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NOMINAL COMPOUNDS WITH MOBILE STRESS IN LITHUANIAN DIALECTS¹

Abstract. The article describes nominal compounds assigned to mobile accent paradigm 3 (AP3) that are found in Lithuanian dialects. In these compounds, the stress alternates between the last and the first syllables, and it is assumed that they were assigned to the mobile accent paradigm due to the spread of secondary mobility. It is suggested that in Lithuanian dialects secondary mobility may arise in compounds with initial stress and, as a result, accentual variants with fixed stress and mobile stress exist in the same dialectal areas without semantic restriction. Later examples of accentual neomobility are found in Lithuanian dialects as well. In terms of semantics, mobile compounds are mostly verbal governing compounds and determinative compounds, i.e., nouns, and there is only a small group of originally adjectival compounds, i.e., possessive compounds. Another finding of the study pertains to the formal criterion of compounds, i.e., the linking element; in East and South Aukštaitian, there is a tendency to use linking elements in mobile compounds, while in West Aukštaitian as well as Žemaitian, the largest portion of mobile compounds do not include linking elements.

Keywords: Lithuanian dialects; accentology; nominal compounds; mobile accent paradigm; secondary mobility; linking element.

1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to describe nominal compounds (hereafter referred to as compounds), i.e., compounds that function as nouns and adjectives, found in Lithuanian dialects that are assigned to mobile accent paradigm 3 (AP3). In compounds of this accent paradigm, the stress alternates between

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the last and the first syllables, as shown in (1). In these compounds, the stress might originally have rested on the first syllable, but due to the spread of secondary mobility, they have been assigned to the mobile accent paradigm (AP3), see Larsson (2002b, 211ff.).

- 1) a. *bat-siuw-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘shoemaker’ (← *bāt-as* ‘shoe’ + *siū-ti* ‘to sew’)
- b. *bāt-siuw-ĩ* (acc.sg.) ‘shoemaker’

Compounds accented according to mobile AP3 and the spread of secondary mobility in compounds in Lithuanian dialects have never been thoroughly addressed, and only received mention in some works that address the accentuation of compounds in the Baltic languages (e.g., Larsson 2002b, 218–219; Pakerys 1994, 266ff.; Stundžia 2010; 2011; 2018, 56ff.).² Some dialectal mobile compounds are quoted in previous studies by Skardžius (1996 [1943], 412ff.; 1999 [1968], 517–518) and Wood (1930) as well, but the disadvantage of these older works is that the dialect material is not kept apart from examples found in old texts and standard language.

By contrast, in this article, the attempt will be made to systematically analyze mobile compounds accented according to AP3 used in Lithuanian dialects. Given that there is no thorough work exclusively devoted to dialectal compounds of this accentual paradigm, this study will be based on a collection of data compiled from all existing dialect dictionaries published in Lithuania in the last decades (see Sources).³

² In fact, dialectal compounds in Lithuanian have received relatively little attention. They are only briefly outlined in the standard handbooks on Modern Lithuanian dialects (see e.g., Zinkevičius 1966, 134–135), and the only study that analyzes compounds in Žemaitian is a short article by Grinaveckis (1980).

³ Due to time constraints, this study does not include compounds that can be found in dialectal texts and hence is based on the material attested only in dialect dictionaries. It should be mentioned that there is always an issue of dating the material when researching data attested in dialect dictionaries, since these sources include both older words and newer ones that might have been analogically formed or come from standard language. Furthermore, it is considered that older dictionaries in particular were edited by different editors and some examples may not have been included in these sources. Therefore, including more material from dialectal texts is one method that will allow the results of the analysis of material found in different dialectal sources to be compared in the future. For more discussion on dialect dictionaries, see e.g., Sakalauskiene (2014, 141–157); Zubaitienė (2014, 142–147).

In the analysis presented in this article, 268 unique compounds in Aukštaitian and 130 unique compounds in Žemaitian accented according to mobile AP3 will be included (for a general description and classification of Lithuanian dialects, see e.g., Balode, Holvoet 2001, 51–78). This study will also address accentual and morphological variants of the same mobile compounds found in Lithuanian dialects. In addition, examples of the so-called accentual neomobility will be briefly discussed here too. Compounds in this article will be written using the letters and signs of Modern Lithuanian orthography.

The next part of the article includes three sections. In Section 2, a general overview of compounds with mobile stress (AP3) in Lithuanian dialects will be outlined. Mobile compounds in Aukštaitian and Žemaitian will be addressed in Sections 3 and 4, respectively. The results of the study will be summarized in the conclusion of the article, i.e., Section 5.

2. Overview of dialectal compounds accented according to mobile AP3

Compounds in Lithuanian dialects accented according to mobile AP3 will be outlined in this section. As stated above, in these compounds, the stress alternates between the last and the first syllables, as presented in (2) and (3).

2) Aukštaitian:

- a. *duob-ia-kas-ỹs* (AP3^{4b}) ‘gravedigger’ (← *duob-ē* ‘pit’ + *kàs-ti* ‘to dig’) (VdŽ)
- b. *karv-ia-vag-ỹs, -ē* (AP3^{4a}) ‘cattle thief’ (← *kárv-é* ‘cow’ + *vôg-ti* ‘to steal’) (KpŽ)
- c. *pien-burn-ỹs* (AP3^a) ‘pup’ (← *píen-as* ‘milk’ + *burn-à* ‘mouth’) (DkšŽ)

3) Žemaitian:

- a. *krau-surb-ỹs, -ē* (AP3^b) ‘bloodsucker’ (← *kraūj-as* ‘blood’ + *siur̃b-ti* ‘to suck’) (DnŽ)
- b. *mieg-puv-ỹs, -ē* (AP3^b) ‘sleepyhead’ (← *miēg-as* ‘sleep’ + *pū-ti* ‘to rot’) (KrtnŽ)
- c. *žvak-dirb-ỹs, -ē* (AP3^b) ‘candlemaker’ (← *žvāk-é* ‘candle’ + *dirb-ti* ‘to work, to do’) (ŠvžŽ)

It should be noted that the accentuation of compounds in Lithuanian follows certain accent patterns that depend on original accent paradigms of words used as components in the compounds (see Larsson 2002b; Pakerys 1994, 272ff.). Hence, if the first component in the compound is based on a noun that is accented according to immobile accent paradigm 1 or 2, the stress will often rest on the first syllable in a compound and the tone of

the noun can be retained. The omission of linking elements is also seen in initially stressed compounds. For example, in *píen-puod-is* ‘milk can’, the first component is *píen-as* ‘milk’ (AP1) and thus in the compound, stress falls on the first syllable and the acute tone remains. By contrast, in a compound where the first component is a mobile word (AP3 or 4), the linking element will be generally stressed, as in *pirm-ã-dien-is* ‘Monday’ where the first component is a mobile *pirm-as, -à* (AP3) ‘first’.⁴

The results of this study show that in dialectal mobile compounds (AP3), the first components include words that are assigned to both immobile (AP1 or 2) and mobile (AP3 or 4) accent paradigms and thus no clear distribution can be discerned here. However, some words used as first components that are currently assigned to a mobile accent paradigm were originally immobile, suggesting that compounds including them might have been stressed initially, but were later affected by the spread of secondary mobility. For example, adjectives in Modern Lithuanian are mobile (AP3 or 4), but as is well known, a number of current mobile adjectives were originally immobile (see Skardžius 1999 [1968], 176–186). For more discussion, see Section 3.1.

One cannot rule out the possibility that the current situation, where there is no clear distribution regarding the accent paradigm of the first component in mobile compounds, is due to analogy when new compounds are formed following the accent patterns of the older ones. For example, in compounds where the second component includes *gāl-as* ‘end’, there is a clear tendency to have mobile stress irrespective of the accent paradigm of the first component. Hence, both mobile and immobile words can be included as first components. Furthermore, there is a tendency for agent nouns to be accented according to mobile AP3, and thus new compounds can be coined accordingly. Finally, one of the reasons could be the fact that the same words used in Lithuanian dialects can be accented according to different accent paradigms, and in some cases, it can be difficult to discern whether the first component is immobile (AP1 or 2) or mobile (AP3 or 4).

Moreover, aside from the above-mentioned mobile compounds (AP3) in Lithuanian dialects, there are accentual variants (AP1) of the same compounds that are stressed either on the first syllable or on a linking element. Thus,

⁴ In terms of semantics, compounds where stress is on the first component or a linking element are generally determinative compounds and verbal governing compounds in Lithuanian, while possessive compounds often carry the stress on the second component. For an original opposition between determinative compounds and possessive compounds mirrored in the accentuation in the Baltic languages, see Larsson (2002b, 206ff.).

variants with mobile stress are used with variants with fixed stress without semantic restriction in the same dialectal areas, though these accentual variants are more common in Aukštaitian. For example:

4) East Aukštaitian:

- a. AP3^{4b}: *grabl-ia-kot-ỹs* ‘rake handle’ (← *grēbl-ỹs* ‘rake’ + *kót-as* ‘handle’) (DvŽ)
- b. AP1: *grēbl-iā-kot-is* ‘rake handle’ (VdŽ)

5) South Žemaitian:

- a. AP3^a: *duon-kep-ỹs* ‘oven for baking bread; dough trough’ (← *dúon-a* ‘bread’ + *kēp-ti* ‘to bake’) (DnŽ)
- b. AP1: *dúon-kep-is* ‘oven for baking bread; dough trough’ (DnŽ)

In some cases in Lithuanian dialects, the stress variation in compounds with fixed stress is related to the accent paradigms of words used as first components. For example, the stress falls on a linking element when the first component is a mobile word (AP3 or 4), as in (4b), where *grēbl-ỹs* ‘rake’ is accented according to mobile AP3. These accentual variants will be discussed in Sections 3.1 and 4.1.

Furthermore, in Lithuanian dialects, there are later examples of mobile compounds that include more than three syllables and have accentual variants where the stress shifts from the last to the third syllable (or more rarely, to the fourth syllable) from the end, which is usually a linking element, and not the first syllable in a compound as expected. For example, the compounds presented in (6abc) are thus assigned to mobile AP3^b (instead of AP3^{4b}) or in some rare cases (6d), to mobile AP3^{4b} (instead of AP3^{5b}) and are examples of accentual neomobility in Lithuanian dialects. These compounds are exclusively found in Aukštaitian; there is only one example (6a) attested in the dictionaries of Žemaitian.

- 6) a. *arkl-a-lup-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘one who strips off a horse’s skin’ (← *arkl-ỹs* ‘horse’ + *lùp-ti* ‘strip off’) (ŠvžŽ)
- b. *ugn-ia-ges-ỹs* (AP3^{4b}, 3^b) ‘firefighter’ (← *ugn-is* ‘fire’ + *ges-in-ti* ‘to extinguish’) (KzRŽ)
- c. *vaik-a-gal-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘badly-behaved child’ (← *vaik-as* ‘child’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (KpŽ)
- d. *švent-a-vakar-ỹs* (AP3^{4b}) ‘evening between Christmas and Epiphany’ (← *švėnt-as*, -à ‘holy’ + *vākar-as* ‘evening’) (DvŽ)

According to Stundžia (2010, 212ff.; 2011), accentual neomobility in Lithuanian mostly affects tetrasyllabic compounds with the linking element

-a- or a disyllabic first component that could be the result of the tendency to shift stress from the first to the adjacent syllable in a compound. Thus, the same compounds with mobile stress can have accentual variants, i.e., a variant assigned to AP3^{4ab} when the stress alternates between the last and the first syllables, and a newer variant assigned to AP3^{ab} with the stress shifting from the last to the third syllable from the end. For a thorough analysis and discussion of accentual neomobility in Lithuanian, see Stundžia (2010, 212ff.; 2011; 2018, 56ff.).

The trigger for the spread of accentual neomobility in Lithuanian dialects was most likely immobile variants (AP1) with stressed linking elements. For example, alongside mobile variants, *vaik-a-gal-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘badly-behaved child’ (← *vaik-as* ‘child’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (KpŽ) and *arkl-a-lup-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘one who strips off a horse’s skin’ (ŠvžŽ), one can find *vaik-à-gal-ys* (AP1) ‘badly-behaved child’ (KpŽ) and *arkl-ā-lup-is* (AP1) ‘one who strips off a horse’s skin’ (ŠvžŽ). In these compounds (AP1), the stress rests on a linking element, since the first component is based on a mobile word (AP3 or 4); in *vaik-à-gal-ys* (AP1) (KpŽ), the first component is a mobile noun *vaik-as* ‘child’ (AP4), and in *arkl-ā-lup-is* (AP1) (ŠvžŽ), the first component includes *arkl-ỹs* (AP3). Likewise, in compounds affected by accentual neomobility, the first component is often a mobile word (AP3 or 4). It can thus be concluded that in Lithuanian dialects, accentual neomobility has been mostly affecting mobile compounds with first components based on mobile words (AP3 or 4) and therefore, linking elements are expected to be stressed (see also Stundžia 2010, 214–215).

The lack of examples of accentual neomobility in Žemaitian can be explained by the fact that compounds in this dialect are most often coined without linking elements, while accentual neomobility mainly affects tetrasyllabic compounds with the linking element -a- or a disyllabic first component (for more discussion on the use of linking elements in compounds in Lithuanian dialects, see Bukelskytė-Čepelė, forthc.).

Finally, from a semantic point of view, compounds in Lithuanian dialects accented according to mobile AP3 are mainly verbal governing compounds and determinative compounds, while there are only a few possessive compounds of this mobile type.⁵ More specifically, in Žemaitian, the largest group of

⁵ For the different semantic types of Lithuanian nominal compounds, see e.g., Larson (2002b), Stundžia (2016, 3091–3093; 2020, 69ff.).

mobile compounds (130x) includes the verbal governing compounds (74x). Then there are determinative compounds (48x) where noun compounds based on *gāl-as* ‘end’ as the second component constitute almost half of all mobile determinative compounds (19x). Lastly, several possessive compounds with mobile stress (8x) are found in Žemaitian as well, but examples of this kind are not common. Likewise, in Aukštaitian, almost half of all compounds with mobile stress (268x) are determinative compounds (128x) where compounds that include *gāl-as* as the second component constitute a large sub-group (63x). Another type is verbal governing compounds with 121 examples. The smallest group of compounds with mobile stress includes possessive compounds where only 19 compounds are accented according to mobile AP3. For example:

7) a. Verbal governing compound:

Žemaitian: *nos-šnypst-ỹs* (AP3^a) ‘handkerchief’ (← *nós-is* ‘nose’ + *šnypst-ti* ‘to blow’) (DnŽ)

Aukštaitian: *nag-a-grauž-ỹs, -ė* (AP3^{4b}) ‘miser’ (← *nāg-as* ‘nail’ + *gráuž-ti* ‘to gnaw’) (KltŽ)

b. Determinative compound:

Žemaitian: *med-gal-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘stick’ (← *mēd-is* ‘tree’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (DnŽ)

Aukštaitian: *sniēg-a-gal-iaĩ* (nom.pl.) (AP3^{4b}) ‘snow remnants’ (← *sniēg-as* ‘snow’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (KpŽ)

c. Possessive compound

Žemaitian: *žiem-plauk-ỹs, -ė* (AP3^b) ‘having winter hair’ (← *žiem-à* ‘winter’ + *pláu-k-as* ‘hair’) (DnŽ)

Aukštaitian: *verst-ak-ỹs, -ė* (AP3^b) ‘google-eyed’ (← *veřs-ti* ‘to turn inside out’ + *ak-is* ‘eye’) (KpŽ)

As pointed out by Larsson (2002b, 218–219), in Lithuanian, the spread of secondary mobility was remarkably productive in verbal governing compounds (with the second verbal component). Senn (1966, 341) also notes that the mobile type is more common in the verbal governing compounds that denote living beings. As can be inferred from the compounds in Lithuanian dialects analyzed in this study, the mobile type is very common in the verbal governing compounds that are agent nouns and instrument nouns, while it is less common in action nouns, as presented in (8). However, in many cases, both agent nouns and action nouns can be accented according to mobile AP3

as well as immobile AP1, thus suggesting that the contrastive accent between agent nouns and action nouns might have existed originally, but that this state has been later blurred by analogical developments.

- 8) a. agent noun: *lin-a-bruk-ỹs*, $-\tilde{e}$ (AP3^{4b}) ‘one who is swingling flax’ (← *lin-as* ‘flax’ + *brũk-ti* ‘to swingle’) (KpŽ)
 b. action noun: *lin-à-bruk-ys* (AP1) ‘time when people swingle flax’ (KpŽ)
- a. agent noun: *peč-kur-ỹs*, $-\tilde{e}$ (AP3^b) ‘one who is lighting the fire’ (← *peč-ius* ‘stove’ + *kuř-ti* ‘to light the fire’) (KpŽ)
 b. action noun: *peč-ia-kur-ys* (AP1) ‘time for lighting the fire’ (KpŽ)

Hence, compounds in Lithuanian dialects that are accented according to mobile AP3 are mostly verbal governing compounds and determinative compounds. It can be concluded that the spread of secondary mobility has been productive only in certain semantic groups of compounds in Lithuanian dialects, namely in verbal governing compounds and determinative compounds (especially those with *gāl-as* ‘end’ as the second component), while it was not common in possessive compounds.

This difference can be explained by the place of the stress in a compound. As it will be suggested in Sections 3.1 and 4.1 the spread of secondary mobility has mostly affected initially stressed compounds, namely verbal governing compounds and determinative compounds. By contrast, possessive compounds that tend to be stressed on the second component in Lithuanian, have been affected to a lesser degree.

3. Compounds with mobile stress (AP3) in Aukštaitian

3.1. Accentual variants

In this section, compounds in Aukštaitian that are accented according to mobile AP3 will be addressed. As mentioned above, it is often the case that compounds that belong to mobile AP3 and end in $-\tilde{y}s$ (m.)/ $-\tilde{e}$ (f.)⁶ have accentual variants that are accented according to AP1 and thus have stress on the first syllable. Due to space restrictions, only a representative selection of examples is given below:

⁶ From an etymological standpoint, compounds in Modern Lithuanian are extended by the compositional suffix $-is/-ỹs$ (m.), $-ė$ (f.) (< PB $*-ijās/*-ijā$) that is a shared feature of Baltic nominal compounds (see Endzelīns 1951, 262–263; Forssman 2001, 232–233; Larsson 2002b, 205, 209–211).

- 9) AP3 and AP1 (stress on the first syllable):
- a. AP3^b: *dvi-rat-ys* ‘bicycle’ (← *dù, dvi* ‘two’ + *rāt-as* ‘wheel’) (PpaŽ)
 - b. AP1: *dvi-rat-is* ‘bicycle’ (PpaŽ)

 - a. AP3^{4b}: *knyg-a-tais-ys, -ė* ‘bookbinder’ (← *knyg-à* ‘book’ + *tais-y-ti* ‘to fix’) (KpŽ)
 - b. AP1: *knyg-a-tais-ys, -ė* ‘bookbinder’ (KpŽ)

 - a. AP3^b: *kryž-kel-ė* ‘crossroads’ (← *kryž-ius* ‘cross’ + *kėl-ias* ‘road’) (ZnŽ)
 - b. AP1: *kryž-kel-ė* ‘crossroads’ (ZnŽ)

 - a. AP3^b: *laik-rašt-ys* ‘newspaper’ (← *laik-as* ‘time’ + *rāšt-as* ‘writing’) (VdŽ)
 - b. AP1: *laik-rašt-is* ‘newspaper’ (VdŽ)

 - a. AP3^b: *laik-rod-ys* ‘clock’ (← *laik-as* ‘time’ + *ród-y-ti* ‘to show’) (VdŽ)
 - b. AP1: *laik-rod-is* ‘clock’ (VdŽ)

 - a. AP3^{4b}: *rud-a-mės-ys* ‘Milk cap, a mushroom’ (← *rūd-as, -à* ‘brown’ + *mės-à* ‘flesh’) (DvŽ)
 - b. AP1: *rūd-a-mės-is* ‘Milk cap, a mushroom’ (DvŽ)

 - a. AP3^b: *skers-pjūv-ė* ‘cross-cut saw’ (← *skers-ai* ‘across’ + *pjáu-ti* ‘to cut’) (ZnŽ)
 - b. AP1: *skeřs-pjūv-ė* ‘cross-cut saw’ (ZnŽ)

 - a. AP3^a: *vien-kiem-ys* ‘homestead’ (← *vien-as, -à* ‘one, single’ + *kiēm-as* ‘yard’) (KpŽ)
 - b. AP1: *vien-kiem-ys* ‘homestead’ (KpŽ)

 - a. AP3^{4b}: *žol-a-tak-ys* ‘plant, *Polygonum aviculare*’ (← *žol-ė* ‘grass’ + *tāk-as* ‘pathway’) (DrskŽ)
 - b. AP1: *žōl-a-tak-is* ‘plant, *Polygonum aviculare*’ (DrskŽ)

Furthermore, there are a few mobile compounds (AP3) that end in *-a* and have an accentual variant with immobile stress. For example:

⁷ Note that in some areas of East Aukštaitian (e.g., the region of *Kupiškėnai*), an ending *-is* of mobile and immobile nouns and adjectives of masculine gender is pronounced as *-ys*, cf. SL *bról-is* ‘brother’ and EAukšt. *bról-ys* ‘brother’, see Zinkevičius (1966, 216–217). This is why in this article, compounds that end in unstressed *-is* in the other dialects or Standard Lithuanian are written *-ys* in the corresponding examples from the East Aukštaitian *Kupiškėnai* subdialect, e.g., *vien-kiem-ys* (AP1) ‘homestead’ (← *vien-as* ‘one, single’ + *kiēm-as* ‘yard’) (KpŽ).

- 10) AP3 and AP1 (stress on the first syllable):
 a. AP3^b: *lab-dar-à* ‘charity’ (← *lāb-as* ‘welfare’ + *dar-ý-ti* ‘to do’) (PpaŽ)
 b. AP1: *lāb-dar-a* ‘charity’ (PpaŽ)

The accentual variants presented above in (9)–(10) suggest that the variants with stress on the last syllable are later cases and that they are the result of the spread of secondary mobility that has affected compounds with initial stress in Aukštaitian. Thus, in Aukštaitian, the spread of secondary mobility has mostly affected initially stressed noun compounds where the stress shifted from the first syllable to the last syllable. In this way, a number of immobile compounds have been transferred to the mobile accent paradigm, namely AP3. If a compound that received a new stress ended in *-is*, the ending was lengthened to *-ỹs*, as presented in (9). Thus, in Aukštaitian, as a result of the spread of secondary mobility, both accentual variants that end in *-is* and *-ỹs* can still coexist without semantic restriction.

Furthermore, as shown in Section 2, there are several mobile compounds (AP3) that have an immobile variant (AP1) where the stress rests on a linking element as well.⁸ These variants with stressed linking elements are mostly found in East Aukštaitian, in the region of *Kupiškėnai* in particular, where a strong tendency to coin compounds with linking elements is seen (see Bukelskytė-Čepelė, forthc.).

On the one hand, it can be proposed that the spread of secondary mobility has even affected compounds with linking elements, which were originally stressed, i.e., when the first component was based on a word accented according to mobile AP3 or 4. For example, in compounds where the first component is mobile, like *arkl-ỹs* (AP3) or *galv-à* (AP3), the stress originally rested on a linking element, but due to the spread of secondary mobility, the stress moved to the last syllable, as suggested above. In some cases, as provided below (11), both accentual variants are still found in Aukštaitian.

- 11) a. AP1: *arkl-ià-vag-ys* ‘horse thief’ (← *arkl-ỹs* ‘horse’ + *vag-is* ‘thief’) (KpŽ)
 b. AP3^{4a}: *arkl-ia-vag-ỹs* ‘horse thief’ (KpŽ)
- a. AP1: *galv-à-žud-ys*, *-ė* ‘murderer’ (← *galv-à* ‘head’ + *žud-ý-ti* ‘to kill’) (KpŽ)
 b. AP3^{4a}: *galv-a-žud-ỹs*, *-ė* ‘murderer’ (KpŽ)

⁸ For accentual variants of this kind in colloquial Lithuanian, see e.g., Stundžia (2013, 22; 2018, 57).

On the other hand, in several immobile compounds (AP1) with stressed linking elements, the stress might originally have rested on the first syllable and not the linking element.⁹ Therefore, it can be suggested that the spread of secondary mobility has firstly affected a variant with initial stress. As can be inferred from the material found in older texts, some words used as first components in compounds were immobile and only later shifted to the mobile paradigm. For example:

12) *sen-as*, *-a* ‘old’

SL *sēn-as*, *-à* (AP4); both immobile and mobile in M. Daukša’s texts (see Illich-Svitych 1979, 43)

a. AP1: *sen-à-gal-ys* ‘waning moon’ (← *sēn-as*, *-à* ‘old’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (KpŽ)

b. AP3^{4b}: *sen-a-gal-ys* ‘waning moon’ (KpŽ)

An adjective *sēn-as*, *-à* ‘old’ is accented according to mobile AP4 in Modern Lithuanian and hence there is a variant with the stressed linking element used in Aukštaitian, i.e., *sen-à-gal-ys* (AP1) ‘waning moon’ (KpŽ). However, as it is known from the older texts, *sēn-as* had immobile stress as well and was accented according to immobile AP2 (see Illich-Svitych 1979, 43). Thus, this compound might originally have carried the stress on the first syllable, which was later affected by the spread of the secondary mobility that triggered the stress shift to the final syllable.

It should also be noted that in both compounds with fixed and mobile stress in Modern Lithuanian, there is a tendency to shift the stress from the first syllable to the syllable closer to the juncture or a linking element (see Stundžia 2010, 217; 2014, 116–117; 2018, 57). This may suggest the reason that accentual variants with stressed linking elements exist in Lithuanian dialects, although in some compounds, linking elements are not expected to be stressed from an etymological standpoint.

Furthermore, in Aukštaitian, the spread of secondary mobility has even affected some compounds that were accented according to immobile AP2 where the stress first rested on the penultimate syllable, namely compounds that can also be used as adjectives.¹⁰ For example:

⁹ For an original distribution of linking elements in compounds in Lithuanian, see Larsson (2002a).

¹⁰ A few compounds that first carried the stress on the penultimate syllable and were later affected by the spread of secondary mobility, are now stressed according to mobile

- 13) AP3 and AP2 (stress on the penultimate syllable):
 a. AP3^b: *ožk-a-barzd-ỹs*¹¹ ‘anemone’ (← *ožk-à* ‘goat’ + *barzd-à* ‘beard’) (DrskŽ)
 b. AP2: *ožk-a-bařzd-is* ‘anemone’ (DrskŽ)

In the region of *Kupiškėnai* (East Aukštaitian), the spread of secondary mobility has affected a few more possessive compounds where the second component was based on *ak-is* ‘eye’. For example:

- 14) a. *dvyl-ak-ỹs*, *-ẽ* (AP3^b) ‘one having dark eyes’ (← *dvyl-as*, *-à* ‘reddish brown, dark’ + *ak-is* ‘eye’)
 b. *pikt-ak-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘perch’ (← *pikt-as*, *-à*, ‘angry’ + *ak-is* ‘eye’)
 c. *rud-ak-ỹs*, *-ẽ* (AP3^b) ‘one having brown eyes’ (← *rud-as*, *-à* ‘brown’ + *ak-is* ‘eye’)
 d. *varl-iak-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘open wound between toes’ (← *varl-ẽ* ‘frog’ + *ak-is* ‘eye’)

Lastly, in a few noun compounds with the stress on the penultimate syllable, the stress seems to have moved to the final syllable as well.¹² For example:

- 15) AP3 and AP1 (stress on the penultimate syllable):
 a. AP3^b: *med-šerk-ẽ*, *med-šark-ẽ* ‘bird, *Lanius*’ (← *mẽd-is* ‘tree’ + *šárk-a* ‘magpie’) (ZnŽ)
 b. AP1: *med-šérk-é* ‘bird, *Lanius*’ (ZnŽ)
 a. AP3: *pel-éd-à* ‘owl’ (← *pel-ẽ* ‘mouse’ + *és-ti* ‘to eat (usually refers to animals)’) (PpaŽ)
 b. AP1: *pel-éd-a* ‘owl’ (PpaŽ)

AP4, e.g., *veid-main-is*, *-é* (AP2) ‘hypocrite’ (← *véid-as* ‘face’ + *main-ý-ti* ‘to change’) (ZnŽ) and *veid-main-ỹs*, *-ẽ* (AP4) ‘hypocrite’ (KzRŽ), *sav-a-nôr-is*, *-é* (AP2) ‘volunteer’ (← cf. *sáv-o* (gen.sg.) ‘one’s’ + *nór-as* ‘wish’) (PpaŽ) and *sav-a-nor-ỹs*, *-ẽ* (AP4) ‘volunteer’ (PpaŽ).

¹¹ This compound was originally an adjective meaning ‘having a goat’s beard’ that was later substantivized and used as a noun ‘one who has a goat’s beard, anemone’ (see Larsson 2002b, 208).

¹² Note that in East Aukštaitian, there are a few noun compounds that have an unusual variant with stress on the second component (AP2) in addition to the regular variants with the stress on the first syllable (AP1) and a variant with secondary mobility (AP3), e.g., *lap-a-křit-ys* (AP2) ‘November’ (← *lāp-as* ‘leaf’ + *křis-ti* ‘to fall down’) (KpŽ), *ũlyč-gāl-ys* (AP2) ‘the end of a village’ (← *ũlyč-ià* ‘village’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (KpŽ).

In summary, the accentual variants discussed above suggest that the spread of secondary mobility has mostly affected initially stressed noun compounds in Aukštaitian. It was also argued in this section that the spread of secondary mobility affected some compounds with stress on the penultimate syllable or compounds with originally stressed linking elements. It can thus be concluded that in Aukštaitian, the spread of secondary mobility firstly affected compounds with initial stress and then later even affected some compounds with non-initial stress.

In the next section, morphological variants of compounds accented according to mobile AP3 will be addressed. It will be argued that the spread of secondary mobility has affected only certain morphological types of compounds in Aukštaitian.

3.2. Morphological variants

As was argued above, in Aukštaitian, compounds with mobile stress (AP3) can have accentual variants, which shows to what extent the spread of secondary mobility has affected different types of compounds. In this section, the formal properties of compounds accented according to mobile AP3 will be analyzed.

Firstly, in terms of the formal properties, the largest group includes compounds that end in $-\tilde{y}s$ (m.)/ $-\tilde{e}$ (f.), and these compounds can have morphological variants that function without semantic restriction in the same dialectal area. Hence, there is a vacillation between mobile compounds (AP3) that end in $-\tilde{y}s$ / $-\tilde{e}$ and those that end in $-a$ or $-as$, as presented in (16).¹³ In addition, in Aukštaitian, compounds ending in $-\tilde{y}s$ and $-\tilde{e}$ (17) are also used interchangeably, although compounds that end in $-\tilde{y}s$ are generally prevalent in this dialectal area. It may be concluded that in Aukštaitian, the spread of secondary mobility has mostly affected compounds that end in $-\tilde{y}s$ / $-\tilde{e}$.

- 16) a. *aut-skar- $\tilde{y}s$* (AP3^b) ‘puttee’ (← *aūt-as* ‘foot-cloth’ + *skar-à* ‘shawl’) (KpŽ)
 b. *aūt-skar-as* (AP3^b) ‘puttee’ (KpŽ)
- a. *juod-bruv- $\tilde{y}s$, - \tilde{e}* (AP3^a) ‘dark-haired’ (← *júod-as*, $-\tilde{a}$ ‘dark’ + *brùv-è* ‘eyebrow’) (ZnŽ)
 b. *júod-bruv-as, - \tilde{a}* (AP3^a) ‘dark-haired’ (ZnŽ)

¹³ There is one case in which a compound that ends in $-as$ is used alongside a variant with $-a$ without semantic restriction: *vqš-kar-as* (AP3^b) ‘wire with a hook to hang a kettle’ (← *vqš-as* ‘hook’ + *kar-ó-ti* ‘to dangle’) (ZnŽ), *vqš-kar-à* (AP3^b) (ZnŽ) and *vqš-kar-a* (AP1) (ZnŽ).

- 17) a. *kiau-niež-ẽ* (AP3^b) ‘boil’ (← *kiaũl-é* ‘pig’ + *niež-aĩ* (nom.pl.) ‘scabies’) (KpŽ)
 b. *kiau-niež-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘boil’ (KpŽ)
- a. *rud-a-mės-ẽ* (AP3^{4b}) ‘Milk cap, a mushroom’ (← *rũd-as*, *-à* ‘brown’ + *mės-à* ‘flesh’) (DvŽ)
 b. *rud-a-mės-ỹs* (AP3^{4b}) ‘Milk cap, a mushroom’ (DvŽ)

Secondly, compounds in Aukštaitian accented according to mobile AP3 can be coined with and without linking elements between the components where the most common linking element is *-(i)a-*. The results of this study show that in the dictionaries of Aukštaitian, there are 119 unique compounds with linking elements, 122 examples without linking elements, and 27 compounds that have both variants, namely with and without a linking element. For example:

- 18) a. *duon-a-kep-ẽ* (AP3^{4a}) ‘dough trough’ (← *dũon-a* ‘bread’ + *kẽp-ti* ‘to bake’) (KltŽ)
 b. *duon-kep-ẽ* (AP3^a) ‘dough trough’ (KpŽ)
- a. *smail-a-gal-ỹs* (AP3^{4b}) ‘thin end’ (← *smail-as*, *-à* ‘thin’ + *gãl-as* ‘end’) (KpŽ)
 b. *smai-gal-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘thin end’ (KpŽ)

A closer examination of the use of linking elements in mobile compounds (AP3) revealed the tendency to use compounds with linking elements in East and South Aukštaitian, while in West Aukštaitian, mobile compounds without linking elements dominate (see Bukelskytė-Čepelė, *forthc.*); for a summary of the results, see Table 1.

Table 1. **The use of linking elements in mobile compounds (AP3) in Aukštaitian**¹⁴

Subdialect of Aukštaitian	Compounds with LE	Compounds without LE	Variants with and without LE	Total number (AP3)
East Aukštaitian	146x (59%)	96x (39%)	6x (2%)	248x
South Aukštaitian	40x (68%)	19x (32%)	-	59x
West Aukštaitian	20x (14%)	125x (85%)	2x (1%)	147x
Total	206x	240x	8x	454x

¹⁴ If the same compounds were used in different regions of Aukštaitian, they were counted separately as unique compounds.

For example, in the region of *Kaltanėnai* (East Aukštaitian), 27 compounds are accented according to mobile AP3 where only one of the examples has no linking element between the components. In contrast, 63 mobile compounds in the region of *Zanavykai* (West Aukštaitian) are coined without linking elements and only 10 compounds have linking elements. This opposition between East/South Aukštaitian and West Aukštaitian is illustrated with examples in (19).

- 19) a. East Aukštaitian: *lent-a-gal-ỹs* (AP3^{4b}) ‘end of a plank’ (← *lent-à* ‘plank’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (KltŽ)
 b. West Aukštaitian: *lent-gal-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘end of a plank’ (ZnŽ)

It will be argued in Section 4.2 that in Žemaitian, compounds that are accented according to mobile AP3 are generally coined without linking elements. Hence, in terms of the use of linking elements, compounds with mobile stress (AP3) in West Aukštaitian correspond to the mobile compounds (AP3) in Žemaitian in a way.

Lastly, it can be noted that the tendency of West Aukštaitian to coin mobile compounds without linking elements is already seen from the compounds attested by F. Kuršaitis in his description of Lithuanian accentuation from the year 1849, see Kuršaitis (2013 [1849], 81–82). For example:

- 20) a. *auks-kal-ỹs* <aukfkalỹs> ‘goldsmith’ (← *áuks-as* ‘gold’ + *kál-ti* ‘to forge’)
 b. *bad-mir-ỹs* <badmirỹs> ‘one who is dying of famine’ (← *bād-as* ‘famine’ + *miř-ti* ‘to die’)
 c. *krau-leid-ỹs* <krauleidỹs> ‘one who depletes the blood’ (← *kraũj-as* ‘blood’ + *lėis-ti* ‘to let’)
 d. *vor-tinkl-ỹs* <wortinklỹs> ‘cobweb’ (← *vór-as* ‘spider’ + *tiñkl-as* ‘net’)
 e. *žmog-žud-ỹs* <žmogžudỹs> ‘murderer’ (← *žmog-ūs* ‘human being’ + *žud-ỹ-ti* ‘to kill’)

To sum up, the spread of secondary mobility has affected compounds with and without linking elements in Aukštaitian, and thus, some compounds with mobile stress can have several morphological and accentual variants in different Lithuanian dialects. For example, in South Aukštaitian, both *vór-a-tinkl-is* (AP1) ‘cobweb’ (← *vór-as* ‘spider’ + *tiñkl-as* ‘net’) (DrskŽ) and a variant with secondary mobility, *vor-a-tinkl-ỹs* (AP3^{4a}) ‘cobweb’ (DrskŽ), are used where a strong tendency to preserve or even restore linking elements is

seen.¹⁵ In contrast, in West Aukštaitian, where mobile compounds without linking elements are prevalent, variants without linking elements of the same compounds are found, namely a variant with initial stress and a variant with mobile stress, e.g., *vór-tinkl-is* (AP1) ‘cobweb’ (ZnŽ) and *vor-tinkl-ỹs* (AP3^a) ‘cobweb’ (ZnŽ), respectively. Lastly, in East Aukštaitian, one finds another variant with a stressed linking element, i.e., *vor-ã-tinkl-is* (AP1) ‘cobweb’ (VdŽ), where the first component is most likely formed with a mobile noun *vór-as* ‘spider’ (AP3). For a discussion on compounds of this kind, see Section 3.1.

Hence, it may be concluded that to account for the different morphological and accentual variants of the same compounds in Aukštaitian, it is important to take into account the compositional system of each subdialect separately. It will be argued in Section 4 that compounds found in Aukštaitian, East and South Aukštaitian in particular, will have contrasting variants in Žemaitian due to the different tendencies of compounding that exist in that dialectal area.

4. Compounds with mobile stress (AP3) in Žemaitian

4.1. Accentual variants

In this section, compounds in Žemaitian accented according to mobile AP3 will be addressed. As was the case in Aukštaitian, mobile compounds (AP3) in Žemaitian can have a variant (AP1) with immobile stress. Hence, there are cases when a mobile variant (AP3) is used alongside an immobile variant (AP1) with the stress on the first syllable, without semantic restriction. For example:

21) AP3 and AP1 (stress on the first syllable):

a. AP3^b: *knyg-neš-ỹs* ‘book smuggler’ (← *knyg-à* ‘book’ + *nėš-ti* ‘to carry’) (ŠvžŽ)

b. AP1: *knỹg-neš-is* ‘book smuggler’ (ŠvžŽ)

a. AP3^b: *krait-vež-ỹs* ‘person transporting the bride’s dowry to the bridegroom’s home (in traditional Lithuanian weddings)’ (← *krait-is* ‘dowry’ + *vėž-ti* ‘to convey’) (ŠvžŽ)

b. AP1: *krait-vež-is* ‘person transporting the bride’s dowry to the bridegroom’s home (in traditional Lithuanian weddings)’ (ŠvžŽ)

¹⁵ This compound has a variant accented according to immobile AP2 too: *vor-a-tiĩkl-is* ‘cobweb’ (DrskŽ).

a. AP3^a: *pirm-gal-ỹs* ‘front part of the carriage or the ship’ (← *pirm-as*, -à ‘first’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (DnŽ)

b. AP1: *pirm-gal-is* ‘front part of the carriage or the ship’ (DnŽ)

a. AP3^a: *ryt-met-ỹs* ‘morning’ (← *ryt-as* ‘morning’ + *mēt-as* ‘time’) (ŠvžŽ)

b. AP1: *ryt-met-is* ‘morning’ (ŠvžŽ)

a. AP3^b: *žem-uog-ė* ‘wild strawberry’ (← *žēm-ė* ‘ground’ + *úog-a* ‘berry’) (ŠvžŽ)

b. AP1: *žēm-uog-ė* ‘wild strawberry’ (ŠvžŽ)

Additionally, a compound accented according to mobile AP3 can have immobile variants (AP1) than end in *-is* and *-a*. For example:

22) AP3 and AP1 (stress on the first syllable):

a. AP3^b: *žmog-pjov-ỹs* ‘murderer’ (← *žmog-ùs* ‘human being’ + *pjáu-ti* ‘to cut’) (DnŽ)

b. AP1: *žmōg-pjov-is, -ė* ‘murderer’ (DnŽ)

c. AP1: *žmōg-pjov-a* ‘murderer’ (DnŽ)

The accentual variants in Žemaitian presented above in (21)–(22) suggest that the spread of secondary mobility has affected a number of immobile compounds (AP1) that, as a result, have been transferred to the mobile accent paradigm (AP3). In the transcribed examples in the dialect dictionaries, the immobile compounds have no secondary stress that may indicate that the stress was retracted to the first syllable.¹⁶ This shows that the stress was originally on the first syllable and not the final syllable in compounds of this kind. Furthermore, if a compound ended in *-is*, the *-is* was lengthened to *-ỹs* when the stress was moved to the ending. Hence, the spread of secondary mobility has affected immobile compounds not only in Aukštaitian, but also Žemaitian where immobile variants (AP1) of the same compounds are still used alongside variants (AP3) with mobile stress.

In Section 4.2, morphological variants of the same compounds in Žemaitian accented according to mobile AP3 will be addressed. It will be

¹⁶ In Žemaitian, compounds are affected by stress retraction from the last non-acute syllables (for stress retraction in Žemaitian, see e.g., Zinkevičius 1966, 37ff.). Note that in the dialect dictionaries examined for this study, stress retraction is not visible from the compounds given as headwords that have been adapted to the spelling of the Standard Lithuanian orthography, but it can be discerned from the transcribed examples in the same dictionaries instead.

shown that these compounds differ in terms of their form in comparison to the mobile compounds (AP3) in Aukštaitian analyzed above.

4.2. Morphological variants

In this section, compounds in Žemaitian accented according to mobile AP3 will be analyzed in terms of their formal properties. As in Aukštaitian, the largest group of compounds with mobile stress (23ab) include compounds that end in *-ỹs* (m.)/*-ẽ* (f.). There are compounds that end in *-à*/*-as* (23c) as well, but they are not common. For example:

- 23) a. *kryž-dirb-ỹs*, *-ẽ* (AP3^b) ‘one who makes crosses’ (← *kryž-ius* ‘cross’ + *dirb-ti* ‘to work, to do’) (DnŽ̃)
 b. *pirm-mig-ỹs* (AP3^a) ‘first sleep’ (← *pirm-as*, *-à* ‘first’ + *mig-ti* ‘to fall asleep’) (ŠvžŽ̃)
 c. *šalt-mir-à* (AP3^a) ‘one who always freezes’ (← *šalt-is* ‘cold’ + *mir-ti* ‘to die’) (ŠvžŽ̃)

Furthermore, in Žemaitian, there is a vacillation between the above-mentioned types of compounds. For example, there are a few compounds that end in *-ỹs* that have a variant in *-à* (24). Likewise, in some cases, there is an alternation between compounds that end in *-à* and *-as*, as presented in (25). However, as was the case in Aukštaitian, compounds with mobile stress that end in *-ỹs*/*-ẽ* are prevalent in this area, and it can thus be concluded that the spread of secondary mobility has mostly affected compounds that end in *-ỹs*/*-ẽ*.

- 24) a. *lauk-neš-ỹs* (AP3^b) ‘wooden vessel that was used for carrying food or water to workers in the field’ (← *lauk-as* ‘field’ + *nėš-ti* ‘to carry’) (DnŽ̃)
 b. *lauk-neš-à* (AP3^b) ‘wooden vessel that was used for carrying food or water to workers in the field’ (KrtnŽ̃)
- 25) a. *rās-kil-as* (AP3^b) ‘Lady’s mantle, a plant’ (← *ras-à* ‘dew’ + *kėl-ti* ‘to lift’) (ŠvžŽ̃)
 b. *ras-kil-à* (AP3^b) ‘Lady’s mantle, a plant’ (DnŽ̃)

As argued in Section 3.2, a large number of compounds with mobile stress in East and South Aukštaitian included linking elements, whereas in West Aukštaitian, the largest portion of compounds accented according to mobile AP3 were not coined with linking elements. Similarly, in Žemaitian, compounds with mobile stress are generally coined without linking elements (with only two exceptions) where the first component often includes only

one syllable. Hence, this conclusion is in line with the general tendency in Žemaitian to coin compounds without linking elements (see Bukelskytė-Čepelė, *forthc.*). For example:

- 26) a. Žemaitian: *tauk-gal-iaī* (nom.pl.) (AP3^b) ‘bad fat; rest of the fat’ (← *táuk-as* ‘fat’ + *gāl-as* ‘end’) (DnŽ)
b. East Aukštaitian: *tauk-a-gal-ỹs* (3^{4a}) ‘bad fat; rest of the fat’ (KpŽ)

All in all, in Žemaitian, just as in Aukštaitian, one can find morphological variants when the same compound accented according to mobile AP3 have variants that end in *-ỹs/-ẽ* as well as in *-à* and *-as*. However, as it was argued in this section, mobile compounds with *-ỹs/-ẽ* were prevalent in Žemaitian thus suggesting that the spread of secondary mobility has mostly affected compounds of this kind. It was concluded that in Žemaitian, there is a tendency to coin mobile compounds without linking elements, as was the case in West Aukštaitian, while mobile compounds with linking elements were predominant in East and South Aukštaitian.

5. Conclusion

The aim of this article was to describe nominal compounds found in Lithuanian dialects that were assigned to mobile accent paradigm 3 where stress alternated between the first and last syllables. In this study, 268 unique compounds in Aukštaitian and 130 unique compounds in Žemaitian were included.

The accent paradigms of words used as first components in mobile compounds were analyzed and it was concluded that both immobile (AP1 or 2) and mobile (AP3 or 4) words can be included. However, it was suggested that some mobile words used as first components were originally immobile and thus that these compounds may have carried the stress on the first syllable, which triggered the spread of secondary mobility.

The accentual variation of mobile compounds in Lithuanian dialects was also discussed in this study. It was argued that both variants with mobile and fixed stress exist in the same dialectal areas without semantic restriction as a result of the spread of secondary mobility. It was suggested that the spread of secondary mobility has firstly affected initially stressed noun compounds, i.e., verbal governing compounds and some determinative compounds. Due to the spread of secondary mobility, stress shifted to the last syllable in a compound, and if a compound ended in *-is*, it was lengthened to *-ỹs*. Adjectival compounds, i.e., possessive compounds, that tend to be stressed on the second component have been affected to a lesser degree.

Later examples of accentual neomobility were also briefly addressed in this article. It was argued that these compounds were exclusively found in Aukštaitian most likely due to the fact that accentual neomobility affects mobile compounds with disyllabic first components that often include linking elements. It was proposed that in Lithuanian dialects, accentual neomobility has mostly affected mobile compounds where the first components included mobile words (AP3 or 4).

Compounds accented according to mobile AP3 were also analyzed in terms of their formal properties where the morphological variation of these compounds was discussed. It was argued that mobile compounds that ended in *-ỹs/-ė* were prevalent in both Aukštaitian and Žemaitian. Finally, in terms of use of linking elements in mobile compounds (AP3), there was a clear tendency in East and South Aukštaitian to coin mobile compounds with linking elements, while in West Aukštaitian and in Žemaitian, the largest portion of mobile compounds did not include linking elements.

KILNOJAMOSIOS KIRČIAVIMO PARADIGMOS DAIKTAVARDINIAI IR BŪDVARDINIAI DŪRINIAI LIETUVIŲ KALBOS TARMĖSE

Santrauka

Straipsnyje nagrinėjami kilnojamosios, arba mobiliosios, kirčiavimo paradigmos daiktavardiniai ir būdvardiniai dūriniai, užfiksuoti lietuvių tarminiuose žodynuose. Šios kirčiavimo paradigmos dūriniai būdingas kirčio šokinėjimas iš galinio į pirmąjį skiemenį. Manytina, kad mobiliojo kirčiavimo dūriniai buvo visų pirma kirčiuojami pirmajame skiemenyje, bet vėliau kirtis buvo nukeltas į galinį skiemenį. Tyrimo rezultatai rodo, kad, be mobiliosios kirčiavimo paradigmos dūrinų, tarmėse paplitę ir šių dūrinų akcentiniai variantai, kai kirtis išlaikomas pirmajame skiemenyje arba jungiamajame balsyje. Tarminiuose žodynuose taip pat užfiksuota ir naujesnių neobiliosios paradigmos dūrinų, kai kirtis dažniausiai keliamas iš galinio į trečiąjį skiemenį. Nustatyta, kad lietuvių kalbos tarmėse daugiausia paplitę valdomieji mobiliosios kirčiavimo paradigmos dūriniai su antuoju veiksmažodiniu dėmeniu. Prieita prie išvados, kad mobiliojo kirčiavimo dūriniai skiriasi struktūros požiūriu. Rytų ir pietų aukštaičių patarmėse vyrauja kilnojamosios kirčiavimo paradigmos dūriniai su jungiamaisiais balsiais, o vakarų aukštaičių patarmėje ir žemaičių tarmėje – mobiliojo kirčiavimo dūriniai be jungiamųjų balsių.

ABBREVIATIONS

acc. - accusative	m. - masculine
AP - accent paradigm	nom. - nominative
EAukšt. - East Aukštaitian	PB - Proto-Baltic
f. - feminine	pl. - plural
gen. - genitive	sg. - singular
LE - linking element	SL - Standard Lithuanian

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