

On the underlying structure of negative coordination and its (non-)at-issue content

Negative coordination is the term used for constituents connected by special forms of markers which yield interpretations of the logically stronger of the two de Morgan's equivalences (1).

$$(1) \quad \neg p \wedge \neg q \quad \Leftrightarrow \quad \neg(p \vee q)$$

Examples of such constructions are provided by *neither...nor* in English (2a), as well as *ni...ni* (2b) and *niti...niti* in Serbo-Croatian (2c).

- (2) a. Neither Jenny nor Katie read the paper.
b. Ni Ina ni Lea nisu pročitale članak. Lit. "Ni Ina ni Lea NEG read paper"
c. Niti je Ina pevala, niti će Lea igrati. Lit. "Niti Ina sang niti will Lea dance"

This talk will address two issues which arise in the study of negative coordination: (i) which of the two configurations in (1) is the appropriate underlying structure for negative coordination in English and in Serbo-Croatian, and (ii) how could negative coordinations be related to additive focus particles, exemplified in (3), given that the same forms are used for the two phenomena.

- (3) a. A: Jenny didn't read the paper. B: Neither/Nor did Katie. / Katie didn't, either.
b. A: Ina nije pročitala članak. B: (Nije) ni Lea (nije). / Niti je Lea.
Lit. "Ina NEG read paper" Lit. "(NEG) ni Lea (NEG)" / "niti AUX Lea".

I will argue that negative coordinations are disjunction-based in both languages and that this can be reconciled with the difference in the semantic status of negative elements in the two languages, i.e. the fact that neg-words in English are normally analyzed as inherently negative, whereas neg-words in Serbo-Croatian are not. For this purpose, the putative presuppositional component of additive particles, based on focus (alternative) semantics, will be incorporated into the lexical entries of the markers, and different ways of achieving this will be explored.