

Doris L. Payne

## 23 Nilotic applicatives

**Abstract:** The Nilotic family divides into three branches. Eastern, Southern, and Western branches have dative applicatives covering roughly BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, ADDRESSEE and GOAL. The dative applicative is usually required for benefactive phrases, but in a few languages it can syntactically alternate with prepositional expression. Eastern, Southern and at least one Western Nilotic languages have syntactically optional instrumental/locative applicatives, covering INSTRUMENT, TIME, LOCATION, RESULT, etc. All branches have directionals with a redirective applicative function with verbs that have an <AGENT, GOAL/SOURCE> base argument structure. In Southern Nilotic, the ventive versus the dative applicative have specialized for person of the beneficiary; and in some, the itive marks a nonspecific 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY, and in at least one other an applied COMITATIVE.

### 1 Introduction to Nilotic languages

Nilotic languages extend from the southernmost part of Sudan to southern Tanzania. The family divides in three branches (Köhler 1955), sketched in Figures 1 through 3. Western Nilotic (WN) languages (about 22) extend from southernmost Sudan, through South Sudan and Uganda, into the border regions of western Ethiopia, and to northern Tanzania. Eastern Nilotic (EN) languages (about 17) are in South Sudan, its border regions with Ethiopia, and in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania; with the notable exception of *Atlasi ya lugha za Tanzania* (Languages of Tanzania Project 2009), most maps fail to show the modern extension of the EN Maa language complex into southern Tanzania. Southern Nilotic (SN) languages (about 16) are found in Uganda, Kenya, and Tanzania, near Mbeya. The approximate number of languages in each branch is from Hammarström et al. Number of speakers per language varies widely, from highly endangered ones like Akie with perhaps under 200 speakers (König, Heine, and Legère 2015: 10), to around a million if, for example, the Maa complex were considered a single language. This chapter draws on selected languages from each major sub-branch of the family, seen in Figures 1–3. Main sub-branches of the three main branches are in bold, further sub-branches are in plain type, and individual languages are in italics.

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**Barian:** *Bari, Kúkú, Mundari*

**Teso-Lotuxo-Maa**

Teso-Turkana: *Ateso, Turkana*

Lotuxo-Maa: *Lopit, Maa* (including *Maasai*)

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**Figure 1:** Eastern Nilotic (EN): main branches and selected languages.

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**Kalenjin:** *Akie, Nandi, Cherang'any*  
**Datooga-Omotik:** *Barbayaiga, Gisamjanga, Asimjeeg*

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**Figure 2:** Southern Nilotic (SN): main branches and selected languages.

Research on Nilotic varieties varies widely. For some, just word lists exist, while the morphosyntax of others was documented starting in the 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Work on applicatives is uneven, especially regarding syntax and semantic extensions. For some languages, a few examples demonstrate that applicatives exist though they may be mentioned under various labels, but little more is known. A few WN languages may lack applicatives, insofar as current literature suggests.

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**Dinka-Nuer**

Dinka: *Agar Dinka*  
 Nuer-Reel: *Nuer, Reel*

**Luo-Burun**

Southern Lwoo: *Lango, Kumam, Dholuo, Acholi*  
 Northern Lwoo: *Anuak (or Anywa), Pări, Shilluk*  
 Mabaan-Jumjum: *Mabaan, Jumjum*  
 Burun: *Kurmuk*

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**Figure 3:** Western Nilotic (WN): main branches and selected languages.

Section 2 introduces the morphosyntactic typology of the three main branches relevant to applicative constructions. As there is considerable diversity across the family, the rest of the chapter is organized largely by semantics and probable cognate applicative morphemes: the so-called dative and other forms for BENEFICIARY (with various semantic extensions; Section 3), INSTRUMENT or LOCATION applicatives (with various semantic extensions; Section 4), and the use of directionals in applicative function (Section 5). Section 6 notes a few “applicative look-alike” constructions, and Section 7 addresses non-applicative and lexicalized functions of the applicative morphology. Section 8 summarizes the findings.<sup>1</sup>

## 2 Basic morphosyntactic overview

The morphosyntax of EN and SN languages is typologically similar, while that of WN is quite distinct. Whether this is due to genetic closeness or more intense contact between EN and SN, or to coincidental development is not established.

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<sup>1</sup> I mostly regularize glosses of applicative forms and adapt authors' original glosses to Leipzig glossing conventions. I generally retain authors' representation of data.

In all branches, applicatives do not add new clause types to the syntactic inventory, except that four-argument clauses can be created in at least some languages (basic four-argument clauses do not occur). Choice of applicative form does not generally depend on base predicate valence, though some WN languages have distinct directional forms for intransitive versus transitive bases. Each applicative has some degree of polysemy, but none are all-purpose applicatives. That is, none is semantically as broad as the oft-cited Bantu applicative *\*-id* or Indonesian *-kan*.

## 2.1 Morphology

SN and EN verbs are broadly agglutinative, but with some fusional features, co-occurrence restrictions, and significant grammatical tone. (For SN, cf., among others, Rottland 1982; Creider and Creider 1989; Mietzner 2016; Griscom 2019; Bruckhaus 2021. For EN, cf., among others, Tucker and Mpaayie 1955; Dimmendaal 1983a; Payne 2015; Barasa 2017; Moodie and Billington 2020.) Verbs have a conjugation class distinction between what are called Class I versus Class II (Rottland 1982; Tucker and Mpaayie 1955; Dimmendaal 1983b). Allomorphy for applicatives and directionals is largely phonological, determined by ATR harmony, tone sandhi, and consonant and vowel deletion due to interaction with other morphemes. Subjects and speech-act objects are indexed on the verb; pronominal 3<sup>rd</sup> person objects are zero-marked on the verb.

WN verbs carry fewer parsable affixes than EN and SN languages. There is considerable stem variation for derivation and some inflection. Most derivational categories, including applicatives and directionals, involve stem alternations in vowel length, vowel and voice quality; consonant alternation, gemination, and deletion; and/or tone variations. Specific stem forms can interact with verb class, which is usually discussed in terms of the (sometimes abstract) phonological nature of the base stem (Andersen 1988a, 1992–1994; Reh 1996; Noonan 1992: 87–102; Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016; among others). More segmentable affixes index core participants, but especially inanimate 3<sup>rd</sup> person objects may have zero verb indexation.

## 2.2 Basic syntax

SN and EN languages have mostly predicate-initial clause syntax, though order can depend on discourse and constructional issues. However, Bari (EN; Spagnolo 1933) and arguably Asimjeeg Datooga (SN; Griscom 2019: 269) have basic SVO order. The verb initial languages display marked-nominative tonal case marking on post-verbal NPs (König 2008). In such Nilotic systems, there is a morphologically and/or distributionally marked form for post-verbal transitive and intransitive subjects, but a morphologically and/or distributionally unmarked form for citation, objects, and (most)

pre-verbal subjects.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, SVO languages do not appear to have marked nominative case patterns.

Some WN languages are described as having SVO basic order, as might be suggested by (1).<sup>3</sup>

- (1) Dinka (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 239)

*bòol ǎ-tĩŋ mĩiir*  
 Bol AGR-see giraffe  
 ‘Bol sees the giraffe.’

However, there is significant diversity across WN. Jumjum has intransitive SV but transitive AOV and OVA orders (Andersen 2019). Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley (2016: 239) comment that in Dinka, Pāri and Shilluk, subject/agent can occur post-verbally and is then case-marked, but these languages may differ as to the syntactico-pragmatic status of this arrangement. In Dinka, the post-verbal agent case is analyzed as ‘oblique’, as in (2); but in Pāri and Shilluk it has been analyzed as a core ergative, as in (3) (Andersen 1988b; Miller and Gilley 2001; Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016).<sup>4</sup>

- (2) Dinka (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 239)

*acóol ǎ-tĩŋ mĩiir*  
 Achol AGR-see.ENTS giraffe.OBL  
 ‘The giraffe sees Achol.’

- (3) Shilluk (Miller and Gilley 2001: 36)

*byél á-rākḳ yĩ nān qájò*  
 grain.PL PST.EVID-grind.TR.REP ERG person female  
 ‘The woman ground the durra.’

The core clause structure of some WN languages, including Lango (Noonan 1992: 119), Kurmuk (Andersen 2015) and Agar Dinka (Andersen 2012a), is described as having

<sup>2</sup> Most Niloticists use *nominative* for the marked case form, but various terms occur for the unmarked case form including *absolute* (Tucker and Bryan 1962, 1964/1965; Towett 1975; Dimmendaal 1983b; Mietzner 2016; Barasa 2017), *absolute* (Rottland 1982; Dimmendaal 2009; Bruckhaus 2021), *accusative* (Tucker and Mpaayie 1955, Griscom 2019), and *oblique* (Creider and Creider 1989). Departing from all the preceding, Mel’čuk (2006: 266–269) uses *nominative* for the unmarked case form, and *oblique* for the marked one (which other Niloticists call the *nominative*). Here I use *absolute* for the unmarked form (leaving this form unglossed for case), and *nominative* in accord with dominant Nilotic practice.

<sup>3</sup> Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley (2016) do not indicate the variety of Dinka for this example.

<sup>4</sup> Remijsen and Ayoker (2018) argue for an alternative “object voice” analysis for the Shilluk construction. While agreeing with Miller and Gilley (2001) that it does not have the informational structure properties of a passive, they argue that the so-called ergative phrase lacks properties of a core argument.

an initial structural “Topic” position. In particular, the Agar Dinka basic declarative clause scheme is (roughly) TOPIC–VERB–SUBJECT–OBJECT; while the Lango basic clause scheme is TOPIC–SUBJECT–VERB–OBJECT(s). Alternative orders of arguments/semantic roles typically require alternative verb forms (cf. the basic versus NTS verb forms in [1] versus [2]).

Nilotic languages have basic intransitive, transitive and ditransitive clause constructions. Simple verb roots correspond to each valence construction type, and derivational processes change valence. Typical valence-reducing morphemes include impersonal and/or passive, middle and/or reflexive, and some have an antipassive. Regarding transitivity of Lango verb stems, Noonan (1992: 87, 123–132) distinguishes transitive, intransitive (“activity naming” or roughly antipassive in sense), and “secondary argument” (roughly anticausative in sense) forms. Valence-increasing constructions include causative and applicative(s). The various applicative constructions appear to behave like basic syntactic constructions (transitive or ditransitive), with the applicative phrase (APP) usually serving as a direct or primary object.<sup>5</sup> In some languages, LOCATIVE applied phrases may still carry an adposition, but this is not universal.

### 3 Dative applicative concepts: BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, ADDRESSEE, GOAL, etc.

Nearly all Nilotic languages have what I will call a “dative” applicative. This allows a verb to have a BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, ADDRESSEE, GOAL/GOAL-REACHED/SPECIFIC-GOAL participant as a core argument, which the verb would otherwise not have. The general forms (with additional allomorphs) are *-(V)ka(n)* in EN, *-chi(n)/-sii(n)* in SN, and stem modification plus sometimes suffix elements in WN. Andersen (1988a) argues that components of the WN applicative stem modifications are likely cognate with the EN/SN forms (see also Dimmendaal 2009). In SN, the BENEFICIARY function of the dative applicative is partially taken over by other morphemes (Sections 3.2 and 5.2). Some WN languages may be on the verge of developing a new applicative in this functional domain (Section 3.3).<sup>6</sup>

<sup>5</sup> I use “primary object” in the sense of Dryer (1986). Dimmendaal (2009: 11) calls the Turkana dative APP a “secondary object”, but does not appear to follow Dryer’s usage.

<sup>6</sup> Creissels and Voisin (this volume) use “B-applicative” for applicatives that include benefactive but not instrumental function, and “I-applicative” for those that include instrumental but not benefactive function. While this terminology generally fits EN applicative patterns, the term “dative (applicative)” is quite widely used in Nilotic studies for cognates of *-(V)ka(n)* and for some WN verb forms which may be cognate. I retain the term “dative” here for continuity with the existing Nilotic literature and because benefactive functions are not exclusive to cognates of *-(V)ka(n)* in SN.

The dative applicative is usually valence-increasing, creating transitive stems from intransitive roots, and ditransitives from transitives. With derived ditransitives, the added participant does not typically appear to displace a base argument, though this is not well researched and does happen in some languages. For a very few documented transitive roots, the dative derivation is not valence-increasing but affects the semantic reading of the object; that is, the dative can have an argument “re-arranging” function (cf. Lamoureaux 2004 on Maasai). In the clear majority of languages, the dative is obligatory for expressing a BENEFICIARY. In contrast, it is generally syntactically optional for expressing a general GOAL with movement and caused-motion verbs.

### 3.1 Eastern Nilotic

In EN, the dative has the general shape  $-(V)ki(n)$  and is obligatory for a BENEFICIARY and possibly RECIPIENT and ADDRESSEE, but syntactically optional for GOAL. The syntactic status of BENEFICIARY versus base objects is not so well researched across the sub-family, but an applied BENEFICIARY is generally the privileged object (likely due to privileging animate participants).

Spagnolo (1933), Nyombe (1987), and Yokwe (1987: 24–28) describe a Bari suffix *-akin* (with various allomorphs).<sup>7</sup> Spagnolo describes it as meaning ‘on behalf of’, ‘limited to s.o.’, ‘general motion toward a central place’, etc. We may infer it has a transitivizing effect from sets like those in (4).

- (4) Bari (Spagnolo 1933: 165)

“Long” stem		Dative	
<i>ruma</i>	‘walk fast’	<i>rumakin</i>	‘hasten for s.o. or to some place’
<i>jara</i>	‘be absent’	<i>jarakin</i>	‘delay in some place’
<i>miö</i>	‘be painful’	<i>mikin</i>	‘hurt’

In (5), the THEME *ná* precedes the verb and the APPP follows the verb (in the presumably basic object position). In (6), the THEME follows the verb. Either the base THEME or the applied BENEFICIARY can be pronominal. If 3<sup>rd</sup> person and known from context, these can be expressed as a null like the BENEFICIARY in (6).

- (5) Bari (Yokwe 1987: 416; my glosses)

*Pòní ná mòk-ákin Jàdà*  
 Poni DEM.FSG hold-DAT Jada  
 ‘Poni is holding it for Jada.’

<sup>7</sup> Spagnolo parses the first vowel as part of the “long form” of the preceding stem.

- (6) Bari (Yokwe 1987: 478; my glosses)  
*Pòní à dér-á-kín súkùrì*  
 Poni PST cook-LINK-DAT chicken  
 ‘Poni cooked chicken for him.’

Example (7) suggests that some adpositions might still co-occur with some added participants since both ‘1SG’ and ‘leg’ appear to be in adpositional phrases with the dative stem; but this needs investigation (Dimmendaal 2009: 13).

- (7) Bari (EN; Spagnolo 1933: 165; my glosses based on Spagnolo)  
*mejeke mi~mikin kôyô i mokot*  
 guinea.worm ASP~hurt.DAT to.me in leg  
 ‘The guinea-worm hurts me in the leg.’

Kukú is mutually intelligible with Bari. Cohen (2000: 9, 54–56) documents an applicative *-akn/-ikin* (the latter is a +ATR allomorph). This is said to indicate “ditransitivity” and BENEFICIARY, and it is lexicalized in some stems (e.g., ‘arrive’, ‘support’). There is little information on valence or syntactic effects of the Kukú dative, but Cohen (2000: 124–125) gives examples with base and dative forms of ‘give’. The applicative stem *tikín* ‘give to’ can occur with a pronoun RECIPIENT immediately after the verb, which is the normal position for base pronoun objects. (Applied examples with a lexical RECIPIENT are missing.) Contrariwise, an example with the non-applicative stem *tín* ‘give’ has the order Subject–Verb–THEME–RECIPIENT when all arguments are lexical. (Examples are missing with *tín* and pronoun RECIPIENTS.)

Dimmendaal (2009: 1–10) provides a detailed account of the Turkana dative applicative. It creates transitives from intransitive bases (like ‘be angry with’ from ‘be angry’), and ditransitives from transitive bases. In (8) with a transitive root, for instance, the applied BENEFICIARY is indexed on the verb by *kà*, showing that 1SG is an object (also expressed here by a free unmarked-case pronoun).<sup>8</sup>

- (8) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 2)  
*kà-inǝk-ak(i) Desì ayǝŋ akim(i)*  
 3>1-light-DAT 3SG.NOM 1SG fire  
 ‘S/he has lighted a fire for me.’

In a second construction, the Turkana dative can add a locative APPP. In (9), the dative is absent and the locative is preceded by the preposition *à*. In (10), the dative occurs and the preposition disappears. In both, the LOCATION is marked for locative case by *na-*.

<sup>8</sup> Dimmendaal (2009) calls the unmarked Turkana case “absolute”, which has wider distribution in the grammar. This does not pattern as absolute in the sense of an ergative/absolute system.

According to Dimmendaal (2009: 6–7), the prepositional construction introduces new or contrastive information, while the dative construction tracks already-established information.

- (9) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 4)

*k-ibòy-è-te            à        na-wuy(è)    kɛc(i)*  
 SUBS-stay-ASP-PL   PREP   LOC.F-home    their  
 ‘and they stayed at their homestead’

- (10) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 4)

*k-ibò-ikìn-o-s(i)            nà-wuy(è)            kɛc(i)*  
 SUBS-stay-DAT-MID-PL   LOC.F-homestead    their  
 ‘and they stayed in their homestead’

Example (11) shows similar facts with a transitive root. As with *mɔk* ‘light’ in (8), the dative yields a three-argument clause from the transitive root *irɛp* ‘insert, put’. But unlike (8) which has a benefactive interpretation, (11) has one of its non-nominative arguments in a locative case.

- (11) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 3)

*k-irɛp-ak(i)        ɲimòyò    kɛɲ            na-ki’*  
 SUBS-put-DAT    fingers    3SG.POSS   LOC.PL-ears  
 ‘S/he has put his/her fingers in his/her ears.’

In a third construction type and contrary to (10), a locative phrase sometimes still carries a preposition with the dative verb derivation, as in (12). Note, however, that the locative in (12) is a *SOURCE*, rather than a ‘place-at-which’ or *GOAL*; also, adpositional *SOURCE* phrases do not always require co-occurrence of the dative verb suffix. Whether (12) should be considered an applicative construction merits further study.

- (12) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 5)

*èlàk-àkìn-rt            ɲikurùdoi    à        na-kítòk*  
 3.release-DAT-ASP   foam            PREP   LOC.F-mouth  
 ‘S/he released foam from the mouth.’ (i.e., s/he was in a convulsion)

Fourthly in Turkana, the dative can yield *COMITATIVE* meaning in combination with the preposition *kà*; compare (13) and (14).

- (13) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 6)

*è-bùn-it-ò            kà        nakwèè*  
 3-come-ASP-PL   PREP   Nakwee  
 ‘They are coming together with Nakwee.’



- (14) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 6)

*n-imɔrm-àkin-o-ì      ɲitùrkwanà      kà      ɲitɔpɔsa*  
 NEG-3.MIX-DAT-MID-PL   Turkana.NOM   PREP   Toposa  
 ‘The Turkana do not associate/mix with Toposa people.’

In Lopit, dative applicative and prepositional forms can alternate for expressing BENEFICIARY and GOAL (Moodie and Billington 2020: 190–191). Further, the Lopit dative may co-occur with a prepositional GOAL in something like ‘I hid the cow in the mountains’. In such instances, the authors speculate that the dative may be lexicalized as part of the verb stem and is not valence-increasing, though interestingly they also state that a location must be expressed when the dative relates to a GOAL (p. 192).

In Ateso (Barasa 2017: 186–188), the dative occurs for BENEFICIARY as in (15), RECIPIENT (even with the verb ‘give’) as in (16), or ADDRESSEE as in (17). It also occurs with the verb ‘meet’ to express the party met, which we may consider a GOAL-REACHED, as in (18). But there is a difference in how the APPP is treated depending on semantic role. An applied BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT or ADDRESSEE occurs in the unmarked absolute case immediately after a lexical subject (if any) and before the THEME. The GOAL of ‘meet’ occurs in a prepositional phrase despite the applicative on the verb.<sup>9</sup>

- (15) Ateso (Barasa 2017: 187)

*é-tjàk-àkin      è-múrwòk      àkàtòlà*  
 3SG-cut.PST-DAT   M-doctors   sugarcane  
 ‘S/he cut (divided) sugarcane for the (traditional) doctors.’

- (16) Ateso (Barasa 2017: 186)

*é-in-àkin-ì      èmúsgòt      Pétérò      àpàkí*  
 3SG-give.PST-DAT-IPFV   butcher.NOM   Petero   permission  
 ‘The butcher gave Petero permission.’

- (17) Ateso (Barasa 2017: 186)

*é-sòm-ak-ìt      jájá      ébàrwàit*  
 3SG-read-DAT-PFV   aunt   letter  
 ‘S/he read the letters to (the) aunt.’

<sup>9</sup> Barasa (2017: 170) describes a tonal locative case which can occur after the preposition *k=*. He does not indicate what case occurs on ‘chief’ in (18) but it is tonally different from the apparent absolute case form *èjákaìt*.

- (18) Ateso (Barasa 2017: 188)

*ŋàibó kí=rjàm-àkìn-ò-s(i) k=éjàkàit*  
 who PREP=2SG-meet.PST-DAT-REC-PL PREP=chief  
 ‘Who met the chief?’

For Maasai, Lamoureux (2004) quite comprehensively treats the morphosyntax and semantics of applicative constructions (see Andrason and Karani 2019 on the argument status of dative APPPs in Arusa Maa). If the dative is added to a transitive root, the APPP patterns as the primary object and tends to immediately follow the verb (but this may be due to animacy features of a BENEFICIARY more than the effect of the applicative; cf. Payne 2022a). 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person objects (base or applied) are indexed by verb prefixes. Example (19) shows this and also demonstrates the possible GOAL(-REACHED) semantics of the Maa dative. This is a complex example. The dative APPP is “raised” to be the object of an otherwise intransitive verb ‘go.PL’ (marked by the “inverse” prefix *kí-* which expresses 3/1PL>2SG or 2>1SG; Payne, Hamaya and Jacobs 1994), even though the applicative is on the infinitive verb ‘take’.

- (19) Maasai

*K-á-yīēū ní-kí-púó-puo áa-y-akí il=pídílá tɛ síaŋau*  
 CN2-1SG-want CN-INV-go.PL-go.PL INF.PL-take-DAT MPL=fleas OBL calabash.NOM  
 ‘I want you (PL) to go and bring me fleas in a calabash.’ (arinkoi.006)

The Maasai dative can create four-argument clauses, as in (20). *Prík* ‘put’ is a three-argument root; the dative adds a BENEFICIARY, indexed by the verb prefix.

- (20) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*áa-prík-akí ɔl=morrání enk=áré e=motí*  
 3>1SG-put-DAT MSG=warrior.NOM FSG=water FSG=pot  
 ‘The warrior will put water into the pot on my behalf.’

The Maasai dative can also have a valence-neutral redirective applicative function with <AGENT PATH> translational motion verbs. Compare (21)–(22), which together show that the dative derives an <AGENT GOAL-REACHED> stem.

- (21) Maasai (adapted from Lamoureux 2004: 58)

*ɛ-íd ɔl=páyian o=sóit*  
 3-jump.over MSG=man.NOM MSG=rock  
 ‘The man will jump (over) the rock.’

- (22) Maasai (adapted from Lamoureaux 2004: 58)

*ε-íd-ákɪ*                      *ɔl=páyian*                      *o=sóít*  
 3-jump.over-DAT    MSG=man.NOM    MSG=rock  
 ‘The man will jump on (top of) the rock.’

For Arusa Maa, Andrason and Karani (2019: 183) show a GOAL AppLP preceded by a relational noun ‘inside’.<sup>10</sup> Additional non-applicative functions of the Maa dative are mentioned in Section 7.

## 3.2 Southern Nilotic

Both SN sub-branches have an applicative which appears to be cognate with the EN dative.<sup>11</sup> As we will see, SN languages use the dative or a ventive directional for BENEFICIARY depending on person of the BENEFICIARY.

### 3.2.1 Kalenjin varieties

The Akie dative is *-ci(n)/-in(i)* (among other allomorphs; *c* represents a palatal consonant; König, Heine, and Legère 2015: 21). Examples show this can express BENEFICIARY or GOAL.

- (23) Akie (König, Heine, and Legère 2015: 56)

*ki-rá*                      *ál-ci*                      *láákweε*                      *amtr*  
 1PL-PFV    buy-DAT.PFV    child.ACC    food.ACC  
 ‘We have bought food for the child.’

- (24) Akie (König, Heine, and Legère 2015: 56)

*a*                      *ηútt-ini*                      *ηóllεε*  
 1SG    spit-DAT    saliva.ACC  
 ‘I spit (at him).’ [for blessing]

<sup>10</sup> Andrason and Karani claim that ‘inside’ is a preposition, but it varies for case like a relational noun. Another dative example which they claim shows a prepositional GOAL could instead be analyzed as ‘Father will send mother the boy at home’, where ‘mother’ (which doesn’t carry a preposition) is the GOAL AppLP.

<sup>11</sup> It is called “dative”, “terminative”, “allative” or just “applicative” by SN scholars. Bruckhaus (2021: 122) hypothesizes that it derives from *sii* ‘somebody’ in G/B Datooga, though he also says it “corresponds to” the “goal marking suffix *\*-k(In)*” (p. 50).

In Nandi, the dative expresses applied RECIPIENT, ADDRESSEE, GOAL, BENEFICIARY, and MALEFICIARY as in (25), and REASON (Creider and Creider 1989; Creider 2002).<sup>12</sup>

(25) Nandi (Creider 2002: 174)

*ka-rér-cí*                      *ce:ka*   *cesí:lú:t*  
 PST1-be.scarce-DAT   milk   Jesilut (woman's name)  
 'The milk has run out on Jesilut.'

Creider and Creider (1989: 90) state that the Nandi dative is restricted to 3<sup>rd</sup> person objects. However, (26) with a 2<sup>nd</sup> person ADDRESSEE shows this apparently does not always hold; (27) shows the same root 'say' without the dative.

(26) Nandi (Creider 2002: 174)

*ká:-lé:n-cí:n*              *ib-ú:*              *kikô:mpé:t*  
 PST1.1SG-say-DAT   bring-VEN   cup  
 'I said to you to bring the cup.'

(27) Nandi (Creider 2002: 174)

*ké:-le*                      *nè:*  
 PST1.2SG-say   what  
 'What did you say?'

Interpretation of the semantic role of the APPP depends on verb semantics (e.g., ADDRESSEE with 'say' as just seen) and on features of the APPP such as animacy. Compare constructionally identical (28)–(29), the first with BENEFICIARY and the second with GOAL(-REACHED) readings.

(28) Nandi (Creider 2002: 175)

*itú:-cí*                      *kwe:ník*   *ce:pe:t*  
 put.down-DAT   firewood   Jebet  
 'S/he is putting the firewood down for Jebet.'

(29) Nandi (Creider 2002: 175)

*ki:-tu:-cì*                      *kwe:ník*   *ngecerê:t*  
 INF-put.down-DAT   firewood   chair  
 'to set the firewood on the chair'

<sup>12</sup> The Nandi data do not represent ATR contrasts. The colon represents a long vowel. Creider (2002: 172) states there are three degrees of past tense. I assume his "past 1" (PST1) is closest to the temporal point of reference.

The Nandi dative is lexicalized with some verbs including ‘give’ (Section 7). However, it increases valence when structurally optional.

In Cherang’any, the dative is used for 3<sup>rd</sup> person GOAL and BENEFICIARY APPP objects (which Mietzner 2016: 134 calls “indirect” objects), as in (30). In contrast, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person applied BENEFICIARIES involve directionals (Section 5.2).

- (30) Cherang’any (Mietzner 2016: 134)

*á-tèèk-cíní síkík-cùù kò*  
 1SG-build-DAT parents-PSR.SG+PSM3PL house  
 ‘I am building a house for my parents.’

### 3.2.2 Datooga varieties

Within the Datooga SN sub-branch, Barbayiiga and Gisamjanga (B/G) are very closely related, over against Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019).<sup>13</sup> As in Cherang’any, there is generally a person-based split for benefactive applicatives: dative and sometimes itive cognates are used for 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY APPPs, while the ventive directional is used for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person (Section 5.2). Syntactically, the dative increases valence in all Datooga varieties.

For B/G Datooga, dative *-s/-sii* adds a BENEFICIARY, RECIPIENT or concrete or fictive SPECIFIC GOAL that is not the current deictic center (Bruckhaus 2021: 117, 122); a moving entity may or may not actually arrive at the GOAL. This is seen in (31)–(33) for 3<sup>rd</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person GOALS of movement verbs.

- (31) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 122)

*béegà gá-gúl-s-á bàsôoda*  
 water 3SBJ-flow-DAT-IS lake  
 ‘The water flows to the lake.’

- (32) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 122)

*gá-wèe-s-à*  
 3SBJ-go-DAT-IS  
 ‘S/he goes to her/him.’

<sup>13</sup> For B/G Datooga, the dative and *-an* applicatives (Section 4.3.2) may co-occur (Bruckhaus (2021). For Asimjeeg Datooga, there may be limits on their co-occurrence, and *-an* can occur with directionals (Griscom 2019: 240).

- (33) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 122)

*gá-bíik-s-èey*

3SBJ-return-DAT-2SG.OBJ

'He returns to you (SG).'

For most verbs, however, the dative is not used for 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person, as the contrasts in (34)–(35) demonstrate for GOAL, and in (36)–(39) for BENEFICIARY.<sup>14</sup>

- (34) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 68)

*ní-bàlàg-ù míiyèndè-ɛnù*

3.PRFX-shift-VEN sickness-SG.POSS.1SG

'My sickness has returned hither/to me.'

- (35) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 68)

*nì-bálák-s-á géeskà-sci*

3.PRFX-shift-DAT-IS coughing-PL.POSS.3SG

'His coughing has returned to him.'

- (36) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 117)

*gwá-lák-n-èɛn*

3-cut-VEN-1SG.OBJ

'S/he is cutting for me.'

- (37) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 117)

*gwá-lák-n-éeyì*

3-cut-VEN-2SG.OBJ

'S/he is cutting for you (SG).'

- (38) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 117)

*gwá-lák-s-à*

3-cut-DAT-IS

'S/he is cutting for her/him.'

- (39) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 124)

*sí-sí gá-gées-s-à bétrò bēega*

person-PROX 3SBJ-fetch-DAT-IS Peter water

'This person is fetching water for Peter.'

<sup>14</sup> It is not clear whether valence has increased in (34) given the lack of an object suffix on the verb. However, (34) is informative in its contrast with (35).

In addition to 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY, the dative can add a LOCATION as in (40)–(41).<sup>15</sup>

- (40) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 124)

*gòò-réer-s-à Héeydòm*  
 3SBJ-feed-DAT-IS Haydom  
 ‘S/he is feeding at Haydom.’

- (41) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 124)

*gá-kèek-íi-s-á qòòh*  
 3SBJ-vomit-PLRC-DAT-IS home  
 ‘S/he always vomits at home.’

Some dative stems are restricted to ANIMATE GOALS; others must co-occur with *héedà* ‘place’ + animate noun for an animate GOAL. Kießling (2007: 132) notes sense-extension of the dative ACROSS RECIPIENT and BENEFICIARY in instances like ‘He gave out the meat to the youth’. He further finds that with verbs which lexically have a RECIPIENT role in their basic predicate frame, the dative “adds an idea of finality and introduces a cause or a purpose” (p. 134). He illustrates with *maar* ‘give a present (cattle) to someone in acknowledgement of a heroic deed’ which, in its underived form, “already assigns the recipient to the object role”. In (42), the dative stem *maars* adds the meaning ‘for a special purpose’ (‘finality’ is not particularly evident here).

- (42) B/G Datooga (Kießling 2007: 134)

*gíi-màars-ínàa*  
 SBJ2.SG-donate.DAT-what  
 ‘What do you give a hero’s present to him for?’

Griscom (2019: 125–126, 237) summarizes functions of the Asimjeeg Datooga dative *-s(V:n) ~ -s(a) ~ s(i)* as adding 3<sup>rd</sup> person GOAL in a macro-sense. More specifically, the added argument can be an ENDPOINT as seen by comparing (43)–(44); BENEFICIARY as in (45); occasionally LOCATION as seen by comparing (46)–(47); and some ADDRESSEES as in (48)–(49).<sup>16</sup>

- (43) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 238)

*àní:n g-ò-tfág-n-à:n gífin*  
 1SG AFF-3-send-VEN-1SG Gishina  
 ‘Gishina sent me.’

<sup>15</sup> Bruckhaus (2021: 124) also suggests the dative (his “allative”) can indicate PURPOSE, but perhaps only in combination with the question word ‘what’.

<sup>16</sup> Griscom (2019: 126) reads as if it can also add an INSTRUMENT, but no examples support this. In (48), the double colon represents extra length, and (.) represents a pause.

- (44) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 238)  
*Ø-wún má:ŋòl g-ì-dà-tfäg-sí:n-e:ŋ*  
 2SG-come Mang'ola AFF-FUT-1SG-send-DAT-2SG  
 'Come, I'm sending you to Mang'ola.'
- (45) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 240)  
*g-à:-rà-m-s mùh-ó:g áb qùwàrí*  
 AFF-1SG-fetch-DAT calf-PL<sup>17</sup> PREP home  
 'I fetched (water) for the calves at home.'
- (46) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 239)  
*q-à:-dà-j sí:-d sí-bàr*  
 AFF-1SG-see-FS person-SG IMPERS-hit  
 'I saw a person get beaten (killed).'
- (47) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 239)  
*m-à-nún dá-jjŋ àsim-džànd sí-bár-s džérk<sup>w</sup>-è:d*  
 NEG-3-let 1SG-hear asimjeeg-SG IMPERS-hit-DAT field-SG  
 'I've never heard of an Asimjeeg person being beaten in the field.'
- (48) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 240)  
*há i:dú: (.) g-à-gùr-s bòn-é:d áb màdž-ò:d*  
 well later AFF-3-call-DAT people-SG PREP magic-SG  
 'Later he called people by using magic. . .'
- (49) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 107)  
*í:s g-è:-rùg-s sí:-d ŋáf-ánd*  
 often AFF-IMPERS-tell-DAT person-SG word-SG  
 'Often a person is told something. . .'

Unlike varieties which use the ventive for speech-act ADDRESSE, in Asimjeeg Datooga the dative sometimes is used (Griscom 2019: 237, 259) as in (50). However, the ventive still generally occurs for this (see Section 6.3).<sup>18</sup>

<sup>17</sup> SN nouns have complex number affixation, which Griscom (2019) thoroughly parses. As the number system does not bear on issues addressed here, I collapse multiple number affixes into one parsed element and gloss it simply as SG or PL.

<sup>18</sup> Griscom speculates on whether the dative versus ventive could be lexicalized with different roots, or perhaps reflects an aspectual feature.



- (50) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 237)  
*g-à-gùr-sí:n-á:n      sì:-d      qàh-áp*  
 AFF-3-call-DAT-1SG   person-SG   home-1SG.POSS  
 ‘...and a person from home called me..’

In addition to using the ventive for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person BENEFICIARY and ADDRESSEE, Datooga varieties have an applicative *-an* which seems to have some association with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person ADDRESSES and GOALS (Section 4.3.2).

### 3.3 Western Nilotic

The morphological interactions of derivational categories (e.g., benefactive/dative, directionals, voice) are relatively well-studied for some WN languages (Andersen 1988a; Andersen 1992–1994; Reh 1996; Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016; and others). Languages in all WN sub-branches have applicative verb stems that include expression of BENEFICIARY/GOAL (our broad dative category). As noted in Section 2.1, WN verb derivation is largely achieved by stem-internal changes; but some languages have a ‘benefactive’ suffix *-i* co-occurring with stem changes and Jumjum has a dative suffix *-k/-g*. I treat the WN applicative category that includes functions of the EN/SN dative here, as they are similar in semantics and valence effects. Further, Andersen (1988a: 106–110) reconstructs a pre-Päri dative suffix *\*-ȲC* (where *Ȳ* is a +ATR vowel and *C* is a stop). He suggests it goes back to Proto-WN, and that this and the EN/SN forms may reconstruct to a single source.

The following pair shows the valence-increasing effect of the Agar Dinka dative. Observe the differences in tone and voice quality of the verb stem vowel.<sup>19</sup>

- (51) Agar Dinka (Andersen 1992–1994: 9)  
*ḍḍɔk    ḍ-mīit      wéŋ*  
 boy   DECL-pull   cow  
 ‘The boy is pulling the cow.’
- (52) Agar Dinka (Andersen 1992–1994: 9)  
*ḍḍɔk    ḍ-mīit      wéŋ    mɔc*  
 boy   DECL-pull.DAT   cow   man  
 ‘The boy is pulling the cow for the man.’

<sup>19</sup> Andersen (1992–1994) calls this the “benefactive” derivation; for some other WN languages the presumably cognate derivation is just called “applicative”, and for others “dative”. Under-dots mark a breathy vowel and a tilde under a vowel marks creaky voice.

Cien et al.'s (2016: 124, 215) pedagogically-oriented grammar of Reel states that an “applicative” verb can add a LOCATION, DIRECTION, RECIPIENT (for ‘give’), or BENEFICIARY participant. Verb classes can affect form of the applicative stem, and some applicative forms may be homophonous with non-derived transitive stems.<sup>20</sup> The applicative increases valence, as in (53)–(54).

- (53) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 124)

*nuěěr liŋ gat*  
 person listen.INCOMPL child  
 ‘Person is listening to child.’

- (54) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 124)

*nuěěr liŋ gat ruěth*  
 person listen.INCOMPL.DAT child chief  
 ‘Person is listening to child for chief.’

Examples (55)–(56) demonstrate the transitivizing effect of the applicative with an intransitive root. The citation form of ‘well’ is *kath*, while *kaath* means ‘in well’ (Cien et al. 2016: 41). Thus, the applicative stem appears to license a LOCATIVE role but in a locative case. The locative case form of a noun is distinct from the prepositions *kě* for GOAL/DIRECTION and *ke* for ACCOMPANIMENT, INSTRUMENT, TIME, GOAL/DIRECTION (Cien et al. 2016: 60).

- (55) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 124)

*nuěěr pen*  
 person fall.INCOMPL  
 ‘Person is falling.’

- (56) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 124)

*nuěěr peen kaath*  
 person fall.INCOMPL.DAT well.LOC  
 ‘Person is falling in well.’

The following pair demonstrates the locative case with a transitive root.

<sup>20</sup> Cien et al. do not write tone, but it is possible it changes (cf. Reid 2010: 28–29). Diereses mark breathy vowels.

- (57) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 73)

*juii*    *ε*    *Ayak*  
 saw    3    Lion  
 ‘He saw Lion.’

- (58) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 41)

*kue*    *Ayak*    *juic*    *kaath*  
 then.3    Lion    saw.DAT    well.LOC  
 ‘Then he saw Lion in well.’

Reid (2019: 99, 169) briefly describes the Nuer “applicative” derivation, with vowel features varying by verb class and finiteness. This derivation adds various semantic roles including BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY and RECIPIENT, as follows.<sup>21</sup>

- (59) Nuer (Reid 2019: 119)

*uʒ̥aaaʉ-ǵ*  
 push(TR)-1SG  
 (free translation not provided; presumably ‘I push it.’)

- (60) Nuer (Reid 2019: 99)

*uʌ́n*    *uʒ̥ouʉ-ǵ*    *rāaan*    *Bóool*  
 1SG    push(TR).DAT-1SG    person    Bool  
 ‘I am pushing Bool for the person.’

- (61) Nuer (Reid 2019: 99)

*jén*    *lǎt-ǵ*    *twéé*    *eʔwǝi*    *j-d-ǵ*  
 3SG    work(TR).DAT-3SG    spell    head    LOC-POSS.SG-1SG  
 ‘S/he is putting a spell on me’.

- (62) Nuer (Reid 2019: 73)

*múʋʋj-ǵ*  
 give(TR)-1SG  
 (free translation not provided; presumably ‘I give sth./it.’)

<sup>21</sup> Crazzolara (1933: 112–129) uses “applicative” for certain Nuer forms which are “transitive verbs when actually used transitively, i.e., when followed by a direct object” (p. 112). (I am grateful to a reviewer who notes that Tucker and Bryan 1966: 424 similarly use “applicative” simply to designate transitive action “applied to a specific Object”.) Crazzolara’s translations do not indicate benefactive or recipient semantics. In sum, his “applicative” verb forms are likely not applicative in the sense used in this volume.

- (63) Nuer (Reid 2019: 99)

*uḷín mǝḵḵj-í rāaan dwḵḵḵr*  
 1SG give(TR).DAT-1SG person thing  
 ‘I am giving a thing to the person.’

In Reel, Cien et al. (2016: 40) call *muḵḵc* ‘give’ an applicative verb and show it with three participants in (64). Elsewhere the apparently identical form is called a “derived transitive” and sometimes has just an overt RECIPIENT (p. 85) or just an overt THEME (p. 39); it is conceivable that both RECIPIENT and THEME could be zero if known from context. The evidence is inconclusive as to whether Reel ‘give’ is a lexicalized applicative stem or productively adds the dative.

- (64) Reel (Cien et al. 2016: 197)

*yen yǎ yīn kuī gaatku muḵḵc yēm mē kel*  
 it if you.SG then.you.SG 2SG.children give.DAT leg that one  
 ‘... if you can give your children one leg, ...’

In Lango (Southern Lwoo), “benefactive stems” (also malefactive) can be derived from verbs with an agentive subject. I retain Noonan’s gloss BEN(efactive) here, since he does not comment on any broader meanings. Compare:

- (65) Lango (Noonan 1992: 120)

*dákô òtèdò rīḵó*  
 woman 3SG.cook.PFV meat  
 ‘The woman cooked the meat.’

- (66) Lango (Noonan 1992: 120)

*dákô òtèddī lócà rīḵó*  
 woman 3SG.cook.BEN.PFV man meat  
 ‘The woman cooked the meat for the man.’

The benefactive stem geminates the second consonant of the base verb root/stem. A suffix *-i* occurs when there is an NP or 3<sup>rd</sup> person singular non-human independent pronoun BENEFICIARY; otherwise, “the appropriate [direct object] pronoun suffix is substituted” (Noonan 1992: 136). For example, (67) and (68) are formed from *lego* ‘to pray’ (intransitive) and *lēggò* ‘to pray to’ (transitive).

- (67) Lango (Noonan 1992: 136)

*òlēggá*  
 3SG.pray.INTR.BEN.PFV.1SG  
 ‘He prayed for me.’

- (68) Lango (Noonan 1992: 136)  
       òlèggá                      òbáŋá  
       3SG.pray.TR.BEN.PFV.1SG    God  
       ‘He prayed to God for me.’

With a benefactive applicative stem, only the applied argument can be indexed as object on the verb, as in (69). A 3<sup>rd</sup> person human THEME-object can pronominalize with the applicative stem only if it is the sentence TOPIC in preverbal position. Apparently, 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> persons simply cannot be THEMES with benefactive stems (Noonan 1992: 122, 141).

- (69) Lango (Noonan 1992: 121)  
       lócà    òmìyě                      bòtá  
       man    3SG.give.BEN.PFV.3SG    to.1SG  
       ‘The man gave it to me for him.’

In Anywa (Northern Lwoo), a BENEFICIARY may be expressed in a dative applicative construction or in a prepositional phrase (Reh 1996: 229–230). With the applicative derivation, the BENEFICIARY occurs in the privileged object position and the base PATIENT cannot remain in the clause.

In Shilluk from the same sub-branch, an applicative stem is apparently required to express a BENEFICIARY and RECIPIENT, as in (70). The applicative stem is marked by a combination of affixal, tone and stem-internal changes, and varies by verb class and tense/aspect (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 225–227). The past tense applicative template is described as **á-CŨ<sub>[+ATR]</sub>C-ì** for most verbs. The *-I* suffix also occurs for the future in this derivation, while the perfect and imperfective have different suffix elements.

The Shilluk dative derivation allows both a RECIPIENT and THEME to remain in the clause. Argument order is partly affected by tense/aspect. In a basic transitive clause, the PATIENT/THEME precedes the verb, as in (70a). However, in imperfective aspect an applied BENEFICIARY/RECIPIENT follows the verb (p. 227); in other tense/aspects it can follow or precede the verb, as in (70b).

- (70) Shilluk (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 225)
- a. *jám-ání*                      *kàa*    *rúm*    *gé*    *jòoot-ò*    *ìr*    *jáa*  
       things-previous.mention    when    finish    3PL    find-NMLZ    ERG    1SG  
       ‘When I had found those things’
  - b. *jáa*    *á-tòot-ì*                      *tóŋ*  
       1SG    PST-hand-DAT    spear  
       ‘they handed me a spear’

In Jumjum (Southern Burun), the dative applicative uses the suffix *-k/-g* (Andersen 2018; 2019: 179). The order facts are reminiscent of those for Shilluk non-imperfective clauses (Andersen does not comment on any tense/aspect order issues). In the basic transitive clause in (71), the PATIENT object is before the verb. With the dative applicative in (72), the BENEFICIARY precedes the verb while the PATIENT follows it in the position of demoted PATIENTS in antipassive clauses.

- (71) Jumjum (Andersen 2019: 179)

ʔɔɔn ʔʌn báŋ-ŋ-é ʔimòk  
 man house plaster-PST-3SG>3 yesterday  
 'The man plastered the house yesterday.'

- (72) Jumjum (Andersen 2019: 179)

kíilgà báabà báŋ-k-éŋ-é ʔʌn  
 Kiilga Baaba plaster-DAT-IPFV-3SG>3 house  
 'Kiilga is plastering a house for Baaba.'

Finally, Dimmendaal (2009: 16) states that Dholuo (Luo) (Southern Lwoo branch) appears to have lost the dative morphological alternation, perhaps due to loosing gemination and thus neutralizing the type of difference seen in Lango. However, data from Tucker (1994: 347–348) suggests that Dholuo may be poised to develop a new benefactive/goal applicative from a cliticized preposition *ni*. This is evident when the APPP is pronominal. Example (73) has a BENEFICIARY in a prepositional phrase; (74) has the same verb root with pronominal BENEFICIARY, phonologically attached to the verb. In (75)–(76), the variable order of what I gloss 'DAT.3PL' and just '3PL' suggests the clitic nature of these elements.

- (73) Dholuo (Tucker 1994: 348; my glossing)<sup>22</sup>

o-bíró kélo bél ní món  
 3PRF-come bring millet PREP:for women  
 'He has come to bring millet to the women.'

- (74) Dholuo (Tucker 1994: 348; my glossing)

o-bíró kélo-nígí bél  
 3PRF-has.come bring-DAT.3PL millet  
 'He has come to bring them millet.'

<sup>22</sup> I have omitted Tucker's raised dot after certain vowels as it doesn't appear to represent a phonemic or morphemic element.

- (75) Dholuo (Tucker 1994: 348; my glossing)

*o-bíró tédo-gí-nígí*  
 3PRF-come cook-3PL-DAT.3PL  
 ‘He has come to cook them for them.’

- (76) Dholuo (Tucker 1994: 348; my glossing)

*o-bíró tédo-nígí-gí*  
 3PRF-come cook-DAT.3PL-3PL  
 ‘He has come to cook them for them.’

In the next section, we turn to applicatives which express INSTRUMENT, LOCATIVE, and other non-dative meanings.

## 4 Instrument and locative applicatives

Whether an instrumental applicative can be reconstructed for Proto-Nilotic is presently unclear.<sup>23</sup> EN verb suffixes or suffix-complexes *-ri*, *-re*, *-are/-ore*, and *-ie(k)* are characterized as expressing INSTRUMENT, with semantic extensions to LOCATION, TIME, REASON, COMITATIVE (and CAUSE), depending on the language and form. SN *-ε:(w)*, *-è*, *-èèn*, *-èyyà*, *-èèyyèn*, and *-an* forms have been called INSTRUMENT and LOCATIVE, also with various semantic extensions. Instrumental applicatives are syntactically optional in EN and SN, alternating with oblique expressions. In WN, an instrumental/locative applicative, separate from the stem variations described for benefactive/recipient (Section 3.3), is documented for Shilluk; otherwise, the WN literature is silent on instrument/locative applicatives.

### 4.1 Eastern Nilotic instrumentals

Information on a Barian instrument applicative is somewhat conflicting. Spagnolo’s (1933) examples said to contain one are often also described as “passive” (I suspect these might be middle forms fused with an instrumental or combined with an impersonal or even a subjunctive morpheme like *-i*).<sup>24</sup> For Bari, Yokwe (1987: 58–60) mentions an instrumental suffix *-ri*, but does not address its function or morphosyntax beyond the label “instrumental”; he notes it can co-occur with the dative suffix. Spagnolo (1933)

<sup>23</sup> Dimmendaal (1981: 69) proposed that *\*-E* ‘instrumental’ was a common Nilotic heritage. Subsequent work has not, to my knowledge, furthered this idea.

<sup>24</sup> Spagnolo (1933: 149–150) does not write tone, which might help clarify the morphological categories present in a verb.

says the Bari instrumental can convert an intransitive into a transitive such that the semantic instrument loses its preposition *ko* ‘with’. Compare the forms in (77).

- (77) Bari (Spagnolo 1933: 169–170)
- |                           |   |
|---------------------------|---|
| “Long” stem form          | “Transitive” form                                       |
| <i>rɔma</i> ‘make salute’ | <i>rɔmari</i> ‘salute with, use for saluting’           |
| <i>lyōŋō</i> ‘be joyful’  | <i>lyōŋōri</i> ‘rejoice in/for, delight in/by means of’ |
| <i>doto</i> ‘sleep’       | <i>dotori</i> ‘use for sleeping, sleep with/in’         |

In (78), *-ri* would appear to increase valence by adding an INSTRUMENT. The INSTRUMENT is in the subject grammatical role due to what is called the “passive” in Yokwe’s treatment (but I suspect *-á* could be a middle suffix).<sup>25</sup>

- (78) Bari (Yokwe 1987: 480; my parsing and glosses based on Yokwe’s description)
- |              |          |                    |               |
|--------------|----------|--------------------|---------------|
| <i>mú’dâ</i> | <i>à</i> | <i>dér-á-rî</i>    | <i>àmbàtà</i> |
| pot          | PST      | cook-PASS/LINK-INS | bread         |
- ‘The pot was used for cooking bread.’

For the closely related Kuku variety of Bari, Cohen (2000: 56–58) rejects that apparent cognate(s) of Spagnolo’s “instrumental” have an INSTRUMENT function. He suggests they are aspectual forms or derive subordinate adverbial clauses (e.g., with temporal ‘when’ meaning).

The differences between Spagnolo/Yokwe’s and Cohen’s analyses are reminiscent of Dimmendaal’s treatments of Turkana. Dimmendaal (1981: 64) presents examples with *-ia* and *-are/-ore* glossed as “instrumental”. But the same examples have revised parsing and glossing in Dimmendaal (1983: 189–192) where *-ia* is parsed into two elements, *-i* “aspect” and *-a/o* “voice”, and the combination is considered a type of subjunctive marking. *-Rè/-rî* is then called an “instrumental (subjunctive)”, and is discussed under the heading of subjunctive mood. The examples provided do not show clear evidence that these forms function like applicative(s).

Despite Dimmendaal’s (1983) revised analysis for Turkana, Barasa (2017: 129) asserts that for closely related Ateso, *-ia/-io* increases valence by adding an INSTRUMENT (e.g., from ‘pour’ to ‘pour with [sth.]’). The instrumental applicative can follow the dative to doubly increase valence (pp. 142–143). The INSTRUMENT APPP carries ‘instrumental’ tone, a reduced preposition *k=*, and linearly follows the base object, all seen in (79).<sup>26</sup> Whether *-ia/-io* increases valence when the preposition is retained needs research.

<sup>25</sup> Cohen (2000: 9) presents a Bari suffix *-a* that he simply glosses as “applicative” without further explanation.

<sup>26</sup> *Ka* has senses of ‘GENITIVE’, ‘with/INSTRUMENT’, ‘LOCATION’, ‘COMITATIVE’, ‘and/ADDITION’ (Barasa 2017: 106). Tone on the following noun sometimes helps distinguish among these functions (pp. 164–173).



-*Ia/-io* can occur without a lexical INSTRUMENT phrase if the referent is understood from context.

(79) Ateso (Barasa 2021: 173)

*à-tùb-iò émàèmbèt k=èkílèŋ*  
 3-cut.PST-INS mango PREP=knife.INS  
 ‘S/he was cutting the mango with a knife.’

For Maa (Maasai), Tucker and Mpaayei (1955: 157) discuss a morpheme complex -*are/-ore* which they say describes “neuter [middle –DP] action by means of a specific instrument, or directed to a specific person or place”. Historically, -*ε/-e* would appear to be a valence-increasing element added to the middle -*a(r)/-o(r)* (which also expresses reflexive/reciprocal). Compare the argument structures of *εl* ‘smear’ in (80) with an oblique INSTRUMENT, versus *εl-are* ‘smear self with’ in (81) where the INSTRUMENT is the grammatical object.

(80) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*ε-gírá-í áa-εl εn=kéráí tε ílatá*  
 3-PROG-IMPERS INF.PL-smear FSG=child OBL oil.NOM  
 ‘The child is being smeared by/with oil.’

(81) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*ε-gíra εn=kéráí kítí a-εl-aré εn=kapianá*  
 3-PROG FSG=child.NOM small.NOM INF.SG-smear-MID.INS FSG=milk.fat  
 ‘The little child is smearing herself with milk fat.’

In non-middle morphological contexts, Maa uses the instrumental applicative -*ie(k)*, as in (82). This is distinct from the /*ε/~/e/* element in -*are/-ore* in having consistent +ATR behavior, and it has a final /*k/*.<sup>27</sup> -*Ie(k)* can add arguments with roles of INSTRUMENT, MEANS, COMITATIVE, REASON, SOURCE, OR LOCATION.

(82) Maasai

*e-te-yiaŋ-ak-í ol=kítéŋ o-el-íék-i*  
 CVB3-PF-slaughter-PF-IMPERS MSG=bovine MSG.REL-smear-INS-IMPERS  
*ɔ-sínya*  
 MSG.REL-be.perfect  
 ‘when a perfect ox for smearing him with [its fat] has been slaughtered’  
 (enkeeya.017)

<sup>27</sup> I know of no suffixes following -*are/-ore*, which makes it difficult to test for old consonants after /*ε/~/e/*.

There is no difference in syntactic status between base objects and applied instruments with *-ie(k)*. Speech-act objects (base or applied) are indexed on the verb, but if the APPP is human, it is typically interpreted as a CAUSEE.<sup>28</sup> In (83), the INSTRUMENT ‘cups’ follows the subject and is before the THEME ‘tea’, but this order can vary (Payne 2022a).

- (83) Maasai  
*m-e-ok-íé oshî ol=porrór l=áŋ in=kikompení sháai*  
 NEG-3-drink-INS always MSG=age.set.NOM MPL=OUR.NOM FPL=cups tea  
 ‘Our age-set never drinks tea using cups.’ (enkang-enkai 1.112)

*-Ie(k)* can combine with three-argument stems to create four-argument clauses. Compare (84a–b) with the root *ɸɪk* ‘put’. In (84b) the APPP ‘that ox’ is fronted before the applicative verb, while the two just-established 3<sup>rd</sup> person objects ‘bracelets’ and ‘his sons’ are definite nulls.

- (84) Maasai  
 a. *amô é-ídíp-á apá ɔl=páyian*  
 because 3-finish-PF before MSG=elder.NOM  
*a-tɪ-ɸík-a il=ayîôk l=enyénak il=kataarri*  
 INF.SG-PF-put-PF MPL=boys M=3SG.PSR+PL.PSM MPL=matal.bracelets  
 ‘because the man had already put bracelets on his sons’  
 b. *amô ilô kítén náají apá e-ɸík-íék-i*  
 because that.M bovine possibly before 3-put-INS-IMPERS  
 ‘because that could be the ox he uses to put them  
 [bracelets] on them [the sons]’ (enkeeya.038a–b)

The base object of transitive *la(k)* ‘untie, pay’ can be a debt/item paid for, as in (85), or the means used to pay with, as in (86). In (87), the instrumental plus dative applicatives on *la(k)* create a four-argument clause.

- (85) Maasai  
*amô ε-tá-lá-á e=síle*  
 because 3-PF-pay-PF FSG=debt  
 ‘because they have paid the (marriage) debt’ (enkiamama.043)

<sup>28</sup> With Maa Class II verb stems, *-ie(k)* is the only way to create a morphological causative. Class I verb stems take a prefixal causative (Tucker and Mpaayei 1955).

(86) Maasai

*tá-la-a*                      *ε=lúkúnyá*   *é=n=kítén*

IMP.SG-pay-SBJV   FSG=head   FSG.PSR=FSG=bovine

‘You pay the head of the cow.’ [to compensate a forgiven homicide] (iloikop.052)

Given that *la(k)* has two base senses, ‘pay price’ and ‘pay debt’, it is not entirely clear in (87b) whether *-ie(k)* licenses adding the debt ‘school (fees)’ versus ‘money’ (expressed as a definite null). Regardless, the double applicative clause has four participants: ‘I’ as AGENT=subject, ‘child’ as BENEFICIARY=dative applied object, ‘money’ as a definite null INSTRUMENT object, and ‘school (fees)’ as the overt DEBT object.

(87) Maasai

a. *néākō*   *én-chó=kr*                      *náají*   *ɪ=ropiyianí*   *é=síl* ...

so       PL.SBJV-give=1SG.OBJ   possibly   FPL=money   of=debt

‘so possibly give me some money as a loan ...’

b. *m-a-ta-la-ákín-yíé*                      *en=kéráí*   *sukúul*

PROSP-1SG-SBJV-pay-DAT-INS   FSG=child   school

‘so that I may pay school (fees) with it for the child’ (ilomon.0099)

Similar to Maa which has an instrumental form with *r* after a middle but *-ie(k)* elsewhere, Lopit has two instrumental applicatives: *-rɪ* and *-ije* (*j* is a palatal glide; Moodie and Billington 2020: 194–195). *-Ije* can also express RESULT and habituality.

## 4.2 Southern Nilotic instrumental/locative applicatives

Various SN verb suffixes have been glossed as ‘locative’ and ‘instrument’. Whether these are all etymologically related (or are allomorphs), or whether any are cognate with the EN *-(r)ɪ/(r)ε* forms or with Maa *-ié(k)*, has not been determined.

### 4.2.1 Kalenjin

Nandi has an applicative *-e:* which Creider (2002: 176, 186) states is etymologically related to a semantically broad preposition *e:ng* (p. 179). The suffix adds an argument with roles of INSTRUMENT (including ‘means’ and ‘amount’); LOCATION (including static locations like ‘in, on, around’, as well as motion-related ‘path’, ‘source’, ‘goal’ – but not ‘clear endpoint’); WITH RESPECT TO; and REASON.<sup>29</sup> Compare (88)–(89) and (90)–(91).

<sup>29</sup> Creider includes “benefactive” as a function of *-e:*. The example with *-e:* that he identifies as benefactive might be ‘The child feels sympathy for the calf’ (p. 178); but ‘calf’ could be considered STIMULUS. The Nandi dative expresses prototypical BENEFICIARY.

- (88) Nandi (Creider 2002: 176)

*ká:-wí:r*                      *sê:sé:t*

PST1+1SG-throw dog

'I threw at / hit the dog.'

- (89) Nandi (Creider 2002: 176)

*ká:-wí:r-ê:*                      *ké:tít*   *sê:sé:t*

PST1+1SG-throw-INS stick dog

'I threw a stick at the dog / I hit the dog with a stick.'

- (90) Nandi (Creider 2002: 178)

*ke:-et*                      *pé:k*

INF-refuse water

'to refuse water'

- (91) Nandi (Creider 2002: 178)

*ke:-et-e:*                      *pé:k*

INF-refuse-INS water

'to refuse water to (s.o.)'

Akie has what König, Heine, and Legère (2015: 53–54) simply call an “applicative”. It has four forms (plus ATR variations) depending on interaction with aspect/mode, person, and number: *-ê*, *-èèn*, *-èyyà*, *-èèyyèn*. It can add a typically inanimate LOCATIVE or INSTRUMENT. The following pair shows prepositional and applied paraphrases for INSTRUMENT.

- (92) Akie (König, Heine, and Legère 2015: 54)

*i*    *llúú-e*                      *nen*   *rúнку*    *láákwεε*

2SG beat-IPFV LOC club.ACC child.ACC

'You are hitting the child with the club.'

- (93) Akie (König, Heine, and Legère 2015: 53)

*i*    *llúú-eyyen*   *rúнку*    *láákwεε*

2SG beat-APPL club.ACC child.ACC

'You are hitting the child with the club.'

#### 4.2.2 Datooga

Discussions of Datooga instrument/location applicatives mention forms ending in /n/ and /w/. It is not currently clear whether there are two etymologically separate ‘instrument/locative’ applicatives in this sub-branch or just one.

For G/B Datooga, Bruckhaus (2021: 129) introduces *-a(n)/-aaw* as a single applicative and describes the distribution as morphologically conditioned: “While *-an* surfaces in combination with simplex forms and ventive stems, the variant *-aaw* occurs on itive stems. The mid-low-vowel form of the allomorph *-aaw* is the *-ATR* variant, and the fronted reflex *-εεw* surfaces on *+ATR* verbs”. The *-an* form may co-occur with the dative (p. 123). He relates at least the *-an* element to Rottland’s (1982: 125, 184) discussion of a Kalenjin *-εε(n)* instrumental and Omotik *-een*, and notes that Rottland reconstructs *\*-a* for Proto-SN.

The semantic role added by *-an/-aaw* can be INSTRUMENT, MEANS, SOURCE, SITE, or inanimate CONCOMITANT. The intricate relationship between the added semantic role and other elements is discussed as follows:

The role of the peripheral argument introduced by *-an* depends in particular on the lexical semantics of the verbal root, on the semantics of the added noun, and on the presence of a directional suffix on the verb. The site-introducing function of *-an* is confined to non-motion verbs and a few stationary movement verbs. Source-indication occurs only in combination with itive and ventive stems. . . . (Bruckhaus 2021: 127)

Examples (94)–(95) contrast an oblique and applied INSTRUMENT; (96) shows an inanimate CONCOMITANT. Animates must be expressed with the oblique preposition *sée* ‘with’ (p. 128).

- (94) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 145)

*qɔɔ-ŋwáal àbà màttíngòodà*  
 3SBJ-stir with cooking.stick  
 ‘S/he is stirring with a cooking stick.’

- (95) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 145)

*góo-ŋòol-á màttíngòodà*  
 3SBJ-stir.PLRC-APPL cooking.stick  
 ‘S/he always stirs with a cooking stick.’

- (96) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 128)

*qá-fwáj-á ñùtta*  
 3SBJ-run.away-APPL spear  
 ‘S/he runs away with a spear.’

For Gisamjanga Datooga, Kießling (2007: 135–136) also describes the use of *-an* for INSTRUMENT (including what I would call MEANS), LOCATIVE, and ABLATIVE applied arguments. Interestingly, *-an* seems to interact with person of the object in some complex situations. First, roots like *rukt* ‘tell sth., foretell, give away information/a secret’ can combine with the itive to suppress the base GOAL and allow the THEME to be the object (Section 5). The simple itive stem is used for a 3<sup>rd</sup> person PATIENT/THEME object. To have a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup>

person PATIENT object, *-an* must be added to the itive stem. Kießling presents (97)–(98) to support these claims.<sup>30</sup>

- (97) G Datooga (Kießling 2007: 135; partially my glossing)

*qáyí rúkt-à fèdà*

long.ago tell.ITV-IS moon.NOM

‘(Finally, a small thing killed him) as had been foretold long ago by the moon.’

- (98) G Datooga (Kießling 2007: 135; partially my glossing)

*àd-ù-rúktàn-àan*

NEG.SBJV-SBJ2.SG-tell.ITV.APPL-1SG.OBJ

‘Don’t sell me out!’ / ‘Don’t tell anything about me!’

Unlike Brookhouse who treats *-an* and *-aaw* as allomorphs, Griscom (2019: 236) treats these as distinct morphemes in Asimjeeg Datooga. He characterizes *-an* as a semantically somewhat opaque ‘oblique’ applicative (OBL.APPL) for APPP objects of any person (p. 126, 240–241), mostly with roles of TIME and LOCATION. According to Griscom, in (99) it adds a TIME argument; (100) has the same itive form of ‘send’ without *-an* and with an adverbial ‘often’ rather than a specific time expression.<sup>31</sup>

- (99) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 126)

*g-<sup>w</sup>à-jéf àní:n g<sup>w</sup>átf g-ò-tfág-d-án-à:n g<sup>w</sup>àláp-ànd*

AFF-3-say 1SG that.time AFF-3-send-ITV-OBL.APPL-1SG elder-SG

‘He said that me, at that time, the elder sent me.’

- (100) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 105, 128)

*nìp ní:s g-ó-tfág-d sí:-d*

3SG often AFF-3-send-ITV person-SG

‘Often he (would) send someone (away).’

Griscom states that *-an* may occur in negative copular clauses, as in (101); but note that here also it correlates with roles of LOCATION or TIME.

<sup>30</sup> He further states that verbs with a GOAL in their basic predicate frame can use *-an* to highlight a specific 3<sup>rd</sup> person PATIENT (p. 136); however, the argumentation is cursory.

<sup>31</sup> Griscom (2019) has examples of other verbs with *g<sup>w</sup>átf* and without an applicative. Whether *-an* licenses ‘that time’ in (95), as opposed to just highlighting it, needs study.

- (101) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 119)

*nàf-ò:d      máf:n      hídz      m-ànd-án      dàràb-è:t*  
 grind-NMLZ machine LOC.DEM NEG-3-COP-OBL.APPL wilderness-SG  
 ‘There was no grinding with a machine in the wilderness at that time.’  
 (Lit. ‘No grinding machine there / that time (in) the wilderness.’)

Asimjeeg uses *-an* with a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person GOAL (fictive or literal) or ADDRESSEE, contrasting with the dative for 3<sup>rd</sup> persons for this function. Compare (102)–(104), which carry *-an*, with (48)–(49) above.<sup>32</sup>

- (102) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 230)

*g-è:-nàl-nál-à:d-àn-é:s-àj      sí-nàg-d-í:n*  
 AFF-IMPERS-teach-teach-AM.ITV-OBL.APPL-2PL-PLRC 2PL-meet-ITV-DAT  
 ‘We were taught (again and again) when we met (them).’

- (103) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 279)

*q-à-ηùl-àn-a:n      qàη-d-éη*  
 AFF-3-see-OBL.APPL-1SG eye-SG-1SG.POSS  
 ‘They will look at me in my eye.’

- (104) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 271)

*q-á-ηùl-àn-è:η      qàη-d      háw      díjá*  
 AFF-3-see-OBL.APPL-2SG.OBJ eye-SG big a.lot  
 ‘They look at you with bad eyes.’

In contrast to *-an*, Asimjeeg Datooga *-e:(w)/-ε:(w)* is used for APPP objects with roles of LOCATION as with *fúl* ‘school’ in (105); MANNER (106); and animate and inanimate ACCOMPANIMENT (107)–(108). Griscom states that this form also can add an INSTRUMENT, but he presents no examples of this (Griscom 201: 241–242). Here I retain Griscom’s gloss of LOC for *-e:(w)/-ε:(w)*.

- (105) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 127)

*q-à:-sòm-é:w      fúl      èd      mánó!á*  
 AFF-3-study-LOC.APPL school PREP Mang’ola  
 ‘I studied at the school in Mang’ola.’

<sup>32</sup> Regarding ADDRESSEE, also recall Griscom’s comments about (50) above. The ventive is used for 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> and the dative for 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY.

- (106) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 242)  
*g-é:-sín-é: fúqár-è:d*  
 AFF-IMPERS-do-LOC.APPL cunning-SG  
 ‘It was created with skill/cunning.’
- (107) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 242)  
*Ø-jád-é:w múfódà-k múf-k*  
 2SG-send-LOC.APPL bag-PL skin-PL  
 ‘(You) send them with animal skin bags.’
- (108) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 242)  
*g-<sup>w</sup>á-líl-é:w ásimdʒ-é:g*  
 AFF-3-sleep-LOC.APPL asimjeeg-PL  
 ‘They sleep with the Asimjeeg.’

There is sketchy information relevant to possible EN cognates of the SN *-an* applicative. For the Barian variety Mundari, Lutwori et al. (2013: 110) briefly note a suffix *-an/-än/-on* ‘for the sake of someone/for some reason’. The discussion and examples are hard to parse and free translations are sometimes approximate. Nevertheless, brief examples like *bo'de* ‘stop’ versus *bobo'dan* ‘stop for the sake of [an elephant in the road]’ (p. 175) are suggestive.<sup>33</sup>

### 4.3 Western Nilotic

The literature on most WN languages is silent about applicatives with instrumental function, suggesting such may not exist. In Shilluk, however, a syntactically optional valence-increasing applicative verb stem adds INSTRUMENT, ACCOMPANIMENT and LOCATION. Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley (2016: 222) and Remijsen and Ayoker (2018) detail stem-internal variations according to verb class, showing that applicative forms expressing these meanings are different from those that cover dative applicative meanings (Section 3.3) For example, (110) contains an instrumental applicative form of ‘eat’, but the dative stem for ‘eat’ is short-voweled *cam* (p. 225). Syntactically, the Shilluk INSTRUMENT AppP precedes the verb, displacing the PATIENT object that normally occurs there. Compare (109)–(110).

<sup>33</sup> The Turkana verb suffixes *-een* (for dynamic verbs) and *-aan/-oon* (for statives) express habitual, iterative, or protracted-in-time aspect (Dimmendaal 1983: 107). Maa *-an* derives abstract nouns from stative verbs. These are not applicative in nature, despite phonological similarity to SN *-an*.



- (109) Shilluk (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 222)

*kwān á-cām kí pāl*  
 porridge PST-eat PREP spoon  
 ‘Somebody ate the porridge with a spoon.’

- (110) Shilluk (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 222)

*pāl á-cāam kwān*  
 spoon PST-eat.INS porridge  
 ‘Somebody ate the porridge with a spoon.’

The instrumental stem can also indicate ACCOMPANIMENT, TIME and LOCATION. Though the verb stem is the same, a LOCATIVE AppP requires a focus particle; compare (111)–(112) with (109)–(110).

- (111) Shilluk (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 222)

*kwān á-cām kì kāl*  
 porridge PST-eat PREP cattle.camp  
 ‘Somebody ate porridge in the cattle camp.’

- (112) Shilluk (Remijsen, Miller-Naudé, and Gilley 2016: 223)

*kāl-à á-cāam kwān*  
 cattle.camp-FOC PST-eat.INS porridge  
 ‘The cattle camp is where somebody ate the porridge.’

In WN Luo, a verbal enclitic =*gô*/=*gódô* expresses ‘with it’. As a clitic, this arguably should not be considered an applicative.

- (113) Luo (Tucker 1994: 348; my clitic indication)

*ó-dwá tedo-ná=gó(dó) kuon*  
 3IPFV-want cook-DAT.1SG=INS.3 mush  
 ‘She wants to cook mush for me with it.’

## 5 Directionals as applicatives

Nilotic languages have itive and ventive directionals. These have a “redirecting” (Kiyosawa 2006) applicative function (usually without increasing valence), but only with a restricted set of verbs. In particular, this happens with transitive verbs having a base <AGENT SOURCE/GOAL> argument frame. A directional derives an <AGENT THEME> stem. Any GOAL or SOURCE then occurs in an oblique phrase. Payne (2022b) presents a cross-Nilotic study of this phenomenon and argues it can be explained by an earlier

associated motion function of the directionals which perform profiles a moving THEME. In SN, the directionals have additional valence-related applicative functions and extend into marking BENEFICIARY.

The directionals almost certainly reconstruct to Proto-Nilotic (Reh 1996: 261). The Proto-Nilotic ventive likely had a high vowel plus nasal. The Proto-EN and Proto-SN itive likely had a coronal consonant plus low vowel. The Proto-WN itive possibly had a breathy vowel and final-consonant allomorphs. Payne (2021: 704) summarizes various reconstructions.

## 5.1 Eastern Nilotic

All EN languages have a ventive containing the sequence /un/ or /un/ (plus allomorphs). Spagnolo (1933: 146) describes the Bari itive as *-rVʔ*, Turkana has *-arɿ*, Ateso has *-Vr(ɿ)*, Lopit has an itive containing /rɿ/ (segmentally like one of its instrumental applicative forms) plus other variants, and the Maa itive is *-áa* but with allomorphs that include *r*. Not all sources give sufficient examples to show the redirecting applicative function (e.g., Lutwori et al. 2013: 106–110 for Mundari; Moodie and Billington 2020 for Lopit), but I expect this function exists throughout EN. The following from Maa with an <AGENT SOURCE> root are representative.

- (114) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*á-púrr ol=dúka*  
1SG-rob MSG=shop  
'I (will) rob the shop.'

- (115) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*n-é-purr-óo ol=áyíóní il=mósorr*  
CN-3-rob-ITV MSG=boy.NOM MPL=eggs  
'The boy stole / will steal eggs.'

- (116) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*á-púrr-ú enk=alámu tɔ l=dúkâ*  
1SG-rob-VEN FSG=pen OBL MSG=shop.NOM  
'I (will) steal a pen from the market.'

Examples (117)–(118) demonstrate the redirecting function with the <AGENT GOAL> root *naŋ* 'hit by throwing at'. In (117c), the subject is 3<sup>rd</sup> person, and the definite null object of *naŋ* is the anaphoric GOAL 'house', mentioned in (117a–b). What hits the house is not expressed or anaphorically understood. The house is clearly not the item thrown.

(117) Maasai

- a. *n-é-jo á-nyík-ákɪ enk=ájɪ*  
 CN-3-try INF.SG.SBJV-approach-DAT FSG=home  
 ‘He (a warrior) tried to approach to the home.’
- b. *n-é-íjɪt-áa*  
 CN-3-withdraw-ITV  
 ‘and it [a magical house] withdrew’
- c. *n-é-naŋ*  
 CN-3-throw.at  
 ‘He (the warrior) hit it (the house, by throwing).’ (enamuke2.0049)

In contrast to (117c), the itive occurs on *naŋ* in (118). Now the syntactic object is the THEME which undergoes movement.

(118) Maasai

- í-wa taá enâ kerái shómɔ tá-naŋ-á-í*  
 2-take.SBJV EMPH this.F child go.SBJV IMP.SG-throw.at-ITV-SBJV  
 ‘Take this child and go throw it [the child] away.’ (kitejine.040)

## 5.2 Southern Nilotic

SN languages have ventive forms with /n/ and itives with a coronal stop. The same redirective applicative function occurs with the same verb root types. However, the directionals have additional applicative functions not so far attested for directionals in other Nilotic branches.

### 5.2.1 Kalenjin

Directionals can derive <AGENT THEME> verbs from <AGENT SOURCE/GOAL> verbs in both SN sub-branches. In (119) from Nandi, *sè:sé:t* ‘dog’ is the base GOAL object of the action. Given the lexical meaning of *wi:r* ‘throw at’, it is implicit that something is thrown but this is not expressed with the simple root. In (120) with the itive, *koytà* ‘stone’ is the THEME object that undergoes movement; now the GOAL is suppressed.

(119) Nandi (Creider 2002: 184)

- ke:-wi:r sè:sé:t*  
 INF-throw.at dog  
 ‘to throw at the dog’

- (120) Nandi (Creider 2002: 184)

*ke:-wi:r-tá koytà*  
 INF-throw.at-ITV stone  
 ‘to throw the stone thither’

Beyond the redirecting applicative function, Creider (2002: 172) documents use of the Nandi itive *-ta* for an applied CO-THEME COMITATIVE (never CO-AGENT); compare (121) and (122).

- (121) Nandi (Creider 2002: 172)

*am kímýé:t*  
 eat polenta  
 ‘Eat polenta!’

- (122) Nandi (Creider 2002: 172)

*ke:-am-ta kímýé:t ínkwê:k*  
 INF-eat-ITV polenta vegetables  
 ‘to eat polenta with vegetables’

A major applicative use of the SN ventive is for speech-act BENEFICIARY/GOAL. This is illustrated by the Cherang’any examples in (123)–(124) (Mietzner 2016: 129–135). Cherang’any indexes 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person objects by suffixes. Thus, applied BENEFICIARY objects are marked by a complex involving the ventive plus an object suffix (which Mietzner calls an “indirect object” but apparently due to the semantics of BENEFICIARY/GOAL). In contrast, 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY objects are expressed by the dative applicative without person indexation (Mietzner 2016: 106–111, 134; cf. Section 3.2).

- (123) Cherang’any (Mietzner 2016: 111)

*kwɔŋ-wééc cebióse-ŋu kɔ̀sɔ̀sɔ̀lɪŋ*  
 3.cook-VEN.1PL wife-PSR.SG:PSM1SG evening.LOC  
 ‘In the evening my wife cooks food for us.’  
 (Lit. ‘My wife cooks toward us in the evening.’)

- (124) Cherang’any (Mietzner 2016: 111)

*à-wek-uúŋ kóngoi*  
 1SG-return-VEN.2SG thanks  
 ‘I will thank you.’

### 5.2.2 Datooga

Kießling (2007: 136–137) describes partially similar redirecting facts for the Gisamjanga Datooga itive with verbs that he says allow both a PATIENT and a GOAL in their predicate frame. The itive suppresses the GOAL, leaving just the PATIENT.<sup>34</sup> Bruckhaus (2021: 67) mentions that the itive removes the GOAL from the <AGENT GOAL (THEME)> argument structure of *daw* ‘give’ (presumably he places THEME in parentheses because it is implicit in the non-itive form).

Similarly to Cherang’any, the Gisamjanga Datooga ventive is obligatory for 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person BENEFICIARY/GOAL, while the dative occurs for 3<sup>rd</sup> person (Kießling 2007: 134, 138). However, Bruckhaus (2001) notes that the itive can at least sometimes occur for 3<sup>rd</sup> person GOAL/BENEFICIARY, in paradigmatic opposition with both the ventive and dative. For instance, with the verb *qaw* ‘milk’ in (125), the ventive stem *gaw-un* expresses a 1<sup>st</sup> or 2<sup>nd</sup> person BENEFICIARY, the itive stem *qaw-d* indicates the action is done for a nonspecific 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY, and the dative stem *gaw-s* marks a specific 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY. The final suffixes in (125b–e) index person and number of the applied object.

(125) B/G Datooga (Bruckhaus 2021: 165)

a.	<i>qá-qàw</i>	‘s/he is milking’	simplex
b.	<i>qá-qàw-d-à</i>	‘s/he is milking for another person’	ITV
c.	<i>gá-gàw-n-èey</i>	‘s/he is milking for you (SG)’	VEN
d.	<i>gá-gàw-n-éesà</i>	‘s/he is milking for us’	VEN
e.	<i>gá-gàw-s-à</i>	‘s/he is milking for her/him’	DAT

For Asimjeeg Datooga, directionals can modify the verb meaning and/or increase valence by adding a new object (Griscom 2019: 225). Examples (126)–(127) show the ventive licensing speech-act ADDRESSEES. The addressee is perhaps just implied in (128). But unlike G/B Datooga where apparently only the ventive occurs for speech-act ADDRESSEES, Griscom (2019: 236–237) notes some variability in use of dative and ventive for this function.<sup>35</sup>

(126) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 107)<sup>36</sup>

<i>qámá-t-àŋ<sup>w</sup></i>	<i>g-í-g-<sup>w</sup>á-rúŋ-n-ò:n</i>	<i>ŋàf-!ánd</i>
mother-SG-2PL.POSS	AFF-FUT-AFF-3-say-VEN-2SG	word-SG
‘...your mother will tell you something...’		

<sup>34</sup> Kießling does not discuss whether the verbs are syntactically trivalent, allowing both PATIENT and GOAL as core objects. His examples all carry a directional suffix.

<sup>35</sup> He also observes that across Datooga studies, examples with ventive versus dative for applied GOAL/BENEFICIARY/ADDRESSEE are not controlled for verb root, nor for aspect which applicative/directional forms can help express.

<sup>36</sup> Griscom (2019: 107) glosses *-n* as OBL in (126); based on personal communication (1/11/2022) I gloss it here as VEN.

- (127) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 237)  
*àní:n g-à:-gàs-àj dà-rùg-n-ó:g gídàb m-ád-g<sup>w</sup>-á-nd*  
 1SG AFF-1SG-want-PLRC 1SG-tell-VEN-2PL COMP NEG-PERS-AFF-3-COP  
 ‘I want to tell you all that there isn’t anything anymore. .’

- (128) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 221)  
*Ø-rúŋ-ní*  
 2SG-tell-VEN  
 ‘Tell (me).’

Griscom argues that the ventive can increase valence in Asimjeeg Datooga. In (129), the root *fa* occurs with no directional, meaning ‘buy’. In (130), *fa* occurs with the itive, yielding ‘sell’. In (131) it occurs with the ventive but now also with a 1SG object suffix. This is an impersonal construction which has a prefix resembling that of a 1PL subject (Griscom 2016: 180); but the end result in (131) has two objects, ‘shawl’ and 1SG.

- (129) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 225)  
*g-ì-dà-fā dé:-d ...*  
 AFF-FUT-1SG-buy cow-SG  
 ‘I will buy a cow. .’

- (130) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 225)  
*q-à:-fā-d dájé:g í:jèŋ*  
 AFF-1SG-buy-ITV goat.PL two  
 ‘I sold two baby goats.’

- (131) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 225)  
*g-é:-fā-n-à:n háŋ-d*  
 AFF-IMPERS-buy-VEN-1SG shawl-SG  
 ‘I was bought a shawl.’

Griscom (2019: 226) suggests the itive can also increase valence by adding an INSTRUMENT to *bar* ‘hit’ in (132). However, this single example is not entirely convincing; the itive perhaps creates the meaning of ‘farm’ (lit. ‘hit away’) and hence an INSTRUMENT may be contextually evoked because, pragmatically, someone must use something to ‘hit away’ with.

- (132) Asimjeeg Datooga (Griscom 2019: 226)  
*m-à-nd-án gísir-dzànd m-εε:-bár-dà*  
 NEG-3-COP-OBL.APPL hoe-SG NEG-IMPERS-hit-ITV  
 ‘There weren’t any hoes, they weren’t used to farm.’  
 (Perhaps lit. ‘They weren’t hit away / [people] didn’t hit away’.)

### 5.3 Western Nilotic

For WN, Reh (1996: 261) suggests that ventive  $*-\dot{V}(V)_{[-BRV]}n$  or  $*-n\dot{V}(V)_{[-BRV]}$  and itive  $*-t\dot{V}$  or  $*-\dot{V}t$  forms reconstruct to Proto-Nilotic; these correspond to intransitive directional forms in WN. Transitive verbs have distinct directional forms, ventive  $*-\dot{V}_{[+BRV]}$  and itive  $*-\dot{V}_{[-BRV]}$ ; Reh suggests these reconstruct to Proto-WN. Modernly for various WN languages and verb classes, ventive and itive versus base roots may be marked just by tone, alternation or deletion of a final stem consonant, and stem-internal vowel changes.

Not all discussions of WN directionals indicate whether they have applicative functions (cf. Reh 1996: 249–258 on Anywa; Reid 2019 on Nuer). However, Agar Dinka (Andersen 1992–1994; Andersen 2012b) and Mabaan (Andersen 1999) directionals clearly have redirecting applicative functions. In (133) there is no directional and the place or SOURCE from which something is removed is the object. In both (134) with the itive and (135) with the ventive, the moved THEME is the grammatical object.

(133) Mabaan (Andersen 1999: 109)

*ʔékkèn ʔān wiiĕj-é*  
 3PL house sweep-PST.3PL.3  
 ‘They swept the house.’

(134) Mabaan (Andersen 1999: 109)

*ʔékkèn jūk-én wiiĕc-é*  
 3PL rubbish-PL sweep-ITV-PST.3PL.3  
 ‘They swept the rubbish (into something).’

(135) Mabaan (Andersen 1999: 109)

*ʔékkèn jūk-én wĕĕw-w-é*  
 3PL rubbish-PL sweep-VEN-PST.3PL.3  
 ‘They swept the rubbish hither.’

For Lango, Noonan (1992) mentions ventive derivations with certain motion verbs (he is silent about an itive). Discussion of a potential valence effect is minimal, but the ventive always “refers to motion toward the speaker” (p. 135). In the following examples there is no indication of 1SG other than what is implied by the ventive (compare Lango examples in Section 6 which overtly mark 1SG objects). Thus, we might say the ventive increases semantic valence in at least cases like (136) and (137); perhaps it just clarifies what the goal is in (138) since ‘send’ already implies a destination.

- (136) Lango (Noonan 1992: 135)

*àtín òrìṇṇô*  
 child 3SG.run.VEN.PFV  
 'The child ran to me.'<sup>37</sup>

- (137) Lango (Noonan 1992: 135)

*yât òmòllô*  
 wood 3SG.float.VEN.PFV  
 'The wood floated toward me.'<sup>38</sup>

- (138) Lango (Noonan 1992: 135)

*Dákó òcwàllô búk*  
 woman 3SG.send.VEN.PFV book  
 'The woman sent the book to me.'

## 6 Look-alike syntactic constructions

WN Lango distinguishes the dative applicative construction (Section 3.3) and a non-applative “dative shift” construction. I am not aware of other Nilotic languages which have such an alternation. In (139) the RECIPIENT has the preposition *bòt* ‘to’ and follows the THEME object. In (140) it occurs without a preposition directly after the verb and before the THEME. No object is indexed on the verb when the object is an NP (p. 141) or is inanimate.

- (139) Lango (Noonan 1992: 121)

*lócà òmỳò búk bòt dákô*  
 man 3SG.give.PFV book to woman  
 'The man gave the book to the woman.'

- (140) Lango (Noonan 1992: 121)

*lócà òmỳò dákô búk*  
 man 3SG.give.PFV woman book  
 'The man gave the woman the book.'

<sup>37</sup> Noonan (1992: 125) subsumes the non-ventive counterpart of (136) to his “activity naming” verb form which “refer[s] solely to a subject’s participation in an activity, but not activity directed toward any particular object”. At least some such forms are antipassive in sense.

<sup>38</sup> Noonan (1992: 125) relates the non-ventive counterpart of (137) to his “secondary argument” (SA) form, in which “[t]he argument that would be the DO of a transitive is the Su[bject] of the corresponding SA form”. These appear to be anticausatives.



At most one object is indexed on the Lango verb at a time, but this can be THEME, or RECIPIENT in the “dative shifting” construction. In (141) the human RECIPIENT is indexed and the non-human THEME is expressed as a zero. In (142) the human THEME is indexed while the RECIPIENT is in a prepositional phrase headed by *bòt*. Note the contrast between *òmìyé* in (142) versus *òmìyò* in (140) above; and between *òmìyé* and *òmìyá* in (143). Preferential indexing of human (or perhaps animate) objects on the verb is generally the norm in Nilotic.

- (141) Lango (Noonan 1992: 121)

*lócà òmìyá*  
man 3SG.give.PFV.1SG  
‘The man gave it to me.’

- (142) Lango (Noonan 1992: 121)

*lócà òmìyé bòtá*  
man 3SG.give.PFV.3SG to.1SG  
‘The man gave him (e.g., a slave) to me.’

- (143) Lango (Noonan 1992: 121)

*lócà òmìyá búk*  
man 3SG.give.PFV.1SG book  
‘The man gave me the book.’

Per definitions in Zúñiga and Creissels (this volume), the EN Lopit and Maa external possession constructions are morphologically unmarked but syntactic “applicative-look-alike” constructions. Maa verbs are almost never labile but in the external possession construction, the clause has one more object than normally allowed by the valence of the root or stem (Payne 1997). If the base verb is intransitive, as in (144), the possessed item in the external possession construction is the subject, and the possessor NP is the grammatical object, indexed on the verb if it is a speech-act participant, as in (145). Thus, valence increases with adding a POSSESSOR object. If the base is transitive, the possessor is the primary grammatical object, again increasing valence. This construction expresses that there is some effect on the possessor, whether positive or negative.

- (144) Maasai (adapted from Payne 1997: 104)

*é-íshú en=kíne*  
3-be.alive FSG=goat.NOM  
‘The goat is alive.’

- (145) Maasai (adapted from Payne 1997: 104)

*áa-íshú en=kíne*  
3>1SG-be.alive FSG=goat.NOM  
‘My goat is / will be alive (and I am benefitted thereby).’

EN Lopit (Moodie and Billington 2020: 287–288) and WN Jumjum (Andersen 2019) are similar to Maa in treating an external possessor as the object with no derivational marking on the verb. The phenomenon has not, to my knowledge, been explored for other Nilotic languages.

## 7 Non-applicative and lexicalized functions of the Nilotic morphology

Finally, we comment on major non-applicative functions of morphology that also has applicative functions.

Non-applicative uses of the dative are minimally discussed for most Nilotic languages. In Maa (EN), the dative can mark ‘intensity, persistence’ or intention to do something with translational-motion verbs like *lo(t)* ‘go’, *kuet* ‘run’, *suɟ* ‘follow’. These can take geographical GOALS with no special marking, as in (146).

- (146) Maasai (fieldnotes)  
       *áa-súɟ*            *ol=dóínyó*  
       3>1SG-follow MSG=mountain  
       ‘S/he will follow me to the mountain.’

With the dative, the otherwise identical sentence might imply that the one following me has bad intentions and I am seeking refuge in the mountain, as in (147).

- (147) Maasai (Wuasinkishu dialect; fieldnotes)  
       *áa-suɟ-akí*        *ol=dóínyó*  
       3>1SG-follow-DAT MSG=mountain  
       ‘S/he will track me (all over, through whatever routes I might take) to the mountain.’

Also note the multiple readings possible in (148). The second reading has the same argument structure as (146), but with a greater sense of intensity.

- (148) Maasai (Wuasinkishu dialect; fieldnotes)  
       *áa-suɟ-akí*        *en=kíténɟ*  
       3>1SG-follow-DAT FSG=bovine  
       (i) ‘He will follow the cow for me.’ (e.g., it is lost and I am unable to go after it.)  
       (ii) ‘He will pursue me all the way to the cow.’ (e.g., I know that a dog pursuing me is afraid of cows, so I run to a cow seeking safety, but the dog pursues me all the way there.)

The fact that *soj* ‘follow’ in its simple form can already occur with an overt GOAL presumably makes the dative available for an extended function. Whether the ‘intensity/high-intention’ function extends to verbs without an implicit sense of GOAL in their argument structure is unknown.

As we have seen, instrumental applicative forms have a range of semantic functions across Nilotic languages, including LOCATION, REASON, and more. In Maa, the *-ie(k)* instrumental applicative is the causative with Class II verbs. Example (149) shows the base <THEME SOURCE> argument frame of *ɪŋat* ‘move away from’; (150) demonstrates the valence-increasing causative effect of what is otherwise the instrumental applicative.

(149) Maasai (fieldnotes)

*é-ɪŋát-á*                      *en=kéjʊ*                      *en=kóp*  
 3-move.from-PF    FSG=leg.NOM    FSG=land  
 ‘The leg has lifted up from the ground.’ (e.g., when running)

(150) Maasai (Wuasinkishu dialect; fieldnotes)

*áa-ɪŋat-ie*                                      *ɔl=ɪŋátúny*  
 3>1SG-move.from-INS/CAUS    MSG=lion  
 ‘S/he will make me flee from the lion.’

Section 5 discussed applicative functions of the directionals; but their core functions are to express literal and fictional direction, orientation, spatial deixis, and associated motion. In SN languages, directionals co-occur with a distinct associated motion morpheme for the associated motion function; but in EN and WN, directionals by themselves function as such (Payne 2021).

Directionals also extend into the domain of aspect. The aspectual functions are relatively less studied, but appear to be quite diverse from one language to another. For instance, Spagnolo (1933: 143) says the Bari ventive can communicate ‘perfective/finishing off’, while in other EN languages the ventive has likely developed into the inchoative. Payne (2021) provides one overview of the functions of directionals across Nilotic.

Perhaps most remarkably, we have seen that in SN, the ventive, itive, and even the dative are beginning to participate in person indexation. In general, the ventive correlates with 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person BENEFICIARY and related notions, while the itive and dative may correlate with 3<sup>rd</sup> person BENEFICIARY and related notions. Most notably, for G/B Datooga, Bruckhaus (2021: 118) states that though 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> person BENEFICIARIES can be indexed on ventive verb stems by object suffixes, they can also be inferred from “blank” ventive stems.

Finally, in probably all Nilotic languages that have them, dative, instrumental and directional affixes are lexicalized into some verbs. That is, certain simple root forms do not occur without one of these (historical) affixes. Remarkably, this extends even to verbs for ‘give’ in some Nilotic languages as in Nandi and Turkana, seen in (151)–(152). This is so even when other three-argument roots do exist, such as Turkana ‘beg’.

- (151) Turkana (Dimmendaal 2009: 3)  
*kà-in-ak(i)    ɲesi    ayɔɲ    ɲakipi*  
 3>1-give-DAT   3SG.NOM   1SG   water  
 ‘S/he has given me water.’
- (152) Nandi (Creider 2002: 174)  
*mé:-ka:-cín    cî:*  
 NEG-give-DAT   person  
 ‘(S/he) doesn’t give (it) to anyone.’

## 8 Summary of major findings

Much research remains to be done on the Nilotic family, and details about applicative constructions are no exception. However, major findings that we can draw from the available literature follow.

### Inventory

- Dative applicatives occur in all Nilotic branches. Dholuo (WN) appears to have lost this but may be newly developing one by cliticizing a preposition.
- Instrumental/locative applicatives are well-attested in EN and SN, but minimally in WN. WN Shilluk has distinct instrumental/locative versus benefactive/dative applicative constructions.
- SN Datooga languages may have a third *-an* applicative.
- Ventive and itive directionals have redirective applicative functions in all Nilotic branches and additional applicative functions in SN. Serial or converbal constructions are not used for applicative jobs. However, ventive and itive directional affixes conceivably developed from movement verbs.

### Morphology

- EN and SN applicative suffixes have considerable allomorphy, motivated by vowel harmony and consonant changes including deletion. WN languages mostly (but not exclusively) use stem alternations involving tone, length, vowel quality, and consonant alternations and deletion. WN phonological verb classes affect applicative stem forms, and Anywa has different directional forms for intransitive versus transitive verbs.
- Applicativized verbs behave like regular verbs in their inflection for person, number, tense, aspect, mood.
- In EN and SN, dative and instrumental applicatives can co-occur.

- Dative/benefactive applicatives generally do not co-occur with directionals. There is no restriction on combining the instrumental with directionals in at least EN and SN.

### Syntax

- Dative and instrumental applicatives normally increase valence on both intransitive and transitive bases.
- Animacy is likely significant in what is treated as the more privileged object, as much or more so than semantic role and base versus applied status.
- Dative APPPs which express BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY and ADDRESSEE roles are primary/direct objects, being indexed on the verb and/or occurring in the privileged object position.
- The status of dative APPPs that express GOALS or other locative arguments is more varied in at least EN. In Maa they are the privileged object. But in Turkana and Ateso they may occur with a preposition and/or in a locative case; this is also true of WN Reel.
- With instrumental/locative applicatives, the APPP is usually the privileged object, but in at least Ateso, the APPP keeps a reduced preposition plus has instrumental tonal case. Little work has been done on the required versus optional nature of LOCATION, TIME, and other semantically “oblique” APPP arguments.
- Dative and instrumental applicatives generally don’t change the syntactic status of the companion arguments between the base and applied constructions (at least in languages with nominative-accusative syntax), aside from perhaps affecting linear order (though order may depend on relative topicality). (Some WN languages are argued to have ergative features.) WN Anywa and Jumjum are languages for which the applied BENEFICIARY is argued to syntactically displace the base-construction object.
- Directionals can have a redirecting applicative function with basic <AGENT SOURCE/GOAL> verbs, without changing valence. The applied THEME is then the primary or direct object. The GOAL/SOURCE is no longer a core argument, and can only occur in an oblique phrase.
- There are no known limitations on combining applicatives with voice-type operations such as antipassive, causative, middle, and impersonal/passive.
- Applied constructions generally correspond to the regular valence patterns of a language. However, in at least some languages they can create four-argument clauses which otherwise do not exist.
- With reference to case and verb indexation frames, in some languages all APPPs occur in the unmarked case for primary/direct objects. In EN Turkana and Ateso and WN Reel, the dative applicative licenses a LOCATIVE AppP in a locative case form.
- In Shilluk, a pre-verbal focused LOCATION requires an applicative verb. (There is little information on whether applicativization is required to relativize or focalize otherwise non-core syntactic phrases.)

### Semantics and pragmatics

- Different applicative derivations are specialized for different ranges of semantic roles. Dative applicatives add BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY, RECIPIENT, ADDRESSEE, and (specific/reached-)GOAL and occasionally other locative notions.
- The dative is typically obligatory for expressing a BENEFICIARY/MALEFICIARY participant. Adpositional phrases are not usually possible for this function but at least EN Lopit is an exception. SN languages have two or more forms for applied benefactives according to person (and sometimes specificity for 3<sup>rd</sup> persons) of the BENEFICIARY.
- The dative applicative is syntactically optional for expressing a GOAL with movement and caused-motion verbs. It is sometimes lexicalized even with ‘give’.
- With some movement verbs the Maasai dative can yield a semantic nuance relative to the semantic role of the object (GOAL-REACHED with the dative versus PATH with the non-applied construction), or intensity of the action vis-à-vis the object, but without changing valence. Nevertheless, no morphology has turned from erstwhile applicative into a strictly valence-neutral function.
- In EN, SN, and WN Shilluk, the instrumental applicative can add a range of roles such as INSTRUMENT, MEANS, CONCOMITANT, LOCATION, SOURCE, TIME, REASON, RESULT, depending on interaction with lexical and contextual factors.
- Datooga varieties have a possible distinction between an ‘instrumental’ and a more opaque ‘oblique’ applicative *-an*; their differentiation is complicated by interaction with other morphemes including aspect and directionals.
- Little is known about what motivates the choice when a given semantic role can be expressed in an applicative or prepositional construction. Sometimes it may have to do with specificity, or topical versus new information status. In WN Shilluk, the instrumental applicative is required if a non-core argument is focused in pre-verbal position.
- Directionals have valence-neutral redirective applicative functions with <AGENT SOURCE/GOAL> verbs, suppressing base GOAL/SOURCE in favor of THEME.
- In some SN languages, directionals have extended into adding a COMITATIVE object.
- In SN, the ventive has specialized for adding speech-act BENEFICIARY/ADDRESSEE objects.

### Look-alike constructions

- WN Lango has an English-style “dative alternation”.
- EN Maasai and Lopit and WN Jumjum have external possession constructions. These increase valence by adding an object, with no valence-increasing morphology on the verb.

Finally, we must underscore that few extensive studies of Nilotic applicatives currently exist, notable exceptions being Lamoureux (2004) for EN Maasai, Dimmendaal (2009)

on EN Turkana, and Bruckhaus (2021) for SN Datooga. Research is especially needed on syntactic and semantic extensions, the interrelationship of applicatives with particular verb types and participant features, and on discourse-pragmatic issues.

## Abbreviations

ACC	accusative
AFF	affirmative
AGR	agreement
AM	associated motion
APPL	applicative
APPP	applied phrase
ASP	aspect
ATR	advanced/retracted tongue root
BEN	benefactive/beneficiary
BRV	breathy voice
CAUS	causative
CN	connective
COMP	complementizer
COP	copula
CVB	converb
DECL	declarative
DAT	dative
DEM	demonstrative
EMPH	emphatic
EN	Eastern Nilotic
ERG	ergative
EVID	evidential
F	feminine
FOC	focus
FPL	feminine plural
FS	final suffix
FSG	feminine singular
FUT	future
IMP	imperative
IMPERS	impersonal
INCOMPL	incomplete
INF	infinitive
INS	instrument
INTR	intransitive
INV	inverse
IPFV	imperfective
IS	inflectional suffix
ITV	itive
LINK	linker
LOC	locative

M	masculine
MID	middle
MPL	masculine plural
MSG	masculine singular
NEG	negative
NMLZ	nominalizer
NOM	nominative
NTS	non-topical subject
OBJ	object
OBL	oblique
PASS	passive
PERS	persistive
PF	perfect(ive)
PFV	perfective
PL	plural
PLRC	pluractional
POSS	possessive
PREP	preposition
PRF	perfect
PROG	progressive
PROSP	prospective
PROX	proximal demonstrative
PSM	possessum
PSR	possessor
PST	past
REC	reciprocal
REL	relative
REP	repeated action
SBJ	subject
SBJV	subjunctive
SG	singular
SN	Southern Nilotic
SUBS	subsequent
TR	transitive
VEN	ventive
WN	Western Nilotic
x>y	x acts on y

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