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Habituals

in [Encyclopedia of Greek Language and Linguistics Online](#)

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(4,192 words)

1. Ancient Greek

1. Habituality, Iterativity and Genericity

Habituals express that a situation is customarily the case on *several different occasions* (Comrie 1976:27–28; Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:127; la Roi 2020; 2022; 2023). As such, habituals differ from iterative expressions which refer to repeated situations on *the same occasion* (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:160). Habituals such as *He used to run on Sunday* present a characterizing generalization that is supposed to hold in the majority of the occasions described by the sentence (Dahl 1985:97; la Roi 2020:141). By contrast, generic sentences entail quantification on all occasions (e.g. *Church service was/is/will be on Sundays*) and, like habituals, are not timeless as “it is perfectly possible to claim that a characterizing property held in the past or will hold in the future, without any implication for the present” (Krifka et al. 1995:6). To make matters more complicated, habituals can be both partially generic themselves (*pace* Allan 2019:21), e.g. *thieves are wont to steal*, and stative as generic statements can also be, cf. habitual *Dorians are usually stronger than Ionians* (Th. 5.9.1).

Unfortunately, these different nuances are not kept separate in our standard grammars, because these grammars use labels such as iterative, habitual and generic more freely to cover different things or even imply that these nuances are inherent meanings of these tense-aspects (Allan 2019, la Roi 2020). For example, ἄν ἄν when used with the imperfect or aorist to express a past habitual is often called “iterative ἄν” (van Emde Boas et al. 2019:415, 646), although the examples adduced express a past habitual (la Roi 2022; 2023). Similarly, both generic and habitual subordinate clauses with the so-called iterative optative (e.g. *when(ever) X, Y*) have been called iterative, habitual or indefinite (Probert 2015:83–97). Yet, in Classical Greek these so-called iterative optatives are used generically (i.e. they took place every time that the main clause took place, cf. ex. 2), with rare habitual uses being found especially in Archaic Greek, since these past generic uses seem to have developed out of the past habitual use of the optative (la Roi 2023). Internal evidence for such a developmental pathway is offered by the development of a past generic use of the modal particle ἄν ἄν with the past indicative in the Septuagint ([Septuagint](#)) from the past habitual use which it had in Classical Greek (cf. la Roi 2022:126–129).

In addition, our standard grammars primarily tell us about tense-aspects which can be used for habituals (Smyth and Messing 1968:421–432) as many different tense-aspects can express habituals (see section 2) but rarely tell us about the auxiliary ways of expressing habituals, even though cross-linguistically habitual expressions are primarily periphrastic (Dahl 1985:96). Ancient Greek possessed at least four habitual auxiliaries: εἴωθα *eíōtha* ‘be in the habit of’, φιλέω *philéō* ‘be wont to’, ἐθέλω *ethélō* ‘be wont to’ and νομίζω *nomízō* ‘to be accustomed to’. Habitual adverbials such as English ‘usually’ are rare in Ancient Greek, but see ἐωθῶς *eōthós* e.g. Hdt. 3.27 and Xen. *Oec.* 7.1.3 or for συνήθως *sunéthōs* e.g. Aeschin. 2.132 and D. 26.3.

2. Habituals: Tense, Aspect and Auxiliaries

Like other languages (Bybee, Perkins and Pagliuca 1994:153), Ancient Greek has many different tense-aspects that can express habituals ([Tense/Aspect, 1. Ancient Greek](#)): the present (ex. 1), the imperfect (ex. 2) and more rarely, the aorist (ex. 3) or the future (ex. 4).

- 1 οὗτος μὲν γὰρ ὕδωρ, ἐγὼ δ’ οἶνον πίνω (Dem. 19.46)
hoútōs mèn gàr húdōr, egō d’ oînon pínō
‘For this man tends to drink water, whereas I **normally drink** wine’
- 2 ὁπότε ἀναγκασθεῖη, πάντας ἐκράτει (Pl. *Symp.* 220a)
hopóte anakastheíē, pántas ekrátei
‘Whenever overruled, he **used to beat** us all’
- 3 ὧς αἰεὶ Ἀχιλῆα κικῆσατο κύμα ῥόοιο καὶ λαίψηρόν ἐόντα (Il. 21.263–264)
ōs aiei akhilēa kikhésato kûma rhóoio kai laipsērōn éonta
‘each time the great flood of the heaven-fed river **would beat** on his shoulders from above’
- 4 εἰρομένου δὲ ἐτέρου τὸν πλησίον τίς εἶη, καταλέξει ἐωυτὸν μητρόθεν καὶ τῆς μητρὸς ἀνανεμέεται τὰς μητέρας (Hdt. 1.173.5)
eiroménou dè hetérou tòn plēsíon tíς eíē, kataléksi heōutòn mētróthen kai tēs mētròs
‘and whenever one is asked by his neighbour who he is, he **will say** that he is the son of such a mother, and recount the mothers of his mother’.

It might not be surprising that imperfective aspect is used more frequently to express habitual situations, since habituals “constitute a coherent series which are typically viewed in their progress rather than in their completion” (Kühner and Gerth 1898:162; Allan 2019:18).

In addition to these, Ancient Greek can also express habituals by using the construction of a past indicative with the modal particle ἄν ἄν (see example 5 and 6) or habitual auxiliaries (see example 7 to 10).

5 ὁ δὲ χορός γ' ἤρειδεν ὀρμαθοὺς ἄν μελῶν ἐφεξῆς τέτταρας ξυνεχῶς ἄν· (Aristoph. *Ran.* 914–915)

ho dè khorós g' éreiden hormathoús àn melôn ephesēs téttaras ksunekhōs án

'And while they sat there in silence, his chorus **would rattle off** four suites of choral lyric one after another without a break'

6 ἤδη μεσοίη, ῥήματ' ἄν βόεια δώδεκ' εἶπεν (Aristoph. *Ran.* 924)

édē mesoíē, rhémat' àn bóeia dōdek' eípen

'When the play would be half over, **he'd come out with** a dozen words.'

This construction is difficult to account for synchronically: van Emde Boas et al. (2019) explain it as a matter of emphasis and Wakker (1994:156–166) as originating from a so-called past potential use, the existence of which she herself rightly denied because the alleged examples are counterfactual in context. Supported by typological parallels of constructions expressing past counterfactuality and past habituality, la Roi (2023) therefore explains it as having developed from the past counterfactual indicative in Archaic Greek, through an inference of epistemic certainty: what certainly would have happened in the knowable past according to the speaker is interpreted as having been characteristic of the past. After all, the construction uses aspect the way that the past counterfactual from Archaic Greek did, cf. the perfective and imperfective construal in examples 5 and 6 above. In addition, the same development lies behind the 'iterative optative' usages: past counterfactual optative > past habitual optative > past generic optative (la Roi 2023).

Habitual auxiliaries, on the other hand, also display clear influences by diachronic development (la Roi 2020), as they become increasingly like the bare tenses used for habituals: initially these auxiliaries are lexically restricted to collocations with animate subjects and non-stative infinitives (ex. 7 and 8), but over time expand to inanimate subjects and stative infinitives (ex. 9).

7 ἄγρει μάν οἱ ἔπορσον Ἀθηναίην ἀγελεῖν, ἣ ἐ μάλιστ' εἴωθε κακῆς ὀδύνησι πελάζειν. (*Il.* 5.765–766)

ágrei mán hoi éporson Athēnaíēn ageleíēn, hé he málist' eíōthe kakēis odúnēsi pelázein

'Come now, rouse against him Athene, driver of the spoil, who is especially used to bringing him evil pains'

8 οἱ μὲν Μακεδόνες καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν βαρβάρων εὐθὺς φοβηθέντες, ὅπερ φιλεῖ μέγала στρατόπεδα ἀσαφῶς ἐκπλήγνυσθαι (Thuc. 4.125.1)

hoi mèn Makedónes kai tò plēthos tōn barbárōn euthūs phobēthéntes, hóper phileî megála stratópeda asaphōs ekplēgnusthai

'when night came on the Macedonians and the mass of the barbarians immediately took fright, as **large armies are wont to** be smitten with unaccountable panic'

9 ἀναμνησκῶ δ' αὖ ὑμᾶς ὅτι νενικήκατε αὐτῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς: ἤσσημένων δὲ ἀνδρῶν οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν αἰ γινῶμαι πρὸς τοὺς αὐτοὺς κινδύνους ὁμοῖαι εἶναι. (Thuc. 2.89.11)

anamimnēiskō d' aû humâs hótī nenikékate autōn toús pollouús: éssēménōn dē andrōn ouk ethélousin hai gnōmai pros toús autoús kindúnous homoíai eínai.

'Once more I remind you that you have beaten most of them already; and when men have once suffered defeat, their spirit **is wont not to be the same** as before if they are called upon to face the same dangers.'

Finally, only the more grammaticalized habituals develop a past usage (i.e. εἴωθα *eíōtha* and φιλέω *philēō*). Also, these habituals may acquire a so-called anti-present **implicature** over time, implying that the habitual situation is not the case anymore such as *That door used to be red: it is not red anymore* (ex. 10). Note that this implicature has not semanticized in these habitual auxiliaries yet, since lexical cues suggesting contrast with the present (e.g. temporal adverbs or a comparative construction) are still necessary (e.g. Hdt. 1.184 πρότερον ἐώθεε *proteron eōthee* or Xen. *Cyr.* 6.2.12 ἢ ὡς εἰώθεσαν *è hōs eíōthesan*), as also seems to be the case for tense-aspect habituals:

10 ὁ μὲν ἀνὴρ ἐστίν Ἡγήσανδρος ἐκεῖνος νυνί, ἔφη, πρότερον δ' ἦν καὶ αὐτὸς Λεωδάμαντος γυνή (Aeschin. 1.111)

ho mèn anēr estin Hēgēsandros ekeinós nuní, éphē, próteron d' ên kai autòs Leodámantos guné

'The man is our friend Hegesandrus there, a man now, though he too **used to be** a woman, Laodamas's woman.'

3. Open Questions

There are many open questions about Ancient Greek habituals, both synchronic and diachronic. From a synchronic perspective, it would be useful to reassess the constructions which have been labeled iterative, generic to get a stronger grasp on their usage differences. With regard to the diachrony of habitual constructions, la Roi (2023) has shown that in the diachrony of Greek past habitual constructions are developed from past counterfactual mood uses (past counterfactual optative and indicative), $\sigma\kappa$ - *sk* iteratives, futures in the past (e.g. $\xi\mu\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu$ *émellon*) and lexical sources with semantic affinity to habituality (e.g. love or want, thereby implying to be carried out habitually). Also, he points out how habitual constructions can develop further, e.g. from past habituality to past genericity (see also 2022:126–129). Another aspect of interest would be the role of actionality (e.g. telicity) in habituals (and related constructions) as well as grammatical aspect (e.g. the role of imperfectivity, on which cf. above). For all these matters corpus-based analyses would be indispensable, also because it would verify which texts provide good hunting grounds for habituals or related constructions (most probably descriptive texts such as Hesiod's *Works and Days* and Herodotus' *Histories*).

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2. Medieval and Modern Greek

The term *habitual(s)* usually refers to situations or events lasting for an extended period of time (cf. the English habitual structure *used to* or the habitual use of Anc.Gk. εἴωθα *eíōtha* ‘be in the habit of’; la Roi 2020:136–137). A habitual often expresses a repeated action (through, for example, the use of adverbials such as the English *usually*) but generally a habitual is not typically iterative (Dahl 1985:97).

In the present contribution we will present and discuss structures used for expressing habituality in Medieval and Modern Greek without omitting the reference to developments of habituals characterizing the transition from Medieval to Modern Greek.

1. From Ancient Greek to Medieval Greek

Habitual situations in Ancient Greek can be expressed by various tenses such as the present, the imperfect, the future, the aorist (Smyth 1920:421–432; [Habituals 1. Ancient Greek](#)) and the perfect or perfecta tantum (Magni 2017:10–13), temporal clauses with subjunctive (plus ἄν *an*) or optative ([Temporal Clauses 1. Ancient Greek](#)), conditional/temporal sentences consisting of a protasis with εἰ *eí* + subjunctive or εἰ + optative (Horrocks 1996:163–164; [Conditionals 1. Ancient Greek](#)). Last but not least, Ancient Greek possessed a set of grammaticalized habitual auxiliaries: εἴωθα *eíōtha*, νομίζω *nomízo* ‘to be accustomed to’, φιλῶ *philô* and ἐθέλω *ethélo* ‘be wont to’ ([Habituals 1. Ancient Greek](#)).

Some of these habituality devices are still in use in Medieval Greek. Besides, conditional sentences denoting habituality are present in Medieval Greek (cf. Holton et al. 2019:1902). We could also mention here the habitual use of the auxiliary ἤθελα *íthela*, the past tense of (ε)θέλω (*e*)*thélo*, plus infinitive (Markopoulos 2009:217), for example,

1.	Εἴ τις	ἤθελ' ἐγκρεμισθῆ,	ἔριπτε	ἐκεῖνος	δέκα
	<i>í tis</i>	<i>íthel egremnisθí</i>	<i>érippte</i>	<i>ekínos</i>	<i>ḗka</i>
	if someone (nom.)	would throw (inf.pass.)	throw (3sg.aor.)	he (nom.)	10

‘Every time one would fall, he would throw down ten of them’ (*Pol.Tr.* 2448; 14th c.)

2. Habituality in Medieval and Early Modern Greek

As in the case of Ancient Greek (see, for example, (1) above), present indicatives may also appear in various types of clauses in order to describe activities or states viewed as habitual or characteristic of the subject at any present moment in the progression of time (Holton et al. 2019:1910, 1934), for example,

2.	Ὅταν ὁ κόραξ	πούποτε [...]	φωνάξῃ,	ἐκεῖ	σημαίνει	θάνατον
	<i>ótan o kóraks</i>	<i>púpote</i>	<i>fonáksi</i>	<i>ekí</i>	<i>siméni</i>	<i>thánaton</i>
	when the crow (nom.)	whenever	croak (3sg.subj.)	there	mean (3sg.pres.)	death (acc.)

‘Whenever a crow croaks, it means that there somebody will die’ (Glykas, *Stichoi* 20–21; 12th c.)

3.	Ἀπὸ τοῦτα τὰ δέντρα	ἠμποροῦμεν	νὰ εὐρίσκωμεν	τὰ σύνορα,	ὅποτε	τὰ	χαλάει	τὸ ποτάμι
	<i>apó</i> <i>túta ta</i> <i>ḗndra</i>	<i>imborúmen</i>	<i>na</i> <i>evrískomen</i>	<i>ta sínora</i>	<i>ópote</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>xalái</i>	<i>to</i> <i>potámi</i>
	from these the trees	can (1pl.pres.)	pcl. find (1sg.pres.)	the boundaries (acc.)	whenever	them	destroy (3sg.pres.)	the river (nom.)

'With these trees we can find the boundaries, whenever the river spoils them' (Achaia, 16th c.; Veis 1956:450.18)

Imperfect indicative is used to describe actions that are viewed as habituals in the past (Holton, 1996:166; Holton et al., 2019:1904, 1907, 1934–1935), for example,

4.	Εἰς τὸ νησίν	εὐρίσκετον [...]	ναός [...]	ἐνθα	οἱ Ἕλληγες	θυσίας [...]	ἀποτελοῦσαν
	<i>is to</i> <i>nisín</i>	<i>evrísketon</i>	<i>naós</i>	<i>éntha</i>	<i>i Élines</i>	<i>θisías</i>	<i>apotelúsan</i>
	in the island	find (3sg.imperf.pass.)	temple (nom.)	where	the Greeks	sacrifices (acc.)	perform (3pl.imperf.)

'On the island there was a temple, where the Greeks were performing sacrifices' (*Pol. Tr.* 1723–1725; 14th c.)

5.	Αὐτή	καὶ ἂν	ἐμαραίνεταιον,	ἔλαμπεν	ὡς	ὁ ἥλιος
	<i>aftí</i>	<i>ke an</i>	<i>emaréneto</i>	<i>élamben</i>	<i>os</i>	<i>o ílios</i>
	She	even if	wither (3sg.imperf.)	shine (3sg.imperf.)	like	the sun

'She would shine like the sun, even if she withered' (*Dig. E* 183; 12th c.)

6.	Ἐγὼ	ἀγαποῦσα	να	παραπονιέσαι
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εγώ αγαπίσα na paraponiése

I love (1sg.imperf.) pcl. complain (1sg.subj.)

'I loved to see you complain' (*Don Kis.* 47.16; 18th c.)

7.	Όταν	δέν	τούς	άφηνε [...]	να πολεμήσουν	μεγάλην θλίψιν	είχασιν
	<i>ótan</i>	<i>ðen</i>	<i>tus</i>	<i>áfine</i>	<i>na polemísun</i>	<i>megálin</i> <i>thlípsin</i>	<i>ícasin</i>
	when(ever)	neg.	them	allow (3pl.imperf.)	pcl. fight (3pl.subj.)	heavy (acc.)	grief have (3pl.imperf.)

'Whenever he was not letting them fight, they were in heavy grief' (*Pol. Tr.* 9200–9202; 14th c.)

8.	Όταν	έλειτοῦργαν,	έσυνλειτοῦργάν	του	οὐράνιος	άγγελος
	<i>ótan</i>	<i>elitúrgan</i>	<i>esinlitúrgan</i>	<i>tu</i>	<i>uránios</i>	<i>ángelos</i>
	when(ever)	minister (3pl.imperf.)	minister with (3pl.imperf.)	he (gen.sg.)	heavenly	angel

'When they were performing the religious service, a heavenly angel joined them' (*Pist. kekoim.* 366; 16th c.)

Aorist indicatives can also appear in the protases of past-time reference conditional, with the habitual reading usually occasionally supported by adverbials such as ποτέ *poté* 'ever' (Holton et al. 2019:1904), for example,

9.	Ποτέ	άν	έσυνεπλάκη	άνθρωπος [...],	χίλια	τόν	έμεμφόμην
	<i>poté</i>	<i>an</i>	<i>esinepláki</i>	<i>ánthropos</i>	<i>xília</i>	<i>ton</i>	<i>ememfómin</i>
	ever	if	be involved (3sg.aor.)	human being (nom.)	1.000	him	accuse (1sg.imperf.)

'If ever someone got involved, I was accusing him 1.000 times' (*Liv.* α 125, 128; 13th-14th c.)

In the domain of periphrases, the habitual use of ήθελα *íthela* plus infinitive is attested in Early Modern Greek, too (for Late Medieval Greek, see (2) above), in 17th c. Crete (Holton et al. 2019:1828), for example,

10.	Όπού	Ήελε βρεθή	κανείς,	για τὸ Σκλαβοῦνο	έγροίκα
	<i>opú</i>	<i>thele vrethí</i>	<i>kanís</i>	<i>gia to sklavinó</i>	<i>eyríka</i>

wherever would find (inf.pass.) someone (nom.) for the Sklavunos listen (3sg.imperf.)

'Wherever somebody would go, they would hear of Sklavunos' (Kornaros, *Erot.* II.2170; 17th c.)

είχα ίχα (have imperf.) plus infinitive also seems to have the same function in 17th c. Crete and Cyprus (Holton et al. 2019:1820–1821), for example,

11.	ἔταν	να ἔεν	βάλειν	ἄνθρωπον	κάτω	να ἔεν	παιδεύγει,
	<i>dan</i>	<i>na xen</i>	<i>válin</i>	<i>ánthropo</i>	<i>káto</i>	<i>na xen</i>	<i>peḗngi</i>
	whenever	pcl. have (3sg.imperf.)	put (inf.)	man (acc.)	down	pcl. have (3sg.imperf.)	torture (inf.)

τοὺς δελοιοπούς	τὸ αἷμαν τους	ἀρχίνιζεν	να φεύγη
<i>tus delipús</i>	<i>to éman tus</i>	<i>arxínizen</i>	<i>na féngi</i>
the rest of them (acc.pl.)	the blood (nom.) theirs	start (3sg.imperf.)	pcl. leave (3sg.pres.)

'Whenever he would tie a man down to torture him, all the others would become very scared' (Konst. Diak., *Ist. Makariou Marko* 265–266; 17th c.)

A somehow similar structure, ίχα plus subjunctive, is attested with a habitual use (too) in Late Medieval Greek (Markopoulos 2009:161–162), for example,

12.	τὰ δάκρυα	εἶχε	πάντοτε [...]	να τρέχη
	<i>ta ḗakria</i>	<i>íce</i>	<i>pándote</i>	<i>na tréxi</i>
	the tears (acc.)	have (3sg.imperf.)	always	pcl. run (3sg.pres.)

'She would cry all the time' (*Velth.* 415; 13th c.)

3. Habituality in Common Modern Greek

In Common Modern Greek both imperfective and perfective forms are used to denote that an event is seen, amongst others, as habitual. Imperfective habituals present an event as a part of a recurrent pattern (Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton 2012:285), for example,

13.	Ἡ Μαρία	τρέχει	το πρωί
	<i>i María</i>	<i>tréxi</i>	<i>to proí</i>

the Mary (nom.) run (3sg.pres.) the morning (acc.)

'Mary runs in the morning'

The habitual interpretation of an imperfective form is sometimes due to adverbials of frequency, e.g. συχνά *sixná* 'often' or κάθε βδομάδα *káthe vdomáda* 'every week' (Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton 2012:286–287, 298), for example,

14.	Η Μαρία	έκανε κολύμβηση	κάθε βδομάδα
	<i>i María</i>	<i>ékane kolímvisi</i>	<i>káthe vdomáda</i>
	the Mary (nom.)	do (3sg.imperf.) swimming (acc.)	every week

'Mary used to go swimming every week'

The same holds true in the case of perfective future, for example,

15.	Κάθε πρωί	θα σηκωθεί	και	θα πιει	τον καφέ	του
	<i>káthe proí</i>	<i>tha sikoθί</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>tha píi</i>	<i>ton kafé</i>	<i>tu</i>
	every morning	pcl.fut. get up (3sg.subj.)	and	pcl.fut. drink (3sg.subj.)	the coffee (acc.)	his

'Every morning he will get up and drink his coffee'

The reinforcement of habitual reading through an adverbial also appears in Ancient and Hellenistic Greek (cf. Bentein 2016:34, 37).

Except from imperfect, habituality in the past can be denoted by a conditional construction consisted by θα and a perfect indicative (Horrocks 2010:302), for example,

16.	Κάθε πρωί	θα σηκωνόταν	και	θα έπινε	τον καφέ του
	<i>káthe proí</i>	<i>tha sikonótan</i>	<i>ke</i>	<i>tha épine</i>	<i>ton kafé tu</i>
	every morning	pcl.fut. get up (3sg.imperf.)	and	pcl.fut. drink (3sg.imperf.)	the coffee (acc.) his

'Every morning he would get up and drink his coffee'

It seems that Modern Greek is in line with the cross-linguistic tendency that there are not morphologically separate habitual categories (cf. Dahl 1985:97). Examples (13–15; even (16)) show that it is usually the lexical or syntactic environment with which the verb interacts that may indicate the habitual use of the verb form (Holton, Mackridge and Philippaki-Warburton 2012:288). A context of this kind is conditional or temporal sentences (cf. Tzartanos 1963:66), for example,

17.	Αν/όποτε	την	έβλεπε	δίπλα του,	γινότανε	παλαβός
	<i>an/ópote</i>	<i>tin</i>	<i>évlepe</i>	<i>dípla tu</i>	<i>ginótan</i>	<i>palavós</i>
	if/whenever	her	see (3sg.imperf.)	besides he (gen.)	become (3sg.imperf.)	mad (nom.)

‘Whenever/if he was seeing her near him, he was getting mad’

In every case, it is mainly the imperfective forms that appear to have a habitual use in these environments, something not unexpected, since habituality is generally considered to be a category of imperfectivity (cf. Comrie 1985:24–25; [Habituals 1. Ancient Greek](#)).

The strong connection of Modern Greek habituality with imperfectivity could be further highlighted through, for example, the using of imperfect forms in temporal clauses introduced by *όταν* *ótan* ‘when’ in order to express some sort of habituality ([Connectives 3. Modern Greek](#)). Another interesting case is the verb *συνηθίζω* *siniθízo* “do regularly, have a habit of, get used to”, which could be partially considered as an equivalent of Anc.Gk. *είωθα* *eíōtha* ([Habituals 1. Ancient Greek](#); la Roi 2020:136–137). *siniθízo* with a habitual use may appear both as a personal and an impersonal verb, for example,

18.	Δεν	συνηθίζω	να	εκμεταλλεύομαι	τους	άλλους
	<i>ðen</i>	<i>siniθízo</i>	<i>na</i>	<i>ekmetalévome</i>	<i>tus</i>	<i>álus</i>
	neg.	be used to (1sg.pres.act.)	pcl.	take advantage (1sg.pers.)	the	others (acc.)

‘I’m not used to taking advantage of the others’

19.	Τα τελευταία	στα	συνηθίζεται	να υπάρχουν	ξεχωριστά	τμήματα
	χρόνια	βιβλιοπωλεία			πολυμέσων	
	<i>ta teleftéa</i>	<i>sta vivliopolía</i>	<i>siniθízete</i>	<i>na ipárxun</i>	<i>ksexoristá tmímata</i>	<i>poliméson</i>
	the last years	in the	be used	pcl. exist	separate departments	
	(acc.)	bookstores	(3sg.pres.pass.)	(3pl.pers.)	(nom.) multimedia (gen.)	

‘Recently it is quite common to find separate multimedia departments in bookstores’

In (18–19) the subjunctive complements of the forms of *siniθίζω* (either personal (18) or not (19)) are imperfective, and this is the rule for the verbal complements of Mod.Gk *siniθίζω*. In other words, *συνηθίζω να εκμεταλλευτώ siniθίζω na ekmetaleftó* and *συνηθίζεται να υπάρξουν siniθίζετε na ipárksun* are ungrammatical in Modern Greek.

Finally, a short reference should be made to the grammaticalization of *συνηθίζεται siniθίζετε*, the 3sg. of the passive voice *συνηθίζω siniθίζω*. *συνηθίζεται siniθίζετε* is used as an impersonal verb form (cf. (19) above) denoting habituality. The complementation of impersonal *συνηθίζεται siniθίζετε* is always clausal (introduced by *να na*) and not nominal, as it happens with the personal passive forms, for example

20. Φέτος δεν συνηθίζονται οι μεγάλες τσάντες

*fétos ðen siniθízonte i meýáles tsánde*s

this year neg. be used to (3sg.pres.pass.) the big bags (nom.)

'This year large bags are not in fashion'

Thus, we could argue that in the case of the impersonal συνηθίζεται *siniθízete* we have a change in its structural scope (Lehmann 2015:152–153), which is characteristic of grammaticalization, since impersonal συνηθίζεται *siniθízete* cannot take a nominal complement any more. Generally, it seems that impersonal συνηθίζεται *siniθízete* does not function as a full verb anymore but as an auxiliary verb forming a habitual periphrasis in combination with a clausal complement introduced by να *na*.

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