Typological Studies in Language
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CHAPTER 5

Habitual constructions in Ancient Greek

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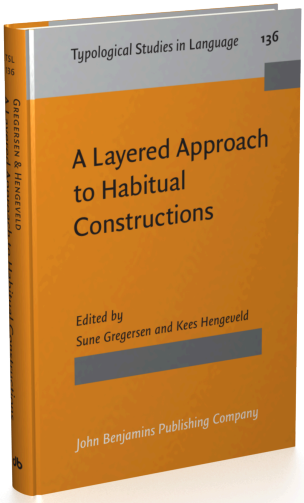
https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.136.05lar



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A Layered Approach to Habitual Constructions
Edited by Sune Gregersen and Kees Hengeveld
[**Typological Studies in Language**, 136] 2026. vii, 389 pp.

CHAPTER 5

Habitual constructions in Ancient Greek

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In this paper, I tease apart the semantic differences between three major habitual constructions in Ancient Greek (8th–4th centuries BCE): (1) a suffixal construction that uses the mislabelled "iterative" suffix with past tenses, (2) a modal past habitual which had developed out of a past counterfactual, and (3) habitual auxiliaries with sources in 'volition', 'love' and 'custom' predicates. Using collocational tests with absolute and relative temporal modifiers and qualificational aspect from a typological questionnaire, I point out the differences between these strategies, as, for example, some express participant-oriented propensity habituality whereas others are polyfunctional, expressing both a single and a series of habitual States-of-Affairs. Also, based on the evidence from my diachronic corpus, I demonstrate that these meanings are diachronically related.

Keywords: habituality, aspect, iterativity, modality, Ancient Greek

1. Introduction

The notion of habituality is notoriously difficult to define and demarcate. One attempt at demarcating habituality which has proven to be influential was offered by Comrie (1976, pp. 27–28), who states that habituals "describe *a situation* which is characteristic of an *extended period of time*, so extended in fact that the situation referred to is viewed not as an accidental property of the moment but, precisely, as a *characteristic feature of a whole period*" (my italics).[1] This definition captures some crucial elements about habituality, such as (i) the possibility of habituals to be stative (Comrie, 1976, p. 27), such as *He used to be a doctor* (exluded in the definition of Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume),[2] (ii) the characterizing or typ-

1. Fortuin (2023) uses this definition as a comparative concept to compare and contrast the tense and aspect used in habitual structures across languages.

2. Others have also explicitly excluded such habituals (e.g. Binnick, 2005). See Section 3 for the recruitment of this function by habitual auxiliaries in Ancient Greek.

https://doi.org/10.1075/tsl.136.05lar

icality function of habitual sentences (Krifka et al., 1995), and (iii) the extended time span which habituals cover, something that may be marked with a large set of tense-aspect markers across languages, whether imperfective or not (Dahl, 1985; Fortuin, 2023).[3] Another aspect of habituality that has received attention is its connection to modality. Modality is taken here as a category that refers to the factual status of a proposition, meaning that a proposition is modalized if it is marked for being undetermined with respect to its factual status, i.e. is neither positively nor negatively factual (Narrog, 2012, p. 6). Famously, Comrie (1985, p. 40) had already stated that habituality has intimate connections to tense, aspect and modality:

> habitual meaning lies on the boundary of the three systems of tense, aspect, and mood. In principle, one could expect habituality to be expressed by means of a tense, since it involves location of a situation across a large slice of time (perhaps across the whole of time) rather than just at some single point. Habituality can also be aspectual, in that it refers to the internal temporal contour of a situation, in particular in that the situation must occupy a large slice of time. Habituality can also be modal, since it involves induction from limited observations about the actual world to a generalisation about possible worlds.

Others have stressed the temporally non-specific character of habitual expressions and the strong epistemic stance which a speaker inevitably takes by using certain habituals (e.g. Palmer, 2001, p. 191; la Roi, 2023); Givón (1994, p. 270) briefly summarized these aspects well:

> The status of the *habitual*, a swing modal category par excellence, is murky for good reasons. From a communicative perspective, habitual-marked clauses tend to be strongly asserted, i.e. pragmatically like realis. Semantically, however, they resemble irrealis in some fundamental ways. To begin with, unlike realis, which typically signals that an event has occurred (or state persisted) at some specific time, a habitual-marked assertion does not refer to any particular event that occurred at any specific time. Further, the *reference properties* of NPs under the scope of habitual resemble those of NPs under the scope of irrealis.

Thus, habituals may not only be expected to be marked by forms associated with the irrealis domain (see e.g. Cristofaro, 2004 on the typological and la Roi, 2023 on the diachronic connections of past habituals with irrealis and modality), but assertions with habituals have specific *properties* that may distinguish them from non-habitual sentences.

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3. Nevertheless, there have been claims in the literature that habituals could only be conceived as imperfectives (e.g. Bertinetto & Lenci, 2010, 2012).

In this chapter, I take up the issue of the distributional properties of habituals, an area that is relatively underexplored,[4] by examining the corpus evidence for the major habitual constructions in Ancient Greek (8th–4th centuries BCE). I use the term Ancient Greek to refer to this whole period, which is usually split up in Archaic Greek (8th–6th centuries BCE) and Classical Greek (5th–4th centuries BCE). First of all, a point that the literature on Ancient Greek has in common with the general literature on habituals is that it remains unclear in which specific ways different habitual constructions differ from each other within the same language (compare Tagliamonte & Lawrence, 2000 on English habitual auxiliaries with la Roi, 2020, 2023 on habitual auxiliaries in Ancient Greek). Besides grammatical restrictions inherent to a language (cf. e.g. Neels, 2015 on the role of *do* with the habitual auxiliary *used to* in English), what are the semantic differences between different habitual constructions? Are past habituals different from present habituals in other respects than their temporal reference and cross-linguistic marking (Bybee et al., 1994, pp. 151–56)? Also, how could we incorporate the distributional behaviour of collocations of habitual auxiliaries within a unified approach to habituals and which tests for habituality could we use do differentiate between these habitual constructions?

The relevance of these points can be illustrated with the habitual construction from Classical Greek in (1) below:

(1) *hò theasámenos pâs* ***án*** *tis anè:r* ***e:rásthe:***
the.NOM watch.PTCP.NOM every **MP** INDF man.NOM **desire.3SG.IND.PFV**
dáïos eînai
warlike.NOM be.INF
'Every single man who watched it **would get hot** to be warlike. '
(Ar. *Ran.* 1022, Loeb adapted)
'every single man who watched it **was hot** to be warlike.' (Loeb original)
'Jeder, der dabei zuschaute, **wurde** von dem Verlangen ergriffen, ein Krieger zu sein' (German; Holzberg, 2011, p. 52)
'Todo hombre que lo veía **sentía** el deseo de ser fuego destructor.'
(Spanish; Gil Fernández, 1995, p. 284)
'Tout homme qui l'avait vu **brûlait** d'être au combat'
(French; Coulon & Van Daele, 1973, p. 183)

The construction in (1) consists of a past perfective with the modal particle,[5] expressing the typical, habitual situation that every single man would get hot

4. One exception would be the work conducted within formal semantics which has posited certain semantic criteria for habituals (e.g. Boneh & Doron, 2010, 2012).

5. I should note that Ancient Greek had a very rich TAM system, with a large set of moods (optative, subjunctive, imperative, indicative) and aspectual forms (especially the perfective

upon watching Aeschylus' *Seven Against Thebes*, that is, according to Aeschylus himself. This usage is the result of a grammaticalization pathway from past counterfactuality to past habituality (la Roi, 2023). In standard grammars of Ancient Greek, this construction has often been mislabelled as "iterative" (Goodwin, 1889, p. 56; Schwyzer & Debrunner, 1950, p. 350; Crespo et al., 2003, p. 286; van Emde Boas et al., 2019, p. 415), a practice that has been taken over by linguistic scholarship (e.g. Wakker, 1994, p. 159; Beck et al., 2012; Allan, 2019, p. 31). Clearly, this construction does not mark (past) iterativity in the way that iterativity is commonly seen in typological scholarship (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 160; Mattiola, 2019), namely as repetition on the same occasion. Also, the construction has its own distinctive aspectual make-up: the combination of the perfective with a verb expressing a stative situation (*eráo:* 'desire passionately') profiles the initial boundary of the habitual situation, thereby triggering an ingressive interpretation, i.e. 'get hot' rather than 'be hot'.

A brief comparison of the translations of this sentence in some well-known European languages reveals at least two insights: on the one hand, the past habitual construction is not reflected in some of the translations, such as the original translation from the Loeb series for English (viz. the translations that I use as a basis in this paper)[6] or from the Reclam series for German, where we find bare past tenses instead (see la Roi, 2024a on the use of bare tenses in Ancient Greek to express habituality). A factor that may have influenced the choice to use bare past tenses is that the quantifier 'every' and the generic noun 'man' may trigger a habitual-like, though not exactly habitual, reading with the past tense anyway. On the other hand, we should note that the translations to Spanish and French use an imperfective construction to represent the past habitual construction from Ancient Greek, a common strategy in Romance languages. Thus, the perfective reading is not represented in a transparent fashion by the constructions in the translations to the Romance languages. Yet, given the many modal functions common of the imperfective construction in Romance languages, one could argue that these translations do match in that a modal construction is used, as in Ancient Greek.

'aorist' versus the imperfective 'imperfect'). Additionally, there is a so-called modal particle which is optional with some moods (e.g. the potential use of the optative mood) but obligatorily occurs with certain mood constellations, such as the past habitual usage of the indicative in (1) (see la Roi, 2022 for an overview of the uses of the modal particle in Archaic compared to Classical Greek).

6. The most recent Loeb translations can be accessed online: https://www.loebclassics.com/ (last accessed March 29, 2024).

What this brief comparison also shows is the relevance of the corpus data from Ancient Greek for typological investigations: (i) the construction in (1) directly refutes claims for a universal marking of habituality through imperfectives (see Fortuin, 2023 for other languages that do not fit this generalization) and (ii) at least some habitual constructions have a more complex aspectual granularity than they have in other, better studied languages such as English and Spanish (see Hengeveld et al., 2021 and Hengeveld & Olbertz, 2021, respectively), and, finally, (iii) the mislabelling of the construction in traditional Greek grammatical scholarship underlines the need for terminology based on typological comparison for the data from ancient languages.

For these reasons, I provide a detailed examination of the three main constructional groups that express past and present habituality in Ancient Greek (8th–4th centuries BCE), answering the questions in the "Questionnaire for habitual expressions" (see Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume, Appendix 2) for which I could find evidence in the corpus of Ancient Greek. I treat these groups in separate sections (Sections 3.2 to 3.5). I conclude with a synthesis of the evidence in Section 4. The respective constructions are: the "iterative" habituals that use a past indicative with the so-called "iterative" suffix, the past habitual construction with the modal particle and the past indicative, and the habitual auxiliaries (with lexical origins in 'love', 'volition' and 'custom').[7] In my analysis, I apply the following semantic typology of meanings related to habituality proposed in the introduction of this volume (Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume), which was developed within Functional Discourse Grammar (FDG; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2008):

i. **Genericity at the layer of the Propositional Content**
   The content of the utterance is always true:
   *Water **boils** at 100 degrees.*
ii. **Habituality at the layer of the Episode**
   A series of States-of-Affairs occurs regularly:
   *Every day Jane **will** come home from school and ring up the friends she's just been talking to.*
iii. **Habituality at the layer of the State-of-Affairs**
   An individual State-of-Affairs occurs regularly:
   *He **used** to take many tiny things seriously.*

7. I chose to leave out the habitual uses of the optative mood which can sometimes still be found in Archaic Greek; they are infrequently attested since this usage had already developed into a past generic usage (see la Roi, 2023, pp. 100–104, la Roi 2024b, pp. 270–271).

iv. **Habituality at the layer of the Situational Property**
A certain type of State-of-Affairs occurs regularly due to a propensity of a participant involved:
*He **was prone** to eat a lot.*

v. **Multiplicativity at the layer of the Lexical Property**
A State-of-Affairs consists of more than one sub-event occurring on a single occasion:
*Why do you sniff**le**?* (versus *sniff*)

For more details on this semantic typology, see Gregersen & Hengeveld (this volume, in particular Section 4 and Appendix 2).

2. Ancient Greek corpus collection and examination

The corpus that I examined for this chapter covers two subsequent periods of the Ancient Greek language, Archaic Greek (8th–6th centuries BCE) and Classical Greek (5th–4th centuries BCE). For Archaic Greek, I examined the Iliad, the Odyssey, Hesiod's *Theogony* and *Works and Days* and the Homeric Hymns. Since we have more textual sources for the Classical Greek period, I used a larger corpus for that period, consisting of the histories by Herodotus, Thucydides and Xenophon, the tragedies by Aeschylus, Sophocles and Euripides, the comedies of Aristophanes, Plato's authentic philosophical works and the rhetorical works by Lysias, Demosthenes, Isaeus and Isocrates. To find and examine the habitual constructions, I relied on searches in the Thesaurus Linguae Graecae[8] and cite examples according to the line numbering there, using both lemmatized searches (e.g. for habitual auxiliaries, Section 3.4) and advanced proximity searches (e.g. the past and modal particle combination, Section 3.3). For specific usage statistics on the habitual constructions discussed in this paper, I refer the reader to la Roi (2020, 2023).

8. This corpus can be consulted online: https://stephanus.tlg.uci.edu/ (last accessed March 29, 2024).

3. Strategies

3.1 Overview of strategies

In the following sections, I discuss three habitual strategies: The "iterative" habitual (Section 3.2), the modal past habitual construction (Section 3.3), and the habitual auxiliaries *philéo:, ethélo:*, and *eío:tha* (Section 3.4). In Section 3.5, I discuss the combination of the first two strategies, i.e. the "iterative" and the past modal habitual construction.

3.2 The "iterative" habitual

The first habitual expression to be discussed here has suffered from terminological confusion (cf. Section 1). This is reflected first and foremost by the fact that the suffix *-sk-*, which is found with past verbs to introduce past habitual events (la Roi, 2020, pp. 148–152; la Roi, 2023, pp. 104–106), is usually described as "iterative *-sk*" in standard grammars of Ancient Greek (Goodwin, 1889, p. 56; Monro, 1891, p. 47; van Emde Boas et al., 2019, p. 303). Apart from a similar inheritance of traditional labels from grammatical scholarship on Greek also mentioned in Section 1, the terminological confusion may have been triggered by the wide usage domain of this suffix, not only in Ancient Greek, but also in other early Indo-European languages in which it is found, most notably the Anatolian languages. In these languages, the suffix has functions in the domain of word formation, such as to create inchoatives and causatives, and also occurs with no clearly discernible meaning (Zerdin, 2002). Combined with past indicative forms, it also expresses different types of habituality in Ancient Greek, which I aim to tease apart here. Further developing the points made in la Roi (2023, pp. 104–106) that past indicatives with the "iterative" suffix do more than express habitual situations in the stricter sense, I suggest that the past indicatives combined with this suffix express meaning types (v), (iv), (iii) and, when combined with the past modal habitual, type (ii) habituality, as corroborated by a series of collocational tests which I apply below. Moreover, the fact that this old suffix has developed the ability to express different kinds of habituality is in my view in line with the developments that it has undergone in other ancient Indo-European language varieties, where it too developed habitual meanings (Inglese & Mattiola, 2020). First of all, this construction can express multiple occurrences on a single occasion, as illustrated by (2), where the breaking (i.e. the literal meaning of the predicate) involved several instances of breaking, hence the translation with 'shatter'. This usage is only attested in the Archaic Greek of Homer, where the construction is already used more often to express habitual States-of-Affairs (i.e. type iii). Thus, the presence of an old multiplicative use is in

line with the developmental pathway proposed by la Roi (2023) into past habitual meaning for this construction. Interestingly, this construction counts as a grammatical expression of multiplicativity (i.e. type v) rather than a lexical kind such as *sniffle* in the overview in the introduction. Note also that other modifiers scope over the multiplicative in the example, such as the instrumental 'with a mace of iron' and the imperfective, giving the verb an unbounded and hence backgrounding reading.

(2) A State-of-Affairs consisting of subparts occurring on a single occasion
allà side:reíe:i korúne:i ***ré:gnuske*** *phálangas.*
but iron.DAT mace.DAT **break.3SG.IND.IT.IPFV** battallions.ACC
'but with a mace of iron he shattered battalions' (Il. 7.141)

Secondly, the construction is used to express both habitual propensity (i.e. type iv) and a habitual State-of-Affairs (i.e. type iii), as illustrated in Example (3) below: the man 'had the propensity to' or 'would habitually' show hospitality to all. My reason for giving these two different glosses is that the context of (3) seems to suggest a propensity reading (showing hospitality being dependent on someone's propensity to do so), i.e. habituality at the layer of Situational Property (type iv), but could semantically also be read as a habitual State-of-Affairs (type iii). I would suggest, though, that an example such as (4) would rather suggest a type iii reading, also because the predicate 'say' makes an association with propensity less likely. The main issue is that the qualificational aspect introduced by the imperfective in (3) and perfective in (4) is at the layer of the Situational Property. This means that qualificational aspect would be on the same layer as the habitual in (3), resulting in the *stacking* of operators on the same layer (see Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume, Section 4.6). Yet, for (4) there is no independent test showing that the habituality scopes over the qualitative perfective aspect, i.e. *eípesken* 'would say [specific X]', although this can be shown to be the case for other examples.[9]

(3) Habitual State-of-Affairs with imperfective qualificational aspect
pántas gàr ***philéesken*** *hodô:i épi oikía naío:n*
all.ACC PTC **host.3SG.IND.IT.IPFV** road.DAT on house.ACC live.PTCP.NOM
'[Axylus, a man rich in substance, who was beloved of all men;] for he **would show hospitality** to all, dwelling in a house by the highroad' (Il. 6.15)

9. Further examples of this past habitual construction with perfective qualificational aspect are *Il.* 2.271, 3.297, 3.319, 4.81, 4.85, 7.178, 11.64, 12.242, 17.414, 17.423, 22.375, *Od.* 2.324, 2.331, 4.769, 4.772, 8.328, 10.37, 13.167, 13.170, 17.482, 18.72, 18.400, 20.375, 21.396, 21.401, 23.148 and 23.152.

(4) Habitual State-of-Affairs with perfective qualificational aspect
hò:s éphat', *hoì* *d'* *eúkhonto* *diì*
so speak.3SG.IND.IPFV DEM.NOM PTC pray.3PL.IND.IPFV Zeus.DAT
Kronío: *ánakti* *hô:de dé* ***tis*** ***eípesken***
son.of.Kronos.DAT lord.DAT so PTC **INDF say.3SG.IND.IT.PFV**
idò:n *eis ouranòn* *eurún Zeû* *páter* *Íde:then*
look.PTCP.NOM to heaven.ACC broad Zeus.VOC father.NOM Ida.SEP
medéo:n *kúdiste* *mégiste* *dòs* *níke:n* *Aíanti*
rule.PTCP.NOM most.glorious most.great give.2SG.IMP victory.ACC Ajax.DAT
kaì aglaòn *eûkhos* *arésthai*
and glorious renown.ACC obtain.INF
'So he spoke, and they made prayer to lord Zeus, son of Cronos; and thus **would one speak** looking up to the broad heaven: "Father Zeus, who rule from Ida, most glorious, most great, grant victory to Aias and that he win glorious renown;"' (Il. 7.200–203)

Thirdly and finally, the combinations with non-unique and unique relative temporal modifiers suggest that this habitual construction can also express habituality on the layer of the State-of-Affairs. On the one hand, combinations with a clause in the past generic optative which expresses a non-unique relative temporal span seem to suggest that the habitual meaning cannot be lower than the layer of the State-of-Affairs. We could verify this by checking for semantic contrast with a functional paraphrase: "he would slumber, whenever past X and Y" = "whenever past X and Y, he would slumber". Since (5) does not express a *series* of habitual States-of-Affairs, this example would have to be interpreted as expressing habituality at the layer of the State-of-Affairs (type iii).

(5) Habitual cooccurring with non-unique temporal modifiers on the same layer
óth' *húpnos* *éloi* *aúsaitó* *te* *ne:piakheúo:n,*
when sleep.NOM capture.3SG.OPT stop.3SG.OPT PTC play.PTCP.NOM
eúdesk' *en léktroisin*
sleep.3SG.IND.IT.IPFV in bed.DAT
'whenever sleep came on him and he stopped his childish play, then **would he slumber** in a bed' (Il. 22.502–503)

Examples such as (6) too seem to suggest that this habitual construction does not normally express a series of habitual States-of-Affairs (i.e. on the Episode layer), even though scoping under unique absolute temporal modifiers suggests that the habitual operator cannot be higher than the Episode layer. Semantically, though, there is no episodic habituality and the meaning of the habitual in (6) can be paraphrased as "When men were fighting around Ilios [i.e. the poetic designation for the Trojan war], Hector *used to be* preeminent in fight".

(6) Unique absolute temporal modifier scoping over habitual
Héktoros hê:de gunè: hòs ***aristeúeske***
Hector.GEN DEM woman.NOM REL.NOM **be.best.at.3SG.IND.IT.IPFV**
mákhesthai Tró:o:n hippodámo:n hóte Ílion amphemákhonto.
fight.INF Trojans.GEN horse.taming when Troy.ACC fight.around.3PL.IPFV
'This is the wife of Hector, who **used to be preeminent in fight** above all the horse-taming Trojans when men were fighting around Ilios' (Il. 6.460–461)

To conclude, using the collocational and interpretative tests provided by the questionnaire, I have been able to show that the habituality introduced with past tenses using the so-called "iterative" suffix is of different kinds: type (iv), type (iii) and type (ii); in addition, the suffix can express multiplicativity (type v). This operator thus shows a very high degree of *polyfunctionality* (cf. Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume, Section 4.6), since multiple meanings on different layers are expressed by the same marker. In fact, the diachronic corpus evidence from Ancient Greek discussed here functions as an important corroboration of the diachronic development between different types of habituality and related meanings: multiplicativity (type v) and propensity (type iv) only in Archaic Greek > habitual State-of-Affairs (type iii) in Archaic as well as Classical Greek > series of habitual States-of-Affairs (type ii) only with the cooccurrence of two strategies in the Ionic dialect of Herodotus' Classical Greek (see Section 3.5). In addition, the fact that this marker expresses different meanings which are diachronically related fits the prehistory and place of the suffix within the verbal systems of ancient Indo-European languages, especially in Ancient Greek and Hittite (see above).

3.3 The modal past habitual construction

Because we consider both Archaic and Classical Greek together, there are technically two modal past habitual constructions: the optative mood, on the one hand, and the past indicative with the modal particle, on the other hand. As detailed by la Roi (2023, pp. 100–104), the past habitual use of the optative (as in *they used to gather the crops*) is, however, already rare in Archaic Greek, since it is normally used with past generic meaning (i.e. X happened every time in the past, as in *Church was on Sundays*), a use which it developed out of its past habitual use. By contrast, the past habitual use of the past indicative and the modal particle developed later, after the Archaic Greek period (see la Roi, 2023, pp. 94–100 for a detailed examination of the corpus evidence). What the two constructions share is their diachronic development out of past counterfactuality. In fact, certain other early Indo-European languages developed past habitual uses of the optative, thus providing diachronic evidence for the often assumed, yet not diachronically verified typological link between counterfactuality and habituality (la Roi,

2023, 2024b, 270–271).[10] Moreover, the past indicative and the modal particle too came to be used with past generic meaning in Early Post-Classical Greek (la Roi, 2023, p. 104).

In terms of its type of habituality, this modal past habitual construction expresses that an individual State-of-Affairs occurs regularly (type iii). This is confirmed by different forms of testable distributional behaviour. On the one hand, the habituality of the construction takes scope over the forms of qualitative perfective and imperfective aspect which describe the internal constitution of the event. Because qualitative aspect is part of the Situational Property, which is a layer lower than the layer of the State-of-Affairs, we can deduce from this that the habituality must be higher than type (iv), i.e. at the layer of the Situational Property. Let us now consider how aspect functions in context for this construction. Allan (2019, p. 31) has recently put forth a relevant hypothesis on the role of aspect in this construction:

> In this type of iterative construction, the aspectual marking is used to provide information about the individual constituent events, rather than about the whole series of iterations. The imperfect "zooms in" on the constituents and construes them as unbounded [...], whereas the aorist specifies that every component event is viewed as bounded [...].

Though Allan only substantiates this hypothesis with two examples, we can find much more support for it in my corpus; perfective construal is used when the event is obviously bounded, as in the examples in (7), and imperfective construal is used when the event is clearly unbounded, as in the examples in (8).

(7) Perfective construal of bounded events

a. *arguríou drakhmàs àn é:ite:s' eíkosin*
silver.GEN drachmas.ACC MP ask.3SG.IND.PFV twenty
'He'd request twenty silver drachmas' (Ar. *Pl.* 982)

b. *ho dè presbeúo:n ouk àn égrapsen*
ART PTC representative.NOM NEG MP write.3SG.IND.PFV
'the man who went on embassy would not move a resolution' (D. 18.219.6)

c. *ré:mat' àn bóeia dódek' eîpen*
words.ACC MP ox.size.ACC 12 say.3SG.IND.PFV
'he'd come out with a dozen words' (Ar. *Ran.* 924)

10. The (later) development of this past habitual usage for the optative is attested for Avestan and Old Persian (Skjærvø, 2009, pp. 137–138; Skjærvø, 2017, p. 259; Martínez & de Vaan, 2014, pp. 102–103), Post-Vedic Sanskrit (Oberlies, 2003, p. 138) and Tocharian (Peyrot, 2013, pp. 321, 357)

(8) Imperfective construal of unbounded events

a. *próteron gàr eîkhon àn*
before PTC have.1SG.IND.IPFV MP
'before I used to have' (Ar. *Pl.* 1120)

b. *ho d' àn ekallieréitó*
ART PTC MP have.good.omens.3SG.IND.IPFV
'he would have good omens' (Ar. *Pl.* 1180)

c. *egò: d' ekeíno:i pánt' àn anthupe:rétoun*
I PTC DEM.DAT all MP serve.1SG.IND.IPFV
'I would serve him in all ways possible' (Ar. *Pl.* 979)

Also, speakers may use a certain aspectual viewpoint for expressive purposes; speakers may choose to portray a past event as bounded, e.g. everyone would fall in love, i.e. ingressively (Ar. *Ran.* 1022 *e:rásthe:*, see the discussion of (1) above), we would hear about one of your cock-ups but not stay quiet (Ar. Lys. 510 *e:koúsamen* hear.1SG.IND.PFV). Alternatively, speakers may choose to portray an event as unbounded, e.g. Socrates would cross-question someone for a long time on what they were saying (Pl. Ap. 22b4 *die:ró:to:n* ask.3PL.IND.IPFV). To illustrate further, the use of the imperfective in the past habitual construction in (9) (see *ekéleue* 'order') is motivated by the construal of the event of ordering as unbounded, because Cleomenes never accepted an offer.

(9) Habituality scoping over qualitative aspect
óko:s dè hídoito ho Kleoméne:s tà poté:ria,
when PTC see.3SG.OPT ART Cleomenes.NOM the.ACC cups.ACC
apethó:mazé te kai ekseplé:sseto; ho dè ***àn***
marvel.3SG.IND.IPFV PTC PTC be.amazed.3SG.IND.IPFV DEM.NOM PTC **MP**
ekéleue *autòn apophéresthai autô:n hósa boúloito*
order.3SG.IND.IPFV he.ACC carry.off.INF it.GEN.PL which.ACC want.3SG.OPT
'Whenever Cleomenes saw them, he marvelled greatly at the cups. Maeandrius **would tell** him to take as many as he liked.' (Hdt. 3.148.7–9)[11]

On the other hand, there are examples with specific collocations which can help us to conclude more definitively that this modal past habitual construction involves habituality at the layer of the State-of-Affairs (type iii). In (10) below, the past habitual construction follows an absolute temporal modifier, i.e. the 'when'-clause specifying a unique past period. Because absolute temporal modifiers belong to the layer of the Episode, we can conclude that the habitual construction in this context expresses habituality of a lower type than the layer of the

11. Note that I replaced the high dot after *ekseplé:sseto* by a semi-colon in order to make the Greek convention understandable.

Episode. This would also be suggested by the presence of a relative temporal modifier 'before I stumbled over them' within the habitual event.

(10) Absolute temporal modifier scoping over past habitual
egò: gàr hóte hippikê:i tòn noûn móne:i proseîkhon,
I PTC when horse.racing.DAT ART mind.ACC alone.DAT keep.1SG.IND.IPFV
oud' àn trí' eipeîn ré:math' hoíós t' ê:n
not.even MP three.ACC say.INF words.ACC as.such.NOM PTC be.1SG.IND.IPFV
prìn eksamarteîn;
before make.a.mistake.INF
'Back when I had a one-track mind for horse racing, I **used to not be able** to get three words out before I stumbled over them.' [But now that my adversary himself has made me give all that up, and I'm at home with subtle ideas, arguments, and contemplations, I'm sure I can demonstrate that it's right to spank one's father.] (Ar. *Nub.* 1401–1402)

By contrast, in an example such as (11), the construction only combines with a non-unique relative temporal adverbial, which would be on the same layer of the State-of-Affairs.

(11) Habitual with non-unique relative temporal adverbials
***ká=peit' epeidè**: taûta le:ré:seie kaì tò drâma é:de:*
and=then when these.ACC speak.foolishly.3SG.OPT and ART play.NOM already
*mesoíe: ré:mat' **àn** bóeia **dódek' eîpen***
be.halfway.3SG.OPT words.ACC **MP** ox.size.ACC 12 **say.3SG.IND.PFV**
'And **subsequently, whenever** he'd humbugged along like that and the play was half over, **he'd come out with** a dozen words' (Ar. *Ran.* 923–924)

To summarize, the past habitual usage of the past indicative in combination with the modal particle primarily expresses habituality at the layer of the State-of-Affairs, as confirmed by the fact that it scopes under unique absolute temporal modifiers but over qualitative aspect. As seen in Section 3.5 below, the past modal habitual can introduce a series of habitual States-of-Affairs (i.e. type ii) but only in co-occurrence with the "iterative" suffix strategy in the Ionic Classical Greek from Herodotus where conjoined participles express the co-occurring habitual States-of-Affairs.

3.4 Habitual auxiliaries

As detailed by la Roi (2020), Ancient Greek developed habitual meaning in several different auxiliaries.[12] Importantly, the sources for these habitual meanings are, to my knowledge, not documented well in typological work (cf. Kuteva et al., 2019, p. 481; but see Fang, this volume; Giomi, this volume, and Olbertz, this volume).

Table 1. The sources for habitual auxiliaries in Ancient Greek

Lexical source	Habitual meaning	Temporal reference range
'love'	*philéo:* 'be wont to'	Present and past
volition	*ethélo:* 'be wont to'	Present
'custom'	*eío:tha* 'be in the habit of'	Present and past

Whereas *philéo:* and *ethélo:* occur in the present indicative form for habituality in the present and (imperfective) past indicative form for habituality in the past as normal, the third auxiliary stems from a defective paradigm; it belongs to the morphological group of perfect forms with a present meaning which use the pluperfect form to express past meaning (la Roi, 2020, p. 140). Be that as it may, the latter habitual auxiliary is more grammaticalized than other habitual auxiliaries in that it, for example, is used in a past habitual function most frequently (which is absent for habitual *ethélo:*) and occurs most frequently with inanimate subjects such as 'the wind usually flows' (see (17) below) (cf. Narrog & Heine, 2021 on the role of selectional restrictions in grammaticalization). In fact, it seems that these habitual auxiliaries should be split into two, because *eío:tha* 'be in the habit of' displays different distributional behaviour in Ancient Greek than the other two habitual auxiliaries. In what follows, I first discuss the distributional behaviour of *eío:tha* and subsequently discuss the differences with the other two auxiliaries.

The habitual auxiliary *eío:tha* 'be in the habit of' occurs in habitual contexts which focus more on the typicality aspect of habituality, as in (12), as well as in contexts where the habits of a person are described, as in (13). Please note that I use square brackets to include previous context in translation when it is relevant to

12. Note that I leave out the verb *nomízo:* '(use) customarily' for two reasons: it is the most lexical one (with custom implying habit) and the corpus data collected was only indicative due to its frequent occurrence in the meaning 'consider/believe' (though see la Roi, 2020, pp. 158–159 for a detailed analysis). For similar reasons, I leave out other mainly lexical periphrastic habitual expressions, such as *nómos estí* + DAT 'have a habit', which, as pointed out by one reviewer, are also part of the habitual domain.

the interpretation of the example. In (12), the habitual auxiliary has the inanimate subject *olíga* 'few [of those marriages]' and occurs in the complement clause of a predicate of knowledge, *agnoeî* 'not know'. Because this predicate embeds Propositional Contents, we can deduce from this collocation that the meaning of *eío:tha* can be at most at the layer of the Propositional Content. Yet, this verbal complex does not seem to express genericity (type i), i.e. a categorical statement that something is always true, as defined in the questionnaire. Also, we do not seem to be dealing with a series of States-of-Affairs that occurs regularly (type ii), based on this context or the other examples in my corpus where I found this habitual auxiliary after a Propositional Content predicate (specifically Isoc. 6.39.3 and 15.37.5).

(12) Occurrence in complement clause after predicate of knowledge
oudeìs gàr humô:n agnoeî hóti olíga ***diaménein***
nobody PTC you.GEN not.know.3SG.IND.PRS COMP few **last.INF**
eío:the *tô:n toioúto:n.*
have.the.habit.3SG.IND.PRF ART such.GEN
'For everybody knows that few of such marriages **usually last.**' (Is. 3.29.3–4)

In fact, in (13), the habitual auxiliary occurs with an absolute temporal modifier from the layer of the Episode. The combination *tòn állon khrónon* literally means 'the other time' but is an idiom used to express 'the past time'. Taken together with the habitual auxiliary, the meaning of the sentence can be paraphrased as follows: in the past [= absolute temporal location] you had the habit of driving all the others [i.e. the other orators] from the platform. In these examples, we thus seem to be dealing with habituality at the layer of the State-of-Affairs (type iii).

(13) Absolute temporal modifier embedding habitual
kaì gàr tòn állon khrónon ***eió:thate*** *pántas toùs*
PTC PTC ART other.ACC time.ACC **have.the.habit.2PL.IND.PRF** all.ACC ART
állous ekbállein
others.ACC throw.out.INF
'[And it is not surprising that you do this;] for before **you had the habit of** driving all the others from the platform.' (Isoc. 8.3)

Yet, a question that needs to be answered is whether the habitual auxiliary is limited to this type of habituality, since, given its high degree of grammaticalization we might expect polyfunctionality of this auxiliary in expressing different types of habituality. I would argue that this is indeed what we find, since there are contexts in which the habitual auxiliary instead expresses a series of habitual States-of-Affairs where the participants are non-specific; in (14), the auxiliary occurs with the non-unique temporal modifier *aeì* 'always' (simply skipped in the Loeb translation) and the generic noun *dê:mos* 'the people' and expresses a series of habitual

events by means of the infinitives dependent on the auxiliary, i.e. habituality at the layer of the Episode.

(14) Habitual series with a non-unique absolute temporal modifier and generic subject
Oukoûn héna_tinà ***aeì*** *dê:mos* ***eío:then***
Q someone **always** people.NOM **have.the.habit.3SG.IND.PRF**
diapherónto:s proïstasthai heautoû kaì toûton tréphein te kai
above put.above.INF self.GEN and DEM.ACC nurture.INF PTC PTC
aúksein mégan?
strengthen.INF big.ACC
'And doesn't this mean that the people **always habitually appoint** someone outstanding to take charge of them and **nurturing** him and **making** him great?' (Pl. R. 565c9)

Furthermore, it should be pointed out that Ancient Greek also allows a series of habitual States-of-Affairs to be constructed by postposing participial clauses to a habitual auxiliary, as in (15) below. The habitual auxiliary and the habitual State-of-Affairs expressed by the participle (i.e. *sullegómenoi* 'the gathering') express what habitually occurred *every* couple of days before a trial day. In other words, the speaker and group of others (viz. *hoi álloi* 'the others/rest', who were explicitly identified in the preceding context) used to be in the habit of gathering and visiting Socrates. Since the referents are specific (in context) and only the combination of matrix and separate subordinate clause creates a series of habitual States-of-Affairs, we have to assume that the habitual auxiliary only works on the layer of the State-of-Affairs. The use of modifiers of the non-unique absolute kind (*aeì* 'always') and the non-unique relative kind (*tàs prósthen he:méras* 'the days before [a trial day]') would be in line with this suggestion.

(15) A habitual 'series' created by a complex clause
aeì gàr dè: kaì tàs prósthen he:méras ***eió:themen***
always PTC PTC also ART before days.ACC **have.the.habit.3SG.IND.PPRF**
phoitân kaì egò: kaì hoi álloi parà tòn So:kráte:, sullegómenoi
visit.INF and I and ART others at ART Socrates gather.PTCP.NOM
héo:then eis tò dikasté:rion en_hô:i kaì he: díke:
at.daybreak to ART court.ACC while PTC ART trial.NOM
egéneto:
happen.3SG.IND.PFV
'You see I and the rest were **always** in the habit of going to see Socrates regularly **on the preceding days too**, gathering at daybreak at the court where the trial took place: [it was in fact next to the prison. So we used to wait each time until the prison was opened and talked among ourselves since the prison

didn't open early. But when it was opened, we would go in to Socrates and spend most of the day with him.]' (Pl. *Phd.* 59d1–7)

In fact, it should be clear that this habitual auxiliary can also be found in contexts where the habitual event is singular in nature, as shown by the following example where the unique relative temporal modifier, from the layer of the Episode (cf. Gregersen & Hengeveld, this volume), scopes over the habitual strategy: *before* [*the building of the dikes*], the river used to flood over the whole plain. Note that the habitual strategy also takes scope over the directional, which, crucially, is a modifier at the layer of the Situational Property, i.e. the layer below the State-of-Affairs.

(16) Occurrence with unique relative temporal modifier and directional
[The first of these lived five generations earlier than the second, and her name was Semiramis: it was she who built dikes on the plain, a notable work]
próteron *dè* ***eó:thee*** *ho potamòs anà tò pedion*
before PTC **have.the.habit.3SG.IND.PPRF** ART river.NOM over ART plain.ACC
pân ***pelagízein***
whole **flood.INF**
'**before that** the river **used to flood** over the whole plain' (Hdt. 1.184)

I also would like to signal that the combination of this habitual strategy with this temporal modifier generates an anti-present implicature, i.e. 'it used to flood before' = 'it does not flood anymore' (la Roi, 2020, 2023).

Let us now move on to the other two habitual auxiliaries, *philéo:* and *ethélo:* 'be wont to/usually X'. I would argue that these habitual auxiliaries express type (iv) habituality, i.e. a certain type of State-of-Affairs occurs regularly due to a propensity of a participant involved. A first indication of this meaning for these habitual auxiliaries lies in their source meanings, because 'love' and 'volition' indirectly pertain to the participant's *propensities*: what one loves or wants to do, one *would* do often or even typically. As such, it should not come as a surprise that such source meanings may develop habitual senses. At the same time, I would like to stress that the "participant" is to be understood in the broadest sense possible, because the subjects with which these habitual auxiliaries occur may be inanimate. We are dealing with propensity in the metaphorical sense. In (17) below, the habitual auxiliary *philéo:* expresses the propensity of the wind to flow in certain directions. In (18), the habitual auxiliary *ethélo:* has the subject 'a good end'.

(17) Propensity meaning of habitual *philéo:*
aúre: dè apò psukhroû tinos ***philéei*** ***pnéein***
air.NOM PTC from cold.GEN something.GEN **love.3SG.IND.PRS flow.INF**
['And for the reason why no air blows from the river, this is my opinion: it is not natural that any air blow from very hot places;] **air usually comes** from that which is very cold' (Hdt. 2. 27)

(18) Propensity meaning of habitual *ethélo:*
tôi dè eû bouleuthénti pré:gmati teleutè: ho:s_tò_epípan
ART PTC well devise.PTCP.DAT matter.DAT end.NOM generally.speaking
khre:stè: ***ethélei*** ***epigínesthai***
good.NOM **want.3SG.IND.PRS come.to.INF**
'[Do not for a moment think that if the Persian defeats us in battle and subdues us, he will leave you unassailed, but rather look well to yourself before that day comes. Aid us, and you champion your own cause;] in general, a good end **usually comes** to a well-laid plan' (Hdt. 7.157.3)

Moreover, there is evidence that modifiers from higher layers than the Situational Property scope over these habitual auxiliaries. In (19), a non-unique relative temporal modifier from the layer of the State-of-Affairs scopes over the habitual expression.

(19) Habitual *philéo:* within the scope of relative temporal location
phileî *dè* ***tíktein*** *húbris mèn palaià neázousan*
love.3SG.IND.PRS PTC **generate.INF** hubris.NOM PTC old.NOM young.PTCP.ACC
en kakoîs brotô:n húbrin tót'_è:_tóth', ***hóte tò kúrion***
amid evil.DAT mortals.GEN hubris.ACC sooner or later **when the fated.NOM**
móle: pháos tókou,
come.3SG.IND.PRS light.NOM birth.GEN
'But old Hubris **tends to bring forth** in evil men, sooner or later, **whenever the fated hour of birth comes**, a young hubris' (A. *Ag.* 763–767)

In (20), the habitual auxiliary scopes under e-negation, i.e. negation at the State-of-Affairs layer rather than the Episode (as in *Mark didn't wash the dishes, but hoovered the floor*; Hengeveld & Mackenzie, 2018, pp. 26–27) (since we are not dealing with p-negation where the negated statement concerns at issue context in the discursive context); the example may be paraphrased as 'it is true that agreements without strong constraint are not wont to keep their force':

(20) Habitual *ethélo:* scoping under e-negation
áneu gàr anankaíe:s iskhure:s sumbásies iskhuraì ***ouk***
without PTC constraint.GEN strong.GEN agreements.NOM strong **NEG**
ethélousi summénein.
want.3PL.IND.PRS remain.INF
'[they brought it about that there should be a sworn agreement and a compact of marriage between them: they judged that Alyattes should give his daughter Aryenis to Astyages, son of Cyaxares;] for without strong constraint agreements are **not wont to keep** their force' (Hdt. 1.74.18–19)

To summarize, the habitual auxiliaries in Ancient Greek should be split into two groups based on their semantics and distributional behaviour. The habitual auxiliary *eío:tha*, as the most grammaticalized member of the habitual auxiliaries, can express both that an individual State-of-Affairs occurs regularly (type iii) or that a series of States-of-Affairs occurs regularly (type ii). Thus, this habitual auxiliary has already extended its meaning to type ii habitual meaning on the layer of the Episode. By contrast, the other two habitual auxiliaries discussed above express the propensity of participants which leads to typically occurring States-of-Affairs. Using semantic and syntactic tests from the questionnaire and Functional Discourse Grammar, we have been able to link their distributional behaviour to their semantic interpretation.

3.5 Cooccurrence of strategies

I should lastly address the fact that the cooccurrence of two strategies, the past modal and the "iterative" strategy, has semantic significance: the combination of the two strategies expresses a series of habitual States-of-Affairs, i.e. type ii on the layer of the Episode.

(21) Series of habitual States-of-Affairs with participles that receive habitual interpretation
hoi dè àn Pérsai ***epelthóntes lábeskon*** *tà*
DEM.NOM PTC MP persians.NOM **come.PTCP.NOM take.3PL.IND.IT.PFV** the.ACC
próbata kaì ***labóntes epé:ironto*** ***àn*** *tô:i*
sheep.ACC and **take.PTCP.NOM be.lifted.up.3PL.IND.IPFV MP** ART
pepoie:méno:i
do.PTCP.DAT
'and the Persians **would come and take the sheep, and would be encouraged** by this achievement.' (Hdt. 4.130.6–7)

The combined construction is connected with a participle in the same main clause that also receives a past habitual interpretation.[13] Interpreted together, these constructions thus introduce a *series* of habitual States-of-Affairs: the Persians would come *(epelthónthes*, PTCP) and take the sheep (*lábeskon*, IND.IT.PFV), and would take the sheep (*labóntes*, PTCP) and be lifted up (*epé:ironto*, IND.IPFV). Note that the qualitative perfective aspect in the past indicative *lábeskon* is used to construe the taking of the sheep as a bounded event (contrast the use of the imperfective in Hdt 3.119.11 *kláieske àn* 'she would wail' for unbounded construal for narrative effects in the description of her unbounded sadness). One caveat must be added, though: this usage is an innovation particular to the Classical Ionic Greek in Herodotus' works, whose literary dialect shows features of both Ionic and Attic Classical Greek. This combination of the past modal indicative construction with the modal particle and the so-called "iterative" *-sk*-suffix (sc. *labeskon*) is only found there. Therefore it seems to be the result of a contact-induced change through dialect, also because this construction is found in contexts where habitual uses of the *sk*-suffixed verbs are found as well (see Hdt. 4.78.18, 4.42.16).

4. Conclusion

I hope to have demonstrated that the distributional properties of habitual constructions provide a rewarding area for further insights into habituality, not only in modern but also in ancient languages. To conclude this contribution, I return to the different theoretical and descriptive questions raised in the introduction, providing them with answers from the perspective of the data from Ancient Greek assessed above. I have shown that the habitual constructions differ from each other not only semantically with respect to the type of habituality that they express, but also with respect to their collocational behaviour with various other expressions (e.g. qualificational aspect and temporal modifiers). Using the tests from the questionnaire, I illustrated the differences between the habitual constructions assessed here, resulting in the classification of habitual constructions in Ancient Greek shown in Table 2.

13. Another example is *klépteske àn periió:n* [steal.3SG.IND.IT.IPFV MP go.round.PTCP.NOM] 'he would go around stealing' (Hdt. 2.174.3).

Table 2. A semantic typology of habitual constructions in Ancient Greek

Habitual construction	(i) genericity	(ii) series of habitual States-of Affairs	(iii) habitual State-of-Affairs	(iv) propensity habituality	(v) multiplicativity
"Iterative" habitual (Section 3.2)					
Modal past habitual (Section 3.3)					
Modal past + "iterative" habitual (Section 3.5)					
Habitual auxiliary *eío:tha* (Section 3.4)					
Habitual auxiliary *philéo:* (Section 3.4)					
Habitual auxiliary *ethélo:* (Section 3.4)					

By examining a diachronic corpus comprising habitual constructions from both the Archaic and the Classical Greek periods, I have verified that many of the different types are diachronically related. In Table 2, I have used dark grey to signify that the type of habituality was already found in Archaic Greek and light grey to signify that the type of habituality is only attested in the Classical Greek period. The different usages are thus not only semantically contiguous but also developed in different diachronic periods.

Furthermore, the current study has thrown new light on the potential differences between present and past habitual constructions, especially because most auxiliaries are used for the present. It has long been thought that there is a temporal asymmetry in the marking of present and past habitual constructions, which has led scholars to suggest that only past habitual constructions are created by grammaticalization processes; for example, Bybee et al. (1994, pp.155–156) have put forward a pragmatic explanation for this complex, essentially diachronic question based on how 'used to' developed past habitual uses out of the lexical source 'use'. On the one hand, they state:

> explicit mention of habitualness is less necessary in the present, where the default meaning includes habitualness, than in the past, where it does not. The higher frequency in the past led to its grammaticization, while the lower frequency in the present led to the disappearance of the construction.

On the other hand, they claimed that the "only way to arrive at a present habitual is by developing a progressive that cuts out part of an originally more general present and leaves the present habitual as a default reading" (Bybee et al., 1994, p. 151). Though there is ample evidence for grammaticalization processes of past habitual constructions in different languages (cf. e.g. Neels, 2015; Tagliamonte & Lawrence, 2000; la Roi, 2020, 2023), I would like to stress that present habituality may be a part of such processes: though most of the constructions discussed here developed past habitual meanings diachronically from other past-tense source meanings (e.g. past counterfactual or past iterative), there is some evidence from Ancient Greek that habitual auxiliaries first develop present-tense habitual meanings before they grammaticalize a past habitual usage (la Roi, 2020, 2023).

Funding

This research was supported by two research grants from the Scientific Research Foundation of Flanders, FWO 1122620N and 12B4B24N.

Acknowledgements

I wish to thank Hella Olbertz and Kees Hengeveld for their initial invitation to present my work on habituality in Ancient Greek at the research group on habituality. By becoming part of this group, I have been fortunate to discuss habituality and related matters online on many different occassions, every time in an equally collegial environment. I sincerely would like to thank all members of the group for that. I also would like to express my gratitude to the reviewers for their perceptive comments and Sune and Kees for their editorial work. All remaining errors are, of course, my own.

Abbreviations

IT	"iterative" suffix	PTC	particle
OPT	optative mood	PPRF	pluperfect
MP	modal particle	SEP	separative

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