Data: Western Armenian verbs take one of 3 theme vowels
Analysis Choice of theme is conditioned simultaneously by root, v, and Voice
Class features, verbal meaning, and transitivity are not enough on their own

What is the theme vowel?
- Themes correlate with verbal typing and transitivity ...
- ... but are also an arbitrary choice of individual roots

Themes are verballizers
- Many roots surface as adjectives without a theme vowel
- But are verbs with the theme vowel

Themes are ornamental
- Choice of vowel is arbitrary — not predictable from phonology, morphosyntax, or semantics
- Generally, E-Class are transitive and I-Class & A-Class are intransitive, but there are many, many exceptions

Themes can be transitivity markers
- Transitivity can’t predict theme vowel 100% or vice versa...

What does a verb look like then?
- little v and Voice are bundled (no separate morphs) + Theme vowel is adjunct + Theme vowel is conditioned by root, v and Voice in conjunction ...
- But theme only appears if the verbalized root occurs in a verbal structure
- Synthetic compound nominals below contain v
  - No theme vowel because the compound acts as a noun/adj

Complex verbs: Voice doesn’t always matter
- Causatives are lexical causatives, monoclusal, don’t embed an external agent or syntactically active Voice, have only 1 Voice (Megerditchian 2005).
- Ditransitive causatives have a ‘forced’ reading
  - Transitive: jep-i-l ’to cook X’
  - Causative: jep-i-l ankleren g@sorvetsnem
  - Ditranisitve causatives have a ‘forced’ reading
- Passives: have one theme vowel even though same morphosyntax as regular verbs
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