The internal structure of the –or nominalization in Romanian [*]

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In this paper I argue that the –or affix embeds different morpho-syntactical contexts, triggering distinct semantic effects: the (+ event) nominalization vs. (- event) derivation. I illustrate that both (+ event) and (- event) nouns have a vP, basing my claim on the two arguments (see Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007)): the morphology of –or nouns and adjectival modification. However, vP is bound by different operators: episodic vs. dispositional. According to Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007) event nominals are episodic while non-event nominals are dispositional. I propose that these aspectual specifications are triggered by the participial stem -t present in –or formation. Following the classification of Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004, 2008), the structure of resultant participles is involved in the –or nominalization while –or derivation is built on the base of target participles. Like resultant participles (+event) nouns contain not only a vP but also the functional projections such as vP, AsP and VoiceP. (- event) derivates like target participles lack argument structure and therefore also VoiceP. To conclude, (+event) nominals involve nominalization since –or affix is base-generated as the Agent in the Specifier of VoiceP while the -or affix involved in derivation is base-generated in the head position where the verb moves up and cliticizes.

1.   Certain generalizations concerning the –or nominalization

In this paper I address the question of the theory of Events in the –or nominalization in Romanian, arguing that various Event properties are located in different nodes inside the nominalization with the "affix" –or.

In line with Abney (1987), van Hout & Roeper (1998), Alexiadou (2001) among others, affixes attach at different levels of structures, e.g. vP, AspectP, VoiceP. vP is the position of the event variable, giving the event entailment of the derivate, AspectP introduces unboundedness, while VoiceP stands for the voice features and for the syntactic position of the Agent in its Specifier Position (see Kratzer's (1996)). As the –or nominalization in Romanian involves both nouns and adjectives, I consider that –or derivates involve different layers of verbal projections.

First in the context of the –or nominalization, like in English, the two major sub-classes of –or nominals (+ event) vs. (- event) are present also in Romanian. The (+event) –or nominals are always agentive (see Keyser & Roeper (1984), van Hout & Roeper 1998, Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007) for the major classes of –er nominals):

(+ eventive)

(1)   a.   el este un furnizor al politiei.
             he is a supplier a-G police-G.
      b.   el este un posesor al cardului Visa
             He is a holder a-G Visa card-G.
      c.   el este un admirator al Mona Lisei.
             He is an admirer a-G Mona Lisa-G.

In Romanian like in English (- event) nominals can be subdivided into further groups such as agentive and instrumental:

(- eventive)

A. **(+ agentive):** dansator (dancer), invatator (teacher), profesor de matematica (teacher of maths)

B. **(+ instrumental):** calculator (calculator), aspirator (vacuum cleaner)

(2)   a.   ajutor (de bucatar)   b.   fumator
             helper   smoker
      c.   aspirator
             vacuum cleaner

The above-mentioned examples show that some – or nominals can occur without argument structure (2) while others do not (1).

In the spirit of van Hout & Roeper (1998), Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007) and many others, I argue that the –or nominals in (1) carry the verb's event structure, thereby projecting argument positions while the (- event) –or nominals do not entail an event. The nouns in (2) have both agentive and instrumental readings without referring to an event: a cook helper is someone who may never help a cook, but simply finished cook helper school. In the same manner, the vacuum cleaner may be new and never used. Unlike the –or nouns in (2), those in (1) allow argument structure and involve an event reading: an admirer of Mona Lisa must have admired the painting. Consequently the –or event nouns have only the agentive reading.

Next to the –or nominalization (+ event and – event), the -or affix is also involved in the derivation of deverbal adjectives and adverbs:

(3)   a.   un roman plictisitor
             a boring novel
      b.   m-a privit amenintator
             (pro drop) saw me in a menacing way.

Semantically speaking, these deverbal adjectives resemble the –or agentive (-

event) nouns in (2) in that they have a characterizing function rather than an event entailment. This is also observed by Krifka (1995), who mentions that agentive –er nominals, which correspond to the agentive (- event) nouns in (2), have a characterizing meaning like in (4).

(4)   a.   El este un fumator notoriu.
               He is a notorious smoker.
      b.   Romanul este plictisitor.
               The novel is boring.

The characterizing function of –or adjectives is further supported by their exclusive postnominal position which is predicative (4b) (Kayne 1994). Moreover, like agentive (- event) nominals, -or adjectives do not allow argument structure but entail the presence of an agent.

Thus the same affix is used both in nominal and adjectival/adverbial nominalization and has different entailments (agentive/ instrumental vs. agentive reading). In this paper I propose that differences in the internal structure for –or nominalization account for the fact that the same affix selects different levels of verbal projections.

Specifically, the –or affix can embed different morpho-syntactical contexts, triggering distinct semantic effects. For instance, (+ event) agentive nouns involve an event and allow argument structure and therefore I argue that they contain not only a VP but also the functional projections which license argument structure, such as vP, AsP and VoiceP. In contrast to (+event) derivation, the (-event) nominal and adjectival derivation does not involve the same structure since they do not project argument structure and do not entail an event. I regard the differences between the different kinds of –or formation as a result of different morpho-syntactical processes: I argue that agentive (+ event) nominals involve a nominalization process since –or affix is base-generated as the Agent in the Specifier of VoiceP and moves then with the verb to an empty N head. In contrast to the process of nominalization, the -or affix involved in the derivation of instrument/agentive (- event) nouns and adjectives is base-generated in the nominal/ adjective head position where the verb moves up and cliticizes. Since these derivates do not have argument structure, they also lack the VoiceP.

In the next section I turn to the decomposition of –or derivates and explain the subcategorization rules of the –or affix in Romanian.

2.   The morpho-syntax of –or nouns and adjectives

2.1   The –or nominalization

Focusing first on (+event) nominals, we recall the fact that they entail an event and project argument positions (see (1)).

Following van Hout & Roeper (1998) and Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007) I

argue that these nouns involve the whole set of verbal functional projections: v, AspectP and VoiceP. On the bases of their morphology I can show that they involve a v head, as they derive from participles see Chomsky (1995).

Participles can include in their structure a verbal suffix like –*iz* which is taken as the overt reflex of a v head, a head that verbalizes roots and introduces eventuality. Note that all of them include some sort of thematic vowel, like in Italian (see Ippolito (1999)).

(5) | **Root** | **Verb** | **Participle** |
|---|---|---|
| COMPUTER | – computer –**iz** –a
– (to) equip with/control
  by computers | – computer**iz**at |
| COLON | – colon–**iz** –a
– (to) colonize | – colon**iz**at |
| FAVOR | – favor –**iz** –a
– (to) treat with favour | – favor**iz**at |

Verb	**Participle**	**Noun**
a admira	admirat	admirator
to admire	admired	admirer

In addition, the morphology of the –or noun "admirer" involves the stem for the participle –t and the affix –or.

(6)   (+event) – or noun = verbal root $\sqrt{}$ + -t participle + or

Unlike –er nominals in English, -or nominals in Romanian contain the stem for participle which is endowed with aspectual properties. Within Alexiadou & Schäfer's (2007) approach, I distinguish between two aspectual properties which are correlated with the voice specification, namely dispositional vs. the episodic aspect. I argue that these aspectual specifications are triggered by the participial stem present in –or nominalization. Positive evidence in this respect comes from Alexiadou & Anagnospoulou (2004, 2008) who argue that the aspectual properties of participles are reflected in different affixes.

In Romanian, participles are distinguished between target participles which do not allow argument structure and resultant ones which allow agent and instrumental PPs (see Parsons (1990) for English, Kratzer (1996) for German and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004, 2008) for Greek). (7a) is an instance of a resultant state participle in Romanian:
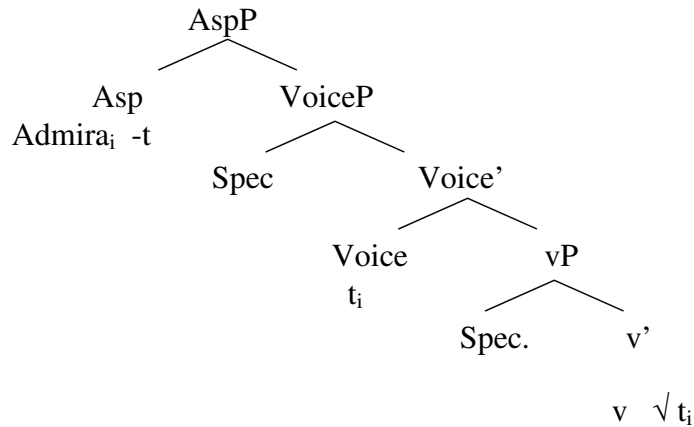
(7) a.   El este admirat de catre multi fani.
            He is admired by many fans.
     b.   El este un admirator al Mona Lisei.
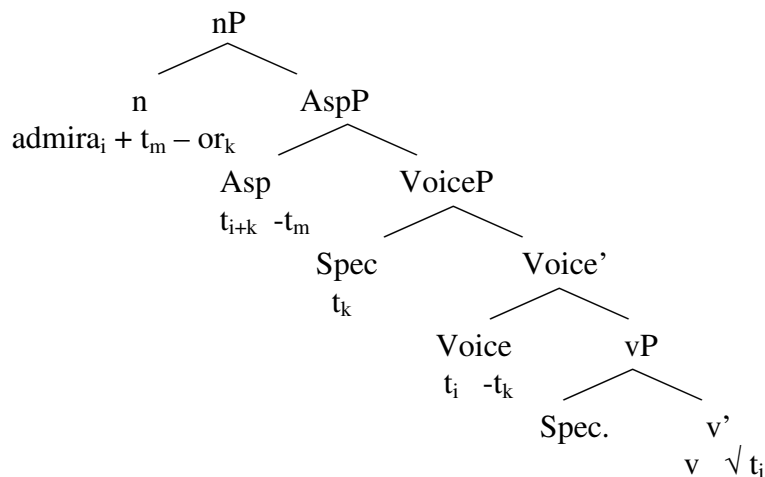   He is an admirer of Mona Lisa.

The most obvious difference between the resultant participle in (7 a) and the (+event) –or nominal relies on voice specification. The participle in (7a) acquires a passive interpretation, being specified with the external argument in the PP "de catre + N" "by + N".

Following Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004, 2008), this participle involves VoiceP. For that I claim that resultant participles involve the same type of event and the same aspectual operator like –or nominals. This type of event triggers episodic aspectual properties. As a consequence, my argument is that resultant participles are contained in the internal structure of –or nominals as the following analyses show:

(8)   admirat de catre fani – resultant participle
       admired by fans

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                        AspP
                       /    \
                   Asp       VoiceP
               Admira_i -t   /    \
                          Spec     Voice'
                                  /    \
                              Voice     vP
                               t_i     /  \
                                    Spec.   v'
                                          /  \
                                         v   √ t_i
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(9)   admirator (al Mona Lisei)
       admirer of Mona Lisa

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                nP
               /  \
              n    AspP
   admira_i + t_m – or_k  /  \
                    Asp     VoiceP
                 t_{i+k} -t_m /  \
                          Spec    Voice'
                           t_k   /   \
                             Voice     vP
                            t_i  -t_k  /  \
                                    Spec.   v'
                                           v  √ t_i
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In Romanian, the resultant participle in (8) contains a fully projected VoiceP and an (episodic) Aspectual Phrase. The aspectual head is made visible

by the –t affix in Romanian which represents the stem of the participle. I argue that –t in Romanian can be bound by different types of events, triggering either dispositional or episodic aspect (see Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007)). Since resultant participles license agent PPs (see Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou 2004, 2008), they resemble again (+ event) nominalization which is characterized through the existence of obligatory agency[1]. For this reason, VoiceP is also present in the structure of participles. So far the two syntactic constructions seem to coincide.

For the fact that the participle in (8) and the deverbal noun in (9) involve the same event variable bound by the same episodic aspect head I propose that the structure of the resultant participle is contained in the structure of the –or noun. Their interpretive distinction is based on the realization of voice.

–or in (+ event) nominalization is an agentive affix[2] which is base-generated as the Agent in the Specifier of Voice and then moves up to an empty head (see van Hout & Roeper's (1998). I call this process the –or nominalization (vs. the –or derivation of (- event) nominals).

As for the resultant participle in (8), this has a passive voice specification. Importantly, the difference between the two constructions is made in the Voice Phrase which contains voice features and creates a syntactic position for the Agent of the event.

In the next section, I show that –or is involved in the derivation of (- event) nominals which differ from the –or nominalization in the levels of verbal subcategorization.

2.2 The –or derivation

As I mentioned in the introductory section, the main distinction between –or agent nouns and –or instrument/agent nouns is that the latter do not entail an event. (see (1) vs. (2)). As a consequence, these (- event) nouns do not project argument structure. In the light of this evidence I show that –or from (- event) nominals is base-generated as the nominal head of nP and I regard this as a derivational affix. The same argument was also provided for the Catalan and the Spanish –or affix by Picallo (1991):

(10) el traductor d'una novella
      The translator of a novel

Picallo (1991) makes the distinction between linked (subcategorized) theta-roles and those that are not subcategorized like the one presented in (10). She argues that unlinked theta-roles can be realized in many ways such as: arguments, referential adjectives (10b) or adjuncts. This argument explains why (- event) –or

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[1] Recall that while (-event) –or nominals can have either an agentive or instrumental reading, (+event) –or nominals are always agentive.
[2] Picallo (1991) shows that –or affix is also an agentive suffix in Catalan.

nominals usually do not license their argument in the genitive case but as adjunct PP "de + N":

(11) a.   El este traducator de romane politiste.
            He is a translator of detective stories
      b.   vanator de rechini
            sharp hunter
      c.   vanatorul rechinului alb
            the hunter of the white sharp

        Comparing (1) with (11a&b), note that the theta-roles of the (+ event) –or nominals are realized in the Genitive case as a subcategorized argument while the objects of (- event) –or nominals are not subcategorized and they occur as PP adjuncts. This contrast is shown in (11b) and (11c) where in the former the –or lacks eventive interpretation and licenses only an unlinked argument realized as an adjunct PP. Unlike (11b), the noun in (11c) involves the event of killing a sharp since its argument is subcategorized in the genitive case. I argue, therefore, that (- event) nominals do not project argument positions and do not entail an event: a translator of detective stories may be someone who never translated a detective story but is simply in the position of a translator of detective stories.
        Following Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007), I show that (- event) –or nouns involve an event head V, basing this proposal on two arguments: the morphology of –or nouns and adjectival modification. From a morphological point of view, –or nominals contain a verbal root and the affix of the participle –t like in the derivation presented in (6) and repeated here:

(12) (-event) – or noun = verbal root √ + -t participle + or
        dansator = dansa √ + -t participle + or

(13) dansator (-event)
        dancer
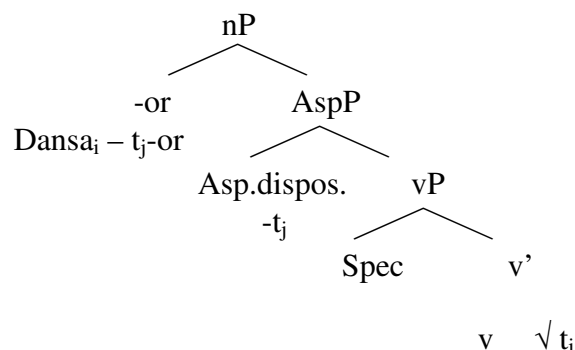
Importantly, like the (+ event) –or noun in (9), the above-mentioned –or (- event) noun contains the structure of the participle with the aspectual

specification in the affix –t. Recalling the distinction done in Parsons 1990 for English, Kratzer (1996) for German and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004, 2008) for Greek between target participles which do not allow argument structure and resultant ones which allow agent and instrumental PPs, I propose that target participles are self-contained in the structure of (- event) –or nominals. Like target participles, (- event) nouns in Romanian have neither event entailment nor argument structure. To account for their lack of event entailment I claim that they are bound by the same operator like the target participles: the dispositional aspect. According to Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007), event nominals are episodic while non-event ones are dispositional. The dispositional characterizing function of (- event) nominals was also observed by Krifka (1995) who argues that agentive –er (- event) nominals in English have a characterizing meaning.

Recalling Picallo's (1999) distinction between subcategorized and non-subcategorized arguments, I argue that (-event) nominals license only an unlinked argument realized as an adjunct PP (see (11a&b) vs. (11c)).

These similarities between target participles and (-event) nominals in Romanian lead to the conclusion that (- event) nominals are built against target participles which have neither event reading nor voice specification. So far the syntactic structures of (+ event) nouns and (- event) nouns differ with respect to aspectual and voice specification.

Another distinction between –or nominalization and derivation represents the nature of the affix –or involved in these two processes. I claim that the affix –or involved in the derivation presented in (13) is a derivational affix base-generated as the head of N while the same affix from the structure in (9) is an inflectional affix base-generated in the Spec. of VoiceP.

To sum up, I regard the differences between the different kinds of –or formations as a result of different morpho-syntactical processes: I argue that agentive (+ event) nominals involve a nominalization process since the –or affix is base-generated as the Agent in the Specifier of VoiceP and moves then with the verb to an empty N head. In contrast to the process of nominalization, the -or affix involved in the derivation of instrument/agentive (- event) nouns is base-generated in the nominal/adjective head position where the verb moves up and cliticizes. Since these derivates do not have argument structure, they also lack the VoiceP. However, as the structures in (9) and (13) show, both –or nominalization and derivation involve an event variable. To support this fact, I base my claim on the two arguments proposed by Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007): the morphology of –or nouns presented in (6) & (12) and adjectival modification. So further evidence for the event level within (- event) –or nominals is provided in the next section on the correlation between adjectival modification and –or derivation.

2.3   Adjectival modification and –or nominals

Further evidence for the event layer of –or nominals comes from the adjectival modification. Regarding the agentive and instrumental interpretation of –or

(- event) nominals in Romanian, the variable position of the adjectives corresponds to different interpretive effects:

(14) a.   un dansator bun   b. un bun dansator
            a dancer good   a good dancer
        1.   x is good and x is a dancer   1. out
        2.   x is a good dancer   2. ok

(15) a.   un calculator rapid   b. *un rapid calculator
            a calculator rapid   a rapid calculador
        1.   the calculator calculates rapidly.

Note that the prenominal adjective modifying the –or noun in (14b) behaves like an adverb for the deverbal noun, being closer to the head. While in the postnominal position in (14a) (with the intersective reading see 2.) the adjective "good" behaves like a predicative adjective within a small relative clause. Regarding instrumental –or nouns in the spirit of Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007), Romanian shows no variation in the position of adjectives modifying these nouns (see (15). The explanation for that could be the mono-dimensionality of (- human) nouns.

The adjective "rapid" in the postnominal position refers to the process of calculating and, therefore, it can be assumed that it behaves like an adverb. Unlike (+ human) nouns which can be defined according to more parameters (character and their aptitudes), instruments can be defined only with respect to their function. Therefore, the adjective is allowed only in the postnominal position as no ambiguity can occur. The conclusion to be drawn is that the prenominal position of a dual adjective modifying a (+ human/ animate) N corresponds to adverbial modification while the post-nominal position is ambiguous between an adverbial and an adjectival modification. In contrast to (+ animate) –or nouns, instrumental nouns have only one interpretation which refers to their function and therefore the adjective modifying these nouns can be interpreted as adverb.

All in all, not only agentive but also instrumental (- event) nouns modified by adjectives such as "good" or "rapid" imply a verbal head. Therefore, they involve a vP and the adjective exclusively behaves like an adverb.

In the next section I illustrate the derivation of adjectives with –or demonstrating that they involve a verbal layer like (- event) nominals without entailing event.

2.4   The derivation of –or adjectives

As I presented in the introduction, apart from the –or nominalization of (+ event) nouns and the derivation of (– event) instrumental and agentive nouns, the –or affix is also involved in the derivation of deverbal adjectives and adverbs[3] (see

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[3] In this paper I focus only on the morpho-syntactic behaviour of –or deverbal adjectives.

(3) repeated below):

(16) a.   un roman plictisitor
              a boring novel
       b.   m-a privit amenintator
              (pro drop) saw me in a menacing way.

      I argue that these deverbal adjectives/adverbs are derived from a verbal root in the same manner like (- event) agentive nouns providing that they both have a characterizing function rather than an event entailment. The characterizing function of (- event) –or nominals is proposed by Krifka (1995) in the following example:

(17)   He is a pipe smoker. - **characterizing function**

      The characterizing function of –or adjectives is indicated also by their exclusive postnominal position (16a) which is predicative (Kayne 1994). Importantly, both deverbal –or adjectives and agentive (- event) nominals can occur as predicates:

(18) a.   Romanul este plictisitor.
              The novel is boring.
       b.   El este fumator.
              He is smoker.

  Moreover, they resemble (- event) –or nouns in that they do not allow argument structure but entail the presence of an agent. I assume, therefore, -or adjectives entail the same morphological derivation like (- event) nominals containing a verbal root, an affix of the participle which triggers dispositional aspect specification (vs. the episodic aspect involved in (+ event) nominalization) and the derivational affix –or base-generated in A:
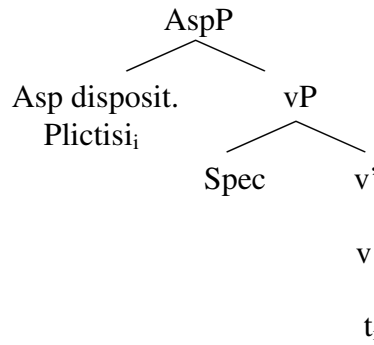
(19) a.   Plictisitor – plictisi – plictisit – plictisitor
             Bored-or – to bore – bored – bored-or
             (- event) – or adjectives = verbal root $\sqrt{}$ + -t participle + or

      Like in the case of (- event) nominals, I argue that –or adjectives are built on the basis of a participle stem which does not trigger argument projection and episodic aspect specification. These participles correspond to the target class of participles according to the classification in Parsons's (1990) and Alexiadou & Anagnostopoulou (2004, 2008). Unlike result participles on the basis of which I argued that the –or nominalization is built, target participles do not license argument and instrument PPs, consequently they do not contain a VoiceP. The proposal is that target participles are contained in the internal structure of

(- event) derivation (agents/instrumental nouns and deverbals adjectives):

(20)   plictisit – target participle
          Bored

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                        AspP
                       /    \
          Asp disposit.      vP
            Plictisi_i      /  \
                          Spec   v'
                                  |
                                  v
                                  |
                                  t_i
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Note that both target participles and –or adjectives are dispositional and thereby occur as predicative postnominal adjectives[4] without entailing an event:

(21) a.   un copil plictisit de jucarii   b.   Un copil care e plictisit
           a child bored of toys   a child who is bored of toys

(22) a.   un copil plictisitor   b.   Un copil care e plictisitor
           a child boring   child that is boring.

In order to sustain my argument according to which neither target participles nor –or (- event) derivants have argument structure, I make reference to Chomsky's (1970) and Ippolito's (1999) hypothesis that claims that the root is responsible for the voice and aspectual specification of the derivate[5]. Therefore I claim that the lack of event entailment in –or derivation (nouns & adjectives) is triggered by the root verb which does not subcategorize for arguments[6] and builds target participle specified with the dispositional aspect.

The tree in (23) illustrates the internal structure of the –or adjective

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[4] Both target participles and –or deverbal adjectives can be modified by cel in Romanian, see Marchis &Alexiadou (2008).

[5] For instance, root verbs such as √dance imply an agent and others like √grow that do not.

[6] The distinction between subcategorized and non-subcategorized arguments (see Picallo (1991) is important to account for below-presented data:
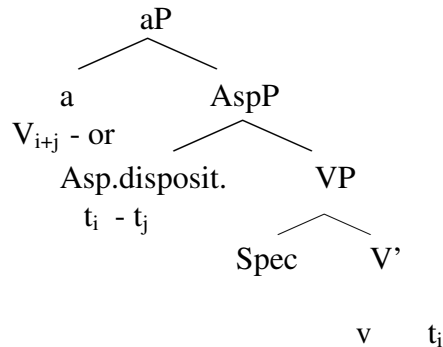   i. admirat de catre prietenii lui   ii. plictisit de jucariile lui
     admired by his friends   bored of his toys
Note that the verb *admira* "admire" in Romanian projects argument structure "by his friends" while the verb *plictisi* "bore" has an unlinked argument realized as an adjunct PP "de +N". I argue that the complex preposition "de catre" introduces the external argument in Romanian while the preposition "de" introduces also adjuncts:
    iii. Maria a fost admirata de catre prietenele ei. iv. * Maria a fost plictisita de catre jucariile ei.
     Maria was admired by her friends.   Maria was bored by her toys.

plictisitor derived from the target participle *plictisit*:

(23) plictisitor
      Bored-or
      Boring

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                    aP
                  /    \
                 a      AspP
            V_{i+j} - or   /    \
                  Asp.disposit.   VP
                    t_i - t_j    /   \
                              Spec    V'
                                    /   \
                                   v     t_i
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Note that although the morphology of the –or agentive nominal (12) and that of the –or adjective (23) is the same, syntactically they are different. Their distinction is explained within the framework of Marantz (1999) according to which syntactic categories are not primitives and, therefore, their formation is negotiated in the syntax. To create a lexical category from a root means to merge the root with a functional head. In the case of –or adjectives, the root merges with a functional head v generating a verb, a participle due to –t (the suffix responsible for aspectual effects) and then v plus the participle affix moves to the head of aP where the derivational affix –or is base-generated, giving birth to an adjective.

In the spirit of Picallo (1991) and van Hout & Roeper (1998), I argue that –or involved in the derivation of –or (- event) nouns and adjectives is a derivational affix base-generated as the head of the phrase nP and aP provided that they have different interpretive effects (agentive and instrumental). Again the same aspectual distinction (episodic vs. dispositional) observed by Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007) is also visible with –or adjectives and adverbs[7]. –or adjectives usually describe a generic (dispositional) characteristic of the noun they modify while the –or adverbs present the manner in which an (episodic) event was performed at a certain time:

(24) a.   Are o tinuta provocatoare.   - **dispositional/ generic**
             has a wear provoking.
             She has a provoking wear/ a wear that provokes.

      b.   M-a privit provocatoare   - **episodic/ eventive**
             saw me in a provoking way
             He saw me provokingly

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[7] In this paper I do not deal with the internal structure of –or adverbs.

3.   Conclusion

In this paper I argued that the –or affix can embed different morphosyntactical contexts in Romanian, triggering distinct semantic effects. My proposal is that the affix –or is involved in two different processes: the (+event) nominalization and the (- event) derivation.

I showed that both (+ event) and (- event) nouns have an event variable, on the basis of the two arguments proposed by Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007): the morphology of –or nouns and adjectival modification. The morphology of –or nominals and adjectives illustrates that they have an event variable, as their morphology involves the verbal root√, the stem for the participle –t and the affix –or. A further evidence for the fact that also –or (- event) nouns contain an event variable comes from the adjectival modification of agentive and instrumental –or (- event) nouns. The variable position of dual adjectives and their different interpretive effects show that –or (- event) nouns involve a vP, as the adjective in the prenominal position exclusively behaves like an adverb when it modifies a (+ human) noun.

Therefore, following Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007), I proposed that in both the –or nominalization and the -or derivation a vP is present but is bound by different operators (episodic vs. dispositional). The distinction between the two different aspectual operators proposed by Alexiadou & Schäfer (2007) is visible also in the process of nominalization and derivation with –or in Romanian: event nominals are episodic while non-event nominals are dispositional.

In the spirit of Picallo's (1991) distinction between subcategorized and non-subcategorized arguments, I claim that (- event) nominals license only an unlinked argument realized as an adjunct PP and therefore, they lack voice specification. Syntactically speaking, they are then similar to target participles as they have neither event reading nor voice specification. Moreover, they are bound by the same dispositional aspectual operator provided that they do not entail event and have a characterizing function (see Krifka (1995)). In the light of this evidence I argued that target participles are contained in the internal structure of (- event) derivation while resultant participles are involved in the structure of (+ event) nominals as they entail event and have argument structure (subcategorized arguments).

To conclude, (+ event) agentive nouns involve an event and allow argument structure and therefore, like resultant participles, they contain not only a vP but also the functional projections which license argument structure, such as vP, AsP and VoiceP. In contrast to the (+ event) nominalization, (- event) nominal and adjectival derivations do not involve the same structure since neither (- event) nominals nor (- event) adjectives project argument structure and entail an event. I regarded the differences between the different kinds of –or formation as a result of different morphosyntactical processes: agentive (+ event) nominals involve a nominalization process since –or affix is base-generated as the Agent in the Specifier of VoiceP and moves then with the verb to an empty N head. In

contrast to the process of nominalization, the -or affix involved in the derivation of instrument/agentive (- event) nouns and adjectives is base-generated in the nominal/adjective head position where the verb moves up and cliticizes.

All in all, in this paper I showed that various Event properties are located in different nodes inside the structure of –or nominals and –or adjectives and their differences are reflected in the internal structure of two different processes: nominalization vs. derivation.

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