

FUNCTIONAL DERIVATION IN FINNO-UGRIC

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Grammatical relations in the Finno-Ugric languages are predominantly, almost exclusively, expressed with suffixes and suffixation is the most usual means for word formation as well. Prefixation found in the Ugric group, especially in Hungarian, is limited to one branch of the language family and can not be considered typical from a general point of view.

At any rate, the Finno-Ugric languages are characterized by an abundance of suffixes which are roughly divided into inflectional and derivational elements. The inflectional suffixes indicate the syntactic function of the word they are attached to, the derivation suffixes serve to form new words from words already existing in the language. The function of the derivative suffixes, however, is not as clear-cut as such. When a suffix changes a noun into a verb or vice versa, it is applied to grammatical use.

Derivation suffixes may be grouped according to several principles. Etymologically they may be divided into primary and secondary suffixes - a contrast usually reflected in the phonemic structure of the suffixes in question. It is

more rewarding, however, to base the division of functional considerations, which combine morphological, syntactic and semantic factors to give an overall picture of the process in question.

Functional factors operate on different syntactic levels. On the surface they determine the role of the derived word from the point of view of the utterance as a whole. In the deep structure it is relevant to consider the relation of the derived word to the root word and likewise the relation of the derivative suffix to the stem it is added to. As seen, derivation is a many-sided phenomenon; a mere morphological description leaves too many unanswered problems.

The derivational suffixes determine the category of the ensuing word. On that basis they may be divided into noun or verb suffixes. There is a third type which does not effect the category of the stem but lets nouns remain nouns and verbs remain verbs. An example is provided by the diminutive noun suffix *(i)se/(i)s* and the marker of the conditional mood *is+i* in Finnish: *kultaiset lintuset laulaisivat* 'golden little birds would be singing' with the same type of modifying function. - In case of the Hungarian suffix *sz* in *halász* 'fisher' and *halászik* 'to fish' there is a functional contrast which might indicate that the verb represents a predication of the noun in the same way as in case of the Finnish ambiguous stem *tuule-* 'wind, to blow'.

Considering the stem words, the suffixes may be divided into free and bound. The free noun suffixes go to both nouns and

verbs and make denominal or deverbal derived nouns; the free verb suffixes make denominal or deverbal derived verbs. The bound noun suffixes are added to noun stems and the bound verb suffixes to verb stems. From a morphological point of view a cross process is extremely rare: on a Finno-Ugric bases there are no clear cases of strictly denominal verb suffixes or strictly deverbal noun suffixes. Following possibilities are indicated with examples from the Finnish language (N = noun, V = verb), n = noun suffix, v = verb suffix, ⁿN = denominal noun, ^VN = deverbal noun, ⁿV = denominal verb, ^VV = deverbal verb):

N	ⁿ N	seinä 'wall' + mA = seinämä 'wall formation'
V + n	^V N	ulkone- 'to protrude' + mA = ulkonema 'projection'
N	ⁿ V	tie 'road' + TA = tietää 'to know'
V + v	^V V	nouse- 'to rise' + TA = nostaa 'to raise'
N + n	ⁿ N	laiva 'ship' + UE = laivue 'fleet'
V + v	^V V	purra 'to bite' + skele = pureskella 'to chew'

As marked in the beginning, suffixes which change the category of the derived words have syntactical significance and may be called transformers. On the other hand, suffixes which are bound to occur after a certain category of stems and do not affect any grammatical changes in the derived word may be called modifiers. The case gets more complicated when we take into account that the same suffixes which added to a contrasting stem act as transformers are merely modifiers in connection with a stem of their own category. But there are transformers operating inside a category as well:

suffixes which change a transitive verb to an intransitive and vice versa or an adjective to a substantive or the other way round. It is to be noticed that the same verb suffixes usually act as both intercategory and inner transformers, e.g. TA in Finnish (see above), which turns nouns into (predominantly) transitive verbs and changes intransitive verbs to transitive, among its many functions.

As to the nouns, the correspondence is less clear, but there are examples of suffixes, such as the participle present marker PA, which turn a verb to an (adjective) noun and also occur as denominal adjectivizers:

herää- 'to wake up' + PA = heräävä 'waking'

terä 'edge' + PA = terävä 'sharp'

A functional grouping of the derivative suffixes does not indicate a corresponding phonological or morphological diversity. So e.g. the suffix TA common in all Finno-Ugric languages, is bound both as a transformer (added to nouns and verbs) and as a modifier (added to verbs) (Kangasmaa-Minn 1979). The following scheme presents a rough functional division:

1. Noun suffixes.

1.1. Intercategory transformers (verb to noun).

1.2. Inner transformers (substantive to adjective, adjective to substantive).

1.3. Modifiers (substantive to substantive, adjective to adjective).

2. Verb suffixes.

2.1. Intercategory transformers (noun to verb).

2.2. Inner transformers (intransitive verb to transitive,
transitive verb to intransitive).

2.3. Modifiers (intransitive verb to intransitive, transitive
verb to transitive).

This division is based on the syntactic-semantic function of the derived word. It presupposes the existence of both nouns and verbs, as well as the subdivisions into substantives and adjectives and into transitive and intransitive (reflexive) verbs.

1. Noun suffixes,

The basic function of the noun suffixes is to make secondary or derived nouns. In a polymorphemic word the order of the suffixes is fixed: the first position(s) after the root is taken by the derivative suffixes which are followed by the declension suffixes and lastly by the enclitics. The category of the word is determined by the derivative suffix last in the stem, i.e. immediately before the inflectional elements. Thus the derived stems as well as the root stems are divided into nouns and verbs. It has been maintained repeatedly that in the ancient Finno-Ugric there was no clear distinction between nouns and verbs but that the same roots occurred alternatively in either position. This seems to be shown by the usage of certain words in the present-day languages, e.g. by the Mari *jür jüreš*, *lum lumeš* 'it rains, it snows',



actually 'rain rains, snow snows'. For practical purposes, however, it is advisable to keep the two categories apart.

1.1. Noun transformers.

Noun transformers seem to have a basic importance in all sentence formation. In principle, there are no phonological differences between noun and verb roots, Morphosyntactically, however, they show specific distinctions. While a nominal root stem occurs as a free form in various syntactic functions, most notably as a subject, an object or an adnominal modifier, a verbal root stem is seldom found unattended by a suffix. The two functions for a verb root to appear would be the 3rd person singular indicative present and the 2nd person singular imperative present. In modern literary Finnish the free form of the verb acts as the 3rd singular present of certain phonological types: *saa* 'he gets', *vastaa* 'he answers', but the dialects and the older literary language show this to be a late development (from *saapi* and *vastaapi*). The 2nd singular imperative present has retained a final *-k* or traces of it in all the Balto-Finnic languages; e.g. the preserved final vowel in the Vepsian *anda* 'give' indicates that the form has once ended in a consonant. Accordingly, the Balto-Finnic conjugation does not recognize the free form of a verb. In Hungarian the free form may occur as the 3rd singular indicative present in the subjective conjugation: *megy* 'he goes' (with an alternative and presumably older form with a

suffix: *megyen*) but there is a category of verbs with an additional (reflexive) element *ik* added to the root: *esik* 'he falls'. In Mari and in the Permian group the free form, incidentally, functions as the 2nd singular imperative present: Mari *mije* 'go!', Udmurt *mun id.*, but the Ob-Ugric group again does not recognize it. The haphazard appearances of the verb stem as a syntactic unit indicate that the free form of a verb originally had no place in the conjugation. (Kangasmaa-Minn 1983.)

There is a prevailing principle in all the languages which requires that a verb stem has to be changed into a noun before it can function as a verb. This is true of the root stems as well as of the derived stems, denominal and deverbal. The change is achieved with the help of derivative suffixes or just by adding a person marker to a verb stem - as e.g. in the forms of singular 1st and 2nd indicative present in Finnish: *menen* 'I go', originally 'my going' *menet* 'thou goest' or in the singular 2nd imperative present in Mansi: *toten* 'bring'. (Cf. J. Györke 1935). As shown by Irén Sebestyén-Németh and Ago Künnap, the same situation exists in the Samoyedic languages (Sebestyén-Németh 1970, Künnap 1978).

1.1.1. Noun transformers functioning as tense markers.

In the Finno-Ugric - and Uralic - languages the tense forms of the verbs represent deverbal noun derivatives completed by personal endings, which in most cases are identical with

the possessive suffixes and originally with the personal pronouns. The derivative may occur as a free form without the person marker acting as the 3rd person singular or the 2nd person imperative present. To take the examples from the Finnish finite verb conjugation: the derivative in PA occurs as the 3rd person singular indicative present (*saapi* 'he gets'), the derivative in J acts as the 3rd person singular indicative imperfective (*muisti* 'he remembered' or 'memory', the derivative in K as the 2nd person singular imperative present (*ko* 'do find out!' or 'experiment, test'). The most common Finno-Ugric derivative elements embedded in finite verb forms are J, S, K and P, and they all occur as ordinary deverbial noun suffixes as well. Although they now function as tense markers they are originally void in this respect; e.g. the Balto-Finnic past tense marker J acts as the present tense marker in the Mordvin 3rd person singular and plural: *u*l*i* 'he is' (Finnish *oli* 'he was'), but as the past tense marker in the Mordvin 1st and 2nd persons: *u*l*i*n**, Finnish *olin* 'I was'. Similarly, the same S which occurs as the past in Mordvin 3rd persons: *u*l*e*s** 'he was', marks the present in Khanty *os*o*m* 'I am'. Contrary to the nominal declension, the verb inflection shows great diversity in the various Finno-Ugric languages. In order to function as a finite verb form, a verb stem must first be converted to a noun, and for this purpose several non-specific noun suffixes can be employed. Thus originally a finite verb

form consisted of a verb stem activated with a noun suffix and/or a person marker. There is a parallelism considering the infinite verb forms occurring in contracted sentences: a deverbal noun suffix functions as a verbal noun marker and a possessive suffix added to the form marks the actor and achieves syntactic significance.

1.1.2. Verbal noun markers.

Approximately all deverbally occurring noun suffixes may in some Finno-Ugric languages, in some connections function as verbal noun markers. They act as partial transformers: the word in question behaves as a noun in its relations inside the sentence structure but as a verb in its relations to its own dependents. The function of the derivative suffix is conditioned by the function of the form as a whole: Finnish *sanomasta* occurs as a verbal noun in connections such as the following: *Kielsen häntä siitä sanomasta* 'I told him not to say it', but as a general nominalizing suffix in the sentence *En saanut selvää siitä sanomasta* 'I could not decipher that message'.

1.1.3. General nominalizers.

When the deverbally occurring noun suffixes function as general nominalizers they act as total transformers: the derived word is a noun in both its inner and its outer relations. As seen above, a deverbal noun suffix may take different functions even inside the same language. So e.g. the deverbal *ma* may in

Finnish sometimes act as a partial transformer making verbal nouns, sometimes as a total transformer making deverbal substantives, and in the Permian languages and in Mansi it has developed or is on the verge of developing into a past tense marker: Udmurt *odig pe minem val uttsani no juromem* 'An Udmurt boy went to look for a horse and got lost'; Mansi *tāl telimem* 'winter was there' (cf. Sz. Kispál 1966).

1.1.4. Interrelations of the deverbal noun categories.

It is difficult to assign a specific semantic content to any of the suffixes. The meaning of the tense suffixes or the verbal noun suffixes is grammatical: the tense suffixes operate on the surface level, the verbal nouns with their affiliations represent embedded sentences and the general deverbal derivatives occur as lexical units reflecting the relations of the suffix to the stem. Thus the deverbal noun derivatives belong to different syntactic levels: the general derivatives lie deepest, the tense forms shallowest and the verbal nouns in between.

The meaning of a tense marker is either past or non-past, but it varies in different languages. It may be said that there is a need for expressing the contrast of past and non-past but that it is realized differently in different languages. The aspect of time proves distinctive also in case of the verbal nouns, but the contrast becomes that of finished vs. unfinished. Even here the function of the suffixes is not specified. In Finnish the suffix PA designates progressive

or unfinished action, as in *lukeva poika* 'reading boy' or the more or less lexicalized expression *seisova vesi* 'stagnant water'. It is not a coincidence that PA is also found as the original tense marker of non-past embedded in the personal endings of the 3rd singular and plural: *pojat luke-vat* 'the boys read', cf. *luke-va-t pojat* 'reading boys'. As to *seisova vesi*, the deverbal noun derivative in PA (from *seiso-* 'to stand') designates prevailing quality in the same way as the denominal noun derivative in *virtava vesi* 'turbulent water' (from *virta* 'stream'). But there is no consistency, not even inside a specific group. In Balto-Finnic the suffix J of the past may occur as a verbal noun marker indicating unfinished time in identical function of the PA (see above): *lõikaja nuga* 'cutting knife', in Finnish *leikkaava veitsi*. The Mordvin S indicates a finished action as in *kuloš* 'dead', in Mari *kolšo juktšö* would stand for 'dying swan' as well as for 'dead swan', while in the Permian languages the cognate suffix pertains to continuous action: Udmurt *killiś kejes* 'lying adder'. The most widespread of the verbal noun markers M proves itself the most consistent: in all the languages it expresses mostly a finished action, as shown e.g. by *tuulen kuivaama pelto* 'field dried up by the wind' in Finnish and *kanzöm mow* 'dried field' in Khanty.

The general nominalizers lack the time element. The suffixes in question reveal more or less semantic affiliations; the derivatives may indicate act, action, actor or result, depending on the frame features characteristic to the verb

stem in question. Again, in many languages several meanings may apply to one single suffix. According to Lehtisalo e.g. the P in Mansi may designate a *nomen agentis*, *nomen instrumenti* or *nomen acti* (Lehtisalo 1936, 253). Interestingly, even when occurring as a general nominalizer the suffix M shows the greatest consistency throughout the language family: it appears everywhere in the function of making deverbal substantives with the meaning of *nomen acti* or *nomen actionis*.

As to the grammatical relations between verb and suffix, some of the possibilities are roughly indicated below:

Abstraction of the verb stem, which actually represents a nominalization of a sentence: Mari *kočmas* 'the eating' from *koč-kam* 'I eat'.

Predicate + subject, e.g. Mari *üdör nalše* 'girl taken (man), married man', where the suffix *še* refers to the underlying subject. Predicate + object, e.g. Finnish *tuote* 'product' from *tuottaa* 'produce'.

1.2. Denominally occurring noun suffixes

If we take the whole language family into consideration, denominally occurring noun suffixes do not show functional diversities similar to the deverbal derivative elements. In Balto-Finnic where the difference between substantives and adjectives is fairly obvious we can set up tentative sub-categories according to the syntactical behaviour of the derived words.

1.2.1. Inner transformers

Many of the suffixes act both as inner transformers and modifying elements. The element *(i)nen/(i)se* in Finnish, which also occurs as a diminutive mode marker, turns substantives into adjectives or gives them hypochoristic overtones. Adjectives formed with this suffix may sometimes gain syntactic importance in representing an embedded sentence: *Aamuinen tapaus ei mene mielestäni* 'I can't get the incident which happened this morning out of my mind.' In fact, the suffix in question may be placed after an inflectional element: *taivaallinen* 'which is in heaven' or 'heavenly' consisting of the adessive case form + *inen*, cf. the element *se* in Eastern Mari: *puššesse ję kăčkara* 'The man in the boat cries out.' Virtually any substantive can be turned into an adjective with the help of appropriate suffixes and adjectives, on the other hand, can be turned into abstract nouns without any deep-going structural ramifications. The difference between substantive and adjective is very often functional. This is even more obvious in those Finno-Ugric languages in which there is no agreement between an attribute and its head. - On the other hand, adjectives may also be compared to verbs, since they support a (nominal) predication.

1.2.2. Modifiers

The modifying noun suffixes might be traced to varying deep structures. A substantive derived from another substantive is a word with certain semantic components in common with the

original plus one or more additional components responsible for the deviations in meaning, e.g. Finnish *silmutka* 'eyelet' from *silmu* 'bud' from *silmä* 'eye'. The new component introduced may refer to size: diminutive suffixes abound in any language. So e.g. *pušej* 'young reindeer' in Udmurt (*peš* in Komi) might be considered to represent a relation of an adjective to its head. On the other hand, the relation of *la* in Finnish *etelä* 'south' to the root noun stem *ete-* 'front' is not that of an adjective adjunct to its head. It goes back to an adverbial clause: that which is in front. The suffix *L* is very common in Mari, where it is added as a determinizer to stems designating location: *oñčöl-* 'what is in front', *kadal-* 'what is in the middle' etc.

The adjective suffixes which go to an adjective stem moderate the quality of the adjective: Finnish *suurehko* 'rather big, biggish' from *suuri* 'big'. The moderativeness is also reflected in the comparative suffix: Hungarian *kisebb* 'smaller, rather small', Komi *pemdol* 'rather dark' (*kis* 'small', *pemyd* 'dark').

2. Verb suffixes.

The verb is considered to rule over the utterance, the nouns are dependants adjusting themselves to fit the frame features in which the verb may appear. The idea might be expressed differently: the nouns are semantical and grammatical units waiting for the appropriate verb to activate them. As seen above, certain noun suffixes act as functional activators for the verb stems akin finite verb forms. Verbs, on the other

hand, act as syntactic activators tossing the nouns around. At any rate, the verb contains the code for the utterance. A derived verb may go back through several layers of syntactic constructions each successive suffix representing a different syntactic level. The order of the suffixes is decisive so that the suffix nearest to the root lies deepest.

2.1. Intercategory verb transformers

The denominally occurring verb suffixes indicate a syntactic relation to the noun they are added to. Certain noun roots may predicate themselves. The Finnish *Tuulee* 'The wind blows' is an example of a root morpheme which is a syntactic dependant of itself. The same is true of *Sataa* 'It rains' with the difference that while *tuule-* is an ambiguous root acting as a noun and as a verb at the same time, *sata-* is always a verb, so that *sataa* 'it rains' is a predication of an idea, not a predication of a noun. The more straightforward case of *tuule-* is interesting in the respect that it cannot occur both as a noun and as a verb in the same clause, contrary to similar expressions in Hungarian: *esik az eső* 'the rain falls' or in Mari *lum lumes* 'the snow shows'.

The Finnish type of a noun predicating itself lives in several denominal verb derivatives, meteorological verbs based on a noun representing the basic or nominative deep case to the ensuing verb: *myrskyä* 'it storms' from *myrsky* 'storm', *ukkostaa* 'a thunder storm is brewing' from *ukkos-* 'thunder' etc. The noun base has the role of an argument and the verb

suffix makes the expression a sentence. On the surface level the noun stem represents a subject embedded in the verb. The relation of the noun to its verb derivative may also be that of an object to the verb, as demonstrated by the Finnish example *Liisa sienestää ja Pekka ravustaa* 'Liza gathers mushrooms and Peter catches crayfish' (*siene-* 'mushroom', *rapu* 'crayfish'), or Hungarian *Lisa eprészik és Péter rákdészik* 'Liza plucks strawberries and Peter catches crayfish'. Similar cases are found in all the Finno-Ugric languages, e.g. Mordvin *alijams* 'to lay eggs' from *al* 'egg', Finnish *munia* from *muna* id. Lexicalization is very common so that e.g. Finnish *kalastan* 'I catch fish' from *kala* 'fish' is used specifically as in *Kalastan turskaa* 'I fish cod'.

The relation of the noun stem to its verb derivative may also follow a localistic pattern as in Finnish *Pensas kukkii* 'The bush is in bloom' *Tuomas isännöi taloa*, Thomas has the position of the master in the house' (*kukka* 'flower, bloom', *isäntä* 'master'). An instrumental relation is shown by examples such as Khanty *xòtpintəm* 'to catch fish with a net' (*xòtəp* 'net') or Finnish *Harjasitko hiuksesi?* 'Did you brush your hair' (*harja* 'brush'). Very often the relation of the derivative to its noun base is that of a verb and its (adjective) complement. Examples abound in all the Finno-Ugric languages: Finnish *lahoa* 'it gets rotten' from *laho* 'rotten'; Same (Lappish) *bálvit* 'to get clouded' from *bálvā* 'cloud'; Mordvin *E čavmons* 'to become empty' from *čavo* 'empty'; Mari

kugemam 'I become big' from *kugu* 'big'; Udmurt *urodmem* 'I become sick' from *urod* 'bad'; Komi *pumini* 'to harden up' from *pu* 'wood'; Mansi *pusmi* 'he gets well' from *pus* 'well'; Hungarian *szépül* 'to become beautiful' from *szép* 'beautiful'. After a noun has been made a verb it is caught into the derivative counterplay of deverbal verb transformers and modifiers. The verb suffixes operate in two directions: one type affects the actor - goal relations, the other pertains to the problem of the aspect and/or the Aktionsart. The former class corresponds roughly to the intercategory transformers, the latter to the modifying suffixes. The same suffixes which make denominal transitive verbs are also employed in turning intransitive verb stems into transitive. It is to be noted, on the other hand, that certain verb suffixes which when occurring deverbally act as modifiers, e.g. the suffix ELE in Finnish, are found as neutral denominal transformers: *kirjailla* 'to embroider, to keep writing books' from *kirja* 'ornament, book' is a transitive verb while *aikailla* 'to loiter' from *aika* 'time' is reflexive.

2.2. Inner transformers

The verb roots fall into two categories: transitive and intransitive. The division is based on the relation of actor - action - goal: some verb roots when activated with the help of tense markers or occurring with noun suffixes as verbal nouns may take an object, others may not. Intransitive roots occurring with an active subjects may

achieve a reflexive meaning. The difference between reflexive and intransitive(passive) quite often depends on semantical and pragmatical factors. So e.g. Finnish *nouse-* is reflexive when it occurs together with an animate participant: *Karhu nousi takajaloilleen* 'The bear rased himself on his hind legs', but passive in connections such as *Sumu nousi suosta* 'A mist was rising from the marsh'. A verb is inherently transitive when the process is caused by an identified outside factor but reflexive if the process is caused by an identified inside factor. A verb occurrence is passive when the cause of the process is not identified, i.e. it is caused by an unidentified outside factor. Here the term passive is used differently from the Indo-European sense of the word.

There are derivational paradigms showing the interplay of the actor - goal relations. The Finnish verb root *heittää* 'to throw' is transitive, the deverbal derivative in U is intransitive and passive: *heittyä* 'to be thrown' and the secondary derivative in U+T(A)+U is reflexive: *heittäytyä* 'to throw oneself'. These latter suffixes represent predica-tions superimposed over ore another: a transitive predica-tion is made passive which in turn is made transitive and again passive, so that U designates the goal and TA the actor. In addition there is the possibility of a curative predica-tion which goes over the transitive: *heitättää* 'to make throw'.

Although the suffix TA usually makes transitive verbs and the suffix U is employed in intransitive use there are deviations from this pattern. The transformer suffix TA usually makes denominal transitive verbs as well: Finnish *mustata* 'to make black' from *musta* 'black'; Mordvin *E p̣radoms* 'to finish' from *p̣ra* 'head, end', Hungarian *sóz* 'to salten' from *só* 'salt', although there are examples of this suffix in a reflexive use: Finnish *lahota* 'to get rotten' from *laho* 'rotten' - and there are deverbal reflexive occurrences as well (cf. Kangasmaa-Minn 1979, 135). Likewise, PU-U is found predominantly as a reflexive suffix: Finnish denominal *yöpyä* 'to stay for the night' from *yö* 'night' and deverbal *syöpyä* 'to get corroded' from *syöä* 'to eat', but *noitua* from the noun stem *noita* 'witch, sorcerer' is both transitive 'bewitch' and reflexive 'to swear'. Transformer suffixes, denominal as well as deverbal, may be divided into two sub-groups:

2.2.1. Transitive transformers

2.2.2. Reflexive/intransitive transformers,

always bearing in mind that these classes are functional, not morphological.

2.3. Verb modifiers

The modifying suffixes affect the Aktionsart of the verbs and indirectly the aspect: verbs designating inchoative or momentaneous or terminative action are inherently perfective

while durative or iterative verbs seem to contain the idea of imperfectiveness. This is reflected in the verb suffixes which may be grouped along the lines indicated. In addition, some occurrences are to be considered purely modal. The so-called mode markers also come to the category of the verb modifiers, for instance the Finnish potential and the Mari desiderative and the Hungarian conditional in N: *mennee*, *kajneže*, *menne* '(Fi.) he may go', others 'he would go'.

The modifying verb suffixes may be divided in three functional classes:

2.3.1. Momentaneous (terminative, inchoative). The suffixes indicate that the duration of the action is limited: Mari *iləšam* 'I wake up' from *ilem* 'I live'; Finnish *puraisen* 'I take a bite' from *puren* 'I bite', *naurahdan* 'I give a short laugh' from *nauran* 'I laugh'.

2.3.2. Durative (iterative, frequentative). The suffixes reflect a process which pays no attention to the limits of its duration. The derivatives take certain semantic colouring from the stem. It is understandable that Finnish *oleskele-* 'to sojourn' from *ole-* 'to be' indicates a continuous process and *kuljeskele-* from *kulke-* 'to go' a frequentative action. These two suffixes SK and ELE are known throughout the language family, e.g. Mansi *minigl-* 'to roam' from *min-* 'to go', Hungarian *ugrdl* 'to keep jumping, cf. *ugrik* 'to jump'. In Udmurt the modifying durative SK has developed into a present tense marker: *miniško* 'I am going' from *minni* 'to go'.

2.3.3. Deminutive (descriptive). These suffixes have no bearing on the aspect of the verb process. Typically deminutive verb suffixes are the various mode markers. The Finnish conditional is based on the suffix *is* *ñó* which is found in denominal noun deminutives as well: *antaisit* 'you would give' and *keltaiset kukka(i)set* 'yellow little flowers'. A modal derivative verb suffix with an unlimited distribution is the *hat* in Hungarian: *mondhat* 'he may say' from *mond* 'to say', even *mondhatna* (conditional) 'he might say'. Suffixes of the two preceding groups may also occur in a deminutive function, e.g. the Finnish momentaneous suffixes *Aise* and *Ahta*: *Lukaise kirjeesi* 'Read your letter (quickly, carelessly)', *Levähda vähän* 'Rest a while'. Neither reading nor resting can be labelled momentaneous, but the suffixes indicate a relaxed process of short duration. A corresponding function may be taken by the frequentative *ELE*: *Pitele sitä paikallaan* 'Hold it steady' is interchangeable with *Pidä sitä paikallaan* - showing the mere root verb - but somehow more sociable and friendlier.

Conclusion

As seen, the problems of Finno-Ugric derivation are both vague and inconsistent. From a morphological point of view there are two interesting features. First: the most important primary suffixes are found throughout the Finno-Ugric - and Uralic - language family in approximately identical functions, so that e.g. the same primary suffixes act as tense markers,

although they vary in their indications of past and present. Second: with very few exceptions the suffixes may be identified as noun or verb suffixes, the category of the new word depending on the last derivation suffix occurring in the stem. The sub-grouping of the noun and verb suffixes is based on functional principles. The transformer suffixes which move the word from one category to another may be labelled both grammatical and lexical, the modifying suffixes represent varying degrees of lexical differentiation. Grammatically the transformer suffixes are governed by the overall syntactic structure of the utterance, but they also stand in a grammatical relation to the stems in question. A denominal verb and a deverbal noun always represent a syntactical embedding, and the transitive and reflexive verb suffixes occur as markers of separate or successive predications.

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