throats of the children has been found in the river).

(c) Wanuna u khensa xixindli xa homu.
(The man thanks the person who expertly/excessively cuts the throat of the cow).

Plural: Class 8: swixindli (people who expertly/excessively cuts the throat of an animal)

The nominal **xixindli** (person who expertly/excessively cuts the throat of an animal) denotes an individual who excessive cuts the throat of a slaughtered animal before it is dead. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness/excessiveness of cutting the throat of an animal and will be will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of cutting a throat of an animal or he may not be engaged in it he will be referred to as **xixindli** (person who expertly/excessively the throat of an animal).

**Xindla** (cut throat)

D. [Act]: vuxindli (cutting throat)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuxindli bya wanuna bya nsati wakwe byi hlundzikise vaakatiko.
(The cutting of the man of the throat of his wife has angered the residents).

(b) Vuxindli bya mufana bya mbuti byi ririsa n’wana.
(The cutting of the young man of the throat of the goat makes the child cry).
(c) Maphorisa ma sola vuxindli bya swigevenga bya vanhu enhoveni.
(The police condemn the cutting of the criminals of the throats of the people in the
bush).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuxindli (cutting throat of an animal) refers to the act of cutting the throat of a slaughtered
animal before it is dead (ibid).

**Badza** (catch/kill locust)

A. **[Actor]**: mubadzi (catcher/killer of locusts)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubadzi wa tinjiya u tata bikiri.
(The catcher/killer of locusts has filled the mug).

   (b) Mubadzi wa tinjiya u vavisekile tsolo.
(The catcher/killer of locusts has hurt his knee).

   (c) Mufana u venga mubadzi wa tinjiya.
(The young man hates the catcher/killer of locusts).

Plural: Class 2: vabadzi (catchers/killers of locusts)

The nominal mubadzi (catchers/killers of locusts) denotes an individual who catches or kills locusts for
relish/food or for selling to the people. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal
because the individual in question is involved in the activity of catching/ killing locusts for a particular
time. In other words, the nominal mubadzi (catchers/killers of locusts) makes reference to the defining
event of catching/killing locusts. Once such an activity is over, the individual in question may no longer
be referred to as mubadzi (catchers/killers of locusts). However, if the individual in question does
catching/killing of locusts as his hobby, such an individual will be regarded as an individual-level
nominal. This will mean that what is being modified is not the act of catching/killing locusts as such, but
the excessiveness of catching/killing locusts. In other words, such an individual will be referred to as
mubadzi (catchers/killers of locusts) irrespective of whether he in engaged in the act of catching/killing
locusts or not at the time of reference.

**Badza** (catch/kill locust)

B. **[Excessive act]**: ribadzo (excessive catching/killing of locust)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribadzo ra wansati ra tinjiya swi khomisa vana vakwe tingana.
(The excessive catching/killing of the woman of the locusts embarrasses her
children).

   (b) Ribadzo ra mufana ra tinjiya ri nyenyetsa nhwana wakwe.
(The excessive catching/killing of the young man of the locusts annoys his
girlfriend).
(c) Wanuna u hlamala ribadzo ra mufana ra tinjiya.
(The man is surprised at the excessive catching/killing of the young man of the locusts).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribadzo (excessive hitting with hard object) denotes an excessive act of catching or killing locusts by an individual for relish/food or for selling to the people.

**Badza** (catch/kill locust)

C. [Excessive actor]: xibadzi (expert/excessively catcher/killer of locusts)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibadzi xa tinjiya xi ya enhoveni.
(The expert/excessively catcher/killer of the locusts goes to the veld).

(b) Xibadzi xa tinjiya xi ya ekaya.
(The expert/excessively catcher/killer of the locusts is going home).

(c) Mukhegula u rhandza xibadzi xa tinjiya.
(The old woman likes the expert/excessively catcher/killer of the locusts).

Plural: Class 8: swibadzi (expert/excessively catchers/killers of locusts)

The nominal xibadzi (expert/excessively catcher/killer of locusts) denotes an individual who catches or kills locusts for relish/food or for selling to the people. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill/excessiveness of catching/killing of the locusts of the individual in question will always be associated with him for a the most part of his life regardless of whether such an individual in will be engaged in the activity of catching/killing locusts or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xibadzi (person who excessively hits with a hard object) does not modify the event of catching/killing locusts, but the skill/excessiveness of catching/killing.

**Badza** (catch/kill locust)

D. [Act]: vubadzi (catching/killing of locusts)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubadzi bya tinjiya byi lava vutlhari.
(The catching/killing of locusts needs a skill).

(b) Vubadzi bya nhwana bya tinjiya byi nyenyetsa jaha rakwe.
(The catching/killing of locusts of the young woman annoys his boyfriend).

(c) Vanhu va sola vubadzi bya wanuna bya tinjiya.
(The people disapprove of the catching/killing of the man of the locusts).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vubadzi** (catching/killing of locusts) refers to the act of catching or killing locusts by an individual for relish/food or for selling to the people.

**Khemba** (hit with something hard)

A. [Actor]: mukhembi (person who hits with something hard)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhembi wa nguluve u tirhisa xihloka.
   (The person who hits the pig hard uses an axe).
   
   (b) Mukhembi wa mbyana u tsahma eka Guwela.
   (The person who hits the dog ahard object stays at Guwela).
   
   (c) Mufana u tiva mukhembi wa mbyana ya yena.
   (The young man knows the person who hits his dog with a hard object).

   Plural: Class 2: vakhembi (people who cut the throat with knife)

The nominal **mukhembi** (person who hits with something hard) denotes an individual who strikes a thing forcefully with a hard object, such as a hammer. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of hitting with a hard object of the individual in question at the time of reference. Once the act of hitting with a hard object stops, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mukhembi** (person who hits with something hard).

**Khemba** (hit with something hard)

B. [Excessive act]: rikhembo (excessive hitting with hard object)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhembo ra wanuna ra tinguluve ta vanhu ri hlundzukise muganga.
   (The excessive hitting of the man of people’s pigs with hard object has angered the village).
   
   (b) Rikhembo ra mufana ra wanuna ri chavise vanhu.
   (The excessive hitting of the young man of the man with a hard object has scared the village).
   
   (c) Wanuna u hlamala rikhembo ra mufana ra tinguluve ta vanhu.
   (The man is surprised at the excessive hitting with hard object of the young man of the people’s pigs).

   Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhembo** (excessive hitting with hard object) denotes an excessive act of striking a thing forcefully with a hard object.
Khemba (hit with something hard)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikhembi (person who excessively hits with a hard object)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhembi xa timbuti ta vanhu xi voniwile nandzu.
(The person who excessively hits people’s goats with a hard object has been found guilty).

(b) Xikhembi xa tinguluve xi ya enhlengeletanini.
(The person who excessively hits pigs with a hard object is going to the meeting).

(c) Mukhegula u monya xikhembi xa tinguluve ta vanhu.
(The old woman scorns the person who excessively hits the people’s pigs with a hard object).

Plural: Class 8: swikhembi (people who excessively hits with a hard object)

The nominal xikhembi (person who excessively hits with a hard object) denotes an individual who excessively strikes a thing with a hard object. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of hitting with a hard object of the individual in question and not the act of hitting with a hard object as such. In other words, the excessiveness of hitting hard of the individual in question will always be associated with him whether he will be engaged in the act of hitting something with a hard object or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Khemba (hit with something hard)

D. [Act]: vukhembi (hitting with hard object)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhembi bya swigevenga bya vanhu hi tihamula ePhalaborwa byi yimile.
(The hitting of the criminals of the people with hammers at Phalaborwa has stopped).

(b) Vukhembi bya vafana bya vakhegula byi nyangatsa vaaki.
(The hitting of the young men of the old women with hard objects disgusts the residents).

(c) Maphorisa ma sola vukhembi bya swigevenga bya vanhu hi tihamula ePhalaborwa.
(The police condemn the hitting of criminals of the people with hammers in Phalaborwa).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhembi (hitting with something hard) refers to the act of striking a thing forcefully with a hard object.

7.7 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF SENDING AND CARRYING

Levin (1995: 133) defines the Verbs of Sending and Carrying as the verbs which relate to causing an entity to change location. He states that these verbs allow the entity to move unaccompanied by the agent.
Levin (op cit) cites Pinker (1989) who when referring to these verbs writes that the motion is “mediated by a separation in time and space, sometimes bridged by a particular means of transfer” (p.110). According to Levin (op cit) the verbs in this class unlike with the verbs of putting, allow the goal preposition to. Levin (op cit) further shows that not all verbs in this class can take a from phrase indicating a source. He contends that for some of these verbs, the change of location can result in transfer of possession although they are not cross-listed under verbs of possession.

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**Chayela (Drive)**

A. [Actor]: muchayeri (driver)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muchayeri wa thekisi ya ka Gezani u tlumbe munhu.
   (The driver of Gezani’s taxi hit a person).
   
   (b) Muchayeri u paka movha egirachi.
   (The driver parks the car in the garage).
   
   (c) Vakhandziyi va hakela muchyeri wa bazi.
   (The passengers pay the driver of the bus)

Plural: Class 2: vachayeri (drivers)

The nominal muchayeri (driver) refers to an individual who operates a motor vehicle, or who is capable of operating one. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the important factor here is the ability of driving. In other words, an individual may be referred to as muchayeri (driver) whether he is involved in the act of driving or he is not at the time of reference, as long as he has the ability of driving. The ability of driving which this nominal modifies will be associated with this individual for the rest of his life.

**Chayela (Drive)**

B. [Excessive act]: richayelo (excessive driving)

Class 5: 2. (a) *Richayelo ra mufana ra xithuthuthu ri karhata vanhu.
   (The excessive driving of the young man of the scooter worries the people).
(b) *Richayelo ra wanuna ra movha wa ka Eskom ri tsakisa vafana.
(The excessive driving of the man of the Escom car pleases the young men).

(c) *Wanuna u sola richayelo ra mufana ra movha.
(The man disapproves the driving of the young man of the car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominalization of class 5 deverbative noun richayelo (excessive driving) results in ungrammaticality. But when the affix -el- is added on to this nominal the ungrammaticality disappears. The nominal will thus be richayelelo (manner/excessiveness of driving).

**Chayela (Drive)**

A. [Expert act]: xichayeri (expert driver)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xichayeri xa lembi xi ta nyikiwa sagwati.
(The expert driver of the year will be given an award).

(b) Xichayeri xa tibazi ta ka Putco to ya eJoni xi lo vile.
(The expert driver of Putco buses which goes to Johannesburg has passed away).

(c) Wanuna u xeweta xichayeri wa lori.
(The man greets the expert driver of the truck).

Plural: Class 8: swichayeri (excessive drivers)

The nominal xichayeri (expert driver) refers to an individual who has an extra ordinary skill in operating a motor vehicle. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the important factor here is the extra ordinary ability of driving. In other words, an individual may be referred to as xichayeri (expert driver) whether he is engaged in the act of driving or he is not at the time of reference, as long as he has the extra ordinary ability of driving. In a way, this means that the extra ordinary ability of driving which this nominal modifies will be associated with this individual for the rest of his life.

**Chayela (Drive)**

B. [Act]: vuchayeri (driving)

Class: 3. (a) Vuchayeri bya tibazi a byi lavi vanhu va ximbilwambilwana.
(Driving of buses does not need short tempered people).

(b) Vuchayeri bya vavasati a byi na makhombo yo tala.
(Driving of women does not have many accidents).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vuchayeri bya vavasati.
(Men disapprove the driving of women).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuchayeri** (driving) may refer to the act of driving a motor vehicle. But it may also refer to the profession of driving.

**Rhwala (Carry)**

A. [Actor]: murhwali (carrier)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhwali wa tinsimbhi u ta fika mundzuku. (The carrier of metals will arrive tomorrow).

(b) Murhwali wa nhundzu ya vatirhi u hlongoriwile. (The carrying person of the goods of the workers wants has been dismissed).

(c) Vavanuna va nyika murhwali tinhundzu ta vona. (The men give the carrier their goods).

Plural: class 2: varhwali (carriers)

The nominal **murhwali** (carrying person) refers to a person that carries something, or to a person. But it may also refer to one who harbors disease organisms in their body without manifest symptoms, thus acting as a distributor of infection. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of carrying. Once such an act has been performed, such a nominal may no longer be referred to as **murhwali** (carrying person). However, if the person concerned does carriage as part of his job responsibilities, or as a business, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because carrying will be associated with him for a long time. In other words, whether the person in question will be engaged in the activity of carrying something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **murhwali** (carrying person).

**Rhwala (Carry)**

B. [Result]: ndzwalo (Load/luggage)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ndzhwalo wa mina wu lahlekile. (My luggage is lost).

(b) Ndzhwalo wa Mayengana wa tika. (The load of Mayengana is heavy).

(c) Wansati u siya ndzhwalo wa wanuna ebazini. (The woman leaves the luggage of the man in the bus).

Plural: Class 4: mindzwalo (loads/luggages)

The nominal **ndzwalo** (load/luggage) refers to the amount of weight carried, or the quantity that can be carried at one time by a specified means.
Rhwala (Carry)

B. [Excessive act]: rirhwalo (excessive carrying)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rirhwalo ra tinhundzu ra mimovha ya Zimbabwe ri vanga makhombo yo tala. (The excessive carrying of the goods of the cars of Zimbabwe causes a lot of accidents).

(b) Rirhwalo ra tilori ra tinhundzu ri kavanyetiwile hi xitereko. (The excessive carrying of the trucks of the goods has been interrupted by the strike).

(c) Valawuri va patu va hlamala rirhwalo ra mathekisi ra nhlayo ya le henhla ya vakhandziyi. (Traffic police are surprised at the excessive carrying of the taxis of high number of passengers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rirhwalo (excessive carrying) refers to the act of excessive conveying something, especially goods to another person or place.

C. [Excessive/expert actor]: xirhwali (excessive/expert carrying person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xirhwali xa tinhundzu ta vahlampfa xi fikile. (The excessive/expert carrying person of the goods of expatriates has arrived).

(b) Xirhwali xa switina swa vanhu xa vabya. (The excessive/expert carrying person of the bricks of the people is sick).

(c) Vavanuna va yimele xirhwali xa nhundzu ya vaxavi. (The men are waiting for the excessive/expert carrying person for the goods of the buyers).

Plural: Class 8: swirhwali (excessive/expert carrying people)

The nominal xirhwali (excessive/expert carrying person) refers to a person that excessively carries something. But it may also refer to one who harbors disease organisms in their body without manifest symptoms, who excessively distribute the infection to others. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the important factor here is the excessiveness or expertness of carrying and not the act of carrying itself. In other words, an individual may be referred to as xirhwali (excessive/expert carrying person) whether he is engaged in the act of carrying or he is not engaged in it at the time of reference. In a way, this means that the excessiveness/expertness of carrying which this nominal modifies will be associated with this individual for the rest of his life.
Rhwala (Carry)

D. [Artefact/Instrument]: xirhwalo (transport/lift)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xirhwalo lexi va fambaka ha xona xi ta fika mudzuku.
(The transport which they are travelling with will arrive tomorrow).

(b) Xirhwalo xa timhandzi xi tshovekile.
(The wood transport is broken).

(c) Vavanuna va yimele xirhwalo xa timhandzi.
(The men are waiting for the wood transport).

Plural: Class 8: swirhwalo (transport/lift)

The nominal xirhwalo (transport/lift) refers to something that serves as a means of transportation.

Rhwala (Carry)

E. [Result]: xirhwala (load of things carried)

Class: 7 6. (a) Xirhwala xa ka Mabasa xi tsakisile va ka Baloyi.
(The load of things of Mabasa pleased the Baloy’s).

(b) Xirhwala xa byala xi tsakisa swidakwa.
(The load of beer pleases the drunkards).

(c) Vavasati va amukela xirhwala xa ka Baloyi.
(The women receive the load coming from the Baloyi’s).

Plural: Class 8: swirhwala (loads of things carried)

The nominal xirhwala (loads of things carried) refers to things carried on head by an individual or on a car, usually as a gift or tribute to a particular person or place.

Rhwala (Carry)

F. [Act]: vurhwali (carrying)

Class 14: 7. (a) Vurhwali bya switina swa tikhasimende byi ta sungula mundzuku.
(The carrying of customers’ breaks will begin tomorrow).

(b) Vurhwali bya vatirhi va le mapurasini hi tilori swi ta herisiwa.
(The carrying of farm workers by trucks will be abolished).

(c) Vanhu va sola vurhwali bya vatirhi va le mapurasini hi tilori.
(People disapprove the carrying of farm workers by trucks).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vurhwali** (carrying) refers to the act of conveying something, especially goods to another person or place.

**Verbs of sending and carrying**

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**Class 1**
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Murhwali** (carrier)

```
          N
         /|
        AF NR
       /  |
      V    AF
     /   |
mu- -rhwal- -i
```

**Class 3**
Prefix: **n-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Ndzwalo** (load/luggage)

```
          N
         /|
        AF NR
       /  |
      V    AF
     /   |
n- -dzwal- -o
```
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
**Rirhwalo** (excessive carrying)

```
N
/|
AF N^R
 /|
 V AF
 /|
ri- -rhwal- -o
```

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
**Xirhwali** (excessive/expert carrier)

```
N
/|
AF N^R
 /|
 V AF
 /|
xi- -rhwal- -o
```

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
**Xirhwalo** (instrument for carrying things)

```
N
/|
AF N^R
 /|
 V AF
 /|
xi- -rhwal- -o
```
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
**Xirhwala** (loads of things carried)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
AF \quad N^R \\
\quad V \quad AF \\
\quad xi- \quad -rhwał- \quad -a
\end{array}
\]

Class 14

Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
**Vurhwali** (carrying)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
N \\
AF \quad N^R \\
\quad V \quad AF \\
\quad vu- \quad -rhwał- \quad -i
\end{array}
\]

Verbs of Sending and Carrying

(31) **Nominalization from the verb -rhwala** (carry)

(iv) The verb -rhwala (carry)

Wansati u rhwala tihunyi.
(The woman is carrying fire wood).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-rhwala} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-rhwala}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Carry – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -rhwal-a (carry) exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, i.e. the human argument that is engaged in the act of carrying and the physical object denoting the entity that is carried by the person. The event structure represents the process event of carrying. The qualia structure displays formal quale, denoting the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of carrying (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(32) **Nominalisation in class 1: murhwali** (carrying person)

Murhwali wa khuwana u xeweta vana epatwini.
(The carrying person of the clay pot greets the children on the road).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{murhwali} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1=x: human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=e₁: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL=x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE= -rhwala_actor (e₁, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Carry – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative murhwali (carrying person) in (32) above exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, i.e. the human argument that is engaged in the act of carrying and the physical object denoting the entity that is carried by the person. The event structure represents the process event of carrying. The qualia structure displays formal quale, denoting the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of carrying (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(33) **Nominalisation in class 7: xirhwali** (excessive/expert carrying person)

Xirhwali xa mitsandza xi vavisekile katla.
(The excessive/expert carrying person of logs has hurt his shoulder).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xirhwali} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1=x: human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG=y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=e₁: sending and carrying} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL=X} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE= -rhwala_actor_Excessive/Expert (e₁, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Carry – Excessive/Expert - Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *xirhwali* (excessive/expert carrying person) in (33) is corresponds to that of *murhwali* (carrying person) in (32) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive/expert] in the case of *xirhwali* (excessive/expert carrying person) in (33) above which is absent with *murhwali* (carrying person) in (32) above.

(34) **Nominalisation in class 5: rirhwalo** (excessive carrying)

Rirhwalo ra wansati ra tihunyi ri n’wi vavisile nhamu.
(The excessive carrying of the woman of the firewood has hurt her neck).

```plaintext
rirhwalo
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2=y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 =e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e, x, y)
AGENTIVE=-rhwala_act_excessive (e1, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Carry – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rirhwalo* (excessive carrying) in (34) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of carrying, and the physical object which denotes the entity carried. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of carrying. The event structure represents the default process event of carrying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of carrying of the human argument (x).

(35) **Nominalisation in class 14: vurhwali** (carrying)

Vurhwali bya vatrihi hi tilori byi karhata tiyuniyoni.
(The carrying of workers by trucks worries the unions).

```plaintext
vurhwali
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2=y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 =e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -rhwala_act (e1, x, y)
```
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Carry – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *vurhwali* (carrying) in (35) corresponds to that of *rirhwalo* (excessive carrying) in (34) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in the case of *rirhwalo* (excessive carrying) in (34) above which is absent with *vurhwali* (carrying) in (35) above.

(36) **Nominalisation in class 3: ndzhwalo** (load/luggage)

Ndzhwalo wa wanuna wu yiviwile ebazini.
(The load/luggage of the man has been stolen in the bus).

\[
\text{ndzhwalo} \\
\begin{aligned}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{e: r} \\
&D-\text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&D-\text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{rhwala}_\text{result} (e_1, x, y)
\end{aligned}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Carry – Result

The lexical semantic representation of *ndzhwalo* (load/luggage) in (36) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of carrying, and the physical object which denotes the entity carried. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of carrying. The event structure represents the default process event of carrying. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale displays the feature of [result] which denotes the entity being carried by the human argument (x).

(37) **Nominalisation in class 7: xirhwalo** (instrument for carrying things)

5. Xirhwalo xa malamula xi tshovekile.
(The carrying object for the oranges is broken).

\[
\text{xirhwalo} \\
\begin{aligned}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{e: r} \\
&D-\text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&D-\text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D-E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{rhwala}_\text{artifact/instrument} (e_1, x, y)
\end{aligned}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Carry – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of *xhrwalo* (carrying object) in (37) is similar to that of *ndzhwalo* (load/luggage) in (36) above. The only difference is found in the formal quale which represents the feature [result] in the case of *ndzhwalo* (load/luggage) in (36) above whereas in the case of *xhrwalo* (carrying object) in (37) above it represents the feature of [artifact/instrument].

Other deverbatives in this sub-class of verbs of Sending and Carrying present a similar lexical semantic representation with that of -rhwala (carry). The difference that is found relates to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -tlaya (sail) and -susumeta (push) which, like in the case of -rhwala (carry) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of act and/or result. The intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of verbs such as -chayela (drive) and -raha (kick) does not permit such a nominalization. Another observation in this sub-class of verbs relates to the fact that only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -rhwala (carry) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument. It is interesting to note that is also possible for the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -rhwala (carry) to permit a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -a with the meaning of result. This is an uncommon occurrence since the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in this sub-set does not allow such a nominalization.

**Tluta (Sail)**

A.  [Act]: mutluti (sailor)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mutluti u hunguta rivilo ra xikepe.  
(The sailor reduces the speed of the ship).

(b) Mutluti u kambela oyili ya njhini ya xikepe.  
(The sailor checks the engine oil of the ship).

(c) Vakhandziyi va pfuxa mutluti exikepeeni.  
(The passengers wake the sailor up in the ship).

Plural: Class 2: vatluti (sailors)

The nominal mutluti (sailor) refers to a person who navigates ships or assists in the conduct, or maintenance. But it may also refer to any person who makes a living by sailing or an enlisted man or any person in the navy. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of sailing. Once the act of sailing has comes to an end, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. However, this nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal especially for an individual who does sailing as a regular hobby or occupation.
In this case then, the individual concerned need not be engaged in the act of sailing or he may be engaged in it at the time of reference because the event of sailing will always be associated with the individual in question.

**Tluta** (Sail)

A.  [Act/Result]: ntluto (sailing)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntluto wa swikepe leswikulu wu chavisa tihlampfi.
(The sailing of big ship scare fish).
(b) Ntluto wa xikepe lexitsongo wa chavisa.
(The sailing of a small ship is scary).
(c) Vanhu va rhandza ntluto wa le nambyeni wa Nandoni.
(People like sailing in the Nandoni dan).

Plural: Class 4: mitluto (sailings)

The nominal ntluto (sailing) refers to the sport or activity of travelling in a boat with sails or one of the regular times that a ship leaves a port.

**Tluta** (Sail)

A.  [Act]: ritoluto (excessive sailing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritoluto ra wanuna ri ta n’wi bisa hi magandlati.
(The habitual excessive sailing of the man will get him hit by waves).
(b) Ritoluto ri nwerise vanhu vo tala elwandle.
(The habitual excessive sailing got many people drown into the sea).
(c) Wansati u sola ritoluto ra nuna wakwe.
(The woman disapproves of the habitual excessive sailing of her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritoluto (excessive sailing) refers to the excessive act of a boat/ship or person that sails.

**Tluta** (Sail)

A.  [Act]: xitluti (expert excessive sailor)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitluti xi yimisa xikepe ekirhi ka lwandle.
(The expert excessive sailor stops the ship in the middle of the sea).
(b) Xitluti xi kamba mafurha ya xikepe.
(The expert excessive sailor checks the fuel of the ship).
(c) Vakhandziyi va tsakela xitluti xa xikepe xo ya ekapa.
(The passengers like the expert sailor of the ship to Cape Town).

Plural: Class 8: switluti (excessive sailors)
The nominal *xitluti* (expert sailor) refers to an individual who has the expertise of sailing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the expertness of sailing of the individual in question, and not the act of sailing itself. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of sailing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xitluti* (expert sailor).

**Tluta** (Sail)

A. [Act]: *vutluti* (sailing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutluti bya wanuna byi chavisa vakhandziyi.
   (The sailing of the man scares the passengers).
   
   (b) Vutluti bya nivusiku byi talele hi makhombo.
   (Sailing during the night is full of accidents).

   (c) Mufana u dyondzela vutluti ekholichi.
   (The young man is studying for sailing at the college).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutluti* (sailing) refers to the act of a boat/ship or person that sails.

**Raha** (kick)

A. [Actor]: *murahi* (kicker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murahi wa bolo u tshovekile nenge.
   (The kicker of the soccer has been broken the leg).

   (b) Murahi wa n’wana u tumbela endlwini.
   (The kicker of the child is hiding in the house).

   (c) Magezi u vitana murahi wa bolo.
   (Magezi is calling the kicker of the ball).

Plural: class 2: *varahi* (kickers)

The nominal *murahi* (kicker/soccer player) refers to an individual who strikes out something/someone with the foot or feet. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of kicking which is a temporary occurrence. Once such an act is over, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. However, to someone whose occupation or hobby is kicking, such as playing soccer, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the event of kicking will always be associated with the individual in question. In
other words, whether or not an individual in question will be engaged in the activity of kicking a ball, such a person will always be referred to as **murahi** (kicker/soccer player).

**Raha** (kick)

B. [Excessive act]: riraho (excessive kicking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riraho ra Magezi ra bolo ri tsakisa vahlaleri. 
   (The excessive kicking of Magezi of the ball impresses the spectators).
   (b) Riraho ra Khazamula ra wansati ri n’wi khomisile.
   (The excessive kicking of Khazamula of his wife caused him to be arrested).
   (c) Vanhu va rhandza riraho ra Khazamula ra bolo.
   (People like the excessive kicking of Khazamula of the ball).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riraho** (excessive kicking) refers to the act of excessive striking out of something/someone with the foot or feet by an individual.

**Raha** (kick)

C. [Expert actor]: xirahi (expert kicker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirahi xa bolo xi tshovekile nenge.
   (The expert kicker of the ball has his leg broke).
   (b) Xirahi xa bolo xi lovile.
   (The expert kicker of the ball has passed away).
   (c) Malume u vitana xirahi xa bolo.
   (The uncle is calling the expert kicker of the ball).

Plural: class 8: swirahi (expert kickers)

The nominal **xirahi** (expert kicker/soccer player) refers to an individual who strikes out something/someone with the foot or feet. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness of the individual in question which is a permanent property of the individual will always remain with him. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of kicking or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xirahi** (expert kicker/soccer player).
**Raha** (kick)

D. [Event, act]: vurahi (kicking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurahi bya tidonki bya vanhu byi ni khombo.
(The kicking of the people’s donkeys has danger in it).
(b) Vurahi bya Magezi bya bolo byi tsakisa vanhu.
(The kicking of Magezi of the bull makes people happy).
(c) Vana va chava vurahi bya todonki enambyeni.
(Children are afraid of the kicking of donkeys at the river).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vurahi** (kicking) refers to the act of striking out something/someone with the foot or feet.

**Susumeta** (push)

A. [Actor]: mususumeti (pusher)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mususumeti u vavisile n’wana.
(The pusher has injured the child).
(b) Mususumeti wa barha u karhele.
(The pusher of the wheelbarrow is tired).
(c) Malume u vitana mususumeti wa barha.
(The uncle is calling the pusher of the wheelbarrow).

Plural: class 2: vasusumeti (pushers)

The nominal **mususumeti** (pusher) denotes an individual who hold and exert force on something so as to cause it to move in. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of pushing. Once such an act has been completed, such a nominal will no longer be applicable to the individual in question. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, the individual in question has to be engaged in the act of pushing.

**Susumeta** (push)

B. [Act/result]: nsusumeto (cause/ motivation)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nsusumeto wa Magezi wa xikombelo xa ntirho wu tsanile.
(The motivation of Magezi of the application of the job is weak).
(b) Nsusumeto wa wanuna wo tshika nsati wu ta andlariwa mundzuku.
(The cause of the man to divorce his wife will be presented tomorrow).
(c) Vanhu va sola nsusumeto wa nhloko ya xikolo wo thola nsati wakwe exikolweni.
(The people are criticizing the motivation of the school principal for appointing his wife in the school).

Plural: class 4: misusumeto (Motivations/causes)

The nominal nsusumeto (motivation/cause) refers to the reason or statement explaining why someone does something or behaves in a particular way.

Susumeta (push)

C. [Excessive act]: risusumeto (excessive pushing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Risusumeto ra wanuna ra vanhu elayinini ri nyenyetsa vanhu.
(The excessive pushing of the man of the people on the queue annoys the people).

(b) Risusumeto ra wanuna ra movha ri nyumisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive pushing of the man of the car embarrasses his wife).

(c) Wansati u hlamala risusumeto ra wanuna ra movha.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive pushing of the man of the car).

Plural: class 8: swisusumeti (excessive pushers)

The nominal risusumeto (excessive pushing) refers to the excessive act of applying pressure against something for the purpose of moving it.

Susumeta (push)

D. [Expert actor]: xisusumeti (expert/excessive pusher)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xisusumeti xa vanhu elayinini xi fikile.
(The expert/excessive pusher of the people in the queue has arrived).

(b) Xisusumeti xa barha xi karhele.
(The expert/excessive pusher of the wheelbarrow is tired).

(c) Malume u vitana xisusumeti xa barha.
(The uncle is calling the expert/excessive pusher of the wheelbarrow).

Plural: class 8: swisusumeti (expert pushers)

The nominal xisusumeti (excessive/expert pusher) denotes an individual who excessively applies pressure against something for the purpose of moving it or an individual has the skill of pushing something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of pushing, but the excessiveness or skill of pushing which this individual has. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of pushing or he
may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xisusumeti** (excessive/expert pusher).

**Susumeta** (push)

E.  [Act]:  vususumeti (pushing)

Class 14:  
(a) Vususumeti bya malume bya barha byi nyanyula kokwana.  
(The pushing of the uncle of the wheelbarrow excites the grandmother).

(b) Vususumeti bya Magezi bya vanhu elayinini bya nyenyetsa.  
(The pushing of Magezi of the people in the queue is annoying).

(c) Manana u sola vususumeti bya Gezani bya barha.  
(The mother criticises the pushing of Gezani of the wheelbarrow).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vususumeti** (pushing) refers to the act of applying pressure against something for the purpose of moving it.

7.8 **DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF INGESTION/CONSUMPTION**

The definition of the Verbs of Ingestion/Consumption has been given in Chapter 5, Section 5.3. which discusses deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition still applies in this section. However, this section deals with deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

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**Dya (Eat)**

**A. [Actor]: mudyi (eater)**

Class 1:  1. (a) Mudyi wa matsavu a ye a ya tsarisa ehofisini.
   (The eater of vegetables should go and register in the office).

   (b) Mudyi wa xinkwa xa Khazamula a nga tiveki.
   (The eater of the bread of Khazamula is not known).

   (c) Vafana va hlongorisa mudyi wa xinkwa xa Khazamula.
   (The young men chase after the eater of the bread of Khazamula).

Plural: Class 2: vadyi (eaters)

The nominal *mudyi* (eater) refers to an individual who take something into the mouth as food and swallow it. This nominal may be regarded as stage-level nominal because the event of eating is temporary. The defining feature here is the act of eating, which once finished the individual in question may no longer be referred to as *mudyi* (eater). In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, the individual in question has to be engaged in the act of eating.

**Dya (Eat)**

**B. [Excessive act]: ridyo (excessive eating)**

Class 5:  2. (a) Ridyo ra Mbitsini ra nyama ra nyumisa.
   (The excessive eating of Mbitsini is unacceptable).

   (b) Ridyo ri vangela miri.
   (Excessive eating causes obesity).

   (c) Wanuna u hlamala ridyo ra wansati ra nyama.
   (The man is surprised at the excessive eating of the woman of the meat).

Plural: No plural for corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ridyo* (excessive eating) refers to the act of eating which is done excessively by an individual.

**Dya (Eat)**

**C. [Excessive actor]: xidyi (excessive eater/glutton)**

Class 7:  3. (a) Xidyi xa nyama emitlangwini xi fikile.
   (The excessive eater of meat in functions has arrived).
(b) Xidyi xi kombela nyama entalangwini.
(The excessive eater asks for meat at the function).

c) Vavasati va tsona xidyi nyama entlangwini.
(The women refuse to give meat to the excessive eater at the function).

Plural: Class 8: swidy (eaters)

The nominal xidy (excessive eater) refers to an individual who habitually eats too much food. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because the habit is something that usually stays with a person for his entire life. In other words the defining feature in this nominal is the habit of eating and not the event of eating.

Dya (Eat)

D.  [Act]:  vudyi (eating)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vudyi bya vana eswikolweni byi sungula hi awara ya khume.
(The eating of children at school begins at ten O’clock).

(b) Vudyi bya mihandzu byi bumabumeriwa ngopfu hi madokodela.
(Eating of vegetables is greatly recommended by doctors).

(c) Madokodela ma bumabumela vudyi bya mihandzu hi vavabyi.
(The doctors recommend the eating of fruits by patients).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal vudyi (eating) refers to the act of eating something as food by an individual.

Phata (Eat marula fruit)

A.  [Actor]:  muphati (eater of marula fruit)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Muphati u kha makanyi.
(The marula fruit eater picks up the marula fruits).

(b) Muphati u rhwalela makanyi.
(The marula fruit eater collects the marula fruits).

(c) Vavanuna va byela muphati ku suka enkanyini.
(Men tell the marula fruit eater to go away from the marula tree).

Plural: Class 2: vaphati (eaters of marula fruit)

The nominal muphati (eater of marula fruit) refers to an individual who cracks the marula fruit with teeth and puts the granule into the mouth so that he could squeeze the juice out of it with the mouth. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of cracking and squeezing the granule
is which is a defining property is a temporary occurrence. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, the individual in question has to be engaged in the act of eating. Once the eating of the marula fruit is finished such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question because he will no longer be involved in eating

**Phata** (Eat marula fruit)

B. [Excessive act]:  riphato (excessive eating of marula fruit)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphato ra mufana ra makanyi ri hlamarisa varisikuloni.
(The excessive eating of marula fruits of the young man suprises his fellow herd boys).

(b) Riphato ra wansati ra makanyi ri vilerisa nuna wakwe.
(The excessive eating of marula fruits of the woman worries her husband).

(c) Varisi va sola riphato ra mufana ra makanyi.
(The herd boys disapprove of the excessive eating of the young man of the marula fruits).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphato** (excessive eating of marula fruit) refers to the excessive act of cracking the marula fruit with teeth and putting the granule into the mouth so that one could squeeze the juice out of it with the mouth.

**Phata** (Eat marula fruit)

C. [Excessive actor]:  xiphati (excessive eater of marula fruit)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphati xa makanyi xi rhwalela makanyi.
(The excessive eater of marula fruits picks up marula fruits).

(b) Xiphati xa makanyi xi landza tihomu.
(The excessive eater of marula fruits looks for the cattle).

(c) Vavanuna va hlongola xiphati xa makanyi enkanyini.
(The men chase away the excessive eater of marula fruits from the marula tree).

Plural: Class 8: swiphati (excessive eaters of marula fruit)

The nominal **xiphati** (excessive/expert eater of marula fruit) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly cracks the marula fruit with teeth and puts the granule into the mouth so that he could squeeze the juice out of it with the mouth. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness/expertness which this nominal modifies is a permanent property of the
individual. The individual in question will always be associated with the excessively or expertly eating of marula fruit, whether such an individual will be involved in the eating of marula fruit or not at the time of reference.

**Phata** (Eat marula fruit)

D. [Act]: vuphati (eating of marula fruit)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuphati bya makanyi ya magaga bya lumaluluma.
(Eating of unripe marula fruits causes stomach pains).

(b) Vuphati bya makanyi hi tindlopfu bya tidakwisa.
(Eating of marula fruits by the elephants makes them drunk).

(c) Vafana va hlalela vuphati bya makanyi hi tindlopfu.
(Young men watch the eating of the marula fruits by the elephants).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuphati** (eating of marula fruit) refers to the act of cracking the marula fruit with teeth and putting the granule into the mouth so that one could squeeze the juice out of it with the mouth.

**Kidyata** (gulp)

A. [Actor]: mukidyati (gulper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukidyati wa murhi u khanyanisa xikandza.
(The gulper of the medicine frowns his face).

(b) Mukidyati wa jusi u tisula nomu.
(The gulper of the juice wipes her mouth).

(c) Wanuna u languta mukidyati wa jusi.
(The man looks at the gulper of the juice).

Plural: class 2: vakidyati (gulpers)

The nominal **mukidyati** (gulper) refers to an individual who swallows something greedily or rapidly in large amounts. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because has to be engaged in the act of gulping at the time of reference in order for this noun to be meaningful. Once the act of gulping has been completed, such a nominal will no longer apply to the individual in question. In a sense, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
Kidyata (gulp)

B.  [Result]: nkidyato(gulp)

Class 3:  2.  (a) Nkidyato wa wansati wa murhi wu tsakisa vana.
       (The gulp of the medicine excites the children).

       (b) Nkidyato wa jusi wu vavisa nkolo.
           (The gulp of the juice hurts the throat).

       (c) Wanuna u venga nkidyato wa mufana wa vuswa.
           (The man hates the gulp of the young man of the porridge).

Plural: class 4: mikidyato

The nkidyato (gulp) refers to an amount of something that one swallows or drinks quickly.

Kidyata (gulp)

C.  [Excessive act]: rikidyato(excessive gulping)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rikidyato ra vana ra mati ra nyenyetsa.
       (The excessive gulping of the children of the water is annoying).

       (b) Rikidyato ra mati ri tsakisa vana.
           (The excessive gulping of the water excites the children).

       (c) Wansati u hlamala rikidyato ra n’wana ra mati.
           (The woman is surprised at the excessive gulping of the child of the Water).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikidyato (excessive gulping) refers to an excessive act of breathing in or swallowing something quickly.

Kidyata (gulp)

D.  [Excessive actor]: xikidyati (excessive gulper)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xikidyati xa byalwa xi nwa xi ri xoxe.
        (The excessive gulping of the beer drinks alone).

        (b) Xikidyati xa jusi xi tisula nomu.
            (The excessive gulper of the juice wipes his mouth).

        (c) Wanuna u nyika xikidyata byalwa.
            (The man gives the gulper the beer).

Plural: class 8: swikidyati (excessive gulper)
The nominal **xikidyati** (excessive gulper) refers to an individual who excessively swallows some something greedily or rapidly in large amounts. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of gulping itself, but the excessiveness of gulping thereof. This excessiveness will remain a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of gulping or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikidyati** (excessive gulper).

**Kidyata** (gulp)

E. [Act]: vukidyati (gulping)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukidyati bya mati byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The gulping of the water annoys the woman).

(b) Vukidyati bya murhi hi n’wana byi hlamarisa wansati.
(The gulping of the medicine by the child surprises the woman).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vukidyati bya wansati bya jusi.
(The man likes the gulping of the woman of the juice).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukidyati** (gulping) refers to an act of breathing in or swallowing something quickly.

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Suffix: **-i**

*Mukidyati* (gulper)

```
N
  AF
     N^R
        V     AF
           mu- -kidyat- -i
```

Class 3
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

*Nkidyato* (gulping)

```
N
  AF
     N^R
        V     AF
           n- -kidyat- -o
```

Class 5
Prefix: **ri-**
Suffix: **-o**

*Rikidyato* (excessive gulping)

```
N
  AF
     N^R
        V     AF
           ri- -kidyat- -o
```
Class 7
Prefix: \( xi- \)
Suffix: \(-i\)

**Xikidyati** (excessive gulper)

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N
AF N
 |
V AF
 |
xi- -kidyat- -i
```

Class 14
Prefix: \( vu- \)
Suffix: \(-i\)

**Vukidyati** (gulping)

```
N
AF N
 |
V AF
 |
vu- -kidyat- -i
```

**Verbs of Ingestion**

(38) **Nominalization from the verb** -kidyata (gulp)

\[(v)\] The verb -kidyata (gulp)
Mufana u kidyata switiyani swa n’wana.
(The young man is gulping the little tea for the child).

\[-kidyata\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1=}\text{x: human} \\
\text{ARG1} &= \text{x: phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1=}\text{e}_1; \text{ process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL = x} \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{kidyata}_\text{ act (e}_1, \text{x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Gulp – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -kidyata (gulp) in (38) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is gulping and the entity that is affected by the process of gulping. The event structure represents the process event of gulping. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of gulping (e₁) of a person (x).

(39) Nominalisation in class 1: mukidyati (gulper)
Mukidyati wa tiya ya n’wana wa tsutsuma.
(The gulper of the tea for the child runs away).

\[
\begin{align*}
mukidyati & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1}=e₁: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -kidyata_\text{ act (e₁, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Gulp – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mukidyati (gulping person) in (39) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is gulping and the physical object that is affected by the process of gulping. The event structure represents the process event of gulping. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of gulping (e₁) of a person (x).

(40) Nominalisation in class 7: xikidyati (excessive gulping person)
Xikidyati xa byalwa xi tsahma ehansi.
(The excessive gulping person of the beer is sitting down).

\[
\begin{align*}
xikidyati & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1}=e₁: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL}=x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -kidyata_\text{ act_excessive (e₁, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Gulp – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xikidyati* (excessively gulping person) in (40) corresponds to that of *mukidyati* (gulping person) in (39) above. The only difference relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in *xikidyati* (excessively gulping person) in (40) above which is absent in *mukidyati* (gulping person) in (39) above.

(41) **Nominalisation in class 5: rikidyato** (excessive gulping)

Rikidyato ra wanuna ra byalwa ri tsakisa vafana.
(The excessive gulping of the man of the beer excites the young men).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rikidyato} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D-E1 = e; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{kidyata}_\text{act}_{\text{excessive}} (e, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Gulp – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rikidyato* (excessive gulping) in (41) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of gulping, and the physical object which denotes the physical object is affected by the act of gulping. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of gulping. The event structure represents the default process event of gulping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of gulping of the human argument (x).

(42) **Nominalisation in class 14: vukidyati** (gulping)

Vukidyati bya mufana bya tiya ya n’wana byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The gulping of the young man of the tea for the child annoys the woman).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vukidyati} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D-E1 = e; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{kidyata}_\text{act} (e, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Gulp – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vukidyati** (gulping) in (42) corresponds to that of **rikidyato** (excessive gulping) in (41) above. The only difference relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in **rikidyato** (excessive gulping) in (41) above whereas it is absent with **vukidyati** (gulping) in (42) above.

(43) **Nominalisation in class 3: nkidyato** (gulp/gulping)

\[ nkidyato \]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-EI} = \text{e}_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{nkidyato}\_\text{act/event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Gulp – Act/Result

The lexical semantic representation of **nkidyato** (gulp/gulping) in (43) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of gulping, and the physical object which denotes the physical object that is affected by the act of gulping. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of gulping. The event structure represents the default process event of gulping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act/event (process) of gulping of the human argument (x).

Other deverbatives in this sub-class of Ingestion verbs exhibit a similar lexical semantic representation to that of **-kidyata** (gulp). The only difference that obtains here is that whereas the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs **-tswonga** (absorb) and **-tswontswa** (sip), just like in the case of **-kidyata** (gulp) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of act and/or result, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of verbs such as **-dya** (eat), **-phata** (eat marula fruit), **-nwa** (drink) and **-mita** (swallow) does not permit such a nominalization.
Cakunya (chew)

A.  [Actor]: mucakunyi (chewer)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mucakunyi wa chepisi u khandziya thekisi.
   (The chewer of the chappies boards the tax).

   (b) Mucakunyi wa nyama u kombela vuswa.
   (The chewer of the meat asks for porridge).

   (c) Wansati u nyika mucakunyi wa chepisi vuswa.
   (The woman gives the chewer of the chappies porridge).

Plural: class 2: vacakunyi (chewers)

The nominal mucakunyi (chewing person) refers to an individual who bite and grind something, especially food, with teeth. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because the defining property is the act of chewing, which once finished the nominal mucakunyi (chewing person) may no longer apply to such an individual. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Cakunya (chew)

B.  [Excessive act]: ricakunyo (excessive chewing)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ricakunyo ra n’wana ra chepisi ri n’wi vangela ndlala.
   (The excessive chewing of the child of the chappies makes him hungry).

   (b) Ricakunyo ra chepisi ri vavisa meno.
   (The excessive chewing of the chappies damages teeth).

   (c) Wanuna u nyenya ricakunyo ra vana ra tichepisi.
   (The man dislikes the excessive chewing of the children of the chappies).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ricakunyo (excessive chewing) refers to the act of excessive biting and grinding of something, especially food, with teeth.

Cakunya (chew)

C.  [Expert actor]: xicakunyi (excessive chewer)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xicakunyi xa chepisi xi suka enhlengetanini.
   (The excessive chewer of the chappies leaves from the meeting).
(b) Xikakunyi xa nyama xi nwa namuneti.
(The excessive chewer of the meat drinks cold drink).

(c) Mudyondzisi u vitana xicakunyi xa chepisi.
(The teacher calls the excessive chewer of the chappies).

Plural: class 8: swicakunyi (excessive chewers)

The nominal **xicakunyi** (excessive chewing person) refers to an individual who excessively bite and grind something, especially food, with teeth. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal since what is being modified here is not the chewing per se, but the excessiveness of chewing thereof. The excessiveness is a permanent property which will be in the individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of chewing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xicakunyi** (excessive chewing person).

**Cakunya** (chew)

D. [Event/Act]: vucakunyi (chewing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vucakunyi bya chepisi byi vavisa tinhlaya.
(The chewing of the chappeis hurt the jaws).

(b) Vucakunyi bya tihomu bya byanyi byi tsakisa vana.
(The chewing of the cows of the grass excites the children).

(c) Vapfhumba va languta vucakunyi bya ndlopfu bya makamba.
(The tourists look at the chewing of the elephant of the leaves).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vucakunyi** (chewing) refers to the act of biting and grinding of something, especially food, with teeth.

**Nwa** (drink)

A. [Actor]: munwi (drinker/drinkard)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munwi wa tiya u phema xinkwa.
(The drinker of the tea breaks the bread).

(b) Munwi wa byalwa u hakela muxavisi.
(The drinker of beer pays the sales person).
(c) Wansati u vitana munwi wa byalwa.
(The woman calls the drinker of the beer).

Plural: class 2: vanwi (drinkers/drunkard)

The nominal munwi (drinker) refers to a person who drinks something such as water. But it may also refer to someone who drinks alcohol regularly, especially habitually, or a person who regularly drinks a particular drink, such as coffee or tea. This nominal may be interpreted as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When such a nominal is interpreted as referring to a person who drinks something, such as a juice or water, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of drinking is the defining property here. However, when such a nominal is interpreted as referring to habitually and regularly drinks alcohol or coffee, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of drinking per se, but the habit and regularity of drinking of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of drinking or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as munwi (drinker).

Nwa (drink)

B. [Excessive act]: rinwo (excessive drinking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rinwo ra Khazamula ra byalwa ri karhata nsati wakwe.
(The excessive drinking of Khazamula of beer troubles his wife).

(b) Rinwo ra byalwa ri faya mindyangu yo tala.
(The excessive drinking of beer destroys many families).

(c) Wansati u sola rinwo ra nuna wakwe ra byalwa.
(The woman dislikes the excessive drinking of her husband of the beer).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rinwo (excessive drinking) in general it refers to the act of excessive consuming/drinking of alcohol. But it may also mean excessive drinking of any other thing such as water or coffee.

Nwa (drink)

C. [Excessive actor]: xinwi (excessive drinker/drunkard)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xinwi xi etelele ebarheni.
(The excessive drinker sleeps in the bar).
(b) Xinwi xi rhuketela vanhu.
(The excessive drinker swears at the people).
(c) Wansati u vitana xinwi ebarheni.
(The woman calls the excessive drinker at the bar).

Plural: class 8: swinwi (excessive drinkers/drunkards)

The nominal xinwi (drunkard) refers to an individual who is frequently or habitually drunk. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of drinking per se, but the habit and regularity of drinking of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be drunk or he may not be drunk at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xinwi (drunkard).

Nwa (drink)

D. [Event/Act]: vunwi (drinking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vunwi bya byalwa byi vanga madzolonga.
(Beer drinking is cause violence).

(b) Vunwi bya byalwa byi nyanyile masiku lawa.
(Beer drinking is rife these days).

(c) Vafundhisi va sola vunwi bya byalawa.
(The pastors condemn beer drinking).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunwi (drinking) in general it refers to the act of consuming/drinking of alcohol. But it may also mean drinking of any other thing such as water or coffee.

Tswana (absorb)

A. [Actor]: mutswongi (absorber)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutswongi wa mati u kama xiponci.
(The absorber of the water squizes the sponge).

(b) Mutswongi wa mati u hlantswa xiponci.
(The absorber of the water washes the sponge).

(c) Wansati u nyika mutswongi wa mati swakudya.
(The woman gives food to the absorber of water).

Plural: class 2: vatswongi (absorbers)
The nominal **mutswongi** (absorber) refers to an individual who sucks up or drink in something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal since the act of absorbing is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of absorbing something is completed, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tswonga** (absorb)

B. [Act]: ntswongo (absorption)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntswongo wa swimilani wa mati wu humelele ngopfu nimixo.
(The absorption of the seedlings of water had happened a lot early in the morning).

(b) Ntswongo wa miri wa swakudywa wu humelela nivusiku.
(The absorption of the body of water happens during the night).

(c) Malume u hlamala ntswongo wa swimilani wa mati exirhapeni.
((The uncle is surprised at the absorption of the seedlings of the water in the garden).

Plural: class 2: mitswongo (absorptions)

The nominal **ntswongo** (absorption) refers to the act or process of absorbing or the condition of being absorbed.

**Tswonga** (absorb)

C. [Excessive act]: ritswongo (excessive absorb)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritswongo ra swimilani ra mati exirhapeni ri karhata mutirhi.
(The excessive absorb of the seedlings of the water troubles the worker).

(b) Ritswongo ra mati ra xiponci ri tsakisa n’wana.
(The excessive absorb of the water of the sponge makes the child to be happy).

(c) Mutirhi u venga ritswongo ra swimilani ra mati exirhapeni.
(The worker hates the excessive absorb of the seedlings of water in the garden).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritswongo** (excessive absorbing) refers to the act or process of excessive absorbing or the excessive condition of being absorbed.
**Tswana** (absorb)

D. [Excessive actor]: xitswongi (excessive absorber)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitswongi xi hetile mati exihlobyeni.
(The excessive absorber finished the water in the well).

(b) Xitswongi xa mati exihlobyeni xi korwile.
(The excessive absorber of the water is satisfied).

(c) Vafana va venga xitswongi xa mati exihlobyeni.
(The boys hate the excessive absorber of water in the well).

Plural: class 8: switswongi (excessive absorbers)

The nominal *xitswongi* (excessive absorber) refers to an individual who excessively sucks up or drink in something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness of absorbing and not the absorbing itself. This excessiveness is a permanent property of the individual which will always be associated with him. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of absorbing something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xitswongi* (excessive absorber).

**Tswana** (absorb)

E. [Act]: vutswongi (absorbing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutswongi bya xiponci bya mati byi hlamarisa swihlangi.
(The absorbing of the sponge of the water amazes the children).

(b) Vutswongi bya Magezi bya mati exihlobyeni bya nyenyetsa.
(The absorbing of Magezi of the water in the well is disgusting).

(c) Wansati u nyenya vutswongi bya Mamayila bya mati exihlobyeni.
(The woman dislikes the absorbing of Mamayila of the water in the well).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutswongi* (absorbing) refers to the act or process of absorbing or the condition of being absorbed. But it may also refer to the state of mental concentration.
Tswontswa (sip)

A. [Actor]: mutswontswi (sipper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutswontswi u nwa jusi ebondhleleni.
(The sipper is drinking juice from the bottle).

(b) Mutswontswi wa ayisi u hlala phephahungu.
(The sipper of the ice cube reads a newspaper).

(c) Manana u nyika mutswontswi damu.
(The mother is giving the sipper a milk bottle).

Plural: class 2: vatswontswi (sippers)

The nominal mutswontswi (sipper) refers to a person who drinks something in small quantity. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of sipping is the defining property in this nominal. In other words, the individual in question has to be engaged in the act of sipping at the time of reference for this nominal to be meaningful. Once the act of sipping is completed, such a nominal may no longer apply to such an individual because he will be doing something different which will also determine the type of nominal with which he should be referred. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Tswontswa (sip)

B. [Result/Act]: ntswontswo (sip)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntswontswo wa Khesani wa ayisi wu n’wi vavisa meno.
(The sip of Khensani of the juice is hurting her teeth).

(b) Ntswontswo wa n’wana wa mongo eka rhambu wu hlekisa mufana.
(The sip of the child of the marrow from the bone makes the young man laugh).

(c) Manana u nyenya ntswontswo wa n’wana wa ayisi.
(The mother dislikes the sip of the child of the ice cube).

Plural: class 4: mitswontswo (sips)

The nominal ntswontswo (sip) refers to a very small amount of a drink that one takes into one’s mouth or the act of drinking in small quantity.
Tswontswa (sip)

A.  [Excessive act]:  ritswontswo (excessive sipping)

Class 5:  3.  (a)  Ritswontswo ra mufana ra namuneti ra nyangatsa.
                      (The excessive sipping of the young man of the cold drink is disgusting).

                      (b)  Ritswontswo ra n’wana ra damu ri hlekisa vatswari.
                           (The excessive sipping of the child of the milk bottle makes the parents to laugh).

                      (c)  Manana u tsakela ritswontswo ra n’wana ra damu.
                           (The mother likes the excessive sipping of the child of the milk bottle).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritswontswo (excessive sipping) refers to the act or process of excessive drinking of something in small quantities.

Tswontswa (sip)

B.  [Excessive actor]:  xitswontswi (excessive sipper)

Class 7:  4.  (a)  Xitswontswi xa xiwitsi xi ya evhengeleni.
                        (The excessive sipper of the sweet is going to the shop).

                        (b)  Xitswontswi xa titho xa hlekiwa exikolweni.
                             (The excessive sipper of the nails is being laughed at the school).

                        (c)  Manana u nyika xitswontswi damu.
                             (The mother is giving the excessive sipper of the milk bottle).

Plural: class 8:  switswontswi (excessive sippers)

The nominal xitswontswi (excessive sipper) refers to a person who excessively drinks something in small quantity. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property, which is the excessiveness of sipping, is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of sipping something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitswontswi (excessive sipper).
**Tswontswa** (sip)

C.  

[Act]:  vutswontswi (sipping)

Class 14:  5.  

(a) Vutswontswi bya n’wana bya vele byi hlundzukisa mana wakwe.  
(The sipping of the child to the breast makes his/her mother to be angry).

(b) Vutswontswi bya Hasani bya xiwitsi exikolweni byi hlundzukisa vadyondzisi.  
(The sipping of Hasani of the sweet at the school makes the teachers to be angry).

(c) Tsatsawani u nyenya vutswontswi bya Makhanani bya jusi.  
(Tsatsawani dislikes the sipping of Makhanani of juice).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutswontswi** (sipping) refers to the act or process of drinking of something in small quantities.

**Mita** (swallow)

A.  

[Actor]:  mumiti (swallower)

Class 1:  1.  

(a) Mumiti u dya vuswa.  
(The swallower is eating porridge).

(b) Mumiti u n’wa mati.  
(The swallower is drinking water).

(c) Kokwana u nyika mumiti mati.  
(The grandmother is giving the swallower water).

Plural: class 2: **vamiti** (swallowers)

The nominal **mumiti** (swallower) refers to a person who takes something, such as food or drink, into the stomach by drawing through the throat and esophagus with a voluntary muscular action. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what characterises this nominal is the act of swallowing by the individual in question. Once an individual is no longer engaged in such activity, the nominal will no longer apply to him. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Mita** (swallow)

B.  

[Excessive act]:  rimito (excessive swallowing)

Class 5:  2.  

(a) Rimito ra n’wana ra mali ri nyangatsa vatswari.  
(The excessive swallowing of the child of the water disgusts the parents).
(b) Rimito ra Magezi ra vuswa ri nyangatsa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive swallowing of Magezi of the porridge disgusts his wife).

(c) Wansati u sola rimito ra wanuna ra nyama.
(The woman is criticising the excessive swallowing of the man of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rimito** (excessive swallowing) refers to the excessive act of taking something, such as food or drink, into the stomach by drawing through the throat and esophagus with a voluntary muscular action.

**Mita** (swallow)

C. [Excessive actor]: **ximiti** (excessive swallower)

Class 7: 3. (a) Ximiti xi dya vuswa.
(The excessive swallower is eating porridge).

(b) Ximiti xa nyama xi lovile.
(The excessive swallower of the meat has passed away).

(c) Wansati u nyika ximiti swakudya.
(The woman is giving the excessive swallower food).

Plural: class 8: **swimiti** (excessive swallowers)

The nominal **ximiti** (excessive swallower) refers to a person who excessively takes something, such as food or drink, into the stomach by drawing through the throat and esophagus with a voluntary muscular action. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of swallowing and not the act of swallowing itself. The property of excessive swallowing is something that will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of swallowing something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **ximiti** (excessive swallower).

**Mita** (swallow)

D. [Act]: **vumiti** (swallowing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vumiti bya n’wana bya swakudya bya nyenyetsa.
(The swallowing of n’wana of the food annoys).

(b) Vumiti bya n’wana bya mali byi borha vatswari.
(The swallowing of the child of the money bores his/her parents).
(c) Vanhu va sola vumiti bya wanuna bya swakudy.
    (People are criticising the swallowing of the man of the food).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vumiti (swallowing) refers to the act whereby an individual takes something, such as food or drink, into the stomach by drawing through the throat and esophagus with a voluntary muscular action.

**Guma** (put something powdery into the mouth)

A. [Actor]: mugumi (swallower of powdery substance)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugumi wa chukele u tisula milomu.
        (The person who consumes the sugar wipes his mouth).

(b) Mugumi wa Eno u twa makhwiri.
    (The person who consumes Eno is having pain in the belly).

(c) Wanuna u juma mugumi wa chukela.
    (The man finds unexpectedly the person who consumes sugar).

Plural: Class 2: vagumi (people who put something powdery into the mouth)

The nominal mugumi (swallower of powdery substance) denotes an individual who person who consumes something powdery. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of swallowing powdery substance of the individual in question. In other words, once such an act is over, such an individual will no longer be referred to as mugumi (person who puts something powdery into the mouth).

**Guma** (put something powdery into the mouth)

B. [Excessive act]: rigumo (excessive putting of something powdery into the mouth)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigumo ra mufana ra chukele ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
        (The excessive consumption of the young man of the sugar annoys the man).

(b) Rigumo ra wansati ra Eno ri vilerisa nuna wakwe.
    (The excessive consumption of the woman of Eno worries his husband).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rigumo ra wansati ra xinefu
    (The man is surprised at the excessive consumption of the woman of the snuff).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rigumo (excessive putting of something powdery into the mouth) denotes an act of excessive consumption of something powdery by an individual.

**Guma** (put something powdery into the mouth)
C. [Excessive actor]: xigumi (person who excessively puts something powdery into the mouth)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigumi xa Milo xa hlanta.
(The person who excessively consumes Milo is vomiting).

(b) Xigumi xa Cremora xi hlamba milomu.
(The person who excessively consumes Cremora is washing his hands).

(c) Wansati u vutisa xigumi xa xinefu ndlela.
(The woman asks the person who excessive consumes snuff a way).

Plural: Class 8: swigumi (people who excessively put something powdery into the mouth)

The nominal xigumi (person who excessively puts something powdery into the mouth) denotes an individual who excessively consumes a powdery substance. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of the act of consuming a powdery substance of the individual which will be associated with him for a the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of consuming a powdery substance or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, he will always be referred to as xigumi (person who excessively puts something powdery into the mouth).

Guma (put something powdery into the mouth)

D. [Act]: vugumi (putting of something powdery into the mouth)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugumi bya chukele byi borisa meno.
(The consumption of sugar makes the teeth to decay).

(b) Vugumi bya xinefu byi nuhisa nomu.
(The consumption of the snuff makes the mouth to have bad odour).

(c) Wanuna u sola vugumi bya vana bya chukele.
(The man disapproves of the consumption of the children of the sugar).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vugumi (putting of something powdery into the mouth) refers to the act of consumption of something powdery by an individual.

Funya (eat something powdery)

A. [Actor]: mufunyi (person who eats something powdery)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufunyi wa Cremora u tumbela hi rivanti.
(The person who eats Cremora hides behind the door).

(b) Mufunyi wa chukele u nambutela tintiho.
(The person who eats sugar is licking up his fingers).

(c) Nhwana u kuma mufunyi wa chukele endlwini.
(The man finds a person who eats sugar in the house).
Plural: Class 2: vafunyi (people who eat something powdery)

The nominal mufunyi (person who eats something powdery) denotes an individual who eats something powdery such as power milk, tea, etc. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the act of eating something powdery. In other words, the nominal mufunyi (person who eats something powdery) has to be engaged in the act of eating something powdery at the time of reference. Once the act of eating something powdery is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mufunyi (person who eats something powdery).

Funya (eat something powdery)

B. [Excessive act]: rifunyo (excessive eating of something powdery)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifunyo ra wansati ra Cremora ri karhata nuna wakwe.
(The excessive eating of the woman of the Cremora troubles his husband).
(b) Rifunyo ra nguluve ra vudyangwana ri khata vana.
(The excessive eating of the pig of the bran excites the children).
(c) Wanuna u nyenya rifunyo ra vana ra chukele.
(The man condemns the excessive eating of the children of the sugar).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rifunyo (excessive eating of something powdery) denotes an act of excessive eating something powdery such as powder milk or tea.

Funya (eat something powdery)

C. [Excessive actor]: xifunyi (person who excessively eats something powdery)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifunyi xa chukele xi hlantswa mpahla.
(The person who excessively eats sugar is washing clothes).
(b) Xifunyi xa masi ya mapa ya vana xi etelele.
(The person who excessively eats babies’ powdery milk is asleep).
(c) Mukhalabye wa xi tiva xifunyi xa Milo emutini.
(The old man does know the person who excessively eats Milo in the family).

Plural: Class 8: swifunyi (people who excessively eat something powdery)

The nominal xifunyi (person who excessively eats something powdery) denotes an individual who excessively eats something powdery such as powder milk or tea. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the act of eating something powdery of the individual in question who will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity or he may not be engaged in it at
the time of reference, such an individual will be referred to as **xifunyi** (person who excessively eats something powdery).

**Funya** (eat something powdery)

D. [Act]: vufunyi (eating of something powdery)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vufunyi bya vana bya chukele byi nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The eating of the children of the sugar is annoying the woman).
   (b) Vufunyi bya nguluve bya vudyangwana by tsakisa nhwana.
      (The eating of the pig of the bran excites the young woman).
   (c) Wanuna u sandza vufunyi bya mufana bya Milo.
      (The man criticises the eating of the young man of Milo).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vufunyi** (eating of something powdery) refers to the act of eating something powdery such as powdery milk or tea.

**Munya** (suck as sweets/destroy by eating up)

A. [Actor]: mumunyi (sucker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mumunyi wa mongo eka rhambu wa tiphina.
    (The sucker of the marrow from the bone is enjoying himself).
   (b) Mumunyi wa xiwitsi u dzungudza nhloko.
      (The sucker of the sweet is nodding the head).
   (c) Wansati hlamala mumunyi wa xiwitsi xa n’wana.
      (The woman is surprised at the sucker of the sweet of the child).

Plural: Class 2: vamunyi (suckers)

The nominal **mumunyi** (sucker) denotes an individual who eats up something by sucking on it such as marrow from the bone. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of sucking something at a time of reference. Once the act of sucking is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mumunyi** (sucker).

**Munya** (suck as sweets/destroy by eating up)

B. [Excessive act]: rimunyo (excessive sucking/destruction of a thing by eating it up)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rimunyo ra wanuna ra marhambu ya nguluve ri nyenyetsa wansati.
     (The excessive sucking/destruction of the man of the bones of a pig annoys the man).
   (b) Rimunyo ra mufana ra siwitsi swa vana ri karhata wansati.
      (The excessive sucking/destruction of the young man of the sweets of the children troubles the woman).
(c) Wanuna u hlamala rimunyo ra wansati ra marhambu ya nguluve.
   (The man is surprised at the excessive sucking/destruction of the man of the bones of a pig).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rimunyo (excessive sucking/destruction of a thing by eating it up) denotes an act excessive sucking/destruction of a thing by eating it up, as marrow from bone.

Munya (suck as sweets/destroy by eating up)

C. [Excessive actor]: ximunyi (excessively sucker/destroyer of something by eating it up)

Class 7: 3. (a) Ximunyi xa mongo eka marhambu xi sweka nyama.
   (The excessively sucker/destroyer of the marrow from the bones is cooking meat).
   (b) Ximunyi xa swiwitsi xi khandziya bazi.
   (The excessively sucker/destroyer of the sweets is boarding a bus).
   (c) Wanuna u hlongola ximunyi rhambu endlwini.
   (The man chases out the excessively sucker/destroyer of the bone from the house).

Plural: Class 8: swimunyi (excessively suckers/destroyers of something by eating it up)

The nominal ximunyi (excessively sucker/destroyer of something by eating it up) denotes an individual who excessively sucks/destroys something such as marrow form bone by eating it up. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the property of excessiveness of sucking which the individual in question is involved in will be associated with him for the rest of his life regardless of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of sucking up something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal ximunyi (excessively sucker/destroyer of something by eating it up) does not modify the event of sucking up something, but the excessiveness of sucking up something.

Munya (suck as sweets/destroy by eating up)

[Result]: wimunyo (grain used as yeast in beer which has been filtered out)

Class 8: 3. (a) Rimunyo swi nuhisa yindlu.
   (The grain used as yeast in beer which has been filtered out makes the house stink).
   (b) Rimunyo swi qumbhise nguluve.
   (The grain used as yeast in beer which has been filtered out constipated the pig).
   (c) Wansati u nyika nguluve swimunyo.
   (The woman gives the grain used as yeast in beer which has been filtered out to the pig).

Singular: No singular for the corresponding noun in class 7.
The nominal **swimunyo** (grain used as yeast in beer which has been filtered out) denotes an grain used as yeast in beer which has been filtered out through a sieve.

**Munya** (suck as sweets/destroy by eating up)

D. **[Act]**: vumunyi (sucking/destruction of a thing by eating it up)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vumunyi bya wanuna bya marhambu byi khata mufana.
(The sucking/destruction of the man of the bone excites the young man).

(b) Vumunyi bya mufana bya swiwitsi etlilasini byi nyangatsa vadyondzisi.
(The sucking/destruction of the young man of sweets in class disgusts the teachers).

(c) Mudyondzisi u nyenya vumunyi bya mufana bya xiwitsi etlilasini.
(The teacher dislikes the sucking/destruction of the young man of the sweet in class).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vumunyi** (sucking/destruction of a thing by eating it up) refers to the act of sucking/destruction of a thing by eating it up, as marrow from bone.

**Munyungela** (suck as sweet)

A. **[Actor]**: mumunyungeli (sucker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mumunyungeli wa xiwitsi u vona thelevhixini.
(The sucker of the sweet is watching a television).

(b) Mumunyungeli wa xiwitsi u ya eka dokodela.
(The sucker of the sweet is going to the doctor).

(c) Wansati susa mumunyungeli wa xiwitsi exitulwini.
(The woman removes the sucker of the sweet from a chair).

Plural: Class 2: vamunyungeli (sucker)

The nominal **mumunyungeli** (sucker) denotes an individual who sucks something such as sweet. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of sucking is the defining property in this nominal. In other words, this nominal makes reference to the defining sucking something. Once the act of suck is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mumunyungeli** (sucker).

**Munyungela** (suck as sweet)

B. **[Excessive act]**: rimunyungelo (excessive sucking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rimunyungelo ra mufana ra swiwitsi etlilasini ri vilerisa mudyondzisi.
(The excessive sucking of the young man of the sweet in class worries the teacher).

(b) Rimunyungelo ra wansati ra swiwitsi ri dlaya risema ra fole.
(The excessive sucking of the woman of the sweets kills the smell of the cigarette).
(c) Wanuna u nyenya rimunyungelo ra wansati ra swiwitsi.
(The man dislikes the excessive sucking of the woman of the sweets).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rimunyungelo** (excessive sucking) denotes an excessive act of sucking something such as sweet.

**Munyungela** (suck as sweet)

C. [Excessive actor]: ximunyungeli (excessive sucker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Ximunyungeli xa swiwitsi xi hlonoriwile exitolo.
(The excessive sucker of sweets has been dismissed from the shop).

(b) Ximunyungeli xa swiwitsi xi vulavula ngopfu.
(The excessive sucker talks a lot).

(c) Muthori u hlongola ximunyungeli xa swiwitsi exitolo.
(The employer dismisses the excessive sucker of the sweets from the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swimunyungeli (excessive suckers)

The nominal **ximunyungeli** (excessive sucker) denotes an individual who regularly sucks something such as a sweet. This nominal may thus be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because the defining property is the excessiveness of sucking of the individual in question and not necessarily the act of sucking itself. In other words, whether the individual denoted by this nominal will be engaged in the act of sucking something at the time of reference or he will not be engaged in it, such a person will always be referred to as **ximunyungeli** (excessive sucker).

**Munyungela** (suck as sweet)

D. [Act]: vumunyungeli (sucking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vumunyungeli bya mufana bya swiwitsi enhlenegetanini byi nyenyetsa mufambisi.
(The sucking of the young man of the sweets at the meeting annoys the chairperson).

(b) Vumunyungeli bya nhwana bya swiwitsi entirhweni byi vilerisa muthori wakwe.
(The sucking of the young woman of the sweets at work worries her employer).

(c) Muthori u sola vumunyungeli bya nhwana bya swiwitsi entirhweni.
(The employer disapproves of the sucking of the young woman of the sweets at work).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vumunyungeli** (sucking) refers to the act of sucking something such as sweet.

**Khula** (sip hot liquid)
A.  [Actor]: mukhuli (person who sips hot liquid)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mukhuli wa tiya u hlaya phephahungu.
(The person who sips hot tea is reading a newspaper).

(b) Mukhuli wa murhu wa nyama u tshwe ririmi.
(The person who sips hot soup of the meat has burnt his tongue).

(c) Mukhegula xeweta mukhuli wa murhu.
(The old woman greets the person who sips hot soup).

Plural: Class 2: vakhuli (people who sip hot liquid)

The nominal mukhuli (The person who sips hot liquid) denotes an individual who sips hot liquid such as coffee or tea. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the act of sipping hot liquid which should be in progress at the time of reference. Once the act of sipping hot liquid is over, such a person will no longer be referred to as mukhuli (The person who sips hot liquid).

**Khula** (sip hot liquid)

B.  [Excessive act]: rikhulo (excessive sipping of hot liquid)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rikhulo ra wanuna ra tiya hi ximumu ri hlamarisa wansati.
(The excessive sipping of hot tea in summer surprises the woman).

(b) Rikhulo ra mukhalabye ra muthotho wo hisa ri khata mufana.
(The excessive sipping of the old man of hot soup excites the young man).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza rikhulo ra mukhalabye ra muthotho wo hisa.
(The man likes the excessive sipping of the old man of the hot soup).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhulo (excessive sipping of hot liquid) denotes an excessive act of sipping hot liquid such as coffee or tea by an individual.

**Khula** (sip hot liquid)

C.  [Excessive actor]: xikhuli (person who excessively sips hot liquid)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xikhuli xa tiya yo hisa xi kama misisi.
(The person who excessively sips hot tea is combing his hair).

(b) Xikhuli xa muthotho wo hisa xi tsutsumela xitimela.
(The person who excessively sips hot soup is running to the train).

(c) Wanuna u komba xikhuli xa tiya xifaniso xa yena.
(The man shows the person who excessively sips hot tea his photo).

Plural: Class 8: swikhuli (people who excessively sip hot liquid)
The nominal **xikhuli** (person who excessively sips hot liquid) denotes an individual who excessively sips hot liquid. This nominal may thus be interpreted as a individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of sipping hot liquid by an individual in question and not the act thereof. This property of excessive sipping of hot liquid of the individual will be associated with him irrespective of whether such a person will be engaged in the act of sipping hot liquid at the time of reference or not.

**Khula** (sip hot liquid)

D. [Act]: **vukhuli** (sipping of hot liquid)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhuli bya wanuna bya tiya yo hisa byi n’wi tshwumula milomu. (The sipping of hot liquid of the man bruises his lips).

(b) Vukhuli bya mukhalabye bya muthotho wo hisa byi hlamarisa n’wana. (The sipping of the old man of hot soup surprises the child).

(c) Wansati u sola vukhuli bya wanuna bya tiya hi ximumu. (The woman disapproves of the sipping of the man of hot tea in summer).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhuli** (sipping of hot liquid) refers to the act of sipping hot liquid such as coffee or tea by an individual.

**Lilinga** (drink a lot)

A. [Actor]: **mulilingi** (person who drinks a lot)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulilingi wa byalwa u dakwile. (The person who drinks a lot of beer is drunk).

(b) Mulilingi wa byalwa wa rhurhumela. (The person who drinks a lot of beer is shivering).

(c) Wanuna makala mulilingi wa byalwa ebarheni. (The man slaps the person who drinks a lot of beer in the bar).

Plural: Class 2: **valilingi** (people who drink a lot)

The nominal **mulilingi** (person who drinks a lot) denotes an individual who drinks a lot, especially beer. This nominal may be assigned an individual-level nominal interpretation because the act of drinking has developed into a habit and it will always be associated with him, whether he will be engaged in drinking or he will not be engaged in it at the time of reference.
**Lilinga** (drink a lot)

B. [Excessive act]: **rililingo** (excessive drinking a lot)

Class 5: 2. (a) **Rililingo ra wanuna ra byalwa ri karhata muthori vakwe.**
(The excessive drinking a lot of the man of beer troubles the employer).

(b) **Rililingo ra wansati ra muqombhoti ri nyumisa vana vakwe.**
(The excessive drinking a lot of the woman of the traditional beer embarrasses her children).

(c) **Wanuna u sola rililingo ra mufana ra byalwa.**
(The man condemns the excessive drinking a lot of beer of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rililingo** (excessive drinking a lot) denotes an excessive act of drinking something, especially beer, a lot.

**Lilinga** (drink a lot)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xililingi** (person who excessively drinks a lot)

Class 7: 3. (a) **Xililingi xa byalwa xi hlongole nsati.**
(The person who excessively drinks a lot of beer has chased the wife away).

(b) **Xililingi xa byalwa xi vaviseke xivindzi.**
(The person who excessively drinks a lot of beer has damaged his liver).

(c) **Mukhalabye u vitana xililingi xa byalwa ebarheni.**
(The old man calls the person who excessively drinks a lot of beer in the bar).

Plural: Class 8: **swililingi** (people who excessively drink a lot)

The nominal **xililingi** (person who excessively drinks a lot) signifies an individual who excessively drinks a lot, especially beer. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of his drinking a lot as such, but the excessiveness of drinking a lot. This property of excessive drinking a lot will be associated with him whether or not he will be engaged in the act of drinking.

**Lilinga** (drink a lot)

D. [Act]: **vulilingi** (drinking a lot)

Class 14: 4. (a) **Vulilingi bya wanuna bya byalwa byi nyenyetsa vana vakwe.**
(The drinking a lot of the man of beer annoys his children).

(b) **Vulilingi bya mufana bya byalwa byi khomisa vatswari vakwe tingana.**
(The drinking a lot of the young man of the beer embarrasses his parents).

(c) **Wanuna u sola vulilingi bya mana wakwe bya byalwa.**
(The young man disapproves of the drinking a lot of his mother of the beer).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulilingi** (drinking a lot) refers to the act of drinking something, especially beer, a lot.

**Lakatsa** (lick)

A. [Actor]: mulakatsi (licking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulakatsi wa tintiho u tsakile.
   (The licking person of the fingers is happy).
   (b) Mulakatsi wa tintiho u nghena endlwini.
   (The licking person of the fingers is getting into the house).
   (c) Mufana u hlamala mulakatsi wa tintiho exitarateni.
   (The young man is surprised at the licking person person of the finger on the street).

Plural: Class 2: valakatsi (licking people)

The nominal **mulakatsi** (licking person) denotes an individual who eats something by moving his tongue over its surface. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining act of licking. In other words, the nominal **mulakatsi** (licking person) has to be engaged in the act of licking at the time of reference. Once such an act passes, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mulakatsi** (licking person).

**Lakatsa** (lick)

B. [Excessive act]: rilakatso (excessive licking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilakatso ra mufana ra tintiho endzhaku ko dyana nyama ri nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The excessive licking of the young man of the fingers after eating meat annoys the woman).
   (b) Rilakatso ra mbyana ra swimbyanyana ri tsakisa vana.
   (The excessive licking of the dog of puppies excites the children).
   (c) Wanuna u languta rilakatso ra nghala ra khwiri.
   (The man looks at the excessive licking of the lion of the belly).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilakatso** (excessive licking) denotes an excessive act of eating something by moving one’s tongue over its surface (Ibid).

**Lakatsa** (lick)

C. [Excessive actor]: xilakatsi (excessively licking person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilakatsi xa tintiho exikolweni xi nyangatsa vadyondzisi.
   (The excessively licking person of the fingers at school annoys the teachers).
(b) Xilakatsi xa tintiho endzhaku ko dya nyama xi ya e xikolweni.
(The excessively licking person of the fingers after eating meat goes to school).

(c) Wansati u ba xilakatsi xa tintiho.
(The woman beats the excessively licking person of the fingers).

Plural: Class 8: swilakatsi (excessively licking persons)

The nominal **xilakatsi** (excessively licking person) denotes an individual who excessively licks up something. This nominal may given an interpretation of individual-level nominal because the act of licking of the individual will always be associated with him irrespective of whether he will be involved in the act of licking up something or not at the time of reference. In other words, the nominal **xilakatsi** (licking person) does not need to be licking up something at the time of reference.

**Lakatsa** (lick)

D. [Act]: vulakatsi (licking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulakatsi bya mbyana bya swimbyanyana byi chavisa tinhongana.
(The licking of the dog of the puppies scares flies).

(b) Vulakatsi bya mufana bya titinho byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The licking of the young man of the fingers surprises people).

(c) Wansati u sola vulakatsi bya mufana bya tintiho.
(The woman disapproves of the licking of the young man of the fingers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulakatsi** (licking) refers to the act of eating something by moving one’s tongue over its surface (Ibid).

**Nambutela** (lick one’s lips)

A. [Actor]: munambuteli (licker of one’s lips)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munambuteli u dya khekhe.
(The licker of one’s lips is eating cake).

(b) Munambuteli u dya vulombe.
(The licker of one’s lips is eating honey).

(c) Wanuna honokela munambuteli.
(The man is looking intently at the licker of one’s lips).

Plural: Class 2: vanambuteli (lickers of their lips)

The nominal **munambuteli** (licker of one’s lips) denotes an individual who moves his tongue over his lips, especially after eating something sweet, as a sign of enjoyment. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of licking one’s lips.
Once such an act is over such an individual will be no longer be referred to as **munambuteli** (licker of one’s lips). However, if the individual in question is someone who has the habit of licking his lips even when not eating something, just for moistening them or enjoyment, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal.

**Nambutela** (lick one’s lips)

B. [Excessive act]: **rinambutelo** (excessive licking of one’s lips)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rinambutelo ra mfenhe ri tsakisa wanuna.  
(The excessive licking of the baboon of its lips excites the man).

(b) Rinambutelo ra mufana ra vulombe ri hlekisa wansati.  
(The excessive licking of the young man of the honey makes the woman laugh).

(c) Mukhegula u hleka rinambutelo ra mfenhe ra vulombe.  
(The old woman laughs at the excessive licking of the baboon of the honey).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rinambutelo** (excessive licking of one’s lips) denotes an excessive act of passing/moving tongue over one’s lips, especially after eating something sweet, as a sign of enjoyment.

**Nambutela** (lick one’s lips)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xinambuteli** (excessive licker of one’s lips)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xinambuteli xi hlaya phephahungu.  
(The excessive licker of his lips is reading a news paper).

(b) Xinambuteli xi hetele vana khekhe.  
(The excessive licker of one’s lips has finished the loaf for the children).

(c) Wansati u siva xinambuteli enyangweni.  
(The woman blocks the excessive licker of one’s lips on the entrance).

Plural: Class 8: **swinambuteli** (excessive lickers of their lips)

The nominal **xinambuteli** (excessive licker of one’s lips) denotes an individual who excessively passes/moves his tongue over his lips in order to moisten them. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the excessiveness of performing the act of licking one’s tongue of an individual in question, but not necessarily the act itself. The excessiveness of licking one’s lips of this individual will be associated with him. In other words, such a person will always be referred to as **xinambuteli** (licker of one’s lips) irrespective of whether such a person will be involved in the act of licking his lips or not at the time of reference.
Nambutela (lick one’s lips)

D. [Act]: vunambuteli (licking of one’s lips)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vunambuteli bya mufana bya milomu byi tlhava wansati.
(The licking of the young man of his lips provokes the woman).

(b) Vunambuteli bya mfenhe bya milomu byi tsakisa vafana.
(The licking of the baboons of their lips pleases the young men).

(c) Mukhalabye u nyenya vunambuteli bya mufana bya milomu.
(The man disapproves of the licking of one’s lips).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunambuteli (licking of one’s lips) refers to the act of passing/moving tongue over one’s lips, especially after eating something sweet, as a sign of enjoyment.

Himela (eat a lot)

A. [Actor]: muhimeli (person who eats a lot)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhimeli wa vuswa u tshama exitulwini.
(The person who eats a lot of porridge sits on the chair).

(b) Muhimeli wa xinkwa a nga tirhi.
(The person who eats a lot of bread is not working).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala muhimeli wa vuswa ka ha ri nimixo.
(The man is surprised at the person who eats a lot of porridge while it is still in the morning).

Plural: Class 2: vahimeli (people who eat a lot)

The nominal muhimeli (person who eats a lot) denotes an individual who has a habit to eat a lot of food. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the what is being modified in this nominal is not the act of eating a lot of the individual in question, but the habit formed in him of eating a lot of food. Such a person will always be associated with this habit whether or not he will be eating at the time of reference. This nominal is used in a derogatory sense.

Himela (eat a lot)

B. [Excessive act]: rihimelo (excessive eating a lot)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihimelo ra wansati ra swakudya ri karhata nuna wakwe.
(The excessive eating a lot of food of the woman troubles her husband).

(b) Rihimelo ra mufana ra vuswa enkosini ri hlekisa vanhu.
(The excessive eating a lot of the young man of food at the funeral makes people laugh).
(c) Mukhegula u sola rihimelo ra wansati ra swakudyaka ha ri mpundzu.
(The old woman disapproves of the excessive eating a lot of the woman of food while it is still in the morning).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihimelo* (excessive eating a lot) denotes an act of excessive eating of a large amount of food by an individual.

**Himela** (eat a lot)

C. [Excessive actor]: xihimeli (person who excessively eats a lot)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihimeli xa vuswa exikolweni xi hlamarisa vavasati.
(The person who excessively eats a lot of porridge surprises the women).

(b) Xihimeli xa xinkwa xi qumbhile.
(The person who excessively eats a lot of bread is constipated).

(c) Wanuna u tekela xihimeli ndyelo ya vuswa enkosini.
(The man takes away from the person who excessively eats a lot the plate of porridge at the funeral).

Plural: Class 8: swihimeli (people who excessively eat a lot)

The nominal *xihimeli* (person who excessively eats a lot) denotes an individual who person who excessively eats a lot amount of food. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the defining property here is not the act of eating a lot of food, but the excessiveness of eating a large amount of food which will be associated with an individual for a the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the activity or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihimeli (person who excessively eats a lot).

**Himela** (eat a lot)

D. [Act]: vuhimeli (eating a lot)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhimeli bya wanuna bya vuswa byi nyumisa vakon’wana va yena.
(The eating a lot of the man embarrasses his parents-in-law).

(b) Vuhimeli bya mufanwa bya xinkwa exikolweni byi nyenetsa nhwana wa yena.
(The eating a lot annoys of the young man of the bread at school annoys his girlfriend).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala vuhimeli bya wansati bya vuswa enkosini.
(The man is surprised at the eating a lot of the woman of the porridge at the funeral).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhimeli* (eating a lot) refers to the act of eating of a large amount of food by an individual.
Kapula (eat soft food)

A. [Actor]: mukapuli (person who eats soft food)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mukapuli wa mukapu wa vabya.
(The person who eats soft porridge is sick).
   (b) Mukapuli wa yogati u yingisela mahungu.
   (The person who eats yoghurt listens to the news).
   (c) Wanuna pfuxela mukapuli wa mukapu
   (The man greets the person who eats soft porridge).

Plural: Class 2: vakapuli (people who eat soft food)

The nominal mukapuli (person who eats soft food) denotes an individual who eats soft food such as yogurt. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of eating soft food which the individual in question is involved in at the time of reference. In other words, the nominal mukapuli (person who eats soft food) makes reference to the defining event of eating soft food. Once such an act is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mukapuli (person who eats soft food).

Kapula (eat soft food)

B. [Excessive act]: rikapulo (excessive eating of soft food)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rikapulo ra wansati ra mukapu ri tsakisa n’wana.
   (The excessive eating of the soft porridge excites the child).
   (b) Rikapulo ra wansati ra hafukhata ri hlekisa mufana.
   (The excessive eating of the woman of an avocado makes the young man laugh).
   (c) Wanuna u nyenya rikapulo ra wansati ra yogati hi tintiho.
   (The man dislikes the excessive eating of the woman of the yoghurt with fingers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikapulo (excessive eating of soft food) denotes an act of excessive eating of soft food by an individual.

Kapula (eat soft food)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikapuli (person who excessively eats soft food)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xikapuli xa yogati ya n’wana xi tumberile.
   (The person who excessively eats the yoghurt of the child is hidden).
   (b) Xikapuli xa khalavatla xi huma emasin’wini.
   (The person who excessively eats water melon is coming from the fields).
(c) Mukhalabye u navela xikapuli xa khalavatla.
(The old man craves for the person who excessively eats water melon).

Plural: Class 8: swikapuli (people who excessively eat soft food)

The nominal xikapuli (person who excessively eats soft food) denotes an individual who excessively eats soft food. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of the eating of soft food of the individual in question will always be associated with him for a the most part of his life regardless of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of eating soft food or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xikapuli (person who excessively eats soft food) does not modify the event of eating soft food, but the excessiveness thereof.

Kapula (eat soft food)

D. [Act]: vukapuli (eating of soft food)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukapuli bya mukhalabye bya mukapu byi tsakisa vana.
(The eating of soft of the old man of the soft porridge excites the children).

(b) Vukapuli bya wansati bya yogati byi naveta vana.
(The eating of the woman of the yoghurt makes children long for it).

(c) Dokodela u bumabumela vukapuli bya mukapu nimixo.
(The doctor recommends the eating of soft porridge in the morning).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukapuli (eating of soft food) refers to the act of eating soft food by an individual.

7.9 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM HOLD AND KEEP VERBS

Verbs of Hold and Keep are defined by Levin (1995: 145) as the verbs which described prolonged contact with an entity, but they do not describe a change of possession or a change of location. According to Levin (op cit) only some of the verbs in this class take animate objects.

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Fuma (Govern)

A. [Actor]: mufumi (governor)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mufumi u ta yingisela swilaveko swa vanhu enhlengeletanini.
   (The governor will listen to the needs of the people at the gathering).

   (b) Mufumi wa xifundza xa Masvingo u huma eTshiredzi.
   (The governor of the Province of Masvingo is coming from Tshiredzi).

   (c) Vanhu va hlawula mufumi wa xifundza xa Tshiredzi namuntlha.
   (People choose the governor of Tshiredzi today).

Plural: Class 2: vafumi (governors)

The nominal mufumi (governor) refers to an appointed or elected official who governs a state, or province for a specific term. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because an in individual occupying this position stays there for a prescribed period of time. After the specified time has elapsed, the individual may no longer be referred to as a governor.

Fuma (Govern)

B. [Result]: mfumo (government)
Class 3: 3. (a) Mfumo wa Afrika-Dzonga wu akela vanhu tindlu ta mahala.
   (The government of South Africa builds free housing for people).

   (b) Mfumo wu ta tumbuluxa mitirho ya 500 000 lembe ra 2009 ri nga si hela.
   (The government will create 500 000 jobs before the end of the year).

   (c) Vanhu va seketela mfumo wa Jacob Zuma.
   (People support the government of Jacob Zuma).

Plural: Class 4: mifumo (governments)

The nominal mfumo (government) refers to the state and its administration viewed as the ruling political power. This nominal has a result reading.

Fuma (govern)

C. [Act]: vufumi (governing)
Class 14: 4. (a) Vufumi bya vavanuna byi talele hi vukungundzwana.
   (The governing of the men is characterized by corruption).

   (b) Vufumi bya vanhu byi lava vutlharhi lebyikulu.
   (The governing of the people requires a great deal of wisdom).
(c) Varhangeri va SADC va hlohlotela vufumi lebyinene bya vanhu ematikweni ya Afrika.
(SADC leaders encourage good governing of people in African countries).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufumi (governing) refers to the act of controlling, regulating, directing the affairs, policies, and the economy of the state or country.

**Khoma (Hold)**

A. [Actor]: mukhomi (holder)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhomi wa khadi ra manana u fambile.
(The holder of my mother’s card is gone).

   (b) Mukhomi wa makhiya ya xikolo a nga tshembekangi.
   (The holder of the keys of the school is not trustworthy).

   (c) Swigevenga swi hlaserile mukhomi wa makhiya ya xikolo.
   (The criminals attacked the holder of the keys of the school).

Plural: Class 2: vakhomi (holders)

The nominal mukhomi (holder) refers to a person who has and keeps something in his grasp. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of holding. In other words, once the individual in question releases or let go that which he is holding such a person may no longer be referred to as mukhomi (holder). In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Khoma (Hold)**

B. [Excessive act]: rikhomo (excessive holding/handling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhomo ra wanuna ra mali ya tiko ri n’wi vangela swigevenga.
(The the excessive holding of the man of the money of the village invites criminals for him).

   (b) Rikhomo ra vafana ra nhlenegeletano ri hlamarisa vanhu.
   (The excessive holding of the young men of the meeting surprises the people).

   (c) Maphorisa ma venga rikhomo ra vafana ra nhlenegeletano.
   (The police hate the excessive holding of the young men of the meeting).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rikhomo** (excessive holding) refers to the excessive act of having and keeping of something in one’s grasp. But it may also refer to excessive holding of a meeting.

**Khoma (Hold)**

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: **xikhomi** (expert/excessive holder)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhomi xa khadi ra manana xi fambile.  
(The expert/excessive holder of my mother’s card is gone).

(b) Xikhomi xa makhiya ya xikolo a xi tshembekangi.  
(The excessive holder of the keys of the school is not trustworthy).

(c) Swigevenga swi hlaserile xikhomi xa makhiya ya xikolo.  
(The criminals attacked the expert/excessive holder of the keys of the school).

Plural: Class 8: **swikhomi** (expert/excessive holders)

The nominal **xikhomi** (excessive/expert holder) refers to a person who excessively/expertly has and keeps something in his grasp. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of holding will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be holding something at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikhomi** (excessive/expert holder).

**Khoma (Hold)**

D. [Artifact]: **xikhomo** (handle)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xikhomo xa ketlele xi tshovekile.  
(The handle of the kettle is broken).

(b) Xikhomo xa pulasitiki a xi hlweli ku tshoveka.  
(The plastic handle does not take time to break).

(c) Makhanana u tshove xikhomo xa bakiti.  
(Makhanana broke the handle of the bucket).

Plural: Class 8: **swikhomo** (handles)

The nominal **xikhomo** (handle) refers to that part of a utensil, tool, etc. which is to be held, turned, lifted, pulled, etc. with the hand, or any part of a thing made specifically to be grasped or held by the hand.
Khoma (hold)

E. [Act]: vukhomi (holding)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vukhomi bya makhiya ya xikolo byi lava vutihlamuleri.
(The holding of keys of the school needs responsibility).

(b) Vukhomi bya mali hi wansati byi pfuxa timbholovo.
(The holding of the money by the women causes quarrels).

(c) Vafana va ndhawu leyi a va tsakeli ntirho wa vukhomi bya makhiya ya xikolo.
(The young men of this place do not like the work of holding the keys of the school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhomi (holding) refers to the act of having and keeping of something in one’s grasp. But it may also refer to having a meeting.

Khoma (Arrest)

A. [Actor]: mukhomi (arrester)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhomi wa xigevenga xa khombo i sejeni Makamu.
(The arrester of the dangerous criminal is sergeant Makamu).

(b) Mukhomi wa vanhu lava nga tshova bangi eGiyani u nyikiwile sagwati.
(The arrester of the people who broke the bank at Giyani has been given an award).

(c) Vanhu va hlawula mukhomi wa makhiya ehubyeni).
(The people choose the holder of the keys at the traditional meeting place).

Plural: Class 2: vakhomi (arresters)

The nominal mukhomi (arrester) refers to an individual who takes someone to a police station and keeps him there because he believes that such a person may be guilty of a crime. This nominal is used with a restricted meaning of police officer; an individual who whose job is to make people obey the law and to prevent and solve crime. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the police profession will be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of arresting someone or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mukhomi (arrester).
Khoma (Arrest)

B. [Excessive act]: rikhomo (manner of/excessive arresting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhomo ra swigevenga swa khombo evuphoriseni ri kumisa timendlele.  
(The excessive arresting of dangerous criminal in police force gives one medals).

(b) Rikhomo ra swigevenga swo yiva tintambhu ta gezi ri ni mbuyelo lowukulu.  
(The excessive arresting of criminals who steal electricity criminals has a huge reward).

(c) Vanhu va khensa rikhomo ra maphorisa ra swigevenga swo yiva swifuwo.  
(The people are thankful of the excessive arresting of the police of the criminals who steal livestock).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhomo (excessive arrest) refers to the act of excessively taking someone to a police station and keeping him there because one believes that such a person may be guilty of a crime, or the action by which a person is excessively stopped from his normal activities by virtue of a legal authority or sanction, by keeping him in custody.

Khoma (Arrest)

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: xikhomi (expert/excessive arrester)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhomi xa swigevenga swa khombo i sejeni Makamu.  
(The excessive arrester of the dangerous criminals is sergeant Makamu).

(b) Xikhomi xa vanhu lava yivaka etindhawini ta Giyani xi nyikiwile sagwati.  
(The excessive arrester of the people who steal around the Giyani has been given an award).

(c) Vanhu va khensa xikhomi xa maphorisa ya xikolo ehubyeni).  
(The people thank the excessive holder of the keys of the school at the traditional meeting place).

Plural: Class 8: swikhomi (expert/excessive arresters)

The nominal xikhomi (expert arrester) refers to an individual who has a an extra-ordinary skill of arresting criminals whose occupation is police and who has successfully and without difficulty arrested a number of dangerous criminals and who has been awarded a number of awards for his job well done. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the trait of skillful arrest will be associated with him for the rest of his life. It has more to do with talent; it is not something that can change shortly. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the
individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of arresting someone or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikhomi** (expert arrester).

**Khoma** (Arrest)

D. [Act]: **vukhomi** (arresting)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vukhomi bya swigevenga i ntirho wo tika.
(Arresting criminals is a difficult job).

(b) Vukhomi bya swigevenga byi lava vutlharhi lebyikulu.
(Arresting criminals require great wisdom).

(c) Vanhu va pfuneta vukhomi bya swigevenga emugangeni.
(The people assist arresting criminals in the village).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhomi** (arrest) refers to the act of taking someone to a police station and keeping him there because one believes that such a person may be guilty of a crime, or the action by which a person is stopped from his normal activities by virtue of a legal authority or sanction, by keeping him in custody.

**Khotsa** (Imprison)

A. [Actor]: **mukhotsi** (imprisoner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhotsi wa Mandela u tisola eka swiendlo swakwe..
(The imprisoner of Mandela regrets in his actions).

(b) Mukhotsi u voniwile nandzu wo tshunxa swibochwa).
(The imprisoner has been found guilty on freeing convicts).

(c) Swibochwa swi pfalele mukhotsi exihambukelweni.
(The convicts locked the imprisoner inside the toilet).

Plural: Class 2: **vakhotsi** (imprisoners)

The nominal **mukhotsi** (imprisoner) refers to an individual who confines someone in any way or who puts or keeps someone in prison. In general, this nominal is used with a restricted meaning of prison warder; an individual who guards prisoners in a prison. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the warding job will be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of
imprisoning prisoners or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mukhotsi** (imprisoner).

**Khotsa (Imprison)**

B.  
[Artifact]: khotso (prison)

Class 5:  
2. (a) Khotso ra Giyani ri tele hi swibochwa.  
   (Giyani prison is full of convicts).

   (b) Khotso ra vana ra tirha eka Mavambe.  
   (Juvenile prison is working at Mavambe).

   (c) Vana va masiku lawa a va ri chavi khotso.  
   (Today’s children are not afraid of the prison).

Plural: Class 6: Makhotso (prisons)

The nominal **khotso** (prison) refers to a place or public building used for the confinement of persons in lawful detention convicted of crimes, or anyone whose person is judicially ordered to be detained.

**Khotsa (Imprison)**

C.  
[Excessive actor]: rikhotso (excessive imprisoning)

Class 5:  
3. (a) Rikhotso ra maphorisa ra vanhu vo pfumala nandzu ri lahlekerisa mfumo mali yo tala.  
   (The excessive imprisoning of the police of the people who are innocent wastes a lot of government money).

   (b) Rikhotso ra varhangeri lava endlaka vukungundzwana ri tsakisa vanlala ro kokela tlhelo.  
   (The excessive imprisoning of leaders who are involved in corruption pleases the opposition party).

   (c) Vanhu va sola rikhotso ra maphorisa ra vanhu vo hava nandzu).  
   (The people condemn the excessive imprisoning of innocent people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhotso** (excessive imprisonment) refers to the act of excessive putting someone/people in prison or another place from which they cannot escape, or the excessive act of restraining the personal liberty of an individual.
Khotsa (Imprison)

D. [Expert ctor]: xikhotsi (expert imprisoner)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikhotsi xa Mandela xi tisola eka swiendlo swakwe.
(The expert imprisoner of Mandela regrets in his actions).

(b) Xikhotsi xi voniwile nandzu wo tshunxa swibochwa).
(The expert imprisoner has been found guilty on freeing convicts).

(c) Swibochwa swi pfalele xikhotsi exihambukelweni.
(The convicts locked up the excessive imprisoner inside the toilet).

Plural: Class 8: swikhotsi (expert imprisonment)

E. [Act]: vukhotsi (imprisonment)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vukhotsi bya wanuna byi hlamarise muganga hinkwawo.
(The imprisonment of the man surprised the whole village).

(b) Vukhotsi bya swigevenga byi vevukisela vanhu vutomi.
(The imprisonment of criminals makes life easier for people).

(c) Mfumo wu kambisisa vukhotsi bya n’wana eGiyani.
(The government examines the imprisonment of the child in Giyani).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhotsi (imprisonment) refers to the act of putting someone in prison or another place from which they cannot escape, or the act of restraining the personal liberty of an individual.
**Fuwa (keep livestock)**

**A. [Actor]: mufuwi (livestock keeper)**

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufuwi u vilerisa hi vayivi va tihomu lava dlayaka tihomu enhoveni.
   (The livestock keepeer is worried about the thieves who kill cattle in the bush).

   (b) Mufuwi u hlayisa tihomu takwe epurasini.
   (The livestock keeper keeps his cattle in the farm).

   (c) Swigevenga swi ba mufuwi epurasini.
   (The criminals beat the keeper of live stock in the farm)

Plural: Class 2: vafuwi (keepers of live stock)

The nominal **mufuwi** (live stock keeper) refers to an individual who owns live stock. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the live stock is a permanent property of an individual. In other words, it is a nominal which is associated with this individual for as long as he still owns the live stock.

**Fuwa (Keep livestock)**

**B. [State]: rifuwo (wealth)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifuwo ro kumiwa hi tindlela ta vukanganyisi a ri tsakisi.
   (The wealth obtained through improper ways is not impressive).

   (b) Rifuwo ra tihomu ri nghenisa mali yo tala emutini.
   (The wealth of cattle brings a lot of money in the family).

   (c) Mufana u hete rifuwo ra tata wakwe.
   (The young man has finished the wealth of his father).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rifuwo** (wealth) refers to the abundance of valuable resources or material possessions.

**Fuwa (keep livestock)**

**C. [Excessive Actor]: xifuwi (expert/excessive livestock keeper)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifuwi xa tihomu ta masi eVenda xi lovile.
   (The expert/excessive livestock keeper of cows of milk in Venda has passed away).

   (b) Xifuwi xi yive tihuku ta Khazamula.
   (The expert/excessive live stock keeper has stolen Khazamula’s chickens).

   (c) Mufana u sirhelela xifuwi epurasini.
   (The young man defends the expert/excessive live stock keeper in the farm).
Plural: Class 8: swifuwi (excessive keepers of live stock)

The nominal xifuwi (expert/excessive live stock keeper) refers to an individual who owns a large live stock and who has a expertise of taking good care of it. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertise will be associated with this individual throughout his life.

Fuwa (Keep livestock)

D. [Result]: xifuwo (domestic animal)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xifuwo xa Tsatsawana xi dya makwembe ya mina emasin’wini.  
(The domestic animal of Tsatsawana eats my pumpkins in the fields).

(b) Xifuwo xa tatana xi tshovekile nenge.  
(The domestic animal of my father is broken leg).

(c) Munana u tshike xifuwo xa tatana enhoveni.  
(The young man left my father’s domestic animal in the bush).

Plural: Class 8: swifuwo (domestic animals)

The nominal xifuwo (domestic animal) refers to any of various animals that have been tamed and made fit for a human environment.

Fuwa (Keep livestock)

E. [Act]: vufuwi (keeping livestock)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vufuwi bya tatana bya tihomu byi hlamarisa vanhu vo tala.  
(The keeping of the father of the cattle surprises many people).

(b) Vufuwi bya tihuku ta nyama byi lava vuswikoti lebyikulu.  
(The keeping of chickens of meat requires a great skill).

(c) Vantima va rhandza vufuwi bya tihomu.  
(Black people like keeping cattle).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufuwi (keeping livestock) refers to an act of keeping live stock such as cattle, goats, sheep, pigs, etc. by an individual for a livelihood or for business purposes.

Cingela (watch/guard)

A. [Actor]: mucingeri (watcher/guard)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mucingeri u khoma swingevenga evhengeleni.  
(The watcher/guard arrests the criminals at the shop).
(b) Mucingeri u hlongorisa makhamba.
(The watcher/guard is chases after the thief).

(c) Swigevenga swi languta mucingeri evhengeleni.
(The criminals are looking at the watcher/guard in the shop).

Plural: class 2: vacingeri (watchers/guards)

The nominal *mucingeri* (watcher/guard) refers to a person or group of people whose job is to protect a person, place or thing from harm by or as if by watching over. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal when it is used with the interpretation of anyone who watches over something for a short period of time, but not as his job. When the guarding is over, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. However, in general, this nominal is used with a restricted meaning of a guard. It may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the guarding job will be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of guarding or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *mucingeri* (watcher/guard).

**Cingela** (watch/guard)

B. [Excessive act]: *ricingelo* (excessive watching/guarding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ricingelo ra Magezi ra swigevenga ri n’wi dlayisile.
(The excessive watching/guarding of Magezi of the criminals caused him to die).

(b) Ricingelo ra Makhanani ra swigevenga ri tsakisa maphorisa.
(The excessive watching/guarding of Makhanani of the criminals impresses the police officers).

(c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela ricingelo ra Khazamula ra swigevenga.
(People are ululating the excessive watching/guarding of Khazamula of the criminals).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ricingelo* (excessive watching/guarding) refers to an excessive act of protecting a person, place or thing from harm by watching over it.
Cingela (watch/guard)

C. [Expert actor]: xicingeri (expert watcher/expert guard)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xicingeri xi khomile vayivi evhengeleni.
   (The expert watcher/expert guard arrested the thieves at the shop).

   (b) Xicingeri xa swigevenga xi lovile.
   (The expert watcher/expert guard of the criminals has passed away).

   (c) Kokwana u vitana xicingeri evhengeleni.
   (The grandmother is calling the expert watcher/expert guard in the shop).

Plural: class 8: swicingeri (expert watchers/ expert guards)

The nominal xicingeri (expert watcher/guard) refers to a person or group of people who have special expertise of protecting a person, place or thing from harm by or as if by watching over. It may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the expertness of guarding the individual in question and not the act of guarding itself. In this way, the excessiveness of guarding will remain a permanent property of the individual and will thus be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of guarding or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xicingeri (expert watcher/guard).

Cingela (watch/guard)

D. [Event/Act]: vucingeri (watching/guarding)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vucingeri bya Magezi bya swigevenga byi n’wi dlayisile.
   (The watching/guarding of Magezi of the criminals cause him to die).

   (b) Vucingeri bya Makhanani evhengeleni byi hlundzukisa makhamba.
   (The watching/guarding of Makhanani at the shop makes the criminals to be angry).

   (c) Swigevenga swi venga vucingeri bya maphorisa.
   (The criminals hates watching/guarding of the police officers).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vucingeri (watching/guarding) refers to an act of protecting a person, place or thing from harm by watching over it.

Tshikilela (press)
A. [Actor]: mutshikileri (presser)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshikileri wa bele u hlangane nhloko.
   (The presser of the bell is mad).

   (b) Mutshikileri wa gerhe a nga ambalangi ntanghu.
   (The presser of the gear did not put on the shoes).

   (c) Wanuna u holovela mutshikileri wa bele.
   (The man is reprimanding the presser of the bell).

Plural: class 2: vatshikileri (pressers)

The nominal mutshikileri (presser/oppressor) refers to an individual who pushes or squeezes part of a device in order to make it work. But it may also refer to a person who treats someone in a cruel and unfair way. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the pressing of a device is a temporary action. Once such an act is completed, the nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. However, when the nominal mutshikileri (presser/oppressor) has the interpretation of the oppressor, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the oppression which is practiced by the individual in question is something to do with his personality which may not change. In this case then, it does not matter whether or not at the time of reference such a person is practicing some form of oppression, such a person will always be associated with oppression and will thus be referred to as mutshikileri (presser/oppressor).

Tshikilela (press)

B. [Act/result]: ntshikilelo (pressing/suppression/depression)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntshikilelo wu dlaya vanhu vo tala eAfrika.
   (The pressing/suppression/depression kills many people in Africa).

   (b) Ntshikilelo wa vavanuna eka vavasati wu hungutekile eAfrika-Dzonga.
   (The pressing/suppression/depression of men to women decreased in South Africa).

   (c) Vanhu va sola ntshikilelo wa mfumo wa Hitler.
   (The people criticise the pressing/suppression/depression of Hitler’s government).

Plural: class 4: mitshikilelo (pressings/oppressions/depressions)

The nominal ntshikilelo (pressing/oppression/depression) refers to an act of pushing something with your hand or with a tool that you are holding. But it may also refer to the act of ill-treating someone.
Furthermore, it may also refer to a common mental disorder that presents with depressed mood, loss of interest or pleasure, feelings of guilt or low self-worth, disturbed sleep.

**Tshikilela (press)**

C. [Excessive act]: ritshikilelo (excessive pressing/suppressing/depressing)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritshikilelo ra Magezi ra vavasati ri hlundzukisa vaakatiko. (The excessive pressing/suppressing/depressing of Magezi of the women makes residents to be angry).

(b) Ritshikilelo ra n’wana ra piyano ri nyenyetsa mhani wakwe. (The excessive pressing/suppressing/depressing of the child of the piano annoys his/her mother).

(c) Vavasati va sola ritshikilelo ra Gezani ra bele. (Women criticises the excessive pressing/suppressing/ depressing of Gezani of the bell).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritshikilelo (excessive pressing/oppressing) refers to an act of excessive pushing of something with your hand or with a tool that you are holding. But it may also refer to the act of excessive ill-treating of someone, which is, not giving him the same freedom and rights as other people.

**Tshikilela (press)**

D. [Excessive actor]: xitshikeleri (excessive presser/oppressor)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitshikeleri xa bele ya bazi xi hlongoriwile. (The excessive presser of the bell of the bus has been chased away).

(b) Xitshikeleri xa vana ni vavasati xi khomiwile. (The excessive oppressor of the children and women has been arrested).

(c) Maphorisa va khoma xitshikeleri xa vana ni vavasati. (The police arrest the excessive oppressor of the children and women).

Plural: class 8: switshikeleri (excessive presser/oppressors)

The nominal xitshikeleri (excessive presser/oppressor) refers to an individual who excessively pushes or squeezes part of a device in order to make it work. But it may also refer to a person who excessively ill-treats someone. This nominal may be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the property of excessive pressing or oppression is associated with an individual in question for a the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity of pressing something/oppressing someone or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference but he will always
be referred to as xitshikileri (excessive presser/oppressor). In this case then, the nominal xitshikileri (excessive presser/oppressor) does not modify the event of pressing/oppressing, but the excessiveness of pressing/oppressing thereof.

**Tshikilela (press)**

E. [Artifact]: xitshikilelo (button/key)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xitshikilelo xa foni xi hlomukile.
   (The button/key of the phone has moved out).
   
   (b) Xitshikilelo xa khompyuta xa nonoha.
   (The button/key of the computer is hard).
   
   (c) N’wana u hlomurile xitshikilelo xa foni.
   (The child moved out the button/key of the phone).

Plural: class 8: switshikilelo (buttons/keys)

The nominal xitshikilelo (button/key) refers to a small part of a machine such as a computer or typewriter or key that one presses in order to make it work /switch it on and off.

**Tshikilela (press)**

F. [Act]: vutshikeleri (pressing/oppression)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vutshikeleri bya mfumo wa Hitler byi herisiwile.
   (The pressing/oppression of Hitler’s government has been done away with).
   
   (b) Vutshikeleri bya Hasani eka vana va yena byi hlundzukisa vanhu.
   (The pressing oppression of Hasani on his children makes people angry).
   
   (c) Vanhu va sola vutshikeleri bya Magezi eka nsati wakwe.
   (The people condemn the pressing/oppression of Magezi on his wife).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutshikileri (pressing/oppressing) refers to an act of pushing something with your hand or with a tool that you are holding. But it may also refer to the act of ill-treating someone, which is, not giving him the same freedom and rights as other people.
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**Class 1**
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Mutshikileri (oppressor)**

```
  N
 / \  
AF   NR
 /   
V  AF
 / 
mu- -tshikiler- -i
```

**Class 3**
Prefix: **m-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Ntshikilelo (stress/oppression)**

```
  N
 / \  
AF   NR
 /   
V  AF
 / 
n- -tshikilel- -o
```
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
Ritshikilelo (excessive pressing)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
Xitshikileri (excessive oppressor)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
Xitshikilelo (button)
Class 14
Prefix:  vu-
Suffix:  -i

Vutshikileri (suppression/oppression)

Verbs of Hold and Keep

(44) Nominalization from the verb -tshikilela (press)

(vi) The verb –tshikilela (press)
N’wana u tshikilela bele ya movha.
(The child presses the bell of the car).

-tshikilela
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1=x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = –tshikilela act (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Press – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -tshikilela (press) in (44) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is performs the pressing and the physical object which denotes the entity that is affected by the process of pressing. The event structure represents the process event of pressing. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of pressing (e1) of a person (x).

(45) Nominalisation in class 1: mutshikileri (presser/oppressor)

Mutshikileri wa gerhe ya movha u pfimbile swikun’wana.
(The presser of the car peddle has swollen his toes).
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *mutshikileri* (presser/oppressor) in (45) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is performs the pressing and the physical object which denotes the entity that is affected by the process of pressing. The event structure represents the process event of pressing. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of pressing (e₁) of a person (x).

(46) **Nominalisation in class 7: xitshikileri** (excessive/expert presser/oppressor)

Xitshikileri xa tinkunupu ta khompyuta ya xikolo xi kumiwile.
(The excessive/expert pressor of the buttons of the school computer has been found).

The lexical semantic representation of *xitshikileri* (excessive presser/oppressor) in (46) corresponds to that of *mutshikileri* (presser/oppressor) in (45) above. The difference relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] with *xitshikileri* (excessive presser/oppressor) in (46) above which is absent in *mutshikileri* (presser/oppressor) in (45) above.

(47) **Nominalisation in class 5: ritshikilelo** (pressing/oppressing)

Rithikilelo ra mufana ra tikunupu ta ogene ri karhata varhangeri va kereke.
(The excessive pressing of the young man of the buttons of the organ worries the leaders of the church).
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Press/Oppress – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **ritshikilelo** (excessive pressing/oppressing) in (47) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of pressing/oppressing, and the physical object which denotes the physical object that is affected by the act of pressing/oppressing. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of pressing/oppressing. The event structure represents the default process event of pressing/oppressing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agitative quale represents the excessive act (process) of pressing/oppressing of the human argument (x).

(48) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutshikileri** (pressing/oppressing)

Vutshikileri bya mufana by abele ya movha byi nyenyetsa tata wakwe.
(The pressing of the young man of the hooter of the car annoys his father).

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wring/Press/Oppress – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vutshikileri** (pressing/oppressing) in (48) above corresponds to that of **ritshikilelo** (excessive pressing/oppressing) in (47) above. The difference relates to the agitative quale which represents the feature [excessive] with **ritshikilelo** (excessive pressing/oppressing) in (47) above which is absent in **vutshikileri** (pressing/oppressing) in (48) above.
(49) **Nominalisation in class 3: ntshikilelo** (stress/oppression)

Ntshikilelo wa vavanuna eka vavasati wu hungutekile.
(The oppression of the men on women has gone down).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ntshikilelo} & = \text{ARGSTR} = x: e: r \\
& = \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& = \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–tshikilela}_\text{result/event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Press/Oppress – Result

The lexical semantic representation of *ntshikilelo* (stress/oppression) in (49) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of stress/oppression, and the physical object which denotes the physical object that is affected by the act of stress/oppression. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of stress/oppression. The event structure represents the default process event of stress/oppression. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the resulting act (process) of stress/oppression of the human argument (x).

(50) **Nominalisation in class 7: xitshikilelo** (button)

Xitshikilelo xa khompyuta xi tlumukile.
(The button for the computer has come out).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xitshikilelo} & = \text{ARGSTR} = x: e: r \\
& = \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& = \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–tshikilela}_\text{Instrument} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Press/Oppress – Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of *xitshikilelo* (button/key) in (50) corresponds to that of *ntshikilelo* (stress/oppression) in (49) above. The difference relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature
[result] with ntshikilelo (stress/oppression) in (49) above while the feature [instrument] occurs with xitshikilelo (button/key) in (50) above.

Other deverbatives in this sub-class of hold and keep verbs exhibit a similar lexical semantic representation to that of -tshikilela (press). The difference that obtains pertains to classes 3 and 7 deverbatives, for example, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -fuma (govern), -khotsa (imprison) and -soha (twist/wring), just like in the case of -tshikilela (press), permits a nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs such as -khoma (hold), -khoma (arrest), -fuwa (keep live stock), -cingela (watch/guard) and -kama (squeeze/wring out) which does not permit such a nominalization. In addition to that, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -khoma (hold), -fuwa (keep live stock), just like in the case of -tshikilela (press), permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of instrument and/or result as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -fuma (govern), -khoma (arrest), -khotsa (imprison), -cingela (watch/guard) -soha (twist/wring) and -kama (squeeze/wring out) which does not allow such a nominalization.

Soha (twist/wring)

A. [Actor]: musohi (twisting/wringer person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musohi wa tintambhu u balekile.
   (The twisting/wringer person of the ropes has vanished).
   (b) Musohi wa nkolo wa huku u hlamba mavoko.
      (The twisting/wringer person of the neck of the chicken washes his hands).
   (c) Wanuna u vitana musohi wa huku.
      (The man is calling the twisting/wringer person of the chicken).

Plural: class 2: vasohi (twisting/wringer people)

The nominal musohi (twisting/wringer person) refers to an individual who twists and compresses something or one who turns and strains something with violence. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what characterises the defining of this nominal is the act of wringing, which is a temporary occurrence. Once an individual is no longer engaged in such activity, the nominal will no longer apply to him.
Soha (twist/wring)

B.  [Act]:    nsoho (twisting/wringing)

Class 3:  2. (a) Nsoho wa swihlangi hi vamana wa swona wu ndlandlamukile.
   (The wringing of children by their mothers has increased).

   (b) Nsoho wa tintambhu wu lava matimba.
       (Twisting/Wringing of ropes needs power).

   (c) Wanuna u rhandza nsoho wa mufana wa tintambhu.
       (The man likes the twisting/wringing of the boy of the ropes).

Plural: class 4: misoho (twisting/wringing)

The nominal nsoho (twisting/wringing) refers to an act of twisting and compressing of something or the turning and straining of something with violence.

Soha (twist/wring)

C.  [Excessive act]:    risoho (excessive twisting/wringing)

Class 5:  3. (a) Risoho ra tinhamu ta swihlangi hi vamana wa swona ri chavisa vanhu.
            (The excessive twisting/wringing of the necks of the babies by their mothers scares the people).

            (b) Risoho ra mavoko ya vana hi tata wa vona ri vilerisa wansati.
                (The excessive twisting/wringing of the hands of the children by their father worries the woman).

            (c) Mufana u hlalela risoho ra wansati ra mikumba.
                (The young man watches the excessive twisting/wringing of the woman of the blankets).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risoho (excessive twisting/wringing) refers to an act of excessive twisting and compressing of something or the excessive turning and straining of something with violence.

Soha (twist/wring)

D.  [Excessive actor]:    xisohi (excessive twisting/wringing person)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xisohi xa mikumba yo tsakama xi fikile.
            (The excessive twisting/wringing person of wet blankets has arrived).

            (b) Xisohi xa tintambhu xi fambile.
                (The excessive twisting/wringing person of the ropes is gone).
(c) Maphorisa va khoma xisohi xa swihlangi.
(The police arrest the excessive twisting/wringing person of the babies).

Plural: class 8: swisohi (excessive twisting/wringing people)

The nominal xisohi (excessive twisting/wringing person) refers to an individual who excessively twists and compresses something or one who excessively turns and strains something with violence. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the excessiveness of twisting/wringing of the individual in question, and not necessarily the act of twisting/wringing itself. In other words, an individual such as xisohi (excessive twisting/wringing person) may be engaged in the act of wringing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Soha (twist/wring)

E. [Act]: vusohi (twisting/wringing)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vusohi bya tinhamu ta swihlangi hi vanama wa swona byi karhata mfumo.
(The twisting/wringing of babies, necks by their mother worries the government).

(b) Vusohi bya mikumba yo tsakama byi vavisa tintiho.
(The twisting/wringing of wet blankets hurts the fingers).

(c) Wansati u sola vusohi bya mufana bya mavoko ya swihlangi.
(The woman condemns the twisting/wringing of the young man of the hands of the children).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusohi (twisting/wringing) refers to an act of twisting and compressing of something or the turning and straining of something with violence.

Kama (squeeze/wring out)

A. [Actor]: mukami (squeezing/wringing out person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukami wa mpahla ya vana u yimbelela risimu.
(The squeezing/wringing out person of the clothes of the children is singing a song).

(b) Mukami wa buruku u tsakile.
(The squeezing/wringing out person of the trouser is happy).

(c) Wanuna u huwelela mukami wa hembe.
(The man is screaming at the squeezing/wringing out person of the shirt).

Plural: class 2: vatshikeleri (wringing out people)
The nominal **mukami** (squeezing/wringer out person) refers to an individual who forces water from wet clothes/material. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what characterises the defining of this nominal is the act of squeezing/wringer out, which is a temporary occurrence. Once an individual is no longer engaged in such activity, the nominal will no longer apply to him.

**Kama** (squeeze/wringer out)

B. **[Excessive act]**: **rikamo** (excessive squeezing/wringer)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikamo ra wansati ra mpahla ya vana ra yi pawulukisa.  
(The excessive squeezing/wringer of the clothes of the children makes it loose colour).

(b) Rikamo ra wansati ra mikumba ri n’wi tshwumula tintiho.  
(The excessive squeezing/wringer of the woman of the clothes of the children bruises her fingers).

(c) Mufana u sola rikamo ra wansati ra mikumba.  
(The young man disapproves of the excessive squeezing/wringer of the woman of the blankets).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikamo** (excessive squeezing/wringer) refers to an act of excessive forcing of water from wet clothes/material by an individual.

**Kama** (squeeze/wringer out)

C. **[Excessive actor]**: **zikami** (excessive squeezing/wringer out person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Zikami xa mikumba mpahla ya vana xi mukile.  
(The excessive squeezing/wringer out person of children’s clothes has gone home).

(b) Zikami xa mikumba yi ya eka dokodela.  
(The excessive squeezing/wringer out person of the blankets goes to the doctor).

(c) Wanuna u xeweta zikami xa mpahla ya vana.  
(The man greets the excessive squeezing/wringer out person of the children’s clothes).

Plural: class 8: **swikami** (excessive squeezing/wringer out people)

The nominal **zikami** (excessive squeezing/wringer out person) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively forces water from wet clothes/material. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is the expertness/excessiveness of squeezing/wringer out of the individual in question, and not the act of squeezing/wringer out itself. In
other words, an individual such as xikami (excessive squeezing/wringing out person) may be engaged in the act of squeezing/wringing out or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Kama** (squeeze/wring out)

D. [Act]: vukami (squeezing/wringing out)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukami bya wansati bya mpahla ya vana byi tsakisa muthori wa yena.  
(The squeezing/wringing out of the woman of the children’s clothes pleases her employer).

(b) Vukami bya mikumba yo tala byi vavaisa tintiho.  
(The squeezing/wringing out of many blankets hurts the fingers).

(c) Wansati u languta vukami bya wansati bya mpahla.  
(The woman is looking at the squeezing/wringing out of the woman of the clothes).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukami (squeezing/wringing out) refers to an act of forcing water from wet clothes/material by an individual.

### 7.10 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CUTTING

According to Levin (1995: 157) the verbs in this class involve notions of motions, contact, and effect. He points out that these verbs relate to “separation in material” as cited by Levin (op cit) from Hale and Keyser (1987). According to Levin (op cit) the meaning of these verbs also includes a specification concerning the instrument or means used to bring this result about. He argues that these verbs differ from each other in meaning with respect to the instrument or means of cutting. Levin (op cit) claims that some of these verbs can be found in a double object construction with an interpretation of benefactive. He further points out that some other verbs still allow intentional as well as unintentional action interpretations with body part or reflexive objects, although limited in number. He says that this limitation can be attributed to the fact that only some of them can take body parts as subjects.

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Hala (scrape)

A. [Actor]:  muhali (scraping person))

Class 1:  1. (a) Muhali u hlantswa poto.
(The scraping person washes the pot).

(b) Muhali u tlhandleka poto endzilweni.
(The scraping person puts the pot on the fire).

(c) Wansati u komba muhali poto ra thyaka.
(The woman shows the scraping person dirty pot).

Plural: Class 2: vahali (scraping persons)

The nominal muhali (scraping person) denotes a person who removes something from a surface by moving something sharp and hard. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of scraping which an individual is performing. Once the act of scraping is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhali (scraping person).

Hala (Scrape)

B. [Excessive act]:  rihalo (excessive scraping)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rihalo ra wanuna ra tipani ri nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The excessive scraping of the man of the pans annoys his children).

(b) Rihalo ra wansati ra mapoto ri tsakisa vathori vakwe.
(The excessive scraping of the woman of the pots pleases his employers).

(c) Wanuna u sola rihalo ra wansati ra mapoto emikhubyeni.
(The man disapproves the scraping of the woman of the pots in functions).

Plural: No plural in the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihalo (excessive scraping) denotes an act of scraping of a thing which is done excessively by an individual.
C. [Excessive actor]: xihali (expert/excessive scraping person)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xihali xa tipani xi hlengilela tipani enkhubyeni.
   (The expert/excessive scraping person of pans collects pans at the function).
   
   (b) Xihali xi hoxa tipani eka xihlantswelo.
   (The expert/excessive scraping person puts pans in the sink).

   (c) Wanuna u nyika xihali pani ya thyaka.
   (The man gives dirty pan to the expert/excessive Scraping person).

Plural: Class 8: swihali (expert/excessive scraping person)

The nominal xihali (expert/excessive scraping person) denotes an individual who is good at scraping things, or who regularly scrapes things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining factor here is the expertness or excessiveness in scraping things which an individual in question has. This factor will be associated with this individual throughout his life. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the act of scraping or he is not engaged, he will always be referred to as xihali (expert/excessive scraping person).

Hala (Scrape)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: xihalo (pot scraper)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihalo xo xaviwa eka Shoprite xi susa thyaka hi ku olova.
   (The scraper bought from Shoprite removes all dirt easily).

   (b) Xihalo xa nsimbhi xi basisa ku tlula xa pulasitiki.
   (The metal scraper cleans well than the plastic one).

   (c) Wansati u xava xihalo exitolo.
   (The woman buys pot scraper at the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swihalo (pot scrapers)

The nominal xihalo (pot scraper) refers to the object which is used to scrape things. Such an object is a man-made thing; hence it is regarded as an artifact.

Hala (Scrape)

E. [Act]: vuhali (scraping)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhali bya xitupu bya karhalisa.
   (The scraping of the Veranda is tiresome).

   (b) Vuhali bya poto leri a ri swekile vuswa byi lava nkarhi wo tala.
   (The scraping of the pot which cooked porridge needs a lot of time).
(c) Vanhwanyana va venga vuhali bya poto leri a ri sweke vuswa.
(The young women hate the scraping of the pot which cooked porridge).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhali** (scraping) refers to the act of scraping something by an individual.

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**Class 1**

Prefix: **mu-**

Suffix: **-i**

**muhali** (scraping person)
Class 5
Prefix:  ri-
Suffix:  -o
Rihalo (excessive scrapping)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -i
Xihali (expert/excessive scrapping person)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -o
Xihalo (pot scraper)
Verbs of Cutting

(51) **Nominalization from the verb -hala** (scrape)

(ix) The verb -hala (scrape)

Wanuna u hala poto.
(The man is scraping the pot).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-hala} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E}_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = \text{E}_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = -hala\_act (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Scrape – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -hala (scrape) in (51) above displays two arguments in its argument structure; the first one is the human argument that scrapes and the other argument is the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by scrapping. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of scrapping and the resultant state of scrapping. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of scraping (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure
represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of scrapping of the human argument (x).

(52) **Nominalisation in class 1: muhali** (scrapping person)

Muhali u hlantswa poto.
(The scraping person washes the pot).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{muhali} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -hala_{actor} (e_1, x, y)
\end{array}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Scrape – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **muhali** (scrapping person) in (52) above displays two arguments in its argument structure; the first one is the human argument that scrapes and the other argument is the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by scrapping. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of scrapping and the resultant state of scrapping. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of scraping (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of scrapping of the human argument (x).

(53) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihali** (expert/excessive scraper)

Xihali xa tipani xi hlangeleta tipani enkhubyeni.
(The excessive scraper of pans collects pans at the function).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
xihali \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
\text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -hala_{act\_excessive/expert} (e_1, x, y)
\end{array}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Scrape – Excessive/Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *xihali* (excessive/expert scrapping person) in (53) corresponds to that of *muhali* (scrapping person) in (52) above. The only difference relates to the feature [excessive/expert] in the agentive quale of *xihali* (excessive/expert scrapping person) in (53), which is absent in the case of the agentive quale of *muhali* (scrapping person) in (52).

(54) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihalo** (excessive scrapping)

Rihalo ra wansati ra tipani ri tsakisa vingi vakwe.
(The excessive scraping of the woman of the pans pleases his parents-in-law).

**rihalo**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
& = D-\text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& = D-\text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. Obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = D-E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = D-E_2 = e_1: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (er, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hala}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Scrape – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rihalo* (excessive scrapping) in (54) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is crapping, and the physical object that is being scrapped. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of scrapping. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of scrapping and the resultant state of scrapping. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_2) of the process of scrapping (e_1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that scrapes. The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of scrapping of the person (x).

(55) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhali** (scrapping)

Vuhali bya xitupu bya karhalisa.
(The scraping of the Veranda is tiresome).
Hierarchical semantic concept:

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Scrape – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vuhali* (scrapping) corresponds to that of *rihalo* (excessive scrapping) in (54) above. The difference relates to the feature [excessive] which occurs in the agentive quale of *rihalo* (excessive scrapping) in (54) above which is absent in *vuhali* (scrapping) in (55).

### (56) Nominalisation in class 7: *xihalo* (pot scraper)

Xihalo xo xaviwa eka Shoprite xi susa thyaka hi ku olova.
(The scraper bought from Shoprite removes dirt easily).

### Hierarchical semantic concepts: Scrape – Artifact/instrument

The lexical semantic representation of *xihalo* (pot scraper) in (56) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is crapping, and the physical object that is being scrapped. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of scrapping. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of scrapping and the resultant state of scrapping. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event ($e_2$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state ($e_2$) of the process of scrapping.
The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that scrapes. The agentive quale represents the instrument/artifact of scrapping of the person (x).

Other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of cutting display a similar lexical semantic representation to that of -hala (scrape). The difference may be found with the deverbatives from the verbs -hweva (cut with a sickle), -tsema (cut), -vatla (carve) and -saha (saw) in classes 5, 7 and 9. The first distinction to be highlighted relates to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -hweva (cut with a sickle) which permits a nominalization in class 5 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in this sub-class whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit such a nominalization. Again, we note that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -tsema (cut), just like in the case of -hala (scrape) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hweva (cut with a sickle), -vatla (carve), -saha (saw) and -byewula (shave hair) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not allow such a nominalization. Furthermore, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -vatla (carve) and -saha (saw) permits a nominalization in class 9 with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hala (scrape), -hweva (cut with a sickle), -tesma (cut), -venga (hate) and -byewula (shave hair) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not allow such a nominalization.

**Hweva** (Cut with sickle)

A. [Actor]: muhwevi (cutter with a sickle)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhwevi wa byanyi u lumiwile.
   (The cutter with a sickle of the grass has been biten).

   (b) Muhwevi u titsemile tintiho hi sikiri.
   (The cutter with a sickle has cut herself with a sickle).

   (c) Manana va kumile muhwevi ensin’wini ya yena.
   (My mother found the cutter with a sickle in her field).

Plural: Class 2: vahwevi (cutters with sickles)

The nominal muhwevi (cutter with sickle) refers to an individual who uses sickle to cut thatching grass or reeds. The nominal is defined in terms of the act of cutting with a sickle which the individual in question is engaged in. Thus this nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of cutting with a sickle is over, such a nominal may no longer be
referred to as muhwevi (cutter with sickle). In other words, for a person to qualify to be referred as
muhwevi, he must be engaged in the act of cutting with a sickle at the time of reference.

**Hweva (Cut with sickle)**

**B. [Excessive act]**: rihwevo (excessive cutting with sickle)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihwevo ra wansati ra tinhlanga ri tsakisa vingi va yena.
      (The excessive cutting with a sickle of the woman of reeds pleases her parents-in-law).

      (b) Rihwevo ra wanuna ra byanyi ri hlamarisa nsati wakwe.
      (The excessive cutting with a sickle of the man surprises his wife).

      (c) Vanhu va hlamarala rihwevo ra wanuna ra tinhlanga.
      (The people are surprised at the excessive cutting with a sickle of man of reeds).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihwevo (excessive cutting with a sickle) refers to the excessive act of cutting thatching
grass or reeds with a sickle.

**Hweva (Cut with sickle)**

**C. [Artifact]**: rihwevo (sickle)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihwevo ra manana ri tshovekile xikhomo.
      (The sickle of my mother is broken the handle).

      (b) Rihwebo ra manana ri xaviwe eka Shoprite.
      (The sickle of my mother was bought from Shoprite).

      (c) Vanhu va tsakela rihwevo ra xikhomo xa nsimbhi.
      (The people prefer the sickle with a metal handle).

Plural: Class 6: mahwevo (sickles)

The nominal rihwevo (sickle) refers to a tool with a curved blade and a short handle, used for cutting
grass or reeds.

**Hweva (Cut with sickle)**

**D. [Excessive/Expert actor]**: xihwevi (expert cutter with sickle)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihwevi xa byanyi xi titsemile rintiho.
      (The expert/excessive cutter with a sickle has cut his figure).

      (b) Xihwevi xa tinhlanga xi lumiwile hi ngwenya.
      (The expert/excessive cutter with a sickle of reeds has been bitten by a crocodile).
(c) Wansati u nyika xihwevi xa byanyi sikiri leyintshwa.
(The woman gives the expert/excessive cutter with a sickle of grass new sickle).

Plural: Class 8: swihwevi (excessive/expert cutters sickle)

The nominal xihwevi (excessively/expert cutter with sickle) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly uses sickle to cut thatching grass or reeds. This nominal is defined in terms of the property of excessiveness/expertness of cutting with a sickle which the individual in question is engaged in, and not in terms of the act of cutting with a sickle. Thus this nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature is a permanent occurrence. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of cutting with a sickle or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihwevi (excessively/expert cutter with sickle).

**Hweva** (Cut with sickle)

E. [Act]: vuhwevi (cutting with sickle)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuhwevi bya byanyi byi olova loko ka ha ri nimixo.
(Cutting with sickle the grass is easy while it is still in the morning).

(b) Vuhwevi bya tinhlanga byi pfumeleriwa hi nkarhi wa xixika.
(Cutting of reeds with sickle is allowed during winter).

(c) Vavasati va manguva lawa a va byi tivi vuhwevi bya makenya.
(Women of these days do not know cutting of grass with a sickle).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhwevi (cutting with a sickle) refers to the act of cutting thatching grass or reeds with a sickle.

**Tsema** (Cut)

A. [Actor]: mutsemi (cutting person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsemi wa mabilomu u lota xikero.
(The cutting person of flowers sharpens the scissor).

(b) Mutsemi wa byanyi u dumisa muchini.
(The cutting person of the grass starts the machine).

(c) Wanuna u lomba mutsemi wa byanyi muchini.
(The man lends the machine to the cutting person of grass).

Plural: Class 2: vatsemi (cutting people)
The nominal **mutsemi (cutting person)** refers to a person who penetrates/removes something with a sharp edged instrument such as a knife or axe. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level, depending on the context thereof. When such a nominal is applied to someone who is engaged in the act of cutting something at the time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property thereto is the act of cutting of something by the individual in question. However, when such a nominal is applied on someone whose hobby or job is that of cutting certain things, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is not the act of cutting as such, but the habit of cutting by the individual in question. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the activity of cutting something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mutsemi (cutting person)**.

**Tsema (cut)**

A. **[Excessive act]** ritsemo (Excessive cutting)  
   Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsemo ra Khazamula ra misinya ri onha mbango.  
            (The excessive cutting of Khazamula of the trees destroys the environment).  
            (b) Ritsemo ra wanuna ra tihunyi to tsakama ri lemukiwile hi maphorisa.  
                (The excessive cutting of the man of the woods has been noticed by police).  
            (c) Phorisa ri sola ritsemo ra vafana ra tihunyi.  
                (The police man condemns the excessive cutting of the young men of cutting woods).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsemo (excessive cutting)** denotes an excessive act of cutting something with a harp edged instrument such as knife or axe.

**Tsema (Cut)**

B. **[Excessive/Expert ctor]:** xitsemi (excessive/expert cutting person)  
   Class 7: 3. (a) Xitsemi xa mabilomu xi lota xikero.  
            (The excessive expert cutting person of flowers sharpens the scissor).  
            (b) Xitsemi xa byanyi xi dumisa muchini.  
                (The excessive/expert cutting person of the grass starts the machine).  
            (c) Wanuna u lomba xitsemi xa byanyi muchini.  
                (The man lends the machine to the excessive/expert cutting person of grass).

Plural: Class 8: switsemi (excessive/expert cutting person)
The nomina xitsemi (excessive/expert cutting person) denotes an individual who excessively cuts things, such as trees. But it may also refer to a person who has a skill of cutting things. This nominal modifies the excessiveness/skill of cutting of the individual in question. In other words whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of cutting something or he will not be engaged in it, he will be referred to as xitsemi because the property of excessiveness/expertness which is associated with the individual in question is a permanent thing which cannot change.

**Tsema (Cut)**

B. [Artifact]: xitsemo (cutting tool/instrument)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitsemo xa mabilomu xi tshovekile.
(The cutting tool/instrument for flower is broken).

(b) Xitsemo xa mabilomu xa durha.
(The cutting tool/instrument for flowers is expensive).

(c) Yingwani u xava xitsemo xa mabilomu eka Shoprite.
(Yingwani buys the cutting tool/instrument for flowers from Shoprite).

Plural: Class 8: switsemo (cutting tools/instrument)

The nominal xitsemo (cutting instrument) refers to a sharp edged instrument used for cutting things such as knife or axe.

**Tsema (Cut)**

C. [Act]: vutsemi (cutting)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutsemi bya misisi byi nyika vanhu vo tala mitirho.
(Cutting of hair gives many people jobs).

(b) Vutsemi bya misinya bya yirisiwa etikweni.
(The cutting of trees is prohibited in the country).

(c) Vavanuna va sola vutsemi bya mirhi hi vafana.
(The men disapprove of the cutting of the trees by young men).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsemi (cutting) denotes an act of cutting something with a harp edged instrument such as knife or axe.
**Vatla (Carve)**

**A.** [Actor]: muvatli (carver)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvatli wa mikonbe u tsema timhandzi.  
(The carver of cooking sticks is cutting wood).

   (b) Muvatli u yisa swivatliwa swakwe enkombisweni.  
   (The carver takes his products to the show).

   (c) Wanuna u lomba muvatli mbatlo yakwe.  
   (The man lends the axe to the man).

Plural: Class 2: vavatli (carvers)

The nominal muvatli (carver) refers to an individual who makes or shapes objects or patterns by cutting away material from wood or stone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level because carving is usually taken as a hobby or an occupation, and in the case it will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of carving something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muvatli (carver). In other words, the defining feature in this nominal is not the act of carving as such, but the skill of carving which the individual in question will have for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Vatla (Carve)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: rivatlo (excessive carving)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivatlo ra wanuna ra mikonbe ri n’wi ngenisela mali.  
(The excessive carving of the man of cooking sticks brings him a lot of money).

   (b) Rivatlo ra wanuna ra swivatliwa swa ndhavuko ri n’wi fikisile entsungeni wa malwandle.  
   (The excessive carving of the man of the traditional artifacts has taken him to overseas).

   (c) Wanuna u hlamala rivatlo ra mufana ra mikonbe.  
   (The man is surprised at the excessive carving of the young man of the cooking sticks).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivatlo (excessive carving) refers to the excessive act of cutting material such as stone or wood to form a figure of design.
Vatla (Carve)

C. [Expert actor]: xivatli (expert carver)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivatli xa mikonbe xi tsema timhandzi.  
(The expert carver of cooking sticks is cutting wood).

(b) Xivatli xi yisa swivatliwa swakwe enkombisweni.  
(The expert carver takes his products to the show).

(c) Wanuna u lomba xivatli mbatlo yakwe.  
(The man lends the adze to the expert carver).

Plural: Class 8: swivatli (expert carvers)

The nominal xivatli (excessive/expert carver) refers to an individual who has an extra-ordinary skill of making or shaping objects or patterns by cutting away material from wood or stone. But it may also denote an individual who is regularly engaged in the act of carving. This nominal may be regarded an individual-level because carving is usually taken as a hobby or an occupation, and in that sense it will be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of carving something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xivatli (excessive/expert carver). In other words, the defining feature in this nominal is not the act of carving as such, but the extra-ordinary skill of carving which the individual in question possesses and which he will keep for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Vatla (Carve)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: mbatlo (small adze)

Class 9: 4. (a) Mbatlo ya wanuna yi tshovekile.  
(The adze of the man is broken).

(b) Mbatlo yi susa mahanti ya mhandzi hi xihlatla.  
(The adze removes the scales of the wood quickly).

(c) Wanuna u vuyisa mbatlo ya Kahzamula.  
(The man returns the adze of Khazamula).

Plural: Class 4: mimbatlo (small adzes)

This nominal mbatlo (small adzes) refers to an axlike tool with a curved blade at to the handle for trimming and smoothing wood.
**Vatla (Carve)**

C.  
[Event, Act]:  vuvatli (carving)

Class 14:  
5. (a) Vuvatli bya matshuri bya kala masiku lawa.
   (The carving of mortars is scarce these days).
(b) Vuvatli bya swibye swa timhandzi byi endliwa hi vanhu vo huma Zimbabwe.
   (The carving of wood utensils is done by people from Zimbabwe).
(c) Muzamani u dyondzisa vuvatli ekholich.
   (Muzamani teaches carving at the collage).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvatli (carving) refers to the act of cutting material such as stone or wood to form a figure of design.

**Saha (saw)**

A.  
[Actor]: musahi (sawing person)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Musahi wa misinya u xava saha.
   (The sawing person of the trees buys the saw).
(b) Musahi wa misinya u tshovile saha ya wanuna.
   (The sawing person of the trees broke the saw of the man).
(c) Wanuna u lomba musahi saha yakwe.
   (The man lends the saw to the sawing man).

Plural: Class 2: vasahi (sawing people)

The nominal musahi (sawing person) refers to an individual who uses a saw to cut something. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When this nominal refers to any other person who cuts something by saw at a particular point in time, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of cutting by saw. Once the act of cutting by saw is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as musahi (sawing person). However, if such a nominal refers to someone whose job demands that he saws something such as timber, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the cutting by saw will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of cutting something by saw, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as musahi (sawing person).
**Saha (saw)**

B. **[Excessive sawing]: risaho (excessive sawing)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Risaho ra wanuna ra misinya ri n’wi khomisile.
   (The excessive sawing of the man of the trees got Him arrested).

(b) Risaho ra mufana ra mapulangi ri n’wi vangela TB.
   (The excessive sawing of the young man of the planks makes him contract TB).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza risaho ra mufana ra mapulangi.
   (The man likes the excessive sawing of the young man of the planks).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **risaho** (excessive sawing) refers to an excessive act of cutting something by using a saw.

**Saha (saw)**

C. **[Expert/excessive actor]: xisahi (expert/excessively sawing person)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xisahi xa misinya xi xavisa mikombe.
   (The expert/excessively sawing person of the trees sells cooking sticks).

(b) Xisahi xa mapulangi xi titsemile nenge.
   (The expert/excessively sawing person of planks cut his leg).

(c) Wanuna u lomba xisahi xa mapulangi mbatlo yakwe.
   (The man lends the adze to the expert/excessively sawing person of the planks his adze).

Plural: Class 8: **swisahi** (expert/excessively sawing people)

The nominal **xisahi** (expert/excessively sawing person) refers to an individual who regularly uses a saw to cut something, or one who has an extra-ordinary expertise of sawing. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the cutting by saw as such, but the excessiveness or extra-ordinary expertise of the individual in question which is a permanent property of such an individual and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessive/expertly cutting something by saw, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xisahi** (expert/excessively sawing person).
D. [Artifact/Instrument]: saha (saw)

Class 9: 4. (a) Saha ya wanuna yi tshovekile.
(The saw of the man has broken).

(b) Saha ya tinsimbhi ya durha.
(The saw for metals is expensive).

(c) Wanuna u lomba mufana saha.
(The man lends the saw to the young man).

Plural: Class 10: tisaha (saws)

The nominal saha (saw) refers any of various tools or devices, either hand-operated or power-driven, having a thin metal blade or disk with a sharp, usually toothed edge, used for cutting wood.

Saha (saw)

E. [Act]: vusahi (sawing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vusahi bya wanuna bya misinya byi n’wi khomisile.
(The sawing of the man of the trees got him arrested).

(b) Vusahi bya mufana bya mapulangi byi n’wi vangela TB.
(The sawing of the young man of the planks makes him contract TB).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza vusahi bya mufana bya mapulangi.
(The man likes the sawing of the young man of the planks).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusahi (sawing) refers to an act of cutting something by using a saw.

Byewula (shave hair)

[Actor]: Mubyewuri (Shaving person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubyewuri wa malebvu u fikile.
(The shaver of beards has arrived).

(b) Mubyewuri u khomile muchini.
(The shaver held the hair clipper).

(c) Tatana u nyika mubyewuri wa nhloko muchini.
(The father gives the shaver of the head hair clipper).

Plural:class 2: vabyewuri (shaving people)

The nominal mubyewuri (shaving person) refers to an individual who removes beard or hair with razor or shave. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual level nominal, depending on
the context thereof. When this nominal refers to any other person who removes beard or hair with razor at a particular point in time, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of removing beard/hair with razor. Once the act of removing beard/hair is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as **mubyewuri** (shaving person). However, if such a nominal refers to someone whose occupation is to remove beard/hair of people, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the removing of beard/hair with razor will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of shaving someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mubyewuri** (shaving person).

**Byewula** (shave hair)

B.  
[Excessive act]:  **ribyewulo** (excessive shaving)

Class 5:  
2.  
   (a) **Ribyewulo ra Gezani ra misisi ri nyangatsa nsati wakwe.**  
       (The excessive shaving of Gezani of the hair disgusts his wife).
   
   (b) **Ribyewulo ra Khazamula ra malebvu ri tsakisa wansati.**  
       (The excessive shaving of Khazamula of the beard of pleases the woman).
   
   (c) **Wansati u sola ribyewulo ra Yingwana ra misisi.**  
       (The woman criticizes the excessive shaving of Yingwana of the hair).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribyewulo** (excessive shaving) refers to the excessive act of removing people’s beard/hair with razor

**Byewula** (shave hair)

C.  
[Excessive actor]:  **xibyewuri** (excessively person who cut/ shaves hair)

Class 7:  
3.  
   (a) **Xibyewuri xa malebvu xi khomile muchini.**  
       (The expert/excessively shaver of beard is holding the hair clipper).
   
   (b) **Xibyewuri xa misisi xa khohlola.**  
       (The expert/excessively shaver of the hair is coughing).
   
   (c) **Yingwana u huwelela xibyewuri xa misisi.**  
       (Yingwana is shouting at the expert/excessively shaver of hair).

Plural: Class 8: **swibyewuri** (excessively people who shave hair)

The nominal **xibyewuri** (excessively/expert shaving person) refers to an individual who regularly removes people’s beard/hair with razor or one who has an extra-ordinary expertise of removing people’s
beard/hair with razor. The individual in question could be doing this as a hobby or occupation. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the removing of people’s beard/hair as such, but the excessiveness or extra-ordinary expertise of the individual in question of doing this activity which is a permanent property of such an individual, and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessive/expertly removing people’s beard/hair with razor, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xibywuri (excessively/expert shaving person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporary constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Byewula** (shave hair)

D.  
[Act]: vubyewuri (shaving hair)

Class 14:  
4. (a) Vubyewuri bya misisi byi vangela vanhu mitirho yo tala.  
(The shaving of hair creates jobs for many people).

4. (b) Vubyewuri bya Magezi bya malebu byi n’wi humesa swirhumbana.  
(The shaving of Magezi of beard makes him develop pimples).

4. (c) Kokwana u sola vubyewuri bya malume bya misisi nivusiku.  
(Grandfather disapproves of the shaving of uncle of hair at night).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vubyewuri** (shaving) refers to the act of removing people’s beard/hair with razor

**Kenya** (make a cut around the stick)

A.  
[Actor]: mukenyi (person who makes a cut around a stick)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Mukenyi wa mandzi u titsemile rintiho.  
(The person who makes a cut around a stick has cut his finger).

1. (b) Mukenyi wa mhandzi u karhele.  
(The person who makes a cut around a stick is tired).

1. (c) Wanuna u lombile mukenyi wa mandzi mukwana.  
(The man has lent the person who makes a cut around a stick a knife).

Plural: Class 2: vakenyi (person who makes a cut around a stick)

The nominal **mukenyi** (person who makes a cut around a stick) refers to an individual who makes a cut around a stick. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question
will be engaged in the act denoted by the nominal. Once the act of making a cut around the stick, such an individual will no longer be referred to as **mukenyi** (person who makes a cut around a stick).

**Kenya** (make a cut around the stick)

B.  
[Result]:  *nkenyo* (a cut around the stick)

Class 3:  
(a) *Nkenyo wa mhandzi ya mukhalabye wu sasekile.*
(The cut around the stick of the old man is beautiful).
(b) *Nkenyo wa mhandzi ya wanuna wu gombonyokile.*
(The cut around the stick of the man is crookery).
(c) *Wansati u tsakela nkenyo wa mhandzi ya wanuna.*
(The woman likes the cut around the stick of her husband).

Plural: Class 4: *mikenyo* (cuts around the stick(s))

The nominal **nkenyo** (a cut around a stick) refers to a cut made around the stick by an individual, usually for decoration purposes.

**Kenya** (make a cut around the stick)

C.  
[Excessive act]:  *rikenyo* (excessive making of a cut around the stick)

Class 5:  
(a) *Rikenyo ra wanuna ra rifeto ri tsakisa wansati.*
(The excessive making of a cut around the stirring stick of the porridge excites the woman).
(b) *Rikenyo ra mukhalabye ra mimbhinyi ya swihloka swi tsakisa vanhu.*
(The excessive making of a cut around the handles of the axes pleases people).
(c) *Wansati u languta rikenyo ra mukhalabye ra nkombe.*
(The woman looks at the excessive making of a cut around the cooking stick of an old man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikenyo** (excessive making of a cut around the stick) denotes an excessive act of making cuts around sticks, as a form of decoration.

**Kenya** (make a cut around the stick)

D.  
[Expert/Excessive actor]:  *xikenyi* (expert person who makes cuts around sticks)

Class 7:  
(a) *Xikenyi xa mikombe xi nwa tiya.*
(The expert person who makes cuts around cooking sticks drinks tea).
(b) *Xikenyi xa tifeto xi ya enhoveni.*
(The expert person who makes cuts around the sticks for stirring porridge goes to the bush).
(c) Mufana u xavela xikenyi xa mikombe mukwana.
(The young man buys the knife for the expert person who makes cuts around the cooking stick).

Plural: Class 8: swikenyi (expert people who make cuts around sticks)

The nominal xikenyi (expert person who makes cuts around sticks) denotes an individual who expertly and/or regularly makes a cut around a stick. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it needs not make reference to the act of making a cut around the stick. The defining property in this nominal is the expertness/excessiveness of making a cut of an individual in question. This property will be associated with him wherever he is, irrespective of whether he will be engaged in it or not at the time of reference.

Kenya (make a cut around the stick)

E. [Act]: vukenyi (making a cut around the stick)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukenyi bya n’wana bya khandlele byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The making a cut around the stick of the candle of the child annoys the woman).

(b) Vukenyi bya wanuna bya nkombe byi hlamarisa mufana.
(The making a cut around the cooking stick of the man surprises the young man).

(c) Wansati u rhandza vukenyi bya wanuna bya rifetho.
(The woman likes the making of a cut around the stick for stirring porridge of a man).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukenyi (making a cut around the stick) refers to the act of making cuts around sticks, as a form of decoration.

Phapha (hack off)

A. [Actor]: muphaphi (hacking off person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphaphi wa nhloko ya mufana u khomiwile.
(The person who hacked off the head of the young man has been arrested).

(b) Muphaphi wa misinya u lava swimongolwana.
(The person who hacks off trees is looking for small buzzing fly which produce honey).

(c) Wanuna u rhukana muphaphi wa nsinya.
(The man hurls insults at the person who hacks off the tree).

Plural: Class 2: vaphaphi (hacking off persons)

The nominal muphaphi (hacking off person) refers to an individual who chops someone or something roughly or violently. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it...
makes reference to the defining act of chopping. Once such an act of chopping stops, such an individual will no longer be referred to as **muphaphi** (hacking off person).

**Phapha** (hack off)

A. [Excessive act]: riphapho (excessive hacking off)

Class 5: 3. (a) Riphapho ra vafana ra misinya ri vilerisa vahlayisi va ntumbuluko. (The excessive hacking off of the boys of the trees worries the rangers).
(b) Riphapho ra vaaki ra mirhi ri hlundzukisa ndhuna. (The excessive hacking off of the residents of the trees makes the headman angry).
(c) Marhenjası ma hlamala riphapho ra vaaki ra mikanyi. (The rangers are surprised at the excessive hacking off of the residents of the trees).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riphapho** (excessive hacking off) denotes an excessive act of chopping someone or something roughly or violently with a sharp object (Ibid).

**Phapha** (hack off)

B. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xiphaphi (expert/excessively hacking off person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiphaphi xa misinya xi lota xihloka. (The person who expertly/excessively hacks off the trees in the bush is sharpening the axe).
(b) Xiphaphi xa mitsandza enambyeni xi vuya nimadyambu. (The person who expertly/excessively hacks off logs in the river returns in the evening).
(c) Wansati u sandza xiphaphi xa mikanyi. (The woman condemns the person who expertly/excessively hacks off marula trees).

Plural: Class 8: swiphaphi (expert/excessively hacking off people)

The nominal **xiphaphi** (expert/excessively hacking off person) denotes an individual who regularly or excessively chops something. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness/excessiveness of chopping something of the individual in question will be will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of chopping something, such an individual will always be referred to as **xiphaphi** (expert/excessively hacking off person).
Phapha (hack off)

C. [Act]: vuphaphi (hacking off)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuphaphi bya mufana bya mikanyi byi karhata ndhuna.
(The hacking off of the young man of the marula trees troubles the head man).
(b) Vuphaphi bya wanuna bya misinya byi nyenyetsa vanhu.
(The hacking off of the man of the trees annoys the people).
(c) Ndhuna yi sola vuphaphi bya vanhu bya misinya.
(The headman condemns the hacking off of the people of the trees).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuphaphi (hacking off) refers to the act of chopping someone or something roughly or violently with a sharp object (Ibid).

Hlanhla (cut loose)

A. [Actor]: muhlanhli (person who cuts something)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlanhli wa nhloko ya homu u dzuka nyuku.
(The person who cuts the head of the cow into loose meat is sweating).
(b) Muhlanhli wa manqina ya homu u twa ndlala.
(The person who cuts the leg of the cow into loose meat is hungry).
(c) Wanuna u tsakela muhlanhli wa nhloko ya homu.
(The man likes the person who cuts the head of the cow into loose meat).

Plural: Class 2: vahlanhli (people who cut meat which has bones loose)

The nominal muhlanhli (person who cuts something) refers to an individual who cuts something hard such as head of a cow with heavy sharp object such as an axe in order to make it loose. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of cutting something hard in order to loosen it. Once such an act of cutting is completed, it will no longer be suitable to refer to such an individual as muhlanhli (person who cuts something).

Hlanhla (cut loose)

A. [Excessive act]: rihlanhlo (excessive cutting)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rihlanhlo ra wanuna ra tinhoko ta tihomu ri tsakisa vaxavi.
(The excessive cutting of the man of the heads of the cows pleases the customers).
(b) Rihlanhlo ra mufana ra manqina ri chavisa timbyana.
(The excessive cutting of the young man of the legs of the cows scares the dogs).
(c) Mukhalabye u sola rihlanhlo ra mufana ra nhloko ya homu.
(The old man disapproves of the excessive cutting of the young man of the head of the cow).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihlanhlo* (excessive cutting) denotes an excessive act of cutting something hard such as head of a cow with heavy sharp object such as an axe with in order to loosen it.

**Hlanhla** (cut loose)

B. [Expert/Excessive actor]: *xihlanhli* (expert/excessively cutting person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihlanhli xa tinho lo ta homu esilaheni xi titesmile rintiho.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the heads of the cattle loose at the butchery has cut his finger).

(b) Xihlanhli xa manqina xi hlantswa xihloka.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the legs of the cattle loose is washing the axe).

(c) Wanuna u hlongola xihlanhli xa nhloko ya homu endzilweni.
(The man chases the person who expertly/excessively cuts the head of the cow loose at the fire).

Plural: Class 8: *swihlanhli* (expert/excessively cutting people)

The nominal *xihlanhli* (expert/excessively cutting person) denotes an individual who has expertise of cutting or one who excessively cuts something hard such as head of a cow with heavy sharp object such as an axe with in order to loosen it. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual will possess the property denoted by this nominal and will be associated to it for the most part of his life irrespective of whether he will be involved in it at the time reference or he will not be involved in it.

**Hlanhla** (cut loose)

C. [Act]: *vuhanhli* (cutting)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuhlanhli bya wanuna bya nhloko ya nguluve endlwini byi vanga tinhongana.
(The cutting loose of the young man of the head of the pig in the house causes flies).

(b) Vuhlanhli bya mufana bya nhloko ya homu byi chavisa swimbyanyana.
(The cutting loose fo the young man of the head of the cow scares the puppies).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vuhanhli bya mufana bya nhloko ya homu.
(The man likes the cutting loose of the young man of the head of the cow).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhanhli* (cutting) refers to the act of cutting something hard such as head of a cow with heavy sharp object such as an axe with in order to loosen it.
Khavanga (cut with heavy sharp object)

B. [Actor]: mukhavangi (person who cuts something with heavy object)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhavangi wa khalavatla u ba noti.
(The person who cuts the water melon is producing whistle with lips).

(b) Mukhavangi wa nenge wa timbambu ta homu u karhele.
(The person who cuts the ribs of the cow is tired).

(c) Wanuna u xiya mukhavangi wa kwembe.
(The man looks carefully at the person who cuts the pumpkin).

Plural: Class 2: vakhavangi (people who cuts something with heavy sharp object)

The nominal mukhavangi (person who cuts something with heavy sharp object) refers to an individual who chops someone or something roughly or violently. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining act of chopping. Once such an act of chopping stops, such an individual will no longer be referred to as mukhavangi (person who cuts something with heavy sharp object).

Khavanga (cut with a heavy sharp object)

D. [Excessive act]: rikhavango (excessive cutting with heavy sharp object)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rikhavango ra wansati ra kwembe ri tsakisa n’wana.
(The excessive cutting of the woman with a heavy sharp object of the pumpkin pleases the child).

(b) Rikhavango ra mufana ra nhloko ya homu ri chavisa wansati.
(The excessive cutting of the young man of the head with a heavy sharp object of the cow scares the woman).

(c) Wansati u khensa ra khavango ra mufana ra nhloko ya homu.
(The woman appreciates the excessive cutting of the young man with a heavy sharp of the head of the cow).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhavango (excessive cutting with a sharp object) denotes an excessive act of chopping someone or something roughly or violently with a sharp object (Ibid).

Khavanga (cut with a heavy sharp object)

E. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xikhavangi (person who expertly/excessively cuts something with a heavy sharp object)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikhavangi xa tinhloko ta tihomu xi hlantswa mpahla.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the heads of the cows with a heavy sharp object is washing clothes).
(b) Xikhavangi xa makwembe xi sweka nyama.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts pumpkins with a heavy sharp object is cooking meat).

(c) Mukhegula u hleka xikhavangi xa makwembe.
(The old woman is laughing at the person who expertly/excessively cuts the pumpkins with a heavy sharp object).

Plural: Class 8: swikhavangi (people who expertly/excessively cuts something with heavy sharp object)

The nominal xikhavangi (people who expertly/excessively cuts something with heavy sharp object) denotes an individual who regularly or excessively chops something. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness/excessiveness of chopping something of the individual in question will be will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of chopping something, such an individual will always be referred to as xikhavangi (person who expertly/excessively cuts something with a heavy sharp object).

**Khavanga** (cut with a heavy sharp)

F. [Act]: vukhavangi (cutting)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vukhavangi bya nhloko ya homu byi lava matimba.
(The cutting of the heads of the cows needs strength).

(b) Vukhavangi bya mukhegula bya makwembe byi tsakisa wansati.
(The cutting of the old woman of the pumpkins pleases the woman).

(c) Wanuna u sola rikhavango ra mufana ra nhloko ya homu.
(The man disapproves of the cutting of the young man of the head of the cow).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhavangi (cutting) refers to the act of chopping someone or something roughly or violently with a sharp object (Ibid).

**Khavangela** (cut in pieces)

C. [Actor]: mukhavangeli (person who cuts in pieces)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhavangeli wa nyama ya homu u languta nkarhi.
(The person who cuts in pieces the beef is looking at the time).

(b) Mukhavangeli wa timbabu ta mbuti u twa xirhami.
(The person who cuts in pieces the ribs of the goat is feeling cold).

(c) Mukhegula u susumeta mukhavangeli wa nyama ya nguluve.
(The old lady is pushing the person who cuts the pork in pieces).

Plural: Class 2: vakhavangeli (people who cuts something)
The nominal **mukhavangeli** (person who cuts in pieces) refers to an individual who cuts something hard such as a watermelon in pieces with a heavy sharp instrument such as an axe. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining act of cutting something into pieces. Once such an act of cutting into pieces is over, such an individual will no longer be referred to as **mukhavangeli** (person who cuts in pieces).

**Khavangela** (cut in pieces)

G.  [Excessive act]:  rikhavangelo (excessive cutting in pieces)

Class 5:  3.  (a)  Rikhavangelo ra mufana ra timbabu ta mbuti ri hlamarisa wansati.  
(The excessive cutting in pieces of the young man of the ribs of the goat surprises the woman).

(b)  Rikhavangelo ra mukhalabye ra nyama ya nguluve ra n’wi hlantisa.  
(The excessive cutting in pieces of the old man of the pork is making his vomit).

(c)  Wansati u sola rikhavangelo ra mufana ra nyama.  
(The woman disapproves of the excessive cutting in pieces of the young man of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikhavangelo** (excessive cutting in pieces) denotes an excessive act of cutting something hard such as a watermelon in pieces with a heavy sharp instrument such as an axe.

**Khavangela** (cut in pieces)

H.  [Expert/Excessive actor]:  xikhavangeli (person who cuts in pieces)

Class 7:  4.  (a)  Xikhavangeli xa nyama xi ya enhlengetanini.  
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the meat in pieces is going to the meeting).

(b)  Xikhavangeli xa nyama xi dya xinkwa.  
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the meat in pieces is eating the bread).

(c)  Wanuna u makala xikhavangeli xa nyama.  
(The man slaps the person who expertly/excessively cuts the meat in pieces).

Plural: Class 8:  swikhavangeli (people who cut in pieces)

The nominal **xikhavangeli** (person who expertly/excessively cuts in pieces) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively cuts something hard such as a watermelon in pieces with a heavy sharp instrument such as an axe. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness/excessiveness of cutting something hard in pieces will always be associated with the individual in question regardless of whether such a person will be involved in the act of cutting something hard in pieces or not at the time of reference.
Khavangela (cut in pieces)

I. [Act]: vukhavangeli (cutting into pieces)
   Class 14: 6. (a) Vukhavangeli bya mufana bya nyama byi tsakisa wanuna.
   (The cutting in pieces of the young man of the meat pleases the man).
   (b) Vukhavangeli bya swigevenga bya wanuna byi hlundzukise tiko.
   (The cutting in pieces of the criminals of the man made the village angry).
   (c) Maphorisa ma hlamala vukhavangeli bya wanuna bya nsati wakwe.
   (The police are surprised at the cutting in pieces of the man of his wife).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhavangeli (cutting into pieces) refers to the act of cutting something hard such as a watermelon in pieces with a heavy sharp instrument such as an axe.

Sendza (cut smoothly)

A. [Actor]: musendzi (person who cuts something smoothly)
   Class 1: 1. (a) Musendzi wa tirhekerhe u ambala baji.
   (The person who cuts the catapults is wearing a jacket).
   (b) Musendzi wa mhandzi u tshama ehansi.
   (The person who cuts the stick smoothly is sitting down).
   (c) Wansati u rhamba musendzi wa mhandzi enkhubyeni wa n’wana wa yena.
   (The woman is inviting the person who cuts the stick smoothly to the function of her child).

Plural: Class 2: vaxindli (people who cut something smoothly)

The nominal musendzi (person who cuts something smoothly) refers to an individual who person who cuts something such as a stick smoothly. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining act of cutting something smoothly which is the defining act in this nominal. Once such an act of cutting smoothly is over, such an individual will no longer be referred to as musendzi (person who cuts something smoothly).

Sendza (cut smoothly)

B. [Excessive act]: risendzo (excessive cutting)
   Class 5: 3. (a) Risendzo ra wanuna ra mhandzi ri tsakisa mufana.
   (The excessive cutting smoothly of the man of the stick excites the young man).
   (b) Risendzo mufana ra tirhekerhe ri hlamarisa wanuna.
   (The excessive cutting smoothly of the catapults surprises the man).
(c) Mukhalabye u languta risendzo ra mufana ra tirhekerhe.
(The old man looks at the excessive cutting smoothly of the young man of the catapults).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risendzo (excessive cutting of something smoothly) denotes an excessive act of cutting something such as a stick smoothly.

Sendza (cut smoothly)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xisendzi (person who expertly/excessively cuts something smoothly)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xisendzi xa mathayere xi ya eGiyani.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts tyres smoothly is going to Giyani).

(b) Xisendzi xa tirhekerhe xa khudzehela.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the catapults smoothly is dosing).

(c) Mukhegula u venga xisendzi xa tirhekerhe.
(The old woman hates the person who expertly/excessively cuts catapults smoothly).

Plural: Class 8: swisendzi (people who expertly/excessively cuts something)

The nominal xisendzi (person who expertly/excessively cuts something) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively cuts something such as a sick smoothly. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of expertness/excessiveness of cutting something smoothly will be associated with the individual in question in spite of whether such a person will be involved in the act of cutting something smoothly or he will not be involved in it at the time of reference.

Sendza (cut smoothly)

D. [Act]: vusendzi (cutting smoothly)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vusendzi bya mufana bya tirhekerhe byi tsakisa wanuna.
(The cutting of the young man of the catapults smoothly pleases the man).

(b) Vusendzi bya wanuna bya nkombe byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The cutting smoothly of the young man of the cooking stick surprises the people).

(c) Wansati u sola vusendzi bya mufana bya tirhekerhe endlwini.
(The woman disapproves of cutting smoothly of the young man of the catapults).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusendzi (cutting) refers to the act of act of cutting something such as a stick smoothly.
**Venga** (cut meat into strips)

A. **[Actor]**: muvengi (person who cuts meat into strips)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvengi wa nyama u yingisela rhadiyo.
(The person who cuts meat into strips is listening to the radio).

(b) Muvengi wa nyama u thyakile.
(The person who cuts meat into strips is dirty).

(c) Wanuna u huwelela muvengi wa nyama.
(The man is shouting at the person who cuts meat into pieces).

Plural: Class 2: vavengi (people who cut meat into pieces)

The nominal *muvengi* (person who cuts meat into pieces) refers to a person who cuts meat into strips so that it could be dried as a way of preservation. This nominal may be assigned an interpretation of stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining act of cutting meat into strips. In other words, once such an act of cutting meat into strips is completed, the individual in question will no longer be referred to as *muvengi* (person who cuts meat into pieces).

**Venga** (cut meat into strips)

B. **[Excessive act]**: rivengo (excessive cutting into pieces)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rivengo ra wanuna ra nyama endlwini ri vanga tinhongana.
(The excessive cutting of the man of the meat into strips causes flies).

(b) Rivengo ra mufana ra nyama ri tsakisa wansati.
(The excessive cutting of the young man of the meat into pieces pleases the woman).

(c) Mukhalabye u rhandza rivengo ra wanuna ra nyama.
(The old man likes the excessive cutting of the man into pieces of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rivengo* (excessive cutting into pieces) denotes an excessive act of cutting meat into strips so that it could be dried as a way of preservation.

**Venga** (cut meat into strips)

C. **[Expert/Excessive actor]**: xivengi (person who expertly/excessively cuts the meat into strips)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xivengi xa nyama xi xeweta vafana.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the meat into strips is greeting the young mens).

(b) Xivengi xa nyama xi hlamba swandla.
(The person who expertly/excessively cuts the meat into strips is washing hands).
(c) Wansati u nyika xivengi xa nyama xitulu.
(The woman gives the person who cuts meat into strips a chair).

Plural: Class 8: swivengi (people who expertly/excessively cuts meat into strips)

The nominal xivengi (person who expertly/excessively cuts meat into strips) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively cuts the meat into strips so that it could be dried as a way of preservation. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of cutting meat into strips, but the expertness/excessiveness of cutting the meat into strips. The individual in question will always be associated with this property whether he will be involved in cutting meat into strips or he will not be involved in it at the time of reference.

Venga (cut meat into strips)

D. [Act]: vuvengi (cutting of meat into strips)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuvengi bya mufana bya nyama byi hlamarisa vana.
(The cutting of the young man of the meat into strips surprises the children).

(b) Vuvengi bya wanuna bya nyama byi hlamisa wansati timbilu.
(The cutting of the man of the meat into the strips makes the woman feel like vomiting).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vuvengi bya mufana bya nyama.
(The old woman disapproves of the cutting of the young man of the meat into strips).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvengi (cutting meat into strips) refers to the act of act of cutting meat into strips so that it could be dried as a way of preservation.
7.11. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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This chapter highlighted and identified noun classes which allow nominalisation to occur and those that disallow nominalization to occur. The chapter also demonstrated clearly which of the noun classes identified above allow nominalisation to occur more frequently than the others. The chapter also elaborated on the kind of semantic features which occur with the deverbatives that are discussed in this chapter, both in terms of regularity and irregularity of these occurrences. This chapter examined only deverbatives derived from agentive semantic verb classes. It was found that nominalisation in class 1 occurs in almost all the verbs in the semantic verb classes that are presented in this chapter. It was realized that only one verb, -hlangana (meet), from the semantic verb class of verbs of Social Interaction disallows the derivation of nominalisation. The reason advanced was that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of this verb involves more than one person, that is, a person has to meet with someone else, he cannot meet with himself, and hence muhlangani is unacceptable. It was noted that all other verbs allow nominalisation to occur, and they occur with the semantic feature of [Actor]. It was further found that the class prefix mu- and the suffix -i continue to serve as nominalisers even in this chapter, just as it is in chapters four, five and six.

The chapter demonstrated that derivation of nominals in class 3 occurs from all the semantic verb classes, although not in all the verbs contained in each verb class. It was noted that the class prefix mu- or the allomorph n- and the suffix -i are still serve as nominalisers even in this class. It was established that the most common semantic feature in this class is that of [Result/Event]. It was found that generally, three main semantic features are identified in this class, namely, [Result], [Event], and [Act]. It was also found that in the range of verbs from the verb class of verbs of Puting nominalization occurs with the following verbs: -xaxa (fence with branches) from which the deverbative nxaxa (fence of branches) is derived, -fazela (spray) from which the deverbative mfafazelo (spraying) is formed, -simeka (transplant) from which the deverbative nsimeko (transplanting) is derived, and -hlanganisa (mix) from which the deverbative nhlanganiso (mixture) emanates. It was noted that all these deverbatives occur with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was realized that the deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Perception are only two, namely ntivo (knowledge) derived from the verb -tiva (know) and nhlanhuvo (consultation of dividing bones) derived from the verb -hlahuvo (consult divining bones). It was stated that these semantic feature of [Result/Event] occur with these deverbatives. It was illustrated that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Perception disallow the derivation of deverbative nominals.

The chapter showed that the deverbatives may be derived from the following verbs which are members of the semantic verb class of verbs of Social Interaction: -cata (wed/marry) from which a deverbative mucato (wedding) emanates, -tswontswo (kiss) which gives rise to the deverbative ntswontswo (kiss), -phikizana (compete) from which the deverbative mphikizano (competition) is derived, and -hlangana (meet) which produce the deverbative nhlangano (meeting/organization). It
was found that the semantic feature of [Result/Event] occurs with all these deverbatives. It was observed that there are only three verbs in the semantic verb class of Social Interaction in which derivation of nominals is disallowed, namely -endza (visit), -teka (marry), and -vukarha (hug). It was established that generally, motion verbs do not allow nominalization to occur in class 3. Of all the verbs examined in this class, it was noted that only the verb -cina (dance) allows nominalization. It was then observed that the deverbative ncino (dance) is derived from this verb and is assigned the semantic feature of [Event]. It was realized that class 3 nominalisation from the verbs examined which are members of the verb class of Killing occurs with two verbs only, namely -hlasela (attack) from which the deverbal nominal nhlaselo (attack) is derived and -dimba (throttle) which produces the deverbative ntlombo (conflict), both these nominals occur with the meaning of [Result/Act]. It was found that nominalisation in class 3 seems to be a common occurrence with the verbs in the semantic verb class of Sending and Carrying. It was illustrated that the deverbatives that occur in this verb class are the following: ndzwalo (load/luggage) which is derived from the verb -rhwala (carry) which has the semantic feature of [Result], ntluto (sailing) derived from the verb -tluta (sail) and nsusumeto (pushing/motivation) derived from the verb -susumeta (push), both with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was noted that the only verbs, from those examined, whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics disallows nominalization are -chayela (drive) and -raha (kick).

It was established that derivation of nominals from the verbs in the semantic verb class of Ingestion/Consumption occurs with the following verbs: -kidyata (gulp) from which the deverbative nkidyato (gulp) is derived, -tswonga (absorb) which gives rise to the deverbative ntswongo (absorption), and -tswontswa (sip) from which the deverbative ntswontswo (sipping) emanates. It was further noted that all these deverbatives appear with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was realized that other verbs in this verb class disallow nominalization in class 3. It was found that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the following verbs in the semantic verb class of Hold and Keep verbs allows nominalization in class 3 with the semantic feature of [Result]: -fuma (govern) from which the deverbative mfumo is derived, -khotsa (imprison) from which the deverbative khotso (prison) emanates, -tshikilela (press down) from which the deverbative ntshikilelo (stress/suppression/depression) emanates, and -soha (squeeze/wring) from which the deverbative nsoho (squeezing/wringing) is formed. It was noted that the only deverbative that is derived from the semantic verbs in the class of verbs of Cutting is nkenyo (cut around the stick) which is derived from the verb -kenya (make a cut around the stick). It was further noted that this deverbative has the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was realized that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in this class of verbs of Cutting does not permit nominalization.

It was found that nominalisation in subclass 5 (a) deverbatives (taking the suffix -i) occurs regularly across all the semantic verb classes. It was noted that the semantic feature of [Excessive Act] occurs with all the deverbatives in this subclass. It was demonstrated that the deverbatives in this subclass are
similar to the deverbatives that occur in subclass 14 (a), hence they do not have corresponding plurals. The difference that obtains between the deverbatives in subclass 5 (a) and those of subclass 14 (a) is that subclass 14 (a) deverbatives lack the feature [Excessive] whereas this feature occurs with subclass 5 (a) deverbatives. Another notable difference observed, which was also highlighted in the previous chapters, is that whereas the suffix -i occurs with subclass 14 (a) deverbatives, subclass 5 (a) deverbatives occur with the suffix -o. It was found that generally, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb in the other subclass of subclass 5 (b) (taking the suffix -o) across semantic verb classes rarely allows nominalisation. It was realized that of all the verbs examined in this chapter deverbatives in subclass 5 (b) occur with only two verbs in the semantic verb classes of Social Interaction and Cutting respectively, namely -endza (visit) from which the deverbative riendzo (journey) is derived, and -hweva (cut with sickle) from which the deverbative rihwevo (sickle) is formed. It was noted that the semantic feature of [Result/Event] occurs with the deverbative riendzo (journey) whereas with the verb rihwevo (sickle) the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] occurs. It was found that all other verbs examined in this chapter disallow nominalization in this second subclass of class 5.

It was established that in class 7, nominalisation seems to be a regular phenomenon in both subclasses. It was found that subclass 7 (a) contains deverbatives that are similar to the deverbatives in class 1. In other words, they make reference to humans as deverbatives in class 1 do. It was however found that the two classes differ in one respect, namely that class 7 (a) deverbatives adds the feature [Expert/Excessive] which is absent from the deverbatives in class 1. It was further noted that just like in the case of class 1, where all the deverbatives allow nominalization with the exception of only one deverbative, namely -hlangana (meet) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics requires the involvement of two people, the deverbatives in subclass 7 (a) also behaves in the similar way in that all other verbs allow nominalization of deverbal nominals except the verb -hlangana (meet). It was realized that almost all deverbatives in this subclass occur with the semantic feature of [Expert/Excessive Actor], that is, the meaning of the deverbatives may display either one of these semantic features or both. It was stated that it may not always be easy to have the intuition to distinguish between the two meanings since in most instances the person who is an expert on a thing also performs such a thing regularly, hence [Expert/Excessive]. It was however noted that deverbatives derived from the verbs of Killing seems to exhibit the semantic feature of [Excessive] only since it is morally unacceptable for a person to kill other people. When such a deverbative denotes an individual who has the expertise of killing animals then the semantic feature of [Expert] may occur with it. It was observed that all the deverbatives in subclass 7 (a) are derived from verbs through the class prefix xi- and the suffix -i.

It was found that the verb classes which do not allow nominalization in subclass 7 (b) are that of Social Interaction and verbs of ingestion/Consumption. It was realized that all other verb classes in
this chapter allow nominalization in this subclass. It was noted that although subclass 7 (b) nominalisation occurs with the verbs of Putting, it seems that its occurrence is not a regular one. It was found that only two deverbatives are derived from the verb class of Putting, namely xibvimbo (lid) derived from the verb -bvimba (put a lid) and xisimeko (transplanting tool) derived from the verb - simeka (transplant) both with the meaning of Artifact/Instrument. It was realized that the other verbs in this class of the verbs of Putting do not allow nominalization. It was further found that only three deverbatives are derived from the semantic verb class of the verbs of Perception. It was illustrated that the first two are xivono (vision/scene) derived from the verb -vona, xihoxo (mistake) derived from the verb - vona (see), both deverbatives occur with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was demonstrated that the third deverbative is xivoni (mirror) which again is derived from the verb -vona (see) and it has the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. It was established that nominalisation is not a common phenomenon with Motion verbs because of all the verbs in this verb class only one deverbative, namely xigwendlo (winding instrument) occurs. It was observed that this deverbative has the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument]. It was found that there are only two deverbatives which are derived from the semantic verb class of verbs of Killing, namely xidlayo (killing instrument) derived from the verb -dlaya (kill) and xitlimbo (blocking thing) derived from the verb -tlimba (throttle). It was noted that both these deverbatives are assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/instrument].

It was found that nominalisation also takes place with the verb -rhwala (carry) which is a member of the semantic verb class of verbs of sending and carrying. It was illustrated that two deverbatives may be derived from these verbs, which are xirhwalo (carrying instrument) which has the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] and xirhwala (things carried) which has the semantic feature of [Result]. It was noted that the suffix -o occurs with the former deverbative while the suffix -a occurs with the latter deverbative. It was observed that derivation of nominals also occur with the following three verbs from the verb class of Hold and keep verbs: -fuwa (keep livestock) from which the deverbative xifuwo (domestic animal) with the semantic feature of [Result], -khoma (hold) from which the deverbative xikhomo (handle) emanates, and -tshikilela (press) from which the deverbative xitshikilelo (button/key) is formed, both with the semantic meaning of [Artifact/Instrument]. It was found that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other deverbatives in this verb class disallow nominalization. It was noted that from the verbs of Cutting, only two deverbatives may be derived, namely xihalo (scraping instrument) derived from the verb -hala (scrape) and xitsemo (cutting instrument) derived from the verb -tsema. It was illustrated that the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] occurs with both deverbatives. It was established that all the deverbatives in the subclass 7 (b) are derived through the affixation of the class prefix xi- and the suffix -o to the verb stem. It was noted that generally, this subclass refers to inanimate objects.

It was found that nominalization is not a regular phenomenon in class 9 in this chapter. It was realized that there are only two deverbatives that may be derived from this class, namely mbatlo (adze) which
is derived from the verb -vatla (carve) and saha (saw) derived from the verb -saha (saw). It was noted that the suffix -o appears with the deverbative mbatlo (adze) while the suffix -a occurs with the deverbative saha (saw). It was observed that the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] occurs with these deverbatives. In this chapter, deverbatives that occur in class 14 belong to the first subclass only, hence only one such subclass is reflected in the table above. It was found that the deverbatives which belong to subclass 14 (a) are similar to the deverbatives that occur in subclass 5 (a). As it was pointed out in the previous chapters, it was found even in this chapter that the only difference between the two classes is the fact the semantic feature that occurs in subclass 14 (a) is that of [Act] only, whereas class deverbatives occur with the semantic feature of [Act] and an additional semantic feature of [Excessive]. It was found derivation of nominals occurs with all the verbs in various semantic verb classes in this chapter.
CHAPTER EIGHT

DEVERBAL NOMINALS FROM MONOTRANSITIVE VERBS

Verbs of Removing, Psych/Experiencer verbs, Modes of Being Involving Motion, Assessment, Involving the Body, Providing, Searching, Contact, Concealment, Bodily Care, and Weather verbs

8.1 INTRODUCTION

The chapter intends to present systematic insights into the nature of the deverbal nominals derived from monotransitive verbs of the subclasses shown above. The chapter highlights a range of semantic features which occur with these deverbal nominals with the intention of observing the regularity and the irregularity of the occurrence of such semantic features. The framework proposed by Pustejovský’s Generative Lexicon Theory (1996) on the lexical semantic representation is used to exhibit semantic meanings inherent in deverbal nominals. It is also the aim of this chapter to apply the theory of x-bar syntax on the deverbal nominal so as to determine whether the morphological structure of the deverbal nominals is similar to that of the underived nominals. Once again, Busa’s view (1996) on the classification of nominals into stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals is taken into consideration in determining whether the deverbal nominals in this chapter can be classified in this manner. Most of the issues raised in this chapter overlap with those illustrated in previous chapters, however, each chapter presents these issues from a different perspective. Section 8.2. discusses the deverbal nominals derived from verbs of Removing, section 8.3. treats the deverbatives form Psych/Experiencer verb, section 8.4. examines the deverbatives derived from verbs of Modes of being Involving Motion, section 8.5. explores the deverbatives nominals from verbs of Assessment, section 8.5. provides insights into the deverbal nominals derived from Verbs Involving the Body, section 8.7. deals with deverbatives derived from verbs of Assistance/Caring, section 8.8. discusses the deverbal nominals derived from verbs of Searching, section 8.9. focuses on the derivation of nominals from Verbs of Providing, section 8.9. describes the nominalisation of deverbal nominals from verbs of Contact, section 8.11. concerns the derivation of deverbatives from verbs of Concealment, section 8.12. demonstrates the derivation of deverbal nominals from verbs of Grooming Bodily Care, and section 8.13. explains the derivation of deverbal nominals derived from Weather verbs. Section 8.13. summarises the main findings and concludes the arguments in this chapter.

8.2 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF REMOVING

Verbs of Removing are defined by Levin (1995: 123) as verbs which relate to the removal of an entity from a location. Levin (op cit) argues that the arguments of the verbs in this class are expressed in a prepositional phrase headed by the preposition from. According to Levin (op cit) most of these verbs impose particular restrictions on the set of possible direct objects, some only take human objects.
Although there may be a few of them which may appear intrinsically, a number of them are transitive in nature which typically takes animate subjects.

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**Hlela** (winnow)

A. [Actor]: muhleri (winnower)

Class 1:
1. (a) Muhleri u chela timanga letinene esakeni.
   (The winnower is putting good peanuts into the mealie bag).
2. (b) Muhleri u hangalasa timanga erihlelweni.
   (The winnower scatters the peanuts on the winnowing basket).
3. (c) Wanuna u languta muhleri wa mavele.
   (The man looks at the winnower of the maize).

Plural: Class 2: vahleri (winnowers)

The nominal **muhleri** (winnower) refers to an individual who separates the chaff from the grain by means of current air. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of winnowing, which once completed, such a nominal may no longer be relevant to the individual in question. In other words, the context needs to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlela** (winnow)

B. [Artifact/Instrument]: rihlelo (winnowing basket)

Class 5:
1. (a) Rihlelo ra manana ri yiviwile.
   (The winnowing basket of the father has been stolen).
(b) Rihlelo ri kumeka hi xitalo emidendweni.
   (The winnowing basket is mostly found in places where people receive the
government grants).
(c) Vanhu va masiku lava a va ri tivi rihlelo.
   (People of these days do not know a winnowing basket).

Plural: Mahlelo (winnowing baskets)

The nominal **rihlelo** (winnowing basket) refers to a basket used to winnow rice or grain from the
chaff.

**Hlela** (winnow)

C. [Expert/Excessive act]: rihlelo (expertness/excessive winnowing)
Class 5: 3. (a) Rihlelo ra manana ra mavele ri tsakisa nhwanyana.
       (The expertness/excessive winnowing of the mother of the mealies please the
girl).
       (b) Rihlelo ra wansati ra mavele ra n’wi khohlorisa.
       (The expertness/excessive winnowing of the woman of mealies makes her cough).
       (c) Wansati u tsakela rihlelo ra mukhegula ra mavele.
       (The woman likes the expertness/excessive winnowing of the old lady of the
mealies).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlelo** (excessive winnowing) refers to the excessive act of separating the chaff from the
grain by means of current air

**Hlela** (winnow)

D. [Expert actor]: xihleri (expert/excessive winnower)
Class 7: 4. (a) Xihleri xi humesa saka ra mavele exitlatini.
       (The expert/excessive winnower takes out the bag of maize from the barn).
       (b) Xihleri xi xava rihlelo lerintshwa.
       (The expert/excessive winnower buys a new winnowing basket).
       (c) Mukhegula u xavela xihleri xa mavele rihlelo emudendweni.
       (The old lady buys the winnowing basket at the place where people receive
government grants for the expert/excessive winnower).

Plural: Class 8: swihleri (expert/excessive winnowers)

The nominal **xihleri** (excessive/expert winnower) refers to an individual who excessively separate the
chaff from the grain by means of current air, or a person who has expertise of winnowing. This
nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness/expertness which
this nominal modifies is a permanent property of the individual. The individual in question will always
be associated with the excessiveness or expertness of winnowing, whether such an individual will be
engaged in the act of winnowing or not at the time of reference. In other words, the context need not
make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlela (Winnow)**

E. 

E. [Act]: vuhleri (winnowing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhleri bya mavele byi lava vutivi.  
(The winnowing of maize needs skills).

(b) Vuhleri bya mavele byi rhandza hi vakhegula.  
(Winnowing of maize is liked by old women).

(c) Vana lavantswha a va byi tsakeli vuhleri bya mavele.  
(Young children do not like winnowing of maize).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhleri (winnowing) refers to the act of separating the chaff from the grain by means of current air

**Peperha (winnow with short movement)**

A. 

A. [Actor]: mupeperhi (winnower)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupeperhi u chela timanga erihlelweni.  
(The winnower puts peanuts in the winnowing basket).

(b) Mupeperhi u cukumeta vudyangwani.  
(The winnower throws away the chaff of the grain).

(c) Wanuna u vitana mupeperhi.  
(The man is calling for the winnower).

Plural: Class 2: vapeperhi (winnowers)

The nominal mupeperhi (winnower) refers to a person who separates the chaff from grain by means of a current of air caused by the short vertical movements of the winnowing basket carrying what is being winnowed inside it. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of winnowing which is the defining property in this nominal is a temporary occurrence. In other words, once the act of winnowing is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mupeperhi (winnower).

**Peperha (winnow with short movement)**

B. 

B. [Expert/Excessive act]: ripeperho (expertness/excessive winnowing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ripeperho ra manana ra mavele ri tsakisa nhwanyana.  
(The expertness/excessive winnowing of the mother of the mealies pleases the girl).

(b) Ripeperho ra wansati ra mavele ra n’wi kholhlorisa.  
(The expertness/excessive winnowing of the woman of mealies makes her cough).
(c) Wansati u tsakela ripeperho ra mukhegula ra mavele.
(The woman likes the expertness/excessive winnowing of the old lady of the mealies).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripeperho (excessive winnowing) refers to the excessive act of separating the chaff from grain by means of a current of air caused by the short vertical movements of the winnowing basket carrying what is being winnowed inside it.

Peperha (winnow with short movement)

C. [Expert actor]: xipeperhi (expert/excessive winnower)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xipeperhi xi humesa saka ra mavele exitlatini.
(The expert/excessive winnower takes out the bag of maize from the barn).

(b) Xipeperhi xi xava rihlelo lerintshwa.
(The expert/excessive winnower buys a new winnowing basket).

(c) Vanhwanyana va komba xihleri mavele lama va ma hleleke.
(The girls show to the excessive/expert winnower the maize they have winnowed).

Plural: Class 8: swipeperhi (expert/excessive winnowers)

The nominal xipeperhi (excessive/expert winnower) refers to a person who excessively/expertly separates the chaff from grain by means of a current of air caused by the short vertical movements of the winnowing basket carrying what is being winnowed inside it. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of winnowing as such, but the excessiveness/expertness winnowing of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of winnowing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xipeperhi (excessive/expert winnower). What should be noted is that in the case of xipeperhi (excessive/expert winnower), the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Peperha (Winnow with short movement)

D. [Act]: vupeperhi (winnowing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vupeperhi bya mavele byi lava vutivi.
(The winnowing of maize needs skills).

(b) Vupeperhi bya mavele byi rhandza hi vakhegula.
(Winnowing of maize is liked by old women).

(c) Vana lavantswha a va byi tsakeli vupeperhi bya mavele.
(Young children do not like winnowing of maize).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vupeperhi** (winnowing) refers to the act of separating the chaff from grain by means of a current of air caused by the short vertical movements of the winnowing basket carrying what is being winnowed inside it.

### Hluta (Filter)

#### A. [Actor]: muhluti (one who filters)

**Class 1:**
1. (a) Muhluti u nyika wanuna byalwa.
   (One who filters gives the man beer).
2. (b) Muhluti u hlantswa sefo.
   (The filtering person washes the filter).
3. (c) Wanuna u kela muhluti mati.
   (The man is fetching water for one who filters)

**Plural: Class 2:** vahluti (filtering persons)

The nominal **muhluti** (filtering person) refers to an individual who separate solid particles, impurities, etc. from a liquid or gas by passing it through a porous substance. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When this nominal refers to any other person who filters something at a particular point in time, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of filtering which is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of filtering something is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as **muhluti** (filtering person). However, if such a nominal refers to someone whose occupation is filtering then such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the habit of filtering of something will be associated with the individual in question for the most part of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of filtering something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muhluti** (filtering person).

#### B. [Event/Act]: nhluto (filtering)

**Class 3:**
1. (a) Nhluto wa byalwa bya vakon'wana wu ta hela mundzuku.
   (The filtering of the beer of the in-laws will be completed tomorrow).
2. (b) Nhluto wa byalwa lebyi wu hi teke vusiku hinkwabyo.
   (The filtering of this beer took us the whole night).
3. (c) Vanwi vo tala a va wu tsakeli nhluto wo endla hi vavanuna.
   (Many drinkers do no like the filtering done by men).

**Plural: Class 3:** mihluto (filterings)

The nominal **nhluto** (filtering) refers to the event or act of separating solid particles, impurities, etc. from a liquid or gas by passing it through a porous substance.
**Hluta (Filter)**

C.  [Excessive act]: rihluto (excessive filtering)

Class 5: 4. (a) Rihluto ra wansati ra byalwa ri n’wi nghenisela mali yo tala.
(The excessive filtering of the beer of the woman brings her a lot of money).

(b) Rihluto ra wansati ra byalwa ri hlamarisa vanwi va byalwa.
(The excessive filtering of the woman of the beer surprises the drinkers).

(c) Mukhegula u rhandza rihluto ra wansati ra byalwa.
(The old woman likes the excessive filtering of the woman of the beer).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihluto (excessive filtering) refers to the excessive act of separating solid particles, impurities, etc. from a liquid or gas by passing it through a porous substance.

**Hluta (filter)**

D.  [Expert actor]: xihluti (expert filtering person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihluti xi nyika wanuna byalwa.
(The expert filtering person gives a man beer).

(b) Muhluti u hlantswa sefo.
(The expert filtering person washes the filter).

(c) Wanuna u kela muhluti mati.
(The man is fetching water for expert filtering person).

Plural: Class 8: swihluti (expert filtering people)

The nominal xihluti (excessive/expert filtering person) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly separate solid particles, impurities, etc. from a liquid or gas by passing it through a porous substance. The individual in question could be doing this as a hobby or occupation. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the filtering of something as such, but the excessiveness or expertness of the individual in question in filtering something. This property of excessiveness/expertness is a permanent property of such an individual and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessively/expertly filtering or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihluti (excessive/expert filtering person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hluta (filter)**

E.  [Artifact]: xihluto (beer filter)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xihluto lexikulu xi lava vanhu va matimba.
(A big beer filter needs strong men).
(b) Xihluto xa manana xi tshoveke xikhomo.
(My mother’s filter has a broken handle).
(c) Makhanana u tsakisa hi xihluto xa manana.
(Makhanana is impressed by the beer filter of my mother).

Plural: Class 8: swihluto (beer filtering)

The nominal xihluto (beer filtering) refers to a device for separating solid particles, impurities, etc. from a liquid or gas by passing it through a porous substance.

Hluta (Filter)

F. [Act]: vuhluti (beer filtering)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vuhluti bya byalwa byi lava ntokoto.
(Beer filtering needs experience).

(b) Vuhluti bya byalwa byi endleka kahle nivusiku.
(Beer filtering is done well during the night).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhluti (filtering) refers to the act of separating solid particles, impurities, etc. from a liquid or gas by passing it through a porous substance.

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Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textit{muhluti} (filtering person)

Class 3
Prefix: \textit{n-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textit{nhluto} (filtering)

Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textit{rihluto} (excessive filtering)
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

*xihluti* (expert/excessively filtering person)

```
          N
         /|
        / | N^R
       /  |
      /   |
     /    |
    /     |
   /      |
  xi-  -hlut-  -i
```

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o

*xihluto* (filtering instrument)

```
          N
         /|
        / | N^R
       /  |
      /   |
     /    |
    /     |
   /      |
  xi-  -hlut-  -o
```

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

*vuhluti* (filtering)

```
          N
         /|
        / | N^R
       /  |
      /   |
     /    |
    /     |
   /      |
  vu-   -hlut-  -i
```
Verbs of Removing

(1) Nominalization from the verb -hluta (filter)

(i) The verb –hluta (filter)

Wansati u hluta byalwa.
(The woman is filtering beer).

-hluta

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1 = x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hluta_ act (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Filter – Act

The above lexical semantic representation of the verb -hluta (filter) in (1) above illustrates that its argument structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person who performs the act of filtering and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of filtering. The event structure represents the process event of filtering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of filtering of the human argument (x).

(2) Nominalisation in class 1: muhluti (filtering person)

Muhluti u chela byalwa esefeni.
(The filtering person pours beer into the filtering object).

muhluti

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1 = x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = –hluta_ actor (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Filter – Actor – Human

The above lexical semantic representation of the deverbative muhluti (filtering person) in (2) above illustrates that its argument structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person who performs the filtering and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of filtering. The event structure represents the process event of filtering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of filtering of the human argument (x).
(3) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihluti** (expert/excessively filtering person)

Xihluti xi ringa byalwa.
(The expert filtering person tastes the beer).

```
xihluti
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
         ARG1 = x: phys.obj.
EVSTR  = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
         AGENTIVE = –hluta_ actor_expert/excessive (e1, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Filter – Expert/excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xihluti (expert/excessively filtering person) in (3) is similar to that of muhlu ti (filtering person) in (2) above. The only difference that obtains is that muhlu ti (expert/excessively filtering person) in (2) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with xihluti (expert/excessive filtering person) in (3) above.

(4) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihluto** (expertness/excessive filtering)

Rihluto ra wansati ra byalwa ri hlamarisa van’wi.
(The excessive/expert filtering of the woman of the beer surprises the drinkers).

```
rihlu ti
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
        D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR  = D–E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e, x, y)
         AGENTIVE = –hluta_act_excessive (e1, x, y)
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Filter – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of rihluto (excessive filtering) in (4) above illustrates three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is filtering, and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the filtering. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of filtering. The event structure represents the process event of filtering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that is filtering. The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of filtering of the person (x).
(5) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhluti** (filtering)

Vuhluti bya wansati bya byalwa byi tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The filtering of the woman of the beer pleases her husband).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vuhluti} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-hluta}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Filter – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vuhluti** (filtering) in (5) is similar to that of **rihluto** (excessive filtering) in (4) above. The only difference that obtains is that **vuhluti** (filtering) in (5) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with **rihluto** (excessive filtering) in (4) above.

(6) **Nominalisation in class 3: nhluto** (filtering)

Nhluto wa byalwa wu tsakisa vana.
(The filtering of beer excites children).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{nhluto} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-hluta}_\text{act/event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Filter – Act/Event

The lexical semantic representation of **nhluto** (filtering) in (6) above illustrates three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is filtering, and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the filtering. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of filtering. The event structure represents the process event of filtering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that is filtering. The agentic quale represents the act/event of filtering of the person (x).
Nominalisation in class 7: xihluto (filtering instrument)

Xihuto xo hava swikhomo a xî kahle.
(The filtering instrument without handles is not good).

xihluto
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
D–ARG=y: location
EVSTR = E1=e1: removing
QUALIA = FORMAL=X (excessively)
AGENTIVE= –hluta_excessive actor (e1, x,y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Filter – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of xihluto (filtering instrument) in (7) is similar to that of nhluto (filtering) in (6) above. The only difference that obtains is that the feature [artifact/instrument] occurs in the agentive quale of xihluto (filtering instrument) in (7) above whereas with nhluto (filtering) in (6) above the feature that occurs in its agentive quale is [act/event].

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of removing demonstrates a similar lexical semantic representation to that of -hluta (filter). The difference may be found with the deverbatives from the verbs -hluta (filter), -kukula (sweep), -pfukula (exhume), -tsuvula (uproot) and -tshovela (reap) in class 3, -hlela (winnow) and -koka (pull) in class 5 and -pfukula (exhume) and -tsuvula (uproot) in 9. The first distinction to be highlighted relates to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hluta (filter), -kukula (sweep), -pfukula (exhume), -tsuvula (uproot) and -tshovela (reap) which permits a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument or result in contrast with the verbs -hlela (winnow), -peperha (winnow with short vertical movements), -senga (milk a cow), -yiva (steal), -koka (pull), -hluvula (undress), -tshetsha (clear bush) and -dzudza (shake off dust) intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs in this sub-class whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit such a nominalization. Again, we note that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hlela (winnow) and -koka (pull) permits a nominalization in class 5 with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -peperha (winnow with short vertical movements), -hluta (filter), -senga (milk a cow), -yiva (steal), -pfukula (exhume), -tsuvula (uproot), -tshovela (reap), -hluvula (undress), -tshetsha (clear bush) and -dzudza (shake off dust) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not allow such a nominalization. Furthermore, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hluta (filter), -pfukula (exhume), -tsuvula (uproot) and -kukula (sweep) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -hlela (winnow), -peperha (winnow with short vertical movements), -senga (milk a cow), -
yiva (steal), -tshovela (reap), -koka (pull), -hluvula (undress), -tshetsha (clear bush) and -dzudza (shave off dust) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not allow such a nominalization.

Kukula (Sweep)

A. [Actor]: mukukuri (sweeper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukukuri u nghena endlwini. (The sweeper gets into the house).
   (b) Mukukuri wa hofisi u fikile. (The sweeper of the office has arrived).
   (c) Mufambisi u kombela mukukuri ku basisa holo. (The manager asks the sweeper to clean the hall).

Plural: Class 2: vakukuri (sweepers)

The nominal mukukuri (sweeper) refers to an individual who removes something such as dirt or dust from a surface with or as if with a broom or brush. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When this nominal refers to any other person who is sweeping something at a time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of sweeping which is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of sweeping something is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as mukukuri (sweeper). However, if such a nominal refers to someone whose job is sweeping then such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the job of sweeping will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of sweeping or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mukukuri (sweeper). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Kukula (Sweep)

B. [Artifact/Instrument]: nkukulo (broom)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nkukulo wa hahani wu tshovekile. (The broom of my aunt is broken).
   (b) Nkukulo wu basisa majarata ya hina. (The broom makes our yards clean).
   (c) Khanyisa u rhandza nkukulo wa byanyi. (Khanyisa likes the broom of grass).

Plural: Class 4: mikukulo (brooms)

The nominal nkukulo (broom) refers to an implement used for sweeping, usually consisting of a bunch of twigs, straw, or bristles bound together and attached to a stick or handle.
Kukula (Sweep)

C. [Excessive act]: rikukulo (excessive sweeping)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rikukulo ra wansati ra rivala ri vangela vana mukhuhlwana.
(The excessive sweeping of the woman of the yard causes flu to the children).

(b) Rikukulo ra wansati ra yindlu ri tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The excessive sweeping of the woman of the house pleases his husband).

(c) Mufambisi u tsakela rikukulo ra wansati ra vhengele.
(The manager likes the excessive sweeping of the woman of the shop).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikukulo (excessive sweeping) may be regarded as an excessive act of removing something such as dirt or dust from the surface with or as if with a broom or brush.

Kukula (Sweep)

D. [Expert sweeper]: xikukuri (expert sweeper)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikukuri xi kukula makamba exitupini.
(The expert sweeping person sweeps away leaves from the veranda).

(b) Xikukuri xa hofisi yi yile eku wiseni.
(The expert sweeper of the office is on leave).

(c) Mufambisi u nyika xikukuri xa hofisi nkukulo wuntshwa.
(The manager gives the new broom to the expert sweeper).

Plural: Class 8: swikukuri (expert sweepers)

The nominal xikukuri (excessive/expert sweeper) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly sweeps. The individual in question could be doing this as a hobby or occupation. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the sweeping of something as such, but the excessiveness or expertness of the individual in question in sweeping. This property of excessiveness/expertness is a permanent property of such an individual and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessively/expertly sweeping or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikukuri (excessive/expert sweeper). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Kukula (Sweep)

E. [Artifact/Instrument]: xikukulo (broom of tree branches)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xikukulo xa mufana xi tshovekile.
(The broom of tree branches of the young man is broken).
(b) Xikukulo xa wansati xi lehile.
(The broom of tree branches is tall).

(c) Mufana u yiva xikukulo xa wansati.
(The young man steals the broom of tree branches from the woman).

Plural: Class 8: swikukulo (brooms of tree branches)

The nominal xikukulo (excessive/expert sweeper) refers to the broom made of fresh tree branches with leaves.

Kukula (Sweep)

F. [Act]: vukukuri (sweeping)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vukukuri bya xikolo byi endliwa loko xi huma.
(Sweeping of the school is done when it knocks off).

(b) Vukukuri i ntirho wa vavasati.
(Sweeping is the job of the women).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va tekela hansi vanhu lava endlaka ntirho wa vukukuri.
(Most people undermine the people who do the job of sweeping).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukukuri (sweeping) may be regarded as an act of removing something such as dirt or dust from the surface with or as if with a broom or brush. But it may refer to the occupation of sweeping.

Senga (Milk a cow)

A. [Actor]: musengi (milking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musengi wa tihomu u nghena exivaleni.
(The milking person gets into the kraal).

(b) Musengi u xavisa masi nimadyambu.
(The milking person sells milk in the evening).

(c) Kokwana u thole musengi wa tihomu.
(My grandfather hired the milking person of the cows).

Plural: Class 2: vasengi (milking persons)

The nominal musengi (milking person) refers to an individual who draws/takes milk from the teat or udder of a female mammal such as a cow or goat. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level, depending on the context thereof. When this nominal refers to any other person who is just milking a cow at a time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of milking which is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of milking a cow is completed, such a person may no longer be referred to as musengi (milking person). However, if such a nominal refers to someone whose job is milking then such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the job of milking is a permanent
occurrence which will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of milking a cow or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **musengi** (milking person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Senga** (Milk a cow)

B.  
[Excessive act]: **risengo** (excessive milking)

Class 5:  
2. (a) Risengo ra mufana ra tihomu ri karhata wanuna.  
(The excessive milking of the young man of the cows troubles the man).

(b) Risengo ra tihomu hi xixika ra ti ondzisa.  
(The excessive milking of the cows in winter makes them lean).

(c) Kokwana u sola risengo ra mufana ra tihomu hi xixika.  
(My grandfather disapproves of the excessive milking of the young man of the cows in winter).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **risengo** (excessive milking) refers to the excessive act of pressing or drawing milk from the udder of a mammal animal such as a cow or goat.

**Senga** (Milk a cow)

C.  
[Expert/excessive actor]: **xisengi** (expert/excessive milking person)

Class 7:  
3. (a) Xisengi xa tihomu xi xavisa masi.  
(The expert/excessive milking person of the cows sells milk).

(b) Xisengi xa tihomu xi nyika vanhwanyana masi.  
(The expert/excessive person gives the young women milk).

(c) Kokwana u hlongola xisengi xa tihomu.  
(My grandfather chases away the expert/excessive milking person).

Plural: Class 8: **swisengi** (expert/excessive milking persons)

The nominal **xisengi** (excessive/expert milking person) refers to an individual who excessively/expertly milks a mammal such as a cow or goat. The individual in question could be doing this as a hobby or occupation. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the milking of a cow as such, but the excessiveness or expertness of the individual in question in milking a cow. This property of excessiveness/expertness is a permanent property of such an individual and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessively/expertly milking of a cow or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xisengi** (excessive/expert milking person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining
characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Senga** (Milk a cow)

D.  [Act]: vuseni (milking a cow)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vusengi byi endliwa hi varisi.
             (Milking is done by sheperds).
            (b) Vusengi byo hlayiseka byi endliwa hi michini.
                (Safe milking is done through machines).
            (c) Vafana va rhandza vusengi ku tlula ku risa.
                (Young men like milking than herding cattle).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusengi (milking) refers to the act of pressing or drawing milk from the udder of a mammal animal such as a cow or goat.

**Yiva** (Steal)

A.  [Actor]: muyivi (thief)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muyivi wa foyini ya mina u kumekile.
            (The one who stole my phone has been found).
            (b) Muyivi wa movha tumbela ninhlakanhi.
                (The thief of the car is hiding during the day).
            (c) Kokwana u khomisile muyivi wa mali ya yena.
                (My grandmother got the one who stole her money arrested).

Plural: Class 2: vayivi (thieves)

The nominal muyivi (thief) denotes a person who steals something from another. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal which has the habit of stealing. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to a habit whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. This nominal refers to a property of an individual which holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. This nominal may thus be regarded as individual-level nominal because the property of stealing of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of stealing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muyivi (thief). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. What should be noted here is that what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of stealing as such, but his habit of stealing. This habit of stealing is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life.
Yiva (Steal)

B. [Excessive act]: riyivo (excessive stealing)

Class 1: 2. (a) Riyivo ra mufana ra swilo swa vanhu ri thsikilela nsati wa yena.
(The excessive stealing of the young man of other people’s possessions depresses his wife).

(b) Riyivo ra mufana ra timovha ri lemukiwile.
(The excessive stealing of the young man of the cars has been noticed).

(c) Kokwana u venga riyivo ra n’wana wakwe ra tiselula ta vanhu.
(My grandmother hates the excessive stealing of her child of the cell phones of other people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riyivo (excessive stealing) refers to an excessive act of stealing something from another.

Yiva (Steal)

C. [Excessive/serial actor]: xiyivi (excessive/serial thief)

Class 1: 3. (a) Xiyivi wa foyini ya mina u kumekile.
(The one who stole my phone has been found).

(b) Xiyivi wa tumbela ninhlikanhi.
(The thief is hiding during the day).

(c) Kokwana u khomisile xiyivi wa mali ya yena.
(My grandmother got the one who stole her money arrested).

Plural: Class 8: swiyivi (excessive/serial thieves)

The nominal xiyivi (excessive/expert thief) denotes a person who excessively steals something from another. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal which has the habit of stealing and which habit is done excessively. The nominal xiyivi (excessive/expert thief) refers to an individual who excessively steals something from another. The individual in question could be doing this as a habit. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the stealing of something from others as such, but the excessiveness of stealing of the individual in question. This property of excessiveness of stealing of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, this permanent property of excessiveness of stealing will be forever being associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of stealing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiyivi (excessive/expert thief). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
Yiva (Steal)

B. [Act]: vuyivi (stealing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuyivi bya timali etibangini byi dlayisile vo tala.
(Stealing of moneis from the banks got many into trouble).

(b) Vuyivi bya timovha byi hungutekile.
(The stealing of cars has declined).

(c) Maphorisa ma sivela vuyivi bya timovha etigirachini.
(The police prevent the stealing of cars from garages).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuyivi (stealing) refers to an act of stealing something from another.

Pfukula (Exhume)

A. [Actor]: mupfukuri (exhumers)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupfukuri wa mitsumbu ya vafi nivusiku u khomiwile.
(The exhumer of the bodies of the dead people has been arrested).

(b) Mupfukuri wa marhambu ya vafi entshaveni u nyamalarile.
(The exhumer of the bones of the dead people at the mountain has disappeared).

(c) Vanhu va lava mupfukuri wa masira ya ka vona.
(The people are searching for the exhumer of their graves).

The plural: Class 2: vapfukuri (exhumers)

The nominal mupfukuri (exhumers) refers to a person who digs out/removes dead body from the grave. The nominal may be interpreted as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context. When this nominal refers to any other person who is exhuming a dead body at a time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what defines such a nominal is the act of exhuming which is a temporary occurrence. However, when such a nominal refers to an individual who has a habit of exhuming people’s graves, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to a habit whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. This nominal refers to a property of an individual which holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of exhuming graves or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mupfukuri (exhumers). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. What should be noted here is that what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of stealing as such, but his habit of stealing. This habit of stealing is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life.
**Pfukula** (Exhume)

B. [Act]: mpfukulo (exhuming)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mpfukulo wa masalela ya valwelantshunxeko wu ta endliwa hi Ravunthlanu.
(The exhuming of the remains of freedom fighters will be conducted on Friday).

(b) Mpfukulo wa marhambu ya vanhu hi mfumo wu hlundzukise van’watipolitiki.
(The exhuming of the bones of the people by the government has angered the politicians).

(c) Mukhegula u kombisiwa mpfukulo wa marhambu ya vanhu emasirheni.
(The old woman is shown the exhuming of the bones of the people in the graves).

The plural: class 4: mipfukulo (exhuming)

The nominal *mpfukulo* (exhuming) refers to the act of removing/digging out the dead body from the grave.

**Pfukula** (Exhume)

C. [Excessive act]: ripfukulo (excessive exhuming)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ripfukulo ra mitsumbu ya vafi eGiyani ri hlamarisa maphorisa.
(The excessive exhuming of the bodies of the deceased in Giyani surprises the police).

(b) Ripfukulo ra marhambu ya vafi ri karhata vaakatiko.
(The excessive exhuming of the bones of the dead people worries the residents).

(c) Vanhu va sola ripfukulo ra masirha ya vanhu hi swigevenga.
(The people condemn the excessive exhuming of the graves of the people by criminals).

The plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ripfukulo* (excessive exhuming) refers to the excessive act of removing/digging out the dead body from the grave.

**Pfukula** (Exhume)

D. [Expert/Excessive act]: xipfukuri (expert/excessive exhumer)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xipfukuri xa mitsumbu ya vafi eNivusiku xi khomiwile.
(The expert/excessive exhumer of the bodies of the dead people at night has been arrested).

(b) Xipfukuri xa marhambu ya vafi entshaveni xi nyamalarile.
(The expert/excessive exhumer of the bones of the dead people at the mountain has disappeared).

(c) Vanhu va lava xipfukuri xa masira ya vona.
(The people are searching for the expert/excessive exhumer of their graves).

The plural: Class 8: swipfukuri (expert/excessive exhumers)
The nominal *xipfukuri* (expert/excessive exhumer) denotes a person who excessively digs out/removes dead body from the grave. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal which has the habit of exhuming and which is done excessively. The nominal *xipfukuri* (excessive/expert exhumer) refers to an individual who excessively exhumes graves. This nominal may be regarded as individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the exhuming of graves as such, but the expertness/excessiveness of exhuming of graves of the individual in question. This property of excessiveness of exhuming graves of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, this permanent property of excessiveness of exhuming graves will be forever associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of exhuming graves or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xipfukuri* (expert/excessive exhumer).

In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Pfuku** (Exhume)

E.  
[Artif]:  *xipfuko* (exhuming equipment/tool)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xi *fuko* xi *fikile* *emasirhene*.
   (The exhuming tool/equipment has arrived in the graves).
   
   (b) Xi *fuko* xi *hetile* ku pfuku *marhambu ya vafi*.
   (The exhuming tool/equipment has finished exhuming dead people’s bones).
   
   (c) Vanhu va *yimerile* xipfuko *emasirhene*.
   (The people are waiting for the exhuming tool in the graves).

The plural: Class 8: *swipfuko* (exhuming equipments/tools)

The nominal *xipfuko* (exhuming equipment) refers to any equipment/tool used to dig out a dead body from the grave.

**Pfuku** (Exhume)

F.  
[Act]:  *vupfuku* (exhuming)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vupfuku *bya marhambu ya vafi* byi fike emakumu.
   (The exhuming of the bones of the dead people is complete).
   
   (b) Vupfuku *bya vayivi bay mitsumbu ya vafi* byi soriwa hi varhangeri.
   (The exhuming of the thieves of the bodies of the dead people is condemned by the leaders).
   
   (c) Vanhu va sola vupfuku *bya valwelantshuxeko hi mfumo*.
   (People criticize the exhuming of the freedom fighters by the government).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vupfukuri** (exhuming) refers to the act of removing/digging out the dead body from the grave. There is also a habitual reading of exhuming.

**Tsuvula** (Uproot)

A. [Actor]: mutsvuuli (uprooter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsuvuri wa swimilana u tirhisa xipedi.
(The uprooter of the plants uses a spade).

(b) Mutsuvuri u sungula a cheleta swimilana a nga si swi tsuvula.
(The uprooter first irrigates the plants before uprooting them).

(c) Mufana u heleketa mutsuvuri wa swimilana exirhapeni.
(The young man accompanies the uprooter of plants to the garden).

Plural: Class 2: vatsuvuli (uprooters)

The nominal **mutsuvuri** (uprooter) refers to a person who pulls a tree or plant out of the ground. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining property of the act of uprooting which is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of uprooting is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mutsuvuri** (uprooter). In other words, for this nominal to apply to an individual, such a person has to be engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal at the time of reference.

**Tsuvula** (Uproot)

B. [Act]: ntsuvulo (uprooting)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntsuvulo wa timanga wu vavisa nhlana.
(The uprooting of peanuts causes pain at the back).

(b) Ntsuvulo wa timanga wu fike emakumu tolo.
(The uprooting of peanuts was completed yesterday).

(c) Wanuna u baleka ntsuvulo wa timanga emasin’wini.
(The man is running away from uprooting peanuts in the fields).

Plural: Class 4: mitsuvulo (uprootings)

The nominal **ntsuvulo** (uprooting) refers to the act of pulling a tree or plant out of the ground.

**Tsuvula** (Uproot)

C. [Excessive act/Manner]: ritsuvulo (uprooter)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ritsuvulo ra makhamba ra swimilana exirhapeni ri vilerisa wansati.
(The excessive uprooting of the thieves of the plants in the garden worries the woman).

(b) Ritsuvulo ra wansati ra tinyala exirhapeni ri kavanyeta vatirhi.
(The excessive uprooting of the woman of the onions in the garden disturbs the workers).
(c) Wanuna u sola ri tsuvulo ra wansati ra tinyala exirhapeni).
(The man disapproves of the excessive uprooting of the woman of the onions in
the garden).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsuvulo** (excessive/manner of uprooting) refers to the excessive act/manner of pulling a
tree or plant out of the ground.

**Tsuvula** (Uproot)

D. [Expert actor]: xitsuvuli (expert/excessive uprooter)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitsuvuli xa swimilana xi tirhisa xipedi.
(The expert/excessive uprooter of the plants uses a spade).

(b) Xitsuvuli xi sungula xi cheleta swimilana xi nga si swi tsuvula.
(The expert/excessive uprooter first irrigate the plants before uprooting them).

(c) Mufana u heleketa xitsuvuli xa tinyala exirhapeni.
(The young man accompanies the expert/excessive uprooter of onions to the
garden)

Plural: Class 8: switsuvuli (expert/excessive uprooters)

The nominal **xitsuvuri** (expert/excessive uprooter) refers to an individual who expertly/ excessively
pulls a tree or plant out of the ground. Such an individual may be engaged in the activity of uprooting
something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. This nominal may thus be regarded
as an individual-level nominal because it is not the property of uprooting that determines the meaning
of this nominal, but the excessiveness/expertness of uprooting of the individual in question. In other
words, the property of excessiveness/expertness is a permanent property which will be associated
with the individual in question for his entire life. In other words, the context need not make reference
to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint
between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tsuvula** (Uproot)

E. [Artifact]: xitsuvulo (uprooting tool)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xitsuvulo xa swimilana xi lahlakelele.
(The uprooting tool of the plants is lost)

(b) Xitsuvulo xa pulasitiki xi kumeka eka Shoprite.
(The plastic uprooting tool is food in Shoprite)
(The uprooting tool of small plants

(c) Tatana u lomba xitsuvulo xa swimilana eka manana.
(My father borrows the uprooting instrument of the plants from the mother)

Plural: Class 8: switsuvulo (uprooting tools)

The nominal **xitsuvulo** (uprooting equipment/tool) refers to an agricultural implement such as, spade
or digging fork, which can be used to dig out a tree or a plant.
**Tsuvula (Uproot)**

F. [Act]: vutsuvuri (uprooting)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vutsuvuri bya swimilana byi karharisa vafana.

(The uprooting of the plants makes the young men tired)

(b) Vutsuvuri bya timanga byi sungula hi mudyaxihi.

(The uprooting of peanuts starts in May)

(c) Muthori xiya vutsuvuri bya timanga ensin’wini hi vavasati.

(The employer looks carefully at the uprooting of peanuts in the fields by women)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutsuvuri** (uprooting) refers to the act of pulling a tree or plant out of the ground.

**Tshovela (reap)**

A. [Actor]: mutshoveri (reaper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshoveri u fikile emasin’wini.

(The reaper has arrived at the farms).

(b) Mutshoveri wa mavele u karhele.

(The reaper of maize is tired).

(c) Kokwana u vitana mutshoveri wa mavele.

(The grandmother is calling the reaper of maize).

Plural: class 2: vatshoveri (reapers)

The nominal **mutshoveri** (reaper) signifies an individual who cuts and collects crops on a field. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of reaping which is a temporary occurrence. Once the person involved in the event of reaping completes his engagement, such a nominal may no longer be applicable to such a person. In a sense, this nominal requires that the person signified be engaged in an activity denoted at the time of reference.

**Tshovela (reap)**

B. [Act/Result]: ntshovelo (harvest)

Class 3: 2. (a) Ntshovelo wa mavele wu sungurile.

(The harvest of maize has started).

(b) Ntshovelo wa mavele emasin’wini wu karhalisa kokwana.

(The harvest of maize at the farms makes the grandmother to be tired).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela ntshovelo wa mavele.

(People likes the harvest of maize).

Plural: class 4: mitshovelo (harvests)

The nominal **ntshovelo** (harvest) refers to the act of cutting and gathering crops. It may also refer to the amount or measure of the crop gathered in a season, or the season when ripened crops are gathered.
The nominal ritshovelo (excessive reaping) refers to the excessive act or process of cutting and gathering crops.

The nominal xitshoveri (excessive reaper) signifies an individual who excessively/expertly cuts and collects crops on a field. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the excessiveness/expertness of the individual in question in reaping crops. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of reaping the crops or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitshoveri (excessive reaper). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

The nominal vutshoveri (reaping)
Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutshoveri* (reaping) refers to the act or process of cutting and gathering crops.

**Koka (Pull)**

A.  
[Actor]: mukoki (pulling person)

Class 1:  
1. (a)  
Mukoki wa mitsandza u wela ehansi.  
(The pulling person of logs falls down).

(b)  
Mukoki wa movha u fambisa movha wa yena switsongo.  
(The pulling person of the car drives his car slowly).

(c)  
Vana va hlalela mukoki wa mitsandza.  
(The children watch the pulling person of logs).

Plural: Class 2: vakoki (pulling persons)

The nominal *mukoki* (puller) refer to a person who holds something firmly and use force in order to move it or try to move it towards him. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of pulling. Once the activity of pulling stops or is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mukoki* (pulling person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Koka (Pull)**

B.  
[Excessive pulling]: rikoko (excessive pulling)

Class 5:  
2. (a)  
Rikoko ra vafana ra timhandzi ra karhalisa.  
(The excessive pulling of the young men of the logs is exhausting).

(b)  
Rikoko ra wanuna ra mimovha leyi tshovekeke ri ngenhisa mali yo tala.  
(The pulling of the man of broken down vehicles brings a lot of money).

(c)  
Wanuna u hleka rikoko ra mufana ra timhandzi.  
(The man is laughing at the excessive pulling of the young man of the logs).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rikoko* (excessive pulling) refers to an excessive act of holding something firmly and using force in order to move it or try to move it towards oneself self.

**Koka (Pull)**

C.  
[Artifact/Result]: rikoka (dragnet)

Class 5:  
3. (a)  
Rikoka ri phasa tihlampfi to tala hi xinkadyana.  
(The dragnet catches a lot of fish within a short time).

(b)  
Rikoka ra handzuka loko ro phasa tihlampfi letikulu to tala.  
(The dragnet breaks when it carries a lot of big fish).
Plural: Class 10: tikoka (dragnets)

The nominal rikoka (dragnet) refers to a net dragged along the bottom of a river, lake, etc. for catching fish; a net for catching small game.

Koka (Pull)

D. [Expert/excessive actor]: xikoki (expert/excessive puller)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikoki wa mitsandza xi wela ehansi.
  (The expert/excessive puller of logs falls down).
  (b) Xikoki wa movha xi fambisa movha wa yena switsongo.
  (The expert/excessive puller of the car drives his car slowly).
  (c) Vana va hlalela xikoki xa mitsandza.
  (The children watch the expert/excessive puller of logs).

Plural: Class 8: swikoki (expert/excessive pullers)

The nominal xikoki (excessive/expert puller) refers to a person who excessively or expertly pulls something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of pulling as such, but the excessiveness or skill of pulling which this individual has. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of pulling something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikoki (excessive/expert puller).

Koka (Pull)

E. [Act]: vukoki (pulling)

Class 14: 5. (a)Vukoki bya mimovha hi makamba emidyangwini byi andzile.
  (The pulling of cars by thieves in the homes has increased).
  (b) Vukoki bya movha lowu nga onhaka byi na khombo.
  (The pulling of a car which is broken down is dangerous).
  (c) Vachayeri va dyondzisiwa hi ta maqhinga lamanene ya vukoki bya timovha.
  (Drivers are taught about correct strategies of pulling cars).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukoki (pulling) refers to an act of holding something firmly and using force in order to move it or try to move it towards oneself self.
The nominal **muhluvuri** (undresser) denotes an individual who removes his clothes or removes the clothes from someone else. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of removing clothes which is a temporary occurrence. Once the person involved in the event of removing clothes completes his engagement, such a nominal may no longer be applicable to such a person. In a sense, this nominal requires that the person signified to be engaged in an activity denoted at the time of reference.

The nominal **nhluvulo** (ritual for removing morning clothes) refers to a ritual event which marks the official end of the morning period of the deceased person, in which the bereaved is allowed to remove the morning clothes which he or she was wore during the death of the deceased symbolizing that she or he lost a beloved one.

The nominal **rihluvulo** (excessive undressing) describes behavior where the person involved excessively undresses, often out of frustration or other emotional responses.

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**Hluvula** (undress)

### A. [Actor]: muhluvuli (undresser)

#### Class 1:

1. (a) Muhluvuli wa mpahla u nghena ebavhini.
   (The undresser of the clothes gets into the tub).

   (b) Muhluvuli wa etlela.
   (The undresser sleeps).

   (c) Wansati u rhidimba muhluvuli.
   (The woman scrubs the undresser).

#### Plural: Class 2: vahluvuli (undressers)

### B. [Event]: nhluvulo (ritual for removing morning clothes)

#### Class 3:

2. (a) Nhluvulo wa hahani wu ta va vhiki leritaka.
   (The ritual for removing morning clothes of the death of my aunt will take place next week).

   (b) Nhluvulo wa hosi wu edleriwa exihundleni.
   (The ritual for removing morning clothes for the death of the chief is conducted in the secret).

   (c) Wansati u vuya eka nhluvulo wa malume wakwe.
   (The woman is coming from the ritual for removing morning clothes for the death of her uncle).

#### Plural: Class 4: mihluvulo (rituals for removing morning clothes).

### C. [Excessive act]: rihluvulo (excessive undressing)

#### Class 5:

3. (a) Rihluvulo ra n’wana ra buruku ri nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The excessive undressing of the child of the trousers annoys the woman).

   (b) Rihluvulo ra xipengo ra mpahla ri tsakisa vana.
   (The excessive undressing of the mad person of the clothes pleases the children).
(c) Wansati u sola rihluvulo ra n’wana ra buruku.
(The woman dislikes the excessive undressing of the child of the trousers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihluvulo** (excessive undressing) refers to the excessive act of removing clothes from oneself or from someone else.

**Hluvula** (undress)

D. [Excessive actor]: xihluvuli (excessive undresser)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihluvuli xa buruku exikolweni xi biwile.
(The excessive undresser of the trousers at school has been beaten).

(b) Xihluvuli xa mpahla enambiyeni xi yiveriwe buruku.
(The excessive undresser of the clothes in the river had his trousers stolen in the river).

(c) Mudyondzisi u xupula xihluvuli xa buruku exikolweni.
(The teacher punishes the excessive undresser of the trousers at school).

Plural: Class 8: swihluvuli (excessive undressers)

The nominal **xihluvuri** (excessive undresser) denotes an individual who excessively removes his clothes or removes the clothes from someone else. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of undressing as such, but the excessiveness of undressing of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of undressing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihluvuri** (excessive undresser).

**Hluvula** (undress)

E. [Act]: vuhluvuri (undressing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhluvuri bya mpahla bya n’wana byi karhata wansati.
(The undressing of the trousers of the child worries the woman).

(b) Vuhluvuri bya mpahla exikarhi ka vanhu i nandzu lowukulu.
(The undressing of clothes among people is the serious offence).

(c) Wansati u sola vuhluvuli bya n’wana bya buruku.
(The woman condemns the undressing of the child of the trousers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhluvuri** (undressing) refers to the act of removing clothes from oneself or from someone else.
Tshetsha (clear bush)

[Actor]: Mutshetshi (clearing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutshetshi wa nsimu u khomile xihloka.
(The clearing person of the field is holding an axe).
(b) Mutshetshi wa masimu u lovile.
(The clearing person of the field has died).
(c) Kokwana u nyika mutshetshi xihloka emansin’wini.
(The grandfather gives the clearing person an axe in the fields).

Plural: Class 2: vatshetshi (clearing people)

The nominal mutshetshi (clearing person) refers to an individual who makes clearing in bush, as for a new field. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereto. When it is applied to any person who is engaged in the activity of clearing bush, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of clearing bush. However, when such a nominal is applied to an individual whose hobby or job is to clear bushes, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the habit of clearing bush which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of clearing bush, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mutshetshi (clearing person).

Tshetsha (clear bush)

B.  [Excessive act]: ritshetsho (excessive clearing of bush)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritshetso ra Magezi ra masimu ri hanyisa ndyangu wakwe.
The excessive clearing of the bush of Magezi of the fields helps him feed his family).
(b) Ritshetsho ra malume ra masimu ri tsakisa kokwana.
(The excessive clearing of the bush of uncle pleases my grandfather).
(c) Vanhu va hlamala ritshetsho ra malume ra magungu emansin’wini.
(The people are surprised at the excessive clearing of uncle of the bushes in the fields).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritshetsho (excessive clearing bush) refers to an excessive act of clearing in bush, as for a new field.

Tshetsha (clear bush)

C.  [Excessive/expert actor]: xitshetshi (excessive/expert clearing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitshetshi xa magungu xi lota bangam.
(The expert/expensive clearing person sharpens his sword).
(b) Xitshetshi xa masimu xi karhele.
(The expert/excessive clearing person of bush is exhausted).

(c) Kokwana u hakela xitshetshi xa masimu yakwe.
(Grandfather pays the expert/excessive clearing person of the bush of his fields).

Plural: Class 8: switshetshi (excessive/expert clearing people)

The nominal xitshetshi (excessive/expert clearing person) refers to an individual who excessively or expertly clears the bush, as for a new field. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of clearing bush as such, but the excessiveness/expertness of clearing bush of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of clearing bush or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitshetshi (excessive/expert clearing person).

Tshetsha (clear bush)

D.

[Act]: vutshetshi (clearing bush)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutshetshi bya masimu byi teka nkarhi wo leha.
(The clearing of the bush of fields takes a lot of time).

(b) Vutshetshi bya xitandi bya karhalisa.
(The clearing of the bush of the site is exhaustful).

(c) Malume u hlamala vutshetshi bya kokwana bya masimu.
(My uncle is surprised at the clearing of bush of the fields for grandmother).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutshetshi (clearing bush) refers to an act of clearing in bush, as for a new field.

Dzudza (shake off dust)

[Actor]: Mudzudzi (shaking off dust person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudzudzi u teka nkumba endlwini.
(The shaking off of dust person takes his blanket in the house).

(b) Mudzudzi wa swiambalo wa khohlola.
(The shaking off of dust person of clothes is coughing).

(c) Kokwana u hlamula mudzudzi wa nkumba endlwini.
(Grandmother speaks to the shaking off of dust person of the blanket in the house).

Plural: class 2: vadzudzi (shaking off dust people)

The nominal mudzudzi (shaking off dust person) signifies an individual who shakes off dust from something. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by
this nominal is the act of act of shaking off dust. Once the activity of shaking off dust is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mudzudzi (shaking off dust person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Dzudza** (shake off dust)

B. [Excessive act]: ridzudzo (excessive shake off dust)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ridzudzo ra Mamayila ra swiambalo ri nyenyetsa kokwana.
   (The excessive shaking off of dust of Mamayila of clothes annoys my grandmother).

   (b) Ridzudzo ra kokwana ra mikumba ri hlekisa vana.
   (The excessive shaking off of dust of grandmother of blankets makes the children laugh).

   (c) Wansati u sola ridzudzo ra nuna wakwe ra swiambalo.
   (The woman disapproves of the excessive shaking off of dust of her husband of the clothes).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ridzudzo (excessive shaking off of dust) refers to the act of shaking off of dust from something.

**Dzudza** (shake off dust)

C. [Excessive actor]: xidzudzi (excessive person who shake dust)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidzudzi xa nkumba xa khohlola.
   (The excessive shaking off of dust person is coughing).

   (b) Xidzudzi xa metse endlwini xi khunguvanyisa wansati.
   (The excessive shaking off of dust person of the mat in the house makes the woman angry).

   (c) Wansati u hlongola xidzudzi xa nkumba endlwini.
   (The woman chases out the excessive shaking off of dust person from the house).

Plural: Class 8: swidzudzi (excessive shaking off dust people)

The nominal xidzudzi (excessive shaking off dust person) signifies an individual who shakes off dust from something. Such an individual may be engaged in the activity of shaking off dust from something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it is not the act of shaking off dust which characterizes the meaning of this nominal, but the excessiveness/expertness of shaking off dust of the individual in question. In other words, the property of excessiveness/expertness of shaking dust is a permanent property which will be associated with the individual in question for his entire life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is,
there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Dzudza** (shake of dust)

D. \[Act\]: vudzudzi (shaking off of dust)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudzudzi bya Magezi bya nkumba byi khohlorisa vana vakwe.
(The shaking off of dust of Magezi of the blanket makes the children cough).

(b) Vudzudzi bya kokwana bya saka byi hleksisa vana.
(The shaking off of dust of the grandmother of the sack makes the children laugh).

(c) Mamayila u venga vudzudzi bya kokwana bya miceka endlwini.
(Mamayila hates the shaking off of dust of grandmother of the dress in the house).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vudzudzi* (shaking off dust) refers to the act of shaking off of dust from something.

### 8.3 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM PSYCH/EXPERIENCER VERBS

The definition of Psych/Experiencer Verbs has been given in Section 5.6. of Chapter five which examines deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition will be used in this section, however, the focus here will be on deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

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**Gandzela** (worship)

A. \[Actor\]: mugandzeri (worshipper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugandzeri u khinsama egandzelweni.
(The worshipper kneels on the worshipping area).

(b) Mugandzeri u kombela tintswalo eka Xikwembu.
(The worshipper asks for mercy from God).

(c) Vanhu va landza mugandzeri ekerekeni.
(People follow the worshipper in the church).

Plural: Class 2: vagandzeri (worshippers)
The nominal **mugandzeri** (worshipper) refers to an individual who makes an expression of reverence and adoration to a supreme being. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question can only be referred as a worshipper only during the act of worshipping. Once the act of worshipping is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as a worshipper.

**Gandzela** (Worship)

B.  
[Place]: gandzelo(worshipping area)

Class 5:  
2.  
(a) Gandzelo ra Vavenda ri kumeka ensinyeni.  
(The worshipping area is found in the tree).

(b) Gandzelo ri kukuriwa ka ha mixo.  
(The worshipping place is swept while still early).

(c) Wansati u kukula gandzelo.  
(The woman sweeps the worshipping area).

Plural: Class 6: magandzelo (worshipping places)

The nominal **gandzelo** (worshipping place) refers to a place where the event of worshipping is conducted.

**Gandzela** (worship)

C.  
[Result]:  
gandzelo (offering)

Class 5:  
3.  
(a) Gandzelo ri fanele ku va leri pfumalaka xisandzu.  
(The offering must be without any blemish).

(b) Gandzelo lerinene ri tsakisa Xikwembu.  
(Good offering pleases God).

(c) Muprista u nyiketa gandzelo ra wanuna eka Xikwembu.  
(The priest presents the offering of the man to God).

Plural: Class 6: magandzelo (offerings)

The nominal **gandzelo** (offering) refers to something offered as a religious sacrifice or token of devotion. This nominal has a result reading.

**Gandzela** (Worship)

D.  
[Excessive act]:  
rigandzelo (excessive worshipping)

Class 14:  
5.  
(a) Rigandzelo ra wanuna ra swifaniso ri ta n’wi peta nthloko.  
(The excessive worshipping of the man of the statues will make him crazy).

(b) Rigandzelo ra wansati ra homu ri chavisa vanhu.  
(The excessive worshipping of the woman of the cow scares people).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala rigandzelo ra wanuna ra xifaniso.  
(People are surprised at the excessive worshipping of the man of the statue).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rigandzelo** (excessive worshipping) refers to the act of worshipping which is performed excessively by an individual.

**Gandzela (Worship)**

E.  
[Excessive actor]: xigandzeri (devout worshipper)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xigandzeri xa kereke ya hina xi ta dyondzisa rito namuntlha.  
(The devout worshipper of our church will teach the word of God today).

(b) Xigandzeri xi tlakusela mavoko henhla.  
(The devout worshipper lifts his hands high).

(c) Mufambisi wa ntirho u nyika xigandzeri nkarhi wo yimbelela.  
(The programme director gives the devout worshipper time for singing).

Plural: Class 8: swigandzeri (devout worshippers)

The nominal **xigandzeri** (devout worshipper) refers to an individual who shows deep religious commitment of reverence and adoration to a supreme being. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the property of devoutness which this nominal modifies is a permanent feature of this individual. In other words, whether the individual in question is engaged in the act of worshipping or he is not engaged in it he will be referred to as **xigandzeri** (devout worshipper). That is, the property of devoutness will always be associated with an individual for the rest of his life.

**Gandzela (Worship)**

F.  
[Act]: vugandzeri (worshipping)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vugandzeri bya Xikreste byi talele hi vuyimbeleri.  
(Christian worshipping is full of singing).

(b) Vugandzeri bya xiAfrika byi endleriwa emisinyeni.  
(African worshipping is done in the trees).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va rhandza vugandzeri bya Xikriste.  
(Most people like Christian way of worshipping).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugandzeri** (worshipping) refers to an act of worshipping which is conducted by an individual.
### Class 1
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**mugandzeri** (worshipper)

```
N
AF
  N^R
    V
      AF
        mu- -gandzer- -i
```

### Class 5
Prefix: **ri-**
Suffix: **-o**

**gandzelo** (worshipping place)

```
N
AF
  N^R
    V
      AF
        - -gandzel- -o
```
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

gandzelo (offering)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

xigandzeri (excessive worshipper)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

vugandzeri (worshipping)

Verbs of Psych/Experiencer verbs
(8) Nominalization from the verb -gandzela (worship)

Vavasati va gandzela Xikwembu ekerekeni hi Ravumune.
(The women worship God in the church on Thursday).

\[-gandzela\]

ARGSTR  =  ARG1=x: human
ARG1 = x: phys.obj.
EVSTR  =  E1 = e₁; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -gandzela_ act (e₁, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Worship – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -gandzela (worship) in (8) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is involved in worship and the physical object, denoting the entity that is being worshiped by the person. The event structure represents the process event of worshipping. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of worshipping (e₁) of a person (x).

(9) Nominalisation in class 1: mugandzeri (worshipper)

Mugandzeri u suma risimu ro dzunisa ekerekeni.
(The worshipper pitches a praise song in the church).

\[mugandzeri\]

ARGSTR  =  ARG1=x: human
ARG1=x: phys.obj.
EVSTR  =  E1 = e₁; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -gandzela_ actor (e₁, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Worship – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mugandzeri (worshipper) in (9) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is involved in worship and the physical object, denoting the entity that is being worshiped by the person. The event structure represents the process event of worshipping. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of worshipping (e₁) of a person (x).
Nominalisation in class 7: xigandzeri (excessive worshipper)

Xigandzeri xa kereke ya hina xi ta dyondzisa rito namuntlha.
(The excessive worshipper of our church will teach the word of God today).

xigandzeri

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1=x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -gandzela_actor_excessive (e1, x, y)


The lexical semantic representation of xigandzeri (excessive worshipper) in (10) is similar to that of mugandzeri (worshipper) in (9) above. The distinction that obtains is that xigandzeri (excessive worshipper) in (10) above has the feature [excessive] in its agentive quale whereas this feature is lacking in mugandzeri (worshipper) in (9) above.

Nominalisation in class 5: rigandzelo (excessive worshipping)

Rigandzelo ra wanuna ra misinya ri n’wi humbe mano.
(The excessive worshipping of the man of trees has made him crazy).

rigandzelo

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 = e; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -gandzela_act_excessive (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Worship – Act

The lexical semantic representation of rigandzelo (excessive worshipping) in (11) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of worshipping, and the physical object which denotes the entity that is being worshipped. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of worshipping. The event structure represents the default process event of worshipping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of worshipping of the human argument (x).
(12) **Nominalisation in class 14: vugandzeri** (worshipping)

Vugandzeri bya ntiyiso bya Xikewmbu bya kala masiku lawa.
(The true worshipping of God is rare these days).

**vugandzeri**

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-gandzela}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Worship – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vugandzeri** (worshipping) in (12) is similar to that of **rigandzelo** (excessive worshipping) in (11) above. The distinction that obtains is that **rigandzelo** (excessive worshipping) in (11) above has the feature [excessive] in its agentive quale whereas this feature is lacking in **vugandzeri** (worshipping) in (12) above.

(13) **Nominalisation in class 5: gandzelo** (worshipping place)

Gandzelo ri kukuriwa ka ha ri mixo.
(The worshipping place is swept while still early).

**gandzelo**

\[\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.}
\end{align*}\]

\[\begin{align*}
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-gandzela}_\text{place} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Worship – Place

The lexical semantic representation of **gandzelo** (worshipping place) in (13) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of worshipping, and the physical object which denotes the entity that is being worshipped. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of worshipping. The event structure represents the default process event of worshipping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agentive quale represents the place of worshipping of the human argument (x).
Nominalisation in class 5: gandzelo (offering)

Gandzelo ri fanele ku va leri pfumalaka xisandzu.
(The offering must be without any blemish).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{gandzelo} & \quad \text{ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1 = x: human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & \quad = \quad \text{D–E1 = e: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & \quad = \quad \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-gandzela\_result (e, x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Worship – Result

The lexical semantic representation of gandzelo (offering) in (14) above corresponds to that of gandzelo (worshipping place) in (13) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature [place] in the in gandzelo (worshipping place) whereas it represents the feature [result] in gandzelo (offering).

Other deverbatives in this sub-class of psych/experiencer verbs display a similar lexical semantic representation to that of -gandzela (worship). The distinction relates to the deverbatives of classes 3, 5 and 7, for example, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -pfumala (lack) permits a nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of result in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in this sub-class whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permits such a nominalization. It is interesting to note that of all the verbs in this sub-class, it is only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -gandzela (worship) which permits a nominalization in class 5 with the meaning of result. Furthermore, we find that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -pfumala (lack) and -karhata (make trouble) permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of result, in contrast to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -gandzela (worship), -loya (bewitch), -monya (scorn), -venga (hate) -vondzoka (be jealous), -onga (lure) and -tsandzeka (fail/loose) which does not allow such a nominalization.

Loya (Bewitch)

A. [Actor]: noyi (witch)

Class 1: 1. (a) Noyi loyi a dlayeke mufana u balekile.
(The witch who has killed the young man has run away).
(b) Noyi u dya tinyama ta vanhu navusiku.
(The witch is eats the flesh of people during the night).

(c) Vanhu va hlongola noyi etikweni ra vona.
(People chase away the witch from their village).

Plural: Class 2: valoyi (witches)

The nominal noyi (witch) refers to an individual who is believed to have magic or supernatural powers to fly at night into people’s houses and do evil things, such as causing illness, drinking human blood or killing people while they are asleep. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the witchcraft which is practiced by the individual in question is a permanent property of the individual and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. Therefore, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of witchcraft or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as noyi (witch). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Loya (Bewitch)

B.  [Result/Act]: vuloyi (witchcraft)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuloyi bya Khazamula byi tiva hi mani na mani.
(The witchcraft of Khazamula is known by everybody).

(b) Vuloyi byi siveriwa hi xikhongelo.
(Witchcraft is prevented by prayer).

(c) Vanhu va masiku lawa va rhandza ngopfu vuloyi.
(People of these days like a lot witchcraft).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuloyi (witchcraft) refers to the use or the practice of magic powers in order to harm or kill others, especially at night while they are asleep.

Monya (Scorn)

A.  [Actor]: mumonyi (scorner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mumonyi wa swakudya swa le motela u humela ehandle.
(The scorner of the motel food goes outside).

(b) Mumonyi wa mufana u languta ethelho.
(The scorner of the young man looks aside).

(c) Wanuna u ba mumonyi wa yena hi mpama.
(The man hits his scorner with a clap).
The nominal **mumonyi** (scorner) refers to a person who expresses a feeling, in words or manner, that something or someone is stupid or not good enough. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once the thing or person whom he considers to be stupid individual in question individual-level nominal be as passed, such an individual will no longer scorn. But, on the other hand it may be considered as an individual-level nominal on the account that the feeling of indignation will remain in the individual in question for the rest of his life, and he will thus always scorn the thing or person he considers to be stupid whenever they meet.

**Monya (Scorn)**

**B. [Excessive act]: rimonyo (excessive scorning)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Rimonyo leri nga na nkata Hatlana ra nyenyetsa.
(The excessive scorning which the wife of Hatlani has is disgusting).

(b) Rimonyo ri dlaya vuxaka exikarhi ka vanhu vo tala.
(Excessive scorning destroys the relationship between so many people).

(c) Vanhu va sola rimonyo ra nkata Hatlani ra vatswari va nuna wakwe.
(People codemn the excessive scorning of the wife of Hatlani of the parents of her husband).

**Monya (Scorn)**

**C. [Excessive actor]: ximonyi (excessive scorner)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Ximonyi xi sola swakudya swa le motela.
(The excessive scorner disapproves the food at the motel).

(b) Ximonyi xi monyela vatswari va nuna wakwe.
(The excessive scorner is scorning at the parents of her husband).

(c) Wanuna hlongola ximonyi xa vatswari vakwe emutini wa yena.
(The man chases away the excessive scorner who scorns at his parents from his home).

**Plural: Class 8: swimonyi (excessive scorners)**

The nominal **ximonyi** (excessive scorner) refers to a person who excessively expresses a feeling, in words or manner, that something or someone is stupid or not good enough. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property of excessiveness which this nominal modifies is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, the context
need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no
temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. It does
not matter whether or not at the time of reference such a person is engaged at the act of scorning, such
a person will always be associated with excessive scorning and will thus be referred to as ximonyi
(excessive scorners).

**Monya (Scorn)**

D. [Act]: vumonyi (scorning)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vumonyi bya Tsatsawana bya maxaka ya nuna bya xumbaza.
(The scorning of Tsatsawana of the relatives of her husband is annoying).

(b) Vumonyi bya munhu lonkulu bya nyenyetsa.
(The scorning of an elderly person is disgusting).

(c) Vafana va sola vumonyi bya munhu lonkulu.
(Young men condemn the scorning of an elderly person).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vumonyi (scorn) refers to contempt or disdain felt toward a person or object considered
despicable or unworthy, or the expression of such an attitude in behavior or speech.

**Pfumala (Lack)**

A. [Actor]: mupfumali (poor person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupfumali loyi a tshamaka emukhukhwini u lovile.
(The poor person who was staying in the shack passed away).

(b) Mupfumari loyi a nga riki na vutshamo a atsarise vito rakwe eka mukhanselara.
(The poor person who does not have a house should register his name to the
councilor).

(c) Varhangeri vo tala va khathali hi vapfumari va vona.
(Many leaders do not care about their poor).

Plural: Class 2: vapfumali (lackers)

The nominal mupfumali (lacking person) denotes an individual who has nothing or who does not
have enough of something. This nominal may be interpreted as both stage-level nominal and
individual-level nominal, depending on whether the state of not having something of the individual in
question will change during the course of time or will remain like that throughout his life time. In the
case where such the state of lack of the individual changes for the better, such a nominal will be
regarded as a stage-level nominal, and the nominal mupfumali (lacking person) will apply to such an
individual only during the period for which he did not have enough because the state of lack is the
defining property in this nominal. But if the condition of the individual in question does not improve throughout his life time, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal.

**Pfumala** (Lack)

B. [State]: mpfumalo (lack)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mpfumalo wa swakudya swo aka miri wu dlaya vana vo tala.
(Lack of nutrients kills lot of children).

(b) Mpfumalo wa mati yo teka eswitandini wu vanga mavabyi.
(Lack of clean water in the villages causes diseases).

(c) Vanhu va vilerisa hi mmpfumalo wa mati eswitandini.
(People are worried about lack of water in the villages).

Plural: Class 3: mipfumalo (lacks)

The nominal **mpfumalo** (lack) denotes a state or the fact or condition of not having something or not having enough of something.

**Pfumala** (Lack)

C. [Excessive state]: ripfumalo (excessive lack)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ripfumalo ra mitirho i xiphiqo lexikulu eAfrika-Dzonga.
(Excessive lack of employment is a serious problem in South Africa).

(b) Ripfumalo ra miri etitiliniki ri xungeta vutomi bya vanhu vo tala.
(The excessive lack of medicines in clinics threatens the lives of many people).

(c) Vanhu va sola ripfumalo ra mitirhoetikweni.
(People condemn the excessive lack of jobs in the country).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ripfumalo** (excessive lack) denotes an excessive state of not having something or not having enough of something.

**Pfumala** (Lack)

D. [Experiencer]: xipfumali (excessive lacking person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xipfumali lexi a tshamaka emukhukhwini xi lovile.
(The excessive poor person who stays in the shack passed away).

(b) Xipfumari lexi nga riki na vutshamo a xi tsarise vito ra xona eka mukhanselara.
(The excessive poor who do not have a house should register his name to the councilor).

(c) Vahanani va nyika xipfumari swakudya.
(Givers give the excessive poor food).

Plural: Class 2: swipfumali (excessive lacking person)
The nominal **xipfumali** (excessive lacking person) denotes an individual who has nothing or who has very little of something. The individual in question is one who is unable to provide for himself and his family. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the extreme state of the poverty of the individual in question is such that there are prospects of overcoming it in any way during his life time.

**Pfungala** (Lack)

E.  

[Result]: xipfumalo (need)

Class 7: 5.  
(a) Xipfumalo xa vanhu va ka Mushiyani eka nkarhi wa sweswi i tiliniki.  
(The need of Mushiyani at this moment is the clinic).

(b) Xipfumalo xa xikontiri i xa vumbirhi lex iaviwaka hi vaaki.  
(A tarred road need is the second which is needed by the residents).

(c) Vanhu va komberiwa ku tsarisa xipfumalo xin’we xin’we eka mabalana.  
(People are requested to register one need each at the secretary).

Plural: Class 8: swipfumalo (needs)

The nominal **xipfumalo** (need) refers to a thing that someone requires or want in order to live in a comfortable way or achieve what he wants. But it may also refer to a necessity or obligation created by some situation.

**Pfungala** (Lack)

F.  

[State]: vupfumari (lack)

Class 14: 6.  
(a) Vupfumari bya xikolo hi xona xirhalanganyi xo sungula.  
(Lack of school is the first problem).

(b) Vupfumari bya mitirho I xirhalanganyi lexikulu eka vana va masiku lawa. 
(Lack of jobs is a big problem to the children of these days).

(c) Mfumo wu lwa ni xirhalanganyi xa vupfumari bya mitirho etikweni.  
(The government is fighting the problem of lack of jobs in the country).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vupfumari** (lack) denotes a state of not having something or not having enough of something.

**Venga** (Hate)

A.  

[Experiencer]: muvengi (hater)

Class 1: 1.  
(a) Muvengi wa mina a nga ngheni emutini wa mina.  
(My hater does not come into my family).
(b) Muvengi wa wanuna u n’wi lavele swigevenga.
   (The hater of the man has arranged criminals for him).

(c) Wanuna u rhamba muvengi wa yena enkhubyeni.
   (The man invites his hater at the function).

Plural: Class 2: vavengi (haters)

The nominal muvengi (hating person) refers to an individual who dislikes something or someone very much. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal on the account that the feeling of dislike of the individual in question towards a particular thing or person will remain in him for the rest of his life. The defining property in this nominal is the feeling of hatred which is a permanent property of the individual in question.

Venga (Hate)

B. [Excessive state]: rivengo (hatred)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivengo ra mufana eka nhwanyana a ri nga pfuki ri herile.
          (The hatred of the youngman on the young woman will never end).

          (b) Rivengo ra mufana ra nhwanyana ri sungule exikolweni.
              (The hatred of the youngman of the young woman started from school).

          (c) Vanhu va sola rivengo ra wanuna ra mufundhisi.
              (The people disapprove the hatred of the man of the pastor).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivengo (hatred) refers to a very strong or intense feeling of dislike for something or someone.

Venga (Hate)

B. [Excessive Experiencer]: xivengi (excessive hater)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivengi xa wansati xi n’wi fularhelile enkhubyeni.
          (The excessive hater of the woman turned his back against her at the function).

          (b) Xivengi wa wanuna xi n’wi lavele swigevenga.
              (The excessive hater of the man has arranged criminals for him).

          (c) Wanuna u sandza xivengi xa vatswari va yena.
              (The man criticizes the excessive hater of his parents).

Plural: Class 8: swivengi (excessive haters)

The nominal xivengi (excessive hating person) refers to an individual who excessively or extremely dislikes something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal on the account that the feeling of excessive/extreme dislike of the individual in question towards a particular
thing or person will remain in him for the rest of his life. The defining property in this nominal is the
excessive or extreme feeling of hatred which is a permanent property of the individual in question.

**Karhata** (make trouble)

A.  [Actor]: mukarhati (trouble maker)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mukarhati u xanisa vafana enambyeni.
          (The trouble maker ill treats the boys at the river).
          (b) Mukarhati u bukutela wansati.
          (The trouble maker is beating the woman).
          (c) Maphorisa va khomile mukarhati wa vavasati.
          (The police officers arrested women trouble maker).

Plural: class 2: vakarhati (trouble makers)

The nominal mukarhati (trouble maker) refers to an individual who often causes worry or difficulty
to others. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of causing a
difficulty to others is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the
individual in question will be involved in the act of causing problem to others or he may not be
involved in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as mukarhati
(trouble maker). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of
the individual and the matrix predicate. What should be borne in mind is the fact that in this nominal what
is being modified is not the act of troubling others as such, but his personality of often causing trouble
to others.

**Karhata** (make trouble)

B.  [Excessive act]: rikarhato (excessive troubling)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rikarhato ra Magezi ra nsati wakwe ri hlundzukisa vanhu.
          (The excessive troubling of Magezi of his wife makes people to be angry).
          (b) Rikarhato ra Yingwani ra vadyondzi ri hlundzukisa mathicara.
          (The excessive troubling of Yingwani of the learners makes teacher to be angry).
          (c) Vanhu va sola rikarhato ra Magezi ra nsati wakwe.
          (People criticise the troubling of Magezi of his wife).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding in class 6.

The nominal rikarhato (excessive troubling) refers to the excessive state of distress, affliction, or
difficulty.
Karhata (make trouble)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikarhati (excessive trouble maker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikarhati xa vaakatiko xi khomiwile.
(The excessive trouble maker of the residents has been arrested).

(b) Xikarhati xa vadyondzizi xi feyirile exikolweni.
(The excessive trouble maker of the teachers failed at school).

(c) Vana va chava xikarhati exikolweni.
(The children are afraid of the excessive trouble maker at school).

Plural: class 8: swikarhati (excessive trouble makers)

The nominal xikarhati (excessive trouble maker) refers to an individual who excessively causes worry or difficulty to others. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of causing difficulty to others is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the excessive act of causing problem to others or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as xikarhati (excessive trouble maker). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. What should be borne in mind is the fact that in this nominal what is being modified is not the act of troubling others as such, but his excessiveness or extremeness of causing trouble to others.

Karhata (make trouble)

D. [Result]: xikarhato (trouble)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikarhato lexikulu xa varimi i dyandza leri yaka emahlweni etikweni.
(The serious problem of the farmers is the persistent drought in the country).

(b) Xikarhato xa vadyondzizi exikolweni xi lulamisiwile.
(The trouble of the teachers at school has been solved).

(c) Vadyondzi va boxa xikarhato xa vona eka nhloko ya xikolo.
(The learners mention their problem to the school principal).

Plural: class 8: swikarhato (trouble)

The nominal xikarhato (trouble) refers to a problem, worry, or difficulty.

Karhata (make trouble)

E. [Act]: vukarhati (troublesomeness/troubling)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vukarhati bya Mamayila eka nuna wakwe byi hlundzukisa vanhu.
(The troubling of Mamayila to her man makes people to be angry).
(b) Vukarhati bya mudyondzi exikolweni byi vikiwile eka mathicara.
(The troubling of a learner at school has been reported to the teachers).

(c) Vanhu va sandza vukarhati bya Gezani bya vana vakwe.
(People dislike the troubling of Gezani of his children).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukarhati** (troubling) refers to the state of distress, affliction, or difficulty.

**Vondzoka** (be jealous)

A. [Experiencer/Actor]: muvondzoki (Jealous person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvondzoki u venga mufana loyi a paseke.
(The jealous person hates the boy who passed).

(b) Muvondzoki u hembela n’wamabindzu.
(The jealous person is lying to the business man).

(c) Manana u hlongola muvondzoki ekaya.
(The mother is chasing the jealous person at home).

Plural: class 2: vavondzoki (Jealous person)

The nominal **muvondzoki** (jealous person) refers to a person displays a feeling of resentment against someone because of that person’s rivalry, success, or advantages. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the act of being jealous against others is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of expressing a feeling of jealousy against others or he may not be expressing it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **muvondzoki** (jealous person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. What should be borne in mind is the fact that in this nominal what is being modified is not the act of expressing jealousy against others as such, but his personality of often expressing a feeling of jealous against others.

**Vondzoka** (be jealous)

B. [Excessive Act]: rivondzoko(excessive jealousy)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivondzoko ra Mamayila eka makhelwana ra nyenyetsa.
(An excessive jealousy of Mamayila to the neighbours is disgusting).

(b) Rivondzoko ra wansati ra mufana loyi a paseke ri hlundzukisa vanhu.
(An excessive jealousy of the woman of the boy who passed makes people to be angry).

(c) Khazamula u sola rivondzoko ra wansati eka mufana.
(Khazamula criticises an excessive jealousy of the woman to the boy).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rivondzoko** (excessive jealousy) refers to an action or remark that shows that a person is excessively jealous against something or someone.

**Vondzoka** (be jealous)

C.  
[Result]: mavondzo (jealousy)

Class 14: 3. (a) Mavondzo ya wansati lonkulu eka wansati lontsongo ya vilerisa wanuna.  
(The jealousy of the senior wife to the younger wife surprises the man).

(b) Mavondzo ya wanuna eka munghana wakwe ya hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The jealousy of the man to his friend surprises people).

(c) Tatana u lemuka mavondzo ya nsati lonkulu eka nsati lontsongo.  
(The father notices the jealousy of the senior wife to the younger wife).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **mavondzo** (jealousy) refers to a feeling of anger or unhappiness because someone you like or love is showing interest in someone else, or a feeling of anger or unhappiness because you wish you had something that someone has.

**Vondzoka** (be jealous)

D.  
[Excessively experiencer]: xivondzoki (excessively jealous person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xivondzoki xi hlundzukisa vanhu.  
(The notorious/excessively jealous person makes people to be angry).

(b) Xivondzoki xi sola magezi.  
(The notorious/excessively jealous person criticises Magezi).

(c) Magezi u venga xivondzoki.  
(Magezi hates the notorious/excessively jealous person).

Plural: class 8: swivondzoki (Notorious/excessively jealous person)

The nominal **xivondzoki** (excessively jealous person) refers to a person who excessively displays an intense feeling of resentment against someone because of that person’s rivalry, success, or advantages. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of expressing an intense feeling of jealous against others is a permanent property of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be expressing the excessive intense feeling of jealous against others or he may not be expressing it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xivondzoki** (excessively jealous person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. What should be
borne in mind is the fact that in this nominal what is being modified is not the act of expressing intense feeling of jealous against others as such, but his excessiveness of expressing a feeling of jealous against others.

**Vondzoka** (be jealous)

E. [Act]: vuvondzoki (jealousy)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuvondzoki bya wansati ehenhla ka timhaka ta vanhu bya vengisa. (Jealousy of the woman on people’s affairs causes hatred).

(b) Vuvondzoki bya malume byi nyangatsa kokwana. (Jealousy of the uncle annoys the grandmother).

(c) Vanhu va venga vuvondzoki bya kokwana. (People hate the jealousy of the grandmother).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuvondzoki** (jealousy) refers to an action or remark that shows that a person is jealous.

**Onga** (Lure)

A. [Act]: muongi (luring person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muongi wa vana u hundze hi kwala. (The luring person of children passed through here).

(b) Muongi lonkulu wa vanhu i Sathana. (A great luring person of people is the devil).

(c) Munghana wo biha u hetelela a ri muongi wa vanghana va yena. (An evil friend ends up being a luring person of his friends).

Plural: Class 2: vaongi (luring person)

The nominal **muongi** (luring person) refers to an individual who tricks or attracts someone to go somewhere or do something by promising him a reward. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property is not the act of luring pers se, but the tendency of luring others thereof. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of luring someone or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muongi** (luring person).

**Onga** (Lure)

B. [Excessive act]: riongo (excessive luring)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riongo ra wanuna ra vana ri lemukiwile hi maphorisa. (The excessive luring of the man of the children has been noticed by police).
(b) Riongo ra sathana ra vakriste ri hlula hi xikhongelo ntsena.
(The excessive luring of satan of the Christians is only overcome by prayer).

(c) Wanuna u lemukile riongo ra mufana ra vana.
(The man has noticed the excessive luring of the young man of the children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riongo** (excessive luring) refers to the excessive act of tricking or attracting someone to go somewhere or do something by promising him a reward.

**Onga** (Lure)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiongi (expert/excessively luring person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiongi xa vana xi xava swiwitsi evhengeleni.
(The excessively luring person of children buys sweets at the shop).

(b) Xiongi xa vavasati xi xi tiendla mufundhisi.
(The excessively luring person of the women pretends to be a pastor).

(c) Wanuna u pota xiongi xa vavasati emaphoriseni.
(The man reports the excessively luring person of women to the police).

Plural: Class 8: swiongi (expert/excessively luring persons)

The nominal **xiongi** (expert/excessively luring person) refers to an individual who expertly or excessively tricks or attracts someone to go somewhere or do something by promising him a reward.

This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is not the act of luring per se, but the expertness or the excessiveness of luring others thereof. In other words, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of luring someone or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xiongi** (expert/excessively luring person). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question. That is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Onga** (Lure)

D. [Act/Quality]: vuongi (luring)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuongi bya nghala eka swiharhi byi endliwa hi vukheta lebyikulu.
(The luring of the lion on the animals is done with a great care).

(b) Vuongi bya vana hi swigevenga byi vilerisa maphorisa.
(The luring of children by criminals as worries the police).

(c) Vana va fenele va tivonele eka vuongi bya swigevenga.
(The children must be careful of the luring of the criminals).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuongi** (luring) refers to the act of tricking or attracting someone to go somewhere or do something by promising him a reward. But it may also refer to the attractive quality of something.

**Tsandzeka** (fail/loose)

[Experiencer]: mutsandzeki (failure)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsandzeki wa tinhlayo u sola vadyondzisi va yena.
   (The failure of mathematics blames his teachers).
   
   (b) Mutsandzeki u tshama ehansi.
   (The failure sits down).
   
   (c) Wanuna u hlongola mutsandzeki ekaya.
   (The man chases away the failure from home).

Plural: vatsandzeki (failures)

The nominal **mutsandzeki** (failure) refers to a person who is not successful in something expected or one who performs ineffectively or inadequately. This nominal is interpreted relative to an act whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrence. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level or individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it is applied to someone who has just failed once or twice only, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because there are still chances of succeeding in the future, in which case such a nominal may no longer apply to such a person. In other words, it applies only for the time in which the person in question was not succeeding in what he was engaged in. However, when the nominal **mutsandzeki** (failure) is applied to someone who has failed in many things, then such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it seems as if the act of failing will be associated with such an individual for the rest of her life. In other words, it is regarded as a permanent property of the individual in question.

**Tsandzeka** (fail/loose)

[Excessive Act/state]: ritsandzeko (excessive failure)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritsandzeko ra mufana ra tinhlayo ri vilerisa vatswari vakwe.
   (The excessive failing of the young man of mathematics worries his parents).
   
   (b) Ritsandzeko ra mufana ra giredi 4 ri hlamarisa vatswari.
   (The excessive failing of the young man of grade 4 surprises the parents).
   
   (c) Vadyondzisi va sola ritsandzeko ra mufana ra tinhlayo.
   (The parents condemn the excessive failing of the young man of mathematics).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsandzeko** (excessive failure) refers to the excessive act or excessive instance of failing or proving unsuccessful.
**Tsandzeka** (fail/loose)

[Excessive Experiencer]: xitsandziki (Excessively failing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitsandziki xa giredi 4 xi tshikile xikolo.  
(The excessively failing person of grade 4 has left schooling).

(b) Xitsandziki xa tinhlayo xi bile mudyondzisi.  
(The excessively failing person of mathematics has beaten the teacher).

(c) Vadyondzisi va khutaza xitsandziki xa giredi 4.  
(The teachers encourage the excessively failing person of grade 4).

Plural: switsandzeki (excessive failing persons)

The nominal xitsandzeki (excessively failure) refers to a person who is excessively unsuccessful in something he does or expected, or one who excessively performs extremely ineffectively or inadequately. This nominal is interpreted relative to an act whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrence. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it seems as if the act of what is being modified here is not the act of failing as such, but the excessiveness of failing thereof which will be associated with such an individual for the rest of her life. In other words, it is regarded as a permanent property of the individual in question.

**Tsandzeka** (fail/loose)

[Act/state]: vutsandzeki (failure)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutsandzeki bya mufana bya giredi 4 byi karhata vatswari vakwe.  
(The failure of the youngman of grade 4 troubles his parents).

(b) Vutsandzeki bya vana bya tinhlayo byi vilerisa mfumo.  
(The failure of the children of mathematics worries the government).

(c) Mfumo wu sola vutsandzeki bya vadyondzi bya tinhlayo.  
(The government condemns the failure of the learners of mathematics).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsandzeki (failure) refers to the act or instance of failing or proving unsuccessful or the condition or fact of not achieving the desired or expected end/s.

### 8.4 Deverbatives Derived From Verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion

The definition of Modes of being Involving Motion has been given in Section 4.5 of Chapter four which investigates deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition will apply in this section, however, the focus of this section is on deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.
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**Hangalasa (Scatter)**

**A. [Actor]: Muhangalasi (scatterer)**

Class 1:
1. (a) Muhangalasi wa ndyangu wa tatana u khomiwile.  
   (The scatterer of my father’s family has been arrested).

   (b) Muhangalasi wa swibye swa mina u nyamalarile.  
   (The scatterer of my things has disappeared).

   (c) Vanhu va khoma muhangalasi wa swilo emutini.  
   (People hold the scatterer of things in the family)

Plural: Class 2: vahangalasi (scatterers)

The nominal **muhangalasi** (scatterer) denotes a person who spread things far apart over a wide area or ground. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of scattering things. Once the act of scattering has come to an end such an individual may no longer be referred to as a **muhangalasi** (scatterer).

**Hangalasa (Scatter)**

**B. [Excessive act]: rihangalaso (excessive scattering)**

Class 7:
2. (a) Rihangalaso ra vadyondzi ra tibuku etilasini ri karhata mudyondzisi.  
   (The excessive scattering of the learners of the books in class troubles the teacher.)

   (b) Rihangalaso ra swibye ra emutini hi wansati ri vikiwile ehosini.  
   (The excessive scattering of the utensils in the family by the woman has been reported to the chief.)
(c) Wanuna u nyenya rihangalaso ra swibye hi vana exitangeni.
(The man dislikes the excessive scattering of the utensils by the children in the kitchen.)

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihangalaso (scattering) refers to the act of spreading things far apart over a wide area of ground which is done by an individual.

**Hangalasa (Scatter)**

C. [Excessive actor]: xihangalasi (excessive scatterer)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xihangalasi xa tibuku ta vana exikolweni xi kumekile.
(The excessive scatterer of the books of the children at school has been found).

(b) Xihangalasi xa timbuti enhoveni xi khomiwile.
(The excessive scatterer of the goats in the veld has been arrested).

(c) Vanhu va hlongorisa xihangalasi xa tibuku exikolweni.
(People chase the scatterer of things at school)

Plural: Class 8: swihangalasi (excessive scatterers)

The nominal xihangalasi (excessive scatterer) refers to an individual who regularly scatters things around the ground. Such a nominal always has a negative connotation, which is, tempering with the intactness of something. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal since the act of scattering is associated with the personality of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual will be busy scattering or will be engaged in a different activity, he will be always seen as a xihangalasi (scatterer).

**Hangalasa (Scatter)**

D. [Act]: vuhangalasi (scattering)

Class 14: 3. (a) Vuhangalasi bya mahungu ya ka SABC I bya xiyimo xa kahle.
(The broadcasting of the SABC news is of high quality).

(b) Vuhangalasi bya vuvabyi bya AIDS byi tsutsuma hi rivilo lerikulu.
(The scattering of AIDS disease is moving at a high rate).

(c) Vanhu va vona vuhangalasi bya mahungu ya AIDS yi ri mhaka ya kahle.
(The people see the spreading of information about AIDS as something good)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhangalasi (scattering) denotes an act of scattering of things by an individual.
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**Class 1**

Prefix: **mu-**

Suffix: **-i**

**muhangalasi** (scatterer)

```
          N
         /   \  N
       AF   N^R
          /    /   \   \  V   AF
     mu-  -hangalas-  -i
```

**Class 5**

Prefix: **ri-**

Suffix: **-o**

**rihangalaso** (excessive scattering)

```
          N
         /   \  N^R
       AF   N  \   /   V   AF
      /       /     /   ri-  -hangalas-  -o
```
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

**xihangalasi** (excessive scatterer)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i

**vuhangalasi** (scattering)

Verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion

(15) Nominalization from the verb -hangalasa (scatter)

(ii) The verb -hangalasa (scatter)
Wanuna u hangalasa mavele.
(The man scatters the mealies).

-hangalasa

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1 = x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hangalasa_ act (e1, x, y)
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Scatter – Motion - Act

The above lexical semantic representation of the verb -hangalasa (scatter) in (15) above indicates that its argument structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person who is engaged in the act of scattering and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of scattering. The event structure represents the process event of scattering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of scattering of the human argument (x).

(16) Nominalisation in class 1: muhangalasi (scatterer)
Muhangalasi wa mavele u fambile.
(The scatterer of maize is gone).

muhangalasi
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hangalasa_actor (e1, x,y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Scatterer – Motion – Actor – Human

The above lexical semantic representation of the deverbative muhangalasi (scatterer) in (16) above indicates that its argument structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person who is engaged in the act of scattering and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of scattering. The event structure represents the process event of scattering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of scattering of the human argument (x).

(17) Nominalisation in class 7: xihangalasi (excessive scatterer)
Xihangalasi xa rifuwo ra tatana xi balekile.
(The excessive scatterer of my father’s riches has fled).

xihangalasi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
D-ARG = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hangalasa_actor_excessive/expert (e1, x,y)
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Scatter – Motion – Excessive/Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xihangalasi* (excessive/expert scatterer) in (17) corresponds to that of *muhangalasi* (scatterer) in (16) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale, which represents the feature of [excessive] in *xihangalasi* (excessive/expert scatterer) which is absent with *muhangalasi* (scatterer).

(18) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihangalaso** (excessive scattering)

Rihangalaso ra mufana ra tinyimpfu ta vanhu enhoveni ri karhata vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive scattering of the young man of the sheep of other people worries his parents).

**rihangalaso**

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2=y: phys.obj.

EVSTR = D-E1 =e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y)
AGENTIVE=  _act_excessive (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Scatter – Motion – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rihangalaso* (excessive scattering) in (18) above indicates three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument that is filtering, and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the scattering. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of scattering. The event structure represents the process event of scattering. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that is scattering. The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of scattering of the person (x).

(19) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhangalasi** (scattering)

Vuhangalasi bya mpaha ya mufi byi ta endliwa vhiki leri taka.
(The scattering of the clothes of the deceased will be done next week).

**vuhangalasi**

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2= y: phys.obj.

EVSTR = D-E1 =e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y)
AGENTIVE= - _act (e1, x, y)
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Scatter – Motion – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vuhangalasi* (scattering) in (19) is similar to that of *rihangalaso* (excessive scattering) in (18) above. The only difference that obtains is that *vuhangalasi* (scattering) in (19) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *rihangalaso* (excessive scattering) in (18) above.

**Hakasa** (stir)

A.  [Actor]:  muhakasi (stirring person)

Class 1:  1. (a)  Muhakasi wa tiya u tshama etafuleni.
   (The stirring person of the tea sits around the table).
(b)  Muhakasi wa vuswa u hlamula foni.
   (The stirring person of the porridge is answering phone).
(c)  Wansati u nyika muhakasi wa tiya xinkwa.
   (The woman gives the stirring person of the tea bread).

Plural: Class 2:  vahakasi (stirring persons)

The nominal *muhakasi* (stirring person) refers to an individual who mixes up something such a liquid by moving a spoon or stick around in it. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of stirring of something by the individual in question. Once such an act comes to an end, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *muhakasi* (stirring person).

**Hakasa** (stir)

B.  [Excessive act]:  rihakaso (excessive stirring)

Class 5:  2. (a)  Rihakaso ra wansati ra tiya ri tsakisa n’wana.
   (The excessive stirring of the woman of the tea excites the child).
(b)  Rihakaso ra wansati ra vuswa ri hlamarisa muyeni.
   (The excessive stirring of the woman of the porridge surprises the visitor).
(c)  Wansati u sandza rihakaso ra mufana ra nyama.
   (The woman criticises the excessive stirring of the young man of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihakaso* (excessive stirring) denotes an excessive act of mixing up something such as a liquid by moving a spoon or stick around in it (Ibid).

**Hakasa** (stir)

C.  [Expert/Excessive actor]:  xihakasi (person who expertly/excessively stirs something)

Class 7:  3. (a)  Xihakasi xa tiya xi tsala hlaya buku.
   (The person who expertly/excessively stirs tea is reading a book).
(b) Xihakasi xa vuswa xi dzuka nyuku.
(The person who expertly/excessively stirs porridge is sweating).

(c) Wansati u komba xihakasi xa tiya xifaniso xa yena.
(The woman shows the person who expertly/excessively stirs tea his photo).

Plural: Class 8: swihakasi (people who expertly/excessively stir something)

The nominal xihakasi (person who expertly/excessively stirs something) denotes an individual who has an expertise of stirring something such as paint well or one who excessively stirs something. This nominal may thus be regarded as a individual-level nominal because the expertise/excessiveness of stirring something of the individual in question will be permanently be associated with him for the rest of his life regardless of whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of stirring up something or he will not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Hakasa (stir)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: xihakaso (stirring instrument)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihakaso xa tiya xi thyakile.
(The stirring instrument of the tea is dirty).

(b) Xihakaso xa vuswa xi yiviwile.
(The stirring instrument of the porridge has been stolen).

(c) Wansati u hlantswa xihakaso xa tiya.
(The woman washes the stirring instrument of the tea).

Plural: Class 8: swihakaso (stirring instruments)

The nominal xihakaso (stirring instrument) denotes an instrument used for stirring something, especially a liquid substance.

Hakasa (stir)

E. [Act]: vuhakasi (stirring)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhakasi bya wansati bya tiya byi tsakisa n`wana.
(The stirring of the woman of the tea excites the child).

(b) Vuhakasi bya mufana bya nyama byi hlekisa wanuna.
(The stirring of the young man of the meat makes the man laugh).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vuhakasi bya wansati bya vuswa.
(The old woman disapproves of the stirring of the woman of the porridge).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhakasi (stirring) refers to the act of mixing up something such as a liquid by moving a spoon or stick around in it (Ibid).

Tsondzela (roll up)

A. [Actor]: mutsondzeli (rolling up person)
Class 1:  
(a) Mutsondzeli wa darata u karhele.  
(The rolling up person of the wire is tired).
(b) Mutsondzeli wa ntambhu u thyakile.  
(The rolling up person of the wire is dirty).
(c) Wanuna u nyika mutsondzeli phayiphi xitulu.  
(The woman gives chair to the person who rolls up a pipe).

Plural: Class 2: vatsondzeli (rolling up people)

The nominal mutsondzeli (rolling up person) denotes an individual who coils something into a loop. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the nominal has to refer to someone engaged in the act of rolling up something at the time of reference. Once such an act is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutsondzeli (rolling up person).

**Tsondzela (roll up)**

B. [Excessive act/manner]: ritsondzelo (excessive rolling up)

Class 5:  
(a) Ritosndzelo ra wanuna ra phepha ri hlamarisa wansati.  
(The excessive rolling up of the man of the paper surprises the woman).
(b) Ritosndzelo ra mufana ra ntambhu ri tsakisa vana.  
(The excessive rolling up of the young man of the rope excites the children).
(c) Wansati u languta ritosndzelo ra mufana ra phepha.  
(The woman looks at the excessive rolling of the young man of the paper).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritosndzelo (excessive rolling up) denotes an excessive act of coiling something into a loop or round shape.

**Tsondzela (roll up)**

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xitosndzeli (expertly/excessively rolling up person)

Class 7:  
(a) Xitosndzeli xa tintambhu xi thyakile.  
(The expertly/excessively rolling up person of the ropes is dirty).
(b) Xitosndzeli xa tintambhu xi dya xinkwa.  
(The expertly/excessively rolling up person of the ropes is eating bread).
(c) Wansati u khensa xitosndzeli xa tintambhu.  
(The woman thanks the expert/excessive rolling up person of the ropes).

Plural: Class 8: switosndzeli (expertly/excessively rolling up people)

The nominal xitosndzeli (expertly/excessively rolling up person) denotes an individual who has an expertise of coiling something into a loop. But it may also refer to someone who excessively coils something into a loop. This nominal may be interpreted as an individual-level nominal because the expertise/excessiveness of coiling something into a loop of the individual in question will be associated with an individual for the most part of his life. In other words, whether the individual in
question may be engaged in the act of rolling up something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitsondzeli(expertly/excessively rolling up person). In other words, what is being modified in this nominal is not the act of rolling up of something of the individual in question but his expertise/excessiveness of rolling up something.

Tsontzela (roll up)

D. [Act]: vutsondzeli (rolling up)
Class 14: 4. (a) Vutsondzeli bya mufana bya tambhu byi tsakisa wanuna.
   (The rolling up of the young man of the rope pleases the man).
   (b) Vutsondzeli bya wanuna bya darata byi hlekisa vafana.
   (The rolling up of the man of the wire makes the young men laugh).
   (c) Wansati u sola vutsondzeli bya mufana bya ntambhu.
   (The woman disapproves of the rolling up of the young man of the rope).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsondzeli(rolling up) refers to the act of coiling something into a loop or round shape.

Dzinginisa (cause to shake forcibly)

A. [Actor]: mudzinginisi (person who causes something to shake forcibly)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mudzinginisi wa movha u karhele.
   (The person who causes the car to shake is tired).
   (b) Mudzinginisi wa nsinya lava makanyi.
   (The person who causes the tree to shake wants marula fruits).
   (c) Wanuna u hlongola mudzinginisi pala.
   (The man chases away the person who causes the pole to shake).

Plural: Class 2: vadzinginisi (people who cause something to shake forcibly)

The nominal mudzinginisi (person who causes something to shake forcibly) denotes an individual who causes something to shake forcibly. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of causing something to shake forcibly is a temporary occurrence. Once such an individual stops performing an act of shaking something, he will no longer be referred to as mudzinginisi (person who causes something to shake forcibly). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds for the duration of the act denoted by this nominal.

Dzinginisa (cause to shake forcibly)

B. [Excessive act]: ridzinginiso (excessive causing to shake forcibly)
Class 5: 2. (a) Ridzinginiso ra tindlopfu ra misinya ri onha ntumbuluko.
   (The excessive causing to shake of the elephants of the trees destroys the nature).
   (b) Ridzinginiso ra vafana ra tipala ta gezi ri karhata vaaki.
   (The excessive causing to shake forcibly of the young men of the electricity poles worries the residents).
(c) Vanhu va nyenya ridzinginiso ra vafana ra mikanyi.
(The people hate the excessive shaking forcibly of the young men of the marula tree).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ridzinginiso** (excessive causing to shake forcibly) denotes an excessive act of causing something to shake forcibly.

**Dzinginisa** (cause to shake forcibly)

C. [Excessive actor]: **xidzinginisi** (person who excessively causes to shake forcibly)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xidzinginisi xa tipala ta gezi xi tshama ehansi ka murhi.
(The person who excessively causes the electricity poles to shake forcibly sits under the tree).

(b) Xidzinginisi xa darata ya xikolo xi vavisekile tintiho.
(The person who excessively causes the fence of the school to shake forcibly hurt his fingers).

(c) Murindzi u languata xidzinginisi xa darata ya exitolo.
(The guard is looking at the person who excessively makes the fence of the school to shake).

Plural: Class 8: **swidzinginisi** (people who excessively cause to shake forcibly)

The nominal **xidzinginisi** (person who excessively shakes forcibly) denotes an individual who excessively causes something to shake forcibly. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining element in this nominal is the excessiveness of causing something to shake forcibly of the individual in question and not necessarily the excessive act of causing something to shake forcibly. The property of excessive causing something to shake forcibly of the individual in question will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the excessive act of causing something to shake forcibly or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xidzinginisi** (person who excessively causes to shake forcibly).

**Dzinginisa** (cause to shake forcibly)

D. [Act]: **vudzinginisi** (causing to shake forcibly)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudzinginisi bya tindlopfu bya misinya byi hlamarisa vafana.
(The causing to shake forcibly of the elephants of the trees surprises the young men).

(b) Vudzinginisi bya wanuna bya movha byi ehlisa mafurha.
(The causing to shake forcibly of the man of the car makes the gasoline to go down).

(c) Vanhu va solavudzinginisi bya vafana bya tipala ta gezi.
(The people condemn the shaking forcibly of the young men of the electricity poles).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vudzinginisi* (causing to shake forcibly) refers to an act of causing something to shake forcibly.

**Kukumuxa** (inflate/cause to swell up)

A. [Causing actor]: mukukumuxi (person who causes to inflate/swell)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukukumuxi wa baluni wa hefemuteka.  
(The person who inflates the balloon is breathing heavily).

(b) Mukukumuxi wa khwiri wa hlekelela.  
(The person who inflates his stomach is laughing).

(c) Wansati u hleka mukukumuxi wa baluni.  
(The woman is laughing at the person who inflates a balloon).

Plural: Class 2: vakukumuxi (people who inflate something)

The nominal *mukukumuxi* (person who inflates something) denotes an individual who stretches/expands his stomach or cheeks or one who causes something to expand by filling with air or gas. This nominal may thus be assigned the interpretation of a stage-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is the act of inflating something by an individual. Once such an act comes to an end, such a person may no longer be referred to as *mukukumuxi* (person who inflates something). In other words, this nominal always makes reference to the defining event of inflating.

**Kukumuxa** (inflate/cause to swell up)

B. [Excessive act]: rikukumuxo (excessive inflation)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikukumuxo ra n’wana ra marhama ri hlekisa mana wakwe.  
(The excessive inflation of the cheeks of the child makes her mother laugh).

(b) Rikukumuxo ra mufana ra khwiri ri nyenyetsa tata wakwe.  
(The excessive inflation the stomach of the child annoys his father).

(c) Wansati u sola rikukumuxo ra mufana ra khwiri.  
(The woman disapproves of the excessive inflation of the young man of the stomach).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rikukumuxo* (excessive inflation) denotes an excessive act of stretching/expanding one’s stomach or cheeks or the act of causing something to expand by filling with air or gas.

**Kukumuxa** (inflate/cause to swell up)

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: xikukumuxi (person who expertly/excessively inflates something)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikukumuxi xa baluni xi hlantswa mpahla.  
(The person who expertly/excessively inflates a balloon is washing clothes).
(b) Xikukumuxi xa marhama xi hlundzukile.
(The person who expertly/excessively inflates the cheeks is angry).
(c) Wansati u vitana xikukumuxi xa baluni.
(The man is calling the person who inflates the balloon).

Plural: Class 8: vakukumuxi (people who expertly/excessively inflates something)

The nominal xikukumuxi (person who expertly/excessively inflates something) denotes an individual who regularly inflates something. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of inflating something by an individual will always be associated with him irrespective of whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of inflating something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Kukumuxa (inflatable/cause to swell up)

D. [Act]: vukukumuxi (inflation)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukukumuxi bya mufana bya baluni byi tsakisa n’wna.
(The inflation of the young man of the balloon excites the child).
(b) Vukukumuxi bya mufana bya khwiri byi nyangatsa wansati.
(The inflation of the young man of the balloon disgusts the woman).
(c) Wansati u nyenya vukukumuxi bya mufana bya baluni.
(The woman dislikes the inflation of the young man of the balloon).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukukumuxi (inflation) refers to the act of stretching/expanding one’s stomach or cheeks or the act of causing something to expand by filling with air or gas.

Vumbuluxa (roll away)

A. [Causing actor]: muvumbuluxi (rolling away person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvumbuluxi wa maribye entshaveni u twa ndlala.
(The person who rolls away stones at the mountain is hungry).
(b) Muvumbuluxi wa ntsandza u karhele.
(The person who rolls away the logs is tired).
(c) Wansati u hleka muvumbuluxi wa ntsandza.
(The woman laughs at the person who rolls away the log).

Plural: Class 2: vavumbuluxi (rolling away people)

The nominal muvumbuluxi (rolling away person) denotes an individual who causes something to move smoothly by turning like a wheel or ball. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of causing something to roll at a time of reference. In other words, the nominal muvumbuluxi (rolling away person) makes reference to the defining event of rolling. Once such an event is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muvumbuluxi (rolling away person).
Vumbuluxa (roll away)

B. [Excessive act]: rivumbuluxo (excessive rolling away)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivumbuluxo ra wansati ra mitsandza ri vilerisa nuna wakwe.
(The excessive rolling away of the woman of the logs worries her husband).

(b) Rivumbuluxo ra wanuna ra maribye ri n’wi humesile timbhonya.
(The excessive rolling away of the man of the stones has made him develop cones).

(c) Wanuna u hlamala rivumbuluxo ra mufana ra ntsandza.
(The man is surprised at the excessive rolling away forcibly of the young man of the log).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivumbuluxo (excessive away rolling) denotes an excessive act of causing something to move smoothly by turning like a wheel or ball.

Vumbuluxa (roll away)

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: xivumbuluxi (expert/excessively rolling away person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivumbuluxi xa maribye entshaveni xi balekile.
(The person who expertly/excessively rolls away stones at the mountain has run away).

(b) Xivumbuluxi xa mitsandza enambyeni xi chavisa vafana.
(The person who expertly/excessively rolls away logs in the river frightens the young men).

(c) Wansati u languta xivumbuluxi xa mitsandza enambyeni.
(The woman looks at the person who expertly/excessively rolls away logs forcibly at the river).

Plural: Class 8: swivumbuluxi (people who expertly/excessively rolls something away)

The nominal xivumbuluxi (expert/excessively rolling away people) denotes an individual who excessively rolls something like a wheel. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertness/excessiveness of rolling something which will be associated with the individual or the rest of his life regardless of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act denoted by the nominal or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Vumbuluxa (roll away)

D. [Act]: vuvumbuluxi (rolling away)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuvumbuluxi bya wansati bya maribye enambyeni byi hlamarisa vaaki.
(The rolling over of the woman of the stones in the river surprises the residents).

(b) Vuvumbuluxi bya mufana bya mitsandza byi nyenyetsa nhwana wakwe.
(The rolling over of the youngman of the logs annoys his girlfriend).
(c) Mukhalabye u sola vuvumbuluxi bya mufana bya mitsandza.
(The old man disapproves of the rolling over of the young man of the logs).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvumbuluxi (rolling away) refers to the act of causing something to move smoothly by turning like a wheel or ball.

Khunguluxa (send rolling down)

A. [Causing actor]: mukhunguluxi (person who causes to roll down)
Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhunguluxi wa diromu u thyakile.
(The person who causes the drum to roll down is dirty).
   (b) Mukhunguluxi wa vhilwa u ya exitolo.
       (The person who causes the wheel to roll down goes to the shop).
   (c) Wansati u hleka mukhunguluxi wa ntsandza.
       (The woman laughs at the person who causes the log to roll down).

Plural: Class 2: vakhunguluxi (people who cause to roll down)

The nominal mukhunguluxi (person who causes to roll down) denotes an individual who causes someone or something to roll down on a slope. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in this act at the time of reference. In other words, once the act of causing something to roll stops an individual in question may no longer be referred to as mukhunguluxi (person who causes to roll down).

Khunguluxa (send rolling down)

B. [Excessive act]: rikhunguluxo (excessive causing to roll down)
Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhunguluxo ra wansati ra diromu ra n’wi ondzisa.
       (The excessive causing to roll down of the woman of the drum makes her lose weight).
   (b) Rikhunguluxo ra wanuna ra mavhilwa ya gandaganda ri hlekisa vafana.
       (The excessive causing to roll down of the man of the wheels of the bull dozer makes the young men to laugh).
   (c) Wansati u hlamala rikhunguluxo ra xifufununu ra bolo.
       (The woman is surprised at the excessive causing to roll down forcibly of the scarab beetle of the ball).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhunguluxo (excessive causing to roll down) denotes an excessive act of causing someone or something to roll down on a slope.

Khunguluxa (send rolling down)

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: xivumbuluxi (person who expertly/excessively causes to roll down)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhunguluxi xa mavhilwa ya tigandaganda xi lovile.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes the wheels of the bull dozer to roll down forcibly has died).

(b) Xikhunguluxi xa madiromu ya mati xi dakwile.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes the drums of water to roll down forcibly is drunk).

(c) Wanunatsakela xikhunguluxi xa diromu.
(The man likes the person who expertly/excessively causes the drum to roll down forcibly).

Plural: Class 8: swikhunguluxi (people who expertly/excessively cause to roll down)

The nominal xikhunguluxi (person who expertly/excessively causes to roll down) denotes an individual who causes someone or something to roll. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is not necessarily the act of causing someone or something to roll but the expertness/excessiveness of causing someone or something to roll. This act will be associated with an individual in question whether he will be engaged in the act denoted by the nominal or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Khunguluxa** (send rolling down)

D. [Act]: vukhunguluxi (causing to roll down)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhunguluxi bya wanuna bya mavhilwa ya gandaganda bya n’wi ondzisa.
(The causing to roll down of the man of the wheels of the bull dozer is making him lose weight).

(b) Vukhunguluxi bya mufana bya diromu ra mati byi hlekisa vanhawna.
(The causing to roll down of the young man of the drum of water makes the young women laugh).

(c) Wasnuna u sola vukhunguluxi bya wansati bya diromu ra mati.
(The man disapproves of the causing to roll down of the woman of the drum of water).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhunguluxi (rolling away) refers to the act of causing someone or something to roll down on a slope.

**Rhendzelexa** (cause to turn around)

A. [Actor]: murhendzelexi (person who causes to turn around)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhendzelexi wa xidirayivha xa movha wa hlekelela.
(The person who causes the steering wheel of the car to turn around is laughing).

(b) Murhendzelexi wa mavhilwa ya ximovhana u tsakisa n’wana.
(The person who causes the wheels of the toy car to turn around excites the child).

(c) Wanuna u honokela murhendzelexi wa xidirayivha xa movha.
(The man looks sternly at the person who causes the steering wheel of the car to turn around).
The nominal **murhendzelexi** (person who causes to turn around) denotes an individual who causes something to turn around. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it refers to an act which is being performed at the time of reference. Once the act denoted by this nominal is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **murhendzelexi** (person who causes to turn around).

**Rhendzelexa** (Cause to turn around)

B.  [Excessive act]:  rirhendzelexo (excessive causing to turn around)

Class 5:  2.  (a)  Rirhendzelexo ra mufana ra xidirayivha xa lori ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The excessive causing to turn around of the young man of the steering wheel of the truck annoys the man).

(b)  Rirhendzelexo ra mufana ra mavhilwa ya xipelupelu ri tsakisa vana.
(The excessive causing to turn around of the young man of the fan excites the children).

(c)  Wanuna u nyenya rirhendzelexo ra mufana ra xidirayivha xa movha.
(The man dislikes the excessive causing to turn around forcibly of the young man of the steering of the car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rirhendzelexo** (excessive causing to turn around) denotes an excessive act of causing something to turn around.

**Rhendzelexa** (Cause to turn around)

C.  [Expert/Excessive causing actor]:  xirhendzelexi (person who expertly/excessively cause to turn around)

Class 7:  3.  (a)  Xirhendzelexi xa xidirayivha xa movha xi ya exikolweni.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes the steering of the car to turn around goes to school).

(b)  Xirhendzelexi ra vhilwa ra basikiri xi rhandza ntlangu wa xibakele.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes the wheel of the bicycle to turn around likes boxing).

(c)  Wansati u huwelela xirhendzelexi xa vhilwa ra basikiri.
(The woman shouts at the person who expertly/excessively causes the wheel of the bicycle to turn around).

Plural: Class 8: swirhendzelexi (people who expertly/excessively cause to turn around)

The nominal **xirhendzelexi** (person who expertly/excessively cause to turn around) signifies an individual who excessively causes something to turn around. This nominal may be interpreted as a individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of causing something to turn around per se, but the expertness/excessiveness of turning something around. This act of turning something around will always be associated with an individual for the most part of his
life. In other words, whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of turning something around or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as *xirhendzelexi* (person who expertly/excessively cause to turn around).

**Rhendzelexa** (cause to turn around)

D.  

[Act]: vurhendzelexi (causing to turn around)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurhendzelexi bya wanuna bya vhilwa ra movha byi tsakisa mufana.  
(The causing to turn around of the man of the wheel of the car excites the child).

(b) Vurhendzelexi bya mufana bya xipelupelu byi hlamarisa n’wana.  
(The causing to turn around of the young man of the sling surprises the child).

(c) Wansati u sola vurhendzelexi bya mufana bya vhilwa ra movha.  
(The woman disapproves of the causing to turn of the young man of the wheel of the car).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vurhendzelexi* (causing to turn around) refers to the act of causing something to turn around.

**Ndzuluxa** (Cause to revolve)

A.  

[Causing actor]: mundzuluxi (person who causes to revolve)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mundzuluxi wa ximoko u khayima tihomu.  
(The person who causes the long whip to revolve is driving the cattle).

(b) Mundzuluxi wa nyoka u chavisa vana.  
(The person who causes the snake to revolve scares the children).

(c) Wansati u sola mundzuluxi wa nyoka.  
(The woman condemns the person who causes the snake to revolve).

Plural: vandzuluxi (people who cause to revolve)

The nominal *mundzuluxi* (person who causes to revolve) denotes an individual who causes something to move around a central point or in circle. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of causing something to revolve. Once such an act is over such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mundzuluxi* (person who causes something to revolve)

**Ndzuluxa** (Cause to revolve)

B.  

[Excessive act]: rindzuluxo (excessive causing to revolve)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindzuluxo ra mufana ra ximoko ri tsutsumisa tidonki.  
(The excessive causing of the young man of the long whip to revolve makes the donkeys run).

(b) Rindzuluxo ra wansati ra nyoka ri nyenyetsa vanhu.  
(The excessive causing to revolve of the woman of the snake annoys the people).
(c) Wanuna rhandza rindzuluxo ra mufana ra ximoko.
(The man likes the excessive causing of the young man of the long whip to revolve forcibly).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rindzuluxo (excessive causing to revolve) denotes an excessive act of causes something to move around a central point or in circle.

Ndzuluxa (Cause to revolve)

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: xindzuluxi (person who expertly/excessively cause to revolve)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindzuluxi xa ximoko enambyeni xi senga tihomu.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes the long whip to revolve milks the cows).

(b) Xindzuluxi xa xipelupelu xi karhele.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes the sling to revolve is tired).

(c) Wanuna u nyika xindzuluxi xa xipelupelu mali.
(The man gives money to the person who expertly/excessively causes the sling to revolve).

Plural: Class 8: swindzuluxi (people who expertly/excessively cause to revolve)

The nominal xindzuluxi (person who expertly/excessively cause to revolve) denotes an individual who expertly/excessively causes something to move around a central point or in circle. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal what is being modified in this nominal is the expertness/excessiveness of causing something to move around in a circle, but the act of causing to move around in a circle. This means that the expertness/excessiveness of causing something to move around in a circle will always be associated with the individual in question for the rest of his life irrespective of whether or not such a person will be involved in the act of causing something to move around at the time of reference

Ndzuluxa (Cause to revolve)

D. [Act]: vundzuluxi (causing to revolve)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundzuluxi bya mufana bya ximoko edibini byi tsakisa vanhu.
(The causing to revolve of the young man of the long whip at the cattle dip excites the people).

(b) Vundzuluxi bya mufana bya nyoka byi hahamisa vana.
(The causing to revolve of the young man of the snake makes the children hallucinate).

(c) Mukhalabye u sola vundzuluxi bya mufana bya nyoka.
(The old man disapproves of the causing to revolve of the young man of the snake).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vundzuluxi** (causing to revolve) refers to the act of causes something to move around a central point or in circle.

**Ndzindzimuxa** (cause to slip/slide)

A. [Causing actor]: mundzindzimuxi (person who causes to slip/slide)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mundzindzimuxi wa saka ra mugayo exitupini u karhele.  
(The person who causes bag of mealie meal to slip/slide on the floor is tired).

(b) Mundzindzimuxi wa xisakana xa semendhe ehansi u vavisekile tintiho.  
(The person who causes the bag of cement to slip/slide on the ground has hurt his fingers).

(c) Wansati u pfuna mundzindzimuxi wa xisakana xa semendhe exitolo.  
(The woman helps the person who causes the bag of cement to slip/slide in the shop.

Plural: Class 2: vandzindzimuxi (people who cause to slip/slide)

The nominal **mundzindzimuxi** (person who causes to slip/slide) signifies an individual who causes something to move easily over a smooth, steep or wet surface. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal the defining property in this nominal is the act of causing something to move easily by the individual in question. Once the act denoted by this nominal is put on halt, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mundzindzimuxi** (person who causes to slip/slide).

**Ndzindzimuxa** (cause to slip/slide)

B. [Excessive act]: rindzindzimuxo (excessive causing to slip/slide)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindzindzimuxo ra wansati ra swisakana swa semendhe exitolo ri hlamarisa vanhu.  
(The excessive causing to slip/slide of the woman of the bags of cement at the shop surprises people).

(b) Rindzindzimuxo ra wanuna ra masaka ya mugayo ri vilerisa nsati wakwe.  
(The excessive causing to slip/slide of the man of mealie meal bags worries his wife).

(c) Wansati u sola rindzindzimuxo ra mufana ra swisakana swa semendhe ehansi.  
(The woman disapproves of the excessive causing to slip/slide of the young man of the bags of cement on the ground).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rindzindzimuxo** (excessive causing to slip/slide) denotes an excessive act of causing something to move easily over a smooth, steep or wet surface.

**Ndzindzimuxa** (cause to slip/slide)

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: xindzindzimuxi (person who expertly/excessively cause to slip/slide)
Class 7: 3. (a) Xindzindzimuxi xa masaka ya mugayo exitolo xi dya vuswa.
(The person who expertly/excessively causesthe mealie bags to slip/slide at the shop is eating porridge).

(b) Xindzindzimuxi xa mitsandza egangeni ra nambu xi vatla matshuri.
(The person who expertly/excessively causes logs to slide at the bank of the river is carving mortars).

(c) Wansati u ndzawuta xindzindzimuxi xa mitsandza egangeni ra nambu.
(The woman greets the person who expertly/excessively causes the logs to slide at the bank of the river).

Plural: Class: swindzindzimuxi (people who expertly/excessively cause to slip/slide)

The nominal xindzindzimuxi (person who expertly/excessively cause to slip/slide) refers to an individual who excessively causes something to move easily over a smooth, steep or wet surface. The defining property in this nominal is the expertness/excessiveness of the individual in question in causing something to move easily but not the act thereof. This is the reason why such an individual is always associated with the act of causing something to move easily even when he is not involved in such an act at the time of reference.

Ndzindzimuxa (Cause to slip/slide)

D. [Act]: vundzindzimuxi (causing to slip/slide)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundzindzimuxi bya wanuna bya swisakana swa semendhe byi nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The causing to slip/slide of the man of the bags of cement annoys his children).

(b) Vundzindzimuxi bya mufana bya mitsandza enambyeni byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The causing to slip/slide of the young man of the logs in the river surprises the people).

(c) Mukhalabyeu venga vundzindzimuxi bya vafana bya masaka ya mugayo.
(The old man hates the causing to slip/slide of the young men of the mealie meali bags).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vundzindzimuxi (causing to slip/slide) refers to the act of causing something to move easily over a smooth, steep or wet surface.

Ndziwilixa (Cause to spin)

A. [Causing actor]: mundziwilixi (person who cause to spin)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mundziwilixi wa vhilwa ra basikiri u karhele.
(The person who causes the wheel of the bicycle to spin is tired).

(b) Mundziwilixi wa xipelupelu u baphala nyuku.
(The person who causes the sling to spin is sweating).

(c) Wansati u hlongola mundziwilixi wa xipelupelu emutini.
(The woman chases away the spinning person of the sling in inside the home).

Plural: Class 2: vandziwilixi (people who cause to spin)
The nominal **mundziwilixi** (person who cause to spin) denotes an individual who causes something to be in a whirling or turning motion. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the nominal makes reference to the act which is taking place at the time of reference. Such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mundziwilixi** (person who cause to spin) once the act thereof has been completed.

**Ndziwilixa (Cause to spin)**

B. [Excessive act]: rindziwilixo (excessive causing to spin)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindziwilixo ra mufana ra xipelupelu ri chavisa varisi. (The excessive causing to spin of the young man of the sling scares the herd boys).
(b) Rindziwilixo ra wanuna ra xibelupelu xo hungela moya ri tsakisa vana. (The excessive causing to spin of the young man of the fan excites the children).
(c) Wansati u nyenya rindziwilixo ra mufana ra xipelupelu emutini. (The woman dislikes the excessive causing to spin of the young man of the sling inside home).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rindziwilixo** (excessive causing to spin) denotes an excessive act of causing something to be in a whirling or turning motion.

**Ndziwilixa (Cause to spin)**

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: xindziwilixi (person who expertly/excessively cause to spin)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindziwilixi xa vhilwa ra basikiri xi ya exikolweni. (The person who expertly/excessively causes to spin the wheel of the bicycle is going to school).
(b) Xindziwilixi xa xipelupelu xi vavisile homu. (The person who expertly/excessively causes to spin has hurt he cow).
(c) Wanuna u xweta xindziwilixi xa vhilwa ra basikiri. (The man greets the person who expertly/excessively causes the wheel of the bicycle to spin).

Plural: Class 8: swindziwilixi (people who expertly/excessively cause to spin)

The nominal **xindziwilixi** (person who expertly/excessively cause to spin) denotes an individual who regularly causes something to spin. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the expertness/excessiveness of causing something to spin which will always be associated with an individual in question for the most part of his life regardless of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of causing something to spin or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.
Ndziwilixa (Cause to spin)

D.  [Act]: vundziwilixi (causing to spin)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundziwilixi bya mufana bya xipelupelu emutini byi nyangatsa wansati. (The causing to spin of the young man of the sling inside the home disgusts the woman).

(b) Vundziwilixi bya mufana bya vhilwa ra basikiri byi tsakisa vana. (The causing to spin of the young man of the wheel of the bicycle excites the children).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vundziwilixi bya mufana bya xipelupelu. (The man likes the causing to spin of the young man of the sling).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vundziwilixi (causing to spin) refers to the act of causing something to be in a whirling or turning motion.

Ndzirimuxa (Cause to run fast)

A.  [Causing actor]: mundzirimuxi (person who cause to run fast)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mundzirimuxi wa ximovhana u ya exitolo. (The person who causes the toy car to run fast is going to the shop).

(b) Mundzirimuxi wa vhilwa ra basikiri wa hefemuteka. (The person who causes the wheel of the bicycle to run fast is breathing heavily).

(c) Wansati u languta mundzirimuxi wa ximovhana epatwini. (The woman looks at the person who causes the toy car to run fast on the road).

Plural: Class 2: vandzirimuxi (people who cause to run fast)

The nominal mundzirimuxi (person who causes to run fast) denotes an individual who causes something to run with great speed. This nominal may thus be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because it makes reference of the activity which is still going on at the time of reference. The individual involved has to be in engaged in the act otherwise such an individual is no longer fit to be referred to as mundzirimuxi (person who causes to run fast) makes reference to the defining event of alighting.

Ndzirimuxa (cause to run fast)

B.  [Excessive causing act]: rindzirimuxo (excessive causing to run fast)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rindzirimuxo ra mufana ra vhilwa ra basikiri ri tsakisa vana. (The excessive causing of the young man of the wheel of the bicycle to run fast excites the children).

(b) Rindzirimuxo ra mufana ra ximovhana ri hlamarisa wansati. (The excessive causing of the young man of the toy car to run fast surprises the woman).

(c) Wanuna u venga rindzirimuxo ra mufana ra ximovhana. (The man hates the excessive causing of the young man of the toy car to run fast).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rindzirimuxo* (excessive causing to run fast) denotes an excessive act of causing something to run with great speed.

**Ndzirimuxa (cause to run fast)**

C. [Expert/Excessive causing actor]: *xindzirimuxi* (person who expertly/excessively cause to run fast)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xindzirimuxi xa vhilwa ra basikiri xi oxa nyama. (The person who expertly/excessively causes the wheel of the bicycle to run fast is roasting meat).

(b) Xindzirimuxi xa ximovhana xi thyakile. (The person who expertly/excessively causes the toy car to run fast is dirty).

(c) Wanuna u vitana xindzirimuxi ximovhana. (The man calls for the person who expertly/excessively causes the toy car to run fast).

Plural: Class 8: *swindzirimuxi* (people who expertly/excessively cause to run fast)

The nominal *xindzirimuxi* (person who expertly/excessively cause to run fast) denotes an individual who causes something to run with great speed. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it does not necessarily makes reference to the act denoted, but the expertness/excessiveness of the individual in question of causing something to run at a great speed. This act will be associated with him even when he will not be involved in the act denoted by the nominal. In other words, the individual in question does not have to be involved in the act denoted at the time of reference. for the most part of his life. In other words, the individual in question may be engaged in the activity or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Ndzirimuxa (cause to run fast)**

D. [Act]: *vundzirimuxi* (causing to run fast)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vundzirimuxi bya mufana bya vhilwa ra basikiri byi nyenyetsa nhwana wakwe. (The causing to run fast of the young man of the wheel of the bicycle annoys his girlfriend).

(b) Vundzirimuxi bya mufana bya ximovhana byi hlamarisa vanhu. (The causing to run fast of the young man of the toy car surprises the people).

(c) Mukhegula u hlalela vundzirimuxi bya vafana bya swimovhana. (The old woman is watching the causing to run fast of the young men of the toy cars).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vundzirimuxi* (fast running) refers to the act of causing something to run with great speed.
Gombonyosa (cause crookery)

A. [Causing actor]: mugombonyosi (person who causes crookery)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mugombonyosi wa layeni u vulavula ni mufana. (The person who causes the line to be crooked is talking with a young man).

(b) Mugombonyosi wa darata u tirha swakwe. (The person who causes the fence to be crooked is working alone).

(c) Wanuna u venga mugombonyosi wa layeni. (The man hates the person who causes line to be crooked).

Plural: Class 2: vagombonyosi (people who cause crookery)

The nominal mugombonyosi (person who causes crookery) denotes an individual who causes something to be crookery. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act denoted in this nominal is a temporary occurrence. Once such an act stops, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mugombonyosi (person who causes crookery). In other words, the individual denoted by the nominal has to be engaged in the act at a time of reference.

Gombonyosa (cause crookery)

B. [Excessive act]: rigombonyoso (excessive causing crookery)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rigombonyoso ra wanuna ra darata ri hlamarisa vanhu. (The excessive causing of the man of crookery of the fence surprises people).

(b) Rigombonyoso ra wansati ra layeni ri hlekisa vana. (The excessive causing of the woman of the line to be crookery makes the children laugh).

(c) Wansati u sandza rigombonyoso ra mufana ra layeni. (The woman criticises the excessive causing of the young man of crookery of the line).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rigombonyoso (excessive causing crookery) denotes an excessive act of causing something to be crookery.

Gombonyosa (cause crookery)

C. [Excessive causing actor]: xigombonyosi (person who excessively causes something to be crooked)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xigombonyosi xa tindlu xi xava xinkwa. (The person who excessively causes houses to be crooked is buying bread).

(b) Xigombonyosi xa marhangu ya miti xi lovile. (The person who excessively causes walls of the families to be crooked is dead).

(c) Wanuna u komba xigombonyosi xihoxo ekhumbini. (The man shows the person who excessively causes crooked the mistake on the wall).

Plural: Class 8: swigombonyosi (people who excessively cause something to be crooked)
The nominal **xigombonyosi** (person who excessively causes crooked) denotes an individual who regularly causes something to be crooked. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the individual in question need not be engaged in the act denoted by the nominal at the time of reference. Such an individual is usually associated with the act irrespective of whether he is engaged in it or not.

**Gombonyosa** (cause crookery)

D. [Act]: vugombonyosi (causing crookery)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vugombonyosi bya wanuna bya tindlu ta RDP byi vikiwile eka Ndzawulo. (The causing crookery of the man on RDP houses has been reported to the Department).

(b) Vugombonyosi bya mufana bya layeni byi hlekisa nhwana. (The causing crookery of the young man makes the young woman laugh).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vugombonyosi bya layeni ekhumbini. (The old woman disapproves of the causing of the woman of the crookery of the line on the wall).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vugombonyosi** (causing crookery) refers to an act of causing something to be crookery.

### 8.5 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF ASSESSMENT

The verbs in this class are defined by Levin (1993:196) as the verbs which relate to making an assessment of something with respect to some attribute. According to Levin (op cit) these verbs are found in one of the possessor-attribute factoring alternation: the possessor alternation. Levin (op cit) further stress that these verbs simply indicate the assessment but does not reflect the outcome of that assessment as is the case with judgement and admire-type psych verb.

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Hlahluva (analyse)

A. [Act]: muhlahluvi (analyst)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlahluvi u hlaya novhele ya Xisomisana.
(The analyst is reading Xisomisana novel)

(b) Muhlahluvi wa mhaka u vulavula emahetelelweni.
(The analyst of the case speaks at the end).

(c) Vavanuna va yingisela muhlahluvi wa mhaka.
(The men listen to the analyst of the case)

Plural: Class 2: vahlahluvi (analysts)

The nominal **muhlahluvi** (analyst) refers to a person who examines or reviews data or materials for a specific area in order to give an opinion on them, or in order to understand more about it. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereto. When it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of clearing analyzing something at a given time, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of analyzing which may be finished at any time. In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. Once such an activity comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **muhlahluvi**. However, when such a nominal refers to an individual whose hobby or job is to analyse things, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the habit of analyzing things which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of analyzing something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muhlahluvi** (analyst).

Hlahluva (analyse)

B. [Event/Act]: nhlahluvo (analysis)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nhlahluvo wa tsalwa ra I vutomi wu endliwile hi manana Xirilele.
(The analysis of *I vutomi* novel has been conducted by Mrs Xirilele).

(b) Nhlahluvo wa xithokovetselo wu dyondzisa vanhu ku ehleketa.
(The analysis of a poem teaches people to think).

(c) Mudyondzisi u rhandza nhlahluvo wa swithokovetselo.
(The teacher likes the analysis of the poems)

Plural: Class 4: mihlahluvo (analysis)

The nominal **nhlahluvo** (analysis) refers to the act or process of separating or breaking up of any whole into its parts, esp. with an examination of these parts to find out their nature; or the examination and evaluation of the relevant information to select the best course of action from among various. But
it may also refer to the process used to collect information about the duties, responsibilities, necessary skills, outcomes, and work environment of a company.

**Hlahluva (analyse)**

C. **[Excessive act]: rihlahluvo (excessive/intensive analysis)**

Class 5: 3. (a) Rihlahluvo ra Hlungwani ra matsalwa ya vutlhokovetseri ri pfuna vadyondzi.
(The intensive analysis of Hlungwani of poetry books assists the learners).

(b) Rihlahluvo ra Hlungwani ra vutlhokovetseri bya Magaisa ri tsakisa swichudeni).
(The intensive analysis of Hlungwani of the poetry of Magaisa pleases the students).

(c) Vadyondzi va tsakela rihlahluvo ra Hlungwani ra vutlhokovetseri).
(The learners like the intensive analysis of Hlungwani of poetry).

Plural: Class 3: mihlahluvo (analysis)

The nominal **rihlahluvo** (excessive analyzing/analysis) refers to the excessive act or process of separating or breaking up of any whole into its parts, esp. with an examination of these parts to find out their nature; or the examination and evaluation of the relevant information to select the best course of action from among various.

**Hlahluva (Analyse)**

D. **[Expert actor]: xihlahluvi (expert analyst)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihlahluvi lexikulu xa matsalwa ya Xitsonga i Prof. N.C.P. Golele.
(An expert analyst of Xitsonga literature is Prof. N.C.P. Golele).

(b) Xihlahluvi xa mhaka xi ta nyika mbuyelo mundzuku.
(An expert analyst will give the results tomorrow).

(c) Vanhu va yingisela xihlahluvi xa matsalwa ya Xitsonga exikolweni.
(The people listen to the expert analyst of the Xitsonga literature at the school)

Plural: Class 8: swihlahluvi (expert analysts)

The nominal **xihlahluvi** (expert analyst) refers to a person who expertly examines or reviews data or materials for a specific area in order to give an opinion on them, or in order to understand more about it. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness of the individual in question in analyzing things is a permanent property of such a person. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of analysis or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihlahluvi** (expert analyst). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
Hlahluva (analyse)

E. [Act]: vuhlahluvi (analysing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhlahluvi bya matsalwa byi anamisa vutivi bya munhu. (Analysing literature widens a person’s horizons).

(b) Vuhlahluvi bya swithlokovetselo byi tlhotlha miehleketo. (Analysing poems provokes thinking).

(c) Vavanuna va rhandza vuhlahluvi bya matsalwa. (Men like analysing literature).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlahluvi (analyzing/analysis) refers to the act or process of separating or breaking up of any whole into its parts, esp. with an examination of these parts to find out their nature; or the examination and evaluation of the relevant information to select the best course of action from among various.

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Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i

muhlahluvi (analyst)
Suffix: -o

**nhlahluvo** (analysis)

```
N
/   \
AF   N^R
|     |
V     AF
|     |
n-   -hlaluv-   -o
```

**Class 5**

Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

**rihlahlhuvo** (excessive/intensive analysis)

```
N
/   \
AF   N^R
|     |
V     AF
|     |
ri-  -hlaluv-   -o
```

**Class 7**

Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

**xihlahluvi** (excessive analyst)

```
N
/   \
AF   N^R
|     |
V     AF
|     |
xi-  -hlaluv-   -i
```
Class 14
Prefix:         vu-
Suffix:        -i

vuhlahluvi (analysing)

Verbs of Assessment

Nominalization from the verb -hlahluva (analyse)

Xichudeni xi hlahluva xithokovetselo.
The student is analyzing the poem.
(The man scatters the mealies).

-hlahluva

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1 = x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hlahluva_ act (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Analyse – Act

The above lexical semantic representation of the verb -hlahluva (analyse) in (20) above contains two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument denoting the person who is engaged in the act of analysing and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of analysing. The event structure represents the process event of analysing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of analysing of the human argument (x).

Nominalisation in class 1: muhlahluvi (analyst)

Muhlahluvi u hlaya novhele ya Xisomisana.
(The analyst is reading Xisomisana novel).
**muhlaluvi**

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1=x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -hlahluva_act (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Analyse – Actor – Human

The above lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *muhlaluvi* (analyst) in (21) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument denoting the person who is engaged in the act of analysing and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of analysing. The event structure represents the process event of analysing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of analysing of the human argument (x).

(22) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihlahluvi** (expert/excessive analyst)

Xihlahluvi xa swithokovetselo swa Xitsonga xi rhandza swithokovetselo swa Magaisa.
(The excessive/expert analyst of Xitsonga poems likes Magaisa’s poems).

**xihlahluvi**

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1=x: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=x
AGENTIVE = -hlahluva_actor_expert/excessive (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Analyse – Expert/Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xihlahluvi* (expert/excessive analyst) in (22) is similar to that of *muhlaluvi* (analyst) in (21) above. The only distinction that obtains is that *muhlaluvi* (analyst) in (21) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *xihlahluvi* (expert/excessive analyst) in (22) above.

(23) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihlahluvo** (excessive/intensive analysis)

Rihlahluvo ra Hlungwani ra swithokovetselo ri tsakisa machudeni.
(The excessive/manner of analysis of Hlungwani of poems pleases the students).
The lexical semantic representation of **rihlaluvo** (excessive analysis) in (23) above demonstrates that its argument structure contains three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument that is analysing, and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of analysing. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of analysing. The event structure represents the process event of analysing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that is analysing. The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of analysing of the person (x).

(24) **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhlaluvi** (analysing)

Vuhlaluvi bya matsalwa byi anamisa vutivi bya munhu.
(Analysing literature widens a person’s horizons).

The lexical semantic representation of **vuhlaluvi** (analysis) in (24) is similar to that of **rihlaluvo** (excessive analysis) in (23) above. The only distinction that obtains is that **vuhlaluvi** (analysis) in (24) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with **rihlaluvo** (excessive analysis) in (23) above.

(25) **Nominalisation in class 3: nhlahluvo** (analysis)

Nhlahluvo wa tsalwa ra I vutomi wu endliwile hi manana Xirilele.
(The analysis of I vutomi novel has been conducted by Mrs Xirilele).
**Nhlahluvo**

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = \text{e1: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hlahlwva}_\text{act/result} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Analyse – Act/Result

The lexical semantic representation of *Nhlahluvo* (analysis) in (25) above demonstrates that its argument structure contains three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument that is analysing, and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of analysing. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the act of analysing. The event structure represents the process event of analysing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) that is analysing. The agentive quale represents the excessive act/result of analysing of the person (x).

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of assessment exhibits a similar lexical semantic representation to that of the verb *Nhlahluvo* (analyse). The difference may be found with the deverbatives from the verbs *kambela* (inspect), *kambela* (examine), *ringa* (taste) and *hlela* (edit) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the verbs *Nhlahluvo* (analyse) *ringa* (tempt), *xopaxopa* (criticize) and *pima* (measure) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics permits such a nominalization with the meaning of result and/or event. Another distinction pertains to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb *kambela* (examine/test) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of result and/or instrument in contrast with the verbs *kambela* (inspect), *ringa* (taste), *ringa* (taste) and *ringa* (tempt) *xopaxopa* (criticise), *hlela* (edit), *pima* (measure) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit such a nominalization.

**Kambela** (Inspect)

A. [Actor]: mukamberi (inspector)

Class I: 1. (a) Mukamberi wa swikolo u ta vhakela swikolo swa Giyani mundzuku. (The inspector of schools will visit the schools of Giyani tomorrow).

(b) Mukamberi u kombisa vadyondzisi malulamiselo ya tidyondzontsongo. (The inspector shows teachers how to prepare lessons).

(c) Vadyondzisi vo tala a va tsakeri mukamberi. (Many teachers do not like the inspector).
Plural: Class 2: vakamberi (inspectors)

The nominal mukamberi (inspector) refers to a person whose job is to visit schools or companies to check that rules are being obeyed and that standards are acceptable. But it may also refer to someone whose job is to check on a bus or train to make sure that they are valid. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the occupation of inspection of the individual in question and not the act of inspecting. This occupation of inspection is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of inspecting or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mukamberi (inspector) because the property of inspection of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Kambela (Inspect)

B. [Excessive act]: rikambelo (excessive inspection)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikambelo ra vakamberi ra swikolo ri antswisa mimbuyelo).
(The excessive inspection of inspectors of schools improves the results).

(b) Rikambelo ra swipikitere ra tindlu ta RDP ri khunguvanyisa van’watikontiraka.
(The excessive inspection of inspectors of RDP houses makes the contractors angry).

(c) Vadyondzisi va sandza rikambelo ra swikolo hi vakamberi.
(Teachers criticize the excessive inspection of schools by inspectors).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikambelo (excessive inspection) refers to the excessive/intensive act of looking closely at something or someone to check if everything is done according to rules.

Kambela (Inspect)

C. [Expert actor]: xikamberi (expert inspector)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikamberi xa swikolo xi ta vhakela swikolo swa Giyani mundzuku.
(The experienced inspector of schools will visit the schools of Giyani tomorrow).

(b) Xikamberi xi kombisa vadyondzi malulamiselo ya tidyondzontsongo.
(The experienced inspector shows teachers how to prepare lessons.

(c) Vadyondzisi vo tala va chava xikamberi.
(Many teachers are afraid of the experienced inspector).

Plural: Class 8: swikamberi (expert inspectors)
The nominal xikamberi (expert inspector) refers to an inspector who has special expertise and a wide range of experience in carrying out his duties. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of inspection of the individual in question, but his expertise in his job of inspection. This expertise in inspection is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of inspecting or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikamberi (expert inspector) because the property of expertness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Kambela (Inspect)

D. [Act/Event]: vukamberi (inspection)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukamberi bya mavhengele ya ka Shoprite byi ta sungula mundzuku. (The inspection of the Shoprite shops will begin tomorrow).

(b) Vukamberi bya xihahampfhuka byi teke nkarhi wo leha. (The inspection of the flight took a long time).

(c) Van’wamabindzu va sola vukamberi bya mabindzu ya vona. (Many business persons disapprove the inspection of their businesses)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukamberi (inspection) refers to the act of looking closely at something or someone to check if everything is done according to rules. But it may also refer to an official visit to a school or company in order to check rules are being obeyed and that standards are acceptable. Again, it may refer to the job of inspection.

Kambela (Examine/Test)

A. [Actor]: mukamberi (examiner/tester)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukamberi wa phepha ro sungula ra Xitsonga xa ka giredi 12 u ta vulavula eka thelevhixini nimadyambu). (The examiner/tester of the first paper of Xitsonga grade 12 will talk on the radio in the evening).

(b) Mukamberi u langutela mbuyelo wa kahle. (The examiner/tester expects good results)

(c) Vadyondzisi va rhandza masetele ya mukamberi wa phepha ra Xinghezi. (Teachers are like the setting of the examiner/tester of the English paper).

Plural: Class 2: vakamberi (examiners/testers)
The nominal **mukamberi** (examiner/tester) refers to a teacher who set question papers and marks the tests and examination of the students he is teaching, a person appointed to set external examination but who is not connected with the students’ schools. But it may also refer to any other person who has the official duty to check that things are being done correctly and according to rules of an organization. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to a teacher, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because he may be referred to as **mukamberi** (examiner/tester) only during the process of examining the meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal otherwise he is referred to as **mudyondzisi** (teacher). But when such a nominal refers to person appointed to set external examination, or any other person who has the official duty to check that things are being done correctly and according to rules of an organization, such nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of examining as such, but the occupation of examining which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of examining something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mukamberi** (examiner/tester).

**Kambela** (Examine/ Test)

B.  [Excessive act]: **rikambelo** (excessive examining)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikambelo ra wanuna ra tinjhini ta mimovha ri teka nkarhi wo tala wo tshama ni ndyangu wakwe.
   (The excessive/intensive examining of the man of car engines takes a lot of time of staying with his family).

   (b) Rikambelo ra dokodela ra vavabyi ri tsakisa vufambisi bya xibedhlele.
   (The excessive/intensive examining of the doctor of the patients pleases the management of the hospital).

   (c) Vanhu va rhandza rikambelo ra dokodela ra mavabyi ya vavabyi.
   (The people like the excessive/intensive examining of the doctor of the diseases of the people).

Plural: Class 6: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikambelo** (excessive/intensive examination) refers to the excessive/intensive act of looking at or considering something very carefully to see if there is anything wrong or to find the cause of a problem.

**Kambela** (Examine/ Test)

C.  [Expert actor]: **xikamberi** (expert examiner)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikamberi xa phepha ro sungula ra Xitsonga ra ka giredi 12 xi ta vulavula eka thelevhixini nimadyambyu).
(The experienced examiner of the first paper of Xitsonga grade 12 will talk on the radio in the evening).

(b) Xikamberi xi langutela mbuyelo wa kahle.
(The experienced examiner expects good results).

(c) Vadyondzisi va rhandza masetele ya xikamberi xa phepha ra Xinghezi.
(Teachers like the setting of the experienced examiner of the English paper).

Plural: Class 8: swikamberi (expert examiners)

The nominal xikamberi (expert examiner) refers to an examiner who has special expertise and a wide range of experience in carrying out his duty of examining things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of examining of the individual in question, but his expertise in his job of examining. This expertise in examining things is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of examining something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikamberi (expert examiner) because the property of expertness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Kambela** (Examine/Test)

D. [Event]: xikambelo (examination)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikambelo xa ka giredi 12 xi ta sungula vhiki leritaka.
(The grade 12 examination will begin next week).

(b) Xikambelo xa lemba leri a xi tika swinene.
(This year’s examination was very difficult).

(c) Vana vo tala a va tirhi kahle eka xikambelo xa le xikarhi ka lemba.
(Many children do not do well in the middle of the year examination).

Plural: Class 8: swikambelo (examinations)

The nominal xikambelo (examination) refers to a formal written, spoken or practical test at school, college, or university to see how much you know about a subject. But it may also refer to a medical test of a particular part of the body.

**Kambela** (Examine/Test)

E. [Result/Instrument]: xikambelwana (test)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xikambelwana xa Xinghezi a xi tika.
(The English test was difficult).
(b) Xikambelwana xa Xitsonga xi ta tsariwa vhiki leri taka. (Xitsonga test will be written next week).

(c) Vana va ka giredi 10 va feyirile xikambelwana xa Xinghezi. (Grade 10 learners failed English test).

Plural: Class 8: swikambelwana (tests)

The nominal **xikambelwana** (test) refers to an examination of someone’s knowledge or ability, consisting of questions for them to answer or activities for them to perform.

**Kambela** (Examine)

A. [Act/Event]: vukamberi (examining/testing)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vukamberi bya maphepha ya ka giredi 12 byi lava munhu wo tikarhata. (The examining/testing of grade 12 papers needs a hard working person).

(b) Vukamberi lebyi endliwaka masiku lawa bya tika. (The examining/testing that is done these days is difficult).

(c) Vadyondzisi va rhandza vukamberi byo tiendlela hi voxe. (Teachers like examining/testing which is done by them).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukamberi** (examination/testing) refers to the act of looking at or considering something very carefully to see if there is anything wrong or to find the cause of a problem.

**Ringa** (Tempt)

A. [Actor]: muringi (/tempter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muringi u tiendla munhu lonene. (The tempter pretends to be a good person).

(b) Muringi u werisa vanhu ekhombyeni. (The tempter makes people fall into a danger).

(c) Makhanana u rhandza muringi wa yena. (Makhanana loves her tempter).

Plural: Class 2: varingi (tempters)

The nominal **muringi** (tempter) refers to an individual who tries to persuade or entices someone to do something, usually, bad or wrong. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the habit of enticing which is being modified by this nominal may be a permanent property of the individual in question. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to a habit whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of stealing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muringi** (tempter).
other words, the habit of tempting people will always holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In a sense, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Ringa (Tempt)**

B. **[Act/Result]: ndzingo (temptation)**

Class 3: 2. (a) Ndzingo hi wona wu tharihisa vanhu vo tala evuton’wini.
   (The temptation is something that makes most people wise in life).
   
   (b) Ndzingo wu nga ku dlaya loko u nga tivoneli.
   (The temptation can kill you if you are not careful).
   
   (c) Makhanana u vona ndzingo wu nga si n’wi fikela.
   (Makhanana sees the temptation before it reaches her).

Plural: Class 4: mindzingo (temptations)

The nominal **ndzingo** (temptation) refers to a thing that makes someone want to do or have something that he knows is bad or wrong or a desire to do something bad. It may also refer to the state of being tempted.

**Ringa (Tempt)**

B. **[Excessive act]: riringo (excessive tempting)**

Class 5: 3. (a) Riringo ra sathana ra vakriste ri nga hluriwa hi xikhongelo ntsena.
   (The excessive tempting of Satan of Christians can be overcome by prayer only).
   
   (b) Riringo ran ala eka vanhu ri ta herisiwa hi Xikwembu hi siku ra makumu.
   (The excessive tempting of the enemy on people will be destroyed by God in the final day).
   
   (c) Mufundhisi u kombisa riringo ra nala eka vanhu.
   (The pastor shows the excessive tempting of the enemy on people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riringo** (excessive tempting) refers to the excessive act or the excessive state of being tested.

**Ringa (Tempt)**

C. **[Excessive/notorious act]: xiringi (excessive/ notorious tempter)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiringi xi sungula xi tiendla munhu wo lungha.
   (The notorious tempter first pretends to be a righteous person).
   
   (b) Xiringi xi werisa vanhu vo tala ekhombyeni.
   (The notorious tempter makes many people fall into a danger)
(c) Wanuna u nyenya xiringi xa vanhu.
(The man dislikes the notorious tempter of people).

Plural: Class 8: swiringi (excessive/notorious tempters)

The nominal xiringi (excessive/notorious tempter) refers to an individual who excessively tempts someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it modifies the excessiveness of tempting which is a permanent property of the individual in question. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to the excessive habit of tempting people whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessive tempting someone or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiringi (excessive/notorious tempter). In other words, the excessive habit of tempting people will always holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In a sense, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Ringa (Tempt)

D. [Act]: vuringi (tempting)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuringi bya sathana bya vakriste byi tiyisa ripfumelo ra vona.
(The tempting of the devil of Christians strengthens their faith).

(b) Vuringi bya nala eka vakriste byi hlula lava vo tsana.
(The tempting of the devil on Christians overcomes who are weak).

(c) Mufundhisi u hlula vuringi bya sathana hi xikhongelo.
(The pastor overcomes the tempting of the devil by prayer).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuringi (tempting) refers to the act or the state of being tested.

Ringa (taste)

A. [Actor]: muringi (taster)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muringi wa byalwa u fambile.
(The taster of beer is gone).

(b) Muringi wa xixevo u pambula qata.
(The taster of the relish picks a piece of meat).

(c) Kokwana u swekela muringi wa xixevo nyama.
(The grandmother is cooking the relish of the meat for the taster).

Plural: class 2: varingi (tasters)
The nominal *muringi* (taster) refers to an individual who tests the flavour of something by eating or drinking a small amount of it. But it may also refer to a person whose job is to taste the quality of wine by tasting it. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to anyone who tastes something at a particular time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of tasting is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose job is to taste the quality of wine by tasting it, such nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of tasting something as such, but the occupation of tasting something which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of examining something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *muringi* (tasters).

**Ringa (taste)**

A. [Excessive act]:  riringo (excessive tasting)

Class 5:  2. (a) Riringo ra Magezi ra xixevo ra nyenyetsa.
(The excessive tasting of Magezi of the relish annoys).

(b) Riringo ra xixevo a ri kahle eka vana.
(The excessive tasting of the relish is not good to the children).

(c) Kokwana u sola riringo ra makhanani ra xixevo.
(The grandmother criticises the excessive tasting of Makhanani of the relish).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riringo* (excessive tasting) refers to the excessive act of testing the flavour of something by eating or drinking a small amount of it.

**Ringa (taste)**

B. [Expert/excessive actor]:  xiringi (Expert/excessive taster)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xiringi xa byalwa xi lovile.
(The expert/excessive taster of beer has passed away).

(b) Xiringi xa xixevo xi sweka nyama.
(The expert/excessive taster of the relish is cooking the meat).

(c) Magezi u byela xiringi xa byalwa mahungu.
(Magezi is telling the expert/excessive taster of beer news).

Plural: class 8: swiringi (expert/excessive tasters)
The nominal **xiringi** (excessive/expert taster) refers to an individual who excessively tests the flavour of something by eating or drinking a small amount of it, or the one who has the skill of tasting the flavours of food. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the property of excessiveness of tasting which is a permanent property of the individual in question. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to the excessive habit of tempting people whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessive tasting something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xiringi** (excessive/expert taster). In other words, the excessive habit of tasting something will always holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In a sense, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Ringa** (taste)

C. [Event/act]: vuringi (tasting)

Class 14:  4. (a) Vuringi bya malume bya byalwa bya nyenyetsa.  
(The tasting of the uncle of the beer annoys).

(b) Vuringi bya Khesani bya xixevo bya borha swinene.  
(The tasting of Khesani of the relish bores a lot).

(c) Khazamula u rhandza vuringi bya byalwa.  
(Khazamula loves the tasting of beer).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuringi** (tasting) refers to the act of testing the flavour of something by eating or drinking a small amount of it. But it may also refer to an event at which people can try different kinds of food and drink, especially wine, in small quantities.

**Xopaxopa** (criticise)

A. [Actor]: muxopaxopi (critisiser)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muxopaxopi wa tsalwa u lunghisa swihoxo.  
(The critisiser of the script is correcting the mistake).

(b) Muxopaxopi u xopaxopa xitlhokovetselo.  
(The critisiser is analysing the poem).

(c) Tsalwa ra switlhokovetselo ri tikerile muxopaxopi.  
(The poetry book was difficult to the critisiser).

Plural: class 2: vaxopaxopi (critisisers)
The nominal muxopaxopi (critisiser) refers to an individual who makes judgements about the good and bad qualities of something or someone, especially books. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to a person who is engaged in the activity of criticizing something, such as a student who is criticism a given book at a particular point in time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of criticizing which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of criticizing is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as muxopaxopi (critisiser). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose hobby or job is to criticize things, such nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of criticising as such, but the hobby/occupation of criticizing something which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of criticising something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muxopaxopi (critisiser).

Xopaxopa (criticise)

B. [Act/Result]: nxopaxopo (criticism)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nxopaxopo wa tsalwa ra ntlangu wa olova.
(The criticism of a drama book is simple).

(b) Nxopaxopo wa matsalwa wu tsakisa muddyondzi.
(The criticism of the scripts pleases the learner).

(c) Mudyondzisi u sola nxopaxopo wa muddyondzi wa tsalwa.
(The teacher criticises the criticism of the learner of the book).

Plural: class 4: mixopaxopo (criticisms)

The nominal nxopaxopo (criticism) refers to the act or work of making fair, judgements about the good and bad qualities of something or someone, especially books.

Xopaxopa (criticise)

C. [Excessive act]: rixopaxopo (excessive criticism)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rixopaxopo ra wanuna ri n’wi vonisile swihoxo eka nsati wakwe.
(The excessive criticism of the manmade him to see mistakes in his wife).

(b) Rixopaxopo ra muddyondzisi ra swihoxo swa matsalelo ri feyirisa vadyondzi.
(The excessive criticism of the teacher of orthographical mistakes makes children fail).
(c) Vadyondzi va sola rixopaxopo ra mudyondzisi ra swihoxo swa matsalelo.
(The learners criticise the excessive criticism of the teacher of orthographical mistakes).

Plural: No plural for the correspondence noun in class 6.

The nominal **rixopaxopo** (excessive/intensive criticism) refers to the excessive/intensive act of making fair, judgements about the good and bad qualities of something or someone, especially books.

**Xopaxopa** (criticise)

D. [Expert actor]: xixopaxopi (expert criticiser)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xixopaxopi xi nyikiwile sagwadi.
(The expert criticiser is given an award).

(b) Xixopaxopi xi hlela tsalwa ra swirungulwana.
(The expert criticiser is analysing a short story book).

(c) Mudyondzisi u kaneta xixopaxopi eka mavonelo ya xona.
(The teacher is opposing the expert criticiser to his suggestion).

Plural: class 8: Swixopaxopi (expert criticisers)

The nominal **xixopaxopi** (expert criticiser) refers to an individual who has an extra-ordinary skill of making judgements about the good and bad qualities of something or someone, especially books and who regularly criticizes things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the special skill of criticising which is a permanent property of the individual in question. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to the excessive habit of tempting people whose semantics makes reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of excessive criticising something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xixopaxopi** (expert criticiser). In other words, the excessive habit of criticising things will always holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In a sense, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Xopaxopa** (criticise)

E. [Act]: vuxopaxopi (criticising)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuxopaxopi bya matsalwa byi tsakisa vadyondzi.
(The criticising of the literary works pleases the learners).

(b) Vuxopaxopi bya swithlokovetselo bya tika.
(The criticising of poems is difficult).

(c) Vadyondzi va venga vuxopaxopi bya matsalwa ya vuthlokovetseri.
(The learners hate criticising of poetry books).
Plural: No plural in the plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuxopaxopi* (criticism) refers to the act of making fair, judgements about the good and bad qualities of something or someone, especially books.

**Hlela (Edit)**

**A.** [Actor]: muhleri (editor)

**Class 1:** 4. (a) Muhleri wa Khamphani ya ka Nasou-Via Afrika u tiva ntirho wa yena.
(The editor of the Nasou-Via Afrika Company knows his job).

(b) Muhleri u hlawula tibuku ta kahle eka leto biha.
(The editor selects good books from the bad ones).

(c) Tibuku ti languta hi muhleri ti nga si kandziyisiwa.
(The books are checked by the editor before they are published).

**Plural: Class 2:** muhleri (editors)

The nominal *muhleri* (editor) denotes an individual who prepares a piece of writing such as a newspaper or magazine or a book to be published by correcting the mistakes and making the improvement to it, or a person who prepares a book to be published by collecting together and arranging pieces of writing by one or more authors. But it may also refer to a person who prepares a film/movie, radio, television programme for being shown or broadcast by deciding what to include, and what order it should be in. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the occupation of occupation of editing of the individual in question and not the act of editing. This occupation of editing is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of editing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *muhleri* (editor) because the property of editing of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlela (Edit)**

**B.** [Excesive act]: rihlelo (expertness of editing)

**Class 5:** 2. (a) Rihlelo ra tibuku ta ka Nasou-Via Afrika i ra xiyimo xa le henhla).
(The expertness of editing of Nasou-Via Afrika books is of high standard).

(b) Rihlelo ra tibuku ta ka Maskew Miller ri vuyerisa khamphani).
(The expertness of editing of Maskew Miller books benefits the company).

(c) Vadyondzisi va tsakela rihlelo ra tibuku ta ka Maskew Miller.
(The teacher likes the expertness of editing of Maskew Miller books).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlelo** (excessive/rigorous editing) refers to the excessive/rigorous act of preparing a written material for publication or presentation by correcting, revising, or adapting it.

**Hlela (Edit)**

C.  
[Expert actor]: xihleri (expert editor)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xihleri xa Khamphani ya ka Nasou-Via Afrika xa wu tiva ntirho wa yena.  
(The expert editor of the Nasou-Via Afrika Company knows his job).

(b) Xihleri xi hlawula tibuku ta kahle eka leto biha.  
(The expert editor selects good books from the bad ones).

(c) Khamphani ya vukandziyisi bya tibuku yi rhumela xihleri matsalwambisi ya Xitsonga ya giredi 1.  
(The publishing company sends Xitsonga manuscripts for grade 1 to the expert editor).

Plural: Class 8: swihleri (expert editors)

The nominal **xihleri** (expert editor) refers to an editor who has special expertise and a wide range of experience in carrying out his editing duties. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of editing of the individual in question, but his expertise in his job of editing. This expertise in editing is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of editing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihleri** (expert editor) because the property of expertness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlela (Edit)**

D.  
[Act]: vuhleri (editing)

Class 14:  2.  (a) Vuhleri byi lava ntokoto na vutivi.  
(Editing needs experience and knowledge).

(b) Vuhleri bya khamphani ya ka Real i bya xiyimo xa le henhla swinene.  
(The editing of Real Company is of high standard).

(c) Vatsari va tsakisiwa hi vuhleri lebyi endliwaka hi Khazamula.  
(The writers are impressed by the editing that is done by Khazamula).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuhleri** (editing) refers to the act of preparing written material for publication or presentation by correcting, revising, or adapting it. But it may also refer to a stage of the writing process in which a writer strives to improve a draft by correcting errors and making improvements.

**Pima** (measure)

A.  
[Actor]: mupimi (measuring person)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Mupimi u yimele vanhu lava lavaka ku pimiwa.  
   (The measuring person of people is waiting for those who want to be measured).

   (b) Mupimi wa damu u ri vuenti bya rona i timitara ta makumenthanu ku ya hansi.  
   (The measuring person of the dam says the depth is fifty meters down).

   (c) Vanhu va yimele mupimi wa vana va vona exikolweni.  
   (The people are waiting for the measuring person of their children at the school).

Plural: Class 2: vapimi (measuring people)

The nominal **mupimi** (measuring person) refers to a person who finds or ascertain the seize, quantity, or degree of something in standard units or by comparing it with an object of a known size. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to a person who is engaged in the activity of measuring something at a particular point in time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of measuring which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of measuring is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as **mupimi** (measuring person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose job is taking measurements of things, such nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of measuring as such, but the occupation of measuring something which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of measuring something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mupimi** (measuring person).

**Pima** (Measure)

B.  
[Result]: mpimo (measurement/measure)

Class 3:  
2. (a) Mpimo wa damu wu tekiwile hi va ndzawulo ya mati na swihlahla.  
   (The measurement/measure of the dam has been taken by the department of water and forestry).

   (b) Mpimo wa thangi ra mati ekaya ka mina I 5000 wa tilitara.  
   (The measurement/measure of the tank of water in my home is 5000 litres).
(c) Vanhu va vutisa mpimo wa vuenti bya damu ra Nandoni).
(People ask the measurement/measure of the depth of Nandoni dam).

Plural: Class 3: mipimo (measurements/measures)

The nominal mpimo (measurement) refers to the extent, dimensions, capacity, etc. of anything, as determined by a standard.

**Pima (measure)**

C. [Excessive act]: ripimo (excessive measuring)

Class 7: 3. (a) Ripimo ra wanuna ra mavele exigayini ri tsakisa n’wini wa xigayo.
(The excessive measuring of the mealies in the mill pleases the mill owner).

(b) Ripimo ra wanuna ra mati emilambyeni ri n’wi lumisile hi ngwenya.
(The excessive measuring of the man of the water in rivers made him bitten by a crocodile).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala ripimo ra wanuna ra mati emilambyeni.
(The people are surprised at the excessive measuring of the man of the water in the rivers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripimo (excessive measuring/measurement) refers to the excessive act of finding/determining the size, quantity, or degree of something.

**Pima (measure)**

D. [Expert actor]: xipimi (expert measuring person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xipimi xa mavele exigayini xi fikile.
(The expert measuring person of mealies in the mill has arrived).

(b) Xipimi xa madamu xi ri vuenti bya damu ra Nandomi rona i 70 wa timitara ku ya hansi.
(The expert measuring person of the dams says the depth of Nandoni dam is 70 meters deep).

(c) Vanhu va yimele xipimi xa ntiko wa movha emaphoriseni.
(The people are waiting for the expert measuring person of the weight of their cars in the police station).

Plural: Class 8: swipimi (expert measuring people)

The nominal xipimi (expert measuring people) refers to an individual who has an extra-ordinary expertise of taking accurate measurements of something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the extra-ordinary expertise of measuring things which is a permanent property of the individual in question. This nominal is therefore interpreted relative to the expertness of measurement whose semantics makes
reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event as well as possible future occurrences. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of measuring something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xipimi* (expert measuring people). In other words, the expertness of measuring things will always holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In a sense, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

E. 

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>[Act]: vupimi (measuring)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Class 14: 5. (a) Vupimi bya majarata ya vanhu eGiyani byi ta sungula hi Musumbuluko.  
(The measuring of the yards of the people will at Giyani will begin on Monday).

(b) Vupimi bya tinxagwana byi tsakisa vantshwa.  
(The measuring of maids pleases the youth).

(c) Wanuna u hlalela vupimi bya tinxangwana hi murhungu.  
(The man watches the measuring of the maids by the sewer).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vupimi* (measuring/measurement) refers to the act of finding/determining the size, quantity, or degree of something.

### 8.6 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS INVOLVING THE BODY

The definition of Verbs Involving the Body has been supplied in Chapter 5, Section 5.5, which explores deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition still holds in this Section. However this Section, is concerned with deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
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<th>Class 7</th>
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<td>vudzungudzi</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Hleka (Laugh)**

A. 

[Actor]: muhleki (laughing person)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muhleki wa xigono u tirhambela makhombo.  
(One who laughs of the crippled is inviting troubles for him/herself).

(b) Muhleki wa swisiwana u lovile.  
(One who laughs at the poor passed away).

(c) Vafana va ba muhleki wa swigono.  
(The young men beat the one who laughs at the cripples).

Plural: Class 2: vahleki (laughing persons)
The nominal **muhleki** (laughing person) refers to an individual who makes the explosive sounds of the voice and movements of his face that show he is happy or amused. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of laughing. Once the activity of laughing stops or is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **muhleki** (laughing person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Hleka** (Laugh)

**B.**  
[Excessive act]:  
rihleko (excessive laughing)

Class 5:  
2. (a) Rihleko ra vavasati ra swigono ri ta va vangela makhombo.  
(The excessive laughing of women of the cripples will cause troubles for them).

(b) Rihleko ra xin’wana na xin’wana ri ta kala ri ku pengisa.  
(The excessive laughing of anything will end up make you mad).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela rihleko ra vanhwanyana va ka Bungeni.  
(The man likes the excessive laughing of Bungeni girls).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihleko** (excessive laughing) refers to the excessive act of laughing indicating happiness or amusement of the individual.

**Hleka** (Laugh)

**C.**  
[Excessive act]:  
xihleki (excessive laughing person)

Class 7:  
3. (a) Xihleki xa swisiwana xi duvule wansati.  
(The excessive laughing person of the poor shot the woman).

(b) Xihleki xa swilema xi lovile.  
(The excessive laughing person of disable people is dead)

(c) Wanuna u venga xihleki xa n’wana wa yena.  
(The man dislikes the excessive laughing person of his child).

Plural: Class 8: swihleki (excessive laughing persons)

The nominal **xihleki** (excessive laughing person) denotes an individual who excessively laughs at something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of laughing as such, but the excessiveness of laughing of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of laughing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihleki** (excessive laughing person).
**Hleka (Laugh)**

D. [Result]: xihleko (laughter)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihleko xa vavasati xi twala endlwini.
(The laughter of women is heard in the house).

(b) Xihleko xa Tsatsawana xi fana na xa xin’wanana.
(The laughter of Tsatsawana is like that of the baby).

(c) Mufana u nyenya xihleko xo fana na xa n’wana.
(The young man dislikes the laughter which is like that of the baby).

Plural: Class 8: swihleko (laughters)

The nominal xihleko (laughter) refers to the action or noise produced by laughing indicating happiness or amusement of the individual.

**Hleka (Laugh)**

E. [Act]: vuhleki (laughing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhleki bya vavasati bya xigono byi ta va peta nhloko.
(The laughing of the women of the cripple will make them crazy).

(b) Vuhleki bya vakhegula hi vafana byi ta va vangela makhombo.
(The laughing of the old women by the young men will bring troubles to them).

(c) Vavanuna a va twanani na vuhleki bya vavasati.
(Men do not like the laughing of the women).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhleki (laughing) refers to the act of laughing indicating happiness or amusement of the individual.

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<tr>
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<th>Class 1</th>
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<td>xihleko</td>
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<td>mudzungudzi</td>
<td>ridzungudzo</td>
<td>xidzungudzi</td>
<td>vudzungudzi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i
muhleki (laughing person)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
rihleko (excessive laughing)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
xihleki (excessively laughing person)
Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -o

xihleko (laughter)

N
AF  N^R
    V  AF
   xi-  hlek-  -o

Class 14
Prefix:  vu-
Suffix:  -i

vuhleki (laughing)

N
AF  N^R
    V  AF
   bu-  hlrk-  -i

Verbs of Involving the Body

Nominalization from the verb – hleka (laugh)

(iii) The verb –hleka (laugh)
Wanuna u hleka vafana.
(The man laughs at the young men)

-hleka

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{ARG1} &= x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{hleka}_{\text{act}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Laugh – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -hleka (laugh) in (26) exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that performs the act of laughing and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of laughing. The event structure represents the process event of laughing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of laughing (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(27) Nominalisation in class 1: muhleki (laughing person)
Muhleki wa muwi u vumbuluka ehansi.
(The laughing person is of the falling person is rolling on the ground).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muhleki} & \quad \text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
& \quad \text{EVSTR} = \text{E1} = e₁: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hleka_actor} (e₁, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Laugh – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal muhleki (laughing person) in (27) exemplifies two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that performs the act of laughing and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of laughing. The event structure represents the process event of laughing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of laughing (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(28) Nominalisation in class 7: xihleki (excessively laughing person)
Xihleki xa vafana xa tsutsuma.
(The excessively laughing person of the young men is running).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xihleki} & \quad \text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
& \quad \text{EVSTR} = \text{E1} = e₁: \text{process} \\
& \quad \text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hleka_actor_excessive} (e₁, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Laugh – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xihleki** (excessively laughing person) in (28) is corresponds to that of **muhleki** (laughing person) in (27) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which specifies the feature [excessive] with **xihleki** (excessively laughing person) in (28) above which is absent with **muhleki** (laughing person) in (27) above.

(29) Nominalisation in class 5: rihleko (excessive laughing)

Rihleko ra mufana ra swifuwo ri hlamarisa vatswari vakwe.
(The excessive laughing of the young man of domestic animals surprises his parents).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rihleko} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–hleka}\_\text{excessive act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Laugh – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative **rihleko** (excessive laughing) in (29) exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default argument, namely the human argument denoting the person that laughs. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference 𝒮 to the process event of laughing. The event structure represents the default process of laughing. The formal quale represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of laughing (e₁) of a person (x).

(30) Nominalisation in class 14: vuheleki (laughing)

Vuhleki bya mufana bya tihuku byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The laughing of the young man of the chickens surprises people).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vuheleki} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–hleka}\_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Laugh – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vuhleki* (laughing) in (30) corresponds to that of *rihleko* (excessive laughing) in (29) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which specifies the feature [excessive] with *rihleko* (excessive laughing) in (29) above which is absent with *vuhluki* (laughing) in (30) above.

(31) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihleko (laughter)**

Xihleko xa mufana xi nyenyetsa vavanuna.

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xihleko} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& = \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& = \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y) \\
& = \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{hleka_result} (e1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Laughter – Result

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative *xihleko* (laughter) in (31) above exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default argument, namely the human argument denoting the person that laughs. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of laughing. The event structure represents the default process of laughing. The formal quale represents the identity of the human argument \((x)\), and the agentive quale represents the result of laughing \((e1)\) of a person \((x)\).

**Dzungudza** (shake the head)

A.  [Actor]: mudzungudzi (head shaker)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mudzungudzi wa nhloko u kaneta malume.
        (The head shaker opposes the uncle).

        (b) Mudzungudzi wa nhloko u sola leswi vuriwaka.
        (The head shaker disapproves what is being said).

        (c) Kokwana u languta mudzungudzi wa nhloko enhlengeletanini.
        (Grandfather looks at the shaker of the head at the meeting).

Plural: class 2: vadzungudzi (head shakers)

The nominal *mudzungudzi* (head shaking person) refers to an individual who turns/moves his head from side to side as a way of disapproval or doubt. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level
nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of shaking head which is done by the individual in question. Once the act of shaking head stops, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *mudzungudzi* (head shaking person) because for the individual in question to qualify to be called *mudzungudzi* (head shaking person) he has to be engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal at the time of reference.

**Dzungudza** (shake the head)

B. [Excessive act]: *ridzungudzo* (excessive head shaking)

Class 5: 2. (a) *Ridzungudzo ra kokwana ra nhloko enhlengeletanini ri nyumisa vana vakwe.*
(The excessive shaking of the head of the grandfather at the meeting humiliates his children).

(b) *Ridzungudzo ra mufana ra nhloko exikarhi ka vanhu lavakulu ri komba xinyadzo.*
(The excessive shaking of the young man of the head among elderly people shows lack of respect).

(c) *Wanuna u venga ridzungudzo ra nhloko ra mufana exikarhi ka lavakulu.*
(The man hates the excessive shaking of the head of the young man among elderly people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *ridzungudzo* (excessive head shaking) refers to the excessive act of turning/moving one’s head from side to side as a way of disapproval or doubt.

**Dzungudza** (shake the head)

C. [Excessive actor]: *xidzungudzi* (excessive head shaker)

Class 7: 3. (a) *Xidzungudzi xi sola leswi vuriwaka enhlengelentanini.*
(The excessive shaker of the head disapproves what is being said at the meeting).

(b) *Xidzungudzi xa nhloko xi kaneta vadyondzi exikolweni.*
(The excessive shaker of the head opposes the learners at school).

(c) *Mudyondzisi a nga tsakeli xidzungudzi xa nhloko etilasini.*
(The teacher does not like the excessive shaker of the head in the class).

Plural: class 8: *swidzungudzi* (excessive head shakers)

The nominal *xidzungudzi* (excessive head shaking person) refers to an individual who excessively turns/moves his head from side to side as a way of disapproval or doubt. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of shaking the head as such, but the excessiveness of shaking the head of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of shaking the head,
or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xidzungudzi** (excessive head shaking person).

**Dzungudza** (shake the head)

D. [Event, act]: vudzungudzi (shaking the head)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vudzungudzi bya nhloko bya Khazamula etilalasini byi nyenyetsa vadyondzi.  
(The shaking of the head of Khazamula in the class annoys the learners).

(b) Vudzungudzi bya nhloko etihlengeletanini bya nyumisa.  
(Head shaking at the meetings is humiliating).

(c) Mudyondzisi u languta vudzungudzi bya nhloko bya mudyondzi etilalasini.  
(The teacher looks at the head shaking of the learner in the class).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vudzungudzi** (head shaking) refers to the act of turning/moving one’s head from side to side as a way of disapproval or doubt.

### 8.7. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF PROVIDING

In defining Verbs of Providing, Levin (1993:140) cites Gropen *et al.* (1989) who describes this class of verbs as verbs where “X gives something to Y that Y deserves, needs, or is worthy of.”

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 7b</th>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Hlenga** (Help sick person to walk)

A. [Actor]: muhlengi (One who helps a sick person to walk)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlengi u tlakusa voko ra muvabyi.  
(The one who helps the sick to walk lifts the hands of the sick person).
(b) Muhlengi u lulamisela muvabyi swakudya.
(The one helping the sick prepares food for the sick person).

(c) Mukhegula u nyika muhlengi mali ya swakudya.
(The old woman gives the money for food to the person caring for the sick person).

Plural: Class 2: vahlengi (persons who help the sick)

The nominal **muhlengi** (helper of a sick person to walk) refers to a person who assist someone who is sick and has difficulty or unable to walk to walk. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of helping the sick to walk may a temporary occurrence. Once the act of helping the sick to walk has stopped, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. However, if helping the sick to walk id a daily duty of the individual in question, such a nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the duty of helping the sick to walk will always be associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of helping the sick to walk or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muhlengi** (helper of a sick person to walk). In a way, what is being modified here is not the act of helping the sick as such, but his duty of helping the sick to walk.

**Hlenga** (Help sick person to walk)

B. [Excessive act]: rihlengo (excessive helping of a sick person to walk)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlengo ra wansati ra muvabyi ri tsakisa vamaakelana.
(The expertly/excessively caring of the woman of the sick person pleases the neighbours).

(b) Rihlengo ra wansati ra mana wa nuna ri n’wi kumisile tinyiko eka nuna wakwe.
(The expertly/excessively caring of the woman of the mother of her husband got her gifts from her husband).

(c) Mukhegula khensa rihlengo ra wansati ra nuna wakwe.
(The old woman appreciates the expertly/excessively caring of the woman of her husband).

Plural: Class 2: vahlengi (persons who help the sick)

The nominal **rihlengo** (helping the sick to walk) refers to an excessive act or process of assisting someone who is sick and unable or has difficulty in walking to walk.
Hlenga (Help sick person to walk)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xihlengi (expert/excessive one who help sick person to walk)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlengi xi dyisa muvabyi mukapu.
(The expert/excessive one who helps the sick to walk gives soft porridge to the sick person).

(b) Xihlengi xi lulamisela muvabyi swakudya.
(The expert/excessive one helping the sick prepares food for the sick person).

(c) Mukhegula u nyika xihlengi xa wansati mali ya swakudya.
(The old woman gives the money for food to the expert/excessive person caring for the sick person).

Plural: Class 8: swihlengi (expert/excessive persons who help the sick)

The nominal xihlengi (helper of a sick person to walk) refers to a person who warmly and lovingly of assist someone who is sick and has difficulty or unable to walk to walk, and who has a wide range of experience of his duty. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the duty of helping the sick of the individual in question, but his expertise in his job of helping the sick to walk. This expertise of helping the sick is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of helping the sick or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihlengi (helper of a sick person to walk) because the property of expertness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Hlenga (Help sick person to walk)

D. [Act]: vuhlengi (helping sick person to walk)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlengi u tlakusa voko ra muvabyi.
(The one who helps the sick to walk lifts the hand of the sick person).

(b) Vuhlengi u lulamisela muvabyi swakudya.
(The one helping the sick prepares food for the sick person).

(c) Mukhegula u nyika vuhlengi mali ya swakudya.
(The old woman gives the money for food to the person caring for the sick person).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlengi (helping the sick to walk) refers to an act or process of assisting someone who is sick and unable or has difficulty in walking to walk.
Pfuna (help)

A. [Actor]: mupfuni (helper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mupfuni wa mutsoniwa u nyamalarile.
(The helper of the disabled has disappeared).

(b) Mupfuni u lava ku engeteleriwa muholo.
(The helper wants her salary to be increased).

(c) Wanuna u lava mupfuni eka ntirho wo aka tindlu.
(The man is looking for the helper in the building of houses job).

The plural: Class 2: vapfuni (helpers)

The nominal mupfuni (helper) refers to an individual who renders assistance to someone, or the one who does or provides something to someone as a way of making things easier or the situation improves for them or in order to accomplish a task or satisfy a need. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to a person who is engaged in the activity of helping someone at the time of reference, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of helping which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of helping is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as mupfuni (helper). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person who usually assists needy people, such nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of helping as such, but the personality of helping someone which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of helping someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mupfuni (helper).

Pfuna (Help)

B. [Act/Result]: mpfuno (help)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mpfuno wa Khazamula entirhweni a wu tikombi.
(The help of Khazamula at work is not visible).

(b) Mpfuno wa mali ya mudende eka swisiwana i wukulu.
(The help of state grant to the poor people is great).

(c) Vanhwanyana vo tala va tlangisa mpfuno lowu nyikiwaka hi mfumo eka vana va swisiwana.
(Most young women misuse the help which is offered by government to the poor children).

The plural is: Class 4: mipfuno (helps)
The nominal **mpfuno** (help) refers to the act of helping someone to do something or who is in need, or the fact of being useful. But it may also refer to the thing or person that helps someone.

**Pfuna** (help)

C. [Excessive act]: ripfuno (excessive helping)

Class 5: 3. (a) Ripfuno ra wansati ra swisiwana ri n’wi kumisile movha.
(The excessive helping of the woman of the poor got her a house).

(b) Ripfuno ra mfumo ra vanhu lava pfumalaka tindlu ri hlamarisa matiko mambe.
(The excessive helping of the government of the people who do not have houses surprises other countries).

(c) Vanhu va khensa ripfuno ra wansati ra vana va swisiwana.
(The people appreciate the excessive helping of the woman of the poor children).

The plural: No plural fro the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ripfuno** (excessive help) refers to the excessive act of helping someone to do something or who is in need.

**Pfuna** (help)

D. [Excessive act]: xipfuni (excessive helper)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xipfuni xa vatsoniwa xi nyamalarile.
(The excessive helper of the disabled has disappeared).

(b) Xipfuni xa vavabyi va TB emakaya xi nyikiwile yindlu.
(The excessive helper of TB patients in the homes has been given a house).

(c) Mfumo wu akela xipfuni xa swisiwana yindlu.
(The government builds a house for the excessive helper of the poor).

The plural: Class 8: swipfuni (excessive helpers)

The nominal **xipfuni** (excessive helper) refers to an individual who excessively helps needy people. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of helping others of the individual in question as such, but his excessiveness of helping those who are in need. This excessive helping of the needy is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of helping someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xipfuni** (excessive helper) because the property of excessiveness of helping someone of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
**Pfuna** (Help)

**E.** [Result]: xipfuno (helping thing)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xipfuno xo suka eka president xi fikile eka hosi.
(The aid parcel from the president has arrived at the chief).

(b) Xipfuno xa yindlu lexi tsembisiweke mukhegula xa hlwela.
(The free house promised to the old woman is delaying).

(c) Hosi yi khensa xipfuno xa yindlu lexi nyikiweke mukhegula.
(The chief is thankful for the free house which has been given to the old woman).

**Plural:** Class 8: Swipfuno (Helping things)

The nominal xipfuno (helping thing) refers to a thing given to a person who is in need, especially a poor person, in order to improve his situation or make life easier for him.

**Pfuna** (help)

**F.** [Act]: vupfuni (helping)

Class 14: 6. (a) Vupfuni bya vamakhelwana byi tikomba hi nkarhi wa khombo.
(The help of the neighbours is realized during difficulty).

(b) Vupfuni bay wanuna eka wansati byi ponisile vutomi bya yena.
(The help of the man on the woman saved her life).

(c) Wanuna u khensa vupfuni bya maxaka hi nkarhi wa nkosi.
(The man is appreciating the help of the relatives during bereavement).

The plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vupfuni (help) refers to the act of helping someone to do something or who is in need.

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</table>
Class 1
Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textbf{mupfuni (helper)}

Class 3
Prefix: \textit{m-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textbf{mpfuno (assistance)}

Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textbf{ripfuno (excessive helping)}
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
xipfuni (excessive/cheerful helper)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -o
xipfuno (helping thing)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
vupfuni (helping)
Verbs of Providing

(32) **Nominalization from the verb -pfuna** (help sick person to walk)

Mfumo wu pfuna vapfumari.
(The government is assisting the poor).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-pfuna} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG}1 = \text{x: human} \\
\text{ARG}1 & = \text{x: phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1}=\text{e}1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{pfuna}_\text{ act (e}1, \text{x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -pfuna (help) in (32) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of helping and the physical object which denotes the entity that is being helped. The event structure represents the process event of helping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), while the agentive quale represents the act of helping of the human argument (x).

(33) **Nominalisation in class 1: mupfuni** (one who help sick person to walk)

Mupfuni wa swisiwana u lovile.
(The helper of the poor has died).

\[
\begin{align*}
mupfuni & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG}1 = \text{x: human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG}1 = \text{x: phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1}=\text{e}1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = \text{x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{pfuna}_\text{ act (e}1, \text{x, y)}
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbalive mupfuni (helper) in (33) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, the human argument that is engaged in the act of helping and the physical object which denotes the entity that is being helped. The event structure represents the process event of helping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), while the agentive quale represents the act of helping of the human argument (x).
Nominalisation in class 7: xipfuni (excessive/cheerful helper)

Xipfuni xa swisiwana xi kumile sagwati.
(The excessive/cheerful helper of the poor got an award).

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xipfuni (excessive/cheerful helper/assistant) in (34) is similar to that of mupfuni (helper/assistant) in (33) above. The only distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive/cheerful] for xipfuni (excessive/cheerful helper/assistant) in (34) above which is absent in mupfuni (helper/assistant) in (33) above.

Nominalisation in class 5: ripfuno (excessive helping)

Ripfuno ra wanuna ra swisiwana ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive/cheerful helping of the man of the poor surprises people).

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative ripfuno (excessive helping) in (35) above exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is helping and the physical object denoting the entity that is helped. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference @ to the process event of helping. The event structure represents the default process of helping. The formal quale represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of helping (e1) of a person (x).
Nominalisation in class 14: **vupfuni** (help)

Vupfuni bya kereke bya vana lava pfumalaka vatswari byi tsakisa mfumo.
(The helping of the church of the orphans pleases the government).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vupfuni} & = \text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1 = x: human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1 = } e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE = -pfuna}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Assistance/Caring – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vupfuni** (helping/assisting) in (36) is similar to that of **ripfuno** (excessive helping) in (35) above. The only distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] for **ripfuno** (excessive helping) in (35) above, which is absent in **vupfuni** (helping/assisting) in (36) above.

Nominalisation in class 3: **mpfuno** (help/assistance/importance)

Mpfuno wa tindlu ta RDP wu tikombile hi nkarhi wa ndhambi.
(The importance of the RDP houses was noticed during the flood).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mpfuno} & = \text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1 = x: human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1 = } e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE = -pfuna}_\text{act/event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Act/event

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative **mpfuno** (excessive helping) in (37) above exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is helping and the physical object denoting the entity that is helped. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of helping. The event structure represents the default process of helping. The formal quale represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the excessive act/result of helping (e₁) of a person (x).
Nominalisation in class 7: xipfuno (helping thing)

Xipfuno xa mali ya vana xi hanyisa mindyangu yo hlaya.
(The helping thing of child support grant helps many families).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xipfuno} &\quad \text{ARGSTR} = x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &\quad = D-E1 =e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &\quad = \text{FORMAL}=(e, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-pfuna_{\text{result}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Help – Result

The lexical semantic representation of xipfuno (helping thing) in (38) is similar to that of mpfuno (help/assistance/importance) in (37) above. The only distinction that obtains is that the feature [act/event] occurs in the agentive quale of mpfuno (help/assistance/importance) in (37) above, whereas in the case of xipfuno (helping thing) in (38) above the feature [result] is the one that is realized in its agentive quale.

The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of assistance/caring illustrates a similar lexical semantic representation to that of the verb -pfuna (help). The distinction that obtains relates to the deverbative from the verb -hlenga (help the sick to walk) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the verbs -pfuna (help) and -khathala (care for) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics permits a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix -o and with the meaning of result. Another distinction is found with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -pfuna (help) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o with the meaning of result in contrast with the verbs – hlenga (help sick person walk) and -khathala (care for) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit such a nominalization.

Khathala (care for)

A. [Actor]: mukhathali (caring person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhathali u hlayisa vana va yena.
(The caring person cares for his children).

(b) Mukhathali u rhandza ntirho wa yena.
(The caring person loves his work).

(c) Vana va nyika mukhathali marito yo khensa.
(Children give the caring person words of appreciation).
Plural: class 2: vakhathali (caring persons)

The nominal *mukhathali* (caring person) refers to an individual who shows care and effort in his work or duties. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it may be associated with the individual in question for his entire life. It is not something that applies to an individual for a particular period of time only.

**Khathala** (care for)

B.  
*Result:*  
*nkhathalo* (care)

Class 3:  
(a) *Nkhathalo wa wanuna wa ndyangu wakwe wu tsakisa nsati wa yena.*  
(The care of the man of his family pleases his wife).

(b) *Nkhathalo wa wansati wa tidyondzo ta yena wu voniwa hi vanhu hinkwavo.*  
(The care of a woman of her studies is seen by all people).

(c) *Vana va tsakela nkhathalo wa mana wa vona.*  
(Children like the care of their mother).

Plural: class 4: mikhathalo (cares)

The nominal *nkhathalo* (care) refers to the persistent and hard-working effort in doing something.

**Khathala** (care for)

C.  
*Excessive act:*  
*rikhathalo* (excessive caring)

Class 5:  
(a) *Rikhathalo ra wanuna ra ndyangu wa yena ri nyenyetsa vavasati.*  
(The excessive caring of the man annoys women).

(b) *Rikhathalo ra Tsatsawana ra swisiwana ri n’wi kumisile ntirho.*  
(The excessive caring of Tsatsawana on poor people made her got a job).

(c) *Vanhu va rhandza rikhathalo ra wansati ra nuna wa yena.*  
(The people like the excessive caring of the woman on her husband).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rikhathalo* (excessive caring) refers to an excessive care and effort shown by an individual in his work or duties.

**Khathala** (care for)

D.  
*Excessive actor:*  
*xikhathali* (excessively caring person)

Class 7:  
(a) *Xikhathali xi xavela vana va xona mpahla.*  
(Excessively caring person buys clothes for his children).

(b) *Xikhathali xi navelela vana va xona swa kahle.*  
(Excessively caring person wishes for his children good things).
(c) Vana va rilela xikhathali lexi nga lova.
(The children are crying for the excessively caring person who is dead).

Plural: class 8: swikhathali (excessive caring persons)

The nominal xikhathali (excessive caring person) refers to an individual who shows extra ordinary care and effort in his work or duties. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because it may be associated with the individual in question for his entire life. It is not something that applies to an individual for a particular period of time only.

**Khalfala** (care for)

E. [Act]: vukhathali (caring)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhathali bya wanuna bya ndyangu wakwe byi tsakisa nsati wa yena.
(The caring of the man of his family pleases his wife).

(b) Vukhathali bya hosi bya malandza byi hlamarisa vanhu.
(The caring of the king of his servants suprises people).

(c) Mufundhisi u rhandza vukhathali bya valandzeri va yena.
(The pastor loves the caring of his followers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhathali (caring) refers to the persistent and hard-working effort in doing something by an individual.

**Ondla** (Rear)

A. [Actor]: muondli (rearer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muondli wa n’wana wa Sasavona u kume ntirho.
(The rearer of Sasavona’ child has found a job).

(b) Muondli wa n’wana wa Gavaza u lava mali yo tala.
(The rearer of the child of Gavaza wants a lot of money).

(c) N’wana loyi u tiva muondli wa yena.
(This child knows his rearer).

Plural: Class 2: vaondli (rearers)

The nominal muondli (rearing person) refers to a person who takes care of children, teaching them how to behave as members of the society, until they are fully grown up. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the verb -ondla (rear) from which the nominal muondli (rearing person) involves an ongoing process of caring for the children until they grow up. It is not an event which can take place at a particular time and pass. In this case, muondli (rearing person) will be associated with the responsibilities of caring for the children wherever he is. This then suggests that what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of caring per se, but the responsibility thereof.
This responsibility of caring for the children is a permanent property of the individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of act of caring for the children or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muondli (rearing person) because the property of caring for the children of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate

**Ondla (Rear)**

B. **[Excessive act]: riondlo (excessive rearing)**

Class 5:

2. (a) Riondlo ra Sasavona ra vana va swisiwana ri n’wi kumisile sagwati.
   (The expertly rearing of Sasavona of poor children got her an award).

   (b) Riondlo ra wansati ra nuna wa yena ri n’wi rhandzisa hi vingi vakwe.
   (The expertly rearing of the woman of her husband makes her parents-in-law like her).

   (c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela riondlo ra wansati ra vavabyi va TB.
   (The people praise the expertly rearing of the woman of TB patients).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riondlo (rearing) refers to the excessive act or process of caring for children as they grow up, teaching them good behavior. But it may also refer to the excessive process of breeding animals or birds and caring for them as they grow.

**Ondla (Rear)**

C. **[Expert actor]: xiondli (expert rearer)**

Class 7:

3. (a) Xiondli xa vana lava loveriweke hi vatswari xi lovile.
   (The expert rearer of the orphans has passed away).

   (b) Xiondli xa vana lava nga na xitsongwatsongwana xa HIV/AIDS u kumile sagwati.
   (The expert rearer of the children suffering from HIV/AIDS disease got an award).

   (c) Vanhu va rhandza xiondli xa vana va swisiwana.
   (The people like the expert rearer of poor children).

Plural: Class 8: swiondli (expert rearers)

The nominal xiondli (expert rearing person) refers to an individual who has a special skill of taking care of children. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the responsibility of caring for the children of the individual in question, but his special skill of caring for the children. This special skill of caring for the children
is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of caring for the children or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiondli (expert rearing person) because the property of special skill of caring for the children of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Ondla (Rear)

D. [Act]: vuondli (rearing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuondli bya vana byi lava ku tiyisela lokukulu.
   (Rearing up children requires a great deal of perseverance).

   (b) Vuondli lebyi nga tala rirhandzu byi endla leswaku vana va kula kahle.
   (Rearing which is full of love makes children to grow up well.

   (c) Vana vo tala va tsakela vuondli bya vakokwa wa vona.
      (Most children like the rearing of their grandmothers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuondli (rearing) refers to the act or process of caring for children as they grow up, teaching them good behavior. But it may also refer to the process of breeding animals or birds and caring for them as they grow.

Ongola (Nurse)

A. [Actor]: muongori (nurse)

Class: 1. (a) Muongori u nyika muvabyi maphilisi.
   (The nurse gives tablets to the patient).

   (b) Muongori u dyondzisa vavabyi hi ta vuvabyi bya AIDS.
      (The nurse teaches patients about AIDS disease).

   (c) Vanhu va tsakela muongori wa le kliniki ya ka Malamulele.
      (The people like the nurse of the clinic of Malamulele)

Plural: Class 2: vaongori (nurses)

The nominal muongori (nurse) denotes a person formally educated and trained in the care of the sick. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act nursing but the occupation of caring for the sick or injured people of the individual in question. This occupation of caring for the sick and the injured people is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of caring for the sick or injured people or
he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muongori** (nurse) because the occupation of caring for the sick and injured people of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Ongola** (Nurse)

**B.** [Excessive act]: riongolo (excessive nursing)

Class: 5 2. (a) Riongolo ra wansati ra swigulana swa TB ri n’wi kumisile sagwati.  
(The excessive nursing of the woman of the TB patients got her an award).

(b) Riongolo ra wansati ra n’wingi wakwe ri n’wi rhandzisa hi nuna.  
(The excessive nursing of the woman of her mother-in-law makes her loved by her husband).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela riongolo ra vaongori va le tliliniki ya ka Mushiyani.  
(The people like the excessive nursing of the nurses of Mushiyani clinic).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **riongolo** (excessive nursing) refer to the excessive act or excessive process of caring for the sick.

**Ongola** (Nurse)

**C.** [Expert actor]: xiongori (expert nurse)

Class: 7 2. (a) Xiongori xa vavabyi va TB eka tliliniki ya ka Mushiyani xi kumile sagwati  
(The expert nurse of the TB patients at the Mushiyani clinic got an award).

(b) Xiongori xa vana lava nga na vuvaby bya HIV/AIDS xi tlakusiwile.  
(The expert nurse of the children suffering from HIV/AIDS has been promoted).

(c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela xiongori xa vanhu lava vabyaka TB.  
(The people praise the expert nurse of the people who suffer from TB).

Plural: Class 8: swiongori (expert nurses)

The nominal **xiongori** (expert nursing person) refers to a nurse who has a special skill of taking care of the sick and the injured people. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of caring for the caring for the sick and the injured people of the individual in question, but his special skill of caring for the such people. This special skill of caring for the sick and injured people is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of caring for the sick and the injured people, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xiongori**
(expert nursing person) because the property of special skill of caring for the sick and the injured people of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Ongola** (Nurse)

D. **[Event, Act]**: vuongori (nursing)

Class 14: 2. (a) Vuongori i ntirho lowu tsakeriwaka hi vanhu vo tala.
(Nursing is a profession that is liked by most people).

(b) Vuongori bya wansati bya swigulana i bya xiyimo xa le henhlha.
(The nursing of the woman of the patients is of high standard).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va venga vuongori lebyi endliwaka hi vahlayisi va swigulana emakaya.
(Many people hate the nursing that is conducted by the care givers of patients in the homes).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns

**Vuongori** (nursing) is a job or profession of caring for people who are sick or injured, or discipline focused on assisting individuals, families and communities in attaining, re-attaining and maintaining optimal health and functioning. But it may also refer to the act or process of caring for the sick.

**Risa** (herd)

A. **[Actor]**: murisi (herd boy)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murisi wa tihomu u nyamalarile.
(The herd boy has disappeared).

(b) Murisi wa timbuti wa vabya.
(The herd boy for the goats is sick).

(c) Wansati u huwelela murisi wa tihomu.
(The woman is shouting at the herd boy of the cattle).

Plural: Class 2: varisi (herd boys)

The nominal **murisi** (herd boy) denotes an individual who looks after herd of animals. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question looks after animals when he is still young but when he is of age he seeks a job so that he could be able to start up his own family. In other words, what is being modified here is the period during which the individual in question will be still be suitable for looking after animals, and such an individual will be so called during that time only. Once the period of looking after the cattle has passed, such an individual will no longer be referred to as **murisi** (herd boy). However, to an individual who looking after the animals...
has become his hobby or job, such a person will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the hobby or job of looking after the animals will always be associated with the individual in question.

**Risa (herd)**

**B.** [Excessive act]: ririso (excessive herding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ririso ra mufana ra tihomu ri tsakisa vathori va yena.
   (The excessive looking after the cattle of the young man pleases his employers).

(b) Ririso ra wanuna ra tihomu ra n’wi khalabyisa.
   (The excessive looking after the cattle of the man makes him grow old).

(c) Wansati u rhandza ririso ra mufana ra timbuti.
   (The woman likes the excessive looking after the cattle of the young man).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ririso (excessive herding) denotes an excessive act of looking after domestic animals of an individual.

**Risa (herd)**

**C.** [Excessive actor]: xirisi (expert herd boy)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirisi xa tihomu ta wanuna xi lumiwile hi nyoka.
   (The expert herd boy of the cattle of the man has been bitten by a snake).

(b) Xirisi xa xa tihomu xi ya enhoveni.
   (The expert herd boy of the cattle goes to the bush).

(c) Mufana u chavisa xirisi xa tihomu ta mukhalabye.
   (The young man scares the expert herd boy of the cattle of the old man).

Plural: Class 8: swirisi (expert herd boys)

The nominal xirisi (expert herd boy) denotes an individual who has a skill of looking after animals and/or who excessively cares for domestic animals. This nominal may thus be regarded as individual-level nominal because the property of expertness or excessiveness of looking after domestic animals will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of looking after domestic animals at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xirisi (expert herd boy). In this case then, the nominal xirisi (expert herd boy) does not modify the event of looking after domestic animals, but the expertness/excessiveness thereof.

**Risa (herd)**

**D.** [Act]: vurisi (herding)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurisi bya mufana bya tihomu byi nyenyetsa ntombi yakwe.
   (The looking after of the cattle of the young boy annoys his girlfriend).
(b) Vurisi bya wanuna bya tihomu byi nyangatsa vayivi.
(The looking after of the man of the cattle disgusts the thieves).

(c) Nhwanu u sola vurisi bya jaha rakwe ra tihomu.
(The young woman disapproves of the looking after of her boyfriend of the cattle).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurisi (herding) refers to an act of looking after domestic animals of an individual.

**Rindza** (guard/watch over)

A. [Actor]: murindzi (guard/watchman)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murindzi wa xitolo u duvuriwile.
(The guard/watchman of the shop has been shot).

(b) Murindzi wa bangi u khome xibamu.
(The guard/watchman of the bank is holding a gun).

(c) Wanuna u khumba murindzi.
(The man touches the guard/watchman).

Plural: Class 2: varindzi (guards/watchmen)

The nominal murindzi (guard/watchman) refers to an individual who protect or watch over people or properties. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal when the person concerned is guarding just for a specific period of time, especially during a given event/occassion. Once the event passes over, such an individual will no longer be referred to as a murindzi (guard/watchman). However, this nominal in its general sense refers to someone who has taken up a job or employment as a guard. Such an individual then will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is not the act of guarding as such, but the job which the individual in question will always be associated with irrespective of whether the individual in question will be on duty or he will be off duty at the time of reference.

**Rindza** (guard/watch over)

B. [Excessive act]: ririndzo (excessive guarding/watching over)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ririndzo ra wanuna ra nsati wakwe ri hlamarisa vanhu.
(The excessive guarding/watching over of the man of his wife surprises the people).

(b) Ririndzo ra mufana ra vhengele ri chavisa makhamba.
(The excessive guarding/watching over of the young man of the shop scares the thieves).

(c) Wanuna u khensa ririndzo ra mufana ra movha wakwe.
(The man appreciates the excessive guarding/watching over of the young man of his car).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **ririndzo** (excessive guarding/watching over) denotes an excessive act of protecting or watching over people or properties.

**Rindza** (guard/watch over)

C.  **[Excessive actor]: xirindzi (expert guard/watchman)**

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xirindzi xa xikolo xi ye eku wiseni.  
(The expert guard/watchman is on leave).

    (b) Xirindzi xa girachi xi tlakusiwile.  
(The expert guard/watchman of the garage has been promoted).

    (c) Jaha ri xeweta xirindzi xa mimovha.  
(The young man greets the expert guard/watchman of the cars).

Plural: Class 8: swirindzi (expert guards/watchmen)

The nominal **xirindzi** (expert/excessive guard/watchman) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively protects or watches over people or properties. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of guarding/watching per se, but the expertness/excessiveness of guarding/watching over of the individual in question which will be associated with him for the most part of his life. In other words, whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the act of guarding/watching at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xirindzi** (expert guard/watchman).

**Rindza** (guarding/watching over)

D.  **[Act]: vurindzi (guarding/watching over)**

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vurindzi bya wanuna bya vhengele byi hanyisa muti wa yena.  
(The guarding/watching over of the man of the shop brings food to his family).

    (b) Vurindzi bya wanuna bya girachi byi khomisa vana vakwe tingana.  
(The guarding/watching over of the man of the garage embarrasses his children).

    (c) Wanuna u venga vurindzi bya mimovha.  
(The man hates the guarding/watching over of cars).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vurindzi** (guarding/watching over) refers to an act of protecting or watching over people or properties.

**Sirhelela** (protect/defend)

A.  **[Actor]: musirheleli (protector/defender)**

Class 1:  1.  (a) Musirheleli wa wanuna u yima hi milenge.  
(The protector/defender of the man stands on his feet).

    (b) Musirheleli wa xipano xa rixaka u tsakisa vahlaleri.  
(The protector/defender of the National team pleases the audience).
(c) Mukhalabye u khoma musirheleli wa wanuna.
(The old man holds the protector/defender of the man).

Plural: Class 2: vasirheleli (protectors/defenders)

The nominal **musirheleli** (protector/defender) refers to an individual who protects or defends someone from attack, trouble, harm or loss. But it also refers to a player who must stop the other team from scoring. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal when it implies one who protects/defends someone/something at the time of reference but who is not appointed as a protector or defender in his job because the individual in question will be so called only during the time when he is involved in the act of protecting/defending once such an activity is completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to **musirheleli** (protector/defender). In other words, the nominal **musirheleli** (protector/defender) makes reference to the defining event of protecting/defending. However, when it implies an individual who is appointed to protect something or one who prevents the other team from scoring, such a nominal may be referred to as an individual-level nominal because the defining property here is not just the act of protecting/defending of the individual in question, but the hobby or job of protecting. Defending which will always be associated with the individual in question whether such an individual will be engaged at the act of protecting/defending or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Sirhelela** (protect/defend)

B. [Result]: nsirhelelo (protection/defence)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nsirhelelo wa tiko i mhaka ya nkoka.
(The protection/defence of the country is the most important thing).

(b) Nsirhelelo wa masocha wa tiko wu hunguta vuthororisi.
(The protection/defence of the soldiers of the country reduces terrorism).

(c) Nhwanu tsakela nsirhelelo wa tiko ra Afrika-Dzonga
(The young woman likes the protection/defence of South Afrika).

Plural: Class 4: misirhelelo (protections/defences)

The nominal **nsirhelelo** (protection/defence) refers to the resistance against attack, or something that provides such resistance such as a country’s military resources.

**Sirhelela** (protect/defend)

C. [Excessive act]: risirhelelo (excessive protecting/defending)

Class 5: 3. (a) Risirhelelo ra masocha ra tiko ri nyika vaaki hu rhula.
(The excessive protecting/defending of the soldiers of the country gives the residents peace of mind).

(b) Risirhelelo ra ndlovu ra xindlopfana ri hlamarisa wanuna.
(The excessive protecting/defending of the elephant of the young elephant surprises the man).
(c) Wansati u hlama risirhelelo ra ndlopfu ra xindlopfana.
(The woman is surprised at the excessive protecting/defending of the elephant of the young elephant).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risirhelelo (excessive protection/protecting) denotes an excessive act of protecting or defending someone or something from attack, trouble, harm or loss.

Sirhelela (protect/defend)

D. [Excessive actor]: xisirheleli (expert protector/defender)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xisirheleli xa vavasati xi ya ekhoto.
(The expert protector/defender of the women goes to court).

(b) Xisirheleli xa vumbiwa bya tiko xi rhnadza vana.
(The expert protector/defender of the constitution of the country likes the children).

(c) Mufana u vitana xisirheleli xa muako.
(The young man calls the expert protector/defender of the building).

Plural: Class 8: swisirheleli (expert protectors/defenders)

The nominal xisirheleli (expert protector/defender) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively protects/defends someone from attack, trouble, harm or loss. This nominal may be regarded as a individual-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is not the act of protecting/defending as such, but the expertness/excessiveness of protecting/defending which will be associated with him for the most part of his life regardless of whether or not the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of protecting/defending someone/something at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xisirheleli (expert protector/defender).

Sirhelela (protect/defend)

E. [Artifact/Instrument]: xisirhelelo (protection object/cover)

Class 7: 5. (a) Xisirhelelo xa phorisa xi wile.
(The protection object/cover of the police has fallen down).

(b) Xisirhelelo xa wansati eka dyambu xi yiviwile.
(The protection object/cover of the woman from the sun is stolen).

(c) Mufana u xava xisirhelelo xa dyambu edorobeni.
(The young man buys the protection object/cover from the sun at the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swisirhelelo (protection objects/cover)

The nominal xisirhelelo (protection object/cover) denotes an object/instrument meant meant from protecting an individual from danger or harm.
**Sirhelela** (protect/defend)

F. [Act/event]: vusirheleli (protection/protecting/defending/defense)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vusirheleli bya maphorisa bya vaaki eka swigewenga byi enetisa varhangeri. (The protection/protecting/defending/defense of the police of the residents from criminals satisfies the leaders).

(b) Vusirheleli bya masocha bya tiko byi le ka xiyimo xa kahle. (The protection/protecting/defending/defense of the soldiers of the country is in good standing).

(c) Palamente yi khensa vusirheleli bya masocha na maphorisa bya tiko. (The parliament appreciates the protection/protecting/defending/defense of the soldiers and the police of the country).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusirheleli (protection/protecting/defending/defense) refers to the act of protecting or defending someone from attack, trouble, harm or loss. But it may also refer to the resistance against attack, or something that provides such resistance such as a country’s military resources

**Amukela** (welcome/accept/receive)

A. [Actor]: muamukeri (welcomer/accepter/receiver)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muamukeri wa vayeni u va khomela tibege. (The welcomer/accepter/receiver of the guests is holding bags for them).

(b) Muamukeri wa nandzu u nyikiwile xigwevo xo vevuka. (The welcomer/accepter/receiver of the guilt has been given a light sentence).

(c) Mukhegula u vitana muamukeri wa tibege ta vayeni. (The old womancalls for the welcomer/accepter/receiver of the bags of the guests).

Plural: Class 2: vaamukeri (welcomers/accepters/receivers)

The nominal muamukeri (welcomer/accepter/receiver) refers to an individual who receives something such as a parcel, or a person who receives something, such as a gift or someone, such as guests with pleasure and gladness. This nominal may be interpreted as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the act of welcoming something or someone of the individual in question. Once such an act of welcoming something or someone is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to muamukeri (welcomer/accepter/receiver).

**Amukela** (welcome/accept/receive)

B. [Excessive act]: riamukelo (excessive welcoming/accepting/receiving)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riamukelo ra wansati ra mapapila ri vilerisa nuna wakwe. (The excessive welcoming/accepting/receiving of the woman of the letters worries her husband).
(b) Riamukelo ra wanuna ra xihoxo ri hlamarisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive welcoming/accepting/receiving of the man of the mistake pleases his wife).

(c) Wansati u khensa riamukelo ra wanuna ra xihoxo.
(The woman appreciates the excessive welcoming/accepting/receiving the man of the mistake).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riamukelo (excessive excessive welcoming/accepting/receiving) denotes an excessive act of receiving something such as a parcel, or excessive reception of something, such as a gift or someone, such as guests with pleasure and gladness.

Amukela (welcome/accept/receive)

C. [expert/Excessive actor]: xiamukeri (expert/excessive welcomer/accepter/receiver)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiamukeri xa mapapila ya swikweleti xi ya evhengeleni.
(The expert/excessive welcomer/accepter/receiver of the debts goes to the shop).

(b) Xiamukeri xa vayeni xi sweka swakudyà.
(The expert/excessive welcomer/accepter/receiver of the guests cooks food).

(c) Wanuna u sandza xiamukeri xa mapapila ya swikweleti.
(The man criticizes the expert/excessive welcomer/accepter/receiver of the guests).

Plural: Class 8: swiamukeri (expert welcomers/accepters/receivers)

The nominal xiamukeri (expert welcomer/accepter/receiver) denotes an individual who expertly or excessively welcomes something or someone. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what modifies this nominal is the property of expertness/excessiveness of welcoming of the individual in question which will always be associated with him regardless of whether such an individual will be involved in the act of welcoming something or someone at the time of reference.

Amukela (welcome/accept/receive)

D. [Event/Act]: vuamukeri (welcoming/accepting/receiving)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuamukeri bya nhwana bya vayeni byi tsakisa vatswari vakwe.
(The welcoming/accepting/receiving of the young woman of the guests pleases her parents).

(b) Vuamukeri bya wansati bya nandzu byi hlamarise vanhu.
(The welcoming/accepting/receiving of the woman of the guilt surprised the people).

(c) Mufambisi u khensa vuamukeri bya mufana bya nandzu.
(The chairperson appreciates the welcoming/accepting/receiving of the woman of the guilt).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuamukeri** (welcoming/accepting/receiving) refers to the act of receiving something such as a parcel, or reception of something, such as a gift or someone, such as guests with pleasure and gladness.

### 8.8. Deverbatives Derived from Verbs of Searching

Levin (1995: 197) defines the verbs in this class as the verbs which relate to searching. He argues that these verbs seem to have three ways in which they can express their arguments: NP1 V NP2 in NP3, NP1 V NP3 for NP2, NP1 V for NP2 in NP3. According to him, all verbs in this class permit the use of a *for* phrase to express the object being searched for. He also points out that these verbs take a range of locative prepositions heading the locative prepositional phrase.

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</tbody>
</table>

**Hlota** (Hunt)

A. [Actor]: muhloti (hunter)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhloti u dlaye ndlopfu.
   (The hunter killed an elephant).
   
   (b) Muhloti a nga heta masiku mambirhi a ri nhoveni a nga dyangi nchumu.
   (The hunter can spend two days in the bush without food).
   
   (c) Maphorisa ma khoma muhloti enhoveni.
   (The police arrest the hunter in the bush).

Plural: Class 2: vahloti (hunters)
The nominal **muhloti** (hunter) refers to a person who chases wild animals or birds in order to catch or kill them for food, sport or to make money. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the hobby of hunting of the individual in question and not the act of hunting as such. This hobby of hunting is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of hunting or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muhloti** (hunter) because the property of hunting of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlota** (hunt)

B.  

[Act]:  

nhloto (hunting)

Class 3: 2.  

(a) Nhloti wa tolo wa vavanuna a wu fambangi kahle.  
(Yesterday’s hunting of the men did not go well).

(b) Nhloti wa nivusiku wu tala ku va na mbuyelo wa kahle.  
(Hunting of the evening usually has good results).

(c) Timbyana ta mina ti rhandza nhloto wa nivusiku.  
(My dogs like evening hunting).

Plural: Class 3: mihloto (huntings)

The nominal **nhloto** (hunting) refers to the activity of hunting wild animals or game. But it may also refer to the occupation of hunting or a wild animal killed during hunting.

**Hlota** (Hunt)

C.  

[Excessive act]:  

rihloti (excessive hunting)

Class 5: 3.  

(a) Rihloti ra Hlamalana ri ta kala ri n’wi dlayisa hi tinghala.  
(The excessive hunting of Hlamalani will end up having him killed by the lions).

(b) Rihloti ri nga ku lahlekisa na le kaya.  
(Excessive hunting can get you lost from home).

(c) Vanhu va le Phawubeni va na rihloti ngopfu.  
(People from Phalawubeni do excessive hunting).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihloti** (excessive hunting) refers to the excessive activity of **hunting** wild animals or game.
**Hlota (Hunt)**

D. [Expert/excessive actor]: xihloti (expert/excessive hunter)

**Class 7:**

4. (a) Xihloti xi dlaye ndlopfu.
   (The expert/excessive hunter killed an elephant).

   (b) Xihloti xi nga heta masiku mambirhi a ri nhoveni a nga dyangi nchumu.
   (The expert/excessive hunter can spend two days in the bush without food).

   (c) Maphorisa ma khoma xihloti enhoveni.
   (The police arrest the expert/excessive hunter in the bush).

**Plural: Class 8:** swihloti (expert/excessive hunters)

The nominal xihloti (expert/excessive hunter) refers to a person who is exceptionally good in hunting or who excessively hunt wild animals a make a kill. Such a person also has a wide range of experience in the hobby of hunting. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the hobby of hunting of the individual in question, but his expertise/excessiveness in his hobby of hunting. This property of expertness/excessiveness in hunting is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of hunting or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihloti (expert/excessive hunter) because the property of expertness/excessiveness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlota (hunt)**

E. [Act]: vuhloti (hunting)

**Class 14:**

5. (a) Vuhloti bya vakhalabye byi tala ku va na mbuyelo.
   (Hunting of the old men usually has the result).

   (b) Vuhloti byi lava vanhu lava tiyiselaka.
   (Hunting needs people who perseveres).

   (c) Miganga leyi nga ekusuhi na nkamba ya swiharhi yi rhandza ngopfu vuhloti.
   (The villages that are adjacent to the game reserve like hunting).

**Plural:** No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhloti (hunting) refers to the act or process of chasing wild animals in order to kill or capture them.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hlota</td>
<td>muhloti</td>
<td>nhloto</td>
<td>rihloto</td>
<td>xihloti</td>
<td></td>
<td>vuhloti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lavisisa</td>
<td>mulavisisi</td>
<td>ndzavisiso</td>
<td>rilavisiso</td>
<td>xilavisisi</td>
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<td>vulavisisi</td>
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<tr>
<td>Ringela</td>
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<td>xisefi</td>
<td>sefo</td>
<td>vusefi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class 1**
Prefix: **mu-**  
Suffix: **-i**

**Muhloti** (hunter)

```
  N
 /\  
 AF N^R
 / \   / \  
 V AF mu- -hlot- -i
```

**Class 3**
Prefix: **mu-**  
Suffix: **-o**

**Nhloto** (hunting)

```
  N
 /\  
 AF N^R
 / \   / \  
 V AF n- -hlot- -o
```
Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textbf{Rihloto} (excessive hunting)

\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (N) {N};
  \node (AF) [below left of=N] {AF};
  \node (NR) [below right of=N] {NR};
  \node (V) [below of=AF] {V};
  \node (AF2) [below of=NR] {AF};
  \draw (N) -- (AF) -- (V) -- (AF2);
  \node (ri-) [below left of=AF] {ri-};
  \node (hlot-) [below of=ri-] {hlot-};
  \node (o) [below of=hlot-] {-o};
\end{tikzpicture}

Class 7
Prefix: \textit{xi-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textbf{Xihloti} (expert/excessive hunter)

\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (N) {N};
  \node (AF) [below left of=N] {AF};
  \node (NR) [below right of=N] {NR};
  \node (V) [below of=AF] {V};
  \node (AF2) [below of=NR] {AF};
  \draw (N) -- (AF) -- (V) -- (AF2);
  \node (xi-) [below left of=AF] {xi-};
  \node (hlot-) [below of=xı-] {hlot-};
  \node (i) [below of=hlot-] {-i};
\end{tikzpicture}

Class 14
Prefix: \textit{vu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textbf{Vuhloti} (hunting)

\begin{tikzpicture}
  \node (N) {N};
  \node (AF) [below left of=N] {AF};
  \node (NR) [below right of=N] {NR};
  \node (V) [below of=AF] {V};
  \node (AF2) [below of=NR] {AF};
  \draw (N) -- (AF) -- (V) -- (AF2);
  \node (vu-) [below left of=AF] {vu-};
  \node (hlot-) [below of=vu-] {hlot-};
  \node (i) [below of=hlot-] {-i};
\end{tikzpicture}
Verbs of Searching

(39) **Nominalization from the verb** -hlota (**hunt**)

Vavanuna va hlota tinghala.
(The men are hunting the lions).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>-hlota</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARG1 = x: phys.obj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVSTR = E1=e1: process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUALIA = FORMAL = x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENTIVE = -hlota_ act (e1, x, y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Hunt – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -hlota (**hunt**) in (39) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument denoting the person that hunts and the physical object denoting the entity that is being hunted. The event structure represents the default process event of hunting. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of hunting (e1) of a person (x).

(40) **Nominalisation in class 1:** muhloti (**hunter**)

Muhloti u dlayile mpfundla.
(The hunter killed a hare).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>muhloti</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ARG1 = x: phys.obj.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EVSTR = E1=e1: process</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUALIA = FORMAL = x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENTIVE = -hlota_ actor (e1, x, y)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Hunter – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative muhloti (**hunter**) in (40) above displays two arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument denoting the person that hunts and the physical object denoting the entity that is being hunted. The event structure represents the default process event of hunting. The qualia structure displays the formal quale, denoting the human argument (x) and the agentive quale which denotes the act (process) of hunting (e1) of a person (x).
(41) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihloti** (expert/excessive hunter)

Xihloti xa swiharhi xi lumiwile hi nyoka.
(The excessive hunter of wild animals was bitten by the snake).

xihloti

ARGSTR

ARG1=x: human
ARG =y: phys. obj.

EVSTR

E1=e1: process

QUALIA

FORMAL=x
AGENTIVE= -hlota_actor_expert/excessive (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Hunt – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xihloti (expert/excessive hunter) in (41) corresponds to that of muhloti (hunter) in (40) above. The distinguishing difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in xihloti (expert/excessive hunter) in (41) above which is lacking in mihloti (hunter) in (40) above.

(42) **Nominalisation in class 5: rihloto** (excessive hunting)

Rihloto ra wanuna ra timhelembe ri ta n’wi khomisa.
(The excessive hunting of the man of rhinos will get him arrested).

rihloto

ARGSTR

ARG1 = e: r
D-ARG1 = x: human
D-ARG2=y: phys. obj.

EVSTR

D-E1 =e1: process

QUALIA

FORMAL=(e, x, y)
AGENTIVE= -hlota_act_excessive (e1, x, y)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Hunt – Excessiveness – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbalive rihloto (excessive hunting) in (42) above exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is engaged in the act of hunting and the physical object denoting the entity that is hunted. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of hunting. The event structure represents the default process of hunting. The formal quale represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of hunting (e1) of a person (x).
(43)   **Nominalisation in class 14: vuhloti** (hunting)

Vuhloti bya wanuna bya tinghala byi lemukiwile hi maphorisa.
(The hunting of the man of the lions has been noticed by the police).

```
\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{vuhloti} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} =e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-hlota_\text{act/event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{aligned}
\]
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Hunt – Act/Event

The lexical semantic representation of **vuhloti** (hunting) in (43) corresponds to that of **rihloto** (excessive hunting) in (42) above. The distinguishing difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] in **rihloto** (excessive hunting) in (42) above which is lacking in **vuhloti** (hunting) in (43) above.

(44)   **Nominalisation in class 3: nhloto** (hunting)

3. Nhloto wa wanuna wa tolo wu tekile vusiku hinkwabyo.
(The hunting of the man of yesterday took the whole night).

```
\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{nhloto} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} =e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-hlota_\text{event} (e_1, x, y)
\end{aligned}
\]
```

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Hunt – Event

The lexical semantic representation of deverbal **nhloto** (hunting) exhibits three arguments in the argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is engaged in the act of hunting and the physical object denoting the entity that is hunted. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of hunting. The event structure represents the default process of hunting. The formal quale represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the event of hunting (e_1) of a person (x).
Other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of searching displays the lexical semantic representation which corresponds to that of the verb -hlota (hunt). The distinction that obtains relates to the deverbative from the verbs -ringela (fish), -cela (dig), -lava (search), -dyondza (study), -hlaya (read), -mbamba (groppe), -nunhwetela (smell/sniff), -borha (drill) and -sefa (sift) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the verbs -hlota (hunt), -lavisisa (research) and -lavisisa (investigate) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics permits a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix -o and with the meaning of result and/or event. Another distinction is found with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -dyondza (study), -hlaya (read), -borha (drill/bore) and -sefa (sift) which permit a nominalization in class 9 with the meaning of result and/or artifact/instrument in contrast with the verbs -hlota (hunt), -lavisisa (research), -lavisisa (investigate), -ringela (fish), -cela (dig), -lava (search), -mbamba (groppe), and -nunhwetela smell/sniff) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit such a nominalization.

Lavisisa (research)

A. [Actor]: mulavisisi (researcher)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulavisisi u hlaya phepha ra ndzavisiso wa yena enhlengeletanini. (The researcher is presenting the paper of his research at the conference).
   (b) Mulavisisi wa mavitimpfelelo ya Xitsonga u humesile buku. (The researcher of Xitsonga derived nominals has produced a book).
   (c) Muzamani u pfuna mulavisisi wa mavitimpfelelo ya Xitsonga. (Muzamani is helping the researcher of Xitsonga derived nominals).

Plural: class 2: valavisisi (researchers)

The nominal mulavisisi (researcher) refers to an individual who studies something carefully in order to discover new facts or information about it. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the occupation or the habit of researching of the individual in question and not the act of researching as such. This occupation/habit of researching is a permanent property of the individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of researching or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mulavisisi (researcher) because the property of researching of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
**Lavisisa (research)**

**B. [Result]: ndzavisiso (research)**

Class 3: 2. (a) Ndzavisiso wa risivikomba wu endliwile hi Maluleke.
   (The research on the ideophone was conducted by Maluleke).
   
   (b) Ndzavisiso wa vudokodela wu teka nkari hi leha.
   (The Research of Doctoral studies takes a long time).
   
   (c) Hlungwani u endla ndzavisiso wa mavitiimpfelelo.
   (Hlungwani is doing research on derived nominals).

Plural: class 4: mindzavisiso (researches)

The nominal **ndzavisiso (research)** refers to a detailed study of a subject, especially in order to discover (new) information about it.

**Lavisisa (research)**

**C. [Excessive/intensive act]: rilavisiso (excessive/intensive research)**

Class 5: 3. (a) Rilavisiso ra Hlungwani ra mavitiimpfelelo ri ta pfuna rixaka.
   (The excessive/intensive research of Hlungwani on derived nominals will help the nation).
   
   (b) Rilavisiso ra Magezi ra risivinene ri teke nkari hi leha.
   (The excessive/intensive research of Magezi of the ideophone took a long time).
   
   (c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela rilavisiso ra Lyons ra semantiki.
   (The people appreciate the excessive/intensive research of Lyons of semantics).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilavisiso (excessive research)** refers to the excessive act of conducting a careful and intensive study of something in order to discover new facts or information about it.

**Lavisisa (research)**

**D. [Actor]: xilavisisi (expert/seasoned researcher)**

Class 7: 4. (a) Xilavisisi xa mavitiimpfelelo xi humesile buku.
   (The expert/seasoned researcher of the derived nominals produced a book).
   
   (b) Xilavisisi xa vuvabyi bya AIDS xi kumile sagwati.
   (The expert/seasoned researcher of the sickness of AIDS got an award).
   
   (c) Yunihhesiti yi nyika xilavisisi xa mofozoji digiri ya vudokodela.
   (The University awards the doctoral degree to the excessive/seasoned researcher of morphology).

Plural: class 8: swilavisisi (expert/seasoned researchers)
The nominal **xilavisisi** (expert/excessive researcher) refers to a person who is exceptionally good in doing research or who excessively conducts research. Such a person also has a wide range of experience in the area of research. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or occupation of doing research of the individual in question, but his expertise/excessiveness in his job of conducting research. This property of expertness/excessiveness in conducting research is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of conducting research or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xilavisisi** (expert/excessive researcher) because the property of expertness/excessiveness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Lavisisa** (research)

E. [Act]: vulavisisi (research)

Class 5: 5. (a) Vulavisisi bya Hlungwani bya mavitimpfelelo byi ta pfuna rixaka. (The research of Hlungwani on derived nominals will help the nation).
   
   (b) Vulavisisi bya Magezi bya risivinene byi teke nkarhi wo leha. (The research of Magezi on the ideophone took a long time).
   
   (c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela vulavisisi bya Lyons bya semantiki. (The people appreciate the research of Lyons of semantics).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulavisisi** (research) refers to the act of conducting a careful and intensive study of something in order to discover new facts or information about it. But it may also refer to a detailed study of a subject already conducted by someone.

**Lavisisa** (investigate)

A. [Actor]: mulavisisi (investigator)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulavisisi wa nandzu wa vukhamba u lulamisa xiviko. (The investigator of stealing case is preparing the report).
   
   (b) Mulavisisi wa vugevenga u fambile. (The investigator of crime is gone).
   
   (c) Muzamani u pfuna mulavisisi wa swigevenga. (Muzamani is helping the investigator of criminals).

Plural: class 2: valavisisi (investigators)
The nominal **mulavisisi** (investigator) refers to a person who gathers confidential information and conducts investigation for an individual or company. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the occupation of investigation of the individual in question and not the act of investigation as such. This occupation of investigation is a permanent property of the individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of investigating something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mulavisisi** (investigator) because the property of investigating of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Lavisisa** (investigation)

B.  

[Act]:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3</td>
<td>(a) Ndzavisiso wa vukhamba wu ta sungula mundzuku. (The investigation of stealing will start tomorrow).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Ndzavisiso wa vugevenga wu teka nkahrhi wo leha. (The investigation of crime takes a long time).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Maphorisa va endla ndzavisiso wa swigevenga. (The police officers are doing criminal investigation).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural: class 4: mindzavisiso (investigations)

The nominal **ndzavisiso** (investigation) refers to the process of gathering or carefully examining facts or information of a situation or event or crime for the purpose of finding out the truth about it. But it may also refer to a compiled report of the investigation conducted by someone.

**Lavisisa** (investigate)

C.  

[Excessive act]:  

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class</th>
<th>Examples</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>5</td>
<td>(a) Rilavisiso ra maphorisa ra nandzu wa vukhamba ri teka Nkarhi wo leha. (The excessive/rigorous investigating of the police officers to the criminals takes a long time).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(b) Rilavisiso ra Magezi ra milandzu yo tika ri n’wi dlayisile. (The excessive/rigorous investigation of the police officer of serious cases has put him in trouble).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(c) Vanhu va sola rilavisiso ra maphorisa ra milandzu ya vugevenga. (People criticises the excessive/rigorous investigating of the police officers of the criminal cases).</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal *rilavisiso* (excessive investigation) refers to the excessive/rigorous process of gathering or carefully examining facts or information of a situation or event or crime for the purpose of finding out the truth about it.

**Lavisisa (investigate)**

D. [Expert actor]: xilavisisi (expert/seasoned investigator)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xilavisisi xa vukhamba xi lovile.
   (The expert/seasoned investigator of crime has passed away).

   (b) Xilavisisi xa nandzu wa xigevenga xa khombo xi tshikile ntirho.
   (The expert/seasoned investigator of the case of dangerous criminal has resigned).

   (c) Khomixinari u nyika xilavisisi xa milandzu ya khombo sagwati.
   (The commissioner gives the expert investigator of dangerous cases an award).

Plural: class 8: swilavisisi (expert/seasoned investigators)

The nominal *xilavisisi* (expert/excessive investigator) refers to a person who is exceptionally good in conducting investigation or who excessively conducts investigates and succeed to get the required information. Such a person also has a wide range of experience in the area of investigation. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or occupation of investigation of the individual in question as such, but his expertise/excessiveness in his job of conducting investigation. This property of expertness/excessiveness in conducting investigation is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of conducting investigation or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xilavisisi* (expert/excessive investigator) because the property of expertness/excessiveness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Lavisisa (investigate)**

E. [Act]: vulavisisi (investigating/investigation)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vulavisisi bya phorisa bya nadzu wa vukhamba byi fikile emakumu.
   (The investigation of the police officer of the criminal case has been concluded).

   (b) Vulavisisi bya nandzu wo dlaya byi tikela maphjorisa.
   (The investigation of the murder case is difficult for the police officers).

   (c) Vanhu va sola vulavisisi bya maphorisa bya nandzu wo tshova tindlu.
   (The people are criticizing the investigation of police officers on the burglary case).
Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vulavisisi* (investigation) refers to the process of gathering or carefully examining facts or information of a situation or event or crime for the purpose of finding out the truth about it.

**Ringela (fish)**

A. [Actor]: muringeri (fisherman)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muringeri u phasa tihlampfi. (The fisherman catches fish).

(b) Muringeri u dya tihlampfi. (The fisherman eats fish).

(c) Yingwani u huwelela muringeri. (Yingwani shouts at the fesherman).

Plural: class 2: varingeri (fishermen)

The nominal *muringeri* (fisherman) refers to a person who catches fish as a hobby or as an occupation. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the hobby/occupation of fishing of the individual in question and not the act of fishing as such. This hobby/occupation of fishing is a permanent property of the individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of fishing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *muringeri* (fisherman) because the property of investigating of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Ringela (fish)**

A. [Excessive act]: riringelo (excessive fishing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riringelo ra Magezi ra tihlampfi ri vuyerisa vanhu. (The excessive fishing of Magezi of the fish benefits people).

(b) Riringelo ra Mzamani ra tihlampfi ri tsakisa vana vakwe. (The excessive fishing of Magezi of the fish pleases his children).

(c) Vanhu va rhandza riringelo ra Magezi ra tihlampfi. (People like the excessive fishing of Magezi of the fish).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riringelo* (excessive fishing) refers to the excessive act of catching fish.
Ringela (fish)

B. [Expert actor]: xiringeri (expert/Excessive fisherman)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiringeri xi yile enambyeni.
(The expert/excessive fisherman went to the river).

(b) Xiringeri xi khomile tihlampfi letikulu ntsena.
(The expert/excessive fisherman has caught big fish only).

(c) Khazamula u heleketa xiringeri enambyeni.
(Khazamula accompanies the expert/excessive fisherman to the river).

Plural: class 8: swiringeri (expert fishermen)

The nominal xiringeri (expert/excessive fisherman) refers to a person who is exceptionally good in fishing or who excessively and regularly catches a lot of fish. Such a person also has a wide range of experience in the area of fishing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or occupation of fishing of the individual in question as such, but his expertise/excessiveness in his job of fishing. This property of expertness/excessiveness in fishing is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of fishing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiringeri (expert/excessive fisherman) because the property of expertness/excessiveness of an individual in question hold irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Cela (dig)
A. [Actor]: muceri (digger)

Class 1; 1. (a) Muceri u hakuta goji. (The digger removes soil from the hole).

(b) Muceri wa goji ra xihambukelo u lovile. (The digger of the toilet pit has died).

(c) Wansati u xeweta muceri wa goji. (The woman greets the digger of the hole).

Plural: class 2: vaceri (diggers)

The nominal muceri (digger) refers to an individual who breaks the ground and makes a hole using his hands or a tool or a machine. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to any other person who digs a hole, at the time of reference, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of digging which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of digging is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as muceri (digger). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But the nominal muceri (digger) may be regarded as an Individual-level nominal in the situation where digging is the occupation of the individual in question because what is being modified here is not the act of digging as such, but the occupation of digging which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of digging, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muceri (digger).

Cela (dig)

B. [Excessive act]: ricelo (excessive digging)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ricelo ra mufana ra magoji emutini ri nyenyetsa vatswari. (The excessive digging of the holes in the yard annoys the parents).

(b) Ricelo ra Muzamani ra magoji ya swihambukelo ri vuyerisa muti wakwe. (The excessive digging of Muzamani of the pits of the toilets benefits his family).

(c) Khazamula u hlamala ricelo ra kokwana ra magoji. (Khazamula is surprised at the excessive digging of the grandfather of the holes).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ricelo (excessive digging) refers to the excessive act or process of digging.

Cela (dig)
C.  [Expert actor]:  xiceri (expert/excessive digger)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xiceri xa magoji ya swihambukelo xa vabya.
(The expert/excessive digger of the pits of the toilets is sick).

(b) Xiceri xa mugerho wa phayiphi xi hakuta misava.
(The expert/excessive digger of the furrow of the pipe removes out the soil).

(c) Muzamani u pfuna xiceri xa goji ra xihambukelo.
(Muzamani assists the expert/excessive digger of the pit of the toilet).

Plural: class 8: swiceri (expert/excessive diggers)

The nominal xiceri (expert/excessive digger) refers to a person who has the skill of digging or the one who excessively digs holes. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or occupation of digging of the individual in question as such, but his expertise/excessiveness in his job of digging. This property of expertness/excessiveness in digging is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of digging or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiceri (expert/excessive digger) because the property of expertness/excessiveness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Cela (dig)

D.  [Event, act]:  vuceri (digging)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vuceri bya magoji byi hlakata miri.
(The digging of holes damaged the body).

(b) Vuceri bya Magezi bya magoji ya swihambukelo byi nyumisa nsati wakwe.
(The digging of Magezi of the pits of the toilets humiliates his wife).

(c) Kokwana u languta vuceri bya Gezani bya magoji emasin’wini.
(Grandfather looks at the digging of Gezani of the holes at the fields).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuceri (digging) refers to the act or process of digging.

Lava (search)

A.  [Actor]: mulavi (searcher)

Class 1:  1.  (a) Mulavi wa tihomu u fambile.
(The searcher of the cattle is gone).
(b) Mulavi wa tihomu u vuyile.
(The searcher of the cattle is back).

(c) Malume u xeweta mulavi wa tihomu.
(The uncle greets the searcher of the cattle).

Plural: class 2: valavi (searchers)

The nominal **mulavi** (searcher) refers to a person who looks carefully for something/someone or one who explores or examines a particular place for the purpose of finding something. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to any other person who looks for something at the time of reference, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of searching which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of searching is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as **mulavi** (searcher). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But the nominal **mulavi** (searcher) may be regarded as an Individual-level nominal in the situation where searching is the hobby/occupation of the individual in question because what is being modified here is not the act of digging as such, but the hobby/occupation of searching which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of searching, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mulavi** (searcher).

**Lava** (search)

B. [Excessive act]: rilavo (excessive searching)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilavo ra wanuna ra tihomu ri vilerisa wansati.
(The excessive searching of the man of the cattle worries the woman).

(b) Rilavo ra mufana ra tibuku ri n’wi karhalisile.
(The excessive searching of the young man of the books made him tired).

(c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela rilavo ra maphorisa ra swigevenga.
(The people praise the excessive searching of the police of the criminals).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilavo** (excessive searching) refers to the excessive act of carefully looking for something/someone or the excessive act of exploring or examining a particular place for the purpose of finding something.
**Lava (search)**

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: xilavi (expert/excessive searchers)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xilavi xa swigevenga xi tshova rivanti ra yindlu.
(The expert/excessive searcher breaks the door of the house).

(b) Xilavi xa tihomu xi vuyile.
(The expert/excessive searcher of the cattle has returned).

(c) Mfumo wu thola xilavi xa swigevenga swa khombo.
(The government appoints the expert/excessive searcher of dangerous criminals).

Plural: class 8: swilavi (expert searchers)

The nominal *xilavi* (expert/excessive searcher) refers to a person who has a skill and who has an occupation of searching things and whose search is always or most of the time successful. Such a person also has a wide range of experience in searching things. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of searching of the individual in question, but his expertise/excessiveness in his occupation of searching. This property of expertness/excessiveness in searching is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of searching something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xilavi* (expert/excessive searcher) because the property of expertness/excessiveness of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Lava (search)**

D. [Act]: vulavi (searching)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulavi bya tihomu bya karhalisa.
(Cattle searching is tiresome).

(b) Vulavi bya maphorisa bya swigevenga byi hete nkarhi wo leha).
(The searching of the police of the criminals took a long time).

(c) Vanhu va sola vulavi bya maphorisa bya swigevenga.
(People criticise the searching of the police of the criminals).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vulavi* (searching) refers to the act of carefully looking for something/someone or the act of exploring or examining a particular place for the purpose of finding something.
**Dyondza** (study)

A. [Actor]: mudyondzi (learner)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mudyondzi u hlaya tibuku.
(The learner reads books).

   (b) Mudyondzi u ya exikolweni.
   (The learner goes to school).

   (c) Thicara u dyondzisa mudyondzi tinhlayo.
   (The teacher teaches the learner mathematics).

Plural: class 2: vadyondzi (learners)

The nominal **mudyondzi** (learner) denotes an individual who studies a subject or something in order to gain knowledge or skill. But it may also refer to someone who is learning to drive a car. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the title of the individual in question and not the act of learning as such. This title is a permanent property of the individual in question and it will be associated with him for the duration of his studies. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of fishing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mudyondzi** (learner) because the property of learning of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Dyondza** (study)

B. [Expert actor]: xidyondzi (intelligent learner)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xidyondzi xi kumile tinyeleti eka tinhlayo.
(The intelligent learner obtained distinctions in mathematics).

   (b) Xidyondzi xi pfuna vadyondzi van’wana.
   (The intelligent learner assists other learners).

   (c) Mathicara va nyika xidyondzi etlilasini sagwati.
   (Teachers give an award to the intelligent learner).

Plural: class 8: swidyondzi (intelligent learners)

The nominal **xidyondzi** (intelligent/brilliant learner) refers to a student who is quick at learning and understanding things and who is able to think in a logical way. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of learning of the individual in question, but his intelligence in his learning. This property of intelligence is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of act of learning or he may
not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xidyondzi** (learner) because the property of intelligence of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Dyondza** (study)

C.  
[Result]:  dyondzo (lesson)

Class 9:  
3.  
(a) Dyondzo ya OBE yi tikela mathicara.  
(The OBE approach is difficult for the teachers).

(b) Dyondzo ya Xitsonga yi anamile swinene.  
(Xitsonga subject is very broad).

(c) Machudeni va tsakela dyondzo ya Xitsonga.  
(The students like the Xitsonga subject).

Plural: class 10: tidyondzo (lessons)

The nominal **dyondzo** (subject/lesson) refers to something to be learned or a period of time in which someone is taught something, or an assignment/exercise. But it may also refer to the knowledge that one gets from reading and studying.

**Dyondza** (study)

D.  
[Act/manner/quality]:  
vudyondzi (studying/learning)

Class 14:  
4.  
(a) Vudyondzi bya Magezi bya xikolo byi hlohlotela vadyondzikuloni.  
(The attending of Magezi of the school encourages other learners).

(b) Vudyondzi bya Gezani exikolweni byi tsakisa mathicara.  
(The studying/learning of Gezani at school pleases the teachers).

(c) Mathicata ma rhandza vudyondzi bya Magezi bya tinhlayo.  
(The teachers like the studying/learning of Magezi of mathematics).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vudyondzi** (studying/learning) refers to the act/manner or quality of studying a subject or something in order to gain knowledge or skill.

**Hlaya** (read)

A.  
[Actor]:muhlayi (reader)

Class 1:  
1.  
(a) Muhlayi wa papila wa hlekelela.  
(The reader of the letter is laughing).
(b) Muhlayi wa pephahungu u pavalarile emubedweni.
(The reader of the newspaper lies on his belly on the bed).

(c) Kokwana u vitana muhlayi wa pephahungu.
(Grandmother calls the reader of the newspaper).

Plural: class 2; vahlayi (readers)

The nominal muhlayi (reader) refers to an individual who puts his eyes on printed or written words in order to examine and grasps their meaning or one who goes through written or printed words, in silence or aloud. But it may also refer to a person employed by a publisher to read and evaluate manuscripts. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to any other person who reads something at the time of reference, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of reading which may be terminated at any time. Once the act of reading is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as muhlayi (reader). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal concerned. However, when such a nominal refers to a person employed as a reader, the nominal muhlayi (reader) may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of reading as such, but the occupation of reading which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of reading, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muhlayi (reader).

Hlaya (read)

A. [Excessive act]: rihlayo (excessive reading)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlayo ra Magezi ra tibuku ri hlamarisa maticara.
(The excessive reading of Magezi of the books surprises the teachers).

(b) Rihlayo ra mufana ra pephahungu ri kavanyeta mudyondzisi.
(The excessive reading of the young man of the newspaper disturbs the teacher).

(c) Vadyondzisi va sola rihlayo ra Tsatsawani ra pephahungu etlilasini.
(The teachers condemn the excessive reading of Tsatsawani of the newspaper in the class).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihlayo (excessive reading) refers to the excessive act of reading something or the excessive action or excessive practice of a person who reads.
Hlaya (read)

B. [Excessive/Expert actor]: xihlayi (excessive/expert reader)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlayi xa tibuku xi pasile.
(The excessive/expert reader of the books has passed).

(b) Xihlayi xa phephahungu xi fambile.
(The excessive/expert reader of the newspaper is gone).

(c) Vadyondzisi va ndhundhuzela xihlayi xa tibuku.
(The teachers praise the excessive/expert reader of the books).

Plural: class 8: swihlayi (excessive/expert readers)

The nominal xihlayi (excessive/expert reader) refers to an individual who excessively reads his books and/or easily grasps the meaning of things she is reading about with ease and quickly. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of reading of the individual in question, but his excessiveness of grasping what he is reading. This excessiveness of grasping with easy is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of reading or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihlayi (excessive/expert reader) because the property of excessive reading of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Hlaya (read)

A. [Result]: nhlayo (number)

Class 9: 4. (a) Nhlayo ya vana yi tlakukile exikolweni.
(The number of children has increased at the school).

(b) Nhlayo ya le henhla ya vadyondzi yi pasile.
(The high number of learners has passed).

(c) Mudyondzisi u venga nhlayo yitsongo ya machudeni.
(The teacher hates a small number of students).

Plural: tinhlayo (numbers).

The nominal nhlayo (number) refers to a symbol that represents an amount or a quantity, or a figure showing how many or which one in a series.
**Hlaya** (read)

B.  [Event/Act]: vuhlayi (reading)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhlayi bya Khazamula bya novhele byi tsakisa mudyondzisi.  
(The reading of Khazamula of the novel impresses the teacher).

(b) Vuhlayi bya Magaisa bya mahungu byi nyanyula vayingiseri.  
(The reading of Magaisa of the news excites the listers).

(c) Yingwani u navela vuhlayi bya mahungu eka Munghana Lonene.  
(Yingwani desire the reading of the news at Munghana Lonene fm).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhlayi* (reading) refers to the act of reading something or the action or practice of a person who reads. But it may also refer to the job of reading something.

**Mbamba** (grope)

A.  [Actor]: mumbambi (groping person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mumbambi u lava mali leyi lahlekeke.  
(The groping person looks for the lost money).

(b) Mumbambi u yivela mufana foni.  
(The groping person steals the phone from the boy).

(c) Muzamani u nyika mumbambi wa mencisi thoci.  
(Muzamani gives the groping person a torch).

Plural: class 2: vambambi (groping people)

The nominal *mumbambi* (groping person) refers to an individual who cannot see, either because of poor visibility or blindness, tries to find something that he cannot see by moving his hand so that he could locate it by feeling or touching it with his fingers, or one who tries to to reach a place by feeling with one’s hands because he cannot see clearly. But it may also refer someone who touches someone sexually, especially when they do not want him to. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of groping of the individual in question which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of groping something is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as *mumbambi* (groping person).

**Mbamba** (grope)

B.  [Excessive act]: rimbambo (excessive groping)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rimbambo ra Magezi ra mencisi endlwini ri n’wi lumisile hi nyoka.  
(The excessive groping of Magezi of the matches made him bitten by a snake).

(b) Rimbambo ra xigevenga ra vakhegula ra tiveka emaphoriseni.  
(The excessive groping of the criminal is known at the police).
(c) Magezi u venga rimbambo ra mufana ra vaxavi emavhengeleni.  
(Magezi dislikes the excessive groping of the young man of the buyers in the shops).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rimbambo (excessive groping) refers to the excessive act of trying to find something that one cannot see by moving one’s hands in order to feel it or the excessive act of trying to reach a place by feeling with one’s hands because one cannot see clearly. But it may also refer to the excessive act of touching someone sexually when they do not want him to.

Mbamba (grope)

C.  [Excessive Expert actor]: ximbambi (excessive/expert grouping person)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Ximbambi xa tinhlampfi exidziveni xi lumiwile.  
(The excessive/expert grouping person in deep waters has been bitten).

(b) Ximbambi xa vaxavi emavhengeleni xi khomiwile.  
(The excessive excessive/expert grouping person in the shops has been arrested).

(c) Vanhu va hlasela ximbambi xa vaxavi emavhengeleni.  
(People attack the excessive/expert grouping person with fingers of the buyers in the shops).

Plural: class 8: swimbambi (excessive/expert grouping person)

The nominal ximbambi (excessive/expert groping person) refers to an individual who excessively gropes something or one who has a skill of groping something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of groping something of the individual in question, but his excessiveness or skill of groping something. This excessiveness or skill of groping something with easy is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of groping or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as ximbambi (excessive/expert groping person) because the property of excessive or skillful groping of something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Mbamba (grope)

D.  [Act]: vumbambi (groping)

Class 14:  4.  (a) Vumbambi bya vamacingelani evhengeleni byi kangi yisa swigevenga. 
(The groping of the guards in the shops disturbs the criminals).
(b) Vumbambi bya tihlampfi exidziveni byi karhalisa wanuna.
   (The groping of the fish in deep waters strains the man).

(c) Magezi u pfuneta vumbambi bya vamacingelani bya vaxavi emavhengeleni.
   (Magezi assist the groping of the guards of the buyers in the shops).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vumbambi** (groping) refers to the act of trying to find something that one cannot see by moving one’s hands in order to feel it or the act of trying to reach a place by feeling with one’s hands because one cannot see clearly. But it may also refer to the act of touching someone sexually when they do not want him to.

**Nuhwetela** (smell/sniff)

A. [Actor]: munuhweteri (sniffer)

Class 1:  1. (a) Munuhweteri wa penda wa khohlola.
   (The sniffer of the paint is coughing).

   (b) Munuhweteri wa swakudya u hlakahla nhloko.
   (The sniffer of the food shakes his head).

   (c) Vanhu va venga munuhweteri wa swakudya.
   (People hate the sniffer of the food).

Plural: class 2: vanuhweteri (sniffers)

The nominal **munuhweteri** (sniffer) refers to a person who draws in air through the nose in order to discover or enjoy the smell. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining feature in this nominal is the act of sniffing which is done by the individual in question. Once the act of sniffing stops, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **munuhweteri** (sniffer) because for the individual in question to qualify to be called **munuhweteri** (sniffer) he has to be engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal at the time of reference.

**Nuhwetela** (smell/sniff)

B. [Excessive act]: rinuhwetelo (excessive sniffing)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rinuhwetelo ra Gezani ra swakudya ri nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The excessive sniffing of the man of the food annoys the woman).

   (b) Rinuhwetelo ra kokwani ra madleke ri khunguvanyisa vanhu.
   (The excessive sniffing of grandmother of magewu makes people angry).

   (c) Manana u sola rinuhwetelo ra n’wana ra pende.
   (The woman condemns the excessive sniffing of the child of the paint).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal rinunhwetelo (sniffing) refers to the excessive act of drawing in air through the nose in order to discover or enjoy the smell.

Nuhwetela (smell/sniff)

C.  [Excessive/expert actor]: xinuhweteri (excessive/expert sniffer)

Class 7: 3.  (a) Xinuhweteri xa byalwa xi khunguvanyisa vanwi.
(The excessive/expert sniffer of the beer makes drinkers angry).

(b) Xinuhweteri xa swakudya xi funungula poto.
(The excessive/expert sniffer of food opens the pot).

(c) Khazamula u hlongola xinuhweteri xa swakudya.
(Khazamula chases away the excessive/expert sniffer of the food).

Plural: class 8: swinuhweteri (Excessive/Expert sniffers)

The nominal xinhunhweteri (excessive/expert sniffer) refers to an individual who excessively sniffs something or one who has a skill of sniffing something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of sniffing something of the individual in question, but his excessiveness or skill of sniffing something. This excessiveness or skill of sniffing something with ease is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of sniffing or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xinuhweteri (excessive/expert sniffer) because the property of excessiveness or skillful sniffing of something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Nuhwetela (smell/sniff)

D.  [Event, act]: vunuhweteri (sniffing)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vunuhweteri bya Magezi bya byalwa byi nyenyetsa vanhu.
(The sniffing of Magezi of the beer annoys people).

(b) Vunuhweteri bya Khazmula bya swakudya emavhengeleni byi n’wi khomisile.
(The sniffing of Khazamula of the food in the shops got him arrested).

(c) Vanhu va sola vunuhweteri bya Magezi bya byalwa.
(People condemn the sniffing of Magezi of the beer).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vununhweteri (sniffing) refers to the act of drawing in air through the nose in order to discover or enjoy the smell.
**Borha (drill)**

A. [Actor]: muborhi (drilling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muborhi u lunghisa tafula.
   (The drilling person fixes the table).

   (b) Muborhi wa mati u vekela phayiphi.
   (The driller of the water inserts the pipe).

   (c) Magezi u xeweta muborhi wa rivanti.
   (Magezi greets the driller of the door).

Plural: class 2: vaborhi (drilling people)

The nominal *muborhi* (driller) refers to a person who makes a hole in something with a pointed power or hand tool called drill by a rotating abrasion or repeated blows. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to any other person who drills a hole at the time of reference, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of drilling something which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of drilling is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as *muborhi* (driller). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But the nominal *muborhi* (driller) may be regarded as an individual-level nominal in the event where drilling is the occupation of the individual in question. What should be noted is that what is being modified here is not the act of drilling as such, but the occupation of drilling which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of drilling, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *muborhi* (driller).

**Borha (drill)**

B. [Excessive act]: riborho (excessive drilling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riborho ra Magezi ra rivanti ri nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The excessive drilling of Magezi of the door annoys the woman).

   (b) Riborho ra xifufunumu ra mapulanga ri thyakisa yindlu.
   (The excessive drilling of the beetle of the timber makes the house dirty).

   (c) Wansati u sandza riborho ra Yingwana ra rivanti.
   (The woman criticises the excessive drilling of Yingwana of the door).

Plural: No plural from the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *vuborhi* (drilling) refers to the excessive act of making a hole in something with a pointed power or hand tool called drill by a rotating abrasion or repeated blows.
**Borha** (drill)

C. [Expert actor]: xiborhi (Expert/excessive drilling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiborhi xa mati xi vekela phayiphi.
   (The expert/excessive drilling person inserts the pipe).

   (b) Xiborhi xi lunghisa switulu.
   (The expert/excessive drilling person fixes chairs).

   (c) Ndhavezithe u amukela xiborhi xa mati etikweni.
   (The chief welcomes the expert/excessive drilling person of the water in the village).

Plural: class 8: swiborhi (Expert drilling people)

The nominal xiborhi (excessive/expert driller) refers to an individual who excessively drills something or one who has a skill of drilling something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of drilling something of the individual in question, but his excessiveness or skill of drilling something. This excessiveness or skill of drilling something with ease is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of drilling something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiborhi (excessive/expert driller) because the property of excessiveness or skillful drilling of something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Borha** (drill)

D. [Artifact]: borho (drill)

Class 9: 4. (a) Borho ya mati ya durha swinene.
   (Borehole drill is expensive).

   (b) Borho ya maloko yi onhakile.
   (The drill for the locks is broken).

   (c) Tatana u xavile borho.
   (My father bought a drill).

Plural: class 10: tiborho (drills)

The nominal borho (drill) refers to an implement with cutting edges or a pointed end for boring holes in hard materials, usually by a rotating abrasion or repeated blows.
**Borha** (drill)

E. [Event/Act]: vuborhi

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuborhi bya mati byi teka nkarhi wo leha.
(The drilling of water takes a long time).

(b) Vuborhi bya mapulangi byi kholorisa malume.
(Timber drilling makes the uncle cough).

(c) Vanhu va languta vuborhi bya mati exikolweni.
(People look at the drilling of the water at school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuborhi** (drilling) refers to the act of making a hole in something with a pointed power or hand tool called drill by a rotating abrasion or repeated blows.

**Sefa** (sift)

A. [Actor]: musefi (sifting person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musefi wa misava u karhele swinene.
(The sifting person of the sand is very tired).

(b) Musefi u sula sefo.
(The sifting person wipes the sift).

(c) Kokwana u lomba musefi sefo.
(The grandmother lend the sift to the sifting person).

Plural: class 2: **vasefi** (sifters)

The nominal **musefi** (sifting person) refers to an individual who removes/separate the coarse particles from the fine particles by putting/passing the substance through the sieve. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to any other person who is involved in the act of sifting something at the time of reference, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of sifting something which may be a temporary occurrence. Once the act of sifting is over, such a person may no longer be referred to as **musefi** (sifting person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of time when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. However, the nominal **musefi** (sifting person) may be regarded as an individual-level nominal in the event where sifting is considered as the occupation of the individual in question. What should be noted is that what is being modified here is not the act of sifting as such, but the occupation of sifting which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of sifting something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **musefi** (sifting person).
Sefa (sift)

A. [Excessive act]: risefo (excessive sifting)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risefo ra Magezi ra misava ri nyumisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive sifting of Magezi of the sand humiliates his wife).

(b) Risefo ra Yingwana ra misava ri n’wi vangela mukuhlwana.
(The excessive sifting of Yingwana of the sand makes him suffer from influendza).

(c) Wansati u nyenya risefo ra Yingwani ra misava.
(The woman dislikes the excessive sifting of Yingwana of the sand).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal risefo (excessive sifting) refers to the excessive act of sifting something.

Sefa (sift)

B. [Expert/excessive actor]: xisefi (expert/excessively sifting person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xisefi xa timanga xi lovile.
(The expert/excessively sifting person of peanuts is dead).

(b) Xisefi xa misava xi karhele.
(The expert/excessively sifting person of the sand is tired).

(c) Kokwana u vitana xisefi xa timanga.
(The grandmother calls the expert/excessively sifting person of the sand).

Plural: class 8: swisefi (expert/excessive sifting person)

The nominal xisefi (excessive/expert sifting person) refers to an individual who excessively or skillful sifts something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of sifting something as such, but the excessiveness/skillfulness of sifting something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of sifting something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xisefi (excessive/expert sifting person).

Sefa (sift)

C. [Artifact]: sefo(sieve)

Class 9: 4. (a) Sefo ya nsimbhi yi lahlekile.
(The steel sieve is lost).

(b) Sefo ya mapa yi onhakile.
(The sieve for mealie meal is damaged).
(c) Malume u xavile sefo ya nsimbhi evhengeleni.
(Uncle bought steel sieve in the shop).

Plural: class 10: tisefo (sieve)

The nominal sefo (sieve) refers to a utensil of wire mesh or closely perforated metal used for removing/separating the coarse from the fine particles when the substance pass through it.

Sefa (sift)

D. [Event, act]: vusefi (sifting)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vusefi bya Magezi bya misava byi nghenisa mali.
(The sifting of Magezi of the sand brings in a lot of money).

(b) Vusefi bya timanga bya karhalisa.
(The sifting of the peanuts is tiresome).

(c) Hahani u ndhundhuzela vusefi bya kokwani bya timanga.
(My aunt praises the sifting of grandmother of the peanuts).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusefi (sifting) refers to the act of sifting something.

8.9. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM CONTACT VERBS

These verbs are defined by Levin (1995: 156) as the verbs which describe surface contact with no necessary implication that the contact came about through impact. He asserts that these verbs show the body-part possessor ascension alternation, except for stroke and cares. According to Levin (op cit) verbs allow intentional action interpretation with body-part or reflexive objects.

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Khumba (touch)

A. [Actor]: mukhumbi (touching person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukhumbi u kombela mali. (The toucher asks for money).
(b) Mukhumbi u qhavula kokwana elayinini. (The toucher shakes hands with grandmother on the queue).
(c) Macingelani u languta mukhumbi wa movha ephakeni. (The guard looks for the toucher of the car at the parking).

Plural: class 2: vakhumbi (touching people)

The nominal mukhumbi (touching person) denotes a person who puts his hand or another part of his body on something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of touching something may a temporary occurrence. Once the act of touching has stopped, such a nominal may no longer apply to the individual in question. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, the individual in question has to be engaged in the act of pushing.

A. [Excessive act]: rikhumbo (excessive touching)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikhumbo ra Mamayila ra xinkwa evhengeleni ri nyenyetsa vaxavisi. (The excessive touching of Mamayila of the bread in the shop annoys the sales people).
(b) Rikhumbo ra wanuna ra movha ephakeni ri hlamarisa macingelani. (The excessive touching of the man of the car in the parking surprises the guard).
(c) Macingelani u sivela rikhumbo ra wanuna ra vanhu elayinini. (the gurd prevents the excessive touching of the man of the people on the queue).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikhumbo (touching) refers to the excessive act of putting the hand, the finger, or some other part of the body on, so as to feel.

Khumba (touch)

B. [Excessive actor]: xikhumbi (excessive touching person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhumbi xa vanhu elayinini xi khomiwile. (The excessive toucher of the people on the queue has been arrested).
(b) Xikhumbi xa timovha ta vanhu xi biwile. (The excessive toucher of the people’s cars has been beaten).
(c) Vanhu va mangala xikhumbi eka macingelani.
(People report the excessive toucher to the guard).

Plural: class 8: swikhumbi (excessive touching people)

The nominal xikhumbi (excessive touching person) refers to an individual who excessively touches something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of touching something as such, but the excessiveness of touching something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of touching something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikhumbi (excessive touching person).

Khumba (touch)

C. [Event, act]: vukhumbi (touching)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhumbi bya wanuna bya vanhu elayinini byi nyangatsa vaxavi.
(The touching of the man of the people on the queue disgusts customers).

(b) Vukhumbi bya wansati bya Hosi yesu byi n’wi hanyisile.
(The touching of the woman of Lord Jesus made her whole).

(c) Mathicara va venga vukhumbi bya vadyondzi bya mimovha ya vona.
(Teachers hate the touching of the learners of their cars).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukhumbi (touching) refers to the act of putting the hand, the finger, or some other part of the body on, so as to feel.

Nyakala (tickle)

A. [Actor]: munyakari (tickling person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munyakari u hlundzukisa wanuna.
(The tickling person makes the man angry).

(b) Munyakari u tsakisa vana lavatsongo.
(The tickling person excites young children).

(c) Kokwana u bakanya munyakari.
(The grandmother is thrusting aside the tickling person).

Plural: class 2: vanyakari (tickling people)

The nominal munyakari (tickling person) refers to a person who touches the body lightly so as to cause laughter or twitching movements. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining property of the act of tickling which is a temporary
occurrence. Once the act of tickling is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as munyakari (tickling person). In other words, for this nominal to apply to an individual, such a person has to be engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal at the time of reference.

Nyakala (tickle)

B. [Excessive act]: rinyakalo (Excessive tickling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rinyakalo ra Magezi ri hlekisa vana.
(The excessive tickling of Magezi makes children laugh).

(b) Rinyakalo ra vunamba ri nyangatsa kokwana.
(The excessive tickling of the ticks disgusts grandmother).

(c) Vana va rhandza rinyakalo ra malume.
(The children like the excessive tickling of the uncle).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rinyakalo (excessive tickling) refers to an excessive act of touching the body or its part lightly so as to cause laughter or twitching movements.

Nyakala (tickle)

C. [Excessive actor]: xinyakari (Excessive tickling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xinyakari xi tsakisa swihlangi.
(The excessive tickling person excites children).

(b) Xinyakari xi dikida kokwana.
(The excessive tickling person tickles the grandmother).

(c) Malume u bakanya xinyakari.
(The uncle is thrusting aside the excessive tickling person).

Plural: class 8: swinyakari (excessive tickling people)

The nominal xinyakari (excessive tickling person) refers to an individual who excessively tickles someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of tickling something as such, but the excessiveness of tickling something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of tickling something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xinyakari (excessive tickling person).
D.  [Event, act]: vunyakari (tickling)

Class 14: 4.  (a) Vunyakari bya vana bya mikondzo bya tsakisa.
   (The tickling of the children of the feet is interesting).

   (b) Vunyakari bya vunamba bya nyenyetsa.
       (The tickling of fowl lice is annoying).

   (c) Kokwana u venga vunyakari bya vunamba.
       (Grandmother hates the tickling of the fowl lice).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunyakari (tickling) refers to an act of touching the body or its part lightly so as to cause laughter or twitching movements.

Khwenuta (prod)

A.  [Actor]: mukhwenuti (prodding person)

Class 1: 1.  (a) Mukhwenuti u hlevela wanuna timhaka.
   (The prodding person whispers something to the man).

   (b) Mukhwenuti u nyika wanuna makhiya ya yindlu.
       (The prodding person gives house keys to the man).

   (c) Mufambisi u languta mukhwenuti wa wansati enhlengeletanini.
       (The programme director looks at the prodding person of the woman at the meeting).

Plural: class 2: vakhwenuti (prodding people)

The nominal mukhwenuti (prodding person) refers to an individual who jabs or pokes something or someone with a finger or pointed object. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it makes reference to the defining property of the act of prodding which is a temporary occurrence. Once the act of prodding is completed, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mukhenuti (prodding person). In other words, for this nominal to apply to an individual, such a person has to be engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal at the time of reference.

Khwenuta (prod)

B.  [Excessive act]: rikhwenuto (excessive prodding)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Rikhwenuto ra Magezi ra vadyondzi exikolweni ri nyangatsa mathicara.
    (The excessive prodding of the learners at school disgusts the teachers).

    (b) Rikhwenuto ra Khensani ra n’wana ri nyangatsa mana wakwe.
        (The excessive prodding of Khensani of the child disgusts her mother).

    (c) Vadyondzisi va venga rikhwenuto ra Khensani ra vadyondzi exikolweni.
        (The teachers hate the excessive prodding of Khensani of learners at school).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rikhwenuto** (excessive prodding) refers to an excessive act of jabbing or poking something or someone with a finger or pointed object.

**Khwenuta** (prod)

C.  [Excessive actor]: **xikhwenuti** (excessive prodding person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikhwenuti xa vadyondzi etlilasini xi hlongoriwile.
(The excessive prodding person of learners in the class has bee chased away).

(b) Xikhwenuti xi tumbela hi rivanti.
(The excessive prodding person hides behind the door).

(c) Mudyondzisi u vitana xikhwenuti xa vadyondzi etlilasini.
(The teacher calls the excessive prodding person of the learners in the class).

Plural: class 8: **swikhwenuti** (excessive prodding people)

The nominal **xikhwenuti** (excessive prodding person) refers to an individual who excessively prodes someone/someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of prodding something as such, but the excessiveness of prodding something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of prodding something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikhwenuti** (excessive prodding person).

**Khwenuta** (prod)

D.  [Act]: **vukhwenuti** (prodding)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukhwenuti bya vadyondzi exikolweni © nandzu lowukulu.
(The prodding of the learners at school is a serious offence).

(b) Vukhwenuti bya vafana bya vanhwanyana byi karhata vadyondzisi.
(The prodding of the boys of the girls troubles teachers).

(c) Vadyondzisi va venga vukhwenuti bya vafana bya vanhwanyana.
(The teachers hate the prodding of the boys of the girls).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukhwenuti** (prodding) refers to an act of jabbing or poking something or someone with a finger or pointed object.

**N’waya** (scratch)

A.  [Actor]: **mun’wayi** (scratching person)
Class 1:  1. (a) Mun’wayi wa xilondza u visinganisa xikandza. 
(The scratching person of the sore frowns the face).

(b) Mun’wayi u humile mabundzu emirhini. 
(The scratching person has developed boils in the body).

(c) Sasavona u nyika mun’wayi murhi wa xilondza. 
(Sasavona gives the scratching person sore mixture).

Plural: class 2: van’wayi (scratching people)

The nominal mun’wayi (scratching person) refers to an individual who scrapes something with claws or sharp instrument. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the act of scratching for a particular time. In other words, the nominal mun’wayi (scratching person) makes reference to the defining event of scratching. After the event has been completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mun’wayi (scratching person).

N’waya (scratch)

B.  [Excessive act]:  rin’wayo (excessive scratching)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rin’wayo ra Magezi ra mabundzu ri n’wi vangele swilondza. 
(The excessive scratching of Magezi of the boils has brought him sores).

(b) Rin’wayo ra Khensani ra vana ri karhata wansati. 
(The excessive scratching of Khensani of the children troubles the woman).

(c) Tatana u sola rin’wayo ra Khensani ra vana. 
(Father condemns the excessive scratching of Khensani of the children).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rin’wayo (excessive scratching) denotes an excessive act of scraping something with claws or sharp instrument.

N’waya (scratch)

C.  [Excessive/expert actor]:  xin’wayi (excessive/expert scratching person)

Class 7:  3. (a) Xin’wayi xi humile swilondza. 
(The excessive/expert scratching person has developed sores).

(b) Xin’wayi xa swilondza xi vumbuluka etaleni. 
(The excessive/expert scratching person of the sores rolls on the ash heap).

(c) Vana va hleka xin’wayi xa swilondza exokolweni. 
(The children laugh at the excessive/expert scratching person of the sores at school).

Plural: class 8: swin’wayi (excessive/expert scratching people)
The nominal *xin’wayi* (excessive scratching person) refers to an individual who excessively scratches someone/someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of scratching something as such, but the excessiveness of scratching something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of scratching something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xin’wayi* (excessive scratching person).

**N’waya** (scratch)

D. [Act]: vun’wayi (scratching)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vun’wayi bya mufana bya swilondza bya nyenyetsa.
   (The scratching of the boy of the sores is annoying).
   (b) Vun’wayi bya Khensani bya vana byi karhata wansati.
   (The scratching of Khensani of the children troubles the woman).
   (c) Malume u nyenya vun’wayi bya n’wana bya swilondza.
   (The uncle dislikes the scratching of the child of the sores).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vun’wayi* (scratching) denotes an act of scraping something with claws or sharp instrument.

**Nantswa** (lick)

A. [Actor]: munantswi (licking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Munantswi u nambutela chukela.
   (The licking person laps up the sugar).
   (b) Munantswi u chela chukela exandleni.
   (The licking person pours sugar on the hand).
   (c) Vanhu va hlamala munantswi wa chukela.
   (The people are surprised at the licking person of the sugar).

Plural: class 2: vanantswi (licking people)

The nominal *munantswi* (licking person) refers to an individual who moves his tongue over the surface of something in order to eat it, or moisten it. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the act of licking for a particular time. In other words, the nominal *munantswi* (licking person) makes reference to the defining event of scratching. After the event has been completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *munantswi* (licking person).
Nantswa (lick)

B. [Result]: nantswo (taste/flavour)

Class 3: 2. (a) Nantswo wa masi wu phomisa marha.
(The taste/flavour of the milk sharpens one’s appetite).
(b) Nantswo wa namuneti wu tsakisa vana.
(The taste/flavour of milk pleases children).
(c) Vana va rhandza nantswo wa masi.
(The children like the taste/flavour of the milk).

Plural: class 4: minatswo (tastes/flavours)

The nominal nantswo (taste/flavour) refer to how food or drink taste or a particular type of taste of food or drink.

Nantswa (lick)

C. [Excessive act]: rinantswo (excessive licking)

Class 5: 3. (a) Rinantswo ra Magezi ra chukela ri karhata nsati wakwe.
(The excessive licking of Magezi of the sugar troubles her wife).
(b) Rinantswo ra ice cream ra nyenyetsa evahwini.
(The excessive licking of the ice cream is annoying among people).
(c) Kokwana u sola rinantswo ra Magezi ra chukela.
(Grandmother disapproves the excessive licking of Magezi of the sugar).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rinantswo (excessive licking) refers to the excessive act of licking something with the tongue.

Nantswa (lick)

D. [Excessive actor]: xinantswi (excessive licking person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xinantswi xi xava chukele.
(The excessive licking person buys the sugar).
(b) Xinantswi xa ice cream xi yimisa vaxavisi.
(The excessive licking person of the ice cream stops the sales people).
(c) Wansati u ba xinantswi xa chukela.
(The woman hits the excessive licking person of the sugar).

Plural: class 8: swinantswi (excessive licking people)

The nominal xinantswi (excessive licking person) refers to an individual who excessively licks someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal
modifies is not the act of licking something as such, but the excessiveness of licking something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of licking something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xinantswi (excessive licking person).

Nantswa  (lick)

E.  [Act]:  vunantswi (licking)

Class 14:  5.  (a) Vunantswi bya Khazamula bya chukela byi nyenyetsa wansati.
(The licking of Khazamula of the sugar annoys the woman).

      (b) Vunantswi bya timbyana bya swilondza bya nyagatsa.
      (The licking of the dogs of the wounds is disgusting).

      (c) Kokwana u sola vunantswi bya n’wana bya chukela.
      (Grandmother disapproves the licking of the child of the sugar).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vunantswi (licking) refers to the act of licking something with the tongue.
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i
munantswi (licking person)

Class 3
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -o
nantswo (taste/flavour)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
rinantswo (excessive licking)
Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
xinantswi (excessively licking person)

Class 14
Prefix: vu-
Suffix: -i
vunantswi (licking)

Verbs of Contact
(45) Nominalization from the verb -nantswa (lick)
Wanuna u nantswa movha.
(The man licks the car).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-nantswa} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-nantswa}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Lick – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb _-nantswa_ (lick) in (45) above indicates that its arguments structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument that performs the act of licking and the physical object denoting the entity that is being licked, such as sugar. The event structure represents the process event of licking. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (person) (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of licking (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(46) **Nominalisation in class 1: munantswi** (licking person)
Munantswi wa vulombe u nambutela ririmi.
(The licking person of the honey is lapping up his tongue).

munantswi
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1=e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=x
AGENTIVE = _-nantswa_ actor (e₁, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Lick – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the verb _munantswi_ (licking person) in (46) above indicates that its arguments structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument that performs the act of licking and the physical object denoting the entity that is being licked, such as sugar. The event structure represents the process event of licking. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (person) (x), while the agentive quale represents the act (process) of licking (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(47) **Nominalisation in class 7: xinantswi** (excessively licking person)
Xinantswi xa vulombe xi tilakatsa tintiho.
(The excessively licking person of the honey is licking his fingers).

xinantswi
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1 =x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e₁: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = _-nantswa_ actor (e₁, x, y)
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Lick – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xinantswi (excessively licking person) in (47) is similar to that of munantswi (licking person) in (46) above. The distinction that obtains is that munantswi (licking person) in (47) above lack the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with xinantswi (excessive licking person).

(48) Nominalisation in class 5: rinantswo (excessive licking)

Rinantswo ra wanuna ra chukela ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive licking of the man of the sugar annoys his wife).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rinantswo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-nantswa}_\text{act}_{\text{excessive}} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Lick – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbaline rinantswo (excessive licking) in (48) above displays in its argument structure three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is engaged in the act of licking and the physical object denoting the entity that is being licked. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of licking. The event structure represents the default process of licking. The qualia structur displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the excessive act (process) of licking (e_1) of a person (x).

(49) Nominalisation in class 14: vunantswi (licking)

Vunantswi bya mufana bya vulombe byi tsakisa vana.
(The licking of the young man of the honey excites the children).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vunantswi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_r, x, y) \\
& \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-nantswa}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchies of semantic concepts: Lick – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vunantswi (licking) in (49) corresponds to that of rinantswo (excessive licking) in (48) above. The distinction that obtains is that vunantswi (licking) in (49) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rinantswo (excessive licking) in (48) above.

(50) Nominalisation in class 3: nantswo (taste/flavour)

Nantswo wa nyama ya ka KFC wu kahle.
(The taste/flavour of KFC meat is nice).

\[
\text{nantswo} \\
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&= \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj}. \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{nantswa}\_result(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchies of semantic concepts: Lick – Result

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative nantswo (taste/flavour) in (50) above displays in its argument structure three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is engaged in the act of licking and the physical object denoting the entity that is being licked. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of licking. The event structure represents the default process of licking. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the result of the process of licking (e₁) of a person (x).

Other deverbatives in this sub-class of the contact verbs display the lexical semantic representation which corresponds to that of the verb -nantswa (lick). The only distinction that obtains relates to the deverbatives from the verbs -khumba (touch), -nyakala (tickle), -khwenuta (prod), -n’waya (scratch), -hlakahla (shake), -hlukuhla (rinse one’s mouth) and -ba (hit) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not permit a nominalization in class 3 in contrast with the verb -nantswa (lick) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics permits a nominalization in class 3 with the suffix -o with the meaning of result.
**Hlakahla** (shake)

A. [Actor]: muhlakahli (shaker)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlakahli u kaneta wansati.  
(The shaker of the head opposes the woman).

(b) Muhlakahli u sola muvulavuri.  
(The shaker of the head disapproves the speaker).

(c) Magezi u languta muhlakahli wa nhloko.  
(Magezi looks at the shaker of the head).

Plural: class 2: vahlakahli (shakers)

The nominal muhlakahli (shaker) refers to an individual who shakes the head from side to side. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the act of shaking the head for a particular time. In other words, the nominal muhlakahli (shaker) makes reference to the defining event of shaking. Once the event has been completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhlakahli (shaker).

**Hlakahla** (shake)

B. [Excessive act]: rihlakahlo (excessive shaking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlakahlo ra Magezi enhlengetanini ri nyenyetsa nsati wakwe.  
(The excessive shaking of the head of Magezi at the meeting annoys his wife).

(b) Rihlakahlo ra Muzamani ehenhla ka mavonelo ya van’wana ri dumile.  
(The excessive shaking of the head of Muzamani on other people’s views is well known).

(c) Kokwana u hlamala rihlakahlo ra Magezi etinhlengetanini.  
(The grandmother is surprised at the excessive shaking of the head of Magezi at meetings).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihlakahlo (excessive shaking) refers to the excessive act of shaking the head from side to side, or the shaking of someone as to awaken him from a sleep.

**Hlakahla** (shake)

C. [Excessive actor]: xihlakahli (excessive shaker)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlakahli xi kaneta wanuna.  
(The excessive head shaker opposes the man).

(b) Xihlakahli xi nghenelela kokwana.  
(The excessive head shaker interrupts grand mother).

(c) Wanuna u ba xihlakahli hi mpama.  
(The man slaps the excessive head shaker with a clap).
Plural: class 8: swihlakahli (excessive shakers)

The nominal **xihlakahli** (excessive shaker) refers to an individual who excessively shakes someone so that he could awaken, or one who excessively shakes his head. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of shaking something as such, but the excessiveness of shaking something of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of shaking something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihlakahli** (excessive shaker).

**Hlakahla** (shake)

D. [Event, act]: vuhlakahli (shaking)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlakahli bya wansati byi khunguvanyisa vanhu.
   (The head shaking of the woman makes people angry).

   (b) Vuhlakahli bya Magezi ehenhla ka mavonelo ya vanhu bya nyangatsa.
   (The head shaking of Magezi on people’s views is disgusting).

   (c) Kokwana u sola vuhlakahli bya malume.
   (Grandfather disapproves the head shaking of the uncle).

Plural: no plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlakahli** (shaking) refers to the act of shaking the head from side to side or, the shaking of someone as to awaken him from a sleep.

**Hlukuhla** (rinse one’s mouth)

A. [Actor]: muhlukuhli (rinsing one’s mouth person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlukuhli u tshwutela mati.
   (The rinsing one’s mouth person spit the water).

   (b) Muhlukuhli u hlantswela meno endlwini.
   (The rinsing one’s mouth person washes the teeth in the house).

   (c) Wansati u nyika muhlukuhli mati.
   (The woman gives water to the rinsing one’s mouth person).

Plural: class 2: vahlukuhli (rinsing one’s mouth people)

The nominal **muhlukuhli** (rinsing one’s mouth person) refers to a person who rinses one’s mouth with water. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the act of rinsing one’s mouth at a particular time. In other words, the nominal
muhlukuhlili (rinsing one’s mouth person) makes reference to the defining event of rinsing one’s mouth. Once the event has been completed, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhlukuhlili (rinsing one’s mouth person).

**Hlukuhla** (rinse one’s mouth)

A. **[Excessive act]**: rihlukuhlo (Excessive rinsing of one’s mouth)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlukuhlo ra Magezi ra meno exitangeni ri nyenyetsa vanhu.
(Excessive rinsing of Magezi of the teeth in the kitchen annoys the people).

(b) Rihlukuhlo ra Khazamula ra meno ri tsakisa nsati wakwe.
(Excessive rinsing of Khazamula of the teeth pleases his wife).

(c) Wansati u sola rihlukuhlo ra wanuna ra meno.
(The woman disapproves of the excessive rinsing of the man of the teeth).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlukuhlo** (excessive rinsing one’s mouth) refers to the excessive act of using water to clean one’s mouth or teeth.

**Hlukuhla** (rinse one’s mouth)

B. **[Excessive actor]**: xihlukuhli (excessive rinsing one’s mouth person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlukuhli xa meno xi xava bulanchi ya meno.
(The excessive rinsing one’s mouth person buys teeth brush).

(b) Xihlukuhli xa meno xi nwa mati.
(The excessive rinsing one’s mouth person drinks water).

(c) Wansati u nyika xihlukuhli xa meno mati.
(The woman gives water to the excessive rinsing one’s teeth person).

Plural: class 8: swihlukuhli (excessive rinsing one’s mouth people)

The nominal **xihlukuhli** (excessive rinsing one’s mouth person) refers to an individual who excessively rinses his mouth. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what this nominal modifies is not the act of rinsing one’s mouth as such, but the excessiveness of rinsing one’s mouth of the individual in question. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of rinsing one’s mouth, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihlukuhli (excessive rinsing one’s mouth person).
Hlukuhla (rinse one’s mouth)

C. [Act]: vuhlukuhli (rinsing of one’s mouth)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuhlukuhli bya Gezani bya meno byi sivela mangumbu.
(The rinsing of Gezani of the teeth prevents bad breath).
(b) Vuhlukuhli bya Tsatsawani bya meno endlwini bya nyenyetsa.
(The rinsing of Tsatsawana of the teeth in the house annoys the grandmother).
(c) Kokwana u venga vuhlukuhli bya Magezi bya meno endlwini.
(Grandmother hates the rinsing of Magezi of the teeth in the house).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlukuhli (rinsing one’s mouth) refers to the act of using water to clean one’s mouth or teeth.

Ba (beat)

A. [Actor]: mubi (beat)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubi wa xibakele u hlurile.
(The boxer has won).
(b) Mubi wa tidonki u khomiwile.
(The lasher of the donkey has been arrested).
(c) Wanuna u chava mubi wa xibakele.
(The man is afraid of the boxer).

Plural: class 2: vabi (beatters)

The nominal mubi (beater) refers to a person who lays repeated blows upon something or someone.
This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to anyone who beats something/someone at particular time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of beating may be a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose hobby/occupation involves beating others such as in boxing, such nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of beating something as such, but the hobby/occupation of beating something which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of beating someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mubi (beater).
**Ba (beat)**

**B. [Excessive act]: ribo (excessive beating)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribo ra vadyondzisi ra vana ri khunguvanyisa vatswari.
(The excessive beating of the teachers of the children angers parents).

(b) Ribo ra wanuna ra vana ri n’wi khomisile.
(The excessive beating of the man of the children got him arrested).

(c) Vanhu va sola ribo ra wanuna ra tidonki.
(People condemn the excessive beating of the man of the donkey).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ribo (excessive beating) refers to the excessive act of laying repeated blows upon something or someone.

**Ba (beat)**

**C. [Expert actor]: xibi (expert beater/boxer)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibi xa vafana enambyeni xi khomiwile.
(The expert beater/boxer of the boys in the river has been arrested).

(b) Xibi xa xibakele xi kumile sagwati.
(The expert beater/boxer got an award).

(c) Kokwana u ndhundhuzela xibi xa xibakele lexi hluleke.
(Grandmother praises the expert beater/boxer who won).

Plural: class 8: swibi (Expert beaters/boxers)

The nominal xibi (expert beater/boxer) refers to an individual who has exceptionally good fighting talent. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of beating other people of the individual in question, but his special trait of beating other people. This special trait of fighting other people is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of beating other people, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xibi (expert beater/boxer) because the property of the trait of beating other people of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.
Ba (beat)

D. [Act]: vubi (beating)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubi bya vadyondzisi bya vana byi hlundzikisa vatswari.
(The beating of the teachers of the children makes parents angry).

(b) Vubi bya wanuna bya wansati byi hlundzukisa vaakatiko.
(The beating of the man of the woman makes the residents angry).

(c) Vanhu va sola vubi bya Magezi bya wansati.
(People condemn the beating of Magezi of the woman).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubi (beating) refers to the act of laying repeated blows upon something or someone.

8.10 DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CONCEALMENT

Levin (1995: 146) defines the verbs in this class as verbs relating to keeping something out of view. These verbs usually take animate subjects. The objects which these verbs take may be either be animate or inanimate.

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Tumbela (Hide)

A. [Actor]: mutumberi (hiding person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutumberi wa maphorisa u tumbela hi murhi.
(The hiding person of the police hides behind the tree)

(b) Mutumberi wa maphorisa u tsutsumela enambyenini.
(The hiding person of the police runs to the river)

(c) Yengani u kuma mutumberi endlwini.
(Yengani finds the hiding person in the house)

Plural: Class 2: vatumberi (hiding people)
The nominal **mutumberi** (hiding person) refers to an individual who conceals himself in a place where he cannot be seen. He keeps himself out of the sight of people. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of act of hiding. Once the act of hiding is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mutumberi** (hiding person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Tumbela** (Hide)

B. [Excessive act]: **ritumbelo** (excessive hiding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritumbelo ra wanuna ra maphorisa ri lemukiwile hi vanhu.
(The excessive hiding of the man of the police has been noticed by the people).

(b) Ritumbelo ra xigevenga entshaveni ri x i lumisile hi nyoka.
(The excessive hiding of the criminal on the mountain got him bitten by a snake).

(c) Wanuna u lemuka ritumbelo ra xigevenga enambyeni.
(The man notices the excessive hiding of the criminal in the river).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritumbelo** (excessive hiding) refers to the excessive act of concealing something from the knowledge of others.

**Tumbela** (Hide)

C. [Expert/excessive actor]: **xitumberi** (expert/excessive hiding person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitumberi xa maphorisa xi tumbela hi murhi.
(The expert/excessive hiding person of the police hides behind the tree).

(b) Xitumberi xa maphorisa xi tsutsumela enambyeni.
(The expert/excessive hiding person of the police runs to the river).

(c) Yengani u kuma xitumberi endlwini.
(Yengani finds the expert/excessive hiding person in the house).

Plural: Class 8: **switumberi** (expert/excessive hiding people)

The nominal **xitumberi** (expert/excessive hiding person) refers to an individual who has excessively hides themselves. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of hiding from other people of the individual in question, but his excessiveness/skill of hiding from other people. This property of excessive/skill of hiding from other people is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of hiding from other people, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xitumberi** (expert/excessive hiding person) because the property of excessiveness/skill
of hiding from other people of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tumbela** (Hide)

D. **[Act]**: vutumberi (hiding)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutumberi bya wanuna bya maphorisa byi karhata nsati wakwe.
(The hiding of the man of the police troubles his wife)

(b) Vutumberi bya mufana bya maphorisa eka wansati byi lemukiwile.
(The hiding of the young man of the police at the woman has been noticed)

(c) Wansati u lemuka vutumberi bya wanuna bya maphorisa.
(The woman notices the hiding of the man of the police)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutumberi** (hiding) refers to the act of concealing something from the knowledge of others.

**Tumbela** (Hide)

E. **[Place]**: vutumbelo (hiding place)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutumbelo bya xigevenga byi thumbiwile hi maphorisa.
(The hiding place of the criminals has been discovered by the police)

(b) Vutumbelo bya nyoka byi hisiwile.
(The hiding place of the snake has been burnt down)

(c) Swigevenga swi cinca vutumbelo bya swona.
(The criminals change their hiding place)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutumbelo** (hiding place) refers to a place where something or someone is or can be hidden.

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</table>
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i
mutumberi (hider)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o
ritumbelo (excessive hiding)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i
xitumberi (excessive hider)
Verbs of Concealment

(51) Nominalization from the verb – tumbela (hide)

Wanuna u tumbela swikhudana.
( The man is hiding from murders).

\[-tumbela\]

ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG1 =x: phys.obj.
EVSTR = E1=e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -tumbela _ act (e1, x, y)
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Hide – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -tumbela (hide) in (51) above displays in its argument structure two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is hiding and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of hiding. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference to the process event of hiding. The event structure represents the default process of hiding. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the act (process) of hiding (e₁) of a person (x).

\[(52)\] Nominalisation in class 1: mutumberi (hiding person)

Mutumberi wa swikhudana wa rhurhumela.
(The hiding person from murders is shivering).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mutumberi}  \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1}=e₁: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=x \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{tumbela}_\text{actor} (e₁, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Hide – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mutumberi (hiding person) in (52) above displays in its argument structure two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is hiding and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of hiding. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference to the process event of hiding. The event structure represents the default process of hiding. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the act (process) of hiding (e₁) of a person (x).

\[(53)\] Nominalisation in class 7: xitumberi (excessively hiding person)

Xitumberi xa maphorisa xi tshama enambyeni.
(The excessively hiding person from the police stays at the river).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xitumberi}  \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{ARG1}=x: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{E1}=e₁: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=x \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{tumbela}_\text{actor_excessive} (e₁, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Hide – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xitumberi* (excessively hiding person) in (53) is similar to that of *mutumberi* (hiding person) in (52) above. The difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in *xitumberi* (excessively hiding person) in (53), which is absent, in *mutumberi* (hiding person) in (52).

(54) **Nominalisation in class 5: ritumbelo** (excessive hiding)

Ritimbelo ra wanuna ra maphorisa ri hlamarisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive hiding of the man from the police suprises his wife).

```
ritumbelo
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -tumbela_act_excessive (e1, x, y)
```

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Hide – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative *ritumbelo* (excessive hiding) in (54) above displays in its argument structure three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is hiding and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of hiding. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of hiding. The event structure represents the default process of hiding. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the excessive act of hiding (e1) of a person (x).

(55) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutumberi** (hiding)

Vutumberi bya wanuna bya mufana byi hlekisa nsati wakwe.
The hiding of the man from the youngman makes his wife laugh).

```
vutumberi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
D–ARG1 = x: human
D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1; process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -tumbela_act (e1, x, y)
```

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Hide – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vutumberi* (hiding) in (55) is similar to that of *ritumbelo* (excessive hiding) in (54) above. The difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in *ritumbelo* (excessive hiding) in (55), which is absent, in *vutumberi* (hiding) in (54).

(56) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutumbelo** (hiding place)

Vutumbelo bya swigevenga byi le ntshaveni.
(The hiding place of the criminals is on the mountain).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vutumbelo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{tumbela}_\text{place} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Hide – Place

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative *vutumbelo* (hiding place) displays in its argument structure three arguments, two of which are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is hiding and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of hiding. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of hiding. The event structure represents the default process of hiding. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the place of hiding (e_1) of a person (x).

The lexical semantic representation of other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of concealment corresponds to that of the verb *-tumbela* (hide). The distinction that obtains relates to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the deverbative from the verb *-siva* (block) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -o and with the meaning of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs *-tumbela* (hide), *-tumbeta* (conceal) and *-lahla* (loose/dump) which does not allow such a nominalization. Another distinction is found with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs *-siva* (bock) and *-lahla* (loose/dump) which does not allow a nominalization in class 14 as opposed to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs *-tumbela* (hide) and *-tumbeta* (conceal) which permits such a nominalization with the suffix -o and with a meaning of place.
**Tumbeta** (conceal)

D. [Actor]: mutumbeti (concealing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutumbeti wa xigevenga u sweka vuswa.
(The concealing person of the criminal cooks porridge).

    (b) Mutumbeti wa movha wo yiviwa u pfala rivanti ra yindlu.
    (The concealing person of the stolen car closes the door of the house).

    (c) Maphorisa ma khoma mutumbeti wa xigevenga.
    (Police officers arrest the concealing person of the criminal).

Plural: Class 2: vatumbeti (concealing people)

The nominal mutumbeti (concealing person) refers to an individual who conceals someone or something in a place where he/it cannot be seen. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of concealing which once is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as mutumbeti (concealing person). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity of concealment.

**Tumbeta** (conceal)

E. [Excessive act]: ritumbeto (excessive concealment)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritumbeto ra wanuna ra swigevenga vikiwile eka maphorisa.
(The excessive concealment of the man of the criminals has been reported to the police).

    (b) Ritumbeto ra wanuna ra nsuku ri hlundzukise mufambisi wa mugodi.
    (The excessive concealment of the man of the gold has angered the manager of the mine).

    (c) Maphorisa ma lemukile ritumbeto ra wansati ra swigevenga endlwini.
    (The police have noticed the excessive concealment of the woman of the criminals in the house).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ritumbeto (excessive concealment) refers to the excessive act of concealing something from the knowledge of others.

**Tumbeta** (conceal)

F. [Expert/excessive actor]: xitumbeti (expert/excessive concealing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitumbeti xa n’wana wa xifumi xi duvuriwile.
(The expert/excessive concealing person of the child of the rich person has been shot down).
(b) Xitumbeti xa swirho swa vanhu exigwitsirisini xi hlangane nhloko.
(The expert/excessive concealing person of the body parts in the refrigerator has run mad).

(c) Maphorisa ma khomile xitumbeti xa nsuku enambyeni.
(The police have arrested the expert/excessive concealing person of gold in the river).

Plural: Class 8: switumbeti (expert/excessive concealing people)

The nominal *xitumbeti* (expert/excessive concealing person) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively conceals someone/something from the sight of other people. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of concealment of a thing from other people, but his excessiveness/skill of concealing from other people. This property of excessive/skill of concealing from other people is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of concealing a thing from other people, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xitumbeti* (concealing person) because the property of excessiveness/skill of concealing from other people of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tumbeta** (conceal)

D. [Act]: vutumbeti (concealment)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutumbeti bya wanuna bya mbangi byi chavisa wansati.
(The concealment of the man of dagga scares the woman).

(b) Vutumbeti bya mufana bya xibamu bya tiveka eka maphorisa.
(The concealment of the young man of the gun is known to the police).

(c) Wansati u sola vutumbeti bya wanuna bya mbangi.
(The woman disapproves of the concealment of the man of the dagga).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutumbeti* (concealment) refers to the act of concealing something from the knowledge of others.

**Tumbeta** (conceal)

F. [Place]: vutumbeto (concealing place)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutumbeto bya wansati bya swigevenga byi hangunuxiwile.
(The concealing place of the woman of the criminals has been searched).
(b) Vutumbeto bya wanuna bya swibamu byi hisiwile.
(The concealing place of the man of the guns has been burnt down)

(c) Wanuna u cinca vutumbeto bya swibamu.
(The man changes the concealing place of the guns)

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutumbeto** (concealment place) refers to a place where something or someone is or can be hidden.

**Siva** (block)

A. [Actor]: musivi (blocking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musivi wa tihomu u fambile.
(The stopping person of the cattle is gone).

(b) Musivi wa le ndzhaku wa Bafana Bafana u lovile.
(The defender of Bafana Bafana is dead).

(c) Kokwana u sola musivi wa tihomu emasin’wini.
(The grandmother criticizes the stopper of the cattle in the field).

Plural: class 2: vasivi (blocking people)

The nominal **musivi** (blocking person) refers to an individual who stops/prevent something from moving through something or one who prevent someone from going somewhere or one who is standing in the way of someone. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to any one who blocks something/someone at particular time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of blocking may be a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose occupation involves blocking something/someone, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of blocking something as such, but the occupation of blocking something which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of blocking something/someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **musivi** (blocking person).

**Siva** (block)

B. [Excessive act]: risivo (excessive blocking)

Class 5: 2. (a) Risivo ra mutlangi wa bolo ra tsakisa.
(The excessive blocking of the defender of the ball is interesting).
(b) Risivo ra Magezi ra tidonki ri nyumisa nsati wakwe.
(The excessive stopping of Magezi of the donkeys makes his wife shameful).

(c) Vanhu va ndhundhuzela risivo ra mutlangi wa bolo.
(People appreciate the excessive defending of the soccer player).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **vusivi** (blocking/blockage) refers to the act of surrounding or closing a place in order to stop people or goods from coming in or out, or the act of obstructing or deflecting someone's movements.

**Siva** (block)

C.  [Expert/excessive actor]:  **xisivi** (expert/excessive blocking person)

Class 7: 3.  (a) Xisivi xa bolo xi karhele.
(The expert/excessive blocking person of a ball is exhausted).

(b) Xisivi xa tihomu emasin'wini xi fambile.
(The expert/excessive blocking person of cattle in the fields has gone).

(c) Manana u vitana xisivi xa tihomu.
(The mother calls for the expert/excessive blocking person of the cattle).

Plural: class 8: **swisivi** (expert/excessive blocking people)

The nominal **xisivi** (expert blocking person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of blocking something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of blocking something of the individual in question, but his expertise of blocking something. This expertise of blocking something is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of blocking something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xisivi** (expert blocking person) because the property expertise of blocking something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Siva** (block)

D.  [Artifact]: **xisivo** (blocking object)

Class 7: 4.  (a) Xisivo xa mati ethangini xi lahlekile.
(The stopper of the water in the tank is lost).

(b) Xisivo xa payiphi xi xaviwile.
(The stopper of the pipe has been bought).
(c) Wansati u lahlile xisivo xa xihlantswelo.  
(The woman lost the stopper/lid of the basin).

Plural: class 8: swisivo (blocking objectss)

The nominal xisivo (blocking tool) refers to a thing that blocks flow or movement.

**Siva** (block)

E.  
[Act]:  
vusivi (blocking)

Class 14:  
5.  
(a) Vusivi bya Khazamula bya bolo bya nyanyula.  
(The stopping of Khazamula of the ball is exciting).

(b) Vusivi bya Gezani bya tihomu byi tsakisa wanuna emasin’wini  
(The stopping of Gezani of the cattle excites the man in the field).

(c) Vanhu va tsakela vusivi bya Magezi bya bolo.  
(People like the stopping of Magezi of the ball).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vusivi (blocking/blockage) refers to the act of surrounding or closing a place in order to stop people or goods from coming in or out, or the act of obstructing or deflecting someone's movements. But it may also refer to the barrier that stops people or vehicles from entering or leaving a place.

**Lahla** (loose/dump)

A.  
[Actor]:  
mulahli (dumper/loser)

Class 1:  
1.  
(a) Mulahli wa mali u tisecha swikhwama.  
(The loser of the money searches his pocket).

(b) Mulahli wa thyaka etaleni u khunguluxa barha.  
(The dumper of the gabbage in the rubbish heap is pushing a wheelbarrow).

(c) Wansati u rhukana mulahli wa mali.  
(The woman swears at the loser of the money).

Plural: class 2: valahli (losers/dumpers)

The nominal mulahli (dumping person) refers to an individual who throws away unwanted things. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to anyone who throws away something at particular time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of throwing may be a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose occupation involves dumping rubbish in a place set apart for dumping, such a nominal will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of dumping
something as such, but the occupation of dumping something which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of dumping something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mulahli** (dumping person).

**Lahla** (loose/dump)

B.  [Excessive act]:  **rilahlo** (excessive losing/dumping)

Class 5:  2.  (a) Rilahlo ra Magezi ra mali ri nyangatsa nsati wakwe.

(The excessive losing of Magezi of the money disgusts his wife).

(b) Rilahlo ra wansati ra thyaka endleleni ri nyenyetsa vanhu.

(The excessive dumping of the woman of the gabbage on the way annoys people).

(c) Vanhu va sola rilahlo ra Magezi ra thyaka endleleni.

(The people condemn the dumping of magezi of the gabbage on the way).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rilahlo** (excessive dumping/losing) refers to the excessive act or excessive practice of throwing away unwanted things.

**Lahla** (loose/dump)

C.  [Excessive actor]:  **xilahli** (excessive loser/dumper)

Class 7:  3.  (a) Xilahli xa thyaka endleleni xi tisola evanhwini.

(The excessive dumper of the gabbage on the way apologises to the people).

(b) Xilahli xa mali xi languta laha a xi yime kona.

(The excessive loser of the money checks where he was standing).

(c) Manana u huwelela xilahli xa thyaka exinkobyanini.

(The mother shouts at the excessive dumper of the garbage in the stream).

Plural: class 8: **swilahli** (excessive dumper)

The nominal **xilahli** (excessive dumper) refers to an individual who excessively dumps something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act or the occupation of dumping something of the individual in question, but his excessiveness of dumping something. This excessiveness of dumping something is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of dumping something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xilahli** (excessive dumper) because the property excessiveness of dumping something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the
defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Lahla** (loose/dump)

D. [Act]: vulahli (losing/dumping)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulahli bya Magezi bya mabodhlela endleleni byi nyangatsa vanhu.
(The dumping of Magezi of the bottles on the way disgusts the people).

(b) Vulahli bya Khazamula bya mali byi hlundzikisa nsati wakwe.
(The loosing of khazamula of the money makes his wife angry).

(c) Wansati u sola vulahli bya Magezi bya thyaka endleleni.
(The woman condemns the dumping of Magezi of the garbage on the way).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vulahli** (dumping/losing) refers to the act or practice of throwing away unwanted things especially in place set apart.

**Phutsela** (Wrap)

A. [Actor]: muphutseli (wrapping up person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphutseli wa xinkwa u hlamba mavoko.
(The wrapping up person of the bread washes his hands).

(b) Muphutseli wa nyama u ncakunya chepisi.
(The wrapping up person of the meat is chewing chappies).

(c) Wanuna u xeweta muphutseli wa mpahla.
(The man greets the wrapping person of the clothes).

Plural: Class 2: vaphutseli (wrapping up person up people)

The nominal **muphutseli** (wrapping up person up person) denotes an individual who covers something completely in paper or other material. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of wrapping of the individual in question at a time of reference. Once the act of wrapping is finished, such a person may no longer be referred to as **muphutseli** (wrapping up person up person).

**Phutsela** (wrap)

B. [Excessive act/manner]: riphutselo (excessive wrapping up person up)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riphutselo ra wansati ra nyiko ri tsakisa wanuna.
(The excessive wrapping up of the woman of the gifts pleases the woman).

(b) Riphutselo ra mutirhi ra xinkwa ri tsakisa muthori wakwe.
(The excessive wrapping up of the worker of the bread pleases his employer).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela riphutselo ra wansati ra tinyiko.
(The man likes the excessive wrapping of the woman of the gifts).
Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *riphutselo* (excessive wrapping up person up) denotes an excessive act of covering something completely in paper or other material.

**Phutsela** (wrap)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor): *xiphutseli* (expertly/excessively wrapping up person up person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiphutseli xa mpahla edr clean xi karhele.  
(The expertly/excessively wrapping up person of the clothes at the dry clean is tired).

(b) Xiphutseli xa tinyiko xi ya eGiyani.  
(The expertly/excessively wrapping up person of the gifts is going to Giyani).

(c) Wansati u khensa xiphutseli xa tinyiko.  
(The woman thanks the expert/excessive wrapping up person of the gifts).

Plural: Class 8: *swiphutseli* (expertly/excessively wrapping up person up people)

The nominal *xiphutseli* (expertly/excessively wrapping up person up person) signifies an individual who excessively wraps something. This nominal may be regarded as a individual-level nominal because what is being modified in this nominal is the excessiveness of wrapping up of the individual in question which will be associated with an him for the most part of his life irrespective of whether the individual in question may be engaged in the act of wrapping up something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

**Phutsela** (wrap)

D. [Artifact/Instrument): *xiphutselo* (wrapper/wrapping)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiphutselo xa n’wana xi thyakile.  
(The wrapper/wrapping of the child is dirty).

(b) Xiphutselo xa matamatisi xi handzukile.  
(The wrapper/wrapping of the tomatoes is torn apart).

(c) Wansati u hlantswa xiphutselo xa n’wana.  
(The woman is washing the wrapper/wrapping of the child).

Plural: Class 8: *swiphutselo* (wrappers/wrappings)

The nominal *xiphutselo* (wrapper/wrapping) denotes a paper, foil, or other material used to wrap something in.

**Phutsela** (wrap)

E. [Act]: *vuphutseli* (wrapping up person up)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuphutseli bya mufana bya tibuku byi tsakisa mudyondzisi.  
(The wrapping up of the young man of the books pleases the teacher).
(b) Vuphutseli bya wanuna bya nyama byi hlekisa wansati.
(The wrapping up of the man of the meat makes the woman laugh).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vuphutseli bya wansati bya tinyiko.
(The old woman disapproves of the wrapping up of the woman of the gifts).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuphutseli** (wrapping up) refers to the act of covering something completely in paper or other material.

**Fuhleka** (cover with soil)

A.  [Actor]: mufuhleki (person who covers a thing with soil)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mufuhleki wa bomo evhengeleni u ambale mpahla ya ntima.
(The person puts a bomb in the shop has worn black clothes).
   (b) Mufuhleki wa nthavo endzilweni u xeweta wanuna.
(The person who puts the piercing wire into the fire greets the man).
   (c) Nhwanyana u vona mufuhleki wa bomo evhengeleni.
(The young woman sees the person who puts a bomb in the shop).

Plural: Class 2:  vafuhleki (people who cover a thing with soil)

The nominal **mufuhleki** (person who covers a thing with soil) refers to an individual who covers a thing with soil or hot ashes. It is usually applied to the covering of explosives such as bombs and land mines, or the placing of wire on the hot coals so that it becomes very hot and usually turning red in colour. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the nominal makes reference to the defining act of covering something with soil or hot coals. As long the things covered in soil or coals are not yet removed, the individual will be referred to as **mufuhleki** (person who covers a thing with soil). However, once such items are removed from where they have been placed, such a person will no longer be referred to as **mufuhleki** (person who covers a thing with soil).

**Fuhleka** (cover with soil)

B.  [Excessive act): rifuhleko (excessive covering of a thing with soil)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rifuhleko ra wanuna ra tibomo eswitediyamu ri chuhwisa vahlaleri.
(The excessive putting of the bomb at the stadiums frightens the fans).
   (b) Rifuhleko ra mufana ra nthavo ri hlamarisa wansati.
(The excessive puuting of the piercing wire of the young man into the fire surprises the woman).
   (c) Wanuna u venga rifuhleko ra matherorisi ra tibomo eswitediyanu.
(The man hates the excessive putting of the terrorists of the bomb at the stadia).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal *rifuhleko* (excessive covering of a thing with soil) denotes an excessive act of covering a thing with soil, such as bombs, but it may also refer to the excessive act of placing a wire in hot coals so that it becomes very hot and usually turning red in colour.

**Fuhleka** (cover with soil)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xifuhleki (person who expertly/excessively covers a thing with soil)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xifuhleki xa tibomo emadorobeni xi khomiwile.
(The person who expertly/excessively puts bombs in towns has been arrested).

(b) Xifuhleki xa bombo eJoni xi kumiwile.
(The person who expertly/excessively puts a bomb in Johannesburg has been found).

(c) Maphorisa ma khoma xifuhleki xa tibomo ePhalaborwa.
(The police arrest the person who expertly/excessively puts bombs in Phalaborwa).

Plural: Class 8: swifuhleki (people who expertly/excessively cover a thing with soil)

The nominal *xifuhleki* (person who expertly/excessively covers a thing with soil) signifies an individual who expertly/excessively covers a thing with soil or hot ashes. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of placing a thing under the soil will always be associated with the individual in question irrespective of whether he will be engaged in it at the time of reference or not.

**Fuhleka** (cover with soil)

D. [Act]: vufuhleki (covering of a thing with soil)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vufuhleki bya matherorisi bya tibomo emavhengeleni ri vilerisa mfumo.
(The putting of the terrorists of the bombs at the shops worries the government).

(b) Vufuhleki bya wanuna bya ntlhavo endzilweni byi chavisa nsati wakwe.
(The putting of the man of the piercing wire in the fire scares the woman).

(c) Mukhegula u sola vufuhleki bya wanuna bya ntlhavo endzilweni.
(The old woman disapproves of the putting of the man of the piercing wire in the fire).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vufuhleki* (covering of a thing with soil) refers to the act of covering a thing with soil, such as bombs, but it may also refer to the act of placing a wire in hot coals so that it becomes very hot and usually turning red in colour.
**Furheka** (cover unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

A. [Actor]: mufurheki (person who covers unripe fruits with something to ripen it)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mufurheki wa tibanana u tsakile.
   (The person who covers bananas with something in order to ripen is happy).
   (b) Mufurheki wa maovhakhado u ma tumbeta endlwini.
   (The person who covers avocados so that they ripen is hiding them inside the house).
   (c) Wanuna u xeweta mufurheki wa tibanana endlwini.
   (The man greets the person who covers bananas so that they ripen in the house).

Plural: Class 2: vafurheki (people who cover unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

The nominal **mufurheki** (person who covers unripe fruits with something to ripen them) refers to an individual who covers unripe fruits with something such as soil or blanket so that there could be a warm temperature in order to make them ripen. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the nominal makes reference to the defining act of covering something with something to ripen it. Once the fruits which are being covered in order to make them ripen are ripe, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mufurheki** (person who covers unripe fruits with something to ripen them).

**Furheka** (cover unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

B. [Excessive act]: rifurheko (excessive covering of unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rifurheko ra mufana ra masala endlwini ri nyenyetsa wansati.
   (The excessive covering of the young man of the monkey oranges in the house annoys the woman).
   (b) Rifurheko ra wansati ra tibanana endlwini ri khohlorisa n’wana.
   (The excessive covering of the woman of the bananas with something to ripen them makes the child cough).
   (c) Wanuna u sola rifurheko ra wansati ra maavhakhado endlwini.
   (The man condemns the excessive covering of the woman of the bananas with something to make them ripen in the house).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rifurheko** (excessive covering of unripe fruits with something to ripen them) denotes an excessive act of covering unripe fruits with something such as soil or blanket so that there is warm temperature in order to make them ripen.

**Furheka** (cover unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xifurheki (person who expertly/excessively covers unripe fruits with something to ripen them)
Class 7:  3. (a) Xifurheki xa tibanana endlwini xa vabya.
(The person who expertly/excessively covers bananas in the house with something to ripen them is sick).
(b) Xifurheki xa masala etshangeni xi ya enambyeni.
(The person who expertly/excessively covers monkey oranges in the craal with soil in order to ripen them is going to the river).
(c) Mukhalabye u vitana xifurheki xa masala.
(The old man calls the person who expertly/excessively covers monkey oranges with soil in order to ripen them).

Plural: Class 8: swifurheki (people who expertly/excessively cover a thing with something to ripen them)

The nominal xifurheki (person who expertly/excessively covers unripe fruits with something to ripen them) signifies an individual who expertly/excessively covers unripe fruits with something such as soil or blankets so that there could be a warm temperature which will make them ripen fast. The defining property in this nominal is not the act of making unripe fruits to ripen, but the expertness/excessiveness of the individual in question which will remain his permanent property. In other words, such an individual will always be referred to as xifurheki (person who expertly/excessively covers unripe fruits to ripen them) irrespective of whether he will be engaged in the act of covering the fruits to ripen them or he will not be engaged in it at the time of reference.

Furheka (cover unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

A. [Act]: vufurheki (covering of unripe fruits with something to ripen them)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vufurheki bya wansati bya tibanana endlwini byi vanga risema.
(The covering of the unripe fruits of the woman with something in order to ripen them in the house causes the stench).
(b) Vufurheki bya mufana bya masala etshangeni byi tsakisa mukhalabye.
(The covering of unripe monkey oranges of the young man in the craal with soil in order to ripen them makes the old man happy).
(c) Wanuna u sola vufurheki bya wansatia bya tibanana ekamarini yo etlela.
(The man disapproves of the covering of bananas of the woman with something to make them ripen in the bed room).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vufurheki (covering of unripe fruits with something to ripen them) refers to the act of covering unripe fruits with something such as soil or blanket so that there is warm temperature in order to make them ripen.

Seletela (cover in or fill up hole with soil)

A. [Actor]: museleteri (person who covers or fill hole with soil)

Class 1:  1. (a) Museleteri wa mugerho wa phayiphi u karhele.
(The person who covers or fills up the furrow of the pipe with soil is tired).
(b) Museleteri wa magodi emasin’wini wa gungula.
(The person who covers or fills holes with soil at the fields is grumbling).

(c) Wansati u pfuna museleteri wa magodi ya tipala ta gezi.
(The woman helps the person who covers or fills holes of the electricity poles with soil).

Plural: Class 2: vaseleteri (people who cover a thing with soil)

The nominal museleteri (The person who covers or fills hole with soil) refers to an individual who person who covers or fill hole with soil. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the nominal makes reference to the defining act of covering/filling up of a hole with soil. Once such an act comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as museleteri (The person who covers or fills hole with soil).

Seletela (cover in or fill up hole with soil)

B. [Excessive act]: riseletelo (excessive covering or filling of hole with soil)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riseletelo ra tinguluve ra godi ro chela thyaka ri nyangatsa wansati.
(The excessive covering or filling up of the pigs of the pit for the rubbish disgusts the woman).

(b) Riseletelo ra vana ra magodi ya tipala ta gezi ri hlundzukisa murhangeri projeke.
(The excessive covering or filling up of the children of holes of the electricity poles with soil makes the project leader angry).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela riseletelo ra vafana ra magodi ya masirha.
(The man likes the excessive filling up of the young men of the graves pits with soil).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riseletelo (excessive covering or filling of hole with soil) denotes an excessive act of covering or filling a hole with soil.

Seletela (cover in or fill up hole with soil)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xiseleteri (person who expertly/excessively covers or fills a hole with soil)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiseleteri xa magodi ya swihambukelo xi kumile mali yo tala.
(The person who expertly/excessively covers or fills toilet pits with soil got a lot of money).

(b) Xiseleteri xa mugerho wa phayiphi xi nwa mati.
(The person who expertly/excessively covers or fills the furrow with soil is drinking water).

(c) Vafana va hlasele xiseleteri xa magodi ya masirha.
(The young men attack the person who expertly/excessively covers or fills the pits of the graves with soil).

Plural: Class 8: swiseleteri (people who expertly/excessively cover or fill a hole with soil)
The nominal **xiseleteri** (person who expertly/excessively covers or fills a hole with soil) signifies an individual who expertly/excessively covers or fills a hole with soil. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of filling up a hole with soil, but the expertness/excessiveness of performing such an act. Such an individual will always be referred to as **xiseleteri** (person who expertly/excessively covers or fills a hole with soil) even when he will not be engaged in the act of filling up a hole with soil at the time of reference.

**Seletela** (cover in or fill up hole with soil)

D.  

[Artifact/Instrument]: **xiseletelo** (instrument used for carrying soil to cover or fill up the hole)

Class 7:  

(a) Xiseletelo xa magodi ya swihambukelo xi onhakile.  
(The instrument used for carrying soil to cover or fill up the pits of the toilets is broken).

(b) Xiseletelo xa migerho ya tiphyiphi ta mati xi fkile.  
(The instrument used for carrying soil to cover or fill up the furrows for the water pipeline has arrived).

(c) Maphorisa ma khoma xiseletelo xa tibomo ePhalaborwa.  
(The police arrest instrument used for carrying soil to cover or fill up the hole).

Plural: Class 8: **swiseletelo** (instruments used for carrying soil to cover or fill up the hole)

The nominal **xiseletelo** (instrument used for carrying soil to cover or fill up the hole) signifies an instrument act used to carry soil and cover or fill a hole with it.

**Seletela** (cover in or fill up hole with soil)

E.  

[Act/Manner]: **vuseleteri** (covering or filling of hole with soil)

Class 14:  

(a) Vuseleteri bya vafana bya magodi ya swihambukelo byi tsakisa murhangeri.  
(The covering or filling up of the young men of the toilets pits with soil pleases the leader).

(b) Vuseleteri bya muchini bya migerho ya tiphayiphi byi hlamarisa wanuna.  
(The covering or filling up of the machine of the furrows of the pipes with soil surprises the man).

(c) Wansati u hlamala vuseleteri bya wanuna bya mugerho.  
(The woman is surprised at the covering or filling up of the man of furrow with soil).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuseleteri** (covering or filling of hole with soil) refers to the act of covering or filling a hole with soil.
Yimbela (bury)

A. [Actor]: muyimberi (person who buries something underground)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muyimberi wa mbyana esaveni u ncakunya chepisi.
   (The person who buries the dog under the sand is chewing the chappies).

   (b) Muyimberi wa ntambu ya gezi u tsuwumukile tintiho.
   (The person who buries the electric cabbles under the ground has bruised his fingers).

   (c) Wanuna u thoma muyimberi wa saka ra mali esaveni.
   (The man unexpetendly finds the person who is burying the bag of money under the sand).

Plural: Class 2: vayimberi (people who bury something under the ground)

The nominal muyimberi (person who buries something under the ground) refers to an individual who buries something under the ground. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of burying something under the ground. Once the act of burying something under the ground is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muyimberi (person who buries something under the ground).

Yimbela (bury)

B. [Excessive act]: riyimbelo (excessive burying of something under the ground)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riyimbelo ra vayivi ra tintambhu ta koporo esaveni ri vilerisa maphorisa.
   (The excessive burying of the thieves of copper wires under the sand worries the police).

   (b) Riyimbelo ra mufana ra swilo swo yiviwa emasin’wini ri nyangatsa mhani wakwe.
   (The excessive burying of the young man of the stolen items at the fields disgusts his mother).

   (c) Wansati u venga riyimbelo ra mufana ra swilo swo yiviwa endzhaku ka yindlu.
   (The woman hates the excessive burying of the young man of the stolen items).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riyimbelo (excessive burying of something under the ground) denotes an excessive act of burying something under the ground.

Yimbela (bury)

C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xiyimbeli (person who expertly/excessively buries something under the ground)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiyimbeli xa mali endzhaku ka yindlu xi lovile.
   (The person who expertly/excessively buries money behind the house is dead).

   (b) Xiyimberi xa vafi vo pfumala vinyi eJoni xi tlakusiwile.
   (The person who expertly/excessively buries the dead who do not have relatives in Johannesburg has been promoted).
(c) Wanuna nyika xiyimberi xa va fi mati.
(The woman gives water to the person who expertly/excessively buries dead people).

Plural: Class 8: swiyimberi (people who expertly/excessively cover a thing with soil)

The nominal xiyimberi (person who expertly/excessively buries something under the ground) signifies an individual who expertly/excessively buries something under the ground. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of the individual in question in carrying out the act of burying something will always be associated with him in question whether he will be engaged in it at the time of reference or not.

Yimbela (bury)

A. [Act]: vuyimberi (burying of something under the ground)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuyimberi bya mukhalabye bya mali etaleni byi hlamarisa mufana.
(The burying of the old man of the money under the rubbish heap surprises the young man).

(b) Vuyimberi bya wansati bya vana endlwini byi tsemile vanhu mihlana.
(The burying of the woman of the children under in the house shocked people).

(c) Murhangeri u languta vuyimberi bya vavanuna bya tintambhu ta gezi.
(The leader is looking at the burying of the men of the cables of the electricity).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuyimberi (burying of something under the ground) refers to the act of burying something under the ground.

Tlhota (Conceal)

A. [Actor]: mutlhoti (person who conceals something)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutlhoti wa xipaci u hole tolo.
(The person who conceals the purse got his pay yesterday).

(b) Mutlhoti wa bege ewadiropeni wa halahala.
(The person who conceals a bag in the wardrobe is looking on the sides).

(c) Mufana vona mutlhoti wa makhalavatla emasin'wini.
(The young man sees the person who conceals water melons at the fields).

Plural: Class 2: vatlhoti (people who conceal something)

The nominal mutlhoti (person who conceals something) refers to an individual who hides or keeps something secret. This nominal may thus be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here is the act of hiding something. Once the act denoted by this nominal is over, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mutlhoti (person who conceals something).
**Tlhota (Conceal)**

**B. [Excessive act]: ritlhoto (excessive concealing)**

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritlhoto ra wansati ra makhiya ehansi ka mete ri tsakisa wanuna.
(The excessive concealing of the woman of the keys under the mat pleases the man).

(b) Ritlhoto ra wanuna ra makhiya ya movha endlwini ri vilerisa mufana.
(The excessive concealing of the man of the car keys worries the young man).

(c) Mufana u sola ritlhoto ra wanuna ra makhiya ya movha.
(The young man disapproves the excessive concealment of the man of the car keys).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritlhoto** (excessive concealing) denotes an excessive act of hiding something or keeping it secret.

**Tlhota (Conceal)**

**C. [Expert/Excessive actor]: xitlhoti (person who expertly/excessively conceals something)**

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitlhoti xa makhiya ya hofisi a xi tangi entirhweni.
(The person who expertly/excessively conceals office keys has not come to work).

(b) Xitlhoti xa mali ewadiropeni xi dakwile.
(The person who expertly/excessively conceals money in the wardrobe is drunk).

(c) Wansati u languta xitlhoti xa xipaci ebyanyini.
(The woman is looking at the person who expertly/excessively conceals the purse in the grass).

Plural: Class 8: switlhoti (people who expertly/excessively conceal something)

The nominal **xitlhoti** (person who expertly/excessively conceals something) refers to an individual who expertly/excessively hides something or keeps it secret. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the expertness/excessiveness of hiding of something of the individual in question is the defining property in this nominal and will always be associated with him irrespective of whether he will be engaged in the act of hiding something or not at the time of reference or not.

**Tlhota (Conceal)**

**D. [Act]: vutlhoti (concealing)**

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutlhoti bya swivevenga bya swibalesa enambyeni byi hlamarisa maphorisa.
(The concealing of the criminals of the guns in the river surprises the police).

(b) Vutlhoti bya wanuna bya makhiya ya movha byi karhata mufana.
(The concealing of the man of the car keys troubles the young man).

(c) Mukhalabye u lemuka vutlhoti bya mufana bya masi.
(The old man notices the concealing of the young man of the milk).
Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vutlhoti* (concealing) refers to the act of hiding something or keeping it secret.

### 8.11. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF GROOMING AND BODILY CARE

The definition of Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care has been given in Section 5.9. of Chapter five which examines deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. The same definition applies in this Section. However, this Section deals with deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.

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<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
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**Ambala** (wear)

A. [Actor]: muambali (wearer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muambali wa suti u tshame emahlweni.  
(The wearer of a suit sat in front).

(b) Muambali wa xikipa xo basa u humela ehandle.  
(The wearer of white T-shirt is going out).

(c) Wanuna u vitana muambali wa suti ya ntima.  
(The man calls for the wearer of the black suit).

Plural: class 2: vaambali (wearers)

The nominal *muambali* (wearer) refers to a person who puts or has puts on something such as clothing or decoration on his body or part of his body. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act or the duration of putting on something. Once the act or the duration of wearing something is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as *muambali* (wearer). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal or is still in the act of putting on something denoted by the nominal.
Ambala (wear)

B. [Excessive act/manner]: riambalo (excessive wearing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riambalo ra mufana ra suti ri n’wi rhandzisa hi vanhwanyana.
(The excessive wearing of the young man of the suit makes him loved by young women).

(b) Riambalo ra mufana ra xikipa xin’we ri n’wi delerisa hi vanhu.
(The wearing of the young man of one T-shirt makes him to be undermined by people).

(c) Vanhu va hlamala riambalo ra mufana ra xikipa xin’we.
(The people are surprised at the excessive wearing of the young man of one T-shirt).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riambalo (excessive wearing) refers to the excessive act/manner of putting something on one's body or a part of one's body as clothing, decoration, or protection.

Ambala (wear)

C. [Excessive actor]: xiambali (excessive/smart wearer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Xiambali xa suti xi tshame emahlweni.
(The excessive/smart wearer of the suit sat in front).

(b) Xiambali xa xikipa xo basa xi humela ehandle.
(The excessive wearer of white T-shirt is going out).

(c) Wanuna u vitana xiambali xa suti ya ntima.
(The man calls for the excessive wearer of the black suit).

Plural: class 7: swiambali (excessive/smart wearers)

The nominal xiambali (excessive wearer) refers to an individual who excessively wear something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of wearing something of the individual in question, but his excessiveness of excessiveness of wearing something. This excessiveness of wearing something is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be wearing something he excessively wears, or he may not be wearing it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiambali (excessive wearer) because the property excessiveness of wearing something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Ambala (wear)
D.  [Artifact/Result]: xiambalo (clothing)

Class 1:  1. (a) Xiambalo xo basa xi sasekile.
         (The white clothing is beautiful).

         (b) Xiambalo xa wansati xi thyakile.
         (The clothing of the woman is dirty).

         (c) Wansati u xava xiambalo xo basa.
         (The woman buys white clothing).

Plural: class 2: swiambalo (clothes)

The nominal xiambalo (clothing) refers to articles, usually of cloth, designed to cover, protect, or
adorn the body.

Ambala (wear)

E.  [Act]:  vuambali (wearing)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vuambali bya tinjovo byi le fexenini.
         (The wearing of strips of skins is in fashion).

         (b) Vuambali bya tikepisi etlilasini hi vafana byi nyenyetsa mathicara.
         (The wearing of the caps by young men in classes annoys the teachers).

         (c) Wanuna u rhandza vuambali bya wanuna bya bokati
         (The man likes the wearing of the man of the jean).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuambali (wearing) refers to the act of putting something on one's body or a part of one's
body as clothing, decoration, or protection.

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</table>
Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i

muambari (wearer)

Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

riambalo (excessive wearing)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

xiambali (excessive/smart wearer)
Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care

(57)  Nominalization from the verb -ambala (wear)
(iv)   The verb -ambala (wear)

Wanuna u ambala baji.
(The man is wearing a jacket).

-ambala

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} & = \text{-ambala} \_ \text{act}(e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wear – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb *-ambala* (wear) in (57) above demonstrates that its argument structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is wearing and the physical object denoting the entity that is worn. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference to the process event of wearing. The event structure represents the default process of wearing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), while the agentive quale of the qualia structure represents the act (process) of wearing (e1) of a person (x).

(58) **Nominalisation in class 1: muambali** (wearer)

Muambari wa hembhe yo basa u ya exikolweni.
(The wearer of white shirt goes to school).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{muambali} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
\text{ARG} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E1=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{ambala}_{-}\text{actor} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Wear – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *muambali* (wearer) in (58) demonstrates that its argument structure contains two arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is wearing and the physical object denoting the entity that is worn. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference to the process event of wearing. The event structure represents the default process of wearing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), while the agentive quale of the qualia structure represents the act (process) of wearing (e1) of a person (x).

(59) **Nominalisation in class 7: xiambali** (excessive/expert (smart) wearer)

Xiambari xa tiburuku to koma xi fikile.
(The excessive wearer of short trousers has arrived).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xiambali} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
\text{ARG} &= y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= E1=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} &= -\text{ambala}_{-}\text{actor}_{-}\text{excessive/expert} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wearer – Excessive/Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xiambali* (excessive/smart wearer) in (59) is similar to that of *muambali* (wearer) in (58) above. The distinction that obtains is that *muambali* (wearer) in (58) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *xiambali* (excessive/smart wearer) in (59) above.

(60) Nominalisation in class 5: *riambalo* (excessive wearing)

Riambalo ra vanhwana ra maburuku ri nyenyetsa kokwana.
(The excessive wearing of the trousers by girls annoys the grandmother).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1 = x: e: r} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1 = x: human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1 = e;} \text{ process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL=(e, x, y)} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE=} -\text{ambala}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wear – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of deverbalive *riambalo* (excessive/expert (smart) wearing) in (60) exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is wearing and the physical object denoting the entity that is worn. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference ® to the process event of wearing. The event structure represents the default process of wearing. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the excessive act of wearing (e₁) of a person (x).

(61) Nominalisation in class 14: *vuambari* (wearing)

Vuambari bya nhwana bya maburuku byi tsakisa jaha rakwe.
(The wearing of the young woman of the trousers pleases her boyfriend).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1 = x: e: r} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG1 = x: human} \\
& \quad \text{D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1 = e;} \text{ process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL=(e, x, y)} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE=} -\text{ambala}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wear – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *vuambari* (wearing) in (61) is similar to that of *riambalo* (excessive wearing) in (60) above. The distinction that obtains is that *vuambari* (wearing) in (61) above lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with *riambalo* (excessive wearing) in (60) above.

(62) Nominalisation in class 7: xiambalo (clothing)

Xiambalo xa ka Edgars xi tiyile.
(Edgars clothing is durable).

\[
\text{xiambalo}
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&= \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-ambala}_\text{artifact/result} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wear – Artifact/Result

The lexical semantic representation of deverbative *xiambalo* (clothing) in (62) above exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that is wearing and the physical object denoting the entity that is worn. The other argument, ARG1, denotes the reference to the process event of wearing. The event structure represents the default process of wearing. The qualia structure displays the formal quale which represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale which represents the artifact/result of the act of wearing (e₁) of a person (x).

The lexical semantic representation of other deverbatives in this sub-class of the verbs of concealment is similar to that of the verb *-ambala* (wear). The distinction that obtains relates to the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the deverbatives from the verbs *-hlamba* (bath), *-hlantswa* (wash cloth), *-ayina* (iron cloth), *-kama* (comb), *-luka* (braid) and *-tola* (smear) which does not allow a nominalization in class 7 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb *-ambala* (wear) which allows such a nominalization with the suffix *-o* and with the meaning of artifact and/or result. Another distinction is found with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb *-kama* (comb) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix *-u* with the meaning of artifact/instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs *-ambala* (wear), *-hlamba* (bath), *-hlantswa* (wash cloth), *-ayina* (press cloth) and *-tola* (smear) which does not
allow such a nominalization. Furthermore, we also find that the intrinsic or semantics of the verb -ayina (iron cloth) permits a nominalisation in class 9 with the reading of artifact and/or instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -ambala (wear), -hlamba (bath), -hlantswa (wash cloth), -kama (comb) and -tola (smear) which does not allow such a nominalization.

Hlamba (bath)

A. [Actor]: muhlambi (bather)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlambi u pfulela mati ebavhini.
   (The bather opens water in the tub).
   
   (b) Muhlambi u tirhidimba miri.
   (The bather scrubs his body).

   (c) Wansati u nyiketa muhlambi thawula.
   (The woman gives towel to the bather).

Plural: class 2: vahlambi(bathers/washers)

The nominal muhlambi (bather/washer) denotes an individual who washes his body or part of his body with water and soap in order to be clean. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of washing oneself. Once the act of washing oneself is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muhlambi (bather/washer). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal or is still engaged in the activity of bathing.

Hlamba (bath)

B. [Excessive act]: rihlambo (excessive bathing/washing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihlambo ra wansati ra xikandza ri n’wi humesa swirhumbana).
   (The excessive washing of the woman of the face makes her develop pimples).

   (b) Rihlambo ra wansati ra miri ra n’wi tshwukisa.
   (The excessive washing of the woman of the body makes her become light in complexion).

   (c) Wanuna u hlamala rihlambo ra wansati ra xikandza.
   (The man is surprised at the excessive washing of the woman of the face).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rihlambo (excessive bathing/washing) refers to the excessive act of washing one’s body or part of the body with water and soap. But it may also refer to excessive the activity of going into the sea or river to swim.
**Hlamba** (bath)

C.  

[Excessive actor]: xihlambi (excessive bather)

Class 1:  
1. (a) Xihlambi xi pfulela mati ebavhini.  
   (The excessive bather opens water in the tub).

   (b) Xihlambi xi tirhidimba miri.  
   (The excessive bather scrubs his body).

   (c) Wansati u nyiketa xihlambi thawula.  
   (The woman gives towel to the excessive bather).

Plural: class 8: swihlambi (excessive bathers)

The nominal *xihlambi* (excessive bather/washer) refers to an individual who excessively washes oneself. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of bathing/washing oneself of the individual in question, but his excessiveness of washing oneself. This excessiveness of washing oneself is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of washing oneself, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xihlambi* (excessive bather/washer) because the property excessiveness of wearing something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hlamba** (bath)

D.  

[Act]: vuhlambi (bathing/washing)

Class 14:  
4. (a) Vuhlambi bya vafana bya miri byi sivela tinhwala.  
   (The bathing of the young men of the body prevents lice).

   (b) Vuhlambi bya wanuna bya meno byi sivela mangumbu.  
   (The washing of the man of the teeth prevents bad breath).

   (c) Wansati u rhandza vuhlambi bya wanuna bya miri.  
   (The woman likes the washing of the man of the body).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vuhlambi* (bathing) refers to an act of washing one’s body or part of the body with water and soap. But it may also refer to the activity of going into the sea or river to swim.
**Hlantswa** (wash cloth)

A.  [Actor]: muhlantswi (washer of clothes)

Class 1:  1. (a) Muhlantswi u pfulela mati ebavhini.
   (The washer opens water in the tub).

   (b) Muhlantswi u chela xisibi ematini.
   (The washer puts washing powder into the water).

   (c) Wansati u nyiketa muhlantswi wa movha lapi.
   (The woman gives the washer of the car the rag).

Plural: class 2: vahlantswi (washers of clothes)

The nominal *muhlantswi* (washer of clothes) refers to an individual who cleans something with water and/or soap. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to anyone who washes something at a particular time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of washing may be a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose occupation involves washing something, such as people’s cars at a car wash, such an individual will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of washing something as such, but the occupation of washing which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of washing something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *muhlantswi* (washer of clothes).

**Hlantswa** (wash cloth)

B.  [Excessive act]: rihlantswo (washing of clothes)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rihlantswo ra mufana ra movha ri tsakisa wanuna.
   (The excessive washing of the young man of the car pleases the man).

   (b) Rihlantswo ra wansati ra mpahla ra yi pawulikisa.
   (The excessive washing of the woman of the clothes makes it loose its colour).

   (c) Wansati u sola rihlantswo ra mufana ra mpahla.
   (The woman disapproves the excessive washing of the young man of the clothes).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rihlantswo* (excessive washing) refers to the excessive act of cleaning something using water and/or soap.
Hlantswa (wash cloth)

C. [Expert actor]: xihlantswi (expert washing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xihlantswi xa mpahla xi pfulela mati ebavhini.
    (The expert washing person of the clothes opens water in the tub).

    (b) Xihlantswi xi chela xisibi ematini.
    (The expert washing person puts washing powder into the water).

    (c) Wansati u nyiketa xihlantswi xa movha lapi.
    (The woman gives the expert washing person of the car the rag).

Plural: class 8: swihlantswi (expert washing person of clothes)

The nominal xihlantswi (expert washing person) refers to an individual who has an expertise of washing something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of washing something of the individual in question, but his expertise of washing something. This expertise of washing something is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of washing something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihlantswi (expert washing person) because the property expertise of washing something of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Hlantswa (wash cloth)

D. [Act]: vuhlantswi (washing of clothes)

Class 1: 1. (a) Vuhlantswi bya wansati bya movha byi hatimisa movha.
    (The washing of the woman of the car shines the car).

    (b) Vuhlantswi bya mpahla dry clean bya durha.
    (The washing of the clothes at dry clean is expensive).

    (c) Wansati u languta vuhlantswi bya mufana bya movha.
    (The man is looking at the washing of the young man of the car).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhlantswi (washing) refers to the act of cleaning something using water and/or soap.

Ayina (press cloth)

A. [Actor]: muayini (presser of cloth)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muayini wa buruku u tihise tiniho.
    (The presser of the trousers burnt his fingers).
(b) Muayini u chela mati eka ayini.
(The presser pours water into the iron).

(c) Wansati u komba muayini mpahla.
(The woman shows the presser the clothes).

Plural: class 2: vaayini (pressers of clothes)

The nominal muayini (pressing person) refers to an individual who makes clothes smooth by using an iron. This nominal may be regarded as both stage-level and individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers to anyone who irons clothes at a particular time, such a nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of pressing clothes may be a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal. But when such a nominal refers to person whose occupation is ironing clothes, such an individual will be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not the act of ironing clothes as such, but the occupation of ironing which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of ironing clothes, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muayini (pressing person).

Ayina (press cloth)

B. [Excessive]: riayino (excessive pressing of cloth)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riayino ra wansati ra mpahla ri tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The excessive pressing of the woman of the clothes pleases her husband).

(b) Riayino ra wansati ra mpahla ra yi pawulukisa.
(The excessive pressing of the woman of the clothes makes it loose its colour).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela riayino ra wansati ra maburuku yakwe.
(The man likes the excessive pressing of the woman of his trousers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riayino (expressing pressing) refers to the excessive act of pressing clothes with an iron to make them smooth.

Ayina (press cloth)

C. [Expert actor]: xiayini (expert presser of cloth)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiayini xa mpahla xi tihise tintiho.
(The expert presser of the trousers burnt his fingers).

(b) Xiayini xi chela mati eka ayini.
(The expert presser pours water into the iron).
(c) Wansati u komba xiayini mpahla.
(The woman shows the expert presser the clothes).

Plural: class 8: swiayini (expert pressers of clothes)

The nominal xiayini (expert ironing person) refers to an individual who has a special skill of ironing clothes. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of ironing clothes of the individual in question, but his skill of ironing clothes. This skill of ironing clothes is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of ironing clothes, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiayini (expert ironing person) because the property expertise of ironing clothes of an individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Ayina (press cloth)

D. [Artifact/Instrument]: ayini (iron)

Class 9: 4. (a) Ayini yi onhakile.
(The iron is out of order).

(b) Ayini yi hisa swiambalo.
(The iron burns clothes).

(c) Wansati u pfulela ayini.
(The woman switches on an iron).

Plural: class 10: tiayini (irons)

The nominal ayini (iron) refers to a tool with a flat metal base that can be heated and used to make clothes smooth.

Ayina (press cloth)

E. [Act]: vuayini (pressing of cloth)

Class 14: 5. a) Vuayini bya wansati bya mpahla byi tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The pressing of the woman of the clothes pleases her husband).

(b) Vuayini bya wansati bya mpahla bya yi pawulukisa.
(The pressing of the woman of the clothes makes it loose its colour).

(c) Wanuna u tsakela vuayini bya wansati bya maburuku yakwe.
(The man likes the pressing of the woman of his trousers).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vuayini** (pressing) refers to the act of pressing clothes with an iron to make them smooth.

**Tola** (smear)

A. [Actor]: mutoli (smearer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutoli wa mafurha ya dawn wa nunhwela.
(The smearer of the dawn lotion has nice smelling).

(b) Mutoli wa vaselina u badhla nyuku.
(The smearer of Vaseline is sweating).

(c) Wanuna u vitana mutoli wa phondzo.
(The man calls for the smearer of the ponds).

Plural: class 2: vatoli (smearers)

The nominal **mutoli** (smearer) refers to an individual who spreads/applies an oily or soft substance over her body or part of her body. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of smearing lotion on one’s body. Once the act of smearing is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mutoli** (smearer). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Tola** (smear)

B. [Excessive act]: ritolo (smearing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ritolo ra mufana ra vaselina ri thyakisa tikholorho ta tihembe takwe.
(The excessive smearing of the young man of the Vaseline makes the collars of his shirts dirty).

(b) Ritolo ra wansati ra phondzo ri n’wi humesa swirhumbana.
(The excessive smearing of the woman of the ponds makes her develop pimples).

(c) Mudyondzisi u sola ritolo ra mufana ra Vaselina.
(The teacher disapproves the excessive smearing of the young man of Vaseline).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritolo** (excessive smearing) refers to the excessive act of spreading/applying an oily or soft substance over one’s body or part of one’s body.

**Tola** (smear)

C. [Actor]: xitoli (excessive smearer)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xitoli xa mafurha ya Camphor xa nunhwela.
(The excessive smearer of the Camphor lotion has nice smelling).

(b) Xitoli xa vaselina xi badhla nyuku.
(The excessive smearer of Vaseline is sweating).
(c) Wanuna u huwelela xitoli wa phondzo.
(The man is shouting at the smearer of the ponds).

Plural: class 8: switoli (excessive smearer)

The nominal **xitoli** (excessive/expert smearing person) refers to an individual who excessively smear lotion on himself, or one who has a skill or smearing lotion. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of smearing of the individual in question as such, but his excessiveness/skill of smearing lotion. This property of excessiveness/skill of smearing lotion is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of smearing lotion, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xitoli** (excessive/expert smearing person) because the property excessiveness/skill of smearing lotion of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Tola** (smear)

D. [Act]: vutoli (smearing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutoli bya mufana bya mafurha yo nunhwela byi n’wi rhandzisa hi tintombi.
(The smearing of the young man of the nice smelling lotion makes him to be loved by young women).

(b) Vutoli bya vaselina bya mufana byi thyakisa tikholoro ta tihembe.
(The smearing of the Vaseline of the young man makes the collars of the shirt dirty).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza vutoli bya nsati wa yena bya mafurha yo nunhwela.
(The man likes the smearing of his wife of the nice smelling lotion).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vutoli** (smearing) refers to the act of spreading/applying an oily or soft substance over one’s body or part of one’s body.

### 8.12. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM WEATHER VERBS

The definition of Weather verbs applicable in this Section is the same as the one given in Chapter 5, Section 5.10., which explores deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs. In this Section, however, focus will be on deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs.
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**Titimeta** (make cold)

A. [Causative actor]: mutitimet (one who makes someone cold)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mutitimet u khumba wansati.
          (The one who makes someone cold touches the woman).

          (b) Mutitimet wa wansati u teka tiayisi.
          (The one who makes the woman cold takes ice cubes).

          (c) Wansati u susumeta mutitimet.
          (The woman pushes away the one who makes her cold away).

Plural: class 2: vatitimet (those who makes others cold)

The nominal *mutitimet* (one who makes someone cold) refers to an individual who makes someone feel cold. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of making someone cold could be for a short while. In other words, once the individual in question stops making someone feel cold such a nominal may no longer apply to him.

**Titimeta** (make cold)

B. [Excessive act]: rititimeto (making excessively cold)

Class 5:  2. (a) Rititimeto ra xigwitsirisi ra swakuda ri tsakisa wanuna.
          (The making excessively cold of the refrigerator of the food pleases the man).

          (b) Rititimeto ra xilawulamahiselo ra kamara ri hlamarisa wansati.
          (The making excessively cold of the air conditioner of the room surprises the woman).

          (c) Wanuna u rhandza rititimeto ra xilawulamahiselo ra kamara yo wisela.
          (The man likes the making excessively cold/manner of the air conditioner of the sitting room).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal *rititimeto* (making excessively cold) refers to the act of making something excessively cold or the manner of being cold.
**Titimeta** (make cold)

C. [excessively causing actor]: xititimeti (person who makes someone/something cold)

**Class 7:** 4. (a) Xititimeti xa mutshwi xa rila.  
(The person who makes the burnt person cold is crying).

(b) Xititimeti xi humesa tiayisi exigwitsirisini.  
(The person who makes someone/something cold takes out the ice cubes from the refrigerator).

(c) Wansati u hlongola xititimeti xa muvaviseki endlwini.  
(The woman chases away the person who makes the hurt person cold from the house).

**Plural: class 8:** swititimeti (person who makes someone/something cold)

The nominal **xititimeti** (person who makes someone/something cold) refers to an individual who makes something to be cold. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of making something or someone cold by the individual in question, but his excessiveness of making something or someone cold. This property of excessiveness of making something or someone cold is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of making something or someone cold, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xititimeti** (person who makes someone/something cold) because the property excessiveness of making something or someone cold of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances.

**Titimeta** (make cold)

D. [Artifact]: xititimoto (refrigerator)

**Class 7:** 4. (a) Xititimoto xi onhakile.  
(The refrigerator is out of order).

(b) Xititimoto xi tele.  
(The refrigerator is full).

(c) Wansati u xava xititimoto.  
(The woman purchases the refrigerator).

**Plural: class 8:** swititimoto (refrigerators)

The nominal **xititimoto** (refrigerator) refers to an instrument that makes food cold in order to preserve it.
Titimeta (make cold)

E. [Act]: vutitimeti (making cold)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vutitimeti bya xigwitsirisi bya swakudya byi tsakisa wanuna.
(The making cold of the refrigerator of the food pleases the man).

(b) Vutitimeti bya xilawulamahiselo bya kamara byi hlamarisa wansati.
(The making cold of the air condition of the room surprises the woman).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza vutitimeti bya xilawumahiselo bya kamara yo wisela.
(The man likes the making cold of the air conditioner of the sitting room).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns

The nominal vutitimeti (coldness/manner of coldness) refers to the state of being cold or the manner of being cold.

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</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 1
Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i

mutitimeti (one who makes someone cold)
Class 5
Prefix:  ri-
Suffix:  -o
rititimeto (making excessively cold/manner of making cold)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -i
xititimeti (person who makes someone excessively cold)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -o
xititimo (refrigerator)
Weather verbs

(63) Nominalization from the verb – titimeta (make cold)

Xigwitsirisi xi titimeta mati.
(The refrigerator is making the water cold).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{-titimeta} \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{animate/inanimate} \\
& = \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
& = E_2 = e_2: \text{state} \\
& \quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
& \quad \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = (e_2, x, y) \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{titimeta}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Make cold – Weather - Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -titimeta (make cold) in (63) above displays two arguments in its argument structure; the first one is the animate or inanimate argument that makes something cold and the other argument is the physical object denoting the entity that is made cold. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of making cold and the resultant state of making cold. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event \(e_2\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state \(e_2\) of the process of making cold \(e_1\). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the animate/inanimate argument \((x)\). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of making cold of the animate/inanimate argument \((x)\).
Nominalisation in class 1: mutitimeti (one who make someone cold)

Mutitimeti wa wansati u suka emubedweni.
(The one who makes the woman cold moves out of the bed).

mutitimeti

ARGSTR
= ARG1=x: human
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.

EVSTR
= E₁ = e₁: process
= E₂ = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁

QUALIA
= FORMAL = (e₂, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -titimeta_actor (e₁, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Make someone cold – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mutitimeti (person who makes something cold) in (63) displays two arguments in its argument structure; the first one is the human argument that makes something or someone cold and the other argument is the physical object denoting the entity that is made cold. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of making cold and the resultant state of making cold. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e₂). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e₂) of the process of making cold (e₁). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x). The agentive quale represents the act (process) of making cold of the human argument (x).

Nominalisation in class 7: xitimeti (person who makes someone excessively cold)

Xitimeti xi humesa tiayisi exigwitsirisini.
(The person who makes someone excessively cold takes ice cubes from the refrigerator).

xititimeti

ARGSTR
= ARG1=x: human
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.

EVSTR
= E₁ = e₁: process
= E₂ = e₂: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e₁

QUALIA
= FORMAL = (e₂, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -titimeta_actor_excessive (e₁, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Make cold – Excessive – Actor - Human
The lexical semantic representation of *xititimeti* (person who excessively makes something/someone cold) (64) is similar to that of *mutitimeti* (person who make something or someone cold) in (63) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] in *xititimeti* (person who excessively makes something/someone cold) in (64), which is absent, in *mutitimeti* (person who make something or someone cold) in (63).

(66) **Nominalisation in class 5: rititimeto** (making excessively cold/manner of making cold)

Rititimeto ra xigwitsirisi ra nyama ri tsakisa wanuna.
(The excessive/manner of making cold of the refrigerator of the meat pleases the man).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{rititimeto} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
&= \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. Obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= D-E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= D-E_2 = e_1: \text{state} \\
&\quad \text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
&\quad \text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-titimeta}\_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Make cold – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of *rititimeto* (making excessively cold) in (65) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the animate/inanimate argument that makes something/someone cold, and the physical object denoting the entity that is being affected by the coldness. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the excessive act of making cold. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of making excessively cold and the resultant state of making excessively cold. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of making excessively cold (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the animate/inanimate argument (x) that makes something/someone cold. The agentive quale represents the excessive act (process) of making something/someone cold of the animate/inanimate (x).

(67) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutitimeti** (making cold)

Vutitimeti bya xigwitsirisi bya mati byi hlamarisa wanuna.
(The making/manner of making cold of the refrigerator suprises the man).
vutitimeti

ARGSTR = ARG1 = e: r
= D-ARG1 = x: human
EVSTR = D–E1 = e1: process
= D–E2 = e1: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e1
QUALIA = FORMAL = (er, x, y)
AGENTIVE = -titimeta_act (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Make cold – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vutitimeti (making something/someone cold) (66) is similar to that of rititimeto (making something or someone excessively cold) in (65) above. The only difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] in rititimeto (making something or someone excessively cold) in (65), which is absent, in vutitimeti (making something/someone cold) in (66).

(68) Nominalisation in class 7: xititimeto (refrigerator)
Xititimeto xa swakudya xi onhakile.
(The instrument which makes food cold is broken).

xititimeto

ARGSTR = ARG1= e: r
= D-ARG1 = x: inanimate
= D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D–E1 = e1: process
= D–E2 = e1: state
Restr = Temporally ordered
Head = e1
QUALIA = FORMAL = (er, x, y)
AGENTIVE= -titimeta_artifact/instrument (e1, x, y)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Make cold – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of xititimeto (instrument that makes cold) in (67) above displays three arguments in its argument structure, of which two are default arguments, namely the inanimate argument that makes something/someone cold, and the physical object denoting the entity that is being affected by the coldness. The other argument (ARG1) represents the reference to the excessive act of making cold. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of making excessively cold and the resultant state of making excessively cold. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the
resulting state ($e_2$) of the process of making excessively cold ($e_1$). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the inanimate argument ($x$) that makes something/someone cold. The agentive quale represents the artifact/instrument involved in the act (process) of making something/someone cold of the inanimate ($x$).

**Kufumeta** (make warm)

A. [Causative actor]: mukufumeti (one who warms something)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukufumeti wa xixevo u hlanganyeta ndzilo.
   (The warmer of the relish is pushing wood further to the fire).
   (b) Mukufumeti wa nyama u pambula qatha.
   (The warmer of the meat takes out a piece).
   (c) Wansati u nyika mukufumeti wa xixevo munyu.
   (The woman gives the warmer of the relish salt).

Plural: class 2: vakufumeti (those who warm things)

The nominal mukufumeti (one who makes someone warm) refers to an individual who makes someone feel warm. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the act of making someone warm could be for a short while. In other words, once the individual in question stops making someone feel warm such a nominal may no longer apply to him.

**Kufumeta** (make warm)

B. [Excessive act]: rikufumeto (making excessively warm)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikufumeto ra wanuna ra xixevo ri hlamarisa wansati.
   (The making excessively warm of the man of the relish surprises the woman).
   (b) Rikufumeto ra wanuna ra movha nimixo ri lehisa vutomi bya njhini.
   (The making excessively warm of the car in the morning prolongs the life of the engine).
   (c) Wanuna u khensa rikufumeto ra mufana ra movha nimixo.
   (The man appreciates the making excessively warm of the young man of the car in the morning).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikufumeto (making excessively warm/manner of coldness) refers to the act of making something excessively warm or the manner of being warm.

**Kufumeta** (make warm)

C. [Expert/Excessive causative actor]: xikufumeti (expert/excessively warming person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikufumeti xa nyama xi hlamba mavoko.
   (The expert/excessively warming person of the meat is washing his hands).
   (b) Xikufumeti xa n’wana xi hawula nkumba.
   (The expert/excessively warming person pulls down the blanket).
(c) Wanuna u xeweta xikufumeti xa nyama.
(The man greets the expertly/excessively warming person of the meat).

Plural: class 8: swikufumeti (expert/excessively warming people)

The nominal xikufumeti (expert/excessively warming person) refers to an individual who skillfully or excessively makes something or someone warm. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of making warm of the individual in question as such, but his excessiveness/skill of making something or someone warm. This property of excessiveness/skill of making warm is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of making something or someone warm or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikufumeti (expert/excessively warming person) because the property of excessiveness/skill of warming something or someone of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances.

Kufumeta (make warm)

D. [Artifact]: xikufumeto (warming object)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikufumeto xi timekile.
(The warming object has switched off).

(b) Xikufumeto xi kumeka eka OK.
(The warming object is obtainable from OK).

(c) Wanuna u pfulela xikufumeto.
(The man switches on the warming object).

Plural: class 8: swikufumeto (warming object)

The nominal xikufumeto (warming instrument) refers to an instrument that makes food warm in order to make it edible.

Kufumeta (make warm)

E. [Act]: vukufumeti (warming)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukufumeti bya wanuna bya xixevo byi tsakisa wansati.
(The warming of the man of the relish pleases the woman).

(b) Vukufumeti bya nyama byi dlaya switsongwatsongwana.
(The warming of the meat kills germs).

(c) N’wana u languta vukufumeti bya wanuna bya nyama.
(The child looks at the warming of the man of the meat).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal *vukufumeti* (warming/manner) refers to the act of making something, especially food, to be warm or the manner of being warm.
## SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

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The study found that deverbatives that are examined in this chapter include deverbatives derived from both agentive verbs as well as non-agentive verbs. The study demonstrated that the deverbatives that are derived from agentive verbs are many in contrast with the deverbatives that are derived from non-agentive verbs. To be specific, it was found that in this chapter, deverbatives derived from non-agentive verbs occur in the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs only. The interesting thing about noted about it is that not even in this verb class not all deverbatives that are there display the properties of non-agentivity. It was realized that there are some that are agentive just like those in other verb classes. It was also found that deverbatives in class 1 occur in all the verbs in various semantic verb classes. The work in this chapter demonstrated that the semantic feature of [Actor] is the most dominant feature in class deverbatives across all the various verb classes reflected in this chapter. The exception was however, noted with some of the deverbatives in the verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs which exhibit the semantic feature of [Experiencer] instead of [Actor]. It was noted that this occurs with the deverbatives that are derived from non-agentive verbs. It was established that the class prefix mu- and the suffix -i continues to serve as nominalisers in both agentive and non agentive deverbatives. It was observed however, that in some cases the allormorph n- serves as a prefix as in the case of the deverbative noyi (witch). It was further noted that the reference of the deverbatives in class 1 is always exclusively to humans.

The study found that generally, deverbatives in class 3 display the meaning of [Result] as the most dominant semantic feature. It was also established that another semantic feature which also occurs in most deverbatives is that of the [Artifact], although in some cases it occurs together with other semantic features. It was noted that the class prefix mu- and the suffix -o serve as nominalisers in this class. It was demonstrated that deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Removing are the following: nkukulo (broom) which is derived from the verb -kukula (sweep) which has the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument], nhluto (filtering) derived from the verb -hluta (filter), mpfukulo (exhuming) derived from the verb -pfukula (exhume), ntsuvulo (uprooting) which comes from the verb -tsuvula (uproot), and ntshovelo (harvest) which is derived from the verb -tshovela (harvest). It was found that the semantic feature of [Event/Act] occurs with the deverbatives nhluto (filtering), mpfukulo (exhuming), ntsuvulo (uprooting) and ntshovelo (harvest).

It was also found that nominalisation is in class 3 is not common with verbs in the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs in that only one deverbative occurs from the verb in this verb class, namely mpfumalo (lack) which is derived from the verb -pfumala (lack) and the semantic feature of [Sate] occur with it. It was demonstrated that two semantic features occur with deverbatives from verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Assessment, which are [Result] and [Event/Act]. It was noted that only one deverbative denoting [Result] may be derived from the verb in the semantic verb class of Assessment, namely mpimo (measurement) which is derived from the verb -pima (measure).
The study further found that the other two deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the same semantic verb class are **nhlahluvo** (criticism/analysis) derived from the verb **-hlahluva** (criticize/analyse) and **nxopaxopo** (analysis) derived from the verb **-xopaxopa** (analyse). Both these deverbatives denote [Event/Act].

The study established that within the semantic verb class of verbs of Providing, nominalization only occurs with three verbs. It was illustrated that such verbs are **-pfuna** (help) from which the deverbative **mpfuno** is derived, **-khathala** (care) which gives rise to the deverbative **nkathalo** (caring), and **-sirhelela** (protect/defend) from which the deverbative **nsirhelelo** comes. It was found that all the deverbatives derived from these verbs occur with the semantic feature of [Result/Act]. It was observed that even with the verbs from the semantic verb class the verbs of Searching nominalization does not occur regularly. It was further observed that there are only two deverbatives that are derived from this verb class, namely **nhloto** (hunting) derived from the verb **-hlota** (hunt), and **ndzavisiso** (investigate) which generated from the verb **-lavisisa** (investigate). It was noted that the semantic feature of [Result] occurs with these deverbatives. It was found that the only deverbative that occurs with the verb from the semantic verb class of verbs of Contact is that of **nantswo** (flavour/taste) and is derived from the verb **-nantswa** (lick). This nominal denotes [Result].

It was found that nominalisation in subclass 5 (a) (displaying the feature of excessive) is a regular phenomenon. It was noted that most of the verbs in various semantic verb classes which are examined in this chapter allow nominalisation of deverbal nominals. It was also found that the general semantic feature in this subclass is that of [Excessive Act]. It was not however, that other semantic features may also occur, although sporadically. It was established that the semantic feature of [Excessive Act] occurs with all the deverbatives derived from the verbs examined in this chapter in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Removing, verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion, verbs of Assessment, verbs Involving the Body, verbs of Providing, verbs of Searching, verbs of Contact, verbs of Concealment, verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, and Weather verbs. It was realized that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb **-dyondza** (learn) in the semantic verb class of verbs of verbs of Assessment disallow nominalization.

The study further found that the deverbatives derived from the verbs which are members of the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs exhibits the semantic features of [Act], [State], and [Act/State]. It was noted that the semantic feature of [Act] occurs with the following deverbatives: **rigandzelo** (excessive worshipping) derived from the verb **-gandzela** (worship), **rimonyo** (excessive scorning) derived from the verb **-monya** (scorn), **rikarhato** (excessive making of trouble), **rivondzoko** (excessive jealousy) derived from the verb **-vondzoka** (be jealous), and **riongo** (excessive luring) which is derived from the verb **-onga** (lure). It was stated that all of the verbs from which these deverbatives are derived are agentive in nature. It was observed that the deverbatives that
exhibit the semantic feature of [State] are ripfumalo (excessive lack) derived from the verb -pfumala, and rivengo (hatred) derived from the verb -venga (hate). It was further noted that both these deverbatives are derived from non-agentive verbs. It was found that the semantic feature of [Act/State] is realized with the deverbative ritsandzeko (excessive failing) which is derived from the verb -tsandzeka. It was demonstrated that the verb from which it is derived displays the properties of both agentive and non-agentive verbs.

The study established that derivation of nominals in subclass 5 (b) does not occur regularly. It was realized that most of the verbs in the various semantic verb classes do not allow nominalization. The study demonstrated that only four verbs of the verbs examined in the entire chapter allow nominalization to occur. It was found that of these four, two are from the semantic verb class of verbs of Removing, namely -hlela (winnow) from which the deverbal nominal ribhlelo (winnowing basket) is derived which has the suffix -o and -koka (pull out) from which the deverbative rikoka (fishing net) is formed, and occurs with the suffix -a. It was illustrated that both of the deverbatives derived from these verbs denote [Artifact/Instrument]. It was further noted that the other two verbs are from the verbs in the semantic verb class of Psych verbs, which are -gandzela (worship) from which the deverbative gandzelo (worshipping area) is derived, and it is assigned the semantic feature of [Place], and the same verb also gives rise to the deverbative gandzelo (sacrifice) with the meaning of [Result]. It was noted again that both deverbatives derived from these verbs occur with the suffix -o.

The study also found that derivation of deverbal nominals in subclass 7 (a) (referring to humans) occurs regularly throughout the semantic verb classes examined in this chapter. It was further found that the semantic features of [Expert] and/or [Excessive Actor] continue to dominate even in this chapter. It was noted that deverbatives derived from the following semantic verb classes: verbs of Removing, verbs of modes of being Involving Motion, verbs of Assessment, verbs of Providing, verbs of Contact, verbs of Concealment, and verbs of grooming and Bodily Care display the semantic feature of [Expert/Excessive Actor]. It was revealed that the deverbatives from the verbs in the semantic verb classes of verbs Involving the Body, and Weather verbs exhibit the semantic feature of [Excessive Actor]. It was observed that the deverbatives derived from the semantic verb class of verbs of Searching display the semantic feature of [Expert]. It was further found that deverbal nominals derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs may be split into two, namely those that occur with the semantic feature of [Excessive actor] and the other is the one that display the semantic feature of [Excessive experiencer]. It was demonstrated that all the deverbatives derived from agentive verbs such as xigandzeri (devout worshipper) derived from the verb -gandzela (worship), ximonyi (excessively scorning person) derived from the verb -monya (scorn), xikarhati (excessively trouble making person) derived from the verb -karhata (make trouble), and xiongi (excessively luring person) derived from the verb -onga (lure) in this verb class display the semantic feature of [Excessive Experiencer] while those derived from non-agentive verbs such as
*xipfumali* (excessively lacking person) derived from the verb *-pfumala* (lack), *xivengi* (excessively hating person) derived from the verb *-venga* (hate), *xivondzoki* (excessively jealousy person) which is derived from the verb *-vondzoka* (be jealous), and *xitsandzeki* (excessively failing person) derived from the verb *-tsandzeka* (fail) display the feature [Excessive Actor]. It was again noted that the verb *-loya* (bewitch) does not allow nominalization of deverbatives in this class.

An interesting observation found in this chapter is that derivation of nominals in the subclass 7 (b) (taking the suffix -o) occurs regularly in terms of the number of semantic verb classes in which it occurs. It was however, realized that such derivation only occurs in very limited number of verbs in each of the semantic verb class contained in this chapter. It was noted that with the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Removing derivation of deverbal nominals occur with the following verbs: *-hluta* (filter) from which the deverbative *xihluto* (filtering instrument), *-kukula* (sweep) from which the deverbative *xikukulo* (broom of tree branches), *-pfukula* (exhume) from which the deverbative *xipfukulo* (exhuming object) emanates, and *-tsuvula* (uproot) from which the deverbative *xitsuvulo* (uprooting tool) is formed. It was demonstrated that the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument] occurs with the deverbatives formed from these verbs. It was noted that only two deverbatives may be formed from the verbs examined in this chapter in the semantic verb class of Psych/Experiencer verbs which are *xipfumalo* (lack/need) which is derived from the verb *-pfumala* (lack), and *xikarhato* (troubling thing/problem) derived from the verb *-karhata* (make trouble). It was indicated that both of these deverbatives denote [Result]. It was further realized that there is only one deverbative that is derived from the verb in the semantic verb class of verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion, namely *xihakaso* (stirring object) derived from the verb *-hakasa* (stir). It was observed that this deverbative has the semantic feature of [Result].

It was established that in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Assessment and verbs Involving the Body, derivation occurs with two verbs only, one in each semantic verb class, namely *-kambela* (examine), a verb from the semantic verb class of verbs of Assessment, from which the deverbative *xikambelo* (examination) is formed, and *-hleka*, which is a member of verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs Involving the body, from which the deverbative *xihleko* (laughter) is derived. It was noted that both these derived nominals denote [Result]. It was also realized that two deverbatives, namely *xipfuno* (helping thing) and *xisirhelelo* (protecting thing) may be derived from the verbs *-pfuna* (help) and *-sirhelela* (protect) both of which are members of the semantic verb class of verbs of Providing. It was illustrated that the semantic feature of [Result] occurs with these two deverbatives. It was found that from the set of verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Concealment that are examined in this chapter, only three of such verbs allow nominalization of deverbal nominals, which are *-siva* (block/plug) from which the deverbative *xisivo* (stopper/blocking thing) is derived, *-phutsela* (cover) from which the deverbative *xiphutselo* emanates, and *-seletela* (fill the hole with soil) from which the deverbative *xiseletelo* (instrument for carrying soil into the
hole) is derived. It was noted that all of these deverbatives occur with the feature [Artifact/Instrument]. It was found that there is only one verb that allows nominalization from the rest of verbs in in the semantic verb class of verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care which are examined in this chapter, namely -ambala (wear/dress oneself) from which the deverbative xiambalo (clothing) is derived. It was observed that the semantic feature of [Artifact] occurs with this deverbative. It was established that derivation of deverbatives in the semantic verb class of Weather verbs occur with both verbs examined in this chapter, which are -titimeta (make cold) from which the deverbative xtitimeto (refrigerator) is formed, and -kufumeta (make warm) from which the deverbative xikufumeto (warming instrument) is derived. It was demonstrated that both these deverbatives denote [Artifact/Instrument].

It was demonstrated that derivation of deverbal nominals in class 9 occurs with the verbs that are members of the semantic verb classes of verbs of Searching and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care. It was found that there are four deverbatives that are derived from the verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Searching, two of which denote [Result] namely dyondzo (lesson/study) derived from the verb -dyondza (learn), nhlayo (number) derived from the verb -hlaya (read). It was illustrated that the other two deverbatives are borho (drill) derived from the verb -borha (drill), and sefo (sieve) derived from the verb -sefa (sift). It was noted that only one deverbative occur with the verb in the semantic verb class of verbs of grooming and Bodily Care, namely ayini (iron) which is derived from the verb -ayina (press clothes). It was observed that this deverbative is assigned the semantic feature of [Artifact/Instrument].

The chapter established that in class 14 nominalisation occurs in both subclasses, namely the subclass 14 (a) in which the deverbatives takes the suffix -i, and subclass 14 (b) that of deverbatives that take the suffix -o, although suffixes such as -u or -a may sometimes occur in subclass 14 (b). It was found that derivation of deverbal nominals in subclass 14 (a) (taking the suffix -i) occurs regularly with most of the verbs in various semantic verb classes that are examined in this chapter. It was also noted that the most dominant semantic feature in subclass 14 (a) is that of [Actor]. It was found that all the deverbatives derived from the verbs in the semantic verb classes of verbs of verbs of Removing, verbs of Modes of Being Involving Motion, verbs Involving the Body, verbs of Providing, verbs of Searching, verbs of Contact, verbs of Concealment, verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, and Weather verbs exhibit the semantic feature of [Act]. It was established that deverbatives derived from the verbs of the semantic verb class of Assessment may be classified into two categories according to the semantic feature each category display. It was demonstrated that deverbatives such as vuhlhaluvi (analysis) derived from the verb -hlahluva (analyse), vuringi (tasting/tempting) derived from the verb -ringa (taste/tempt), vuxopaxopi (criticizing) which emanates from the verb -xopaxopa (criticize), vuheri (editing) derived from the verb -hlela (edit), and vupimi (measuring) derived from the verb -pima (measure) feature of [Act] exhibit the semantic feature of [Act] whereas deverbatives such as
vukamberi (inspection) derived from the verb -kambela (inspect), and another similar vukamberi (examining) which is derived from the verb -kambela (examine) display the semantic feature of [Act/Event].

It was found that deverbatives that are derived from the range of verbs that are members of the semantic verbs class of Psych/Experiencer verbs exhibit different semantic features, depending on whether the verb from which they are derived are agentive or non-agentive in nature. It was illustrated that the deverbatives derived from agentive verbs usually display the semantic features of [Act] or [Result] or [Quality] although this occurs very rarely. On the other side, it was noted that the deverbatives that are formed from non-agentive verbs exhibit the semantic feature of [State]. It was realized that the following deverbatives exhibit the semantic feature of [Actor]: vugandzeri (worshipping) derived from the verb -gandzela (worship), vulgarhati (troublesomeness/troubling) which emanates from the verb -karhata (make trouble), and vuvondzoki (jealousy) derived from the verb -vondzoka (be jealous). It was noted that these deverbatives are all derived from agentive verbs.

It was also illustrated that the other deverbatives displaying other semantic features are vuloyi (bewitching/witchcraft) derived from the verb -loya (bewitch) which has the semantic feature of [Result/Act], vuongi (luring) derived from the verb -onga (lure) which exhibit the semantic feature of [Act/Quality], vutsandzeki (failure/failing) which emanates from the verb -tsandzeka (fail) which has the meaning of [Act/State], and vupfumari (lack), a non-agentive deverbative, derived from the verb -pfumala (lack) which denotes [State].

It was found that in subclass 14 (b) (deverbatives taking the suffix -o) derivation occurs in only one verb which is a member of the semantic verb class of verbs of Concealment, namely -tumbela (hide oneself) from which the deverbative vutumbelo is derived. It was also found that the semantic feature of [Place] occurs with this deverbative. It was demonstrated that this deverbative is formed through the affixation of the class prefix vu- and the suffix -o on to the verb stem.
CHAPTER NINE
DEVERBAL NOMINALS FROM DITRANSITIVE VERBS

Verbs of Change of Possession, Hold and Keep, Sending and Carrying, Communication, Removing, Providing, and verbs of Bodily Care

9.1. INTRODUCTION

The chapter aims to present an intensive investigation on the nature of deverbal nominals derived from ditransitive verbs. It is the main aim of this chapter to determine whether the semantic features of deverbal nominals derived from a range of verb classes of ditransitive verbs across noun classes are similar to the semantic features exhibited by the deverbal nominals of the intransitive verbs and monotransitive verbs within and across a range of verb classes in the preceding chapters. The main aim is to ascertain which of the semantic features occur regularly and which ones do not occur regularly with ditransitive verbs. The morphological structure of the noun which falls within the ambit of the X-bar theory which was employed with deverbal nominals from intransitive and monotransitive verbs is tendered in this chapter in order to determine if it may be applicable to deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs as well. In addition, the chapter employs Pustejovsky’s lexical semantic representation structure as proposed in the Generative Lexicon Theory (1996), which is the theoretical framework which informs this study. Just like in the previous chapters, Busa (1996)’ classification of nominals based on their semantic interpretation into two categories, namely stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals is taken into account to see whether the deverbal nominals in this chapter may be interpreted in the same way or in a different way. Section 9.2. deals with derivation of nominals from Verbs of Change of Possession, section 9.3. explores the deverbatives derived from Hold and Keep Verbs, section 9.4. investigates the derivation of nominals from Verbs of Sending and Carrying, section 9.5. focuses on deverbal nominals derived from Verbs of Communication, 9.6. examines deverbatives derived from Verbs of Removing, section 9.7. describes deverbatives derived from Verbs of Providing, and section 9.8. discusses the nominals derived from Verbs of Grooming Bodily Care. Section 3.6. provides the summary of the main findings and the conclusion of the chapter.

9.2. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF CHANGE OF POSSESSION

The definition of Change of Possession given in Chapter 6, Section 6.7. which discusses deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs still applies in this Section. However, the focus in this section will be on deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.
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**Lomba** (Borrow)

A. [Actor]: mulombi (borrower)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mulombi wa mali u sayina fomo.
(The borrower of the money is signing the form).

   (b) Mulombi wa jesi wa rhurhumela.
   (The borrower of the jersey is shivering).

   (c) Mulombisi wa mali u khomisile mulombi emaphoriseni.
   (The money lender got the money borrower arrested).

Plural: Class 2: valombi (borrowers)

The nominal mulombi (borrower) refers to an individual who takes and uses something belonging to someone else with the intention of returning it at a later time. This nominal may refer to any individual who is involved in the process of borrowing something to someone now, or the one who has already borrowed something from someone in the past but who has not yet returned it. The meaning of the nominal mulombi (borrower) will still hold as long as the individual who borrowed something has not yet returned the borrowed thing to the lender. What is being modified here is not the act of borrowing as such, but the process of the borrowing which includes the period from the day the act of borrowing was done and the day in which that which was borrowed was returned to the lender. In general borrowing is considered a short term event and as such this nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once the individual in question returns something that he has borrowed, such a nominal will no longer be applicable to him.

**Lomba** (Borrow)

B. [Excessive act]: rilombo (Excessive borrowing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rilombo ra mali eka vamachonisa ri siya vanhu va ri swisiwana.
(The excessive borrowing of the money makes people poor).

   (b) Rilombo ra wanuna ra mali ri delerisa muti wakwe hi vamachonisa.
   (The excessive borrowing of the man of the money makes his family to be undermined by money lenders).
The woman disapproves of the excessive borrowing of the money from the informal lender.

The nominal **rilombo** (excessive borrowing) refers to an excessive process of borrowing something belonging to someone else with the intention of returning it at a later time.

**Lomba** (Borrow)

**Class 7:** 3. (a) *Xilombi xa mali xi akele xigangu yindlu.*
   (The excessive borrower of the money built a house for a concubine).

   (b) *Xilombi xa mali xi siyile pasi na khadi ra le bangi eka machonisi.*
   (The excessive borrower of the money left the identity document and the bank card at the micro lender).

   (c) *Mulombisi u rhumela xilombi xitatimente xa xikweleti.*
   (The lender sends the statement of the account to the excessive borrower).

**Plural: Class 8: swilombi (excessive borrowers)**

The nominal **xilombi** (excessive borrower) refers to a person who regularly borrows something from someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the excessiveness of borrowing of the individual in question and not the act of or duration of borrowing as such. In other words, the excessiveness of borrowing will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of borrowing or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xilombi** (excessive borrower).

**Lomba** (Borrow)

**Class 14:** 4. (a) *Vulombi bya mali eka machonisi byi endla vanhu swisiwana.*
   (The borrowing of the money from the micro lenders makes people poor).

   (b) *Vulombi bya mali hi wanuna byi tsakisa wansati.*
   (The borrowing of the money by the man makes the woman happy).

   (c) *Wanuna u sola vulombi bya mali eka machonisi.*
   (The woman disapproves the borrowing of the money from the micro lender).

**Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.**
The nominal **vulombi** (borrowing) refers to a process of borrowing something belonging to someone else with the intention of returning it at a later time. But it may also refer to a word or phrase that has been taken from one language and used in another.

**Nyika** (Give)

A. **[Actor]**: **munyiki** (giver)

Class 1:  

1. (a) Munyiki u veka nyiko ehenhla ka tafula.  
   (The giver places the gives on top of the table).

   (b) Munyiki wa tibibele eka vanhu u huma eWhite river.  
   (The giver of bibles to the people comes from White river).

   (c) Mufambisi u nyika munyiki wa swisiwana nkarhi wo vulavula.  
   (The programme director gives the giver of the poor time to speak).

Plural: Class 2: **vanyiki** (givers)

The nominal **munyiki** (giver) refers to a person who voluntarily hands/provides something to someone to use and without expecting compensation. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not just the act of giving of the individual in question as such, but his personality of giving. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of giving or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **munyiki** (giver).

B. **[Excessive act]**: **rinyiko** (Excessive giving)

Class 5:  

2. (a) Rinyiko ra Khazamula ri n’wi tisela mikateko yo tala.  
   (The excessive giving of Khazamula brings him many blessings).

   (b) Rinyiko ra Sevengwana ri tiveka tiko hinkwaro.  
   (The excessive giving of Sevengwana is known throughout the village).

   (c) Wanuna u sola rinyiko ra nsati wakwe ra swisiwana.  
   (The man dislikes the excessive giving of his wife of the Needy people).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rinyiko** (excessive/generous giving) refers to the excessive/generous act/event of voluntarily handing/providing something to someone to use and without expecting compensation.

C. **[Excessive actor]**: **xinyiki** (excessive giver)

Class 7:  

3. (a) Xinyiki xa swisiwana xi akela mutsoniwa yindlu.  
   (The excessive giver of poor people builds a house for a disable person).
(b) Xinyiki xi nyika swisiwana mikumba ni swakudya.
(The excessive giver gives the poor people blankets and food).

(c) Vanhu va navelela xinyiki mikateko ya Xikwembo.
(People wish for the giver blessings from God).

Plural: Class 8: swinyiki (excessive givers)

The nominal xinyiki (excessive giver) refers to a person who regularly and excessively gives things to other, especially the needy. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the excessiveness of giving of the individual in question and not the act of giving as such. In other words, the excessiveness of giving will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of giving or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xinyiki (excessive giver).

Nyika (Give)

C.  [Result]: nyiko (gift)

Class 9: 4.  (a) Nyiko yi komba rirhandzu leri munyiki a nga na rona eka munyikiwa.
(The gift displays the love that the giver has to the recipient).

(b) Nyiko ya Nkateko yo huma eka vatswari vakwe yi hlamarise vanhu.
(Nkateko’s gift which comes from his parents surprised people).

(c) Nkateko u tsakela nyiko yo huma eka vatswari vakwe.
(Nkateko likes the gift which comes from his parents).

Plural: Class 10: tinyilo (gifts)

The nominal nyiko (gift) refers to something given voluntarily without payment in return.

Nyika (Give)

D.  [Act]: vunyiki (giving)

Class 14: 5.  (a) Vunyiki bya tindlu ta RDP eka vinyi va tona byi ta endliwa vhiki leritaka.
(The handing over of the RDP houses to their owners will be done next week).

(b) Vunyiki bya vutshunguri bya mahala eswibedhlele swa mani na mani byi sungurile.
(The giving of free treatment at the public hospital has started).

(c) Vanhu va hlalela vunyiki bya tindlu ta RDP hi meyara eka vinyi va tona.
(The people watch the handing over of the RDP houses by the mayor to their owners).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.
The nominal **vunyiki** (giving) refers to the act/event of voluntarily handing/providing something to someone to use and without expecting compensation.

**Hakela (Pay)**

A. [Actor]: muhakeri (payer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhakeri wa xikweleti xa tatana a nga tiveki. (The payer of my father’s account is not known).
(b) Muhakeri u langutisa xitatimente xa mati. (The payer looks at the water statement).
(c) Muxavisi u nyika muhakeri xilipi. (The sales person gives the slip to the payer).

Plural: Class 2: vahakeri (payers)

The nominal **muhakeri** (payer) refers to an individual who gives someone money for work, goods, or services rendered. But it may also refer to the person named in a bill or note who has to pay the holder. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of paying something now at the time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of paying which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. Once such an activity comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **muhakeri** (payer). However, when such a nominal refers to an individual who is paying monthly installments for something he bought such as a house and such a person pays every month, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the duty of paying which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of paying, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **muhakeri** (payer).

**Hakela (Pay)**

B. [Excessive act]: rihakelo (excessive paying)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rihakelo ra Khazamula ra swikwelati ri hlamarisa vaxavisi. (The excessive paying of Khazamula of the accounts surprises the sales people).
(b) Rihakelo ra Khazamula ra swikweleti ri ehlisa ntswalo eka swikweleti swakwe. (The excessive paying of Khazamula reduces the interests on his accounts).
(c) Muxavisi u tsakela rihakelo ra Khazamula ra swikweleti swakwe. (The sales person likes the excessive paying of Khazamula of his accounts).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rihakelo** (excessive payment) refers to the excessive act of paying or the excessive state of being paid. But it may also refer to excessive act of partial or complete discharge of an obligation by its settlement in the form of the transfer of funds, or assets.

**Hakela (Pay)**

C.  [Excessive Actor]: **xihakeri** (excessive payer)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xihakeri xi hlayela swikweleti swa xona  
(The excessive payer counts his accounts).

(b) Xihakeri xi engetela muholo wa vatrihi kambirhi hi lembe.  
(The excessive payer increases the pay of his workers twice a year).

(c) Vhengele ra ka Morkels ri nyika xihakeri xa lembe nyiko.  
(Morkels shop gives the best player of the year a gift).

Plural: Class 8: **swihakeri** (excessive payers)

The nominal **xihakeri** (excessive/regular payer) refers to a person who excessively or regularly pays for something, or in order to understand more about it. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the excessiveness of the individual in question in paying is a permanent property of such a person and it has formed into a habit. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of paying or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xihakeri** (excessive/regular payer). In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Hakela (Pay)**

D.  [Result]: **hakelo** (pay/reward)

Class 7: 3. (a) Hakelo ya mutirhi un’wana na un’wana yi ta cheriwa eka akhawunti ya le bangini.  
(The pay of each worker will be deposited into bank account).

(b) Hakelo ya mutirhi yi tekiwile hi nsati wakwe.  
(The pay of the worker has been collected by his wife).

(c) Vafana va yimele hakelo ya ntirho wa vona.  
(The young men are waiting for the pay of their service).

Plural: Class 10: **tihakelo** (pays/wages)

The nominal **hakelo** (pay/wage) refers to the money that someone gets for doing regular work.
Hakela (Pay)

E. [Act/State]: vuhakeri (payment)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuhakeri bya le hansi bya muthori byi balekisa vatirhi.
(The low payment of the employer makes the workers run away).
(b) Vuhakeri bya muthori bya vatirhi vakwe byi endliwa emahelweni ya nhwet.
(The payment of the employer of his employee is done at the end of the month).
(c) Yuniyoni yi sola vuhakeri bya le hansi bya vatirhi hi muthori.
(The Union disapproves the low payment of the workers by the employer).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuhakeri (payment) refers to the act of paying or the state of being paid. But it may also refer to partial or complete discharge of an obligation by its settlement in the form of the transfer of funds, or assets.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hakela</td>
<td>muhakeri</td>
<td>rihakelo</td>
<td>xihakeri</td>
<td>hakelo</td>
<td>vuhakeri</td>
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<td>xilombi</td>
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<td>xikoloti</td>
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<td>vukolotisi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 1

Prefix: mu-
Suffix: -i

Muhakeri (borrower/lender)
Class 5
Prefix: ri-
Suffix: -o

Rihakelo (excessive paying)

Class 7
Prefix: xi-
Suffix: -i

Xihakeri (excessive payer)

Class 9
Prefix: -
Suffix: -o

hakelo (payment/reward)
Verbs of Change of Possession

(1) Nominalization from the verb -hakela (pay)

(i) The verb -hakela (pay)
   Bangi yi hakela wanuna mali.  
   (The bank is paying the man the money).

\[-hakela\]

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person  
= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.  
= ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E_1 = e_1: process  
= E_2 = e_2: state  
Rest = Temporally ordered  
Head = e_1
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e_2, x, y, z)  
AGENTIVE = -hakela_act (e_1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Pay – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -hakela (pay) in (1) exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that is paying, the physical object denoting the entity that receives the payment and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of paying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of paying and the resultant state of paying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_2) of the process of paying (e_1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agent quale represents the act (process) of paying of the person (x).
(2) **Nominalisation in class 1: muhakeri** (payer)

Muhakeri wa grozari u humesa mali exipacini.
(The payer of the grocery takes out money from the purse).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>muhakeri</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person</td>
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<td>= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.</td>
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<td>= ARG3 = z: phys. obj.</td>
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<td>EVSTR = E1 = e1: process</td>
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<td>Restr = Temporally ordered</td>
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<td>Head = e1</td>
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<tr>
<td>QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y, z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENTIVE = –hakela_actor (e1, x, y, z)</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Pay – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **muhakeri** (payer) in (2) exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure namely, the human argument that is paying, the physical object denoting the entity that receives the payment and the physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of paying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of paying and the resultant state of paying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of paying (e1). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of paying of the person (x).

(3) **Nominalisation in class 7: xihakeri** (excessive payer)

Xihakeri xa layisense ya thelevhixini xi kumile sagwadi.
(The excessive/regular payer of the television license got an award).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>xihakeri</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: person</td>
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<td>= ARG2 = y: phys.obj.</td>
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<tr>
<td>= ARG3 = z: phys. obj.</td>
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<tr>
<td>EVSTR = E1 = e1: process</td>
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<td>= E2 = e2: state</td>
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<td>Restr = Temporally ordered</td>
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<tr>
<td>Head = e1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>QUALIA = FORMAL = (e2, x, y, z)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>AGENTIVE = –hakela_actor_excessive (e1, x, y, z)</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Pay – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xihakeri (excessive payer) in (3) corresponds to that of muhakeri (payer) in (2) above. The only distinction that obtains is that muhakeri (payer) in (2) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with xihaleri(excessive payer) in (3).

(4) Nominalisation in class 5: rihakelo (excessive paying)

Rihakelo ra wanuna ra xikweleti xa movha ebangi ri tsakisa mufambisi.
(The excessive paying of the man of the car installment pleases the mananger).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = e: r \\
&= \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&= \text{D-ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E}_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
&= \text{D-E}_2 = e_1: \text{state} \\
&\text{Restr} = \text{Temporally ordered} \\
&\text{Head} = e_1 \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y, z) \\
&\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{rihakelo\_act\_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Pay – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of rihakelo (excessive paying) in (4) above displays four arguments in its argument structure, of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of paying, the physical object that is receiving the payment and the physical object that is affected by the process of paying. The other argument is the reference to the act of paying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of paying and the resultant state of paying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e_{2}). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e_{2}) of the process of paying (e_{1}). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x), and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of paying of the person (x).

(5) Nominalisation in class 14: vuhakeri (paying)

Vuhakeri bya wanuna bya layisense ya thelevhixini byi hlamarisa vatirhikuloni.
(The paying of the man of the television license surprises his coworkers).
vuhakeri

ARGSTR
- ARG1 = e: r
- D-ARG1 = x: human
- D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
- D–ARG3 = z: phys. obj.

EVSTR
- D-E 1 = e1: process
- D–E2 = e1: state
  Restr = Temporally ordered
  Head = e1

QUALIA
- FORMAL = (er, x, y, z)
- AGENTIVE = -hakela_act (e1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Pay – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuhakeri (paying) in (5) corresponds to that of rihakelo (excessive paying) in (4) above. The only distinction that obtains is that vuhakeri (paying) in (5) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rihakelo (excessive paying) (4).

(6) Nominalisation in class 9: hakelo (pay/reward)

Hakelo ya xidyoho i rifu.
(The reward of sin is death).

hakelo

ARGSTR
- ARG1 = e: r
- D-ARG1 = x: human
- D–ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
- D–ARG3 = z: phys. obj.

EVSTR
- D-E 1 = e1: process
- D–E2 = e1: state
  Restr = Temporally ordered
  Head = e1

QUALIA
- FORMAL = (er, x, y, z)
- AGENTIVE = -hakela_result (e1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Pay – Result

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal hakelo (payment) in (6) above displays four arguments in its argument structure, of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of paying, the physical object that is receiving the payment and the physical object that is affected by the process of paying. The other argument is the reference to the act of paying. The event structure represents two default process events, namely the process of paying and the resultant state of paying. These events are temporally ordered and are headed by the state event (e2). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the resulting state (e2) of the process of
paying \( (e_1) \). The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument \( (x) \), and the agentive quale represents the resulting act (process) of paying of the person \( (x) \).

The suffix \(-i\) occurs with deverbatives in class 1 and 7 which both denote humans. The same suffix occurs with class 14 deverbatives, although the deverbatives in this class generally denote \([\text{Act}]\). The lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives in the subset of deverbatives derived from verbs of Change of Possession is similar to that of the deverbatives derived from the verb \(-hakela\) (pay). The difference is that the deverbatives derived from other verbs do not have a deverbative in class 9. Another distinction is that while all other deverbative in class 14 refers to \([\text{Act}]\), the deverbative from the verb \(-kolotisa\) (loaning) denote \([\text{Act/Event}]\).

**Kolota** (borrow money)

A. [Actor]: mukoloti (borrower)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukoloti u lombile mali yo tala.
   (The borrower has borrowed a lot of money).

   (b) Mukoloti u kolota dzana ra tirhandi ntsena.
   (The borrower borrows R200, 00only).

   (c) Mukolotisi u nyika mukoloti mali leyi a yi lombeke.
   (The lender gives the borrower the money that he has borrowed).

Plural: class 2: vakoloti (borrowers)

The nominal mukoloti (borrower) in refers to an individual who takes and use, with permission of the owner, something that belongs to someone else and return it at a later stage. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is the act of borrowing. Once such an act is completed such an individual may no longer be referred to as mukoloti (borrower).

**Kolota** (borrow money)

B. [Excessive act]: rikoloto (excessive borrowing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikoloto ra wansati ra mali eka machonisi ri n’wi siyile a nga ri na mali.
   (The excessive borrowing of a woman of money from the money lenders left her without money).

   (b) Rikoloto ra wanunu ra mali ebangini ri hetili muholo wa yena.
   (The excessive borrowing of a man of the money has finished his salary).

   (c) Wansati u sola rikoloto ra mali ra nuna wa yena eka vanachonisi.
   (The woman criticises the excessive borrowing of the money of his husband from money lenders).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.
The nominal **rikoloto** (excessive borrowing) refers to the act of excessive borrowing of money from someone or the bank.

**Kolota** (borrow money)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikoloti (The excessive borrower)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikoloti xi hetile mali leyi xi yi lombeke tolo.
(The excessive borrower finished the money which he borrowed yesterday).

(b) Xikoloti xi xavile yindlu hi mali yo lombiwa.
(The excessive borrower bought a house with borrowed money).

(c) Wanuna u vutlela xikoloti mali.
(The man snatches away the money from the excessive borrower).

Plural: class 8: swikoloti (excessive loaner)

The nominal **xikoloti** (excessive borrower) refers to an individual who excessively takes and uses, with permission of the owner, something that belongs to someone else and returns it at a later stage. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not necessarily the act of borrowing, but the excessiveness of borrowing of the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual concerned is in the act of borrowing of something or not at the time of reference, such an individual will always be referred to as **xikoloti** (excessive borrower).

**Kolota** (borrow money)

D. [Act]: vukoloti (borrowing)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukoloti bya mali eka vamachonisi byi chela vusiwana.
(The borrowing of money from money lenders causes poverty).

(b) Vukoloti bya mali eka vamachonisi byi endliwa hi lava holaka mali ya le hansi.
(The borrowing of money from money lenders is done by low earners).

(c) Vanhu vo tala va papalata vukoloti bya mali eka vamachonisi.
(Many people avoid the borrowing of money from money lenders).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukoloti** (borrowing) refers to the act of borrowing money from someone or the bank.

**Kolotisa** (lend)

A. [Actor]: mukolotisi (lender)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukolotisi u tekela vakoloti va mali makhadi ya bangi.
(The lender withholds the identity documents of money borrowers).

(b) Mukolotisi u kokela vakoloti mali yo tala.
(The lender draws a lot of money from the borrowers).
Plural: class 2: vakolotisi (lenders)

The nominal **mukolotisi** (lender) refers to an individual who gives something to someone or allows someone to use something that belongs to him which he will return later. This nominal is a stage-level nominal because the defining property is the act of lending. Once such an act has past such an individual may no longer be referred to as **mukolotisi** (lender). However, if the act of lending is something that is always done as a form of a job such nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal. In other words, whether the individual concerned will be engaged in the act of lending or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mukolotisi** (lender).

### Kolotisa (lend)

**B.** [Excessive act]: rikolotiso (excessive lending)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikolotiso ra wansati ra mali ri n’wi fumisile.
(The excessive lending of the woman of the money has made her rich).

(b) Rikolotiso ra wanunu ra mali ri n’wi duvurise hi swigevenga.
(The excessive lending of the man of the money made him to be shot by criminals).

(c) Wansati u sola rikolotiso ra nuna wa yena ra mali eka vanhu vambe.
(The woman disapproves the excessive lending of her husband of the money to strangers).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rikolotiso** (excessive lending) refers to the act of excessively giving something to someone or excessively allowing someone to use something that belongs to him which he will return later.

### Kolotisa (lend)

**C.** [Excessive actor]: xikolotisi (The excessive lender)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikolotisi xa mali xi xavile movha wo durha.
(The excessive money lender bought an expensive car).

(b) Xikolotisi xa mali a xi pasangi gredi 8.
(The excessive lender did not pass grade 4).

(c) Xigevenga xi duvula xikolotisi xa mali.
(The criminal guns down the excessive money lender).

Plural: class 8: swikolotisi (excessive lenders)
The nominal xikolotisi (excessive lender) refers to an individual who excessively gives something to someone or allows someone to use something that belongs to him which he will return later. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the defining property in this nominal is not the act of lending something itself, but the excessiveness of lending something. In other words, whether the individual concerned will be engaged in the act of lending or not at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikolotisi (excessive lender).

Kolotisa (lend)

D.  [Act/Event]: vulolotisi (lending)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vulolotisi bya wanuna bya mali byi n’wi duvurise hi swigevenga.
(The lending of the man of the money made him to be shot by criminals).

(b) Vulolotisi bya mali etikweni byi vanga mitirho yo tala.
(The lending of money in the country creates a lot of jobs).

(c) Wanuna u nyenya vulolotisi bya vamachonisi bya mali.
(The man dislikes the lending of money of money lenders).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vulolotisi (lending) refers to the act of giving something to someone or allowing someone to use something that belongs to him which he will return later. But it may also refer to the job of lending money to others.

9.3. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM HOLD AND KEEP VERBS

The definition of Hold and Keep Verbs which will be used in this section is the same as the one provided in Section 7.9. of Chapter seven which discusses deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs. This section will however, deal with deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Tsona</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>mutsoni</td>
<td>ritsono</td>
<td>xitsoni</td>
<td>vutsoni</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Tsona (Refuse to give)

A.  [Actor]: mutsoni (stingy person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mutsoni wa vayeni swakudya u tumbeta xinkwa ewadiropeni.
(The refusing person to give guests food is hiding the bread inside the wardrobe).

(b) Mutsoni u nyika vanhu swinyamana.
(The stingy person gives people little meat).

(c) Wanuna u susa mutsoni elayinini.
(The man removes the stingy person from the queue).

Plural: Class 2: vatsoni (refusers to give)
The nominal **mutsoni** (refusing person to give) refers to an individual who deliberately withholds or refuses to give something to someone what is due. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is not just the act of refusing to give of the individual in question as such, but his personality of refusing to give something. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of refusing to give something or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mutsoni** (refusing person to give).

**Tsona** (Refuse to give)

**B.** [Excessive act]: **ritsono** (excessive stinginess)

- Class 5: 2. (a) **Ritsono ra kokwana ra nyama ri hlamarisa vayeni.** (The excessive stinginess of my grandmother of the meat suprises the visitors).
- (b) **Ritsono ri chela vusiwana.** (The excessive stinginess brings poverty).
- (c) **Makhanana u tekele ritsono ra mana wakwe.** (Makhanana has inherited the excessive stinginess of her mother).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritsono** (excessive refusing to give/stinginess) refers to the excessive act of not willing to give something to someone. But it may also refer to the excessive reluctance to give or spend something to or someone.

**Tsona** (Refuse to give)

**C.** [Excessive actor]: **xitsoni** (excessive stingy person)

- Class 7: 3. (a) **Xitsoni xi tumbeta nyama ebegeni.** (The stingy person hides the meat inside the bag).
- (b) **Xitsoni xi xava nyama ya xona ntsena.** (The stingy person buys her the meat for her only).
- (c) **Wanuna u rhukana xitsoni xa nyama enkhubyeni.** (The man swears at the stingy person at the party).

Plural: Class 8: **switsoni** (excessive stingy people)

The nominal **xitsoni** (excessive stingy person) refers to a person who regularly and excessively refuses to give things to others, especially the needy. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the excessiveness of refusing to give of the individual in question and not the act of refusing to give as such. In other words, the excessiveness of refusing to give will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context
need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the activity of refusing to give or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xitsoni (excessive stingy person).

**Tsona** (Refuse to give)

D.  

Class 14: 4.  
(a) Vutsoni bya swakudya bya hahani byi tiveka muganga hinkwawo.  
(The refusing to give food of my aunt is known in the whole village).

(b) Vutsoni byi dlaya vuxaka exikarhi ka maxaka.  
(Stinginess destroys the relationship between relatives).

(c) Wanuna u lemuka vutsoni bya nsati wakwe bya vayeni swakudya.  
(The man notices the refusing to give guests food of her wife).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutsoni (refusing to give/stinginess) refers to the act of not willing to give something to someone. But it may also refer to the reluctance to give or spend.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tsona</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

Class 1
Prefix:   mu-
Suffix:   -i

mutsoni (stingy person)

```
          N
         /   |
        AF   N^R
       /     |
      V       AF
     /       /   |
    mu-     tspm-     -i
```
Class 5
Prefix:     ri-
Suffix:    -o
ritsono (excessive stinginess)

Class 7
Prefix:     xi-
Suffix:    -i
xitsoni (excessive stingy person)

Class 14
Prefix:     vu-
Suffix:    -i
vutsoni (refusing to give/stinginess)
Hold and Keep verbs

(7) **Nominalization from the verb – tsona** (refuse to give)

Wansati u tsona vayeni swakudya.
(The woman refuses to give visitors food).

\[-tsona\]

| ARGSTR   | ARG1=x: human |
| EVSTR    | E1=e1; process |
| QUALIA   | FORMAL = x |
| AGENTIVE | \(-tsona_{\text{act}}(e_1, x, y, z)\) |

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Refuse to give – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb \(-tsona\) (refuse to give) in (7) exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that refuses to give, the physical object that is refused to be given and the physical object that is affected by the act of refusing to give. The event structure represents the process event of refusing to give. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that refuses to give, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of refusing to give \((e_1)\) of the human argument \((x)\).

(8) **Nominalisation in class 1: mutsoni** (stingy person)

Mutsoni wa vana swakudya u balekile.
(The one who withheld food from the children ran away).

\[\text{mutsoni}\]

| ARGSTR   | ARG1=x: human |
| EVSTR    | E1=e1; process |
| QUALIA   | FORMAL = x |
| AGENTIVE | \(-tsona_{\text{actor}}(e_1, x, y, z)\) |

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Refuse to give – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **mutsoni** (stingy person) in (8) exemplifies three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that refuses to give, the physical object that is refused to be given and the physical object that is affected by the act of refusing to give. The event structure represents the process event of refusing to give. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that refuses to give, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of refusing to give \((e_1)\) of the human argument \((x)\).
(9) **Nominalisation in class 7: xitsoni** (excessive stingy person)

Xitsoni xa vana swakudya xi lemukiwile.
(The excessive withholder of food from the children has been noticed).

```plaintext
xitsoni
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
         = ARG2=x: phys.obj
         = ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
         AGENTIVE = \(-tsona\)\_actor\_excessive (e1, x, y, z)
```

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Refuse to give – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xitsoni (excessive stingy person) in (9) is similar to that of mutsoni (refusing to give person) in (8) above. The difference is found in the agentive quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in xitsoni (excessive stingy person) which is absent in mutsoni (refusing to give person).

(10) **Nominalisation in class 5: ritsono** (excessive stinginess)

Ritsono ra wansati ra vayeni swakudya ri hlamarisa vingi vakwe.
(The excessive withholding of the woman of the food from visitors suprises her parents-in-law).

```plaintext
ritsono
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
         D\_ARG1 = x: human
         D\_ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
         D\_ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: human
QUALIA = FORMAL = (e, x, y, z)
         AGENTIVE = \(-tsona\)\_act\_excessive (e1, x, y, z)
```

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Refuse to give – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative ritsono (excessive refusing to give) in (10) exhibits four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that refuses to give, the physical object that is refused to be given and the physical object that is affected by the act of refusing to give. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of refusing to give. The event structure represents the process of refusing to give. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who refuses
to give, and the agentive quale represents the process of refusing to give \( (e_1) \) of the human argument \( (x) \).

(11) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutsoni** (refusing to give/stinginess)

Vutsoni bya wansati bya vayeni swakudya byi nyenyetsa nuna wakwe.
(The withholding of the woman of the food from the visitors annoys her husband).

\[
\text{ARGSTR} = \begin{cases} 
  \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
  \text{D-ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
  \text{D-ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
  \text{D-ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.}
\end{cases} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D-E 1} = e_1: \text{human} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y, z) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = -tsona\_act\_excessive (e_1, x, y, z)
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Refuse to give – Act

The lexical semantic representation of **vutsoni** (refusing to give/stinginess) in (11) is similar to that of **ritsono** (excessive refusing to give) in (10) above. The difference is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature \[\text{excessive}\] in **ritsono** (excessive refusing to give) in (10) which is absent in **vutsoni** (refusing to give) in (11).

The verbs that belong to this semantic verb class are very limited in number, as a result only deverbatives derived from the verb -tsona (refuse to give) has been examined in the semantic verb class of verbs of Hold and Keep. The suffix -i occurs with deverbatives denoting humans, namely class 1 and class 7. This suffix also occurs with the deverbative in class 14. The lexical semantic representation is similar to that of the deverbatives derived from other semantic verb classes. The distinction that obtains is that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of some verbs in other semantic verb classes allow nominalization in classes 3, 9 and 14b in addition to the nominalizations that occur with the verb -tsona (refuse to give), something which does not occur with the verb -tsona (refuse to give). Furthermore, the semantic feature that always occurs with the deverbative from -tsona (refuse to give) in class 14 is that of [Act] while some of the deverbatives from verbs in other semantic verb class may display the semantic feature of [Act/Event].

**9.4. DEVERBATIVES FROM VERBS OF SENDING AND CARRYING**

The definition of Verbs of Sending and Carrying has been given in Chapter seven, Section 7.7. which explores deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs. In this section, the same definition is used. The only difference is that this section is concerned with deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.
Rhuma (Send)

A. [Actor]: murhumi (sender)

Class 1: 1. (a) Murhumi u yimele nhlamulo ya yena.
(The sender is waiting for his answer).
(b) Murhumi u nyika n’wana mali ya xinkwa.
(The sender gives the child the money for the bread).
(c) Khanyisa u tlherisela murhumi wa yena cinci.
(Khanyisa returns the change to her sender).

Plural: Class 2: varhumi (senders)

The nominal murhumi (sender) refers to an individual who makes/causes someone go to a particular place for something. This nominal may refer to any individual who sends someone somewhere now, or the one who has already sent someone to a particular place but who has not yet returned. The meaning of the nominal murhumi (sender) will still hold as long as the process of sending, which involves the going, or the arriving to a destination, or /and the returning of the individual who is being sent, is not yet complete. In other words, what is being modified here is not the act of sending as such, but the process of sending. In general sending is considered a short term process and as such this nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because once the individual in question returns goes, arrives, and returns from where he has been sent, the meaning of such a nominal will no longer be applicable to him.

Rhuma (Send)

B. [Excessive act]: rirhumo (excessive sending)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rirhumo ra Tsatsawana ra vana va vanhu ra antswa masiku lawa.
(The excessive sending of Tsatsawana of people’s children is tolerable these days).
(b) Rirhumo ra wansati ra vana vakwe ri tiva hi vanhu hinkwavo.
(The excessive sending of the woman of her children is known by everyone).
(c) Kokwana u venga rirhumo ra hahani ra vana.
(My grandmother hates the excessive sending of the children by my aunt).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rirhumo (excessive sending) refers to the excessive process of sending someone to a particular place for something.
Rhuma (Send)

C. [Excessive actor]: xirhumi (excessive sender)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xirhumi xi lerisa wanuna xinkwa exitolo.
(The excessive sender sends the man bread to the shop).
(b) Xirhumi xi lava munhu loyi xi nga ta n’wi lerisa xinkwa exitolo.
(The excessive sender is looking for someone whom he can send the bread to the shop).
(c) Wanuna u nyika xirhumi cinci yakwe.
(The man gives the sender his change).

Plural: Class 8: swirhumi (excessive senders)

The nominal xirhumi (excessive sender) refers to a person who regularly/excessively sends someone to a particular destination for something. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the excessiveness of sending of the individual in question and not the act or the process of sending as such. In other words, the excessiveness of sending will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the most part of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the process of sending someone or he may not be involved in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xirhami (excessive sender).

Rhuma (Send)

D. [Act]: vurhumi (sending)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vurhumi bya wanuna bya vana byi karhata mansati.
(The sending of the man of the children worries the woman).
(b) Vurhumi bya wanuna bya vana va vanhu byi n’wi vengisa hi vanhu.
(The sending of the man of other people’s children makes him hated by people).
(c) Vafana va venga vurhumi bya mukhalabye ekaya.
(The young men hate the excessive sending of the old man at home).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vurhumi (sending) refers to the act or process of sending someone to a particular place for something.

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<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<th>Class 7a</th>
<th>Class 14a</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rhuma</td>
<td>murhumi</td>
<td>rirhumo</td>
<td>xirhumi</td>
<td>vurhumi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Class 1
Prefix:  mu-
Suffix:  -i
Murhumi (sender)

Class 5
Prefix:  ri-
Suffix:  -o
Rirhumo (excessive sending)

Class 7
Prefix:  xi-
Suffix:  -i
Xirhumi (excessive sender)
Verbs of Sending and Carrying

(12) Nominalization from the verb -rhuma (send)

Wanuna u rhuma mufana xinkwa exitolo.
(The man is sending the young man bread at the shop).

-rhuma

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG 1=}x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E1=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE } -\text{rhuma } \text{ act } (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Send – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -rhuma (send) in (12) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that sends someone/something, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being sent and another physical object denoting the entity to which the act of sending is directed. The event structure represents the process event of sending. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that sends, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of sending ($e_1$) of the human argument($x$).

(13) Nominalisation in class 1: murhumi (sender)

Murhumi wa mufana exitolo u dyu swakudya.
(The sender of the young man to the shop eats food).
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *murhumi* (sender) in (13) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that sends someone/something, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being sent and another physical object denoting the entity to which the act of sending is directed. The event structure represents the process event of sending. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that sends, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of sending \( (e_1) \) of the human argument \( (x) \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{murhumi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E1=e_1; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{rhuma}_{\text{actor}} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Send – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative *murhumi* (sender) in (13) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that sends someone/something, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being sent and another physical object denoting the entity to which the act of sending is directed. The event structure represents the process event of sending. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that sends, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of sending \( (e_1) \) of the human argument \( (x) \).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xirhumi} & \\
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = E1=e_1; \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{rhuma}_{\text{actor_excessive}} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Sender – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of *xirhumi* (excessive sender) in (14) is similar to that of *murhumi* (sender) in (13) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature of [excessive] with *xirhami* (excessive sender) in (14) which is absent with *murhumi* (sender) in (13).
Nominalisation in class 5: rirhumo (excessive sending)

Rirhumo ra wanuna ra vafana ra mati enambyeni ri hlundzukisa vatswari va vona.
(The excessive sending of the man of the young men of the water to the river makes their parents angry).

\[
\text{rirhumo} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \epsilon: r \\
\text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{human} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y, z) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–rhuma\_act\_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{array}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Send – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative rirhumo (excessive sending) in (15) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that sends, the physical object denoting the entity that is being sent and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of giving. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of giving. The event structure represents the act (process) of giving. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who gives, and the agentive quale represents the process of giving (e_i) of the human argument (x).

Nominalisation in class 14: vurhumi (sending)

Vurhumi bya wanuna bya vafana bya xinkwa exitolo byi hlamarisa muxavisi.
(The sending of the man of the young men of the bread suprises the sales person).

\[
\text{vurhumi} \quad \begin{array}{c}
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \epsilon: r \\
\text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = \text{D–E1} = e_1: \text{human} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y, z) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{–rhuma\_act} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{array}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Send – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vurhumi (sending) in (16) is similar to that of rirhumo (Excessive sending) in(15) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the
feature of [Excessive] with *rirhomo* (excessive sending) in (15) which is absent with *vurhumi* (sending) in (16).

The ditransitive verbs that fall within the semantic verb class of the verbs of Sending and Carrying are very few. Only one such verb has been identified in this chapter. As in other deverbatives which are derived from other semantic verb class, the suffix -i occur with the deverbatives derived from this verb in classes 1 and 7 - classes denoting humans. Such a suffix also appears with class 14 deverative. The suffixes -o appears with class 5 deverative only. The reference of such a deverative is to inanimate entities. The lexica semantic representation of the deverbatives derived from the verb *-rhuma* (send) corresponds to that of the other ditransitive verbs in various semantic verb classes in this chapter. However, few exceptions do occur. Just like in the case of the lexical semantic representation of the verb *-tsona* (refuse to give), the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb *-huma* (send) disallow nominalization in classes 3, second subclass of class 5, second subclass of class 7, class 9, and second subclass of class 14 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of some of the verbs from other semantic verb classes which allow such a nominalisation. Another distinction is that the deverative derived from the verb *-rhuma* (send) display the semantic feature of [Act] only, in contrast with some verbs from the other semantic verb classes such as verbs of Change of Possession, verbs of Communication, and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care that exhibit the feature [Act/Event].

9.5. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF COMMUNICATION

The definition of Verbs of Communication given in Chapter five, Section 5.2. still applies in this section. The only deference is that section 5.2 deals with deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs whereas this section examines deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 7</th>
<th>Class 7</th>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
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Kombela (beg)

A.  [Actor]: Mukomberi (beggar)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukomberi wa le nyangweni ya ka Pep u khotuzuwile.

(The beggar at the entrance of Pep has been robbed).

(b) Mukomberi u kangetela xindhichana eka vahundzi.

(The beggar presents the container to the passerby).
(c) Wanuna vutlela mukomberi xindhichana xa yena.
(The man snatches the container from the beggar).

Plural: Class 2: vakomberi (beggars)

The nominal mukomberi (beggar) refers to an individual who asks someone for something in a polite way because he wants or needs it very much. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of begging something now at the time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of begging which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. Once such an activity comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as mukomberi (beggar). However, when such a nominal refers to an individual whose daily duty is to beg something from someone, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the duty of begging which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of begging, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as mukomberi (beggar).

Kombela (beg)

B. [Excessive act]: rikombelo (excessive beggary)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikombelo ra mali eswitarateni ri tlakukile emadorobeni.
(The excessive beggary of the money on the street has increased in town).

(b) Rikombelo ra wanuna ra ntirho ri n’wi vuyerisile.
(The excessive beggary of the man of the work rewarded him).

(c) Wanuna u sola rikombelo ra wansati ra munyu eka vamakhelwana.
(The man dislikes the excessive beggary of the woman of the salt from the neighbours).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikombelo (excessive begging) refers to the excessive act of formally and politely asking for something to be given or done, esp. as a favor or courtesy.

Kombela (beg)

C. [Excessive actor]: xikomberi (excessive beggar)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikomberi xa swihanano xi languta vahundzi.
(The excessive beggar of gifts looks at the passerby).

(b) Xikomberi xi hlayela mali lexi xi nyikiweke.
(The excessive beggar counts the money given to him).
The worker chases away the excessive beggar from the entrance of the shop.

Plural: Class 8: swikomberi (excessive beggars)

The nominal **xikomberi** (excessive beggar) refers to a person who regularly/excessively begs something from someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of begging as such, but the excessiveness of begging of the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness of begging will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be involved in the act of begging something from someone or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xikomberi** (excessive beggar).

**Kombela** (beg)

D. [Result]: xikombelo (request)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xikombelo xo engeteriwa muholo xi ta heleketiwa chofisini. (The request for wage increase will be submitted to the office).

(b) Xikombelo xa vatirhelamfumo xi bakanyeriwile ethelo. (The request of civil servants has been set aside).

(c) Vadyondzisi va endlile xikombelo xo engeteriwa muholo. (The teachers made a request for wage increment).

Plural: Class 8: swikombelo (requests)

The nominal **xikombelo** (request/application) refers to a thing that one formally asks for. But it may also refer to a way or method of applying for something such as employment.

**Kombela** (beg)

E. [Act/Event]: vukomberi (begging)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vukomberi bya vatsoniwa byi andzile eAfrika-Dzonga. (The begging of the disabled is rife in South Africa).

(b) Vukomberi bya mitirho ya xiphorisa byi pfala hi Ravunthlanu. (The applications for police jobs close on Friday).

(c) Muvhakachi u hlamala vukomberi bya vatsoniwa eAfrika-Dzonga. (The tourist is surprised at the begging of the disabled in South Africa).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vukomberi** (begging) refers to the act of formally and politely asking for something to be given or done, esp. as a favor or courtesy. But it may also refer to the event of begging.
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</table>

**Class 1**
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Mukombeli** (beggar)

```
N
 AF  |  N^R
   V  |  AF
 mu-  -komber-  -i
```

**Class 5**
Prefix: **ri-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Rikombelo** (beggary)

```
N
 AF  |  N^R
   V  |  AF
 ri-  -kombel-  -o
```
Class 7  
Prefix: xi-  
Suffix: -i  
**Xikomberi** (excessive beggar)

```
N
AF  N
    V  AF
xi-  komber-  -i
```

Class 7  
Prefix: xi-  
Suffix: -o  
**Xikombelo** (request/application)

```
N
AF  N
    V  AF
xi-  kombel-  -o
```

Class 14  
Prefix: vu-  
Suffix: -i  
**Vukomberi** (begging)

```
N
AF  N
    V  AF
vu-  komber-  -i
```
Verbs of Communication

(17) **Nominalization from the verb -kombela** (ask/beg)
Wanuna u kombela wansati mati.
(The man is asking the woman of the water).

-kombela
ARGSTR = ARG1=x: human
ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -kombela_ act (e1, x, y, z)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Ask/Beg – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb –kombela(ask/beg) in (17) illustrates that its argument structure contains three arguments, namely the human argument that asks/begs, the physical object that denotes the entity to which the act of asking/begging is directed and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act of asking. The event structure represents the process event of asking/begging. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that asks/begs, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of asking/begging (e1) of the human argument(x).

(18) **Nominalisation in class 1: mukomberi** (beggar)
Mukomberi wa mali u xava xinkwa.
(The beggar of the money is buying bread).

mukomberi
ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: human
ARG2 = y: phys.obj.
ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -kombela_ act (e1, x, y, z)

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Ask/Beg – Actor – human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative mukomberi (asking/begging person) in (18) demonstrates that its argument structure contains three arguments, namely the human argument that asks/begs, the physical object that denotes the entity to which the act of asking/begging is directed and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act of asking. The event structure
represents the process event of asking/begging. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that asks/begs, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of asking/begging \((e_1)\) of the human argument\((x)\).

(19) **Nominalisation in class 7: xikomberi** (excessively beggar)

Xikomberi xa mali evhengeleni xi biwile.
(The excessively beggar at the shop has been beaten).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{xikomberi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = E_1 = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-kombela}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{array}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Beg – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xikomberi** (excessively asking person/beggar) in (19) corresponds to that of **mukomberi** (asking person/beggar) in (18) above. The only difference that obtains is that **mukomberi** (asking person/beggar) in (18) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with **xikomberi** (excessively asking person/beggar) (19).

(20) **Nominalisation in class 5: rikombelo** (beggary)

Rikombelo ra wanuna ra mali ri nyenyetsa vana vakwe.
(The beggary of the man of the money annoys his children).

\[
\begin{array}{l}
\text{rikombelo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
\text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
\text{D–ARG2} = y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} = D-E_1 = e_1: \text{human} \\
\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = (e_1, x, y, z) \\
\text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-kombela}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{array}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Ask/Beg – Excessiveness – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **rikombelo** (excessive asking/begging) in (20) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that asks, the physical object denoting the entity to which the act of asking is directed, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of asking. The other
argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of asking. The event structure represents the act (process) of asking. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who asks, and the agentive quale represents the process of asking (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(21) **Nominalisation in class 14: vukomberi** (begging)

Vukomberi bya wanuna bya mali exitarateni byi sandzisa nsati wakwe.
(The begging of the man of the money at the shop makes his wife to be ridiculed)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vukomberi} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1}=e_1: \text{human} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e, x, y, z) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{kombela}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Ask/Beg – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vukomberi (asking/begging) in (21) corresponds to that of rikombelo (excessive asking/begging) in (20) above. The only difference that obtains is that vukomberi (asking/begging) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its agentive quale which occurs with rikombelo (excessive asking/begging).

(22) **Nominalisation in class 7: xikombelo** (request/application)

Xikombelo xa vatirhi xo engeteriwa muholo xi ariwile.
(The request of the workers of salary increment has been rejected)

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{xikombelo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1}=e_1: \text{human} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e, x, y, z) \\
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{xikombelo}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Beg – Result

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative xikombelo (request/application) in (22) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that asks, the physical object denoting the entity to which the act of asking is
directed, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of asking. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of asking. The event structure represents the act (process) of asking. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument(x) who asks, and the agentive quale represents the resulting act (e_i) of the human argument (x).

The suffix -i occurs with class 1 and class 7 deverbatives, which are the deverbatives refers to human beings. Deverbatives in the first subclass of class 14 also occur with the same suffix, although they make reference to inanimate entities. The suffix -o occurs with the deverbatives in classes 5, and 9 and it usually associated with inanimate entities. Otherwise, the lexical semantic representation of the other deverbatives derived from Communication verbs corresponds to that of the deverbatives derived from the verb -kombela (ask). However, few exceptions may be observed with deverbatives derived from other verbs. The first one is that only the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -vutisa (ask), just like that of the verb -kombela (ask) allows the occurrence of the deverbative in the second subclass of class 7. Another difference is that only the verb -hlamusela (explain) allows the deverbative in class 9 in contrast with all other verbs in this subset which do not permit nominalization in class 9. One more distinction pertains to the fact that while the semantic feature of [Act] occurs with class 14 deverbatives of all other verbs, the semantic meaning of the deverbative derived from the verb -kombela (ask) exhibit the semantic feature of [Act/Event].

**Vutisa (Ask)**

A [Actor]: muvutisi (asking person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muvutisi wo hetelela u vutise swivutiso swimbirhi.  
(The last asking person asked two questions).

(b) Muvutisi u vutisa ndlela yo ya eGiyani.  
(The asking person asks for the way to Giyani).

(c) Mufambisi u hlamula muvutisi xo sungula.  
(The programme director answers the asking person of the first question).

Plural: Class 2: vavutisi (asking people)

The nominal muvutisi (asking person) refers to an individual who puts a question to someone in order to get information, or the one who seeks an answer to something/someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it refers to an individual who is engaged in the act of asking something or someone at that very moment. The act of asking question is a temporary occurrence and once it is completed the individual in question may no longer be referred to as muvutisi (asking person). The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by such nominal.
Vutisa (Ask)

B. [Excessive act]: rivutiso (inquisitiveness)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rivutiso ra Tsatsawana etinhlengetanini ri ta n’wi vengisa hi vanhu.
(The inquisitiveness of Tsatsawana at meetings will make her hated by people).

(b) Rivutiso ri dlayise vanhu vo tala eJoni.
(Inquisitiveness got many people into the trouble).

(c) Malume u venga rivutiso ra Tsatsawana.
(My uncle hates the inquisitiveness of Tsatsawana).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rivutiso (excessive asking/inquisitiveness) refers to the excessive act of putting a too many questions to someone in order to get information, or the excessive act of seeking an answer to something/someone.

Vutisa (Ask)

C. [Excessive actor]: xivutisi (excessive asking person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivutisi xi vuyelela xivutiso xin’we.
(The excessive asking person repeats the same question).

(b) Xivutisi xi vutisa swivutiso swinharhu hi nkarhi wun’we.
(The excessive asking person asked three questions at the same time).

(c) Mufambisi wa ntirho u pimele xivutisi nhlayo ya swivutiso leswi xi nga swi vutisaka.
(The programme director has given a limit to the asking person on the number of questions he can ask).

Plural: Class 8: swivutisi (excessive asking people)

The nominal xivutisi (excessive asking person) refers to a person who regularly/excessively asks a question from someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of asking as such, but the excessiveness of asking of the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness of asking will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of asking a question from someone or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xivutisi (excessive asking person).
Vutisa (Ask)

D.  [Result]: xivutiso (question)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xivutiso xa wena xi lava nhlamulo yo leha.
(Your question needs a long answer).
(b) Xivutiso xo leha xi ta va emahetelelweni.
(The long question will be at the end).
(c) Vadyondzi va papalata xivutiso xo tika.
(The students avoid difficult question).

Plural: Class 8: swivutiso (questions)

The nominal xivutiso (question) refers to an expression of inquiry that invites or calls for a reply. But it may also refer to a sentence in an interrogative form, addressed to someone in order to get information in reply.

Vutisa (Ask)

E.  [Act/Manner]: vuvutisi (questioning/interrogating)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vuvutisi bya phorisa eka wanuna byi hlundzukise vanhu.
(The manner of interrogating of the police to the man angered people).
(b) Vuvutisi bya mafokisi bya mhaka leyi byi ta fika makumu mundzuku.
(The interrogation of the criminal investigation detectives will be concluded tomorrow).
(c) Vanhu va venga vuvutisi bya mafokisi.
(People hate the interrogation of criminal investigation detectives).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuvutisi (asking) refers to the act/manner of putting a question to someone in order to get information, or the act of seeking an answer to something/someone.

Hlamusela (Explain)

A.  [Actor]: muhlamuseri (explainer)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muhlamuseri wa mhaka leyi u cince miehleketo ya yena.
(The explaining person of this case has changed his mind today).
(b) Muhlamuseri loyi a hi tshembe yena eka mhaka leyi u lovile.
(The explaining person whom we trusted in this case has passed away).
(c) Huvo yi nyika muhlamuseri nkarhi wo vulavula.
(The court gives the explaining person the time to talk).

Plural: Class 2: vahlamuseli (explaining people)

The nominal muhlamuseri (explaining person) refers to an individual who tells someone something in a way that makes it easy to understand by describing or giving information about it. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of
explaining something to someone now at the time of reference. In other words, the defining property here is the act of explaining, which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. However, it should be noted that sometimes it may be possible for such a nominal to make reference to a past occurrence of the characterizing event.

**Hlamusela** (Explain)

**B. [Excessive act]: rihlamuselo (excessive explaining)**

Class: 5  
2. (a) Rihlamuselo bya leswi humeleleke byi ta lava nkarhi.  
(Excessive explaining what happened will need time).

(b) Rihlamuselo bya vanhu bya leswi Mandela a swi endleke byi kandziyisiwile hi va ka SABC.  
(Excessive explaining of the people of what Mandela did has been recorded by the SABC).

(c) Vanhu a va tsakeli rihlamuselo bya swilo leswi nga riki na vumbhoni.  
(The people do not like the excessive explaining things which do not have evidence).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **rihlamuselo** (excessive explaining) refers to the excessive act or excessive process of explaining, expounding, or interpreting; or the excessive act of clearing from obscurity and making intelligible.

**Hlamusela** (explain)

**C. [Result]: rihlamuseri (descriptive)**

Class: 5  
3. (a) Rihlamuseri wa mhaka leyi u cince miehleketo ya yena.  
(The explainer of this case has changed his mind today).

(b) Rihlamuseri loyi a hi tshembe yena eka mhaka leyi u lovile.  
(The explainer whom we trusted in this case has passed away).

(c) Huvo yi nyika rihlamuseri nkarhi wo vulavula.  
(The court gives the explainer the time to talk).

Plural: Class: 6: mahlamuseri (descriptive)

The nominal **rihlamuseri** (descriptive) refers to the part of speech

**Hlamusela** (Explain)

**D. [Excessive actor]: xihlamuseri (expert explaining person)**

Class: 7  
4. (a) Xihlamuseri xa timhaka leti hinkwato xi duke naro.  
(The excessive explaining person of all these cases has disappeared).
(b) Xihlamuseri xa vanhu xa vubih bya mukhanselara xi tisungile.
(The excessive explaining person of the people of the evil of the councilor has committed suicide).

(c) Vanhu va chava xihlamuseri xa mhaka leyi.
(People are afraid of the excessive explaining person of this issue).

Plural: Class 8: swihlamuseli (explaining people)

The nominal xihlamuseri (expert explaining person) refers to a person who has a skill of explaining, expounding, or interpreting something to someone very well. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of explaining something as such, but the skill of explaining something of the individual in question. In other words, the skill of explaining something will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of explaining something to someone or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xihlamuseri (expert explaining person).

Hlamusela (Explain)

E. [Result]: nhlamuselo (explanation)

Class 9: 5. (a) Nhlamuselo ya vavanuna ya timhaka leti humeleleke ya kanakanisa.
(The explanation of the men of the cases that happened is doubtful).

(b) Nhlamuselo leyi nyikiweke hi mukhegula loyi hi yona yo khorwisa.
(The explanation given by this old woman is the one which is convincing).

(c) Huvo yi kambisisa nhlamuselo leyi nyikiweke hi wansati.
(The court is examining the explanation given by the woman).

Plural: Class 10: tinhlamuselo (explanations)

The nominal nhlamuselo (explanation) refers to the meaning or interpretation. But it may also refer to a statement made to clarify something and make it understandable, or a reason given for something.

Hlamusela (Explain)

F. [Act]: vuhlamuseri (explaining)

Class: 6. (a) Vuhlamuseri bya leswi humeleleke byi ta lava nkarhi.
(Explaining what happened will need time).

(b) Vuhlamuseri bya vanhu bya leswi Mandela a swi endleke byi kandziyisiwile hi va ka SABC.
(Explaining of the people of what Mandela did has been recorded by the SABC).
(c) Vanhu a va tsakeli vuhlamuseri bya swilo leswi nga riki na vumbhoni.
(People do not like explaining things which do not have evidence).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal **vuhlamuseri** (explaining) refers to the act or process of explaining, expounding, or interpreting; or the act of clearing from obscurity and making intelligible.

**Byela** (tell)

[Actor]: Mubyeli (teller)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mubyeli wa vavanuna timhaka ta jaha u balekile.
(The telling person of the men of the cases of the young man has disappeared).

(b) Mubyeli wa wanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni u poxile.
(The telling person of the man of the issues of female initiation school has committed breach of etiquette).

(c) Vakhegula va poxisa mubyeli wa wanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni.
(The old women finds fault against the telling person of the man of the issues of female initiation school).

Plural: class 2: vabyeri (tellers)

The nominal **mubyeri** (telling person) refers to a person who communicates/expresses something to someone with words or in writing. But it may also refer to a person who narrates or relates stories or tales to other people, especially children. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of telling something to someone now at the time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of telling, which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. Once such an activity comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as **mubyeri** (telling person). However, when such a nominal refers to an individual whose daily hobby/duty is to narrate/relate stories to someone, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the hobby/duty of narrating/relating which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of narrating/relating, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **mubyeri** (telling person).

**Byela** (tell)

B. [Excessive act]: ribyelo (excessive telling)

Class 5: 2. (a) Ribyelo ra mufana timhaka ta vanhu ri n’wi bisile.
(The excessive telling of the young man of other people’s affairs made him beaten).
(b) Ribyelo ra wansati ra vavanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni ri n’wi poxisile. (The excessive telling of the woman of the men of issues of female initiation school made her to be found guilty).

(c) Vavasati va hlamala ribyelo ra wansati ra vavanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni. (The women are surprised at the excessive telling of the woman of the men the issues of female initiation school).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ribyelo** (excessive telling) refers to the excessive act of communicating/expressing something to someone with words or in writing. But it may also refer to the excessive act of narrating or relating stories or tales to other people, especially children.

**Byela** (tell)

C.  [Expert/Excessive actor]: xibyeli (expert/excessive telling person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xibyeli xa vavanuna xa timhaka ta le vukhombeni xi poxisiwile. (The expert/excessive telling person of the issues of the female initiation school has been found guilty).

(b) Xibyeli xa wansati timhaka ta vanhu xi biwile. (The expert/excessive telling person of the woman of the affairs of the people has been beaten).

(c) Vakhegula va poxisa xibyeli xa wanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni. (The old women find guilty the excessive telling person of the issues of female initiation school).

Plural: Class 8: swibyeri (expert/excessive telling people)

The nominal **xibyeri** (expert/excessive telling person) refers to a person who excessively tells someone something or one who has a skill of narrating/relating stories to others so very well. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of telling something to someone as such, but the excessiveness or the skill of telling something to someone of the individual in question. In other words, the excessiveness or the skill of telling someone something will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of telling someone something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xibyeri** (expert/excessive telling person).
**Byela (tell)**

D. [Act]: vubyeri (telling)

Class 14: 4. (a) Vubyeri bya mufana bya wansati timhaka ta vanhu byi hlundzukisa tata wakwe. (The telling of the young man of the woman the affairs of the people angers his father).

(b) Vubyeri bya wansati bya vavanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni byi n’wi pxisile. (The telling of the woman of the men of the issues of female initiation school has made her to be guilty).

(c) Vavasati va hlamala vubyeri bya wansati bya vavanuna timhaka ta le vukhombeni. (The women are surprised at the telling of the woman of the men the issues of female initiation school).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubyeri (telling) refers to the act of communicating/expressing something to someone with words or in writing. But it may also refer to the act of narrating or relating stories or tales to other people, especially children.

**9.6. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF REMOVING**

The same definition of Verbs of Removing which has been given in Section 8.2. of Chapter eight which examines deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs applies in this section. The only deference is that this section focuses on deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.

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<tr>
<th>Sula</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 5a</th>
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<tr>
<td>musuli</td>
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<td>xisulo</td>
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</table>

**Sula (wipe)**

A [Actor]: Musuri (wiper)

Class 1: 1. (a) Musuri wa mati exitupini u kama mop. (The wiping person of the water on the floor wring out the mop).

(b) Musuri wa movha u hlantswa lap. (The wiping of the car is washing the cloth).

(c) Malume u nyika musuri mop. (The uncle gives the wiping person the mop).

Plural:class 2: vasuri (wipers)

The nominal musuri (wiping person) refers to an individual who wipes the surface of something with a cloth or towel in order to clean or dry it. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of wiping something now at the time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a
stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of wiping something, which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. Once such an activity comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as musuri (wiping person). However, when such a nominal refers to an individual whose daily hobby/duty is wiping, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the hobby/duty of narrating/relating which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of wiping something, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as musuri (wiping person).

Sula (wipe)

B. [Excessive act]: risulo (excessive wiping)

Class 5: 2.  (a) Risulo ra Mamayila ra mabikiri ri teka nkarhi wo leha.
(The excessive wiping of Mamayila of the cups takes a long time).

(b) Risulo ra Tsatsawani ra xitupi ri tsakisa vingi vakwe.
(The excessive wiping of Tsatsawana of the floor pleases her parents-in-law).

(c) N’wana u hleka risulo ra kokwana ra tindhichi.
(The child is laughing at the excessive wiping of the grandmother of the plates).

The nominal risulo (excessive wiping) refers to the excessive act of cleaning something by using a cloth.

Sula (wipe)

C. [Expert actor]: xisuli (expert wiping person)

Class 7: 3.  (a) Xisuli xa xitupi xi khomile mop endlwini.
(The expert wiping person of the floor is holding the mob in the house).

(b) Xisuli xa mati endlwini xi karhele.
(The expert wiping person of the water in the house is tired).

(c) Kokwana u xavele xisuli xa xitupi mop.
(The grandmother has bought the mop for the expert wiping person).

The nominal xisuri (expert wiping person) refers to a person who has the skill of wiping. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of wiping something as such, but the skill of wiping something of the individual in question. In other words, the skill of wiping something will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question,
that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of wiping something or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as *xisuri* (expert wiping person).

**Sula** (wipe)

D.  [Artifact/Instrument/Result]:  xisulo (wiping cloth)

Class 7:  (a) Xisulo xa n’wana xa marhimila xi thyakile.  
(The wiping cloth for the child of the mucus is dirty).

(b) Xisulo xa wansati xa nyuku xi lahlekile.  
(The expert wiping cloth of the sweat of the woman is lost).

(c) Wansati u hlantswa xisulo xa n’wana xa marhimila.  
(The woman is washing the wiping cloth of the child for the mucus).

Plural: Class 8: swisulo (wiping cloths)

The nominal *xisulo* (wiping cloth) denotes a cloth meant or used for wiping things such as sweat, dust, etc. this deverbative is a general name for different types of cloths that are used for such purposes, each with its own name different from the other, such as yellow dust.

**Sula** (wipe)

E.  [Act]:  vusuli (wiping)

Class 14:  (a) Vusuli bya Magezi bya mati endlwini byi teka nkarhi wo leha.  
(The wiping of Magezi of the water in the house takes a long time).

(b) Vusuli bya mufana bya movha byi n’wi karhalisile.  
(The wiping of the young man of the car has made him tired).

(c) N’wana u languta vusuli bya kokwana bya ritshuri etafuleni.  
(The child looks at the wiping of the grandmother of the dust on the table).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal *vusuli* (wiping) refers to the act of cleaning something by using a cloth.
Class 1
Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textit{Musuli} (wiper)

Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}
\textit{Risulo} (excessive wiping)

Class 7
Prefix: \textit{xi-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}
\textit{Xisuli} (expert wiping person)
Class 14
Prefix:  vu-
Suffix:  -i

Vusuli (wipping)

Verbs of Removing

(23) Nominalization from the verb -sula (wipe)

(ii) The verb –sula (wipe)
Wansati u sula xitulu.
(The woman is wiping the chair).

\[
\begin{aligned}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1} = e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{sula}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{aligned}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wipe – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb –sula (wipe) in (23) illustrates that its argument structure contains three arguments, namely the human argument that wipes, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being wiped, and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act (process) of wiping. The event structure represents the process event of wiping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that wipes, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of wiping (e_1) of the human argument(x).

(24) Nominalisation in class 1: musuli (wiping person)
Musuli wa xitulu u tsakamisa lapi.
(The wiper of the chair is damping the cloth).
Hierarchical representation: musuli

Evidence structure (EVSTR) = E1:e; process

Qualia structure (QUALIA) = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -sula_actor (e1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wiper – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative musuli (wiping person) in (24) demonstrates that its argument structure contains three arguments, namely the human argument that wipes, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being wiped, and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act (process) of wiping. The event structure represents the process event of wiping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that wipes, whereas the agentive quale represents the (act) process of wiping (e1) of the human argument (x).

(25) Nominalisation in class 7: xisuli (expert wiping person)

Xisuli xa switulu ekerekeni xi fikile.
(The expert wiping person of the chairs at the church has arrived).

Hierarchical representation: xisuli

Evidence structure (EVSTR) = E1:e; process

Qualia structure (QUALIA) = FORMAL = x
AGENTIVE = -sula_actor_expert/excessive (e1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wipe – Excessive/Expert – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of xisuli (expert wiping person) in (25) is similar to that of musuli (wiping person) in (24) above. The only difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in xisuli (expert wiping person) in (25) which is absent in musuli (wiping person) in (24).

(26) Nominalisation in class 5: risulo (excessive wiping)
Risulo ra wansati ra switulu ri tsakisa mufundhisi.
(The habitual excessive wiping of the woman of the chairs pleases the pastor).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{risulo} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&= \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D–ARG2=y: phys. obj.} \\
&= \text{D–ARG3 = z: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1 =e: process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y, z) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-sula\_act\_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wipe – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative \textbf{risulo} (excessive wiping) in (26) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument that wipes, the physical object denoting the entity that is being wiped, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of wiping. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of wiping. The event structure represents the act (process) of wiping. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) who wipes, and the agentive quale represents the process of wiping (e_1) of the human argument (x).

\begin{align*}
\text{(27) Nominalisation in class 14: vusuli (wiping)} \\
\text{Vusuli bya wansati bya switulu byi tsakisa mufundhisi.} \\
\text{(The wiping of the woman of the chairs pleases the pastor).}
\end{align*}

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{vusuli} \\
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{RG1 = x: e: r} \\
&= \text{D–ARG1=x: human} \\
&= \text{D–ARG2=y: phys. obj.} \\
&= \text{D–ARG3 = z: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1 =e: human} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL} = (e, x, y, z) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE} = \text{-sula\_act} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Wipe – Act

The lexical semantic representation of \textbf{vusuli} (wiping) in (27) is similar to that of \textbf{risulo}(excessive wiping) in (26) above. The only difference is found in the formal quale which specifies the feature [excessive] in \textbf{risulo} (excessive wiping) in (26) which is absent in \textbf{vusuli}(wiping) in (27).

There is very limited number of ditransitive verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of Removing, hence only one verb in this verb class is examined in this chapter. The suffix -i occurs with the
deverbatives which refers to humans in classes 1, 7. This suffix occurs also with the deverbative in class 14 which refers to inanimate entities. The suffix -o on the other hand, appears with the deverbative in class 5 which denote [Act]. The lexical semantic representation is similar to that of the other deverbatives derived from the semantic verb classes of verbs of Hold and Keep, and verbs of sending and Carrying. Although the deverbatives derived from the verb -sula (wipe) also display similar properties with the verbs in the semantic verb classes of Change of Possession, verbs of Communication, verbs of Providing, and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, there are some differences here and there which occur. For example, the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -sula (wipe) does not allow nominalization in classes 3, second subclass of class 7, class 9 in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of some verbs in other semantic verb classes that permits such a nominalization. Even with respect to the semantic meanings displayed by class 14 deverbatives, some distinction may be observed. While the deverbative derived from the verb -sula (wipe) exhibit the semantic feature of [Act] only, some of the deverbatives form other semantic verb classes display the semantic feature of [Act/Event].

9.7. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF PROVIDING

The definition of Verbs of Providing has been provided in Section 8.6. of Chapter eight which deals with deverbatives derived from monotransitive verbs. The same definition applies in this section; however, the focus in this section is on deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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<th>Class 3</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Phamela</td>
<td>muphameri</td>
<td>mphamelo</td>
<td>riphamelo</td>
<td>xiphameri</td>
<td>xiphamelo</td>
<td>vuphameri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Phamela (Feed)

A. [Actor]: muphameri (feeder)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muphameri wa vana va xikolo u lulamisa tindyelo. (The feeder of school children prepares the plates).

(b) Muphameri u phamela nyama yo tala. (The feeder dishes out plenty of meat).

(c) Vafana va rhukana muphameri wa nyama. (The young men insult the dishing person of meat).

Plural: Class 2: vaphameri (feeders)

The nominal muphameri (feeding person) refers to an individual who gives or supplies food or feeds to people or animals or birds. This nominal may be regarded as both a stage-level and an individual-level nominal, depending on the context thereof. When it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of supplying food to something or someone now at the time of reference, such a nominal will be regarded as a stage-level nominal because the defining property here will be the act of supplying...
food to something or someone, which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal. Once such an activity comes to an end, the individual in question may no longer be referred to as muphameri (feeding person). However, when such a nominal refers to an individual whose daily duty is feeding, just like the one feeding children at school, such a nominal will have a reading of individual-level nominal because what is being modified here is the duty of feeding which will be permanently associated with the individual in question. In other words, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the activity of feeding something or someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as muphameri (feeding person).

Phamela (Feed)

B. [Result/Act]: mphamelo (feeding)

Class 3: 2. (a) Mphamelo wu endliwa eswikolweni swa le hansi.
(Feeding is done in primary schools).
(b) Mphamelo wu pfuna ngopfu eka vana lava humaka emidayangwini ya vusweti.
(Feeding is helpful on children who come from poor families).
(c) Vatswari va sola mphamelo lowu endliwaka eswikolweni.
(Parents disapprove the feeding which is done at schools).

Plural: Class 4: miphamelo (feedings)

The nominal mphamelo (feeding) refers to that which is eaten, or food for animals. But it may also refer to the act of feeding.

Phamela (Feed)

C. [Excessive act]: riphamelo (excessive feeding)

Class 5: 3. (a) Riphamelo ra Tasatsawana ra swakudyra ri n’wi vengisa hi maxaka.
(The excessive feeding of the food of Tsatsawana makes her hated by relatives).
(b) Riphamelo ra Tsatsawana ra nyama ri n’wi thyise na vito.
(The excessive feeding of Tsatsawana of the meat gave her a nick name).
(c) Vanhu va nyenya riphamelo ra Tsatsawana ra nyama.
(The people hate the excessive feeding of Tsatsawana of the meat).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riphamelo (excessive feeding) refers to the excessive act or the process of eating, or of supplying someone with food.

Phamela (Feed)

D. [Excessive actor]: xiphameri (excessive/expert feeder)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xiphameri xi pfula poto ra nyama.
(The excessive/expert feeder opens the pot of meat).
(b) Xiphameri xi lulamisa swo phamela eka swona. 
(The excessive/expert feeder prepares plates).

(c) Manana u komba xiphameri poto ra nyama. 
(My mother shows the excessive/expert feeder of meat the pot of meat).

Plural: Class 8: swiphameri (excessive/expert feeding people)

The nominal **xiphameri** (expert feeding person) refers to a person who has the skill of feeding something or someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of feeding something or someone as such, but the skill of feeding something or someone of the individual in question. In other words, the skill of feeding something or someone will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of feeding something or someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xiphameri** (expert feeding person).

**Phamela** (Feed)

E.  
[Artifact/Instrument]: xiphamelo (plate)

Class 7: 2. (a) Xiphamelo xa swakudya swa tatana xi fayekile. 
(The plate of my father is broken).

(b) Xiphamelo xa vumba a xi tiyangi. 
(The clay plate is fragile).

(c) Tatana u xava xiphamelo xakwe exitolo. 
(My father buys his plate at the shop).

Plural: Class 8: swiphamelo (plates)

The nominal **xiphamelo** (plate) refers to a shallow, usually circular, often of earthenware or porcelain, from which food is eaten/placed.

**Phamela** (Feed)

D.  
[Act/Event]: vuphameri (feeding)

Class 7: 2. (a) Vuphameri bya vana va xikolo byi sungula hi 10h00. 
(The feeding of children starts at 10h00).

(b) Vuphameri bya Khamphani ya Fedics byi tsakela hi vanhu vo tala. 
(The catering of Fedics Company is liked by many people).

(c) Vanhu va bumabumela vuphameri bya khamphani ya Fedics. 
(The people recommend the catering of the Fedics Company).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.
The nominal *vuphameri* (feeding) refers to the act/event or the process of eating, or of supplying someone with food.

<table>
<thead>
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<td>xiphamelo</td>
<td>vuphameri</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Class 1
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-i**

**Muphameri** (feeder)

```
               N
              /   \
             AF   NR
            /     \
           V       AF
          /   \     |
         mu- pamer- -i
```

Class 3
Prefix: **mu-**
Suffix: **-o**

**Mphamelo** (feeding)

```
               N
              /   \
             AF   NR
            /     \
           V       AF
          /   \     |
         m- phamel- -o
```
Class 5
Prefix:   ri-
Suffix:   -o
Riphamelo (excessive feeding)

Class 7
Prefix:   xi-
Suffix:   -i
Xiphameri (excessive feeder)

Class 7
Prefix:   xi-
Suffix:   -o
Xiphamelo (plate)
Verbs of Providing

(28) **Nominalization from the verb -phamela** (feed)

Wansati u phamela vana swakudya.
(The woman is dishing out food to children).

\[
\begin{aligned}
&\text{ARGSTR} = \text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&\text{ARG2} = y: \text{phys.obj.} \\
&\text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&\text{EVSTR} = E1=e_1: \text{process} \\
&\text{QUALIA} = \text{FORMAL} = x \\
&\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{phamela}_\text{act} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{aligned}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Feed – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb -phamela (feed) in (28) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of feeding, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being fed, and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act (process) of feeding. The event structure represents the process event of feeding. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that is feeding, and the agentive quale represents the (act) process of feeding (e_1) of the human argument(x).

(29) **Nominalisation in class 1: muphameri** (feeder)

Muphameri wa nguluve u yisa swakudya ehokweni.
(The feeder of the pig is taking food to the pen).
The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal muphameri (feeding person) in (29) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that is engaged in the act of feeding, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being fed, and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act (process) of feeding. The event structure represents the process event of feeding. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that is feeding, and the agentive quale represents the (act) process of feeding ($e_1$) of the human argument ($x$).

(30)Nominalisation in class 7: xiphameri (excessive/expert feeder)

Xiphameri xa nyama yo tala emitlangwini xi lovile.
(The excessive/expert feeder of more meat at the functions is dead).

The lexical semantic representation of xiphameri (excessive/expert feeding person) in (30) is similar to that of muphameri (feeding person) in (29) above. The only distinction is that muphameri (feeding person) in (29) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its argument structure which occurs with xiphameri (excessive/expert feeding person) in (30).

(31)Nominalisation in class 5: riphamelo (excessive feeding)

Riphamelo ra wansati ra vana vakwe ra swakudya swo tala emikosini ri karhata vaakatiko.
(The excessive feeding of the woman of her children of more food at the funerals worries the residents).
riphamelo

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
  D-ARG1 = x: human
  D-ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
  D-ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y, z)
  AGENTIVE = phamela_act_excessive (e1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Feed – Excessive – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal riphamelo (excessive feeding) in (31) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that feeds, the physical object denoting the entity that is being fed, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of feeding. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of feeding. The event structure represents the act (process) of feeding. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) who feeds, and the agentive quale represents the process of feeding (e1) of the human argument (x).

(32) Nominalisation in class 14: vuphameri (feeding)

Vuphameri bya wansati bya nyama enkosini byi tsakisa vakhegula.
(The dishing out of the meat at the funerals pleases the old women).

risulo

ARGSTR = ARG1 = x: e: r
  D-ARG1 = x: human
  D-ARG2 = y: phys. obj.
  D-ARG3 = z: phys. obj.
EVSTR = D-E1 = e1: process
QUALIA = FORMAL=(e1, x, y, z)
  AGENTIVE = sula_act_excessive (e1, x, y, z)

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Feed – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vuphameri (feeding) in (32) is similar to that of riphamelo (excessive feeding) in (31) above. The only distinction is that vuphameri (feeding) in (32) lacks the feature of [excessive] in its argument structure which occurs with riphamelo (excessive feeding) in (31).
Nominalisation in class 3: mphamelo (feeding)

Mphamelo wa mfumo wa vana eswikolweni wu tsakisa vaakatiko.  
(The feeding of the government of the children at the schools pleases the residents).

mphamelo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&D-\text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&D-\text{ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&D-\text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1 }=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y, z) \\
&\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{mphamela}_\text{Act/event/result} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Feed – Result

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal mphamelo (feeding) in (33) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that feeds, the physical object denoting the entity that is being fed, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of feeding. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of feeding. The event structure represents the act (process) of feeding. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument (x) who feeds, and the agentive quale represents the act/event/result of feeding (e1) of the human argument (x).

Nominalisation in class 7: xiphamelo (plate)

Xiphamelo xa vuswa xi fayekile.  
(The plate of the porridge is broken).

xiphamelo

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1} = x: e: r \\
&D-\text{ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&D-\text{ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&D-\text{ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1 }=e_1: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e_1, x, y, z) \\
&\text{AGENTIVE} = -\text{xiphamela}_\text{artifact/instrument} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

Hierarchy of semantic concepts: Plate – Excessive – Artifact/Instrument

The lexical semantic representation of xiphamelo (plate) in (34) is similar to that of mphamelo (feeding) in (33) above. The distinction relates to the agentive quale which represents the feature
[act/event/result] in mphamelo (feeding) whereas in xiphamelo (plate) it represents the feature [artifact/instrument].

Another distinction is found with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -kama (comb) which permits a nominalization in class 7 with the suffix -u with the meaning of artifact/instrument in contrast with the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -ambala (wear), -hlamba (bath), -hlantswa (wash cloth), -ayina (press cloth) and -tola (smear) which does not allow such a nominalization.

The ditransitive verbs in the semantic verb class of verbs of removing are scarce in Xitsonga, hence only one such verbs is treated in this chapter. The suffix -o appears with the deverbatives 1 and 7 which refer to humans. However, such a suffix also appears with class 14 deverbative which refers to [Act]. The suffix -o, on the other side appears with deverbatives in classes 1, 3, and both subclasses of class 7. The lexical semantic representation corresponds to that of deverbatives derived from verbs of Communication. However, some differences do exist. For example the verb -hlamusela (explain) in the semantic verb class of Communication allows nominalization in class 9 while the verb -phamela does not allow nominalization to occur in the same class. Furthermore, the verb -phamela (feed/dish out) allows nominalization in the second subclass of class 7, while this is not possible with the verbs -hlamusela (explain) and -byela (tell) in the semantic verb class of Communication. The similar distinctions may be found between the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verb -phamela (feed/dish out) and that of the verbs in other semantic verb classes such as verbs of Change of State, Hold and Keep verbs, verbs of Sending and Carrying, verbs of Removing, and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care.

9.8. DEVERBATIVES DERIVED FROM VERBS OF GROOMING AND BODILY CARE
The same definition of Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care given in Chapter 5, Section 5.9, which examines deverbatives derived from intransitive verbs is applicable here in this section. The only deference is that this section deals with deverbatives derived from ditransitive verbs.

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**Tota** (smear someone lotion/oil)

A.  **[Actor]**: mutoti (smearing person)

Class 1:
1.  (a) Mutoti wa n’wana mafurha u hlamula foni.
   (The smearing person of the child of the lotion answers the phone).

2.  (b) Mutoti wa wansati mafurha yo ololoxa misisi u humela ehandle.
   (The smearing person of the woman of the hair relaxer is going out).

3.  (c) Wansati u nyika mutoti wa yena mafurha yo ololoxa misisi xikamu.
   (The woman gives the smearing person of her hair relaxer the comb).

**Plural: Class 2:** vatoti (smearing people)

The nominal mutoti (smearing person) refers to an individual who spreads an oily or soft substance over a surface, or on someone’s body or part of his body. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because it refers a person who is engaged in the activity of smearing something to someone now at the time of reference. In other words, the defining property here is the act of smearing, which is a temporary occurrence. The meaning of this nominal will only hold when the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Tota** (smear someone lotion/oil)

B.  **[Result]**: ntoto (anointing/ointment)

Class 3:
2.  (a) Ntoto wa mufana wu hlantisa wanuna.
   (The smearer of the young man of the lotion answers the phone).

2.  (b) Ntoto wa wansati mafurha yo ololoxa misisi u humela ehandle.
   (The smearer of the woman of the hair relaxer is going out).

2.  (c) Wansati u nyika mutoti wa yena mafurha yo ololoxa misisi xikamu.
   (The woman gives the smearer of her hair relaxer the comb).

**Plural: Class 4:** mitoto (anointing/ointments)

The nominal ntoto (anointing/ointment) refers to the religious practice of applying specially consecrated oil to someone in order to transfer the magic inherent in the oil to consecrate them to a particular task or role, such as that of a priest or ruler.

**Tota** (smear)

C.  **[Excessive act]**: ritoto (excessive smearing)

Class 5:
3.  (a) Ritoto ra wansati ra n’wana ra mafurha ya vaselina ri nyenyetsa wanuna.
   (The excessive smearing of the woman of the child of Vaseline ointment annoys the man).

3.  (b) Ritoto ra wansati ra n’wana ra murhi wa swilondza ri tsakisa wanuna.
   (The excessive smearing of the woman of the child sores ointment pleases the man).
(c) Wanuna u sola ritoto ra wansati ra n’wana ra mafurha ya vaselina.
(The man disapproves of the excessive smearing of the woman of the child of Vaseline ointment).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal **ritoto** (excessive smearing/anointing) refers to the excessive act of spreading/rubbing an oily or soft substance over a surface, or on someone’s body or part of his body.

**Tota** (smear)

D. [Excessive/expert actor]: xitoti (excessive/expert smearing/anointing person)

Class 7: 4. (a) Xitoti xa n’wana mafurha xi hlamba swandla.
(The excessive expert smearing person of the child of the lotion washes her hands).

(b) Xitoti xa wansati mafurha yo ololoxa misisi xi lava thawula.
(The excessive/expert smearing person of the woman of the hair relaxer is looking for the towel).

(c) Wansati u nyika xitoti xa n’wana mafurha ya misisi xikamu.
(The woman gives the excessive/expert smearing person of the child hair relaxer the comb).

Plural: Class 8: switoti (excessive/expert smearing/anointing people)

The nominal **xitoti** (excessive/expert smearing anointing person) refers to a person who excessively or who has the skill of smearing/anointing someone with oil or someone. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of smearing/anointing something/ or someone as such, but the excessiveness or the skill of smearing/anointing something or someone of the individual in question. In other words, the skill of smearing/anointing something or someone will remain a permanent property of the individual in question and will thus be associated with this individual for the rest of his life. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate. In a way, whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of smearing/anointing something or someone, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as **xitoti** (excessive/expert smearing anointing person).

**Tota** (smear)

E. [Act]: vutoti (smearing)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vutoti bya wansati bya n’wana bya mafurha ya vaselina byi nyenyetsa wanuna.
(The smearing of the woman of the child of Vaseline ointment annoys the man).

(b) Vutoti bya wansati bya n’wana bya murhi wa swilondza byi tsakisa wanuna.
(The smearing of the woman of the child of sores ointment pleases the man).
(c) Wanuna l sola vutoti bya wansati bya n’wana bya mafurha ya vaselina.  
(The man disapproves of the smearing of the woman of the child of Vaseline 
ointment).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vutoti (smearing/anointing) refers to the act or process of spreading/rubbing an oily or 
soft substance over a surface, or on someone’s body or part of his body.

Byewula (shave/cut hair)

A.  [Actor]: mubyewuri (person who shaves/cuts hair)

Class 1:  1. (a) Mubyewuri wa wanuna misisi u thyakile. 
(The person who shaves/cuts the man the hair is dirty).

(b) Mubyewuri wa mufana misisi wa koholola. 
(The person who shaves/cuts hair of the young man is coughing).

(c) Wanuna u xeweta mubyewuri wa mufana misisi. 
(The man greets the person who shaves/cuts the hair of the young man the hair).

Plural: Class 2: vabyewuri (people who shave/cut hair)

The nominal mubyewuri (person who shaves/cuts hair) denotes an individual who removes hair by 
cutting with an instrument meant for cutting hair such as a razor. This nominal may thus be regarded 
as a stage-level nominal because the individual in question is involved in the activity of 
shaving/cutting hair for a particular time. Once the act of shaving/cutting hair is completed, such an 
individual may no longer be regarded as mubyewuri (person who shaves/cuts hair)

byewula (shave/cut hair)

B.  [Excessive act): ribyewulo (excessive shaving/cutting of hair)

Class 5:  2. (a) Ripyewulo ra mufana ra misisi ri tsakisa tikhastama. 
(The excessive shaving/cutting of the young man of hair pleases the customers).

(b) Ripyewulo ra wanuna ra malebvu ri tsakisa nsati wakwe. 
(The excessive shaving/cutting of the man of the beard pleases his wife).

(c) Wansati u tsakela ripyewulo ra nuna wakwe ra malebvu. 
(The woman likes the excessive shaving/cutting of her husband of his beard).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal ripyewulo (excessive shaving/cutting of hair) denotes an excessive act of 
shaving/cutting with an instrument meant for shaving/cutting hair such as a razor

Byewula (cut hair)

C.  [Expert/Excessive actor]: xibyewuri (person who expertly/excessively shaves/cuts hair)

Class 7:  4. (a) Xibyewuri xa misisi xi hlamba mavoko. 
(The person who expertly/excessively shaves/cuts hair washes the hands).
(b) Xibyewuri xi xava xikaringani.
(The person who expertly/excessively shaves/cuts hair is buying a razor).

(c) Wansati u nyika xibyewuri xikaringani.
(The woman gives the person who expertly/excessively shaves/cuts hair the razor).

Plural: Class 8: swibyewuri (person who expertly/excessively shaves/cuts hair)

The nominal xibyewuri (person who expertly/excessively shaves/cuts hair) denotes an individual who has an extraordinary skill of shaving/cutting hair. This nominal may thus be regarded as an individual-level nominal because the skill of shaving/cutting hair is associated with an individual for the most part of his life regardless of whether the individual in question will be engaged in the act of shaving/cutting hair at the time of reference. In this case then, the nominal xibyewuri (person who excessively shaves/cuts hair) does not modify the event of shaving/cutting hair, but the skill thereof.

Byewula (shave/cut hair)

A. [Result]: mbyewulane (mantis)

Class 5:  3. (a) Mbyewulane ra wansati ra mavele ri tsakisa vingi vakwe.
(The mantis of hair pleases her parents-in-law).

(b) Mbyewulane ra wansati ra mavele ri karhata nuna wakwe.
(The mantis of hair annoys his husband).

(c) Wanuna u sola mbyewulane ra wansati ra mavele nimadyambu.
(The man condemns the mantis of hair).

Plural: Class 10: timbyewulane (mantis)

The nominal mbyewulane (mantises) is a large green insect that eats other insects. Among Vatsaonga, there is a strong believe that this insect is able to cling on to a person’s head and shave/cuts off hair, hence the name mbyewulane, meaning that which shaves/cuts hair. So every time someone sees this insect will run or kill it so that it does not shave/cuts off his hair.

Byewula (shave/cut hair)

B. [Act/Event]: vubyewuri (shaving/cutting of hair)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vubyewuri bya mavele byi sivela mavabyi.
(The shaving/cutting of hair prevents diseases).

(b) Vubyewuri bya mavele byi nyenyetsa vana va masiku lawa.
(The shaving/cutting of hair annoys today’s children).

(c) Wanuna u sola vubyewuri bya nsati wakwe bya mavele.
(The man disapproves of the shaving/cutting of hair).

Plural: No plural in class 14 nouns.

The nominal vubyewuri (shaving/cutting of hair) refers to the act of cutting away hair from a person with a razor. But it may also refer to the job of cutting people hair.
Kama (comb)

A. [Actor]: mukami (combing person)

Class 1: 1. (a) Mukami u lulamisa misisi.
(The combing person arranges the hair).

(b) Mukami u tilanguta exivonini.
(The combing person looks at himself in the mirror).

(c) Wansati u nyiketa mukami xivoni.
(The woman gives the mirror to the combing person).

Plural: class 2: vakami (combing people)

The nominal mukami (combing person) refers to an individual who straightens/arranges and smoothens hair with a comb. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of combing hair of the individual in question. This act of combing hair is a temporary phenomenon and will come to an end in a short moment. The meaning of this nominal will only hold for the duration of the period in which the act will be taking place. In other words, the context need to make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is a temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Kama (comb)

B. [Excessive act]: rikamo (excessive combing)

Class 5: 2. (a) Rikamo ra wansati ra n’wana ri hlamarisa wanuna.
(The excessive combing of the woman of the child surprises the man).

(b) Rikamo ra wansati ra misisi ya yena ra n’wi tsakisa.
(The excessive combing of the hair pleases her).

(c) Wanuna u sola rikamo ra wansati ra misisi ya n’wana.
(The man disapproves the excessive combing of the hair of the child).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal rikamo (excessive combing) refers to the excessive act of using a comb to arrange or straighten one’s hair.

Kama (comb)

C. [Exper/Excessive act]: xikami (expert/excessive combing person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xikami xa n’wana xi tshovile xikamu.
(The expert/excessive combing person of the child broke the comb).
(b) Xikami xa n’wana xi tivona exivonini.  
(The expert/excessive combing person looks at himself in the mirror).

(c) Wansati u nyiketa xikami xivoni.  
(The woman gives the mirror to the expert/excessive combing person).

Plural: class 8: swikami (expert/excessive combing persons)

The nominal xikami (expert/excessive person) refers to an individual who excessively combs his or someone’s hair or one who has a skill or combing. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of combing hair of the individual in question as such, but his excessiveness/skill of combing hair. This skill of combing hair is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of combing hair, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xikami (expert/excessive person) because the property excessiveness/skill of combing hair of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

Kama (comb)

D.  [Artifact]: xikamu (comb)

Class 1:  1. (a) Xikamu xi tshovekile.  
(The comb has broken).

(b) Xikamu xa wansati xi kama kahle.  
(The comb of the woman combs well).

(c) Wansati u lva xikamu endlwini.  
(The woman is looking for a comb in the house).

Plural: class 8: swikamu (combs)

The nominal xikamu (comb) refers to a flat piece of plastic or metal with a row of thin teeth along one side used for straightening/arranging or adorning hair. But it may also refer to a smaller version of this worn by women in their hair to hold it in place or as a decoration.

Kama (comb)

E.  [Act]: vukami (combing)

Class 14:  5. (a) Vukami bya misisi bya vavasati byi teka nkarhi wo leha.  
(The combing of the hair of women takes a long time).

(b) Vukami bya nhwana bya n’wana byi tsakisa wansati.  
(The combing of the young woman of the child pleases the woman).
(c) Wansati u rhandza vukami bya n’wana bya misisi.
(The woman likes the combing of the child of the hair).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vukami (combing) refers to the act of using a comb to arrange or straighten one’s hair.

**Luka** (braid)

A. [Actor]: muluki (person who braids/braided)

Class 1: 1. (a) Muluki wa misisi u karhele.
(The person who braids/plaits hair is tired).
   
   (b) Muluki wa misisi u twa ndlala.
   (The person who braids/plaits hair is hungry).
   
   (c) Wansati u vitana muluki wa misisi.
   (The woman is calling for the person who braids/braided hair).

Plural: class 2: valuki (people who braid/braided hair)

The nominal muluki (person who braids/braided) refers to an individual who winds or twists together brands of hair over one another in turn in order to arrange and divide it in sections on the head of someone. This nominal may be regarded as a stage-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is the act of braiding/plaiting one’s hair. Once the act of braiding/plaiting is over, such an individual may no longer be referred to as muluki (person who braids/braided). In other words, the meaning of this nominal only holds while the individual in question is still engaged in the activity denoted by the nominal.

**Luka** (braid)

B. [Excessive act]: riluko (excessive braiding)

Class 5: 2. (a) Riluko ra wansati ra misisi ri tsakisa nuna wakwe.
(The excessive braiding of the woman of the hair pleases her husband).
   
   (b) Riluko ra mufana ra misisi ri nyenyetsa nhwana wa yena.
   (The excessive braiding of the young man of his hair annoys his girlfriend).
   
   (c) Wanuna u rhandza riluko ra wansati ra misisi.
   (The man likes the excessive braiding of the woman of her hair).

Plural: No plural for the corresponding noun in class 6.

The nominal riluko (excessive braiding) refers to the excessive act of braiding/plaiting hair.
**Luka** (braid)

C.  [Exper/Excessive act]: xiluki (expert/excessive braiding person)

Class 7: 3. (a) Xiluki xa misisi xi ya ekerekeni.
(The person who expertly/excessively braids/braided hair goes to church).

(b) Xiluki xa misisi xi hlalela thelevhixini.
(The person who expertly/excessively braids/braided watches the television).

(c) Wansati u nyika xiluki nereta.
(The woman gives the needle to person who expertly/excessively braids/braided).

Plural: class 8: swiluki (people who expertly/excessively braids/braided)

The nominal xiluki (person who expertly/excessively braids/braided) refers to an individual who has the skill of braiding/plaiting hair or one who excessively braids/plaits hair. This nominal may be regarded as an individual-level nominal because what is being modified by this nominal is not the act of braiding/plaiting hair of the individual in question as such, but his excessiveness/skill of braiding/plaiting hair. This skill of braiding/plaiting hair is a permanent property of an individual in question and it will be associated with him for the rest of his life. In other words, whether such an individual will be engaged in the act of braiding/plaiting hair, or he may not be engaged in it at the time of reference, such a person will always be referred to as xiluki (person who expertly/excessively braids/braided) because the property excessiveness/skill of braiding/plaiting hair of the individual in question holds irrespective of the actual circumstances. In other words, the context need not make reference to the defining characteristic of the individual in question, that is, there is no temporal constraint between the event characterizing the individual and the matrix predicate.

**Luka** (comb)

D.  [Act/Event]: vuluki (braiding)

Class 14: 5. (a) Vuluki bya wanuna bya misisi byi hlarisa vanhu.
(The braiding/plaiting of the man of the hair surprises the people).

(b) Vuluki bya wansati bya misisi bya n’wi sasekisa.
(The braiding of the woman of the hair makes her smart).

(c) Wanuna u rhandza vuluki bya nsati wakwe bya misisi.
(The man likes the braiding of his wife of the hair).

Plural: No plural for class 14 nouns.

The nominal vuluki (braiding) refers to the act of braiding/plaiting hair of the individual. But it may also refer to the job of braiding/plaiting hair.
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<td>vutoti</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Byewula</td>
<td>mubyewuri</td>
<td>ribyewulo</td>
<td>xibyewuli</td>
<td>mbyewulane</td>
<td>vubyewuri</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Luka</td>
<td>muluki</td>
<td>riluko</td>
<td>xiluki</td>
<td></td>
<td>vuluki</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kama</td>
<td>mukami</td>
<td>rikamo</td>
<td>xikami</td>
<td></td>
<td>vukami</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Class 1**
Prefix: \textit{mu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}

\textbf{Mutoti} (smearer of someone of lotion/oil)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{AF} \\
\text{N}^R \\
\text{V} \\
\text{AF} \\
\text{mu-} \\
\text{-tot-} \\
\text{-i}
\end{array}
\]

**Class 3**
Prefix: \textit{n-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}

\textbf{Ntoto} (anointing/ointment)

\[
\begin{array}{c}
\text{N} \\
\text{AF} \\
\text{N}^R \\
\text{V} \\
\text{AF} \\
\text{n-} \\
\text{-tot-} \\
\text{-o}
\end{array}
\]
Class 5
Prefix: \textit{ri-}
Suffix: \textit{-o}

\textbf{Ritoto} (excessive smearing of someone of lotion/oil)

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{N} \quad \textbf{AF} \quad \textbf{N^R} \quad \textbf{V} \quad \textbf{AF}
  \item \textit{ri-} \quad \textit{-tot-} \quad \textit{-o}
\end{itemize}

Class 7
Prefix: \textit{xi-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}

\textbf{Xitoti} (excessive smearer/anointer)

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{N} \quad \textbf{AF} \quad \textbf{N^R} \quad \textbf{V} \quad \textbf{AF}
  \item \textit{xi-} \quad \textit{-tot-} \quad \textit{-i}
\end{itemize}

Class 14
Prefix: \textit{vu-}
Suffix: \textit{-i}

\textbf{Vutoti} (smearing someone lotion/oil)

\begin{itemize}
  \item \textbf{N} \quad \textbf{AF} \quad \textbf{N^R} \quad \textbf{V} \quad \textbf{AF}
  \item \textit{vu-} \quad \textit{-tot-} \quad \textit{-i}
\end{itemize}
Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care

(35)  **Nominalization from the verb – tota** (smear someone lotion/oil)
Wansati u tota n’wana mufurha.
(The woman is smearing lotion on the child).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} & = \text{ARG1 = x: human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2 = y: phys.obj.} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3 = z: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=e; process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL = x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE = -tota\_ act (e} \; \text{1}, \; \text{x, y, z)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Smear someone lotion/oil – Act

The lexical semantic representation of the verb –*tota* (smear) in (35) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that smears, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being smeared, and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act (process) of smearing. The event structure represents the process event of smearing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that is smearing, and the agentive quale represents the (act) process of smearing (e₁) of the human argument(x).

(36)  **Nominalisation in class 1:** mutoti (smearer of someone of lotion/oil)
Mutoti wa n’wana mafurha u ni thayka eswandleni.
(The smearer of the child the lotion has dirt on the hands).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{mutoti} & = \text{ARG1=x: human} \\
& \quad \text{ARG2 = y: phys.obj.} \\
& \quad \text{ARG3 = z: phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} & = \text{E1=e; process} \\
\text{QUALIA} & = \text{FORMAL = x} \\
& \quad \text{AGENTIVE = -tota\_ actor (e} \; \text{1}, \; \text{x, y, z)}
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Smear – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbal mutoti (smearing person) in (36) displays three arguments in its argument structure, namely the human argument that smears, the physical object that denotes the entity that is being smeared, and another physical object denoting the entity affected by the act (process) of smearing. The event structure represents the process event of smearing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the identity of the human argument that is smearing, and the agentive quale represents the (act) process of smearing (e₁) of the human argument(x).
(37) **Nominalisation in class 7: xitoti** (excessive smearer/anointer)

Xitoti xa n’wana xa mafurha xi tibuma ngopfu.
(The excessive smearer of the child of the lotion praises herself very much).

\[
\text{xitoti}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{ARG2}=y: \text{phys.obj}.
&\quad \text{ARG3}=z: \text{phys. obj.}
\text{EVSTR} &= E_1=e_1: \text{process}
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=x
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{tota}_\text{actor_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Smear – Excessive – Actor – Human

The lexical semantic representation of **xitoti** (excessive smearer/anointer) in (37) corresponds to that of **mutoti** (smearing person) in (36) above. The distinction is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] in **xitoti** (excessive smearer/anointer) which is absent in **mutoti** (smearer/anointer).

(38) **Nominalisation in class 5: ritoto** (excessive smearing someone lotion/oil)

Ritoto ra wansati ra n’wana ra mafurha ya Vaseline hi ximumu ri nyenyetsa wanuna nuna wakwe.
(The excessive smearing of the woman of the child of Vaseline ointment annoys in summer annoys the man).

\[
\text{ritoto}
\]

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: \text{e: r} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG1}=x: \text{human} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&\quad \text{D–ARG3}=z: \text{phys. obj.}
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D–E1}=e_1: \text{process}
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e, x, y, z)
&\quad \text{AGENTIVE}=-\text{tota}_\text{act_excessive} (e_1, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Smear – Excessive - Act

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative **ritoto** (excessive smearing) in (38) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that smears, the physical object denoting the entity that is being smeared, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of smearing. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of smearing. The event structure represents the act (process) of smearing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the
identity of the human argument(x) who smears, and the agentive quale represents the act (process) of smearing (e₁) of the human argument (x).

(39) **Nominalisation in class 14: vutoti** (smearing someone lotion/oil)

Vutoti bya wansati bya n’wana bya mafurha ya nguluve byi hlundzukise nuna wakwe.
(The smearing of the woman of the child of the fats of the pig has angered her husband).

\[
\begin{align*}
vutoti
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
&= \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&= \text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} =e_{1}: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e_{1}, x, y, z) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE}=\text{-tota}_\text{act} (e_{1}, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Smear – Act

The lexical semantic representation of vutoti (smearing) in (39) corresponds to that of ritoto (excessive smearing) in (38) above. The distinction is found in the agentive quale which represents the feature [excessive] in ritoto (excessive smearing) in (38) which is absent in vutoti (smearing) in (39).

(40) **Nominalisation in class 3: Ntoto** (anointing/ointment)

3. Ntoto wa mafurha ya vuhosi wa Sawulo wu endliwile hi Samuel.
(The anointing of oil of kingship of Saul was done by Samuel).

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{Ntoto}
\text{ARGSTR} &= \text{ARG1}=x: e: r \\
&= \text{D–ARG1} = x: \text{human} \\
&= \text{D–ARG2}=y: \text{phys. obj.} \\
&= \text{D–ARG3} = z: \text{phys. obj.} \\
\text{EVSTR} &= \text{D-E1} =e_{1}: \text{process} \\
\text{QUALIA} &= \text{FORMAL}=(e_{1}, x, y, z) \\
&= \text{AGENTIVE}=\text{-tota}_\text{result} (e_{1}, x, y, z)
\end{align*}
\]

**Hierarchy of semantic concepts:** Smear – Result

The lexical semantic representation of the deverbative ntoto (anointing/ointment) in (40) displays four arguments in its argument structure of which three are default arguments, namely the human argument denoting the person that smears, the physical object denoting the entity that is being smeared, and another physical object denoting the entity that is affected by the act of smearing. The other argument (ARG1) denotes the reference to the process event of smearing. The event structure
represents the act (process) of smearing. The formal quale in the qualia structure represents the
identity of the human argument(x) who smears, and the agentive quale represents the result of the act
(process) of smearing (c1) of the human argument (x).

The suffix -i continues to occur with the classes which denote humans, namely classes 1 and 2. However, this suffix also occurs with the deverbatives in the first subclass of class 14 which refer to
inanimate entities. The suffix -o on the other hand, occurs with deverbatives which occur in classes 5,
and 9 and they denote inanimate entities. The lexical semantic representation structure of the
deverbatives derived from other verbs in the same semantic verb class of verbs of Grooming and
Bodily care is the same as that of the deverbatives derived from the verb -tota (smear). Some few
exceptions may be noted however. The first difference is that while the intrinsic or encyclopedic
semantics of the verb -tota (smear) allows nominalization in class 3 with the meaning of [Result], all
other verbs in the same semantic verb class do not permit such a nominalization. Secondly, only the
intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of the verbs -byewula (shave off hair) and -kama (comb) permits
nominalization in class 9 in contrast with all other verbs in this semantic verb class which do not
allow such a nominalization. Another distinction relates to the semantic features displayed by the
deverbatives in class 14. While the deverbatives in class 14 which are derived from the verbs -tota
(smear), and -kama (comb) display the semantic feature of [Act], the deverbatives that are derived
from the verbs of -byewula (shave off hair), and -luka (braid) exhibit the semantic feature of
[Act/event].
### 9.9. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb classes</th>
<th>Semantic features and suffixes</th>
<th>Class 1</th>
<th>Class 3</th>
<th>Class 5</th>
<th>Class 7</th>
<th>Class 7</th>
<th>Class 9</th>
<th>Class 14</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of Change of Possession</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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<td>Hold and Keep Verbs</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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<td>Verbs of Sending and Carrying</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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<td>Verbs of Communication</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbs of Removing</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbs of Providing</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care</td>
<td>Feature: suffix: -i</td>
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</table>
This chapter examined the deverbatives that are derived from agentive verbs only. The work contained in this chapter illustrated that all deverbatives that occur in class 1 are assigned the semantic feature of [Actor]. No other semantic feature occurs with these deverbatives. It was found that the deverbatives in this class refer to humans only and nothing else. It was noted that the deverbatives in class 3 are derived from only two verbs which are members of the semantic verb classes of verbs of Providing and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care respectively, namely -phamela (feed) from which the deverbative mphamelo (feeding) is derived, and -tota (smear) from which the deverbative ntoto (ointment/anointing) emanates. It was revealed that the intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics of all other verbs in the semantic verb classes examined in this chapter disallows nominalization of deverbal nominals. Class 3 deverbatives are formed through the affixation of the class prefix mu- which may appear in different allomorphs such as m- or n- and the suffix -o onto the verb stem. Class 5 derivation occurs with the deverbatives that belong to subclass 5(a) (taking suffix -i). It was demonstrated that both these deverbatives occur with the semantic feature of [Result]. It was found no deverbatives derived from subclass 5(b) (taking the suffix -o) are included. It was stated that like as it was illustrated in the previous chapters, this class denotes [Excessive Act] and correlates with the deverbatives that occur in class 14. It was noted that the only difference is that subclass 5(a) deverbatives occur with an additional feature of [Excessive] while this feature is lacking with deverbatives in class 14(a). An interesting thing which was realized is that class 5 deverbatives occur in all the verbs of the semantic verb classes that are examined in this chapter. It was revealed that nominalization of deverbatives in class 5 is made possible through the class prefix ri- and the suffix -o which are affixed to the verb stem. In other words, the class prefix ri- and the suffix -o serve as nominalisers in this class.

It was established that class 7 deverbatives are classified into two subclasses as it has been demonstrated in the previous chapters. It was found that the first subclass which is referred to as subclass 7 (a) (taking the suffix -i) correspond with the deverbatives in class 1. As it has already been established in the previous chapters, it was again noted that deverbatives in the subclass 7 (a) refer specifically to humans. It was realized that the deverbatives that occur in this subclass are similar to the deverbatives in class 1. It was found that the only difference is that the deverbatives in class 7 adds the feature [Expert and/or excessive] to the feature [Actor] which occurs in class 1 deverbatives. It was established that all the deverbatives in class 7 are formed through the affixation of the class prefix xi- and the suffix -i onto the verb stem. It was noted that the deverbatives that occur in class 7 exhibit the semantic feature of [Expert/Excessive].

This chapter demonstrated that derivation of nominals also occurs in the second subclass (taking the suffix -o of class 7, although not as regular as it is in the first subclass. It was found that there are four deverbatives that are derived from this subclass, two of which are from the semantic verb class of
verbs of Communication namely, xikombelo (request/petition) derived from the verb -kombela (ask) and xivutiso (question) derived from the verb -vutisa (ask). It was illustrated that the semantic feature of [Result] occurs with these verbs. It was observed that the other verb two deverbatives are members of the semantic verb classes of verbs of Removing, and verbs of Providing respectively, namely xisulo (wiping cloth) derived from the verb -sula (wipe) and xiphamelo (dish) which is derived from the verb -phamela (feed/dish out). It was demonstrated that both these deverbatives denote [Artifact/Instrument]. It was further found that the work in this chapter also shows that in class 9 nominalization occurs with three verbs in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Change of Possession, namely -hakela (pay) from which the deverbative hakelo (payment) is derived, verbs of Communication, namely -hlamusela (explain), from which the deverbative nhlamuselo (explanation) is derived and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care, namely -byewula (shave off hair) from which the deverbative mbyewulane (mantises) emanates. It was found that all these three deverbatives denote [Result].

Although it has been established in the previous chapters that class 14 has two subclasses, the first being of the deverbatives that occur with the suffix -i and the second being those that usually occur with the suffix -i, it was revealed that in this chapter nominalization occurs in subclass 14 (a) only. It was found that no deverbative nominalisation occurs in subclass 14 (b). It was established that nominalisation in the first subclass 14 (a) follows similar trends as already highlighted in the previous chapters. It was found that the dominant semantic feature in this class remains that of an [Act]. It was noted that the deverbatives in this class, as already demonstrated in the previous chapters, has correlations with the deverbatives that occur in the first subclass of class 5 (a). It was found however, that whereas class 5 (a) deverbatives displays the semantic feature of [Excessive Act], class 14 (a) deverbatives exhibits the semantic feature of [Act] only. It was noted that the only difference between the deverbatives of these two classes is the absence of the feature [Excessive] with class 14 deverbatives. It was again noted that another issue that need to be pointed out is that while class 5 deverbatives occur with the suffix -o, deverbatives in class 14 (a) occurs with the suffix -i.

It was found that the deverbatives in class 14 (a) occurs in all the semantic verb classes of the verbs examined in this chapter, namely verbs of Change of Possession, Hold and keep verbs, verbs of Sending and Carrying, verbs of Communication, verbs of Removing, verbs of Proving and verbs of Grooming and Bodily Care. It was established that the semantic feature of [Act] occurs with all the deverbatives examined in this chapter in the semantic verbs classes of Change of Possession, Hold and keep verbs, Sending and Carrying, verbs of Removing, and verbs of Proving. It was found that almost all the deverbatives in the semantic verb classes of verbs of Communication, and verbs of Grooming and bodily Care also exhibit the semantic feature of [Act]. It was illustrated that there is only one verb in each of the semantic verb classes which exhibit the semantic feature of [Act/Event]. It was demonstrated that such verbs are the following: -kombela (ask) which is a member of the verbs in the
semantic verb class of verbs of Communication and from which the deverbative vukomberi (begging) is derived, and -byewula (shave off hair), a member of the semantic verb class of verbs of Communication, from which the deverbative vubyewuri (shaving off of hair) is derived. It was further found that in this class the class prefix vu- and the suffix -i continue to serve as nominalisers in this class.
CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSION

The table below illustrates all semantic features and the suffixes that occur in various deverbatives which have been examined in this study across all semantic verb classes and noun classes from which the deverbatives were derived.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Verb class</th>
<th>Sem. Ft. Suf.</th>
<th>Class1</th>
<th>Class3</th>
<th>Class4</th>
<th>Class5</th>
<th>Class6</th>
<th>Class7</th>
<th>Class7</th>
<th>Class8</th>
<th>Class9</th>
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<th>Class14</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Verbs of Change of State</td>
<td>Sem. Ft. Suf.</td>
<td>Patient/Theme</td>
<td>Excessive state</td>
<td>-o</td>
<td>Excessive patient</td>
<td>-i</td>
<td>Result</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbs of Ingestion/Consumption</td>
<td>Sem. Ft.</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Result of</td>
<td>Act</td>
<td>Result of</td>
<td>Excessive</td>
<td>Expert/ Excessive actor</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Place State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence</td>
<td>Sem. Ft.</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Excessive</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Expert/ Excessive actor</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Place State</td>
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<td>Verbs Involving the Body</td>
<td>Sem. Ft.</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Result of</td>
<td>Excessive act</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Expert/ Excessive actor</td>
<td>Result</td>
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<tr>
<td>Psych/Experiencer verbs</td>
<td>Sem. Ft.</td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>Result of</td>
<td>Excessive act</td>
<td>Place State</td>
<td>Expert/ Excessive actor</td>
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<td>Verbs of Sound Existence</td>
<td>Sem. Ft.</td>
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<td>Excessive act</td>
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### Verbs of Providing

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### Verbs of Searching

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### Verbs of Contact

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### Verbs of Concealment

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The table below presents a summary of all semantic features displayed by various deverbatives across all noun classes as well as semantic verb classes

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Noun classes</th>
<th>class 1</th>
<th>class 3</th>
<th>class 4</th>
<th>class 5a</th>
<th>class 5b</th>
<th>class 6</th>
<th>class 7a</th>
<th>class 7b</th>
<th>class 8</th>
<th>class 9</th>
<th>class 14a</th>
<th>class 14b</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sem. Ft. no.1</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Excessive Act</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Expert Actor</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Result</td>
<td>Expert Actor</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Place</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sem. Ft. no.2</td>
<td>Experiencer</td>
<td>Event</td>
<td>Excessive State</td>
<td>Place</td>
<td>Excessive Actor</td>
<td>Result/Artifact</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>State/quality</td>
<td>State</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sem. Ft. no.3</td>
<td>Actor/Experiencer</td>
<td>State</td>
<td>Excessive Act/State</td>
<td>Result/Event</td>
<td>Excessive Experiencer/Theme</td>
<td>Result/Artifact/Instrument</td>
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<td>Sem. Ft. no.4</td>
<td>Experiencer/Theme</td>
<td>Artifact/Instrument</td>
<td>Result/Instrument</td>
<td>Excessive Patient</td>
<td>Artifact/Instrument</td>
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<td>Result</td>
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<td>no.5</td>
<td>Actor/Patient/Experiencer</td>
<td>Result/Event</td>
<td>Artifact/Instrument</td>
<td>Exceptional Theme</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<td>Actor/Patient/Experiencer</td>
<td>Result/Event</td>
<td>Artifact/Instrument</td>
<td>Exceptional Theme</td>
<td>Actor</td>
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<tr>
<td>no.7</td>
<td>Result/Artifact</td>
<td>Actor</td>
<td>Exceptional Actor/Excessive Experiencer/Theme</td>
<td>Result/State</td>
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<td>no.8</td>
<td>Act/Event</td>
<td>Excessive Experiencer/Patient</td>
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<td>no.9</td>
<td>Artifact/Event</td>
<td>Expert/Excessive Actor/Experiencer</td>
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10.1 OVERVIEW AND FINDINGS OF THE STUDY ON XITSONGA DEVERBATIVES

10.1.1 Summary of chapters two and three

The study reviewed studies by some scholars on topics related to the issues that are examined in this study, namely noun classes in African Languages, derivation and morphology, and nominalisation. The section on the noun classes demonstrated that the noun class prefix may function as both inflectional and derivational marker. It has also been established that the contents of noun classes differ from language to language, with the exception of class 1 which denote humans. The study found that there are several approaches which are used to determine the class membership. One such approach is that of looking at the semantics of words of the nouns found in each class. The seconds approach is that of looking at the visual appearance of things denoted by nouns in various classes. It was found that some of the nouns in other languages such as Shona have double prefix, where each of the prefix has a specific function. Usually the first has an inflectional role while the other has a derivational role. It has also been found that most scholars agree that suffixes in African Languages have a multifunction simultaneously. It was demonstrated also that it is possible to derive nouns from other nouns. The study has revealed that many of the scholars share the view that noun classes have a semantic content. It has been illustrated in this section that verbal suffixes have roles that they play. Some are associated with human while others may be associated with non-human.

The section on derivational and inflectional process illustrated how the two processes are intertwined in such a way that it may not always be simple to make a line of distinction between them. It has been argued that the definition that the view that derivation involves formation of new lexemes while inflection is concerned with grammatical function is something of the past. It has been demonstrated that in some instances inflection also results in the formation of new lexeme. It has been shown that what is usually said that derivation changes the syntactic category of a word while inflection does not, is not always the case. There are cases where derivation occurs but the syntactic category remains unchanged, as in the case of derivation of nouns from nouns. The section has demonstrated that the assumption that inflection markers occur outside derivational markers does not always hold because there are cases where inflectional markers occur inside the derivational markers.

The section on nominalisation has established that nouns do not behave uniformly, some behave like verbs thereby taking arguments while some do not take arguments. It has been illustrated that there are event (process) nominals, namely, those that name a process or an event and result nominals, that is, those that name the output of a process or an element associated with the process. It has been found that scholars in this section distinguish between two types of event (process) nominals, namely, those that take
arguments and those that do not take arguments. It has been found that the former category is referred to as complex event nominal, and the latter group is called result nominals. It has been illustrated that the scholars in this section hold the view that complements to the complex event nominals are compulsory and that certain modifiers occur with the event interpretation of particular nouns. It has been established that scholars in this section generally agree that result and simple nominals are not verb-like. It has been shown that the scholars hold the opinion that gerundive nominals, that is, -ing nominals behave the same way as complex nominals. It was demonstrated that complex event nominals allow control into an infinitival purpose clause, in contrast with unambiguous result nominal which disallows control. The scholars in this section have argued that the two types of event nominals also differ in their ability to license aspectual modifiers like in *an hour*, *for six weeks*, and *while* clauses, in that complex event nominals admit these modifiers.

The scholars have illustrated that nouns do not behave as full argument-takers in that they never take sentential argument or passive nominals. They have shown that nouns are defective theta-markers because they are unable to directly theta-mark an argument. They illustrated that nouns instead take arguments only through the mediation of a preposition which then transmits the theta role to the NP. They have demonstrated that verbs on the contrary, are able to directly theta-mark an argument or do it indirectly through a preposition. The authors have also illustrated that sentential complements to nouns are always optional but not with the corresponding verb. The scholars in this section have distinguished passive nominals from passive clauses. They have found that the inclusion of a group adjective with an adjective interpretation makes the object of the noun obligatory. They have also realized that nominals with passive form could be either complex event nominals or result/simple event nominal. They observed that passive nominals fail to occur with aspectual adjuncts if the nominal does not denote event. Saddler and Spencer (1998) have demonstrated a distinction between morpholexical operations and morphosyntactic realizations. They have highlighted that there are two types of intransitive verb, unergative and unaccusative. It has been found that statives dispose external arguments. The study demonstrated that it may be possible to treat causation as a process of word formation.

The scholars on the section which deals with the Generative Lexicon theory have established that all agentive nominals, that is, what the scholar such as Grimshaw, Siloni, and Tsujimura classified into complex event nominals and simple event and result nominals, take arguments irrespective of whether the event is presupposed or not. These scholars distinguish between stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals. The scholars in this section demonstrated that the current morphosyntactic theories which distinguish word’s senses on the basis of feature distinction fail to capture all the aspects of the word’s senses. They have argued in favour of the generative lexicon theory which was developed by Pustejovsky.
as a suitable theory which will deal with the problem of the senses of a word. The scholars have argued that the theory includes four levels of semantic representations, which are argument structure, event structure, qualia structure, and lexical inheritance structure. They have shown that to capture the senses of a noun, only the first three of these levels are used.

The scholars distinguished four types of arguments, which are true arguments, default arguments, shadow arguments, and true adjuncts. They showed that qualia structure comprises four roles, namely formal, constitutive, telic, and agentive. It has been argued stated that the strategies for projection in qualia are based on the argument structure of a lexical item. It has been illustrated that the notion of headedness in the event structure contributes to filter out the set of possible projections. It was argued that if one quale is headed, the set of possible qualia is restricted. It was also argued there are three mechanisms involved in co-composition, namely type coercion, selective binding, and co-composition. According to her, these are semantic transformations which accounts for the sense of lexical item. It has been illustrated in this section that an Orthogonal Parameter Binding is required in order to bind into expression from independent parameter lists.

The study demonstrated that the issues treated in the Generative Lexicon are related to things that are covered by WordNet. It was found that while the Generative lexicon uses the Orthogonal parameter Binding, WordNet makes use of hierarchies referred to as inheritance system. It has been stated that unique beginner in WordNet corresponds to semantic component in a compositional theory. It has been illustrated that what is called in hyponyms in WordNet is known as “formal” and “telic” by Pustejovsky (1991). It was also shown that in both WordNet and Generative Lexicon they have semantic features. It was illustrated that while WordNet polysemous words are arranged according to their relative frequencies, in the generative Lexicon word’s senses are composed in semantic types.

The work on the morphology of Xitsonga, discussed in chapter 2, found that class 1 nouns refer specifically to humans and nothing else. This chapter demonstrated that the class 1 prefix may occur as allomorphs. It was found that the allomorph n may be represented phonetically in five different ways, of which the class 1 prefix occurs in only three of those. It was found that Vatsonga use the class prefix va- on the nouns referring to themselves or people near them, meaning that these are accorded the same human dignity as that of Vatsonga. It was noted that when Vatsonga refer to other people who are far away from them, they make use of the class prefix ma-, as in Mazulu (Zulu people), classifying them with objects. In this way, it shows that the people who are far from Vatsonga are not given the same regard as them. It was found that while some nouns ordinarily occur with one prefix, there are other nouns which occur with double prefixes. It was illustrated that it may be possible for the prefix mu- to occur as
It was also demonstrated that zero prefix nouns occur in this class. The chapter illustrated that some nouns in this class do occur with double prefixes. It was also revealed in the same chapter that class 6 prefix ma- may indicate many things such as groups, manner, augmentation and even derogatory statements. The chapter illustrated that some deverbatives occur in class 5 with the meaning of excessive act.

The study further demonstrated that the prefix xi-/swi- for class 7/8 may sometimes occur as an allomorph. It was also illustrated that the contents of this class are animals, body parts, artifacts, natural phenomena, humans, fruits, and loan words. It was stated that class 11 prefix is similar to class 5 prefix, and that the only difference that contains is that while the plural of class 5 is class 6, the plural of class 11 is class 10. The work in this chapter demonstrated that class 14 prefix vu- may occur as allomorphs such as ndz-, v-, and by-. It was also illustrated that it is possible for class 6 prefix ma- to occur with class 14 prefix. The chapter has highlighted the fact that it may be possible in some cases for class 14 prefix vu- to occur as a plural. The work in this chapter has shown that deverbatives occur in this class. The study also found that class 15 is a class of deverbal nouns only, that is, no underived noun will be found in this class. The chapter illustrated that classes 16, 17, and 18 contain old locative nouns only and that the number of nouns is very limited. It was also noted that no formation of new nouns in these class is possible. It was also established that class 21 although treated as an independent class just like the others, does not have nouns of its own, which is, all the nouns that occurs in class 21 have their primary classes where they belong other than class 21. The chapter demonstrated that when class 21 prefix occurs with monosyllabic stems, the prefix of the noun stem also occurs, thus making the noun to carry two prefixes. It was indicated that when the class 21 prefix occurs with di-or polysyllabic noun stems, the prefix of the noun stem does not spear. It was also demonstrated that it may be possible for class 21 prefix to occur with class 6 prefix. This in itself shows that the content of class 21 includes all the things that are found in other classes.

On the section dealing with locative affixes, the study found that generally the prefix e- and the suffix -ini occur with the Xitsonga noun. The study also established that it may be possible for the prefix le- and the suffix -ni to occur in the copulative constructions. This study demonstrated that there are three diminutive suffixes in Xitsonga, as discussed in section 3.3.

On the section that deals with the morphological structure of the noun, it was found that the structure allows only two affixes to occur, namely the prefix and the suffix. It was illustrated that even zero prefix
nouns and locatives use the same structure. It was demonstrated that Xitsonga has very few suffixes, namely -ni, -ana, -nyana and -etana. It was also noted that in Xitsonga there are two old prefixes, which are -ndhuna and -lume. It was also demonstrated that deverbatives the suffixes -i and -o commonly occur with deverbatives.

10.1.2 Main findings and conclusions of research into deverbatives in Xitsonga

The study demonstrated that it is possible to derive deverbatives from a range of verbs in each of the Levin’s (1993) semantic verb classes and their subclasses. The study illustrated that it may be possible for deverbatives to occur within the general morphological structure for Xitsonga noun. It was also demonstrated that it is possible to capture the semantic issues of the deverbatives by employing the format of lexical semantics of Pustejovsky (1995), specifically the assumption about the meta-entry for a lexeme which employs the levels of representation of the argument structure, the event structure, and the qualia structure. It was also illustrated that Xitsonga agentive deverbatives may be distinguished in terms of Busa’s view (1996), that is, according to whether they denote someone who is involved in the act signified by the underlying verb of the deverbative at a particular time of reference and/or someone to whom a particular event is generally associated with irrespective of whether such an individual will be involved in the act signified by the underlying verb of the deverbative or not, what Busa (1996) refers to as stage-level nominals and individual-level nominals respectively. The study has established that nominalisation in Xitsonga is a phenomenon that occurs in classes 1, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, and 14 in both agentive and non-agentive verbs. However, the bulk of deverbatives examined in this study were derived from agentive verbs, something which pointed to the fact that deverbatives derived from non-agentive verbs in Xitsonga are very few since there are few non-agentive deverbatives verbs in Xitsonga. The study has shown that nominalisation in Xitsonga, in particular, and in African Languages in general occurs through the affixation of the class prefix and the verbal suffix onto the verb stem. This is in contrast with other languages such as English where only suffixes function as nominalisers. The investigation into the deverbatives led to the realization that there is a need to subdivide the classes 5, 7, and 14 into two subclasses in each since the deverbatives that occur in these classes exhibit divergent semantic features that suggest a split of these classes.

The study has demonstrated that nominalization in class 1 is a phenomenon that occurs regularly across the different semantic verb classes proposed by Levin (1993). It has also been established that class 1 deverbatives derived from all three types of verbs, namely intransitive verbs, monotransitive verbs, and ditransitive verbs in the various semantic verb classes, just like in the case of underived nominals, refer exclusively to humans and nothing else. It has also been found that the most dominant semantic feature
in class 1 is that of [Actor], especially with agentive deverbatives. The data examined in this study revealed that class deverbatives derived from non-agentive verbs usually display the following semantic features: [Experiencer], [Experiencer/Theme], and [Experiencer/Patient]. The research has also found that the suffix -i always occur with class 1 deverbatives, and that no other suffix can occur with the deverbatives in this class.

Although this study has illustrated that nominalization occurs regularly in class 3, it was found that it does not happen in all the semantic verb classes. The data has shown that the most realized semantic feature in class 3 deverbatives is that of [Result]. Another semantic feature that also occurs in deverbatives from most of the verbs is that of [Result/Act]. However, there are other semantic features that also occur in class 3 deverbatives, although not so regularly. Such semantic features include the following: [Event], [State], [Artifact/Instrument], [Result/Event], [Result/Artifact], [Act/Event], and [Artifact/Event]. The data has proved that the reference of class 3 deverbatives is to inanimate entities. In this study, it has been found that the suffix -o always occurs with class 3 deverbatives. The research has demonstrated that nominalisation in class 4 is not a common occurrence in Xitsonga. It has been indicated that of all the data examined, only one deverbative occurs in class 4, namely mijamuko (nonsense words) as discussed in chapter four under the deverbative derived from Communication verbs. It was also spelt out that such a deverbative exhibit the semantic feature of [Result], and also that the suffix -o occurs with it.

This study has found that class 5 deverbatives may be classified into two categories, namely those that occur with the verbal suffix -i on the one hand, and those that occur with the verbal suffix -o on the other hand, although at times other suffixes such as -u and -a or -e may occur in this category (see section section to the discussion on deverbatives derived from intransitive under verbs of Appearance, Disappearance and Occurrence in chapter four). This study has recognized each of these categories as subclasses of class 5. The deverbatives that occur in the first category, that is, with the suffix -i have been placed under class 5(a) while those that occur in the second category, namely those with the suffix -o are placed under class 5(b). It has been found that the main semantic feature that deverbatives in class 5(a) display is that of [Excessive Act]. The study has, however, identified other semantic features that are displayed by the deverbatives in this class, such as [Excessive State], and [Excessive Act/State]. What has been established in this study with respect to the deverbatives in class 5(a) is the fact that they have correlations with class 14 nouns. The only distinction between the deverbatives of the two classes is that class 14 lacks the feature of [Excessive] which occurs with the deverbatives in class 5(a) in addition to the basic semantic feature of [Act]. The deverbatives that occur in class 5(a) do not take plural, hence it was indicated that there is no corresponding plural in class 6.
The data examined in this study has illustrated that although nominalisation also occurs in class 5(b), it is not as regular as in class 5(a). It has also been demonstrated that deverbatives in class 5(b) refer mostly to inanimate entities. Out of all the deverbatives examined in this study only one such deverbative was found, as explained in chapter four under deverbatives derived from Psych/Experiencer verbs. It was found that all other deverbatives in this subclass of class 5(a) take a non-human argument, specifically inanimate entities. This study has identified the following semantic features as those associated with deverbatives in the subclass (b) of class 5: [Result], [Place], [Result/Event], [Result/Instrument], [Result/Artifact], [Artifact/Instrument], and [Actor]. The data examined in this study has shown that the semantic feature of [Result] occurs more than the other semantic features. The study has shown that nominalisation rarely occurs in class 6. In the data examined in this study only one deverbative was identified in class 6. This was explained in detail in chapter four under the deverbatives derived from verbs Involving the Body. The semantic feature of [Result] occurs with such a deverbative. The deverbatives in this class may take a corresponding plurals, in contrast with the deverbatives in class 5(a) whose intrinsic or encyclopedic semantics does not allow corresponding plural nouns.

The research has illustrated that deverbatives in class 7 may be split into two categories, namely those that occur with the suffix -i and those that occur with the suffix -o. It has been demonstrated clearly that the deverbatives belonging to each of them are not only different in terms of their suffixes only, but different even with regard to their semantic properties as explained in chapter 5 subsections 5.2 – 5.6. The scenario has led to the proposal that the two categories be recognized as two subclasses under class 7, that is, subclass 7(a) and subclass 7(b). Nominalisation in class 7(a) occurs regularly in almost all the classes. The deverbatives in this class are similar to the deverbatives in class 1. The only difference that obtains is that class 7 deverbatives occur with the feature [Expert] or [Excessive] whereas this feature is lacking with class 1 deverbatives. Just like in the case of class 1 deverbatives, these deverbatives also refer to humans only. The semantic feature that occurs more regularly in most of deverbatives is that of the combination of [Expert] and [Excessive] which is represented as [Expert/Excessive]. It has been established that these two features occur together in most of the time since the meaning of one of them to some extent includes the meaning of the other, that is, a person who is an expert on a thing usually performs such an activity most of his time. It was also found that in some cases the two semantic features represented above may occur independently of each other, that is, each with only one specific semantic feature which does not include the meaning of the other. However such occurrences are not so regular. Other semantic features which have been found to be also exhibited by the deverbatives in class 7(a) are the following: [Expert/Excessive Actor] and [Expert/Excessive Actor/Experiencer]. The research has shown that deverbatives that are derived from non-agentive verbs also display the properties of non-
agentivity in them. The research has pointed to the semantic features of [Excessive Experiencer/Patient] as the most dominant in such deverbatives. Other semantic features that have been found to be exhibited by the non-agentive deverbatives in this class are the following: [Excessive Patient/Theme], [Excessive Experiencer/Patient], [Exceptional theme], [Excessive Actor/Experiencer].

The study has illustrated that class 7(b) involves deverbatives that refer to other entities other than humans in contrast with the deverbatives in class 7(a) which refers to humans only. The common semantic feature that occurs in most semantic verb classes is that of [Artifact/Instrument] and followed by that of [Result]. Other semantic features which also occur with the deverbatives in this subclass are: [Result/Artifact], [Result/Artifact/Instrument], and [Actor]. It was stated that most deverbatives in this class occur with the suffix -i. However, other suffixes such as -a and -u were also found to occur sometimes. The study has demonstrated that nominalisation in class 8 is not a common phenomenon. Only one deverbative of the data examined in this research was found in this class which does not have a corresponding noun in class 7 and such a deverbative exhibit the meaning of [Result]. It was seen that the suffix that occur with such a deverbative is -o. It was also demonstrated that nominalisation in class 9 not very common, it occurs with very few semantic verb classes. Such deverbatives usually display the semantic features of [Expert Actor], [State/quality] and [Artifact/Instrument]. It was illustrated that deverbatives in this class occur with suffixes such -o-a, -u, and -i.

The study has found that in class 14, deverbatives occur regularly in almost all the semantic verb classes. As it has been already indicated above, the deverbatives in class 14 display different semantic properties which necessitated the proposal to split into two subclasses, namely subclass 14 (a) and subclass (14b). Deverbatives which occur with the suffix i- have been placed in class 14 (a) whereas the deverbatives which occur mostly with the suffix -o have been placed in subclass 14 (b). These deverbatives exhibit similar properties with the deverbatives in class 5, that is, they both display the same semantic features with the exception that the semantic feature of [Excessive] occurs with class 5 deverbatives in addition to the basic semantic feature exhibited by class 14(a) deverbatives. The research has established that the semantic feature that is common in class 14(a) is that of [Act], particularly with agentive nominals. Other semantic features that are displayed by agentive deverbatives are [Result] and [Act/Event]. Generally, the semantic feature of [State] is the one that is mostly realized with deverbatives that have been derived from non-agentive. Other semantic features that are displayed by the deverbatives derived from non-agentive verbs include the following: [State/Quality], [Act/State], [Result/State]. The study has found that nominalisation occurs in very few verbs in class 14(b). The predominant semantic feature that is exhibited by such verbs is that of [Place]. However, there are still other semantic features that are also displayed by
the deverbatives in this class such as [State], [Event], and [Result]. Generally, the suffix -o occurs with the deverbatives in class 14(a).

On the whole, this research found that nominalisation in Xitsonga is more productive in classes 1, 5(a), 7(a), and 14(a). However, classes such as class 3 and class 7(b) also allow nominalisation to occur in most of their classes, although not as regular as in the in the classes 1, 5(a), and 7(a). It has been established that nominalisation rarely occurs in classes such as 4, 5(b), 8, 9, and 14(b). Furthermore, it was noted that the most dominant semantic features in the all the deverbatives examined in this research are those of [Actor] in class 1, [Excessive act] in class 5(a), [Expert/Excessive actor] in class 7(a), and [Act] in class 14(a). These are followed by [Result] in class 3, [Artifact/Instrument], and [Result] both in class 7(b).

10.1.3 Issues for future research on deverbatives in Xitsonga and African language

Although the data contained in this study provides significant insights into the study of Xitsonga deverbatives particularly, and any African Language and linguistics generally, the data examined has also highlighted a number of gaps with respect to nominalisation which this study did not address. These gaps did not fall within the scope, of the current study because they are so huge in such a way that they warrant other investigations. As it was spelt out in the introduction of this study, the aim of this study was to examine nominalisation in Xitsonga with particular reference to deverbatives derived from underived verbs, or verbs without verbal suffixes. It was therefore clear that nominalisation with verbal suffixes constitutes a huge research area, which may need several research studies. The data examined in this study has found that there are some discrepancies and inconsistencies in some of the deverbatives with respect to the suffixes and elements of the verb from which some deverbative have been derived.

For example, it is not clear why the last part -ha of the class 5 deverbative lolo derived from the verb -loloha (be lazy) has been elided because the verb from which it has been derived still retains that part. The same arguments may be raised with respect to the class deverbative nthari (wise person) derived from the verb -tlhariha (be wise), whose last part -ha has similarly been elided. The research has established that class 5(a) deverbatives are the same with class 14(a) deverbatives with the exception of the fact that the feature [Excessive] occurs with class 5(a) deverbatives over and above the basic semantic features expressed by class 14(a) deverbatives, something which is understandable. However, they differ in terms of the suffixes which each of these classes occur with. Class 14(a) occurs with the suffix -i whereas class 5(a) occurs with the suffix -o. This is a problem because other classes that have some similarities also have the same suffixes such as class 1 and class 7 which refers to humans both occur with the suffix -i.
Nominalisation is an area which is receiving much attention among linguists at the international circles so much that more than what this thesis has addressed has developed in the area of nominalisation which will need to be researched in Xitsonga, and in African languages in general. New theories such as the one to do with what is called “affix rivalry” (the phenomenon of competition between two or more affixes and the properties they are sensitive to) is something that is coming up. In terms of Grimshaw (1990) Argument Structure Nominals, which include both Busa’s (1996) agentive and non-agentive nominals, inherits their argument structure from the embedded verb; a transformation which happens in the lexicon (The Syntax of Nominalisation). The kind of deverbatives that have been examined in this study falls within this category.

Currently, an approach which looks at the argument structure of nominals which is built in a syntactic manner, that is, the view that the presence of argument structure inside nouns is the result of the existence of some verbal projection inside the nominal domain (Alexiadou 2001) has just been developed. Another issue which may also need to be investigated is the one raised by Alexiadou and Schafer ‘on the syntax of episodic vs. dispositional -er nominals’ about the presence/absence of complement structure of these two types of nominals. According to these scholars, previous approaches to the problem of presence/absence of complement structure of these nominals made use of a classification along the presence/absence of event dimesion, which according to them is not entirely accurate since in their view both these nominals are eventive. They thus propose an approach in terms of their argument structure make -up. It is therefore, against this background that a research with respect to the morphosyntactic realization of arguments of event nominals in Xitsonga with special reference to noun classes 5 and 14 will need its own investigative study.
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