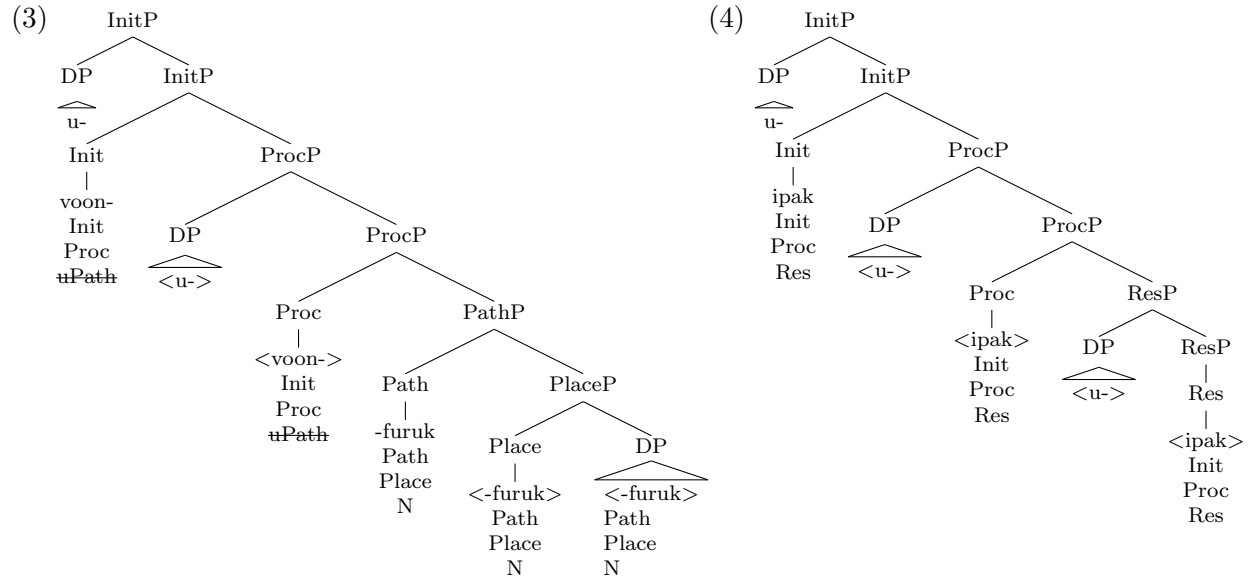


complement position would already be taken by the ResP, as in (4). Macaulay’s high applicative analysis can make no such prediction, as there is no reason a high applicative in Pylkkänen (2008)’s system should be unable to combine with an achievement verb.



These Karuk directional suffixes are thus low applicatives of a new type not predicted to be possible in Pylkkänen (2008): they hold a low position in the tree below the verb root (below Proc), but nonetheless “denote a relationship between an event and an individual” (Pylkkänen, 2008, p.13) like high applicatives. In contrast, this type of low applicative is allowed by Ramchand (2008)’s system, but only for applicatives expressing path and ground notions that would be able to act as the Path and Place heads. Thus, more typical Karuk high applicatives like the Causative *-math* and Benefactive *-ihi*, though also denoting “a relationship between an event and an individual,” must occupy the conventional high applicative position above the verb root (above Proc), as suggested by their differences in distribution from the directionals (being able to occur with Res verbs, for example). This offers more evidence against a high applicative analysis of the directionals and suggests that Karuk has a contrast between high and low applicatives of a different type from the contrast described in Pylkkänen (2008), thus contributing to the theoretical typology of applicatives and arguing against the universality of Pylkkänen (2008)’s widely accepted analysis.

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