Anti-factive imprecatives in Modern Greek: Pragmatics against Persistence

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Functions of *pu* in Standard Modern Greek: Consistently factive

Relativiser
Pseudo-relativiser (qualifying adverbs)
Causal connective
Temporal connective (past)
Realis resultative connective
Contrast connective
Factive complementiser: emotive predicates, given complements of cognitive predicates
Nominaliser: clausal subjects, clausal arguments of prepositions
Clausal collocation formant (with adverbs)
Exclamatory introductive

Anti-Factives

Imprecative followed by *pu*-clause.

Controlled Event: Use *pu θa* (*θa* 'future marker' < *θelo na* 'want to'), introduce irrealis event clause (non-past), under speaker control. Event is refused.

Uncontrolled Event: Use *pu θa*, introduce (realis) event clause, under addressee control. Event is asserted, but belittled.

Stative: Use *pu*, introduce fact clause. Clause may have any grammatical subject, any temporal denotation. Fact consistently denied.

Controlled Event Anti-Factives

(1)   Ο Κονράδος [του Μομφερά] σηκώθηκε απάνω.
        —Α *πάγαινε ρε*, λέει [στον Γκυ ντε Λουζινιάν], ***που θα*** σου δώσω την Τύρο.
        Εγώ πολέμησα ρε κοκονιόρκο να την κρατήσω και θα στην δώσω εσένα
        του κιοτή; Α πάγαινε.
        o konraðos sikoθike apano.
        a paɣene re, lei, ***pu θa*** su ðoso tin tiro. eɣo polemisa re kokonioriko na
        tin kratiso ke θa stin ðoso esena tu kioti? a paɣene.
        ["***Be going, you***," he says, "***that*** I will give you Tyre."]
        Conrad [of Montferrat] got up.
        "***Get lost***!" he said [to Guy of Lousignan]. "As if I'm going to
        give you Tyre! I fought to hold on to it, you great big girl's
        blouse, and you want me to give it to you now, you coward? Get
        lost." (TsifC 228)

(2) Χηρούλα που είμαι το γλεντάω καλύτερα, *άει στο διάλο που θα* βάλω γω
ξανά καπίστρι στο σβέρκο μου.
xirula pu ime to ɣledao kalitera, ***ai sto ðiaolo pu θa*** valo ɣo ksana
kapistri sto sverko mu.
['***Go to hell that*** I will put again a yoke on my neck.']
I'm having a much better time as a widow. Hell, I'm not
putting a yoke on my neck again. (TsifC 161)

Uncontrolled Event Anti-Factives

(3) Ο Νουρ εν Ντιν καταυχαριστήθηκε.
—Τους εκάναμε νοικοκυραίους. *Άει στο διάολο* παλιόπαιδο [Βαλδουΐνος
Γ´] *που θα* πολεμήσεις εσύ εμένα.
o nur en din katafxaristiθike.
tus ekaname nikokireus. ***ai sto ðiaolo*** paliopeðo ***pu θa*** polemisis esi
emena.
['***Go to hell*** bad child, ***that*** YOU will fight me.']
Nur-en-Din was ecstatic.
"We've made proper householders of them. Piss off you
pipsqueak [Baldwin III]! As if you were going to fight with me!"
(TsifC 170)

(4) Ο καλός κλέφτης τον αδερφό του κλέβει πρώτα. *Ας στο διάολο, που θα* μου
πης εμένα περί κλεψιά. Εγώ είμαι κηδεμόνας σας, ρε. Την τέχνη θα μου
μάθετε;
o kalos kleftis ton aðerfo tu klevi prota. ***as sto ðiaolo, pu θa*** mu pis
emena peri klepsia. eɣo ime kiðemonas sas, re. tin texni θa mu maθete?
['***Go to hell, that*** you will tell me about theft.']
(Poseidon mentions to Zeus Hermes' theft of Apollo's cattle. Zeus
retorts.)
A good thief robs his brother first of all. Talk to me about theft?
Get stuffed! I'm your bloody guardian. Are you going to try and
teach me how to suck eggs? (TsifM 208)

(5) —Περικαλώ κάντε πέρα καθόσο περί τα Κορωνομεθώνη ενδιαφέρεται ο
μπαμπάς [δόγης της Βενετίας].
—*Α πάαινε* ρε, έκαναν οι Φράγκοι, *που θα* μας φας τον τόπο.
"perikalo kante pera kaθoso peri ta koronomeθoni enðiaferete o babas."
"***a paene*** re," ekanan i fragi, "***pu θa*** mas fas ton topo."
['"***Be going,*** you," said the Franks, "***that*** you will devour the
land from us."']
"Do kindly step aside, as Daddy [the doge of Venice] is interested
in Coron and Modon."

"Get lost!" the French said. "As if you're going to gobble up our land from under us!" (TsifFU 35)

Stative Anti-Factives

(6) Μπήκανε οι άνθρωποι στα καράβια τους, τους φασκελώσανε «*νά που* είσαστε σεις για προκοπή», ανοιχτήκανε και πάνε πίσω.
bikane i anθropi sta karavia tus, tus faskelosane """*na pu* isaste sis ɣia prokopi", anixtikane ke pane piso.
['*lo! that* you are for progress']
The guys got into their boats, they gave them the fig—"Take that! As if any good will ever come of you lot"—they went out to sea and headed home. (TsifC 202) *(Stative, second person)*

(7) `> argises pantws na apantiseis:-)kapoion rwtas fainetai:-)`
—Άργησες πάντως να απαντήσεις :-) Κάποιον ρωτάς φαίνεται :-)
—arɣises pados na apadisis [smiley] kapion rotas fenete [smiley]

Ti	*les*	*kale*	*pou*	`arghsa¿¿¿¿`
Τι	*λες*	*καλέ*	*που*	άργησα;;;;
—*ti*	*les*	*kale*	*pu*	arɣisa????
what	you say	good man (VOC)	pu	I was late

—But you were late answering. :-) You must be asking someone else. :-)
—Mate, what do you mean, 'late'? (Charalambos P. Karaolides (response to Ioannis Iliopoulos): `Re: O nonos...;` Hellas-L, 1995–09–04) *(Past, first person)*

(8) Άνοιξέ το, να ιδούμε. Α! ντροπή είναι, καημένη. Καλέ, άνοιξέ το, *που* είναι ντροπή! Τα σεντούκια των υπηρετριών είναι γιανά τα ψάχνουν οι κυρίες!
anikse to, na iðume. a! dropi ine, kaimeni. kale, anikse to, *pu* ine dropi! ta sedukia ton ipiretrion ine ɣia na ta psaxnun i kiries!
['"Why, open it up, *that* it is a shame!"']
Open it up, so we can have a look. Oh, it's shameful, you poor dear! Why, open it up—shameful indeed! Maids' chests are there for ladies to search through! (Tz §282 LXXXIV v; Xenopoulos) *(Stative, third person)*

Development
I. Uncontrolled Event: θa < θelo na volitive (hence event restriction), second person (hence still factive)

(9) άει στο διάτανο, άει στη λίγνη, *που θέλεις να* μου φέρης προξενειό για τον αδρέφουλιά σου.

ai sto ðjatano, ai sti liɣni, ***pu θelis na*** mu feris prokseɲo ja ton aðrefuʎa su.

Go to hell, go to perdition, ***who would*** matchmake your big lug of a brother! (HDMS 1017:165)

II*. Controlled Event: Analogical extension to first person; Conversational Implicature—if Ego disparages X and has control over X, Ego will not do X.*

III*. Stative: Further analogical extension to clauses without θelo na> na (reanalysed from volitive to future marker); without the volitive, can now also refer to facts.*

Conventionalisation

(10)　Φρύαξε η Δήμητρα. Πάει στον ΄Ολυμπο και τους κατάφτυσε.

　　　—*Νά* ρε, ***που***　κάνετε το μεσάζων με την δικιά μου την κόρη.

　　　friakse i ðimitra. pai ston olibo ke tus kataftise.

　　　'''na re, ***pu*** kanete to mesazon me tin ðikia mu tin kori.

　　　(Demeter on the abduction of Persephone)

　　　Demeter was livid. She went to Olympus and spat on the gods. "Take that, damn you, ***for*** playing pimp with my own daughter." (TsifM 370)

(11)　***Σώπα****,* του λέει καϊμένε, ***που*** η παπαδία είναι στραβή.

　　　sopa*,* tu lei kaimene, ***pu*** i papaðia ine stravi.

　　　Be silent*,* he said, poor man; ***for*** the priest's wife is blind. (Min 513)

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