**Review** 28, 175-206; Gajić, J. (2016) Ni-disjunction as a coordination marker and focus particle, ESSLLI 28 Proceedings. (...

References: Arsenijević, B. (2011) Serbo-Croatian coordinative conjunctions at the syntax-semantics interface. The Linguistic

neither...nor

[Ni who NEG.NEG.AUX aux read(AUX) aux neg what read(AUX) aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux listen(AUX) aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux write(AUX) aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux list(AUX) aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux agree(AUX) aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux neg who NEG.NEG.AUX aux.

'Nobody read anything'

'A girl read nothing'

Arsenijević (2011) and Gajić (2016) discuss ni-coordination structures in S-C. Clausemate sentential negation, marked by the verbal marker of negation ne/ni-AUX, is always required (2). But S-C has another negative coordination marker, niti (3), which has so far gone unnoticed in the literature. Niti is sometimes interchangeable with ni, however, unlike ni...ni, it does not require a negated verb in the clause which it introduces (4).

(3) Niti *ni* je proper *ni* pišao.

'Nobody is doing nothing'

(4) On niti sluša niti piše.

'He neither listens nor writes'

Niti is highly degraded when coordinating just DPs (5), ni would be required here ((5') Ni Lea ni Iva ne pišu/e). Furthermore, only (weak) i-NPIs are licensed inside a niti-coordinand (6).

(5) ?*Niti Lea niti Iva (ni) je pišu/e. (6) Niti je iko slušao, niti je išta dogovoreno.

'Neither Lea nor Iva is doing nothing'

'Neither Lea nor Iva listen, neither is doing anything'

Crucially, the neg-words (ni+wh) are not grammatical here (7), although they need a negative environment (1), which means that niti does not participate in the system of NC.

(7) *Niti (ni) je niko slušao, niti (ni) je ništa dogovoreno.

Lit. 'Neither did nobody listen, nor was anything agreed'

In presence of the verbal marker (ni-), (7) yields an interpretation of double negation (both coordinated clauses are interpreted positively). This makes niti the only inherently negative element in a strict NC language such as S-C is – niti can induce sentential negation, but it is incompatible with NC. We propose an analysis along the lines of Zeijlstra's (2009) account for French negative adverbial pas. Niti is thus the overt realization of the semantic negative operator. It does not carry any formal features (interpretable [INEG] or uninterpretable [uNEG]), which prevents it from participating in NC. In French as well, weak NPIs, such as qui que ce soit, are compatible with pas (Corblin & de Swart 2004), but neg-words, such as personne or rien, are not. This also explains the double negation reading for (7): under Zeijlstra's (2004, 2008) approach to strict NC, in each of the two clauses, one overt (niti) and one covert negative operator are present, the latter being necessary to check the [uNEG] features on the verbal marker ni- and the neg-word niko. In light of this, (5) is problematic as no covert negative operator is needed when ne is left out, so the sentence should work the same as its English counterpart. But niti is a clausal coordinator, like (neither...)nor, so it is banned from certain contexts probably due to competition with its non-clausal cousin ni (whereas there is no such competition in English). The parallel between niti and neither...nor is reinforced by the fact that such coordinations in both languages display subject-auxiliary inversion (6), also known as Negative Inversion. This is observed for fronted foci in English (Büring 2004, Collins & Postal 2014). In the case of neither...nor, the [NEG] feature inside their feature bundles is usually identified as the trigger of inversion (Hendriks 2004, den Dikken 2006). We conclude that it is, in fact, the absence of formal [i/uNEG] features in the case of niti that triggers the inversion (this can be extended to neither...nor), as the phrase containing the negative operator must raise to SpecCP.