

## On the order of derivational suffixes in Hungarian

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Hungarian has at least eight nominal, nine adjectival and fourteen productive derivational suffixes. The problem of the order of suffixes arises in the case of verbal suffixes since verbal forms can contain more than one verbal derivational suffix. Hungarian can derive verbs from practically any nominal form by means of the suffixes *-(V)z* or *-(V)l*, e.g. *internet-ez(ik)*, *print-el*, which may be the input to further verbal derivations. For example, the verb *printel* ‘print’ can be followed by the diminutive/iterative suffix *-gat/-get* as in *printel-get* ‘print leisurely’, or the causative suffix *-tat/-tet*, as in *printel-tet* ‘let print’, or by the possibility suffix *-hat/-het* as in *printel-het* ‘may print’, among others. These suffixes may be combined yielding forms such as *printel-tet-get-het* ‘may leisurely let print’, in which the derivational suffixes represent the unmarked order ‘causative – diminutive/iterative – possibility’. Though some other orders are possible, the suffix order ‘possibility – diminutive/iterative – causative’ is excluded, e.g. *\*printel-het-get-tet*. One of the factors that determines suffix order is productivity. Unproductive suffixes such as the suffix *-gáll/-gél*, which is a variant of the diminutive/iterative suffix *-gat/-get*, must immediately follow the stem, e.g. *húz-gál* ‘draw repeatedly’, but *\*húz-at-gál* (base – causative – diminutive/iterative) versus *húz-at-gat* ‘let draw repeatedly’. A further factor is prototypicality. Note that the possibility suffix shares a number of properties with inflectional suffixes: it is the least prototypical verbal derivational suffix hence it comes last. Finally, the order of suffixes is also determined by the syntactic and semantic load of the suffix: the diminutive suffix weighs less than the causative since it does not affect argument structure and it is not restricted to transitive bases. In this sense the causative is more relevant to the overall verb meaning than the diminutive/iterative. Normally, derivational suffixes cannot be iterated, possible forms such as *hall-gat-gat*, *lát-ogat-gat* are not counterexamples since the bases are the lexicalized verbs *hallgat* ‘listen, keep silent’ derived from *hall* ‘hear’ and *látogat* ‘visit’ derived from *lát* ‘see’ with non-compositional meaning.