

*Linguistics*

# Accentuation System of Suffixed Verbs in Standard Lithuanian

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**ABSTRACT.** In Lithuanian suffixed verbs can be formed with 9 suffixes: *-uoti, -inti, -(i)oti, -ėti, -auti, -telėti, -inėti, -enti, -yti*. Nearly 5,700 suffixed verbs are used in the modern standard language. Their accentuation pattern is not settled: some are stressed on the suffix, others are stressed on the root, yet more than 100 verbs show a variable accentuation pattern – both accentuation variants are approved. By their stress position verbal suffixes are divided into dominant stressed strong suffixes, dominant unstressed weak suffixes and variable-stress suffixes. The type of accentuation of suffixed verbs depends on various morphonological, derivational and semantic factors: specific suffix or its allomorph, part of speech of the base word, derivational meaning, root vowel gradation, metatony and other factors. The article provides a separate analysis of the suffixed verbs with each of the 9 suffixes, highlights their accentuation tendencies and reveals the accentuation system. It also deals with the change in accentuation norms of such verbs and the tendencies of their actual usage in the Lithuanian language. ©2011 Bull. Georg. Natl. Acad. Sci.

**Key words:** *suffixed verbs; codified accentuation system; accentuation variants; morphonological, derivational, semantic factors; acute accent and circumflex accent; metatony; Standard Lithuanian.*

There are about 5,700 suffixed verbs in Standard Lithuanian. They are formed with 9 suffixes. The accentuation pattern of such verbs is rather varied: they are stressed on the root, on the suffix or may have several accentuation variants. The **main goal** of this article is to analyse all the suffixed verbs in Standard Lithuanian, to reveal their accentuation patterns and to describe the existing accentuation system. The study makes use of **descriptive** and **comparative** methods. The data was collected from the *Dictionary of Modern Lithuanian Language* (DŽ<sub>4</sub>, DŽ<sub>6c</sub>). It was compared with the resolution adopted by the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language in 2005 on the correction of accentuation norms of certain suffixed verbs [1: 111–127]. Nearly 5,700 suffixed verbs are used in the modern standard language. Their accentuation in the modern

language takes the following pattern (with reference to the data of DŽ<sub>4</sub>, DŽ<sub>6c</sub> and the recommendation of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language; see Table 1):

In Lithuanian suffixed verbs are formed with 9 suffixes: *-uoti, -inti, -(i)oti, -ėti, -auti, -telėti, -inėti, -enti, -yti*. By their stress position all the suffixes are divided into dominant stressed strong suffixes, dominant unstressed weak suffixes and variable-stress suffixes. The

**Table 1.**

**Accentuation of Suffixed Verbs**

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Suffix accentuation	3, 460	61.1
Root accentuation	2, 100	37.1
Double accentuation	102	1.8

stated groups are used to divide all the suffixed verbs under analysis into 3 large chapters, which provide a separate analysis of accentuation of the verbs with all the 9 suffixes.

**1. There are 2 dominant stressed strong verbal suffixes: *-enti* and *-inėti*.**

**1.1.** *Dictionary of Modern Lithuanian Language* (DŽ<sub>4</sub>, DŽ<sub>6e</sub>) contains around 160 verbs with the suffix *-enti*. They all have a stress on the suffix: *barbėnti*, *dribsėnti*, *gyvėnti*, *mekėnti*, *pleškėnti*, *verkšlėnti* [2: 192–193; 3: 101; 4: 250; 5: 457–460; 6: 211]. When conjugated, the stress in the present and past simple tense first and second person singular forms of the verbs with this suffix falls on the ending: *gyvenù*, *gyvenì*, *gyvėna*; *gyvenaũ*, *gyvenaĩ*, *gyvėno*.

**1.2.** All the verbs of the suffix *-inėti* are stressed on the suffix: *aklinėti*, *blusinėti*, *dalinėti*, *skaitinėti*, *šmukštinėti*, *vaikštinėti*, *žiūrinėti* [2: 186–191; 3: 101; 4: 250–251; 5: 421–427; 6: 212]. *Dictionary of Modern Lithuanian Language* (DŽ<sub>4</sub>, DŽ<sub>6e</sub>) includes 471 such verbs. In the conjugation of all grammatical tense forms of these verbs the stress does not shift and remains fixed: e.g. *vaikštinėju*, *vaikštinėji*, *vaikštinėja*; *vaikštinėjau*, *vaikštinėjai*, *vaikštinėjo*.

**2. There is 1 dominant unstressed weak verbal suffix – *-telėti*.** *Dictionary of Modern Lithuanian Language* (DŽ<sub>4</sub>, DŽ<sub>6e</sub>) contains approximately 500 verbs with this suffix. They are all stressed on the root; no cases of suffixed accentuation can be found [2: 186–191; 3: 101; 4: 250–251; 5: 421–427; 6: 212]: *càptelėti*, *grėmžtelėti*, *kránktelėti*, *krùptelėti*, *krùstelėti*, *smògtelėti*, *šlámštelėti*, *zvìmbtelėti*. When conjugated, all the verbs preserve a fixed stress on the root: for instance, *pýktelėti* – *pýktelėju*, *pýktelėji*, *pýktelėja*. Derivates of the suffix *-telėti* formed from verbs or onomatopoeic interjections show a regular acute metatony – the circumflex accent of the base word is replaced by acute accent in the derivative: *čìuòžtelėti* (: *čiuòžti*); *kréstelėti* (: *krėsti*); *pýktelėti* (: *pýkti*); *spìegtelėti* (: *spìegti*); *ùktelėti* (: *ùkti*); *zýztelėti* (: *zýzti*). In the latter case, the explanation behind the acute accent lies in semantics – derivatives usually express a momentary, abrupt action [2: 179–182; 5: 369–371]. Nevertheless, there are derivatives of the suffix *-telėti* in the standard language, which maintain the circumflex of the base word and do not undergo metatony: *kaũštelėti* (: *kaũšti*); *raũstelėti* (: *raũsti*); *smeĩgtelėti* (: *smeĩgti*); *svaĩgtelėti* (: *svaĩgti*) [2: 182–184; 5: 368–369; 6: 214]. The accentuation norm of certain verbs in the standard language varies, accentuation variants with both acute and circumflex accents are approved (their number increased when the recommendation of the State Commission of

the Lithuanian Language of 2005 on the revision of accentuation norms of certain suffixed verbs was adopted – [1: 124–125]): *blògtelėti* and *blógtelėti*, *blòkštelėti* and *blókštelėti*, *daũžtelėti* and *dáužtelėti*, *kaũktelėti* and *káuktelėti*, *kėštelėti* and *kėstelėti*, *kliĩmptelėti* and *kliĩmptelėti*, *kĩrptelėti* and *kĩrptelėti*, *kvaištelėti* and *kvaištelėti*.

**3. 6 verbal suffixes show a variable accentuation pattern: *-inti*, *-yti*, *-(i)oti*, *-auti*, *-ėti*, *-uoti*.** Some of them show the dominant type of root accentuation, others feature the suffixed accentuation type. The type of accentuation is determined by various phonetic, morphological, derivational and semantic factors.

**3.1. Root accentuation prevails in the group of verbs with suffixes *-inti*, *-yti*.**

**3.1.1.** More than 1,100 verbs with the suffix *-inti* function in Standard Lithuanian. The verbal suffix *-inti* is the second most productive suffix among all verbal suffixes. Their accentuation is rather complex. In 2005 the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language corrected the accentuation norm of as many as 34 verbs with this suffix [1: 114–118]. The accentuation of such verbs in the standard modern language shows the following patterns (see Table 2):

Table 2.

2 Accentuation of Derivates with the Suffix *-inti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Root accentuation	965	87.1
Suffix accentuation	131	11.8
Double accentuation	12	1.1

When conjugated, the stress of the verbs of root accentuation type does not change its place (e.g. *didinti* – *didinu*, *didini*, *didina*), whereas the verbs of suffix accentuation, when conjugated, show a variable accentuation pattern: “the diphthong *-in-* of the infinitive of these verbs is acute, whereas the short vowel *-i-* in the present and past simple third person forms is stressed (the stress in the first and second person singular falls on the ending)” [4: 257]: *gaminti* – *gaminù*, *gaminì*, *gamina*; *gaminaũ*, *gaminaĩ*, *gamino*.

**3.1.1.1.** The verbs with a short vowel in the root are derived from verbs, nouns, adjectives or onomatopoeic interjections. They are all stressed on the root: *didinti*, *džiuginti*, *gilinti*, *gluminti*, *gudrinti*, *krutinti*, *skubinti*, *tikinti*.

**3.1.1.2.** The verbs of foreign origin with the suffix *-inti* are formed from international words (nouns and adjectives). They all preserve the stress place of the base word and its prosodic properties [2: 75]: *aktývinti*

(: *aktỹvu*); *elėktrinti* (: *elėktrą*); *normālinti* (: *normālu*); *revoliūcinti* (: *revoliūcija*); *vitamininti* (: *vitaminas*).

**3.1.1.3.** The accentuation of the verbs with a long vowel in the root is problematic. Some verbs retain the accent of the base word (circumflex – *lābinti* (: *lābas*), *lēsinti* (: *lēsa*), *añtrinti* (: *añtrą*), *blōginti* (: *blōgas*), *kaĩtinti* (: *kaĩto*), *skam̃binti* (: *skam̃ba*); acute – *aiškinti* (: *aiškus*), *alkinti* (: *alkti*), *báiminti* (: *báimė*), *lyginti* (: *lygu*), *mókslinti* (: *mókslas*), *šiáušinti* (: *šiáušti*)). Yet others do not retain the accent of the base word and undergo metatony. The metatony occurs due to semantic characteristics of derivatives. Regular circumflex metatony is characteristic of the verbs with the suffix *-inti*, which express a slow, sluggish, lazy going; the circumflex accent as if highlights the slowness of the action performed [2: 57–60; 5: 351–354; 6: 220]. Therefore, derivatives with the suffix *-inti* show a regular pattern of replacing the acute accent of the base word by circumflex: *bim̃binti* (: *bim̃ba*), *kerēplinti* (: *kerēpla*), *kiū̃tinti* (: *kiū̃to*), *riōglinti* (: *riōgla*), *šlė̃rvinti* (: *šlė̃rva*), *vam̃plinti* (: *vam̃pla*). A regular and consistent acute metatony is characteristic of the derivatives with the suffix *-inti* formed from verbs and rendering a specific meaning— to make a repeated step-by-step action expressed by the base word. “Such verbs usually show different active, repetitive sounds performed with exertion” [2: 61]: *cypinti* (: *cỹpti*), *klỹkinti* (: *klỹkti*), *pỹpinti* (: *pỹpti*), *plė̃rpinti* (: *plė̃rpti*), *rė̃kinti* (: *rė̃kti*), *ũžinti* (: *ũžti*). Acute metatony is also typical of certain nominal derivatives: *drą̃sinti* (: *drą̃su*), *gár̃binti* (: *gar̃bė*), *káltinti* (: *káltas*), *láisvinti* (: *laĩsvas*), *mė̃rginti* (: *mė̃rgą*), *sveĩkinti* (: *sveĩkas*). However, it is not consistent and regular; a considerable part of nominal derivatives preserves the accent of the base word without any alterations [2: 53–72; 6: 219–220]. There are several verbs in the standard language, the accentuation norm of which enables both accentuation variants – with acute and circumflex accent: *áudrinti* and *aũdrinti*, *dáilinti* and *daĩlinti*, *gársinti* and *gaĩrsinti*, *jáudrinti* and *jaũdrinti*, *páikinti* and *paĩkinti*, *ráibinti* and *raĩbinti*, *ráininti* and *raĩninti*, *skáidrinti* and *skaĩdrinti*, etc.

**3.1.1.4.** The majority of the verbal derivatives with the suffix *-inti* are stressed on the root. Only about one fifth of them have a stress on the suffix. A large group of such verbs constitutes of the derivatives with the qualitative root vowel or diphthong gradation. This morphonological factor determines their suffix accentuation type [2: 76–80; 5: 461; 7: 33–36]: *brandinti* (: *brė̃sti*,

*brė̃ndo*), *gražinti* (: *grĩžti*), *kankinti* (: *kė̃sti*, *keñtė*), *laipinti* (: *lipti*), *naikinti* (: *nỹkti*), *rauginti* (: *rúgti*), *sodinti* (: *sė̃sti*, *sė̃da*). Verbal derivatives with the suffix *-inti*, which do not undergo root vowel gradation but are nevertheless stressed on the suffix, are not numerous: *auginti*, *bė̃ginti*, *gesinti*, *kūrinti*, *mokinti*, *nokinti*, *šokdinti*, *vė̃dinti*, *vė̃sinti*, etc.

**3.1.1.5.** Verbs with the suffix *-inti* derived from nouns are usually stressed on the root: *báiminti* (: *báimė*), *žė̃nklinti* (: *žė̃nklas*), *spal̃vinti* (: *spal̃vą*, *spal̃vą*); *vaĩkinti* (: *vaĩkas*), *vāginti* (: *vagis*, *vāgĩ*), *mė̃rginti* (: *mė̃rgą*, *mė̃rgą*), etc. There are only 3 verbs of suffix accentuation type: *dabinti*, *dalinti*, *smalkinti*. Such accentuation pattern is morphologically idiomatised and considered an exception. The suffix accentuation type of some verbs is determined by the derivatives with other suffixes, which show similar structure and meaning (cf. *dalinti* – *dalỹti*). There are only 9 verbs derived from adjectives, which are stressed on the suffix: *baikštinti*, *branginti*, *bauginti*, *baugštinti*, *gaivinti*, *graudinti*, *jaukinti*, *narsinti*, *šmaikštinti*. The reasons determining the suffix accentuation of the stated verbs are not absolutely clear. Such accentuation type illustrates the apparent tendency of the verbs with the suffix *-inti* and other suffixes to gradually expand the domain of suffix accentuation in Lithuanian.

**3.1.1.6.** There are also cases in Standard Lithuanian where the accentuation of verbs with the suffix *-inti* is not settled; both accentuation variants are approved (root and suffix or suffix and root): *áušinti* and *aušinti*, *dārginti* and *darginti*, *ė̃dinti* and *ė̃dinti*, *lāžintis* and *lažintis*, *smalsinti* and *smalsinti*, *tĩrpdinti* and *tirpdinti*, *tvĩrkinti* and *tvirkinti*, *vỹtinti* and *vytinti*, *vaišinti* and *vaišinti*, *nartinti* and *nártinti*.

**3.1.2.** There are few – around 130 – verbs with the suffix *-yti* in Standard Lithuanian but their accentuation is rather complex (see Table 3):

Table 3.

Accentuation of Derivatives with the Suffix *-yti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Root accentuation	99	77.3
Suffix accentuation	27	21.1
Double accentuation	2	1.6

Root and suffix accentuation is mostly influenced by the lexical-grammatical factor (part of speech of the base word), as well as the strength and weakness of the stems of base words (accentual paradigm of the base word). The stress of the verbs of root accentuation is

fixed: *būgnyti* – *būgniju*, *būgniji*, *būgnija*; *būgnijau*, *būgnijai*, *būgnijo*. The infinitive suffix of the derivatives of suffix accentuation is acute, whereas the suffix of the conjugated basic forms has a stressed short vowel and the first-person singular forms are stressed in the ending: *dalyti* – *dalijù*, *dalijì*, *dalija*; *dalijaũ*, *dalijaĩ*, *dalijo*.

**3.1.2.1.** Noun derivatives are usually stressed on the root and maintain the stress of the base words as well as prosodic properties: *būgnyti* (: *būgnas*), *nuōdyti* (: *nuōdas*), *vañzdyti* (: *vañzdis*), *zaũnyti* (: *zaũna*); *dũmyti* (: *dũmas*), *gėdyti* (: *gėda*), *mũryti* (: *mũras*), *žaiytyti* (: *žaiima*). The majority of the verbs derived from the weak fourth accentual paradigm are stressed on the suffix: *akyti*, *anglyti*, *koryti*, *rũdyti*, *šaknyti*, *šerkšnyti*. The accentuation norm of a single verb is not settled: *vilnyti* and *viľnyti*.

**3.1.2.2.** The verbs with the suffix *-yti* formed from the adjectives of the fourth accentual paradigm retain the base-word root stress and prosodic properties: *apmaũdyti* (: *apmaũdu*), *dvailyti* (: *dvaĩlu*), *giėdryti* (: *giėdru*), *meilyti* (: *meĩlu*). The verbs, which are derived from the adjectives of the first or the third accentual paradigm, are generally stressed on the suffix: *drėgnyti*, *juodyti*, *mėlynyti*, *raudonyti*. The accentuation of the sole verb with this suffix derived from the numeral is not settled; 2 variants of root accentuation are approved: *vižnyti* and *vienyti* (: *vienas*); it should be noted that the circumflex metatony is characteristic of the principal variant.

**3.1.2.3.** There are few verbal derivatives with the suffix *-yti* in the standard language; basically all of them belong to the passive lexis and are more typical of dialects [2: 206–209]. There are only 12 such verbs, which made their way to the standard language. Some of them are stressed on the root (*bũbyti*, *širdyti*, *tvatyti*), others have a stressed suffix (*drunyti*, *grindyti*, *trũnyti*).

**3.2. Suffix accentuation prevails in the group of verbs with suffixes *-(i)oti*, *-auti*, *-ėti*, *-uoti*.**

**3.2.1.** There are around 850 verbs with the suffix *-(i)oti*, which is the third most productive suffix in the standard language. Their accentuation is rather complex: some are stressed on the root, others on the suffix. All the verbs with the suffix *-(i)oti*, which have short vowels *a*, *e*, *i*, *u* in the root, are stressed on the suffix: *lašnoti*, *rasoti*, *sekioti*, *snignoti*, *sukioti*, *teplioti*, *vedžioti* [2: 119–120]. The accentuation norm of the sole verb of root accentuation *krusčioti* was recently corrected: the new suffix accentuation, as systematic, was established as the principal accentuation type – *krusčioti* and *krũsčioti*. The specific type of accentuation of other verbs predominantly depends on the structure of a specific suffix

– *-oti*, *-ioti* and polysyllabic allomorphs of the suffix *-(i)oti*. All the verbs (both root and suffix accentuation) maintain a fixed stress when conjugated: *klũpoti* – *klũpoju*, *klũpoji*, *klũpoja*; *dėkoti* – *dėkõju*, *dėkõji*, *dėkõja*.

**3.2.1.1.** The group of derivatives with the suffix *-oti* is dominated by the suffix accentuation type (See Table 4):

Table 4.

Accentuation of Verbs with the Suffix *-oti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Suffix accentuation	316	79.2
Root accentuation	64	16
Double accentuation	19	4.8

**3.2.1.1.1.** Verbal derivatives with the suffix *-oti* denoting a repetitive, occasional action performed with exertion are stressed on the root and have an acute accent. The qualitative root vowel gradation is particularly popular in such derivatives *ũ:u, y:i* – *grũdoti* (: *grũdo*), *klũpoti* (: *klũpti*); *brỹdoti* (: *brĩdo*), *knỹboti* (: *knĩbti*). Verbs show a regular acute metatony – the circumflex accent of the base word shifts to acute accent: *kiũtoti* (: *kiũto*), *lĩndoti* (: *lĩndo*), *niõkoti* (: *niõkti*), *rėkoti* (: *rėkti*) [2: 95]. The verbs formed from the base words with acute accent retain it without any changes: *laidoti* (: *lėisti*), *plỹsoti* (: *plỹšti*). Verbal derivatives denoting a repetitive action performed without exertion are stressed on the suffix: *bliũvoti*, *čiaumoti*, *grũmoti*, *raizgoti*. They exist in line with the verbs of similar derivational meaning with the suffix *-oti*, which have a long vowel *ẽ* in the root – they are also stressed on the suffix: *kėsoti*, *kėtoti*, *plėtoti*, *skėtoti* [2: 96]. Some verbs have a circumflex accent on the root: *čiuõpoti*, *driõkoti*, *grėboti*, *knėboti*, *pliaũškoti* – such accentuation can be hardly defined by any patterns. The State Commission of the Lithuanian Language revised the accentuation norm of some of them – more regular variants with acute accent were approved: *peĩzoti* and *pėizoti*, *šaiũkoti* and *šaiukoti* [1: 119].

**3.2.1.1.1.2.** Nominal derivatives with the suffix *-oti* are usually stressed on the suffix: *atlapoti*, *dovanoti*, *galvoti*, *kalėdoti*, *kovoti*, *krũmoti*, *naudoti*, *spalvoti*. The verbs, which have derivational links with the nouns having a stressed prefix *sq-*, are stressed on the prefix: *sqlygoti* (: *sqlyga*), *sqskaitoti* (: *sqskaita*), *sqveikoti* (: *sqveika*). A considerable part of the verbs with the suffix *-oti* derived from the nouns of the first accentual paradigm retain the usual root accentuation: *kainoti* (: *kaina*), *karpoti* (: *karpa*), *nũmoti* (: *nũoma*), *sĩlotis* (: *sĩela*), *šmėklotis* (: *šmėkla*), *vãrpoti* (: *vãrpa*), *võgroti*

(: *vógra*). However, the root accentuation of such verbs in the language gradually declines; the suffix accentuation type is getting more and more prevalent. That is also shown by a number of approved variants of double accentuation: *ašaróti* and *āšaroti*, *darganóti* and *dārganoti*, *pleiskanóti* and *plėiskanoti*, *samanóti* and *sāmanoti*, *šerpėtóti* and *šėrpetoti*, *vakaróti* and *vākaroti*, *vasaróti* and *vāsaroti*, etc.

**3.2.1.1.1.3.** The verbs with the suffix *-oti* formed from onomatopoeic interjections or interjections are also usually stressed on the suffix: *baladóti*, *čempóti*, *čiaumóti*, *dėkóti*, *keverzóti* [5: 448–449].

**3.2.1.1.1.4.** All the verbs with the allomorph *-(s/š)noti* of the suffix *-oti* are stressed on the suffix: *bilsnóti*, *keiksnóti*, *kilnóti*, *siurbsnóti* [2: 104–105; 5: 451].

**3.2.1.1.1.5.** Both accentuation variants are established in the case of some verbs with the suffix *-oti* in the standard language: *bjauróti* and *bjáuroti*, *niókoti* and *niokóti*, *plýšoti* and *plyšóti*, *siáutoti* and *siautóti*, etc.

**3.2.1.2.** The root accentuation type dominates in the group of derivatives with the suffix *-ioti* (see Table 5):

Table 5.

Accentuation of Verbs with the Suffix *-ioti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Root accentuation	263	64.8
Suffix accentuation	132	32.5
Double accentuation	11	2.7

**3.2.1.2.1.** Verbal derivatives with the suffix *-ioti* are most often stressed on the root. That is the accentuation pattern of the verbs, the root of which ends with an affricate *dž*: *kándžioti*, *kláidžioti*, *lándžioti*, *mégdžioti*, *mìndžioti*, *skráidžioti*. Their root accent is acute. The verbs with the suffix *-ioti* and stressed diphthongs in the root with *a* as the initial component retain a stress on the root and their suffix is acute (where the base word has a circumflex accent, metatony occurs – the derivative has an acute accent): *nárplioti* (: *naĩpti*), *ránkioti* (: *riĩkti*), *páikioti* (: *paĩkti*), *pláukioti* (: *plaũkti*), *smáugioti* (: *smáugti*), *tráukioti* (: *tráukti*), *válkioti* (: *viłkti*). Acute accent is also determined by the derivational meaning of such derivatives – the action is performed with exertion. This is also the accentuation pattern of derivatives of different phonetic root structure rendering the same meaning of action with exertion: *múkioti*, *púslioti*, *úrivoti*, *zýzlioti*. Where the verbs do not have the meaning of the action with exertion, they are stressed on the suffix: *klemšióti*, *pirkióti*, *siunčióti*. The verbs with a long vowel *é* in the root are also stressed on the root: *bėgióti*, *ėmióti*, *šėlióti* [8: 38]. The verbs featuring root vowel and

diphthong gradation (diphthong–short vowel–long vowel) are stressed in a peculiar way: *gỹnioti* (: *gĩnti*, *gĩna*, *gỹnė*), *pỹnioti* (: *pĩnti*, *pĩna*, *pỹnė*), *skỹnioti* (: *skĩnti*, *skĩna*, *skỹnė*), *trỹnioti* (: *trĩnti*, *trĩna*, *trỹnė*). Circumflex metatony is characteristic of derivatives [8: 37]. The previously approved accentuation norm of 2 similar verbs with an unusual acute accent was corrected by the resolution of the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language – the new systematic accentuation variant is prescribed as the principal type: *mỹnioti* and *mĩnioti* (: *mĩnti*, *mĩna*, *mỹnė*), *stũmioti* and *stũmioti* (: *stũmti*, *stũmia*, *stũmė*) [1: 120].

**3.2.1.2.2.** The derivatives from nouns and adjectives with the suffix *-ioti* are stressed on the suffix: *apgaulióti*, *eilióti*, *kvailióti*, *vėžlióti* [8: 38]. The following accentuation variants are established in the case of certain verbs of such type: *kiaulióti* and *kiáulioti*, *seilióti* and *sėilioti*, *rutulioti* and *rutulióti*.

**3.2.1.2.3.** The verbs formed from the allomorph *-(s/š)čioti* of the suffix *-ioti* are stressed on the root and have an acute accent: *blykčioti*, *gnýbčioti*, *lúkčioti*, *ráugčioti*, *trýpčioti*, *vársčioti*, *žnýbčioti* [5: 388–392; 8: 39]. The derivatives formed from the words of circumflex root show a regular acute metatony: *báubčioti* (: *baũbti*), *spiegčioti* (: *spiėgti*), *sprĩngčioti* (: *sprĩngti*), *srėbčioti* (: *srėbti*), *žvýgčioti* (: *žviėgti*) [5: 390–391; 8: 39]. The variant of a single verb *druĩsčioti* with a circumflex accent was previously established in dictionaries (see *DŽ*<sub>4</sub>, *DŽ*<sub>6e</sub>). Its accentuation norm was recently corrected – a new regular acute root variant is now specified as the principal variant: *druĩsčioti* and *druĩsčioti* (: *druĩsti*) [1: 120–121; 8: 39]. The State Commission of the Lithuanian Language radically changed the accentuation norm of the verb *vogčioti*. The dictionaries previously specified a non-systematic variant of suffix accentuation, now a regular variant of root accentuation is established as the principal variant, whereas the suffix accentuation variant is specified as secondary: *vógčioti* and *vogčióti*.

**3.2.1.2.4.** Both accentuation variants are approved in the standard language in the case of certain verbs with the suffix *-ioti*: *kraulióti* and *kráulioti*, *rauslióti* and *ráuslioti*, *tąsioti* and *tąsióti*, *tįsioti* and *tįsióti*.

**3.2.1.3.** The suffix *-(i)oti* has several polysyllabic allomorphs. Around 50 verbs with the polysyllabic allomorphs of this suffix in total function in the standard language. Their accentuation is the following: root accentuation – 30, suffix accentuation – 7, double accentuation – 10. Nearly all derivatives with suffixes *-aloti*, *-anoti*, *-arioti*, *-aroti*, *-elioti*, *-enoti*, *-erioti*, *-uloti* are stressed on the root; their accentuation depends on the phonetic root composition (long syllables have a circum-

flex accent, which often undergoes metatony – cf. Item 3.2.4.2; short root vowels have a short stress): *vādaloti*, *žlabanoti*, *gaņgarioti*, *žiaūtaroti*, *žėbelioti*, *čėženoti*, *žlėberioti*, *vātuloti* [2: 120–122]. Nearly all such verbs belong to the passive lexis and are most commonly used in dialects. The number of verbs with the allomorph *-alioți* of the suffix *-(i)oti* is slightly higher. The majority of them are also stressed on the root (long syllables have a circumflex accent, which often undergoes metatony – cf. Item 3.2.4.2; short root vowels have a short stress): *draĩkalioti*, *gaĩvalioti*, *gĩvalioti*, *kaĩpalioti*, *rišalioti*, *seĩgalioti*, *sũkalioti*. However, root accentuation is getting weaker in the standard language – suffix accentuation type gradually establishes its firm positions. The group of derivatives with this suffix also includes the cases of suffix accentuation: *grabalioti*, *krapalioti*, *raizgalioti*, *tavalioti*, *vartalioti*. Both accentuation variants are approved in the case of 10 verbs: *sapalioti* and *sāpalioti*, *strakalioti* and *strākalioti*, *strapalioti* and *strāpalioti*, *vapalioti* and *vāpalioti*, etc.

**3.2.2.** There are 515 verbs with the suffix *-auti* in Standard Lithuanian. “The majority of the verbs with the suffix *-auti* are stressed on the suffix: the infinitive and present tense forms have an acute accent (the latter also have a fixed stress), whereas a circumflex accent and variable stress are characteristic of the past simple tense” [4: 254]; when conjugated, the stress of the verbs of root accentuation remains fixed: cf. *šũkauti* – *šũkauju*, *šũkauji*, *šũkauja*; *šũkavau*, *šũkavai*, *šũkavo* and *grybauti* – *grybāju*, *grybājuji*, *grybājuja*; *grybavaũ*, *grybavaĩ*, *grybāvo*. The situation of accentuation of such verbs in Standard Lithuanian is as follows (see Table 6):

Table 6.

Accentuation of Verbs with the Suffix *-auti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Suffix accentuation	414	80.4
Root accentuation	90	17.5
Double accentuation	11	2.1

A specific accentuation type is usually determined by the lexical-grammatical factor – the part of speech of the base word: the stress on the suffix is characteristic of nominal derivatives, whereas the stress on the root is typical of verbal derivatives.

**3.2.2.1.** Nominal derivatives (formed from nouns, adjectives, numerals) constitute the larger part of the verbs with the suffix *-auti*.  $D\check{Z}_4, D\check{Z}_{6e}$  contain about 430 of such derivatives (that makes up around 85% of all the verbs with this suffix). The absolute majority of such

derivatives are stressed on the suffix [2: 155–162; 4: 254–255; 5: 407–410]: *broliauti*, *uogauti*, *žoliauti*, *atbulauti*, *drašauti*, *jaunauti*, *pirmauti*, etc. Only a few cases of the usual exclusively-root accentuation remained: *bũgštauti*, *pókštauti*, *rústauti*, *vėtrauti*, *výrauti*, *vógrauti*, *žióvauti*, etc. “Dialects feature more examples of root accentuation. Such accentuation is determined by an accentually strong acute root of the base word.” [2: 157]. Suffix accentuation is getting more and more popular in the standard language; the exceptions of the usual root accentuation gradually withdraw from active usage. That is also indicated by the variants of accentuation prescribed by dictionaries: for instance, *pũsryčiauti* and *pusryčiauti*, *šykštauti* and *šýkštauti*. The State Commission of the Lithuanian Language approved more variants of double accentuation – next to previously established exclusive root accentuation, the usage of regular variants of suffix accentuation was approved as well: *pāsninkauti* and *pasninkauti*, *pōteriauti* and *poteriauti*; certain variants were interchanged by establishing the suffix accentuation variant as the principal one: *smarkauti* and *smárkauti*, *šũrkštauti* and *šĩrkštauti* [1: 123–124].

**3.2.2.2.** Verbal derivatives with the suffix *-auti* based on the nouns with prefixes *sq-*, *sam-*, *san-* do not have a fixed accentuation type: *sąvadauti* and *sąvadauti*, *samprotauti* and *sámprotauti*, *santykiauti* and *sánykiauti*, *sąveikauti* and *sąveikauti*. The listed suffixes, which are taken over by the derivatives with the suffix *-auti* from the base nouns, contain a very strong accentual power. It determines the prefix accentuation of such verbs. However, suffix accentuation type clearly prevails.

**3.2.2.3.** Verbal derivatives of the suffix *-auti* are not numerous (there are over 80 of them in the standard language, which makes up 15% of all the derivatives with this suffix). The larger part of the verbs of such derivational pattern maintains the place of stress in the root inherited from base words in all its forms [2: 162–165; 5: 405–407]. The derivational meaning of such derivatives is “to perform a repetitive action expressed by the base word with exertion” [9: 46]. Such verbs show the action of lower intensity, compared to the action denoted by the base word, or a continuous action caused by the repetitions of individual moments of the action. Such a derivational meaning is also highlighted by the acute accent of the stressed root of verbs. Therefore, a consistent and regular acute metatony is characteristic of the derivatives, the base words of which have a circumflex accent: *cýpauti* (: *cýpti*), *čĩrškauti* (: *čĩrkšti*), *klykauti* (: *klýkti*), *mýkauti* (: *mýkti*), *švilpauti* (: *švilpti*), *vėrkauti* (: *veřkti*). Acute accent of the base word is passed over

to the derivative without any changes: *krúpauti* (: *krúpti*), *plýšauti* (: *plýšti*), *stúgauti* (: *stáugti*), *šókauti* (: *šókti*), *trókštauti* (: *trókšti*). Several verbs stressed on the suffix stand out from a regular system of accentuation of verbal derivatives with the suffix *-auti*: *išdykáuti*, *ištirkáuti*. Apparently, the suffix accentuation of such verbs is determined by a rather numerous group of nominal derivatives of similar derivation (with prefixed nouns as base words): *išlaidáuti* (: *išlaidos*), *įtaigáuti* (: *įtaiga*), *užgaidáuti* (: *užgaida*) (see Item 3.2.2.1.). Phonetic reasons (a short root vocalism) make it impossible to stress certain verbal derivatives with the suffix *-auti* on the root: *gedáuti*, *laláuti*, *magáuti*, *taráutis* [2: 166].

**3.2.3.** There are more than 500 verbs with the suffix *-ėti* in the standard language. They are most commonly stressed on the suffix, but there are also cases of root and double accentuation (see Table 7):

Table 7.

Accentuation of Verbs with the Suffix *-ėti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Suffix accentuation	458	88.1
Root accentuation	56	10.8
Double accentuation	6	1.1

The verbs of both root and suffix accentuation, when conjugated, do not change the place of stress and their accentuation is fixed: *áuklėti* – *áuklėju*, *áuklėji*, *áuklėja*; *artėti* – *artėju*, *artėji*, *artėja*.

**3.2.3.1.** The verbs with the suffix *-ėti* derived from adjectives, numerals and adverbs are always stressed on the suffix: *baltėti*, *malonėti*, *dvejėti*, *trejėti*, *artėti*, *daugėti* [2: 134–136].

**3.2.3.2.** The verbs derived from nouns are generally stressed on the suffix, but due to certain morphological reasons they also include the cases of root accentuation. The vast majority of such verbs are stressed on the suffix: *beždžionėti*, *daiktėti*, *glamonėti*, *rytėti*, *saulėti*, *žievėti*. Certain verbs with the suffix *-ėti* formed from the fixed-accentuation nouns of the strong first accentual paradigm retain root accentuation: *áuklėti* (: *áuklė*), *kėmpėti* (: *kėmpė*), *kėrpėti* (: *kėrpės*), *plėinėti* (: *plėinės*), *váltėti* (: *váltis*). The following accentuation variants were established in the case of 3 verbs: *kaulėti* and *káulėti* (: *káulas*), *seilėti* and *sėilėti* (: *sėilės*), *stembėti* and *stėmbėti* (: *stėmbas*). In 2005 the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language approved the suffix accentuation variant of other 3 verbs derived from nouns, which were previously established with the stress on the root only: *įsitėisėti* and *įsiteisėti* (: *tėisė*), *máurėti* and *maurėti*

(: *maurái*, *máurus*), *várputėti* and *varputėti* (: *várputis*) [1: 121–122]. Obvious tendencies of narrowing the domain of root accentuation and expanding suffix accentuation of the verbs with the suffix *-ėti* derived from nouns can be observed.

**3.2.3.3.** More than a half of the verbal derivatives with the suffix *-ėti* are stressed on the suffix. Such accentuation is only typical of suffixed verbs used with prefixes (*paėjėti*, *pajojėti*, *pakopėti*, *pamezgėti*, *pašokėti*) and the verbs with a short root vocalism (*gižėti*, *kitėti*, *salėti*, *tepėti*, *vadėtis*) [2: 147–149]. Certain other verbal derivatives are also stressed on the suffix: *dirbėti*, *klojėti*, *rūgėti*, *trynėti*. Root accentuation type is also characteristic of the verbal derivatives with the suffix *-ėti*, which denote a durative repetitive action performed with exertion. Their derivational meaning is highlighted by acute accent: *griáudėti* (: *griáudė*), *lūžėti* (: *lūžti*), *šiáušėti* (: *šiáušti*), *vėngėti* (: *vėngti*). Where the accent of the base verb is circumflex, the derivative undergoes a regular consistent acute metatony: *álpėti* (: *áľpti*), *dáužėti* (: *daužti*), *gėibėti* (: *geĩbti*), *siáutėti* (: *siaũtė*), *šúkauti* (: *šaiũkti*) [2: 143–144; 5: 410–412; 6: 217; 9: 10; 10: 354–356]. Acute accent is also characteristic of derivatives, which undergo the root vowel gradation in the course of derivation: *áižėti* (: *ĩžti*), *bráizgėti* (*brĩzga*), *triáušėti* (: *triũšti*).

**3.2.4.** *-uoti* is the most productive verbal suffix in the Lithuanian language (nearly 1,400 verbs with this suffix function in the standard language). Suffix accentuation prevails in the group of verbs with the suffix *-uoti* [2: 19–46; 11: 51–53]. The cases of root and prefix accentuation in the standard language are rapidly declining and a gradual shift to the generalised suffix accentuation type is getting more and more apparent. When conjugated, the verbs of root accentuation maintain a fixed stress: *dĩnderiuoti* – *dĩnderiuoju*, *dĩnderiuoji*, *dĩnderiuoja*; *dĩnderiavau*, *dĩnderiavai*, *dĩnderiavo*. “The larger part of the verbs with the suffix *-uoti* are stressed on the suffix: the infinitive and present tense forms have an acute accent (the latter also have a fixed stress), whereas a circumflex accent and a variable stress are characteristic of the past simple tense” [4: 254]: *asmenúoti* – *asmenúoju*, *asmenúoji*, *asmenúoja*; *asmenavaũ*, *asmenavaĩ*, *asmenãvo*. The accentuation type is mostly determined by a specific structure of the suffix – the verbs with the prevalent suffix *-uoti* are generally stressed on the suffix, whereas the group of polysyllabic variants of this suffix is dominated by root accentuation. The accentuation of such verbs in the modern language is the following (see Table 8):

Table 8.

Accentuation of Derivatives with the Suffix *-uoti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Suffix accentuation	1,315	95.8
Root accentuation	27	2
Double accentuation	31	2.2

**3.2.4.1.** Derivatives with the suffix *-uoti* are formed from nouns, adjectives, pronouns, interjections, onomatopoeic interjections, verbs; quite a large number of verbs with the suffix *-uoti* deriving from international words belong to this group. Despite the morphological peculiarities of base words, such verbs are stressed on the suffix: *ginklúoti*, *slogúoti*, *gyvúoti*, *margúoti*, *dejúoti*, *alsúoti*, *akreditúoti*, *standartizúoti* [11: 51–53]. The following accentuation variants are established in the cases of some other verbs: *várpučiuoti* and *varpučiuoti*, *sánykiuoti* and *santykiuoti*.

**3.2.4.2.** The accentuation of the verbs with the variants of the suffix *-uoti* – polysyllabic suffixes *-uriuoti*, *-anduoti*, *-induoti*, *-unduoti*, *-uliuoti*, *-al(i)uoti*, *-ar(i)uoti*, *-er(i)uoti*, *-eliuoti*, *-ikuoti*, *-iniuoti* etc – considerably differs from the derivatives of the principal suffix *-uoti*. It is the group that includes the highest number of root accentuation cases (see Table 9):

Table 9.

Accentuation of Verbs with Polysyllabic Suffixes *-uoti*

Accentuation type	Number	Percentage
Suffix accentuation	112	67.1
Root accentuation	26	15.5
Double accentuation	29	17.4

The verbs of such type are usually derived from other verbs or onomatopoeic interjections. Their common derivational meaning denotes a non-intensive continuous or repetitive action or state. The accent of the stressed root of such verbs is circumflex and often undergoes metatony [2: 32–43; 3: 105; 5: 417–421; 6: 213; 9: 38; 11: 53]: *gaņgariuoti* (: *gąnga*), *dirbuliuoti* (: *dirbti*), *miņdžikuoti* (: *miņdo*, *miņdžioja*), *nỹkuluoti* (: *nỹkti*). However, two thirds of such derivatives are stressed on the suffix: *glėbesčiuoti*, *mataruoti*, *mosikuoti*, *skambaliuoti*, *slidiniuoti*, *tarškaliuoti*. The accentuation of 29 verbs in

the standard language is not settled: both accentuation variants are used: *giŗgžduliuoti* and *giŗgžduliuoti*, *klibinduoti* and *klibinduoti*, *lūkuriuoti* and *lūkuriuoti*, *plūduriuoti* and *plūduriuoti*, *sūkuriuoti* and *sūkuriuoti*, *žaižaruoti* and *žaižaruoti*, etc. In 2005 the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language corrected the accentuation of as many as 14 such verbs: a) new variants of popular suffix accentuation were approved; b) the former accentuation variants were interchanged – suffix accentuation was established as the principal type, while root accentuation was approved as the secondary variant.

**Conclusions:**

1. The accentuation properties of verbal suffixes in Standard Lithuanian are not identical. The accentuation type of suffixed verbs depends on various phonological, derivational and semantic factors: specific suffix or its allomorph, part of speech of the base word, derivational meaning, root vowel gradation, metatony, etc. Some suffixes encourage suffix accentuation of verbs, others prompt root accentuation, while the accentuation of some other suffixed derivatives is not settled. According to the prevalent accentuation type, suffixed verbs in Modern Lithuanian are divided into 4 groups.

2. The first group includes the verbs of dominant stressed suffixes *-enti*, *-inėti*, which are always stressed on the suffix.

3. The second group contains the verbs with the dominant unstressed weak verbal suffix *-telėti*, which are generally stressed on the root.

4. The third group consists of the verbs with variable-stress suffixes *-uoti*, *-auti*, *-ėti*, *-oti* variant *-(i)oti*, which are stressed on both the suffix and the root, but suffix accentuation is clearly the dominant pattern.

5. The fourth group contains the verbs of variable-accent suffixes *-inti*, *-yti* and *-ioti* variant *-(i)oti*, which are stressed on the suffix and the root but root accentuation prevails.

6. Modern Lithuanian show clear tendencies of narrowing the domain of root accentuation and expanding the domain of suffix accentuation. In respect of the requirements for systematisation and the tendencies of actual usage, in 2005 the State Commission of the Lithuanian Language corrected the accentuation norms of 104 verbs.



ენათმეცნიერება

## სუფიქსიანი ზმნების აქცენტუაციის სისტემა სტანდარტულ ლიტვურში

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