

What is expletive about doubly negative contexts in Modern Greek?

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Greek has two markers of sentential negation, *ðen* and *min*. The received wisdom is that they are in complementary distribution, each heading the single NegP on the clause, depending on clausal mood: *ðen* occurs in indicative and *min* in subjunctive contexts (Veloudis & Philippaki-Warburton 1984; Rivero 1994; Philippaki-Warburton 1994, 1998; Tsimpli & Roussou 1996, *i.a.*). Quite unexpectedly, however, a number of cases exist where *dhen* and *min* co-occur (see Manta 2020 for an overview). I will provide a description of the various doubly negative cases, which I will show do not constitute a homogeneous class, syntactically or semantically. I will argue that a single NegP in Greek can be upheld, even in the face of the doubling data, and that the reasonable idea that clauses have a unique mood specification (signaled in Greek by the form of the negative marker) is sustainable. In order to reconcile these two claims with the doubling data, I will capitalize on the following: *min* (and only *min*) may spell out C; and *ðen* (and only *ðen*) can be licensed as truth-conditionally expletive.

Selected references

Manta, E. 2020. *Double negation in Modern Greek* [in Greek]. MA thesis: University of Ioannina. **Philippaki-Warburton, I. 1994.** Verb Movement and the Distribution of Clitics [in Greek]. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 15: 892–905. Thessaloniki. **Philippaki-Warburton, I. 1998.** Functional Categories and Modern Greek Syntax. *The Linguistic Review* 15: 159–186. **Rivero, M.-L. 1994.** Clause Structure and V-movement in the Languages of the Balkans. *Natural Language and Linguistic Theory* 12: 63–120. **Tsimpli, I.-M. & A. Roussou 1996.** Negation and Polarity Items in Modern Greek. *The Linguistic Review* 13: 49–81. **Veloudis, I. & I. Philippaki-Warburton 1983.** The subjunctive in Modern Greek [in Greek]. *Studies in Greek Linguistics* 4: 151–168. Thessaloniki.