Chapter 1

Voice morphology (mis)behaving itself

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This paper reconsiders some core issues on the morphosyntax and semantics of deponents, and what I contend are their counterparts in languages with no fully-fledged voice paradigms, namely pseudo-reflexives in Germanic and Romance. In particular, I show that non-active voice and reflexive marking in these constructions functions as a verbalizer, specifically on the roots of these verbs, which are nominal. Consequently, at least some roots seem to be categorial, and their category and other selectional features (such as non-causative semantics) relevant for Merge. Thus, the paper provides novel evidence for the view that roots have meaning, and in particular, for the existence of entity denoting roots.

1 Introduction

While the literature on non-active (versus active) voice morphology in languages with two distinct conjugational paradigms such as Latin, Albanian and Greek has been prolific, in this paper I focus on a particular phenomenon that has not received a great deal of attention, but that to my mind reveals that, on top of other functions, non-active voice morphology – and more generally special morphology in languages devoid of fully-fledged voice paradigms, such as reflexive morphology in Romance and Germanic – acts as a verbalizer, in which case it is located in the little *v* head (and not in the higher Voice head). The crucial evidence I discuss comes from deponent verbs in languages such as Latin, Albanian and Greek, as well as from pseudo-reflexive verbs of the type 'to behave (oneself)' across Germanic and Romance, which for all intents and purposes, behave like deponents in the aforementioned languages, as I will show.

The paper is organized as follows. In §2, I introduce deponent and deponent-like verbs, that is, the basic patterns that motivate the present inquiry. §3 gives

a bird's eye view of the most common assumptions on the syntax of voice morphology in the current literature. In §4, building on my previous work, I present an alternative analysis, the most far-reaching consequence of which is that it calls into question the extreme constructionist position according to which roots never project (and are thus invariably acategorial).

2 Deponent and deponent-like verbs

While voice syncretisms of the sort found in languages like Albanian, Greek, and Latin, which have two distinct conjugational voice paradigms (namely, active and non-active, the latter used for verbs in the passive, anticausative and/or reflexive alternation) are well-known – see for instance (1a) vs. (1b) from Albanian – deponent verbs familiar first and foremost from traditional grammars of Latin have featured much less in modern theoretical syntax, even though recently there has been increased interest in them (for a thorough review, see Grestenberger 2014).

(1) Albanian

    a. Po   krihem.
       PROG comb.1SG.NACT
       (i) 'I am combing myself.'
       (ii) 'I am being combed (by someone else).'

    b. Po   kreh   fëmijën.
       PROG comb.1SG.ACT child.the
       'I am combing the child.'

Deponent verbs, which have been traditionally characterized as passive in form but active in meaning and/or as verbs that do not have an active form, are illustrated through the verb *hortor* 'I encourage/incite' in (2b) for Latin, which as Grestenberger (2018a) notes, can only appear with passive morphology (i.e. there is no *hortō) but is syntactically active and transitive like *amō* 'I love', but which unlike the passive form of *amō,* namely *amor* 'I am loved', never means *'I am encouraged'. This amounts to saying that deponent verbs do not passivize.[1] The Albanian examples in (3) further illustrate the point that deponents do not have formally (i.e. morphologically) active counterparts (compare with (1)).

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[1]Grestenberger (2014; 2018a) notes however that there is a rather small set of deponent verbs that do passivize. I postpone the discussion of these verbs to §4.

(2) Latin

		Present, active	Present, non-active
a.	alternating	*am-ō*	*am-**or***
		'I love'	'I am loved'
b.	deponent	—	*hort-**or***
			'I encourage/incite'

(3) Albanian

	Non-active		Active
a.	dergj-**em**	a′.	**dergj*
	'I linger'		
b.	*përgjigj-**em***	b′.	**përgjigj*
	'I answer'		
c.	*kreno-h-**em***	c′.	**kreno-**j***
	'I take pride in'		
d.	*lig-**em***	d′.	**lig*
	'I weaken'		
e.	*pendo-h-**em***	e′.	**pendo-**j***
	'I regret'		
	…		

Furthermore, unlike in Latin, deponent verbs in Albanian are invariably intransitive, i.e. they cannot combine with a direct object bearing accusative case, though some may combine with dative objects, as shown in (4).[2]

(4) Albanian

    a. Do t'u   përgjigjem pyetjeve.[3]
        FUT SBJV.CL.DAT.3PL answer   questions.DAT
        'I'll answer the questions.'

    b. *Do t'i   përgjigj pyetjet.
        FUT SBJV.CL.ACC.3PL answer questions.ACC[4]
        intended: 'I'll answer the questions.'

Deponent verbs in Albanian are thus reminiscent of pseudo-reflexive verbs across Romance and Germanic languages, in the sense that the reflexive element

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[2]Not all deponent verbs in Latin are transitive either, but crucially, unlike in Albanian, some are. See also §4.

[4]Dative arguments are invariably clitic doubled in Albanian.

[4]Nominative plural and accusative plural are in fact syncretic in Albanian.

here obviously cannot be interpreted as a direct object the way it may be when occurring with so-called "inherently reflexive" verbs such as 'to wash', 'to shave', or 'to comb' across all these languages. To see this, consider the examples in (5) through (10). Crucially, unlike in (5a), (7a) and (9a), the reflexive element in (6a), (8a) and (10a) cannot be said to correspond to a logical argument of the verb, as is evidenced by comparing the grammatical (5b), (7b) and (9b), to the respective (6b), (8b) and (10b), all of which are ungrammatical. The conclusion that the ungrammaticality of (6b), (8b) and (10b) is due to a violation of (some version of) the theta-criterion is therefore imminent.[5]

(5) Italian

    a. Martina si   lava.   b. Martina lava   la camicia.
       Martina REFL.3 washes   Martina washes the shirt
       'Martina washes herself.'   'Martina washes the shirt.'

(6) Italian

    a. Martina si   arrabbia spesso.
       Martina REFL.3 angers   often
       'Martina often gets angry.'

    b. * Martina arrabia spesso Piero.
       Martina angers often   Piero
       intended: 'Martina often angers Piero.'

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[5]Dutch, which is famous for two morphological classes of reflexives, namely simple *zich* versus complex *zichzelf*, constitutes an interesting case in this context, since pseudo- or "fake" reflexives (i.e. reflexive elements that cannot be said to instantiate an argument of the verb) are simple, just like reflexive arguments of verbs of bodily grooming such as *comb*, *wash*, *shave* etc. (which are inherently reflexive), and unlike reflexive arguments of non-inherent reflexive verbs such as *hate* or *love*, which are complex. This is interesting because in languages with full-blown conjugational paradigms like Albanian, Greek and Latin, a non-inherent reflexive verb bearing non-active morphology can never have a reflexive interpretation (see e.g. Embick 1997; 2004 on reflexives in Greek).

  (i) Dutch
     Jan schaamt zich   / *zichzelf.
     Jan shames REFL.3   REFL.3-SELF
     'John is ashamed (of himself).'

  (ii) Dutch
     Jan haat *zich / zichzelf.
     John hates *REFL.3   REFL.3-SELF
     'John hates himself.'

(7) German

    a. Martina wäscht sich.   b. Martina wäscht das Hemd.
        Martina washes REFL.3   Martina washes the shirt

(8) German

    a. Ich schäme mich.
        I   shame me/myself
        'I am ashamed of myself.'

    b. * Ich schäme dich   / (die) Martina.
        I   shame you/yourself   the Martina

(9)   a. John washed (himself).

     b. John washed the child.

(10) a. John behaved (himself).

     b. * John behaved the child.

The question then arises what the role of the reflexive element in examples such as (6a), (8a) and (10a) is. I have argued in previous work that the reflexive element here is the counterpart of non-active or passive morphology in the class of verbs known from traditional grammars of Latin as "deponent" verbs, a view that is at first blush also corroborated by the fact that reflexive morphology is also involved in building the so-called "short passives" in Romance languages, examples of which are given in (11) and (12) for Italian and French, respectively.

(11) Italian
Le fragole   si   mangiano.
the strawberries REFL eat
(i) 'The strawberries are (being) eaten.'
(ii) 'Strawberries are edible.'

(12) French
Trois maisons se   sont louées (*par des   touristes) hier.
three houses REFL are rented by some tourists yesterday
'Three houses were rented (by some tourist) yesterday.'

I will show that the special morphology of deponent and pseudo-reflexive verbs is not located in the head of a VoiceP, but in little v^0, and is thus as a genuine verbalizer. However, before doing that, in the next section I quickly review the main lines of analyses of deponent verbs in current research pointing out their merits and their drawbacks, which motivate the alternative analysis I provide in §4.

3 Analytical state-of-the-art

An influential study of deponent verbs within modern syntactic thinking is provided in Embick (1997). Within his overall underspecification approach (Embick's study is situated within the framework of Distributed Morphology), the source of the well-known syncretism between (alternating and non-alternating) unaccusatives, passives and reflexives, is a particular syntactic property, namely the lack of an external argument. That is, what these distinct syntactic constructions have in common is that they all lack an external argument, and it is precisely this syntactic property that the syncretic morphology (which Embick dubs "u-syncretism") is sensitive to, or reflects. To deponents, which as discussed, in many languages share this very same morphology, Embick assigns a so-called "class" feature, namely *passive*. More specifically, Embick argues that with deponents, unlike in genuine (i.e. syntactic) passivization and reflexivization contexts, this feature does not show up on a functional head, but rather on a root, where subcatgorization information and interpretation are not affected.

In spite of the fact that the background of Embick's approach to the morphosyntax of voice is a realizational framework, Embick's approach to deponents is conceptually eerily similar to lexicalist approaches such as the one in Kiparsky (2005: 121–122),[6] who suggests that "passive inflection in Latin is a conjugational feature – we'll call it [±Passive] – which can be lexically specified, for verb stems as well as for inflectional endings, or left unspecified", and who further goes on to state that "[+Passive] inflections trigger one or more of the operations on the verb's argument structure [...] forming passives, as well as possibly reflexives, reciprocals, and inchoatives, depending on further, partly idiosyncratic, properties of the verb". The question then also for Embick is what, if anything, enables the appearance of this class feature on roots? This question becomes even more pressing in view of generalizations like those drawn in work by Xu et al. (2007) on deponents in Latin, Kallulli (2013) on deponents in Albanian, and Zombolou & Alexiadou (2014) on deponents in Greek, according to which there is no mismatch. Under these approaches, the morphological exponent faithfully realizes a certain abstract semantic property, i.e. deponent verbs in all these languages can form a semantically defined natural class with other, more obvious instances of non-active morphology after all. For instance, in Kallulli (2013) I argue that the fact that cross-linguistically deponents are overwhelmingly denominal crucially evidences the canonicity of the non-active form for this class of verbs, since

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[6]See also Sadler & Spencer (2001).

nouns typically lack external arguments.[7] I will indeed defend this proposal here, in particular taking issue with another recent influential proposal, namely the one in Grestenberger (2014; 2018a), which I turn to next.

Based on Grestenberger (2014), Grestenberger (2018a) provides the definition of deponency in (13):

(13) Definition of deponency:
    In an active/non-active voice system, a deponent is a verb with an agent subject that appears in a syntactically active context and is morphologically non-active.

Thus, Grestenberger argues that deponent verbs, as a lexical property, project an agent DP *within* the VP (as opposed to *v*P which in her notation equals VoiceP). That is, there is an agent, the clause is transitive, but the context for morphological realization of active exponence (see (14)) is not present, which is what leads Müller (2016) to classify Grestenberger's approach as a "spurious morpho-syntactic" one.[8]

(14) Post-syntactic rules of morphological exponence:
    a. Voice triggers non-active morphology if it does not have an agentive DP as its specifier
    b. Voice triggers active morphology if it has an agentive DP as its specifier

More specifically, Grestenberger argues that the low agent of deponents is the outcome of a diachronic reanalysis process by which a self-benefactive argument, which is merged below VoiceP as given in Figure 1.1a, is reanalyzed as an agent,

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[7]In Kallulli (2013) I also show that this is largely the case for pseudo-reflexives in modern Romance and Germanic, too; i.e. like deponents, pseudo-reflexives are cross-linguistically overwhelmingly denominal.

[8]For Müller (2016), Grestenberger's approach belongs to the class of spurious morpho-syntactic approaches to deponency because non-active morphological realization is tied to the abstract morpho-syntactic property of Voice devoid of a DP specifier, and it is this abstract property that characterizes regular passive verbs and deponent verbs as a natural class. Thus, strictly speaking there is no mismatch between form and function, even though Grestenberger herself classifies her approach as involving a genuine mismatch given her contention that the agent of deponents is merged low (i.e. not in Spec of VoiceP, the canonical position where agents are externally merged).

as shown in Figure 1.1b, where the boxed DP is the one undergoing the reanalysis. The resulting deponent structure is given in Figure 1.2.[9]
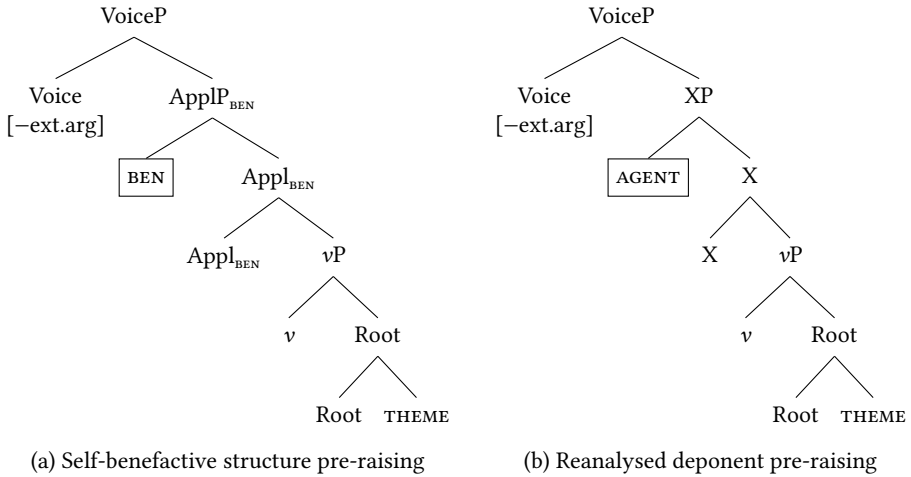

(a) Self-benefactive structure pre-raising

(b) Reanalysed deponent pre-raising

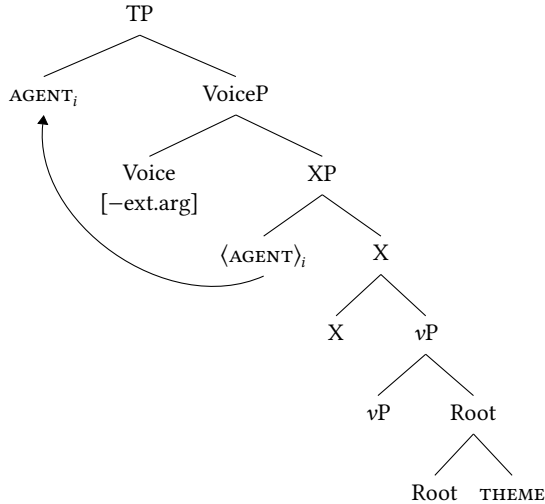Figure 1.1: The structure of self-benefactives pre- and post-reanalysis

Figure 1.2: Deponent

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[9]Note that self-benefactive arguments always occur with non-active morphology in languages like Latin and Greek. For details, see Grestenberger (2014; 2018a).

The Albanian data in (15) seem to lend support to Grestenberger's approach. Specifically, in (15a), with the non-active verb *lutem* 'I beg', Eva (who bears nominative case) is the beggar and Ben (who bears dative) the one being begged. In (15b), with the active verb *lus* 'I beg', again (nominative) Eva is the beggar and Ben, which crucially bears accusative here, is the one being begged. While the two sentences feel synonymous, there is a sense in which Eva in (15a) – note the existence of non-active morphology here – feels more "affected" than in (7b), i.e. like pleading with Ben, thus reflecting a sense of self-beneficial implication. Under Grestenberger's approach, this "affectedness" effect could be said to have been lost over time (at least with certain verbs), resulting in the same unmarked agent reading as in (15b), but with the non-active morphology as a sort of diachronic remnant.[10]

(15) Albanian

    a. Eva   **iu**   lut   Benit   (për muaj   me rradhë).
       Eva.ɴᴏᴍ ᴄʟ.3 sɢ.ᴅᴀᴛ.**ɴᴀᴄᴛ** begged Ben.ᴅᴀᴛ for months on end
       'Eva begged Ben (for months on end).'

    b. Eva   e   luti   Benin   (për muaj   me
       Eva.ɴᴏᴍ ᴄʟ.3 sɢ.ᴀᴄᴄ begged.ᴀᴄᴛ.3 sɢ Ben.ᴀᴄᴄ for months on
       rradhë).
       end
       'Eva begged Ben (for months on end).'

A potentially problematic aspect of Grestenberger's approach for data such as these however lies in her statement that "the non-active morphology of deponents cannot be motivated in terms of the *synchronic* canonical functions of non-active morphology. That is, synchronically they do not fall into any of the categories listed [...] (reflexive, self-benefactive, anticausative, etc)". At least in Albanian, deponents, which in this language are incompatible with objects bearing accusative case, actually do seem to fall into some such category associated with the synchronic canonical functions of non-active morphology (namely: self-benefactive). In other words, the pattern observed in (15a) vs. (15b) seems to be productive, as also replicated in (16a) vs. (16b).

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[10]Incidentally, Laura Grestenberger (personal communication) confirms that 'beg' and 'ask' are definitely verbs that show up as deponents in Ancient Greek and Sanskrit (mostly with accusative objects).

(16) Albanian

   a. Mendohem   *(për) të ardhmen.
       ponder.1SG.PRS.NACT   for   future.the.ACC
       'I ponder/think about the future.'

   b. Mendoj   (për)   të ardhmen.
       think.1SG.PRS.ACT   about   future.the.ACC
       'I think about the future.'

A solution to this tension might be that the synchronic analysis of data such as (15a) and (16a) might be different from the languages Grestenberger scrutinizes, especially in view of the "affectedness" ingredient in these examples as opposed to (15b) and (16b), respectively. Coupled with the productivity of the pattern (i.e. the alternation) illustrated here and the fact that deponents in Albanian are incompatible with accusative objects, it seems reasonable to assume that Grestenberger (2018a) wouldn't have to analyze cases like (15a) and (16a) as deponents at all, because they are not agentive; recall her definition of deponency in (13).[11] It is precisely in terms of (lack of) agency that my approach to deponents differs from Grestenberger's (as well as from Embick's). Specifically, I maintain that Grestenberger's definition of deponency is not only too narrow in that not all deponents can be conceived of as agentive predications, but that deponents are truly non-agentive predications. I discuss this issue in detail among others in the next section.

4 Deponents and pseudo-reflexives are unaccusatives

Building on my previous work in Kallulli (2013), I maintain that deponents and their pseudo-reflexive counterparts in languages with no full-fledged voice paradigms are truly unaccusative predications – i.e. they lack an external argument. The main evidence for this contention involves the following issues. Firstly, though "transitive" deponents (i.e. deponents that combine with objects bearing accusative case) exist both in Latin, Greek and other languages with voice paradigms (for details, see Grestenberger 2014; 2018a), which is the main if not sole argument motivating the view that syntactically they are not unaccusative, not all languages that have deponent verbs have transitive deponents. Thus, in Albanian there are no transitive deponents, as already mentioned. Secondly, as Flobert (1975: 590) notes, most of the oldest deponents in Latin are intransitive,

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[11]I am grateful to Laura Grestenberger for discussing these data and the issues they present with me.

a fact that is itself in need of explanation, and that might be construed to reveal the true (unaccusative) nature of this class of verbs.[12] Similarly, the fact that intransitive deponents in Modern Greek far outnumber transitive deponents, and the fact that the majority of transitive deponents are verbs that thematically assign experiencer roles (Zombolou 2012), also speaks for their unaccusative nature.[13] Thirdly, the fact that deponents just like their fake reflexive counterparts in modern Romance and Germanic are largely denominal (see Kallulli 2013 and references therein) also speaks for their unaccusative nature, given that nouns lack external arguments. Finally, though deponents cannot always combine with prepositional phrases indicating the presence of an agent or external cause of an event, some verbs that are clearly derived from such deponents with no causative semantics (compare (17a) to (18a) below) can however transitivize, as shown in (18b) which contrasts with (18c).[14]

(17) Albanian

    a. Dielli u   duk   (*nga   Zoti / qielli).
       sun NACT appeared from/by God sky
       'The Sun appeared (*by/from God / the sky).'

    b. Krenohem   (*nga   djali)   / për / me djalin.
       am.proud.PRS.NACT from/by son.the.NOM for with son.the.ACC
       'I am proud of my son.'

(18) Albanian

    a. Në rregull, po **zh**dukem   atëhere.
       in order   PROG **dis**appear.NACT then
       'OK, I (will) disappear then.'

    b. I   **zh**duka gjurmët.
       CL.3PL.ACC disappear traces
       'I made the traces / evidence disappear.' (i.e. 'I destroyed the evidence'.)

    c. * Duk   diellin / gjurmët.
       appear.ACT sun.the traces.the
       'I make the sun/the traces (i.e. evidence) appear.'

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[12]On the emergence and development of "active" deponents in Latin see also Cennamo (2008), who notes among other things that full activization of deponents in this language is attested from the 7th century onwards.

[13]Zombolou (2012) reports that 70% of all deponent verbs in this language are intransitive and only 18% out of 100% combine with an object bearing accusative case.

[14]The prefix *zh-* in Albanian is a productive antonymizing one analogous to *dis-* in English and seemingly attaches to various categories, including verbs, adjectives and nouns.

The very same transitivization process as in (18b) is also attested with pseudo-reflexives in Romance and Germanic, as illustrated in (19) for Italian and (20) for German.[15]

(19) Italian

    a.   quando Dio *(si)   vergogna degli uomini e   gli uomini *(si)
           when   God   REFL shamed   of-the men   and the men   REFL
           vergognano di Dio
           shamed   of God
           'when God is ashamed of men and men are ashamed of God'

    b.   * Gli uomini hanno vergognato il   Dio
           the men   have   shamed   the God
           'Men have put God to shame'

    c.   Gli uomini hanno **s**vergognato il   Dio
           the men   have   shamed   God
           'Men have put God to shame'

(20) German

    a.   Ich schäme mich.
           I   shame   me/myself
           'I am ashamed of myself.'

    b.   * Ich schäme dich.
           I   shame   you/yourself
           'I put shame on you.' / 'I put you to shame.'

    c.   Ich **be**schäme dich.
           I   ashame   you/yourself
           'I put shame on you.' / 'I put you to shame.'

Taken together, these facts suggest that the function of non-active morphology in deponents and, accordingly, of reflexive morphology in languages that do not have full-fledged voice paradigms, is that of a verbalizer, i.e. verbalizing nominal roots, an idea which is also theoretically appealing, since what we know about nouns is that just like unaccusative (and passive) verbs, they lack external arguments, thus making the appearance of non-active/reflexive morphology be

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[15]As an anonymous reviewer correctly points out, the German prefix *be-* is a transitivizing one and also attaches to non-deponent forms of course, which is however irrelevant in the context of the present discussion.

the canonical and therefore expected rather than the non-canonical, unexpected form.

One question that arises, however, concerns the so-called "transitive" (Embick 1997) deponents of the *sequor* 'I follow' type, which as mentioned can combine with an accusative object (and which Grestenberger argues to be truly "agentive").[16] Following a suggestion originally due to Embick (1997), which he however eventually discards, but which has more recently been picked up in Alexiadou (2013), Kallulli (2013) and Zombolou & Alexiadou (2014), I uphold that transitive non-alternating non-active verbs can be analyzed synchronically as verbs taking experiencer arguments (note that according to Pesetsky (1995) experiencer arguments are arguments of the root), specifically as dyadic unaccusative (stative) psych predicates.[17] As mentioned earlier, this line of reasoning has however been newly rejected in Grestenberger (2014; 2018a), who contends that there is indeed a small class of truly agentive deponents. Grestenberger's main arguments are the following. First, reiterating Embick's observations which eventually led him to discard the idea that transitive deponents are psych verbs, she points out that with some psych-verbs, both an agentive and a psychological reading is possible in Modern Greek. Under what she refers to as "the agentive reading", as in (21a) which contains an animate subject, the object does not have to be clitic doubled, while under the psychological reading in (21b) (note that the subject is inanimate), the object needs to be clitic doubled.

(21)   Greek

    a.   I   Maria   enohli   ton Petro.
        the Maria.NOM bothers the Petro.ACC
        'Maria bothers Petro.'

    b.   Ta epipla   *?(ton)   enohlun ton   Petro.
        the furniture.NOM   him.CL.ACC bothers the.ACC Petro
        'The furniture bothers Petro.'

Transitive agentive deponents like *hriazome* 'need' pattern with the so-called "agentive" reading and do not require clitic doubling, as shown in (22). Grestenberger takes this to indicate that the subject of *hriazome* is therefore an agent rather than a cause/theme.

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[16]Incidentally, as an anonymous reviewer reminds me, evidence for an unaccusative approach to 'follow'-type verbs is clearer in German, where it takes a dative, not an accusative, object.

[17]See also Zombolou (2012), who points out that the subject of the majority of transitive deponents in Modern Greek (transitive deponents combining with an accusative object make up 18% of deponents in this language) are experiencers.

(22)   Greek
       I   Maria   hriazete ton   Petro.
       the Maria.NOM needs   the.ACC Petro
       'Maria needs Petros.'

   While these judgments seem clearer for some Greek speakers than for others,
all they show is that the distinction between animate and inanimate subjects has
some bearing on clitic doubling of the object.[18] Jumping from such data to the
conclusion that the relevant contrast (highlighted in (21a) vs. (21b)) is due to the
agentivity of the subject in (21a), is unwarranted, since Maria could equally well
be an actor unintentionally causing bother to Petro, i.e. Maria could be an actor
but not an agent. Likewise, in (22) Maria might indeed need Petro without intend-
ing or even wanting to. In other words, what these examples show, is just that
clitic doubling of the object is affected by the (in)animacy of the subject but they
can certainly not be used as a test for agentivity, since participants capable of
willful agency might always act unintentionally.[19] Similarly, Embick's observa-
tion reiterated by Grestenberger that transitive deponents pattern as non-psych
verbs in triggering clitic left-dislocation is not any more conclusive of the agen-
tivity of transitive deponents.

   Secondly, as I point out in Kallulli (2007) in a different context, Grestenberger's
claim that so-called "agent-oriented" adverbs expressing intention or volition
only modify agentive predicates is cross-linguistically contradicted by data like
those in (23) for Italian and (24) for German, which specifically demonstrate that
unaccusative syntax is not incompatible with such adverbs:

(23)   Italian (Folli & Harley 2006)

       a. Gianni é caduto / *ha caduto apposta.
           Gianni is fallen   has fallen   on.purpose

       b. Gianni é rotolato / *ha rotolato giu   apposta.
           Gianni is rolled   has rolled   down on.purpose

(24)   German
       Peter ist / *hat absichtlich   eingeschlafen.
       Peter is   has deliberately fallen.asleep
       'Peter fell asleep on purpose.'

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[18]I thank Artemis Alexiadou (personal communication) for discussing these data with me.

[19]For details on (animate) actors versus (intentional) agents and their representation, see Demir-
   dache (1997) and Kallulli (2006; 2007).

Grestenberger's strongest argument for the agentive status of (transitive) deponents comes from languages like Vedic and in some cases Ancient Greek, which have a trivalent voice system, where one can distinguish among other things between deponents and passives on the basis of morphology. In other words, Grestenberger's strongest argument is that there are languages in which deponents may passivize. While the data she provides from Vedic (and Ancient Greek) seem to indicate this, these data have the potential to bring down Grestenberger's own system, since one would have to assume a Passive head on top of the voice head, which makes these languages similar to English, German or Hebrew (see Alexiadou 2013 and Alexiadou et al. 2015), but which in turn contradict her own observation that there are no deponents in English/German. In even more recent work, Grestenberger (2018b) argues however that these languages do not have a higher Passive head, and that what looks like a passive suffix is between the root and the Voice head, in the position where we usually find *v*, which has recently been analyzed as verbalizing morphology (see Alexiadou et al. 2015 and references therein). In other words, the passive head in such trivalent systems selects roots rather than *v* or Voice, and seems to suppress the projection of higher arguments (that is, agents). While Grestenberger maintains that this holds as a diagnostic of agentivity in deponents because this passive suffix blocks the projection of both non-deponent and deponent agentive verbs alike, it should be noted that she thus directly provides independent evidence for my central claim in this paper, namely the existence of verbalizing voice morphology close to the root, which moreover seems rather similar in function to non-active and/or reflexive morphology in deponents (and elsewhere) in that it blocks the projection of higher arguments.[20] Notice also that my claim that non-active and/or reflexive morphology can on top of other things also function as a verbalizer (specifically in the case of deponents and/or fake reflexives), fills in a gap in the voice typology provided in Schäfer (2008), which is summarized in (25). According to this picture, (25a) generates so-called "sᴇ-reflexives" such as (the Romance and Germanic counterparts of) *wash oneself*, which are semantically and syntactically transitive predicates.[21] In contrast, the semantically intransitive but syntactically transitive structure in (25b) generates sᴇ (i.e. reflexively) marked anticausatives as in Romance (e.g. *se casse* 'breaks' in *Le vase **se** casse* 'The vase breaks') or Germanic (e.g. *Die Tür öffnet **sich*** 'The door opens'), with the reflexive marker being an expletive argument. The statements in (25c) and (25d) are self-explanatory:

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[20]Grestenberger provides one more argument from agent nouns for her claim that deponents are agentive predicates. Since the discussion of this issue is rather complex, and the evidence is confounding and therefore non-conclusive, I will for reasons of space not dwell on it here.

[21]Note that this does not include fake reflexives.

(25c) refers to the general passive voice, introduces an external argument θ-role but lacks a D-feature, and the external argument must remain implicit but can be taken up via *by*-phrase, whereas (25d) refers to the Voice head for marked anti-causatives in languages like Greek (i.e. anticausatives bearing non-active rather than active morphology), with the expletive not introducing a θ-role.[22]

(25)   a. $[_{TP}\ T\ [_{VoiceP}\ DP_{AGENT}\ \textit{Voice}\ [_{vP}\ v\ SE_{PATIENT}\ ]]]$
       b. $[_{TP}\ T\ [_{VoiceP}\ SE_{EXPL}\ \textit{Voice}\ [_{vP}\ v\ DP_{THEME}\ ]]]$
       c.   Thematic passive Voice
       d.   Non-thematic (expletive) passive Voice

It should thus be obvious from the preceding discussion that what the voice typology in (25) does not cover is one of the core patterns discussed in the present paper, namely pseudo-reflexives across Romance and Germanic.

It is important to note that the fact that deponents are largely denominal does not entail that if a verb is denominal, it is deponent (i.e. there is an implication, but there is no equivalence). Indeed denominals have correctly been claimed to be the historical source for unergatives in languages like English and potentially universally. Interestingly however, unlike (denominal) unergatives, denominal deponents in Albanian do not involve nominal morphology. That is, the noun in the latter class of verbs is just the historical source. Crucially, as Xu et al. (2007: 139) point out for Latin deponents but the point is more general (see Kallulli 2013), Latin denominal or deadjectival verbs differ in form depending on whether they have a causative sense: "[t]hose with causative senses tend to be active, while those that fall into general non-causative semantic categories such as 'to act or to be x', 'to act like y', 'to give or make (with a sense of creation) z', 'to use z', and 'to get z' tend to assume deponent forms". This is precisely why non-active rather than active morphology is used as a default verbalizer in these (non-causative) contexts, but this does not mean that active morphology cannot be used as a verbalizer in other contexts, such as causative ones, where indeed it is the default one. This notion of "defaultness" is closely tied to Kallulli's (2007) system summarized in Table 1.1, with the primitive features in this system being privative.

Indeed, the very existence of the grammatical sentences (18b), (19c) and (20c) above as opposed to the ungrammaticality of (18c), (19b) and (20b) across Albanian, Italian and German, respectively, is evidence for the correctness of my core contention here.

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[22]Note that (25d) differs from the active expletive Voice in (25b), as it does not project a specifier.

Table 1.1: Feature system in Kallulli (2007)

	Features in v^0	
a.	[+activity]	*Ben ate the apple.*
b.	[+activity] [−external argument]	*The apple was eaten by Ben.*
c.	[+cause]	*The pressure cracked the window.*
d.	[+cause] [−external argument]	*The window cracked (from the pressure).*
e.	[+cause] [+activity]	*John cleaned the table.*
f.	[+cause] [+activity] [−external argument]	*The table was cleaned (by John).*
g.	[−external argument]	*John arrived.*

5 Conclusion

In this paper, I have reconsidered some core issues on the morpho-syntax and semantics of deponents and what I have contended are their counterparts in languages with no fully-fledged voice paradigms, namely pseudo-reflexives. In particular, I have shown that non-active voice and reflexive marking can sometimes function as a verbalizer, specifically on "deponent" roots, which are nominal. Thus, a far reaching conclusion is that at least some roots seem to be categorial, and their category and other selectional features (such as non-causative semantics) relevant for Merge. At the very least we have seen novel evidence for the view that roots have meaning and that specifically there are entity denoting roots, as argued in Harley (2005); Levinson (2007) and others.

Abbreviations

1	first person	DAT	dative	PRS	present
3	third person	FUT	future	REFL	reflexive
ACC	accusative	NACT	non-active	SBJV	subjunctive
ACT	active	NOM	nominative	SG	singular
BEN	benefactive	PL	plural		
CL	clitic	PROG	progressive		

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