

***Piga na peso* : De-allative avertive construction(s) in the history of Greek**

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The paper investigates the diachronic development of an avertive construction in Greek referring to an action barely avoided in the past, built on the motion verb ‘pao’ (= go). The avertive as a grammatical ‘category’ has rarely been the subject of systematic scrutiny, as it has only recently been identified as a ‘gram’ in its own right (cf. Kuteva 1998, 2000). Despite recent investigations from a cross-linguistic (Alexandrova, 2016) and a more theoretic point of view (Kuteva et al., 2019), avertive constructions remain under-studied, especially as far as their diachronic developments are concerned. The same holds for the Modern Greek de-allative construction ‘piga na + Subjunctive’, exemplified below:

- (1) Toso pu ipja, piga na peso monos mu.
Somuch that drink-1st PAST.PERF., go-1st PAST.PERF that fall-1st PERF.SUBJ alone me
“I drank so much, I almost fell by myself”

De-allative avertive constructions are not readily found cross-linguistically (e.g. Alexandrova, 2016), therefore the main aim of the paper is to trace the diachronic path of development of this Greek construction, framed in the overall Diachronic Construction Grammar framework (cf. e.g. Traugott & Trousdale, 2013, Barðdal et al., 2015, Hilpert 2021, Hilpert et al. 2021). To achieve this, the investigation will expand its focus to examine semantically and morphosyntactically similar constructions based on the very same motion verb (‘pao’) that are attested in Late Medieval / Early Modern Greek (Trigka, 2021), namely the ‘proximative’ (referring to an imminent action) and ‘apprehensive’ (referring to ‘non-realization of an undesirable verb situation’ (Kuteva et al. 2019: 852) constructions, exemplified in (2-3):

- (2) Megala pluti ke chares pa na kleronomisis
Great riches and joys go-2nd/3rd SING. that inherit-2nd PERF.SUBJ.
“You are about to inherit great riches and joy”
(*Abraham’s Sacrifice* 852, Trigka 2021: 1293)
- (3) Chonome min pa lachi ke dusi me ta matia su
Hide not go-3rd SING. happen and see-3rd PL. me the eyes yours
“I hide lest your eyes notice me”
(*Panoria* 568, Trigka 2021: 1294)

Based on the facts observed in a corpus comprising literary and non-literary texts of late Medieval and early Modern Greek (ca. 15th-20th centuries), the quantitative and qualitative analysis shows that the proximative construction gave rise first to the apprehensive one, and subsequently, at a second stage (in Modern Greek times), it became the source for the constructionalization of the avertive through the conventionalization of an implicature. The paper wraps up with preliminary remarks concerning the complex inter-play in the network of de-allative non-realis constructions in the history of Greek, stressing the importance of such diachronic studies for the theoretical architecture of construction networks.

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