

On the accentual classification of primary declinable words of Standard Lithuanian*

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Abstract

Regularities of the accentuation of primary words can be shown by an accentual classification based on linguistic and pragmatic factors that motivate the accentual characteristics of words or their roots. The accentual classification of primary declinable words of Standard Lithuanian can be worked out by taking into account the following factors: (1) *semantic*: the concrete part of speech of a declinable word; (2) *phonological*: a) the number of syllables in a word, b) the quantity and intonation of the penultimate syllable; (3) *morphological*: a) the suppletability of a pronoun or numeral, b) the gender of a polysyllabic substantive; (4) *pragmatic*: a) the origin of a substantive, b) the age of a loanword, and c) the source of a loan-word.

0. The placement of word stress in standard Lithuanian is predetermined by the accentual properties of morphemes of which a word consists, and in certain cases also by the quantity and intonation of the penultimate syllable (Fortunatov-de Saussure's Law and, with some reservation, the Prefix Retraction Rule which applies only to the verb) (see Darden 1984; Garde

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1968:160-165; 1976:13f; Girdeņis 1985:61-65). The peculiarities of the accentuation of derivatives are closely connected with the accentual properties of affixes, first of all, the derivational ones, while the accentuation of primary words, i. e. non-derivatives, is usually predetermined by the accentual properties of their roots, or stems. The roots, or stems, of primary declinable words on the basis of their accentual behaviour are to be classified into accented and unaccented ones. A declinable word with an accented root is characterised by the 1st or the 2nd, i. e. "barytonic", accentual paradigms (henceforth: AP), while a word with an unaccented root - by the 3rd or the 4th, i.e. "mobile" ("oxytonic"), AP.

0.1. The aim of this article is to discuss the widespread statement according to which the accentual properties of primary words are not motivated by any linguistic or pragmatic¹ factors. A detailed analysis of standard Lithuanian demonstrates a certain connection between the accentual characteristics of a primary declinable word and its phonological, grammatical, semantical and pragmatic peculiarities.

0.2. When analysing the regularities of the accentuation of primary declinable words, first of all, one should take into account one phonological factor - the number of syllables in a word, hence disyllabic (+ rear monosyllabic) and polysyllabic words are to be examined separately. The main reason for such a division is that the accentuation of each disyllabic word is connected with the quantity and intonation of the penultimate (= initial) syllable. The regularities of the accentuation of polysyllabic words are also dependent on the prosodic characteristics of the penultimate, but the given dependence manifests itself differently.

1. DISYLLABIC PRIMARY DECLINABLE WORDS.

The regularities of their accentuation are predetermined, first of all, by the concrete part of speech of a word (semantical - grammatical factor): primary disyllabic substantives are characterised both by accented and unaccented roots and by all four accentual paradigms, whereas non-substantives (i. e. adjectives, numerals and pronouns), as a rule, by unaccented roots and mobile paradigms (AP 3 and 4).

¹The pragmatic factors here are defined by the following oppositions: *new* : *old*, *native* : *foreign*, *close* : *distant* etc. (cf. Zalznjak 1977:74-77; Stundžia 1986:149f.)

1.1. The concrete AP of a disyllabic non-substantive depends on the quantity and intonation of the penultimate (= initial) syllable, i. e. on the phonological factor: in the case of an acute penultimate a non-substantive will receive the 3rd AP (e.g. *áukštas*, -à 'high; tall', *kóks*, -ià 'some, any', *pírmas*, -à 'first', *vienas*, -à 'one'), in the case of a non-acute (i. e. circumflex or short) one - the 4th AP, e.g. *dóras*, -à 'honest, moral', *vikrùs*, -i 'nimble; skilful', *añtras*, -à 'second', *penki*, *penkios* 'five', *kitas*, -à 'other; another'. Among the disyllabic declinable non-substantives of the latter AP one should take note of the pronouns *anàs*, -à 'that, that one', *katràs*, -à 'which (of the two)', *kuris*, -i 'which; who' which are characterised by a fixed, not mobile, desinential stress.

Unaccented roots are characteristic of numerals *dù*, *dvi* 'two', *trys* 'three', and pronouns *ás* 'I', *tù* 'you', *mēs* 'we', *jūs* 'you', *savēš* 'myself; ourselves' etc. which have an individual accentuation. The peculiarity of their stress placement is connected with a morphological factor - suppletability.

The accented pronouns *támsta* 'you; sir etc.', and *niēkas* 'nobody; nothing' do not follow the regularities mentioned above. Besides that one should pay attention to several *u*-stem adjectives of the 3rd AP, the nom. sg. of which is morphologically idiomatised (the term inherited from Girdeņis 1985:67), i.e. stressed not on the final syllable (cf. *brangùs*, -i 'expensive; dear', *sūrùs*, -i 'salt' etc.), but on the penultimate, e.g.: *áiškus*, -i 'clear; lucid', *lýgus*, -i 'flat, even; equal', *smùlkus*, -i 'small, fine; petty; detailed', *tánkus*, -i 'thick, dense; compact' (the accentuation of other cases exactly corresponds to a mobile paradigm, e.g.: gen. sg. *aiškaūs*, -iōs, dat. sg. *aiškiám*, *aiškiai*).

1.2. As regards the accentuation of primary disyllabic substantives, it is important to take into account the origin of a word and the age of a loan-words (influence of the pragmatic factors). The majority of disyllabic loan-words of standard Lithuanian have accented roots with the dominating fixed stress (AP 1), e.g.: *bánkas* 'bank', *bùlvė* 'potato', *fríja* 'fairy', *kálkės* 'lime; calx', *lýga* 'league', *múza* 'muse'. The second AP, manifesting an accented root with the shift of stress to the end according to Fortunatov-de Saussure's Law, is characteristic, as a rule, of the words, the short penultimate vowel of which (influence of the phonological factor) does not permit a fixed stress (AP 1), e.g.: *cēchas* 'shop; guild, corporation', *ciklas* 'cycle', *fáktas* 'fact', *tùras* 'turn; round' (AP 2).

Disyllabic loan-words having unaccented roots are rare. Only some of

them are characterized by the 3rd AP (*chalvā* 'halva', *taigā* 'taiga', *tūbā* 'tube; tuba'), and four or five dozens – by the 4th AP. The majority of the latter are old Slavisms, the degree of adaptation of which in Lithuanian is greater, e.g. : *gumā* 'rubber', *pāsas* 'passport; pass', *vatā* 'cotton wool; wadding' (AP 4). So there exists a certain connection between the accentuation of Slavisms and their age. Finally, one more pragmatic factor – the source of a loan-word – must be mentioned. The importance of this factor for the accentuation can be formulated in the following way: the old Germanisms with a long penultimate tend to be accentuated by the acute and the 1st AP, whereas the old Slavisms – by the circumflex and by the 2nd or rarely by the 4th AP (cf. Skardžius 1928), e.g.: *yla* 'awl', *mūras* 'stone wall; brick wall; stone house', *pypkė* 'pipe', *rėmai* 'frame', (AP 1; old Germanisms); *blýnas* 'flat pancake', *grýbas* 'fungus; mushroom', *mėtà* 'mint', *miėstas* 'town; city', (AP 2), *kriėnas* 'horse-radish', *pułkas* 'flock, flight; crowd; regiment' (AP 4) – old Slavisms.

1.3. Native disyllabic primary substantives are characterized both by accented and unaccented roots and by all four accentual paradigms, the weight of which is not the same. According to preliminary data the 4th AP is the most and the 3rd AP is the least productive (see Stundžia 1984:88 f.). Without special investigations it is difficult to say something concrete and definite about linguistic or pragmatic motivation of the accentual characteristics of a native disyllabic substantive. Meanwhile attention is to be drawn to a certain connection between the accentuation of a substantive and its semantical, morphological and phonological structure. For instance, the accentual behaviour of disyllabic native *pluralia tantum* seems to be dependent upon the semantics of a word: mass nouns and nouns denoting diseases are characterized by unaccented roots (e.g.: *dažai* 'paint', *klijai* 'glue', *raupai* 'smallpox', *tymai* 'measles'), whereas accented roots are peculiar to nouns denoting instruments, simple tools or human made things, e.g.: *girnos* 'millstones', *kėlnės* 'trousers', *žirklys* 'scissors' (AP 1); *ratai* 'cart', *rėgės* 'sledge', *varčiai* 'gates' (AP 2).

The influence of morphological factors on the accentuation of native disyllabic primary substantives can be illustrated by the following regularities: (a) among *i*-stem words the 4th AP is (statistically speaking) significantly dominant, e.g.: *akis* 'eye', *avis* 'sheep', *naktis* 'night', *ugnis* 'fire', *žuvis* 'fish'; (b) *ē*-stem words are characterized by a statistically significant inclination towards accented roots, e.g.: *dulkė* 'speck of dust', *kėrvė*

'cow', *pėmpė* 'pewit' (AP 1); *bitė* 'bee', *ėglė* 'fir', *žėmė* 'earth' (AP 2) (see Stundžia 1984:89 f.).

The phonological factor – the quantity and intonation of the penultimate – plays a certain role in the choice of the accentual paradigm of a word: disyllabic native primary substantives with the acute penultimate have the 1st or the 3rd AP, while those with the non-acute one – the 2nd or the 4th AP. So the choice of the accentual paradigms decreases from four to two.

1.4. The foregoing analysis of the regularities of the accentuation of primary disyllabic declinable words can be summarized by an accentual classification based on linguistic and pragmatic factors that motivate the accentual behaviour of the words (see scheme and table No 1).

Scheme No 1. An accentual classification of primary disyllabic declinable words

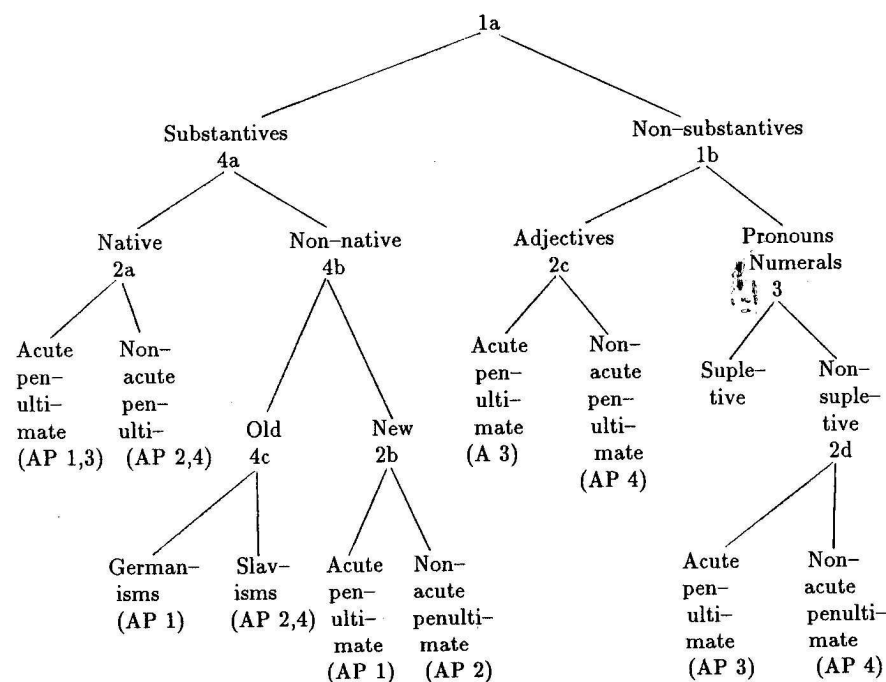


Table No 1. Factors motivating the given classification

Factor	Regularity of the accentuation
1. Semantical-grammatical (a concrete part of speech of a primary declinable word)	<p>a) Substantives have both accented and unaccented roots, whereas non-substantives, except some pronouns, - only unaccented roots;</p> <p>b) it is characteristic of some pronouns and numerals that they are stressed individually</p>
2. Phonological (the quantity and intonation of the penultimate syllable)	<p>a) Native substantives with the acute penultimate have either the 1st or the 3rd AP, while those with a non-acute one - either the 2nd or 4th AP;</p> <p>b) new non-native substantives with the acute penultimate are characterized by the 1st AP, while those with a non-acute one - by the 2nd AP;</p> <p>c) adjectives with the acute penultimate have the 3rd AP, while those with a non-acute one - the 4th AP;</p> <p>d) it is characteristic of non-suppletive numerals and most pronouns with the acute penultimate that they are stressed by the 3rd AP, while those with a non-acute one - by the 4th AP</p>
3. Morphological (suppletability of a root)	Suppletive pronouns and numerals are characterized by an individual accentuation
4. Pragmatic: a) the origin of a substantive, b) the age of a non-native word, c) the source of a non-native word	<p>a) The majority of non-native substantives are characterized by accented roots;</p> <p>b) new non-native substantives, as a rule, have only accented roots, while the old ones - both accented and unaccented roots;</p> <p>c) old Germanisms usually choose the 1st AP, while Slavisms - the 2nd or rarely the 4th AP.</p>

2. POLYSYLLABIC PRIMARY DECLINABLE WORDS

2.1. There are few of these in comparison with disyllabic words. Pronouns are absent, whereas rare numerals are characterized by the 3rd AP: *septyni, septynios* 'seven', *aštuoni, aštuonios* 'eight', *devyni, devynios* 'nine' (AP 3); *keturi, keturios* 'four' (AP 3^b). The accentuation of adjectives, the majority of which are non-native words, is dependent on their declension (morphological factor): (*i*)*a*-stem words are characterized by the 3rd (usually 3^b) AP (*didelis, -ė* 'big', *gātavas, -à* 'finished' 3^b; *tóbulas, -à* 'perfect' 3^a etc.), while *u*-stem ones - by the 4th AP (the latter adjectives are obviously dominant), e.g.: *abstraktus, -i* 'abstract', *modernus, -i* 'modern', *patogus, -i* 'comfortable'.

2.2. Polysyllabic primary substantives are characterized by the 1st, the 2nd and the 3rd AP, whereas the 4th AP is extremely rare, peculiar only to some toponyms, e.g.: *Alytus, Alaušà*.

2.3. From the standpoint of accentuation in the group of polysyllabic primary substantives one also ought to distinguish native words from non-native ones. The majority of the latter are the so-called international terms (the new loan-words) characterized by accented stems and by a more unified accentuation defined by rather simple rules. The most important of them is the following: words with the same two final syllables are stressed, as a rule, homogeneously, regardless of the number of syllables of the word and of the morphemic structure of the stem, cf. *aspirántas* 'post-graduate' and *interesántas* 'visitor'; *kultūrà* 'culture' and *aspirantūrà* 'post-graduate course', *literatūrà* 'literature'.

Polysyllabic international substantives can be formally classified according to the accentual properties of their penultimate syllable. In most cases these words have a stressed penultimate syllable (see Kuzavinis 1971:13), predominantly a non-acute (cf. Pakerys 1991:39-86), e.g.: *biudžetas* 'budget', *kabinėtas* 'room; cabinet'; *geogrāfas* 'geographer', *oscilogrāfas* 'oscillograph'; *aktīvas* 'the most active members; assets', *detektīvas* 'detective'; *studeñtas* 'student', *testameñtas* 'testament' (AP 2). The acute and the 1st AP seem to be more peculiar to the substantives with a diphthong in the penultimate, e.g.: *avānsas* 'advance; payment on account', *reverānsas* 'curtsy'; *diktāntas* 'dictation', *muzikāntas* 'musician'; *kurortas* 'health-resort', *transpórtas* 'transport'. When the basis of the penultimate is formed from a long vowel (and *ie*) the circumflex intonation occurs much more frequently (see Pakerys 1987:72-76):

dezertjras 'deserter', *kefjras* 'kefir'; *šampūnas* 'shampoo', *taifūnas* 'typhoon'; *licėjus* 'lycée', *trofėjus* 'trophy'; *jubilėjus* 'anniversary, jubilee', *muziėjus* 'museum' etc.

Second in number are the substantives having the unaccented penultimate with a fixed stress on the antepenultimate syllable, e.g.: *chėmija* 'chemistry', *periferija* 'periphery', *simpātija* 'sympathy'; *aritmėtika* 'arithmetic', *matemātika* 'mathematics', *mūzika* 'music'; *diktorius* 'announcer', *korėktorius* 'proof-reader'; *gėnijas* 'genius', *scenārijus* 'scenario'.

Syllables before the antepenultimate are rarely stressed: *konsiliumas* 'consultation', *prezidiumas* 'presidium', *tėchnikumas* 'technical school' etc. Especially rare are the polysyllabic international substantives that have the 3rd AP, i.e. the unaccented stem, e.g.: *adresas* 'address', *daktaras* 'doctor', *fabrikas* 'factory, mill; plant' (AP 3^b). The 3rd AP is more peculiar to the old loan substantives which are more adapted to the Lithuanian language, and two final syllables of which sometimes coincide with some Lithuanian suffixes, cf. loan-words *asilas* 'donkey', *kātilas* 'copper' 3^b and native words *birbilas* 'top' (: *birbti* 'fife; buzz'), *eržilas* 'stallion' 3^b; *kāminas* 'chimney', *lūbinas* 'lupin' 3^b and *lāpinas* 'he-fox' (: *lāpė* 'fox'), *kūminas* 'peat' 3^b.

2.4. Native polysyllabic primary substantives (we found about 200 of them in DŽ²), apart from a few words like *dėdervinė* 'herpes', *kankorėžis* 'cone', *lagaminas* 'trunk; suit-case'), are trisyllabic. The final two syllables of these words in most cases coincide with some vocalic suffix, cf. *alkūnė* 'elbow' and *galūnė* 'tip, point; ending' (: *gālas* 'end'). In some cases a real suffix, but not a derivational one, is identified, cf. *skruzdėlė* and *skruzdė* 'ant'.

The better half (56%) of native polysyllabic primary substantives – contrary to the non-native ones – are characterized by the 3rd AP, i.e. by unaccented stems, the final syllable of which often coincides with some unaccented suffix. A s h o r t p e n u l t i m a t e is the distinct feature of the majority (74%) of the examples, e.g.: *gābalas* 'piece', *māšalas* 'midge', *vābalas* 'beetle' (AP 3^b), cf. derivative *lākalas* 'food for dogs and cats' (: *lākti* 'lap') etc.; *dōbilas* 'clover' 3^a, *eržilas* 'stallion' 3^b (cf. *birbilas* 'top' : *birbti* 'fife; buzz' etc.); *kūminas* 'peat', *kirminas* 'worm', *milžinas* 'giant' 3^b (cf. *lāpinas* 'he-fox' : *lāpė* 'fox' etc.); *kastinys* 'dish made of beaten cream', *mulinys* 'soup of water, bread and sugar' 3^b (cf. *kepinys* 3^b 'baked' : *kėpti* 'bake' etc.); *ungurys* 'eel', *vyturys* '(sky) lark' 3^b (cf. *žiburys* 'light' : *žibėti*

²DŽ².

'shine, twinkle' etc.); *ešerjys* 'perch', *meškerė* 'fishing-rod', *skiauterė* 'cromb, crest' 3^b, *voverė* 'squirrel' 3^a etc.

The final syllables *-aras*, *-eras*, *-eris* (gen. *-iės*), *-uras*, *-utas* seem to have no equivalents among the suffixes; however, the phonological structure and the rhythmical model of substantives having the above mentioned final syllables are the same as in the case of *-alas*, *-ulas* etc. substantives analysed above, so the regularities of the accentuation are also the same, e.g.: *āmaras* 'plant-louse', *stābaras* 'stalk, stem', *vākaras* 'evening' (3^b); *ājeras* 'sweet-flag', *ėžeras* 'lake' (3^b); *dieveris* 3^a 'brother-in-law', *skiauteris* 3^b 'cromb, crest'; *āsutas* 3^b 'horse-hair', *kiūkutas* 'shell', *riėšutas* 'nut' (3^a).

The unaccented stem and the 3rd AP is characteristic only of some native trisyllabic primary substantives having the long penultimate, e.g.: *kirmėlė* 'worm', *skruzdėlė* 'ant' (3^b), *skrybėlė* 'hat', *vėgėlė* 'burbot' (3^a); cf. derivative *siurbėlė* 3^b 'leech' (: *siurbti* 'suck') etc.; *grambuoljys* 'cockchafer', *obuoljys* 'apple' (3^a), *kamuoljys* 'ball' 3^b (cf. derivative *branduoljys* 'kernel' 3^a : *brėndo*, *brėsti* 'ripen' etc.).

Attention is to be drawn to the fact that about two thirds of native primary substantives with the AP 3^b or 3^a have short vowels not only in the penultimate, but also in an initial (= antepenultimate) syllable (see the foregoing examples). The predominance of the 3rd AP should be noted also among the nominal derivatives with an unaccented prefix. The phonological structure of these derivatives is the same as in the group of primary substantives analysed above, e.g.: *pādažas* 'sauce; gravy' (: *padažyti* 'dip'), *pamarjys* '(see-)coast' (: *mārios* 'sea'), *pastalė* '(place) under the table' (: *stālas* 'table'), *prādaras*, *-ā* 'slightly open' (: *pradarjti* 'open slightly').

The remainder (44%) of the native polysyllabic primary substantives have accented stems. About a third of these words manifest the fixed antepenultimate stress (AP 1), and in most cases, the short penultimate and the feminine gender, e.g.: *gābana* 'armful', *gārbana* 'curl', *rāgana* 'witch', *sāmana* 'moss' (cf. derivative *liėkana* 'remainder; remnant' : *liėka*, *likti* 'remain; stay' etc.); *lōpeta* 'spade', *skėpeta* 'kerchief' (cf. derivative *kūpeta* 'rick, stack' : *kūpti* etc.); *āšaka* 'fish-bone', *plāštaka* 'handbreadth'; *āšara* 'tear', *nūgara* 'back', *vāšara* 'summer'. The fixed antepenultimate stress in combination with the long penultimate is characteristic only of some substantives, all of which are solitary instances, as a rule, deviating from more regular cases, e.g.: *spanguolė* 1 'cranberry' (but: *snieguolė* 'snowdrop', *viksvuolė* 'Cyperus' 2 etc.); *vokietis*, *-ė* 'German' (but: *amerikiėtis*, *-ė* 'American', *kauniėtis*, *-ė*

'inhabitant of Kaunas' 2 etc.).

Two thirds of the stem-accented native polysyllabic primary substantives are characterized by the stressed penultimate and the 2nd or the 1st AP (the words with the latter AP are more rare). A short penultimate dominates among the substantives having the 2nd AP. In most cases the final syllables of the examples coincide with accented suffixes, e.g.: *kumėlė* 'mare', *karvėlis* 'pigeon', *erėlis* 'eagle' (cf. derivatives *patėlė* 'female' : *patė* 'wife', *ožėlis* 'goatling, kid' : *ožys* 'he-goat' etc.); *navikas* 'growth, excrescence', *vainikas* 'garland, wreath; crown' (cf. derivative *pinikai* 'lace' : *pinti* 'weave; twine' etc.); *kukūtis* 'hoopoe', *skudūtis* 'pan-pipe, reed(-pipe)' (cf. derivative *barskūtis* 'rattle' : *barskėti* 'rattle; clatter' etc.); *borūžė* 'lady-bird', *drabūžis* 'clothes', *gegūžis* 'May' (cf. diminutives *mergūžė* : *mergà* 'girl; maid', *brólūžis* : *brólis* 'brother' etc.).

The 2nd AP in combination with the long penultimate is characteristic only of some single words, the accentuation of which, as a rule, varies from dialect to dialect, e.g.: *aviėtė* 'raspberry', *grebėstas* 'lath', *makaūlė* 'noddle; skull', *rakañdai* 'household utensils', *papařtis* 'fern'.

The long penultimate is necessary for polysyllabic substantives having the 1st AP with a stressed penultimate, e.g.: *blakstiena* 'eyelash', *puriena* 'marsh marigold' (cf. derivatives *seniena* 'antique' : *sėnas* 'old; ancient', *uoliena* 'rock' : *uolà* 'rock' etc.); *kamienas* 'trunk, stem'; *lavonas* 'corpse, dead body' (cf. *dirvonas* 'long-fallow land, waste' : *dirvà* 'soil; field'), *akūotas* 'awn', *arūodas* 'bin; corn-bin', *kanopa* 'hoof'.

As a conclusion I would like to stress the fact that about three-quarters (73%) of native polysyllabic primary substantives are characterized by a s h o r t p e n u l t i m a t e which in most cases bears no stress. The words with a short penultimate have an obvious inclination towards an unaccented stem and the 3rd AP. A long penultimate, on the contrary, is closely connected with accented stems and a stress.

The accentuation of the analysed substantives is motivated not only by a phonological factor – the quantity of the penultimate, but also by some morphological peculiarities of a word. For example, more than three-quarters (79%) of unaccented-stem substantives (AP 3) having a short penultimate are masculine.

The foregoing analysis of the regularities of the accentuation of primary polysyllabic declinable words can be summarized by an accentual classification based on linguistic and pragmatic factors that motivate the accentual

behaviour of the words (see scheme and table No 2).

S c h e m e No 2. An accentual classificatin of primary polysyllabic declinable words

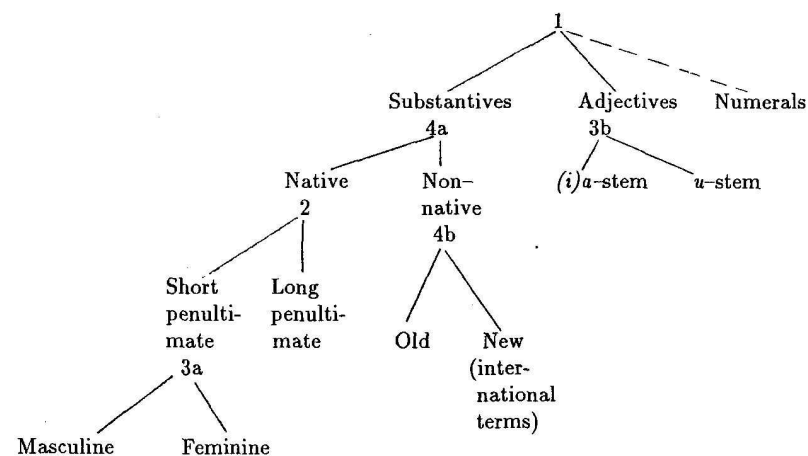


Table No 2. Factors motivating the given classification

Factor	Regularity of the accentuation
1. Semantical-grammatical (a concrete part of speech of a word)	There are no polysyllabic primary pronouns and only some numerals, all of which have the 3rd AP. Adjectives are characterized by a mobile stress (a concrete AP is predetermined by a morphological factor)
2. Phonological (the quantity of the penultimate syllable)	Native substantives with a short penultimate have an inclination to the antepenultimate stress, mostly – the mobile one (AP 3). A long penultimate is connected with accented stems and tends to be stressed
3. Morphological: a) the gender of the substantive, b) the declination of an adjective	a) The majority of masculine native polysyllabic substantives with a short penultimate have unaccented stems (AP 3); b) (<i>i</i>) <i>a</i> -stem polysyllabic adjectives are characterized by the 3rd AP (usually 3 ^o), while <i>u</i> -stem ones - by the 4th AP.
4. Pragmatic: a) the origin of a substantive, b) the age of a loan-word	a) Polysyllabic loan substantives are characterized, as a rule, by accented stems (AP 1, 2); b) the accentuation of the old loan substantives is closer to the regularities of the accentuation of native words.

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 Lietuva

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