Notes on the Lithuanian restrictive

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This paper focuses on the previously barely described restrictive use of the prefix te- in Lithuanian. This prefix, whose meaning is similar to that of the particle tik ‘only’, is peculiar in that it can take scope over almost any kind of phrases, including constituents of non-finite embedded clauses. In this paper, morphosyntactic properties and scope of the restrictive te- are analysed on the basis of both elicited and corpus data. Besides that, it is shown that from a cross-linguistic point of view, a restrictive affix displaying both rigid verb-adjacency and scope flexibility is quite rare.

Keywords: restrictive markers, scope, prefixation, focus

1. On the typology of restrictive markers

Restrictive markers, exemplified by English only, German nur or Russian tol’ko, are focus-sensitive elements which “presuppose the relevant sentence without particle and entail that none of the alternatives under consideration satisfies the open sentence obtained by substituting a variable for the focus expression” (König 1991, 94). Thus, a sentence like (1a) can be represented as in (1b) and (1c) (ibid.):
(1)  a. **Only JOHN came**.  
    b. John came (presupposition)  
    c. \( \neg \exists x [x \neq \text{John} \& \text{came} (x)] \) (assertion)  

The element which is asserted to satisfy the ‘open sentence’ will be further on called the **scope** of the restrictive marker. In (1a) it is **John**. It is usually assumed that the scope of restrictive markers, similarly to that of additive (**also**) and scalar (**even**) markers, is determined by the focus structure of the sentence (see, e.g., Rooth 1996; Erteschik-Shir 1997, 110–116), in particular in that elements outside of the focus domain cannot constitute the scope of the restrictive. Though this issue is not completely uncontroversial (see e.g. Dryer 1994 for counterarguments), for the sake of simplicity I will assume that focus and scope of restrictives indeed coincide, at least in the data I am going to discuss (see section 4).

Cross-linguistically, there exist several formal kinds of restrictive markers or restrictive constructions (see König 1991, Ch. 2). The first and probably the most common is a particle (i. e., a morpheme showing at least some of the morphosyntactic properties of an independent word, notably, transcategoriality, i. e., ability to combine with words of different lexical classes) attaching directly to the word or phrase in its scope. To this kind belong the Russian particle **tol’ko** (normally occurring in preposition), cf. (2), and the Japanese particle **dake** (postposed), cf. (3).

(2)  **Tol’ko KOLJA prišel.**  
    \( \text{rstr K. come:pst.m.sg} \)  
    ‘Only Kolja came.’

(3)  **Boku wa sono hi ** **RINGO dake** **tabe-ta.**  
    \( \text{I top this day apple rstr eat:pst} \)  
    ‘I ate only an apple this day.’


Another type of restrictive marker is constituted by morphemes which appear in some dedicated position in the sentence, usually ad-
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jacent to the main predicate, and are able to take scope over different constituents. A clear example of such a restrictive marker comes from Mandarin Chinese, where the particle *zhi* ‘only’, according to Li & Thompson (1981, 332), “modifies solely the entire predicate phrase” and “can never modify a noun phrase alone”. Thus, examples like (4) are in principle multiply ambiguous:

(4) *Wǒ *zhi *xíe *shū.* Mandarin Chinese
    I rstr write book
    ‘Only I write books/I write only books’, etc.
    (König 1991, 18)

The English restrictive particle *only* can attach both to the constituent in its scope (5a) or to the finite verb (5b). In the latter case *only* shows scope flexibility similar to that of the Chinese *zhi* with the notable exception that preverbal *only* cannot take scope over the structurally superior subject noun phrase.

(5)  
   a. **Only** *John* gave a book to *Mary*.  
   b. *John* **only** gave a book to *Mary*.  
   ‘... only gave/only a book/only to *Mary* ... /*only John’

The third type of restrictive construction consists of an exception marker attaching to the scope constituent and a predicate negation, cf. French *ne... que* (6) and Japanese *shika... Neg* (7). The motivation for such a formal means of expressing restrictive meaning is the truth-conditional equivalence of *only* *X* with *nobody but* *X* (König 1991, 95).

(6) *Mon enfant* *ne* lit *que* DES MAGAZINES! French
    ‘My child reads only magazines!’

(7) *Kare* wa *bīru* *shika* nom-ana-i. Japanese
    he top beer except drink-NEG-PRS
    ‘He drinks only beer.’ (Alpatov et al. 2008, vol. II, 151)

The fourth type is similar to the first one in that the restrictive marker attaches to the scope constituent, but now the marker is not

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a particle (a free word) but rather an affix, i.e. a bound morpheme4 morphosyntactically and phonologically integrated into the host word. According to König (1991, 20), genuine restrictive affixes are relatively rare cross-linguistically. An example of the restrictive affix is the Imbabura Quechua ‘limitative’ -lla (Cole 1985, 169–170), cf. (8).

(8) Marya-ka shuj wagra-lla-ta chari-n. Imbabura Quechua
M.-TOP one cow-rstr-ACC have-3
‘Maria has just one cow.’ (Cole 1985, 169)

The fifth and the most rarely attested type of restrictive marker is an affix on the verb able to take variable scope. The only previously known example of this kind of restrictive comes from Bininj Gun-wok, a polysynthetic Gunwingguan language of North Australia (Evans 1995, 248–256), cf. (9).

(9) A-djal-wokdi gun-djeihmi. Bininj Gun-wok
1SG-rstr-speak language.name
‘I speak only Gun-djeihmi.’ (Evans 1995, 250)

This brief cross-linguistic overview shows that there is considerable variation in the expression of the restrictive function, the major parameters of diversity being the position of the restrictive marker with respect to its scope (scope-adjacency vs. predicate-adjacency) and the degree of boundedness of the restrictive marker to its morphosyntactic host.

In Lithuanian, there exist two kinds of restrictive markers: the particles tik, tiktau and vien always appearing to the left of their scope (10), (11), and the verbal prefix te- (12).

(10) a. Tik Jon-as myl-i Aldon-q.
   rstr J.-nom.sg love-prs A.-acc.sg
‘Only Jonas loves Aldona.’

4 Being perfectly aware of the difficulties with the word-clitic-affix distinction, as recently sharply emphasized by Haspelmath (2010), I nevertheless believe that these notions are not only valid and operationally definable at least for the individual languages, but are also relevant for cross-linguistic discussions. For the latter, in my view, relative notions such as ‘more/less bound’ obviate the need of hard-to-arrive-at ‘universal’ definitions of word resp. affix.
b. *Jon-as myl-i tik Aʟᴅoɴ-ᴀ̨.*

J.-NOM.SG love-PRS RSTR A.-ACC.SG

‘Jonas loves only Aldona.’

c. *J-is ne tik MYLI, bet ir nor-i.*

3-NOM.SG.M NEG RSTR love-PRS but and want-PRS

j- qa ves-ti.

3-ACC.SG.F marry-INF

‘He not only loves her, but also wishes to marry her.’

(11) *Taip gal-i bū-ti vien AMERIK-OJ.*

so can-PRS be-INF RSTR America-LOC.SG

‘It can be so only in America.’ (LKT)

(12) *J-is te-parod-ė j-ai savo meil-ę.*

3-NOM.SG.M RSTR-show-PST 3-DAT.SG.F his.OWN love-ACC.SG

‘He only showed her his love.’

(13) *Nejaugi... Deivid-as tik DAIN-AS te-padovanoj-o?*

really D.- NOM.SG only song-ACC.PL only-give-PST

‘Did David really give <you> only songs?’

In some contexts, the particle and the prefixal restrictive markers co-occur, cf. (13).

In this paper I will focus on the restrictive prefix *te-*, which is peculiar from the point of view of both its morphosyntactic and scopal properties. This use of *te-* as far as I know, has never been subject to linguistic analysis before. The existing grammars of Lithuanian, e.g. Schleicher (1856, 139), Kurschat (1876, 130), Otėbęski (1965, 368–369), Senn (1966, 245), Ulvydas, red. (1971, 296), Mathiassen (1996a, 172), Chicouene, Skūpas (2003, 126–127) give it just a few lines, while Ambrazas, ed. (1997), the most authoritative grammar written in English, does not mention it at all. Even Paulauskas (1958), a fundamental monographic work devoted to Lithuanian prefixes, does not give any detailed account of this use of *te-*, dismissing it and other

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5 http://www.straipsniai.lt/bendravimas/informacija/Meile/puslapis/1679

6 This Lithuanian sentence is actually multiply ambiguous, similarly to the Mandarin Chinese example (4). See section 4 for a detailed discussion of scopal properties of *te-*.  

prefixes “not altering the lexical meaning of the verb” (ibid., 323) as “not belonging to the category of verbal prefixes” (ibid., 321).

The rest of the paper is organized as follows. In section 2 I will discuss the morphosyntactic properties of te-, and in section 3 I will turn to its surprising polyfunctionality. Section 4 will be devoted to the scopal properties of the restrictive te- in general, while section 5 will specifically discuss the phenomenon of embedded scope. In section 6 I will briefly summarize the main findings of this study.

2. Morphosyntactic properties of the restrictive te-

Before turning to more intricate issues, it is necessary to say a few words in support of the treatment of te- as a prefix, and not as a particle or a proclitic which for whatever reason happened to be spelled together with the verb. A strong piece of evidence for the status of te- as a bound morpheme comes from the well-known fact that in Lithuanian prefixes trigger the shift of the reflexive marker -si from the suffixal position to the position immediately before the stem (see, e. g., Ambrazas, ed., 1997, 222; Stolz 1989). Thus, in (14a) the unprefixed verb with the reflexive surfacing as a suffix is shown; in (14b) the ‘reflexive displacement’ is triggered by an aspectual prefix (glossed ‘preverb’), in (14c) by the negative prefix, and in (14d) by the restrictive prefix te-. As is shown by (14e), genuine particles, such as tik ‘only’, do not affect the position of the reflexive marker. This evidence suffices to argue that te- is a prefix in Lithuanian, on a par with all other uncontroversial prefixes attested in this language.

(14) a. džiaug-ti-s
   rejoice-INF-RFL
   ‘rejoice’
   b. ap-si-džiaug-ti
      PVB-RFL-rejoice-INF
      ‘start rejoicing’
   c. ne-si-džiaug-ė
      NEG-RFL-rejoice-PST
      ‘did not rejoice’
   d. te-si-džiaug-ė
      RSTR-RFL-rejoice-PST
      only + rejoiced
   e. *tik si-džiaug-ė

The important difference between the aspectual prefixes, on the one hand, and the restrictive te- on the other, lies in their relative position in the verbal form. While the aspectual prefixes, with minor lexical-
ized exceptions, see Paulauskas (1958, 418–419), can only attach to the bare verbal stem (the single morpheme which is able to intervene is the reflexive marker), te-, as well as the negative prefix ne- and the ‘continuative’ prefixes be-, tebe- and nebe-, can be prefixed to verbs already containing aspectual prefixes, cf. te-pa-rod-ė or te-pa-dovanoj-o in (12) and (13). Thus, te- and other prefixes sharing the aforementioned property can be called ‘outer’ prefixes in contrast to the ‘inner’ aspectual prefixes.

In its restrictive use, te- can attach to both finite and non-finite verbal forms. It is attested with present (15), past (12) and future (16) tenses, with the imperative (17) and the subjunctive (18) moods, as well as with the infinitive (19).

(15) Vos por-oje išnaš-ų
just couple-LOC.PL footnote-GEN.PL
 te-aptink-a-me lotynišk-us ir
rstr-come.across-PRS-1PL Latin-ACC.PL.M and
lenkišk-us tekst-us.
Polish-ACC.PL.M text-ACC.PL
‘We come across Latin and Polish texts just in a couple of footnotes.’ (lkT)

(16) Ne-s-u Tav-ės sutik-ės, tik
NEG-AUX-PRS.1SG you-GEN meet-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M only
spėj-u Tav-e es-a-nt-į;
guess-PRS.1 SG you-ACC be-PRS-PA-ACC.SG.M
Sutik-ės te-pajusi-u, kad es-i
meet-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M rstr-feel + FUT-1SG that be:PRS-2SG
aukšt-ėsn-įs.
high-COMP-NOM.SG.M
‘I have not met you, I only guess that you exist; I will feel that you are superior only when I meet you.’ (lkT)

(17) Viešpat-į, savo diev-ą te-garbin-k ir
Lord-ACC.SG own God-ACC.SG rstr-worship-IMP and
j-am vien-am te-tarnau-k!
3-DAT.SG.M one-DAT.SG.M rstr-serve-IMP
‘Worship only the Lord your God and serve only Him.’ (Mt. 4:10)
(18) 

Nes argi tu čia sédė-tum, jeigu because really you here sit-sbj:2sg if te-isteng-tum višt-A pavog-ti.

rstr-be.able-sbj:2SG hen-acc. sg steal-inf

‘Because would you, really, sit here if you would have been able to steal just a hen.’ (LKT)

(19) 

... te-turė-ti tik vien-Ą skaitytoj-Ą — savo rstr-have-inf only one-acc.sg reader-acc.sg own žmon-q.

wife-acc.sg

‘... to have only one reader — one’s own wife.’ (LKT)

Besides this, restrictive te- can co-occur with participles used as heads of attributive (20), ‘nominative-plus-participle’ (21), ‘accusative-plus-participle’ (22) and ‘dative-plus-participle’ (23) constructions, as well as with converbs (24).

(20) 

Buv-o iškel-t-a nemaža nauj-ų, iki aux-pst reveal-pst.pp-pred a.lot new-gen.pl until 
tol lingvist-ams ne-žin-o-m-ų ar mažai then linguist-dat.pl neg-know-prs-pp-gen.pl or little 
te-žino-t-ui kalb-os fakt-ų. 

rstr-know-pst.pp-gen.pl language-gen.sg fact-gen.pl

‘A lot of facts about language, previously unknown or only little known to linguists, have been revealed.’ (LKT)

(21) 

... todėl buv-o įsitikin-ęs mažai therefore aux-pst be.convinced-pst.pas.nom.sg.m little 
te-pamat-ęs ir nedaug 
rstr-see-pst.past.pas.nom.sg.m and not.much 
te-sužinoj-ęs.

rstr-learn-pst.pas.nom.sg.m

‘Therefore he was convinced that he had seen only a little and learned only a few things.’ (LKT)

(22) 

Kaz-ys man-ė Aldon-ą j-į te-myl-i-nt. 

K.-nom.sg think-pst a.-acc.sg 3-acc.sg.m rstr-love-prs-pa

‘Kazys thought that Aldona loved only him.’
(23) — Tau reiki-a apsispręs-ti, Rimul-i, — pasak-ė,
you:DAT need-PRS decide-INF R.-voc say-PST
te-girdi-i-nt jur-ai ir smėli-UI.

rstr-hear-PRS-PAR sea-DAT.SG and sand-DAT.SG

‘You need to decide, Rimulis — said he, when only the sea
and the sand heard <them>.’ (LKT)

(24) Partizan-ai, menk-as pajėg-as
guerilla-NOM.PL weak-ACC.PL.F force-ACC.PL
te-turė-dam-i, su rus-ais

rstr-have-CNV-NOM.PL.M with Russian-INS.PL

susirem-ti ne-si-ryž-o ir pasitrauk-ė
encounter-INF NEG-RFL-resolve-PST and withdraw-PST

už miesteli-o.
outside small.town-GEN.SG

‘The guerillas, possessing only weak forces, did not dare to
encounter the Russians and withdrew from the town.’ (LKT)

By contrast, with eventive deverbal nominals restrictive te-
is in-
felicitous, cf. the acceptable example (25a) with the free particle tik
modifying the object of the nominalized verb and the corresponding
ungrammatical (25b) with te- prefixed to the nominalization.

(25) a. Tik grožin-ės literatūr-os pardav-im-as
only fiction-GEN.SG literature-GEN.PL sell-NML-NOM.SG

išaug-o tr-is kart-us.
grow-PST three-ACC.PL time-ACC.PL

‘The sales of only fiction grew three times.’

b. *grožin-ės literatūr-os te-pardav-im-as
fiction-GEN.SG literature-GEN.PL rstr-sell-NML-NOM.SG

išaug-o tr-is kart-us.
grow-PST three-ACC.PL time-ACC.PL

intended: ‘id.’

With the periphrastic forms, such as the perfect (26), the resulta-
tive (27), the passive (28), and the counterfactual (29), the restrictive
tepend on either to the auxiliary or to the participle, without any
evident difference in meaning.
(26) a. Iš Dostojevskio raštų te-s-u
of D.-gen.sg writing-gen.pl rstr-aux.prs-1sg
perskaitęs “Idiot-a”.
read-pst.pa.nom.sg.m idiot-acc.sg
‘Of Dostoyevsky, I have read only The Idiot.’
b. Iš Dostojevskio raštų es-u
of D.-gen.sg writing-gen.pl aux.prs-1sg
te-perskaitęs “Idiot-a”.
rstr-read-pst.pa.nom.sg.m idiot-acc.sg
‘id.’

(27) a. Kaz-ys te-buv-o apsireng-ęs
K.-nom.sg rstr-aux-pst dress-pst.pa.nom.sg.m
marškiniais.
shirt-ins.pl
‘Kazys was dressed just in a shirt.’
b. Kaz-ys buv-o te-apsireng-ęs
K.-nom.sg aux-pst rstr-dress-pst.pa.nom.sg.m
marškiniais.
shirt-ins.pl
‘id.’

(28) a. Šit-as nam-as te-buv-o
this-nom.sg.m house-nom.sg rstr-aux-pst
pastaty-t-as prieš dešimt mėnesių.
built-pst.pp-nom.sg.m before ten month-gen.pl
‘This house has been built just ten months ago.’
b. Šit-as nam-as buv-o
this-nom.sg.m house-nom.sg aux-pst
te-pastaty-t-as prieš dešimt
rstr-build-pst.pp-nom.sg.m before ten
mėnesių.
month-gen.pl
‘id.’

(29) a. Jeigu te-bū-tų atėj-ęs Jon-as,
if rstr-aux-sbj.3 come-pst.pa.nom.sg.m J.-nom.sg
bū-tą nuobod-u.
be-sbj.3 tedious-pred
‘It would have been tedious, if just Jonas had come.’

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b. *Jeigu bū-tų te-atėj-ės* *Jon-as*,
be-SBJ.3 *tedious-PRED*
‘id.’

Some of my consultants consistently rejected periphrastic constructions with *te-* prefixed to the participle, but corpus data shows that this option is indeed possible, even though rare, cf. (30) and (31).

(30) ... *student-as ... buv-o te-baig-ės*
student-NOM.SG *AUX-PST RSTR-finish-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M* TR-IS *J-0 KURS-US ...*
three-ACC.PL 3-GEN.SG.M term-ACC.PL
‘... the student ... had finished only three terms <at the university>’ *(LKT)*

(31) ... *mokytoj-ui gyven-ti bū-tų*
teacher-DAT.SG live-INF *AUX-SBJ.3 te-lik-ė* *
RSTR-remain-PST.PA.NOM.PL.M day-NOM.SG or DVI.*
two:NOM.PL.F
‘... the teacher would have lived just a day or two more.’ *(LKT)*

The only periphrastic form that allows the restrictive prefix to appear only on the auxiliary is the avertive (or, in terms of Mathiassen 1996b, 8–9, ‘thwarted inceptive’) formed by the past auxiliary and the present active participle obligatorily prefixed with *be-*, cf. (32a). The attachment of *te-* to the participle would result in the homonymy of the sequence *te-* + *be-* with the complex continuative prefix *tebe-*, which is presumably the reason why (32b) is ungrammatical. However, it must be noted that (32a) is also marginal: though accepted by some of my consultants, such examples are not found in the corpora.

(32) a. *Te-buv-a-u be-nuperk-a-nt-i*
RSTR-AUX-PST-1SG CNT-buy-PRS-PA-NOM.SG.F


**DUON-os, kai tu man**

*bread-GEN.SG when YOU:NOM I:DAT*

duoñ-os, kai tu man

*paskamin-a-i ir pasak-e-i, kad reikėj-o*

*call-PST-2SG and say-PST-2SG that need-PST*

paskamin-a-i ir pasak-e-i, kad reikėj-o

*nupirk-ti ir pien-o.*

*buy-INF and milk-GEN.SG*

nupirk-ti ir pien-o.

‘I was going to buy just bread when you called me and told that it was necessary to buy milk, too.’

b. *Buv-a-u te-be-nuperk-a-nt-i*

*AUX-PST-1SG RSTR-CNT-BUY-PRS-PA-NOM.SG.F*

*DUON-os...*

*bread-GEN.SG*

intended: ‘id.’

The combinatory possibilities of the restrictive te-, including its ability to attach both to the auxiliary and to the participle in periphrastic constructions, mirror the similar properties of two other Lithuanian ‘outer’ prefixes, viz. the continuative tebe- ‘still’ and the discontinuative nebe- ‘no more’ (for details, see Arkadiev 2010a). About the behaviour of te- in complex constructions with matrix verbs and infinitives, see section 5.

3. Polyfunctionality of te-

The Lithuanian prefix te- displays a remarkable degree of polysemy, productively appearing in at least three hardly interrelated functions. In addition to the restrictive use focused upon in this study, te- also participates in the formation of the permissive (or ‘3rd person imperative’, see Ambrazas, ed., 1997, 261) mood, and in the formation of the continuative aspectual forms. This proliferation of meanings associated with a single prefix potentially gives rise to ambiguity, which is resolved by imposing constraints on the interpretations of various verbal forms containing te-.

In the continuative forms te- serves as a semantically bleached, almost obligatory component of the complex prefix tebe-, opposed to the negative version of the continuative nebe-, cf. tebe-gyvena ‘is still living’ vs. nebe-gyvena ‘is no longer living’. However, continuative
forms like *be-gyvena* are still, though rarely, attested	extsuperscript{8}, cf. (33a), so the sequence like *te-be-gyvena* could, in principle, be interpreted as ‘only continue to live’. Nevertheless, such interpretations are consistently ruled out, cf. (33b), due to the homonymy with the much more frequent continuative *tebe*.

(33) a. *Dabar tik 30 karaim-ų be-gyven-a*  
   *now only 30 Karaim-gen.pl cnt-live-prs*  
   *Panevėž-yje*...  
   *P.-loc.sg*  
   ‘Now only 30 Karaims still live in Panevežys.’ (LKT)

   *now 30 Karaim-gen.pl te-cnt-live-prs P.-loc.sg*  
   ‘Now (*only) 30 Karaims still live in Panevežys.’

In other instances, for example in the periphrastic avertive construction, as we have seen above, the combination of *te* and *be* is prohibited altogether, for the reason that this sequence can only be interpreted as a continuative form of the present active participle, which does not co-occur with the auxiliary in Lithuanian. The combination of the restrictive *te* with the continuative *tebe* (*te-tebe*) is also ungrammatical.

Let us now turn to the permissive. This mood in contemporary Lithuanian is normally formed by prefixation of *te* to the 3rd person forms of present or future, thus *terašo*, *terašys* ‘let him/her/them/write’ (Ambrazas, ed., 1997, 261). Hence, sentences like (34) are interpreted as permissive rather than restrictive. However, the possibility of confusion of the restrictive with the permissive exists only in these cells of the tense-person paradigm. Indeed, the 3rd person preterite *terašė* ‘*te + wrote*’ can only involve the restrictive, not the permissive, and the same is true of non-3rd person forms of the present and future tenses.

(34) *K-as nor-i, te-augin-a avokad-us,*  
   *who-nom.sg want-prs prm-grow-prs avocado-acc.pl*  
   *citrin-as, melion-us...! lemon-acc.pl melon-acc.pl*

\textsuperscript{8} Cf. the ratio of *begyvena* vs. *tebegyvena* in LKT: 13 vs. 325 occurrences.
‘Let those who wish it grow avocados, lemons, melons...!’ /
*‘Those who wish only grow avocados, lemons, melons...’
(LKT)

However, the interpretation of the combination te- + 3rd person present largely depends on the context rather than being strictly grammatically predetermined. Beside unambiguous permissive examples like (34) one finds sentences like (35), which, though containing the 3rd person present form, can be understood only as involving the restrictive. Finally, genuinely ambiguous sentences can also be found, cf. (36).

(35) ... čigon-ų vaik-ai mokykl-ose ne-užsibūn-a, 
gipsy-gen.pl child-nom.pl school-loc.pl neg-stay.long-prs
   te-baigi-a 5-6 klas-es.
   rstr-finish-prs 5-6 grade-acc.pl
   ‘Gipsy children do not stay at school for long, they finish just 5-6 grades.’ (LKT)

(36) Te-myl-i tai mano šird-is, te-byloj-a
   te-love-prs this my heart-nom.sg te-talk-prs
   apię tai mano burn-a.
   about this my mouth-nom.sg
   ‘Let my heart love it, let my mouth speak about it’ / ‘My heart only loves it, my mouth only speaks about it.’ (LKT)

It seems that 3rd person present forms of stative and modal verbs such as galėti ‘can, be able’, norėti ‘want’, turėti ‘have; must’ especially favour the restrictive interpretation of te- over the permissive one, cf. (37)–(40). For these three verbs, it is even hard to come by examples of the permissive reading

(37) Ties-a te-gal-i bū-ti vien-a.
   truth-nom.sg rstr-can-prs be-inf one-nom.sg
   ‘There can be only one truth.’ (LKT)

* However, as Rolandas Mikulskas pointed out to me, permissive meanings are certainly not altogether banned with these verbs, cf. Vaikas nori ledu / pasiūžinėti dviratį. — Tenori, neleis! ‘The child wants ice-cream / to ride the bicycle. — Let him want, I won’t allow that!’ However, such examples are definitely rare and require special context for their use.
The 3rd person present forms of other stative verbs such as matyti ‘see’, girdėti ‘hear’ or žinoti ‘know’ are found in both permissive and restrictive contexts, however, the distribution is very uneven: of 18 occurrences of tegirdi attested in LKT, only 4 displayed the permissive; for temato the figures are 7 out of 60, and for težino 5 out of 175. By contrast, with dynamic verbs the ratio of restrictive vs. permissive uses is the opposite; e.g. for ateiti ‘come’: 16 permissive examples out of 24 unambiguous occurrences.

In addition to this, it must be acknowledged that in actual usage the permissive is only rarely (if at all) based on the future tense, and consequently the combinations of te- with the 3rd person future can very well yield the restrictive meaning, cf. (41).
However, in appropriate contexts even 1st person future forms prefixed with \textit{te}- can get permissive readings, cf. (42). By contrast, with the 1st person present forms such interpretations are absent.

(42) \textit{Sulauž-ęs ši-ą priesaiq-ą, break-PST.PA.NOM.SG.M this-ACC.SG.F oath-ACC.SG te-bū-si-u amžinai prakeikt-as. PRM-AUX-FUT-1SG forever cursed-NOM.SG.M}‘If I break this oath, let me be damned forever.’ (LKT)

A somewhat different picture emerges when the negative prefix \textit{ne}- comes into play. First of all, \textit{ne}- and \textit{te}- always occur in a fixed order, where \textit{te}- comes first, the sequence *\textit{ne-te}- being ungrammatical. Second, among the several dozens of different verbal tokens containing the sequence \textit{te-ne}-, only finite present and future 3rd person forms have been found, being always interpreted as permissive ‘let him/her/them not V’, cf. (43) and (44).

(43) \textit{Vis-ą amži-ų žen-ki-te kartu — all-ACC.SG age-ACC.SG walk-IMP-2PL together te-ne-skiri-a jūs-ų atstum-ai, PRM-NEG-differ-PRS you-GEN.PL distance-NOM.PL te-ne-atsitink-a niek-o, k-as PRM-NEG-happen-PRS nothing-GEN.SG what-NOM.SG išskir-tų jus. divide-SBJ you:ACC.PL}‘Go together all the time — let your distances not differ, let nothing happen that could divide you.’ (LKT)

(44) ... net pat-i mirt-is te-ne-nugasdins even itself-NOM.SG.F death-NOM.SG PRM-NEG-frighten-FUT jūs-ų. YOU-GEN.PL‘Let even death itself not frighten you.’ (LKT)

The only attested example of a non-3rd person form combined with \textit{te-ne}- also exhibits a permissive reading:

(45) \textit{Te-ne-bū-si-u klaidingai PRM-NEG-AUX-FUT-1SG erroneously}
Infrequent combinations of te- with the discontinuative nebe- also yield a permissive interpretation:

(46) ... te-ne-be-nor-i daugiau niek-o...
PRM-NEG-CNT-WANT-PRS more nothing-GEN.SG
‘... let him no longer wish anything...’ (LKT)

Thus, the restrictive te- cannot be combined with negation, cf. the ungrammatical (47a). The reason for this restriction is unclear; it definitely has nothing to do with the semantic incompatibility of the negation with the restrictive, since sentences like (47b) are perfectly acceptable. The order of the restrictive and the negative prefixes in (47a) reflects their would-be mutual scope (restrictive > negation), so the ban on such combinations is not due to the conflict of the rigid prefix ordering and semantic scope, either.

(47) a. *Te-ne-atēj-o PRAN-AS.
RSTR-NEG-COME-PST P.-NOM.SG
intended: ‘Only Pranas did not come.’
b. Ne-atēj-o tik PRAN-AS.
NEG-COME-PST only P.-NOM.SG
‘id.’

To conclude this section, I would like to observe that the Lithuanian prefix te- exhibits somewhat contradictory characteristics: on the one hand, it has functions which can be safely treated as synchronically unrelated and, moreover, are in principle not mutually exclusive from a purely semantic point of view. Indeed, nothing prevents such a sentence as (i) ‘Let him love only his wife’, which involves both the restrictive and the permissive, or (ii) ‘He still loved only his wife’,

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10 Whether different uses of te- are in any way related diachronically, is an unresolved issue; the existing etymologies of both restrictive and permissive te- (see Fraenkel 1965, 1071 and Zinkevičius 1981, 198) are speculative and hardly plausible from the semantic point of view. Ostrowski (2010) convincingly argues that te- in tebe- goes back to an emphatic use of a deictic element meaning ‘here’, but it is hardly possible to advocate the same source for other uses of te-.
with restrictive in the scope of the continuative. On the other hand, for some purely morphological reasons, all these different meanings compete for a single exponent, viz. prefix *te*-, which shows identical morphosyntactic behaviour when used in any of its different functions. It is not surprising, therefore, that *te*- can appear in the verbal form only once and in a position fixed with respect to other prefixes, and that, consequently, meanings such as (i) and (ii) above cannot be expressed in the verb simultaneously. However, certain restrictions, such as the ungrammaticality of the combination of the restrictive *te*- with negation in the preterite, look unmotivated even from the morphological point of view. Such constraints, for the lack of further data which might shed more light on them, so far admit only of being registered in a comprehensive description of Lithuanian, not of being explained.

**4. Scope of the restrictive *te*-**

From the point of view of structuralist logic, which regards language as a system of well-defined oppositions, if a language possesses two synonymous morphemes expressing the restrictive meaning ‘only’, one of which attaches exclusively to verbs while the other can co-occur with any kind of constituent, we would expect these two morphemes to exhibit a distribution close to complementary, and their scope to mirror their combinatory possibilities. In other words, it would be ‘natural’ if the Lithuanian prefixal restrictive *te*- had been used only in those cases where the scope of ‘only’ included the verb, whereas the particle *tik* had been able to take scope over any other kind of constituent.

This, however, is not at all the case. As the numerous examples given above, as well as those presented and discussed below, show, the scope of *te*- is by no means restricted to the verb or to the verb phrase. Moreover, *te*- actually quite rarely takes the verb in its scope. Thus, out of 30 occurrences of the restrictive *te*- in Vincas Mykolaitis-Putinas’ novel *Altorių šešely* (hereafter *MPA*)\(^{11}\), only two show the narrow scope of *te*- limited to the verb. In all other 28 occurrences, *te*- takes scope elsewhere. Below I will discuss the scope possibilities of *te*- in more

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\(^{11}\) Electronic version available at http://www.antologija.lt/texts/37/turinys.html.
detail, basing my account on both corpus and elicited data. However, I will not be able to say anything conclusive on the issue of the distribution of the two means of expressing restrictivity in Lithuanian, viz. the prefix te- and the particle tik and its kin. Suffice it to say that, on the one hand, in the contexts where for morphological reasons the restrictive te- is not available, the restrictive meaning is taken over by tik, while, on the other hand, in contexts where te- is possible, tik is not excluded, either. Moreover, the two may and often do co-occur (see below). Thus it does not seem that there is any linguistically interesting distribution of te- and tik over different contexts, except that tik is much more frequent (to give a single example, while in the whole novel Altorių šešėly the restrictive te- is attested just 30 times, the same number of occurrences of the particle tik is found in a just couple of its initial chapters).

The scopal possibilities of the restrictive te- seem to be virtually unconstrained, at least as regards the major sentence constituents. The prefix can take scope over the subject, both intransitive (48), (49) and transitive (50), (51). As the comparison of (48) with (49) and (50) with (51) shows, both preverbal and postverbal subjects can fall into the scope of the restrictive.

(48) **Te-atėj-o** JON-AS.
   rstr-come-pst J.-nom.sg
   ‘Only Jonas came.’

(49) ... **plotel-yje, kur TR-YS RIEŠ-O**
   small.space-loc.sg where three-nom.pl.m wrist-gen
   **storum-o berželi-ai te-aug-o.**
   thickness-gen.sg birch-nom.pl rstr-grow-pst
   ‘... on a patch of land where only three wrist-thick birch-trees grew.’ (LKT)

(50) ... **o kit-q vard-q te-žin-o**
   and other-acc.sg name-acc.sg rstr-know-prs
   **artim-iaus-i j-os žmon-ės.**
   close-sup-nom.pl.m 3-gen.sg people-nom.pl
   ‘... and the other name is known only to her closest friends.’ (LKT)
Besides the subject, te- can take scope over the direct (52), (53) and various types of indirect objects (54)–(56).

(52) Aš savo žmoną te-mylį-u. I:nom own wife-acc.sg rstr-loveprs-1sg 'I love only my own wife.'

(53) ... dr. Pavalki-ui, kur-is man te-duo-dav-o dr. P.-dat.sg who-nom.sg.m I:dat rstr-give-hab-pst 10 Kapeiką 10 copeck-generator '... to Dr. Pavalkis, who would only give me 10 copecks.' (lkt)

(54) Karinink-as, atrod-ą, t-o military.officer-nom.sg seemprs that-gen.sg.m te-laukė. rstr-wait-pst 'It seems that the officer was waiting just for that.' (lkt)

(55) Kaz-ys gimimo dieną progą K.-nom.sg birth-gen.sg day-gen.sg occasion-ins.sg gėlią te-dovanoj-o savo žmoną. flower-generator rstr-give-pst own wife-dat.sg 'Kazys gave flowers only to his own wife as a birthday present.'

(56) T-q vakaro klierikai tik that-acc.sg evening-acc.sg seminarian-nom.pl only ir te-kalbėj-o vien apie Būsim-uosisi and rstr-talk-pst solely about future-acc.pl.m.def Šventim-us ir apie Kandidat-us i ordainment-acc.pl and about candidate-acc.pl in Subdiakon-us. subdeacon-acc.pl
‘That evening, the students of the seminary talked about nothing but the future ordainments and the candidates for the subdeaconate.’ (MPA, I:23)

In addition to arguments, the restrictive te- can take scope over various adjuncts, such as locative (57), manner (58), degree (59) or temporal (60), (61) adverbials.

(57) Šit-a knyg-a 10 lit-ų te-kainav-o
this-NOM.SG.F book-NOM.SG 10 litas-GEN.PL RSTR-COST-PST
MŪŠ-Ų KNYGYN-E.
we-GEN.PL bookstore-LOC. SG
‘This book cost 10 litas only in our shop.’

(58) ... klebon-as į tai te-atsiliep-dav-o VIEN-U
dean-NOM.SG in this RSTR-ANSWER-HAB-PST ONE-INS.SG.M
KIT-U ŽODŽI-U ...
other-INS.SG.M word-INS.SG
‘The dean used to answer to this in just a few words.’
(MPA, II:13)

(59) Sen-osiose lietuvi-ų kalbos
old-LOC.PL.F.DEF Lithuanian-GEN.PL language-GEN.SG
gramatik-os veiksmažodži-ų priešdėli-ų
grammar-LOC.PL verb-GEN.PL prefix-GEN.PL
klausim-ųi dar LABAI NEDAUG te-kalb-a-m-a.
question-DAT.SG still very little RSTR-TALK-PRS-PP-PRED
‘In the old grammars of Lithuanian, the problem of verbal prefixes is discussed only a little.’ (Paulauskas 1958, 306)

(60) Aš tav-e PIRM-Ą SYK-Į te-mat-a-u.
I: NOM you-ACC.SG first-ACC.SG time-ACC.SG RSTR-SEE-PRS-1SG
‘I see you only for the first time.’ (LKT)

(61) Jon-as te-atvažiav-o į Kopenhag-ą PO Dviej-Ų
J.-NOM.SG RSTR-ARRIVE-PST in K.-ACC.SG after TWO-GEN
DIEN-Ų.
day-GEN.PL
‘Jonas arrived in Copenhagen only two days later.’

Predicate nominals (62) and secondary predicates (63) can also fall in the scope of the restrictive prefix:
Besides nominal and adverbial constituents, te- can take scope over phrases headed by verbs, such as infinitive complement clauses (64), participial adjunct clauses (65), finite clauses introduced by complementizers (66) and even direct speech (67).

(62) \textit{Gal visk-\textit{as te-buv-o BAIS-US}}
may be all-\textit{NOM.SG RSTR-be-PST terrible-\textit{NOM.SG.M \ SAPN-AS...}}
dream-\textit{NOM.SG}
‘Maybe all this was just a terrible dream...’ (LKT)

(63) \textit{... kad j-is džiaug-ti-s te-gal-i}
that \textit{3-NOM.SG.M rejoice-INF-RFL RSTR-CAN-PRS VIEN-AS...}
one-\textit{NOM.SG.M}
‘... that he can rejoice only alone’ (MPA, III:3)

‘... in a crowd it is possible to rejoice and be happy only sharing one’s joy with one’s neighbour.’ (MPA, III:12)

(66) \textit{... o kit-i te-myli-i tik sav-e ir}
and other-\textit{NOM.PL.M RSTR-love-PRS only self-ACC and}
te-\textit{nor-i, KAD VIS-I J-UOS RSTR-want-PRS that all-NOM.PL.M 3-ACC.PL.M TE-MYLI-\textit{TŲ.}}\footnote{This example is remarkable in that the subordinate clause falling in the scope of the restrictive on the matrix verb (\textit{tenori}) itself contains a prefixal restrictive construction (\textit{juos temylėtų}).}
rstr-love-sbj.3
‘... and others love only themselves and only want that everyone loved just them.’ (LKT)
... beveik maldaujanči-u bals-u vos
almost imploring-INS.SG.M voice-INS.SG hardly
tegalej-o istar-ti:
RSTR-CAN-PST utter-INF
— _KAIPE NE!_ Aš žin-a-u, KAD PANEL-ė
how not I:nom know-PRS-1SG that young.lady-NOM.SG
LIUC-ė...
L.-NOM.SG
‘... with an almost imploring voice he could hardly utter just:
But why not?! I know that Miss Lucy...’ (MPA, I:7)

To summarize so far, the restrictive te- behaves like an operator able
to take into its scope any constituent of the clause headed by the verb
te- attaches to, much like other kinds of adverbial or ‘unselective’ quan-
tificational elements occurring in different languages (see e.g. Partee
1995)\(^\text{13}\). In this respect te- is similar to the English verb-adjacent _only_
as analysed by Rooth (1985; 1992) and Bonomi & Casalegno (1993),
or to the Mandarin Chinese _zhi_ discussed in section 1. As to the verbal
prefix -_djal_- in Bininj Gun-Wok, also already mentioned in section 1,
which is similar to Lithuanian _te_- from the morphological point of view
(both are bound morphemes, moreover, both are prefixes), there is an
important difference between the two. As is shown by Evans (1995),
the Bininj Gun-wok -_djal_- can take in its scope not only free overt con-
stituents, cf. (9) above and (68), but also verb-internal constituents,
such as pronominal prefixes and incorporated nominal roots, cf. (69).

\[(68)\] _Na-mege_ BININJ _ga-djal-murrng-yo._ Bininj Gun-wok
cl-that man 3SB-RSTR-bone-lie:NPST
‘Only the man’s bones remain.’ (Evans 1995, 255)

\[(69)\] _Ga-bi-djal-ganj-wo-n._ Bininj Gun-wok
3SB-3OB-RSTR-meat-give-NPST
i. ‘Only she gives him meat.’
ii. ‘She gives him only meat.’
iii. ‘She gives meat only to him.’ (ibid., 252)

\(^{13}\) Strictly speaking, Lithuanian restrictive _te_- is not ‘unselective’ in the original sense
of Lewis (1975), since it does not “bind all the variables in its scope indiscriminately”,
but rather is free in selecting a single constituent it applies to.
In Lithuanian, which is not a polysynthetic language, the only participant-referring morpheme in the verb is the subject agreement inflection. Nevertheless, the latter cannot fall into the scope of the restrictive te-, as is shown by (70a); only an overt pronominal subject can be focused and thereby serve as licit scope of restriction, cf. (70b).

\[(70) \quad \text{a. } *\text{Te-atêj-a-U.} \]
\[\text{rstr-come-pst-1sg} \]
\[\text{‘*Only I came.’} \]

\[\text{b. Te-atêj-a-u \quad Aš.} \]
\[\text{rstr-come-pst-1sg \quad i:nom} \]
\[\text{‘Only I came.’} \]

An important parameter which gets different values for English preverbal only, on the one hand, and for Mandarin Chinese zhi, Bininj Gun-wok -djal- and Lithuanian te-, on the other, is the possibility for the restrictive to take in its scope the subject of the sentence. As has been already mentioned in section 1, the English preverbal only cannot take scope over the subject (71), which must have to do with the fact that in English scope relations are normally determined by the surface syntactic structure, in which the subject occupies a superior (c-commanding) position over the rest of the sentence, including only (cf. Erteschik-Shir 1997, 222–223). This is paralleled, for instance, by the behavior of negative polarity items such as anybody, which, being licensed by the c-commanding negation, cannot appear in the subject position, either (see e.g. Progovac 1994, 35; Haspelmath 1997, 214–218), cf. (72a) vs. (72b).

\[(71) \quad \text{John only reads books.} \quad \text{English} \]
\[\text{‘John reads only books / *Only John reads books’} \]

\[(72) \quad \text{a. John didn’t see anybody.} \quad \text{English} \]
\[\text{b. *Anybody didn’t see John.} \]
\[\text{intended: ‘Nobody saw John’}. \]

However, in Lithuanian, as is shown by numerous examples similar to (48)–(51), the subject can happily fall into the scope of the prefixal restrictive, which implies that at the level of representation where scope relations are established, the restrictive prefix (presumably together with the verb) c-commands the subject. Not surprisingly, the negative
polarity items pattern similarly in Lithuanian, being able to appear in
the subject position, cf. (73a,b).

(73) a. Jon-as niek-o ne-mat-ė.
J.-NOM.SG nobody-NOM.SG NEG-SEE-PST
‘Jonas didn’t see anybody/anything.’

b. Niek-as ne-mat-ė Jon-o.
nobody-NOM.SG NEG-SEE-PST J.-GEN.SG
‘Nobody saw Jonas.’

When we now proceed from the question about possible scope
interpretations of te- to the question of rules governing its scope as-
signment, it turns out that nothing really conclusive can be said on
the latter subject so far, except for the following rather preliminary
remarks.

First of all, it must be stressed that given a sentence with several
constituents, the prefixal restrictive can take scope over any of them;
thus, strictly speaking, almost any sentence with te- is potentially am-
biguous, cf. (74) with at least five theoretically possible interpretations.

(74) Kaz-ys te-dovanoj-o mergait-ėms knyg-as.
K.-NOM.SG rstr-give-PST girl-DAT.PL book-ACC.PL
i. ‘Only Kazys gave books to girls.’
ii. ‘Kazys only gave books to girls <and not sold flowers
to boys>.’
iii. ‘Kazys gave books only to girls <and not to boys>.’
iv. ‘Kazys gave girls only books <and not flowers>.’
v. ‘Kazys only gave books to girls <and not sold books to
girls>.’

However, there certainly exist various clues which in most cases
allow to determine the scope of te- unambiguously. Since the scope of
restrictive is associated with focus, some of these clues must be those
mechanisms which serve to mark focus in Lithuanian, i.e. intonation
and word order. Unfortunately, this domain of Lithuanian syntax re-
mains virtually unexplored, so I am not able to base my conclusions
on any pre-established generalizations about the relation between
word order, intonation and information structure in Lithuanian. Nev-
ertheless, even the scarce data I possess allows me to make at least
the following two claims.
First, intonation definitely plays a role in scope assignment of the restrictive prefix. When asked to interpret sentences like (74) above, my consultants informed me that the interpretation would differ depending on where the primary stress of the sentence falls, and that it is the stressed constituent\(^\text{14}\) which forms the scope of *te-*.

This observation, however, is not always very helpful, especially for a study largely based on the data from written sources where intonation is not overtly marked.

Second, word order is important for the determination of the scope of *te-* too, though in a way definitely much less straightforward than intonation. To begin with, confronted with identical sentences, my consultants did not always agree with each other about which interpretation is preferable. One of them tended to assign the scope of the restrictive to the immediately postverbal constituent, while others did not show such a restriction. The analysis of the corpus data is also not very conclusive. Thus, in *MPA*, of the 28 examples of the prefixal restrictive taking scope “outside” of the verb, in 18 the focused constituent was verb-adjacent; however, among the 10 instances of non-verb-adjacent focus, 9 are constituted by sentences involving the modal verb *galėti* ‘can’, which, together with other modal verbs, tends to ‘attract’ the restrictive (see section 5). Among the 18 instances of verb-adjacent focus, there are 7 examples of preverbal and 11 examples of postverbal scope of *te-* which does not seem to be a statistically significant difference, if it is possible to speak about statistical significance in such a small corpus at all\(^\text{15}\). The only conclusion which I am able to draw from this and other available data is that there is indeed quite a strong tendency to put the constituent in scope of *te-* immediately before or after the verb (more precisely, before or after the complex

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\(^{14}\) Actually, things are much more complicated here, since it is single words, not entire constituents that receive stress. The rules determining the choice of the word bearing primary stress when a larger string is in focus are yet to be discovered for Lithuanian.

\(^{15}\) In the other text which I specifically searched for the restrictive *te-* the article Pau lauskas 1958, I could find only 26 examples thereof, and considering the scientific nature of this text and the fact that many examples are actually different tokens of identical or very similar sentences, the number of independent examples is even less. However, it can be observed that Paulauskas is much more consistent in putting the focus immediately before or after the verb that Mykolaitis-Putinas: there is not a single example of the scope of *te-* being assigned to a non-verb-adjacent constituent.
auxiliary/modal + lexical verb), but that this tendency is not a rigid grammatical constraint.

Two other clues which help to establish the scope of the restrictive prefix have to do with the lexicon rather than with syntax. One of them is related to the fact that restrictive elements interact with scalar implicatures generated by lexical items with the meaning of quantity or degree (König 1991, 37–42, 95–96), excluding in particular the higher members of the relevant scale. Thus, a sentence like (75) presupposes a scale of natural numbers and explicitly denies that John ate more apples than three.

(75) **John only ate three apples.**  
English

Therefore it is not surprising that in discourse there appears to be a particularly strong association of *te-* with lexical items denoting a low degree (*mažai* ‘a little’, *nedaug* ‘not much’, *menkai* ‘weakly’, *reitai* ‘seldom’) or a small quantity (especially *vienas* ‘one’)

\[16\]

so that if a sentence with the verb prefixed with *te-* contains any of such words, there is a very high probability that they would fall in the scope of *te-*.

The last formal means of establishing the scope of the Lithuanian prefixal restrictive, definitely not unrelated to its association with the expressions of low degree, is the aforementioned ‘pleonastic’ use of the restrictive particles *tik*, *tiktai* and *vien* together with *te-*.

This has been already shown in several of the examples above, cf. also (76) and (77).

(76) **Vis-i j-ie te-mokėj-o tik**  

Lietuvišk-ai.  
Lithuanian-ADV  
‘All of them knew only Lithuanian.’ (LKT)

(77) ... *dar tik AŠTUONI-OS SAVAIT-ĖS te-praėj-o ...*  
yet only eight-NOM.PL.F week-NOM.PL RSTR-PASS-PST  
‘... only eight weeks have passed by now...’ (LKT)

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\[16\] To give just one example, among 30 instances of the form *tepadėjo* ‘only helped’ attested in *LKT*, 29 involved expressions of low degree.
This ‘doubling’ of restrictives also finds parallels in Bininj Gun-wok, where sentences like (69) can be disambiguated by overt noun phrases suffixed with -wi ‘only’ or -gudji ‘one’ (Evans 1995, 251–253), cf. (78).

(78) a. **GUN-WARDDE-wi 0-djal-wo-n.** Bininj-Gun-wok
   cl-money-rstr  1SB/2OB-RSTR-give-NPST
   ‘I offer you only money.’ (ibid., 253)

b. **Na-mekke-wi  ga-bi-djal-bo-wo-n.**
   cl-that-rstr  2SB-3OB-RSTR-water-give-NPST
   ‘She gives it <water — P.A. > only to him.’ (ibid.)

c. **Aye  a-djal-gudji  a-marne-djal-djare.**
   1sg-just-one  1SG.SB/3SG.OB-BEN-RSTR-want
   ‘Only I love her/him.’ (ibid., 251)

Not much can be said about the distribution of the ‘simple’ and ‘doubled’ restrictives. As to their relative frequency, in MPA 7 out of 28 examples of te- taking scope outside of the verb contain the restrictive particle, and the survey of the more representative LKT creates an impression of a somewhat similar distribution. There do not seem to exist any preferences, let alone grammatical constraints, on the co-occurrence of tik and its kin with te-, having to do either with the syntactic status or linear position of the focused constituent. It is not the case that tik appears in those sentences which otherwise would allow multiple interpretations; for instance, were tik omitted from (76) or (77), these sentences would hardly become ambiguous. Also, it is possible to find examples differing only in the presence vs. absence of tik, cf. (79a,b).

(79) a. ... **su veiksmazodzhi-ais, atskirai be priešdėli-u**
   with verb-INS.PL separately without prefix-GEN.PL
   ne-vartoj-a-m-ais  **ar tik** LABAI RETAI
   NEG-USE-PRS-PP-INS.PL.M or only very rarely **te-vartoj-a-m-ais.**
   RSTR-USE-PRS-PP-INS.PL.M
   ‘with verbs which are not or only very rarely used without prefixes’ (Paulauskas 1958, 348)

b. ... **kamien-ai, kur-ie be priešdėli-o**
   stem-NOM.PL which-NOM.PL.M without prefix-GEN.SG
   RETAI **te-vartoj-a-m-i ar vis-ai**
   rarely RSTR-USE-PRS-PP-NOM.PL or all-ADV
ne-vartoj-a-m-i ...
NEG-USE-PRS-PP-NOM.PL.M
‘... stems which are only rarely or not at all used without prefixes’ (ibid., 313)

To conclude this section, the Lithuanian restrictive prefix te- behaves as an adverbial quantificational (in a broad understanding of this term, similar to that of Evans 1995) element whose scope assignment is associated with the focused constituent. No rigid grammatical constraints are imposed either on the choice of the restricted element in the sentence, nor on its linear position (though verb-adjacency is preferred to a statistically significant degree). Finally, the constituent in the scope of te- can be optionally marked as such by one of the restrictive particles, and again no grammatical constraints regulating this ‘scope marking’ have been detected. In the next section I will discuss some further and particularly intriguing scopal properties of the Lithuanian prefixal restrictive.

5. Embedded scope of te- and constituent structure

A remarkable property of the Lithuanian prefixal restrictive is its ability to scope into various kinds of constituents, including embedded non-finite clauses. Among the constituents whose parts can fall into the scope of te- are argument NPs (80), infinitival complement clauses (81), (82), and participial complement clauses, both same-subject (nominative-plus-participle) (83), and different-subject (accusative-plus-participle) (84).

(80) Te-skit-a-u [MAIRONI-o eilėrašči-us], kit-ų only-read-PRS-1SG M.-GEN.SG poetry-ACC.PL other-GEN.PL poet-ų ne-mėg-st-u.
poet-GEN.PL NEG-like-PRS-1SG
‘I read only poetry by Mironis, I don’t like other poets.’

(81) Deja, j-is te-mokėj-o [rašy-ti tik unfortunately 3-NOM.SG.M RSTR-CAN-PST write-INF only PROKLAMACIJ-AS AR KIT-Ą PANAŠI-Ą proclamation-ACC.PL or other-ACC.SG similar-ACC.SG.F
“{_GNING-[_ MEDZIA_..._}]
fiery-ACC.SG stuff-ACC.SG
‘Unfortunately, the only thing he knew how to write were proclamations and similar “fiery” stuff...’ (LKT)

(82) Ši-os scen-os grož-į
this-GEN.SG.F scene-GEN.SG beauty-ACC.SG
te-gal-i-m-a [sulygin-ti su GERV-ės
RSTR-CAN-PRS-PP-PRED compare-INF with crane-GEN.SG
SKRYDŽI-U ]...
flight-INS.SG
‘The beauty of this scene can be compared only to a crane’s flight...’ (Gintaras Beresnevičius, Apie pagavimą šnipų 1998, http://www.tekstai.lt/tekstai)

(83) Birut-ė te-sak-ė [pamiegoj-us-i PENKI-AS
B.-NOM.SG RSTR-SAY-PST sleep-PST-NOM.SG.F five-ACC.PL.F
VALAND-AS].
hour-ACC.PL
‘Birutė said that she had slept just five hours.’

(84) Kaz-ys te-man-ė [Aldon-q j-į myl-i-nt].
K.-NOM.SG RSTR-THINK-PST A.-ACC.SG 3-ACC.SG.M love-PRS-PA
‘Kazys thought that only Aldona loves him / that Aldona loves only himself.’

Situations when the restrictive prefix attaches to the matrix verb while taking scope inside of the embedded clause are especially frequent with modal verbs taking infinitival complements. Actually, sentences with te- appearing on the infinitive have been judged as ungrammatical by some of my consultants, cf. the contrast in (85a) vs. (85b). Nevertheless, examples like (85b) are actually attested in the corpora, though very rarely, cf. (86), (87).

(85) a. Te-turėj-a-u [užmokė-ti DEŠIMT LIT-ų].
rSTR-MUST-PST-1SG pay-INF ten litas-GEN.PL
‘I had to pay only ten litas.’

b. *Turėj-a-u [te-užmokė-ti DEŠIMT LIT-ų].
must-PST-1SG RSTR-PAY-INF ten litas-GEN.PL
intended: ‘id.’
Notes on the Lithuanian restrictive

(86) *Nor-nt-ys ei-ti toki-u keli-u,*
want-PRS-PA-NOM.PL.M go-INF such-INS.SG.M road-INS.SG
gal-i [NE-TOLI te-nu-ei-ti].
can-PRS NEG-far RSTR-PVB-GO-INF
‘Those who want to by go this road can go only not far away.’
(LKT)

(87) ... *prietais-as turė-tų* [te-sver-tį pus-ė]
device-NOM.SG must-SBJ RSTR-weigh-INF half-ACC.SG
KILOGRAM-O].
kilogram-GEN.SG
‘... the device would have to weigh just half a kilogram.’
(LKT)

With other matrix verbs, *te-* on the infinitive seems to be more acceptable, cf. the constructed example (88), which was judged as grammatical by the same consultant who had rejected (85b), and the corpus examples (89)–(90).

(88) *Mokytoj-as leid-o Kazi-ui [te-atsaky-ti į]*
teacher-NOM.SG let-PST K.-DAT.SG RSTR-answer-INF in
DÚ KLASIM-US].
two question-ACC.PL
‘The teacher allowed Kazys to answer just two questions.’

(89) *Taigi įpras-ki-me* [... *te-turė-tį kelet-A*]
so get-used-IMP-1PL RSTR-have-INF several-ACC.SG
VERG-U,...]
slave-GEN.PL
‘So, let’s get used to ... having only a few slaves...’ (LKT)

As Rolandas Mikulskas pointed out to me, (88) with the restrictive prefix on the embedded verb is natural in the context when the teacher, knowing that Kazys is a good student, permitted him to answer only two questions (out of a larger number of questions). By contrast, a version of (88) with the restrictive prefix on the matrix verb (*teleido ... atsakyti į du klausimus*) is natural in a different context, viz. the one where the teacher got angry with Kazys and let him answer only two questions before dismissing him. Arguably, this difference corresponds to the mutual scope of restrictive and permission; put informally, *leido teatsakyti į du klausimus* means ‘permitted a situation such that [two questions were answered & no more questions were answered]’, whereas *teleido atsakyti į du klausimus* means ‘permitted a situation such that two questions were answered & did not permit a situation such that more questions were answered’. According to Barbara Partee, similar interpretive differences, which are not always easy to capture, can be found in parallel English examples, too.

17
(90) mano mam-a, kuri-ai likim-as
my mother-NOM.SG who-DAT.SG.F fate-NOM.SG
lėm-ė [te-baig-ti 4... mokykl-os klas-es...]
doom-PST RSTR-finish-INF 4 school-GEN.SG grade-ACC.PL
‘my mother, whom fate doomed to finish just four grades at school...’ (LKT)

There are certain restrictions on the possibility of *te-* exhibiting embedded scope\(^{18}\). These restrictions, as it seems, are related to the well-known ‘island constraints’ (Ross 1967/1986)\(^{19}\). For instance, *te-* cannot be attached to the matrix verb governing two co-ordinated infinitive clauses, if the restricted element is contained in just one of them, cf. (91a,b).

(91) a. Bet kodėl objektyvuoj-a-nč-iu žvilgsni-u
but why objectivize-PRS-PA-INS.SG.M view-INS.SG
gal-i-me [[daug pamaty-ti] ir [MAŽA can-PRS-1PL much see-INF and little
*te-supras-ti]]?
rstr-UNDERSTAND-INF
‘But why does the objectivizing view allow us to see a lot and to understand just a little?’ (LKT)
b. *te-gal-i-me [[daug pamaty-ti] ir [MAŽA
rstr-can-PRS-1PL much see-INF and little
supras-ti]]
UNDERSTAND-INF
intended: ‘we can see a lot but understand just a little’

Similarly, the restrictive prefix cannot appear on the matrix verb if the focused element is contained in an adverbial participial clause (adjunct island) (92a,b), in an attributive participial clause (complex NP island) (93a,b), or in a finite clause introduced by a complementizer (94a,b). Examples (92b), (93b), and (94b) are ungrammatical only under the interpretation identical to that of the respective a-examples; with the wide scope of the restrictive prefix, including the whole of the island constituent, these sentences become acceptable.

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\(^{18}\) And anyway it must be acknowledged that embedded scope of *te-* with participial constructions is not accepted by all of my consultants.

\(^{19}\) See, however, Rooth (1996, Sect. 4.2) on island violations with English *only*.
(92) a. * gal-i-m-a taip paprastai gyven-ti, [tiek ne-daug can-prs-pp-pred so simply live-inf so neg-much te-užim-ant pasaul-yje viet-os].

rstr-occupy-prs-pa world-loc.sg place-gen.sg

‘it is possible to live so simply, occupying just so little space in the world.’ (lkt)

b. *te-galima gyventi [tiek nedaug užimant vietos]

rstr-possible to.live so little occupying of.space intended: ‘id.’

(93) a. ...

prie tévišk-ės vienkiem-yje gyven-o near homeland-gen.sg farmstead-loc.sg live-pst

[viен rusįšk-ai te-mok-a-nt-i]

just russian-adv rstr-can-prs-pa-nom.sg.f

grioviakasi-o Deniso šeim-a.

navvy-gen.sg D.-gen.sg family-nom.sg

‘... on a farmstead near their homeland there lived navvy Denis’ family, who understood only Russian’ (lkt)


rstr-lived just russian understanding family intended: ‘there lived a family who understood only russian’

(94) a. Jurg-is sak-ė, [kad aldon-a te-atėj-o].

J.-nom.sg say-pst that A.-nom.sg rstr-come-pst

‘Jurgis said that only Aldona had come.’

b. *Jurg-is te-sak-ė, [kad aldon-a atėj-o].

J.-nom.sg rstr-say-pst that A.-nom.sg come-pst

intended: ‘id.’

It must be noted that with respect to the scope of the restrictive prefix, indicative and subjunctive finite clauses pattern identically, both disallowing the embedded scope, compare (94) with (95). This is non-trivial, since only indicative, but not subjunctive clauses are islands with respect to the extraction of question words, cf. (96).

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20 One of my consultants judged (95b) acceptable under the relevant reading, but the others did not confirm it, saying that (95b) can only mean ‘Jonas wanted nothing but that Aldona would come’.
(95) a. *Jon-as norėj-o, [kad te-atei-tų Aldon-a].
   J.-NOM.SG want-PST that RSTR-COME-SBJ.3 A.-NOM.SG
   ‘Jonas wanted that only Aldona would come.’

   b. ??Jon-as te-norėj-o, [kad atei-tų Aldon-a].
   J.-NOM.SG RSTR-WANT-PST that COME-SBJ.3 A.-NOM.SG
   intended: ‘id.’

(96) a. Kur i nor-i, [kad j-is ___i sėdė-tų]?
   where want-PRS.2SG that 3-NOM.SG.M sit-SBJ.3
   ‘Where do you want him to sit?’

   b. *Kur i sak-e-i, [kad j-is ___i sėdėj-o]?
   where say-PST.2SG that 3-NOM.SG.M sit-PST
   intended: ‘Where did you say he sat?’

The ability of the restrictive *te- to scope into non-finite clauses is
not an isolated fact. For instance, negation on the matrix verb can
license negation-dependent elements in the infinitive clause, such as
genitive on the direct object (97a) or negative polarity items (97b).

(97) a. Jon-as ne-norėj-o [skaiti-ši-os knyg-òs].
   J.-NOM.SG NEG-WANT-PST read-INF this-GEN.SG.F
   book-GEN.SG
   ‘Jonas didn’t want to read this book.’

   b. Jon-as ne-norėj-o [niek-o skaiti-ši]
   J.-NOM.SG NEG-WANT-PST nothing-GEN.SG read-INF
   ‘Jonas didn’t want to read anything.’

That negation and the restrictive in Lithuanian are similar in
their ability to take scope over the subject (see section 4) and to take
embedded scope is probably not accidental, but I won’t pursue this
parallelism any further here.

As we have seen, the restrictive prefix on the matrix verb can scope
into the embedded non-finite clause. By contrast, *te- prefixed to the
embedded predicate cannot take scope over constituents of the matrix
clause, cf. (98) with the infinitive and (99) with the nominative-plus-
participle construction.

(98) a. Mokytoj-as te-leid-o Kazi-ui [atsaky-ši]
   teacher-NOM.SG RSTR-LET-PST K.-DAT. SG answer-INF
In (98) and (99), the a-sentences with the restrictive prefix attached to the matrix verb have (at least potentially) two interpretations, with the restrictive taking scope either over one of the constituents of the matrix clause (the preferable interpretation) or over some constituent in the embedded clause (the less preferred interpretation). By contrast, the b-sentences, where te- appears on the embedded non-finite verb, have only the second interpretation, with the restrictive taking scope just in the embedded clause; the readings under which the embedded restrictive takes scope in the matrix clause are categorically rejected by all my consultants.

This property of the Lithuanian restrictive is by itself not at all surprising, since operators in general cannot take scope above their syntactic domain (cf. e.g. Sportiche 2006), but it turns out that it makes the restrictive a valuable diagnostic of syntactic structure in
those instances where other evidence is inconclusive. In particular, the behaviour of \textit{te}- helps to determine whether the accusative noun phrase belongs to the matrix or to the embedded clause in the accusative-plus-participle clausal complement constructions. As I argue in Arkadiev (2010b), there are actually two kinds of accusative-plus-participle construction in Lithuanian, which, though superficially very similar, exhibit fairly divergent syntactic properties. The constructions of the first type occur mainly with perception verbs and involve an accusative direct object of the matrix verb controlling the null subject of the participle. In the other type, found with verbs of speech and thought, the accusative NP belongs to the embedded clause. The evidence for this dichotomy and in particular for the different constituent structure is manifold, and among the various tests is the one involving the scope of the restrictive.

When the restrictive prefix is attached to the matrix verb (100), there is no difference between the two constructions: in both of them, \textit{te}- can take the accusative NP in its scope\textsuperscript{22}. By contrast, when \textit{te}- surfaces on the participle (101), the accusative NP can fall into the scope of restriction only in the construction with verbs of speech (101a), not in the construction with perception verbs (101a). This, together with such evidence as, for instance, adverb placement, indicates that only in the latter, but not in the former, construction, the accusative NP is located inside the participial clause\textsuperscript{23}.

\begin{itemize}
\item \textbf{(100) a.} \textit{Te-mač-ia-u} \textit{Jon-Ą} atėj-us.
\texttt{rstr-see-pst-1sg j.-acc.sg come-pst.pa}
\textit{‘I saw that only John come.’}
\item \textbf{(100) b.} \textit{Te-sak-ia-u} \textit{Jon-Ą} atėj-us.
\texttt{rstr-say-pst-1sg j.-acc.sg come-pst.pa}
\textit{‘I said that only John had come.’}
\end{itemize}

\textsuperscript{22} For those speakers who disallow the embedded scope of \textit{te}- in participial constructions, (100b) is ungrammatical.

\textsuperscript{23} Some speakers, however, do not reject (101a); as Rolandas Mikulskas pointed out to me, this, together with the felicitous (100a), suggests that the accusative NP with perception verbs somehow belongs both to the matrix and to the embedded clauses simultaneously (see also Holvoet & Judžentis 2003, 144 on the possible structural ambiguity of these constructions). Since some of these speakers reject (100b), the syntactic contrast between accusative-plus-participle constructions embedded under perception verbs vs. cognition verbs is relevant for them, too.
(101) a. ??Mač-ia-u  JON-Ą [te-atėj-us].
see-pst-1sg  J.-acc.sg  rstr-come-pst.pa
intended: ‘= 100a’
b. Sak-ia-u  [JON-Ą te-atėj-us].
say-pst-1sg  J.-acc.sg  rstr-come-pst.pa
‘= 100b’

6. Conclusions
In this paper I have presented the first detailed description of the Lithuanian restrictive prefix te-, looking upon it from a typologically and theoretically oriented perspective. Let me briefly summarize my findings.

1. From the point of view of morphology, te- belongs to the class of the “outer” prefixes in Lithuanian, attaching to the left of the “inner” (aspectual) prefixes, and sharing with the latter the ability to trigger the displacement of the reflexive morpheme.

2. From the point of view of its combinatory possibilities, te- shows few restrictions, being able to attach to different finite and non-finite verbal forms; in periphrastic forms, with the exception of the avertive, te- can attach both to the auxiliary and to the non-finite (participial) form.

3. The Lithuanian prefix in question is remarkably polyfunctional; it is shown that in some cases (combinations with the prefix be-) this polyfunctionality leads to the grammatical ban on the expression of the restrictive meaning, while in other cases (combinations with the present and future 3rd person forms) the polyfunctionality is resolved only by context, potentially leading to a restrictive/permissive ambiguity.

4. The Lithuanian prefixal restrictive is an ‘adverbial’ quantificational element whose scope assignment in the clause is sensitive to the focus structure of the sentence, but is not restricted by any rigid grammatical constraints. All kinds of the major sentence constituents, including subject, direct and indirect objects, and adverbials of different kinds, can fall into the scope of te-.

5. The prefix in question is not the only and even not the most common means of expression of restrictivity in Lithuanian. It is used on a par with the particles tik, tiktai, and vien, which appear to the left of the constituent in their scope. There is no ban on the simultaneous
use of both $te$- and one of these particles reinforcing each other in one and the same sentence.

6. One of the noteworthy properties of $te$- is its ability, when attached to a superordinate verb, to scope into constituents of different kinds, including non-finite subordinate clauses. However, $te$- prefixed to a subordinate verb cannot take scope in the ‘upstairs’ clause, which makes the restrictive prefix a valuable diagnostic of constituent structure.

7. From the cross-linguistic point of view, the Lithuanian restrictive prefix belongs to a fairly widespread class of verb-adjacent restrictive elements without a fixed position with respect to the constituent in its scope. At the same time, being a morphologically bound element, $te$- finds very few direct counterparts in the languages of the world. Its closest kin is so far found in the North Australian language Bininj Gun-wok (Evans 1995), where the verbal prefix -$djal$- ‘just, only’ can also take scope over various clausal elements. It must be also stressed that no direct or indirect counterparts of the Lithuanian prefixal restrictive are found in the closest neighbouring languages.

To conclude, I hope that the empirical data presented in this paper will be useful not only for a fuller description and deeper understanding of verbal categories, morphosyntax and syntax-semantics interface in Lithuanian, but also for a broader conception of restrictivity and focus-related phenomena in general.

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ABBREVIATIONS

non-past, ob — object, pa — active participle, pl — plural, pp — passive participle, pred — predicative, prm — permissive, prs — present, pst — past, pvb — preverb, rfl — reflexive, rstr — restrictive, sb — subject, sbj — subjunctive, sg — singular, sup — superlative, top — topic, voc — vocative

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