

Lithuanian morphologically differentiates between the marker of the standard of comparison in phrasal comparatives (1) and in clausal comparatives (2). In phrasal comparatives, the standard marker is the preposition *už*, which takes only a DP complement, assigns accusative case to this complement, and displays pied-piping (Lithuanian lacks preposition stranding). In clausal comparatives, the marker is *negu*, which takes DP and non-DP complements, assigns case based on the internal syntax of the standard clause, and allows the complementizer *kad* ‘that’. Curiously, however, the phrasal marker displays island sensitivities (3) while the clausal marker does not (4). This paper uses evidence from the semantics of Lithuanian modal comparatives (1) to argue, first, that the clausal marker incorporates negation and second, that this incorporation accounts for the clausal marker’s surprising lack of island sensitivity.

Prior analyses of phrasal and clausal comparatives have suggested that phrasal comparatives are either simple PP structures, reduced clausal structures, or reduced small clauses (Kennedy 2009, Bhatt and Takahashi 2007, Pancheva 2005, 2009, and others). For the simple PP analyses, the island (in)sensitivities of (3, 4) are opposite of what is expected— island sensitivities should appear in clausal comparatives, not phrasal comparatives. Following Pancheva (2009), the small clause analysis can account for certain islands (e.g. relative clauses, as in (5)) through locality restrictions, but the wider range of island sensitivities—including temporal adjuncts—remains unaccounted for. Reduced clausal analyses like Merchant (2009) successfully derive island (in)sensitivities. Merchant proposes that phrasal comparatives (in Greek) are clausal in nature but reduced by ellipsis. In the clausal marker case, island sensitivities do not occur because sluicing (eliding TP) repairs island violations (6). In the phrasal marker case, the remnant moves into the projection of the phrasal preposition; however, the remnant leaves an island-violating trace because the phrasal marker heads a PP projection, and this trace disallows island repair (7). While Merchant’s ellipsis-based account is attractive, it leaves the standard marker semantically vacuous, failing to account for modal comparatives like (1).

Lithuanian modals in comparatives provide new evidence for the semantic content of the standard marker (see also Pancheva 2005). Lithuanian has one possibility modal *galeti* and one necessity modal *tureti*, and the behavior of these modals with respect to clausemate negation conforms to surface scope order, as in (8) and (9) respectively (Holvoet 2007). In comparatives involving modals, possibility modals uniformly produce >-max readings (10), and necessity (i.e., universal) modals uniformly produce >-min readings. Following Schwarzschild (2008)’s negation-based semantics of comparison, the proper truth conditions for (10) appear in (11): the pilot is taller than the pilot’s maximal degree of height in all (presumably deontic) accessible worlds. Importantly, (11) relies on implicit negation; I argue, based in part on historical evidence (the *ne-* in *negu* is derived from a negation marker) and in part on semantics, that this implicit negation is incorporated into the clausal marker *negu*.

My proposal claims that the incorporation of negation into the clausal standard marker requires a NegP complement. The absence of the NegP is responsible for the unavailability of the phrasal standard marker in sentences like (4). Thus, while both phrasal and clausal markers in Lithuanian take clausal complements, only *negu* further requires a NegP. The NegP blocks movement of the remnant above CP, thereby preventing an illicit trace and allowing island repair via sluicing (Merchant 2009). Without the NegP, the phrasal standard marker does not block further movement of the remnant, thereby resulting in an illicit trace and precipitating an unrepaired island violation. This proposal both imbues the clausal standard marker with its appropriate semantic content and

derives island (in)sensitivities from this content. In doing so, the account provides evidence for a negation-based semantics of comparison and for a reduced clausal analysis of phrasal comparatives.

- (1) Jonas aukštesnis negu kad turi būti
 John taller than.CLAUSAL that he.must to.be
John is taller than he must be (to be a pilot)
- (2) Jonas aukštesnis už Mariją
 John taller than.PHRASAL Mary.ACC
John is taller than Mary
- (3) *John ziurejo daugiau filmu kurias rekomendavo Mary, uz
 John watched more movies which recommended Mary.NOM than.PHRASAL
 Billa
 Bill.ACC
John saw more movies when Mary recommended them to him than when Bill recommended them to him
- (4) John ziurejo daugiau filmu kurias rekomendavo Mary, negu
 John watched more movies which recommended Mary.NOM than.CLAUSAL
 Bill
 Bill.NOM
- (5) Daugiau kas gyvena kraste, kuri valdo Obama,
 more who live in.the.state which rules Obama.NOM
 (*uz, negu) Medvedeva
 (*than.PHRASAL, than.CLAUSAL) Medvedev.ACC
More people live in the state that Obama governs than in the state that Medvedev governs
- (6) negu [CP [FP Medveda₁ <[TP gyvena kraste kuri valdo t₁]>]]
- (7) už [PP Medveda₁ t_{uz} [CP [FP t''₁ <[TP gyvena kraste kuri valdo t₁]>]]]
- (8) Petras negali plauti indu
 Peter not.may wash dishes
Peter is not allowed to wash the dishes
- (9) Morkus neturi eiti i Mišias
 Mark not.must to.go to mass
It is not necessary that Mark to go to mass
- (10) Pilotas aukštesnis, negu kad gali būti
 Pilot taller than that may to.be
The pilot is taller than he should be
- (11) Pilotas aukštesnis, negu kad gali būti
 $\lambda d \neg \exists w [ACC_{@}(w) \& HEIGHT_w(plt) > d]$
 $\models \lambda d \forall w [ACC_{@}(w) \rightarrow [\neg HEIGHT_w(plt) > d]]$

References Bhatt and Takahashi 2007, Direct comparisons, SALT 14. Halvoet 2007, Mood and modality in Baltic, Wydawnictwo Uniwersytetu Jagiellonskiego. Kennedy 2009, Modes of comparison, CLS 43. Merchant 2009, Phrasal and clausal comparatives in Greek, Jnl. Grk. Ling. Pancheva 2005, Phrasal and comparatives in Slavic, FASL 14. Pancheva 2009, More students attended FASL than CONSOLE, FASL 18. Schwarzschild 2008, The semantics of comparatives, Lang. and Ling. Compass.