Tense and aspect comparison between Griko, Modern Greek and Italian for the indicative

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Abstract

This essay investigates how Griko, an Italiot-Greek language, spoken in Italy, forms verbs in comparison to Modern Greek and Italian, by focusing on the present tense, the imperfect, the past tense, the present perfect, the past perfect and lastly, the progressive aspect, as those are the tenses and aspects found in Griko. The primary findings suggest that the verbal morphology of Griko is somewhat cognate to that of Modern Greek, with some influence from Italian, primarily in the present perfect and the progressive aspect, due to Griko being in contact with Italian. The essay concludes by stating that Griko verbal morphology functions the same way as Modern Greek morphology does, due to both languages being typologically similar and due to both languages being derived from Ancient Greek, despite long contact with Italian.

Keywords: Griko, Modern Greek, Italian, morphology, tense, aspect

1. Background information

Griko is an Italiot-Greek language spoken in Southern Italy, in the province of Lecce, in the administrative area of Apulia by the Griko people, whose name is believed to be derived from the Grecians, an Ancient Hellenic tribe which had colonised parts of Southern Italy (Douri & De Santis 2015: 71). The region where Griko is spoken is also known as Grecia Salentina encompassing around 9 villages (Calimera, Castrignano dei Greci, Corigliano d'Otranto, Martano, Martignano, Melpignano, Soleto, Sternatia and Zollino) covering an area of 143.90 km^2 (Douri & De Santis 2015: 71). The total population of Grecia Salentina in 2015 was estimated to be around 41,500 people, with the language being spoken by around 20,500 people, mostly elderly (Douri & De Santis 2015: 71).

Identifying the origins of Griko is troublesome as there are not many historical records or artefacts that can help linguists identify its ancestry. However, there are two theories, one supported by Greek linguists, the Magna Grecia theory which states that Griko is derived from the Doric dialect of Ancient Greek as spoken in the colonies of Magna Grecia, and a second one supported by Italian linguists, the Byzantine' theory which states that Griko is derived from the Hellenistic Koine spoken in the Byzantine era, which was based on the Athenian dialect (Douri & De Santis 2015: 71; Pellegrino 2016: 65).

In the region where Griko is spoken, Italian is also spoken in its regional variety alongside Salentino, an Italo-Romance variety. Salento can be described as *triglossic*, due to the speakers being able to use all three languages, with varying degrees of fluency. Due to prolonged contact between the three languages, some features from Italian and Salentino have been incorporated into Griko, affecting the lexicon, phonology, and morphology of the language to varying degrees.

The examples used in Modern Greek are derived from the author (as they are a native speaker of the language) or from grammar books, while examples in Griko are derived from the grammar book published by Karanastasis (1997) and from various authors who have conducted research in Griko. Examples in Italian are derived from grammar books as well.

2.   Verbal morphology
2.1. Morphological marking
Verbs in Griko, like Modern Greek and Italian, are inflected for person, number, tense, aspect, voice and, to some degree, mood. Furthermore, all three languages are known as pro-drop languages whereby the subject is expressed through agreement on the verb, i.e., the ending of the verb indicates whether the subject is in the 1st, 2nd, or 3rd person singular or plural (Holton et al. 2012).

(1) **Modern Greek**
>   paíz-o   bala
>   play-PRES.1SG football
>   I play football.'

(2) **Italian**
>   cant-o   una canzone
>   sing-PRES.1SG a   song
>   'I sing a song.'

(3) **Griko**
>   avri   pam-e   totzu
>   tomorrow go-PRES.1PL field
>   'Tomorrow we will go to the field.' (Golovko & Panov 2013: 75)

In the above examples, the subject pronoun is not overtly expressed as it is shown via agreement on the verb. All the suffixes in the examples indicate person, number, tense and voice. Both example 1 and example 2 are inflected for the 1st person singular active voice, indicated by the suffix *-o* for the verb *paizo* 'I play' and for the verb *canto* 'I sing', while for example 3 the verb *pame* 'we go' is inflected for the 1st person plural active present tense indicated by the suffix *-e*.

2.2. Verbal stems
2.2.1.   Verbal stems in Modern Greek and Griko
Verbs in Modern Greek and Griko are made up of a stem, which carries the meaning of the verb, and an inflectional ending, which indicates the grammatical properties of the verb. Griko and Modern Greek use different verb stems for different tenses, i.e., the imperfective and perfective stem, which are differentiated by aspect semantically and by form of the stem. Imperfective and perfective stems exist for both the active and passive voice (Holton et al. 2012: 236). The verb *gráfo* 'to write' in Griko and the verb *déno* 'to tie' in Greek are used to show how the verb stems remain the same for some tenses. The imperfective stem is indicated by *gráf-* in Griko and *dén-* in Modern Greek while the perfective stem is indicated by *gráfs-* in Griko and *des-* in Modern Greek as shown in the tables below.

2.2.1.1. Imperfective stem
The following examples indicate the imperfective stems, in italics, for both Griko and Modern Greek according to the tenses found in each language.

(4) **Griko** (present)
    gráf-o
    write-PRES.1SG
    'I write.' (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

(5) **Griko** (imperfect)
    é*graf*-a
    write-IMPF.1SG
    'I was writing.' (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

(6) **Modern Greek** (present)
    dén-o
    tie-PRES.1SG
    'I tie.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

(7) **Modern Greek** (imperfect)
    éden-a
    tie-IMPF.1SG
    'I was tying.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

(8) **Modern Greek** (imperfective future)
    tha   *dén*-o
    FUT tie.PRES.1SG
    'I will tie.' (Holton et al. 2012: 128)

2.2.1.2. Perfective stem
The following tables indicate the perfective stems, in italics, for both Griko and Modern Greek according to the tenses found in each language.

(9) **Griko** (aorist)
    é*grafs*-a
    write-PST.1SG
    'I wrote.' (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

(10) **Griko** (pluperfect)
    eíxa   *gráfs*-onta
    have.PST write.PTCP
    'I had written.' (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

(11) **Modern Greek** (simple past)
    édes-a
    tie.PST.1SG
    'I tied.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

(12) **Modern Greek** (perfect)
    éxo   *des*-ei
    have.PRES.1SG tie.PTCP
    'I have tied.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

(13) **Modern Greek** (pluperfect)
    eíxa   *dés*-ei
    have.PST.1SG tie.PTCP
    'I had tied.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

(14) **Modern Greek** (perfective future)
    tha *dés*-o
    FUT tie.PRES.1SG
    'I will tie.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

(15) **Modern Greek** (future perfect)
    tha éxo   *dés*-ei
    FUT have.PRES.1SG tie.PTCP
    'I will have tied.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

2.2.2. Verbal stems in Italian

Italian verbs are made up of three parts, one consisting of the root of the verb (which can be stressed or unstressed) which expresses the lexical meaning of the verb, a thematic vowel *a,e,* or *i,* which is present in some parts of the verb in the infinitive and helps identify the conjugation a verb belongs to and an inflectional ending, which gives information about the grammatical properties of the verb *cantare* 'to sing' as shown in Table 1.

Table 1: Verbal stem in Italian (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 219)

Root	Thematic vowel	Suffix
cant-	-a-	-re

2.3. Stress in Modern Greek and Griko

Stress is defined as the relative emphasis or prominence given to a certain syllable in the word. For Modern Greek and Griko, every disyllabic or polysyllabic word must contain one stressed syllable, with the stress falling on the ultimate, penultimate, or antepenultimate syllable. Stress can change depending on the tense, and it is indicated by an accent on the vowel as shown below (Holton et al. 2012). As shown in example (16), for the *imperfect* and the *past simple*, the stress retreats to the antepenultimate syllable. As shown in example (17), for the *present*, stress falls on the last syllable of the stem of the verb.

(16) **Modern Greek** (past simple)
    diá.va.s-a
    read-PST.1SG
    'I read'

(17) **Modern Greek** (present)
    dia.vá.z-o
    read-PRES.1SG
    'I read'

2.4. Augment in Modern Greek and Griko

The augment is a prefix which is used to indicate past time. In Modern Greek and Griko, the augment is usually an *e-* and it is only used to form verbs for the *imperfect* and *past tense* when the stem begins with a consonant (Holton et al. 2012: 152). It is mandatory when the verb consists of a one-syllable stem and a one-syllable ending, with the augment carrying the stress of the verb as shown below.

(18) **Modern Greek**
    é-graps-a
    AUG-write-PST.1SG
    'I wrote.' (Holton et al. 2012: 127)

Table 2: Breakdown of verb *égrapsa* in the past tense to show the augment, stem, and suffix

Augment	Stem	Suffix
é-	graps	-a

Interestingly, verbs in Griko whose original vowel has been lost, e.g., *apalíno > paláino* 'to soften', also take the augment *e-* which suggests that Griko is more conservative, as shown in the following examples.

(19) **Griko** (present)
    paláino
    soften.PRES.1SG
    'I soften.' (Karanastasis 1997: 80)

(20) **Griko** (imperfect)
    e-pálina
    AUG-soften.PST.1SG
    'I softened.' (Karanastasis 1997: 80)

2.5. Conjugations
2.5.1. Modern Greek
Modern Greek verbs fall into 2 categories or conjugations, one being the 1st conjugation or *paroxytone* verbs where stress falls on the last syllable of the verb stem in the present tense e.g., *gráf-o* 'to write' and the other being 2nd conjugation verbs or *oxytone* verbs whereby stress falls on the final syllable on the first person singular active present tense, e.g., *agapó* 'to love'. 2nd conjugation verbs can be broken down into two types. Type A 2nd conjugation verbs usually have an alternative 1st person singular in -*ao* characterized by the -*a* vowel in the active present tense, as in *agap-ó* or *agap-áo* 'to love'. Type B 2nd conjugation verbs do not have an alternative 1st person singular in -*ao,* but they have the vowels -*ei* or -*ou* in the personal endings of the active present tense, for example, the 2nd

person singular for the verb *theoro* 'to consider' is *theoreis* indicated by the inflectional ending *-ei* (Holton et al. 2012: 132).

Table 3: Conjugations in Modern Greek (Holton et al. 2012: 130)

Conjugation		Ending	Example
1st		-o	gráf-o 'to write'
2nd	Type A	-ao/-o	agap-áo/agap-ó 'to love
	Type B	-o	theor-ó 'to consider'

2.5.2. Italian
Verbs in Italian fall into three different types of conjugations, which are all distinguished by the thematic vowel in the infinitive summarised in the table below.

Table 4: Verbal conjugations in Italian (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 219)

Conjugation	Thematic vowel	Ending	Example
1st	-a	-re	cant-are 'to sing'
2nd	-e	-re	perd-ere 'to lose'
3rd	-i	-re	fin-ire 'to finish'

2.5.3. Griko
Griko has two main conjugations, which are derived from Ancient Greek or Byzantine Greek as shown in the table below.

Table 5: Conjugations in Griko (Karanastasis 1997: 87)

Conjugation	Example
-eo/-o	gráf-o 'to write'
-ao	agap-áo 'to love'

3. Tense and Aspect
3.1. The present tense
The present tense is used to locate a situation or to describe events that are happening at the present time (Velupillai 2012). The present tense in Griko and Modern Greek is known as *Enestotas* (Ενεστώτας), while in Italian it is known as *Presente* (Holton et al. 2012: 120; Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 31).

3.1.1. Modern Greek
The present tense is formed via the addition of the present tense suffixes onto the imperfective stem of the verb. The present tense suffixes change depending on the conjugation of the verb. (2nd conjugation verbs type A have an alternative suffix indicated in italics.)

Table 6: Conjugations in Modern Greek (Holton et al. 2012: 126)

Person		Conjugation					
		1st	e.g. gráfo 'to write'	2.A	e.g. agapó 'to love	2.B	e.g. theoró 'to consider'
Singular	1st	-o	gráf-o	-ó	agap-ó	-ó	theor-ó
				-áo	**agap-áo**		
	2nd	-eis	gráf-eis	-ás	agap-ás	-eís	theor-eís
	3rd	-ei	gráf-ei	-áei	agap-áei	-eí	theor-eí
				-á	**agap-á**		
Plural	1st	-oume	gráf-oume	-áme	agap-áme	-oúme	theor-oúme
				-oúme	**agap-oúme**		
	2nd	-ete	gráf-ete	**-áte**	**agap-áte**	-eíte	theor-eíte
	3rd	-oun(e)	gráf-oun(e)	-oún(e)	agap-oún(e)	-oún(e)	theor-oún(e)
				-án(e)	**agap-án(e)**		

3.1.2. Italian

The present tense is formed via the addition of the present tense suffixes onto the verb stem. The thematic vowel for the 2nd person plural changes depending on the conjugation of the verb, as shown in Table 7 in italics.

Table 7: Conjugations in Italian (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32)

Person		Conjugation					
		1st *-are*	Cantare 'to sing'	2nd *-ere*	Credere 'to believe'	3rd *-ire*	Dormire 'to sleep'
Singular	1st	-o	cant-o	-o	cred-o	-o	dorm-o
	2nd	-i	cant-i	-i	cred-i	-i	dorm-i
	3rd	-a	cant-a	-e	cred-e	-e	dorm-e
Plural	1st	-iamo	cant-iamo	-iamo	cred-iamo	-iamo	dorm-iamo
	2nd	-ate	cant-*ate*	-ete	cred-*ete*	-ite	dorm-*ite*
	3rd	-ano	cant-ano	-ono	cred-ono	-ono	dorm-ono

3.1.3. Griko

In Griko, the present tense is formed via the addition of the present tense suffixes onto the imperfective stem of the verb, with the suffixes changing depending on the conjugation. For the 2nd person singular, the final *-s* is added when the following word begins with a vowel.

Table 8: Conjugations of Griko (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

Person		Declension			
		-o	gráfo 'to write'	-ao	agapáo 'to love'
Singular	1st	-o	gráf-o	-ó	agap-ó
	2nd	-i (s)	gràf-i(s)	-á(s)	agap-á(s)
	3rd	-i	gràf-i	-a	agap-á
Plural	1st	-ome	gràf-ome	-oúme	agap-oúme
	2nd	-ete	gràf-ete	-áte	agap-áte
	3rd	-oune	gràf-une	-oúne	agap-oúne

3.1.4. Comparison

Griko has retained most of the present tense suffixes from the same source as Modern Greek as seen from Table 9, which compares the present tense suffixes for Griko, Modern Greek and Italian. Table 10 compares the verb *gráfo* 'to write' and *agapáo* 'to love' for both Griko and Modern Greek, as both verbs are found in both languages.

It could be said that Griko follows the 1st conjugation Modern Greek suffixes to form the present tense for the *-o* conjugation, while for the *-ao* conjugation, Griko follows the 2nd conjugation type A suffixes, as the suffixes for both conjugations in Griko and Modern Greek appear to be the same. Interestingly, Griko uses the suffix *-oune* for the 3rd person plural which is only used in informal contexts in Modern Greek. Furthermore, for the 1st person plural, Griko uses the suffix *-ome*, which could be derived from the Ancient Greek suffix *-omen*, while Modern Greek uses the suffix *-oúme*.

Table 9: Present tense suffixes for Griko, Modern Greek and Italian (Karanastasis 1997: 81; Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32; Holton et al. 2012: 126)

Language		Griko		M.G			Italian		
Conjugation		-o	-ao	1st	2.A	2.B	1st	2nd	3rd
Singular	1st	-o	-ó	-o	-ó	-ó	-o		
					-áo				
	2nd	-i (s)	-á(s)	-eis	-ás	-eís	-i		
	3rd	-i	-a	-ei	-áei	-eí	-e		
					-á				
Plural	1st	*-ome*	-oúme	*-oume*	-áme	-oúme	-iamo		
					-oúme				
	2nd	-ete	-áte	-ete	-áte	-eíte	-ate	-ete	-ite
	3rd	-oune	-oún(e)	-oun(e)	-oún(e)	-oún(e)	-ano	-ono	
					-áne				

Table 10: Griko and Modern Greek present tense for the verbs *gràfo* 'to write' and *agapáo* 'to love' (Karanastasis 1997; Proudfoot & Cardo 2005; Holton et al. 2012)

Person		-o / 1st gráfo 'to write'		-ao / 2nd agapáo 'to love'	
		Griko	M.G	Griko	M.G
Singular	1st	gráf-o	gráf-o	agap-ó	agap-ó
					agap-áo
	2nd	gráf-i(s)	gráf-eis	agap-á(s)	agap-ás
	3rd	gráf-i	gráf-ei	agap-á	agap-áei
					agap-á
Plural	1st	gráf-ome	gráf-oume	agap-oúme	agap-áme
					agap-oúme
	2nd	gráf-ete	gráf-ete	agap-áte	agap-áte
	3rd	gráf-une	gráf-oun(e)	agap-oúne	agap-oún(e)
					aga-án(e)

In conclusion, Griko present tense suffixes are cognate to those of Modern Greek, as they appear to be the same for both *-o* conjugation verbs and *-ao* conjugation verbs. It has no similarities with Italian.

3.2. The imperfect

The imperfect tense is used to express an action or a state as a continuous event in progress or as an event which is repetitive or habitual in the past (Holton et al. 2012: 121). In Griko and Modern Greek, the imperfect is known as *Paratatikos* (Παρατατικός), while in Italian the imperfect is known as *l'imperfetto*. The imperfect in Griko and Modern Greek is the combination of the imperfective stem of the verb with the past, while in Italian the imperfect suffixes are added to the verb stem, which happens to be the same as the 2nd person plural indicative (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32; Holton et al. 2012: 121). In Griko and Modern Greek, the imperfect presents events described by the verb as incomplete and can have two senses (Holton et al. 2012). When the imperfect is used in some past time, the action described by the verb can be interpreted as ongoing or continuing, as in example 21, with the verb *évlepe* 'see', *éklaige* 'cry' and *miloúse* 'speak' taking the 3rd person singular imperfect suffix *-e*. When used in a repetitive or habitual sense in the past, it presents the event described by the verb as a recurrent pattern, as in example 22, whereby the act of seeing Hellen happened every time 'I' was in Athens, with the frequency being supported by the word *syxná*, with the verb to *évlepa* 'see' taking the 1st person singular imperfect suffix *-a*. Note that, three verbs in the following examples take the syllabic augment *e-* which carries the stress.

(21) **Modern Greek**
  évlep-e   to   paidi pou   éklaig-e
  see.IMPF.3SG the child which cry-IMPF.3SG
  alla den tou   miloús-e
  but not him   speak-IMPF.3SG
  'He was watching the child crying but was not speaking to him.'
  (Holton et al. 2012: 295)

(22) **Modern Greek**
  otan ím-oun   stin Athína évlep-a   syxná tin Eléni
  when be-IMPF.1SG in   Athens see-IMPF.1SG often her Hellen
  'When I was in Athens, I used to see Helen frequently.' (Holton et al. 2012: 295)

In Italian, the imperfect can be used to describe situations with information or events happening the same time in the past, as in example 23, whereby the act of raining and the car running happened at the same time, with both verbs, *pioveva* 'rain' and *correva* 'run' taking the 3rd person singular imperfect suffix *-va*. The Italian imperfective is also used to relate the background of a situation in which an event happened, as in example 24, whereby the auxiliary verb *habere* 'have' is in the imperfect creating the background which inflected for the 1st person singular imperfect suffix *-vo*.

(23) **Italian**
    er-a   mezzanotte, piove-va
    be-PST.3SG midnight,   rain-IMPF.3SG
    e   la   macchina corre-va   silenziosa
    and the car   ran-IMPF.3SG silently
    'It was midnight, it was raining, and the car was running silently.'
    (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 46)

(24) **Italian**
    non ho   mangiato perché   non ave-vo   fame
    not have.PST.1SG eat.PTCP because not have-IMPF.1SG hungry
    'I didn't eat because I wasn't hungry.' (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 46)

3.2.1. Modern Greek

The imperfect is formed via the addition of the imperfect suffixes onto the imperfective stem of the verb. Most of the 1st conjugation verbs take an augment *e-* (except the irregular verbs) which carries the stress for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and 3rd person plural when the verb stem begins with a consonant, and the verb stem together with the suffix form two syllables only. For 2nd conjugation verbs, the suffixes are attached to the imperfective stem of the verb which takes the affix *-oús*, which always carries the stress of the verb. 1st conjugation verbs and 2nd conjugation verbs take the same suffixes with the difference being that 2nd conjugation verbs take the suffix *-ous* before the inflectional ending as shown in Table 11.

Table 11: Imperfect suffixes of Modern Greek verbs (Holton et al. 2012: 131)

Person			Conjugation			
		1st		2nd		
		Suffix	e.g., gráfo 'to write'	Suffix	Type A	Type B
					e.g., agapáo 'to love'	e.g., theoró 'to consider'
Singular	1st	-a	é-graf-**a**	-oúsa	agap-**oúsa**	theor-**oúsa**
	2nd	-es	é-graf-**es**	-oúses	agap-**oúses**	theor-**oúses**
	3rd	-e	é-graf-**e**	-oúse	agap-**oúse**	theor-**oúse**
Plural	1st	-ame	gráf-**ame**	-oúsame	agap-**oúsame**	theor-**oúsame**
	2nd	-ate	gráf-**ete**	-oúsate	agap-**oúsate**	theor-**oúsate**
	3rd	-an	é-graf-**an**	-oúsan(e)	agap-**oúsan(e)**	theor-**oúsan(e)**

Interestingly, 2nd conjugation verbs of type A can also take the 1st conjugation imperfect suffixes while 2nd conjugation verbs type B cannot, as they can only take the 2nd conjugation type A imperfect suffixes as shown in Table 12.

Table 12: Modern Greek imperfective suffixes of 2nd conjugation verbs type A and type B (Holton et al. 2012: 131)

Person			2nd conjugation					
			Type A					Type B
			agapáo 'to love'					theoró 'to consider'
					Alternative Suffix			
Singular	1st	-oúsa	agap-oúsa		-a		agápag-a	theor-oúsa
	2nd	-oúses	agap-oúses		-es		agápag-es	theor-oúses
	3rd	-oúse	agap-oúse		-e		agápag-e	theor-oúse
Plural	1st	-oúsame	agap-oúsame		-ame		agapág-ame	theor-oúsame
	2nd	-oúsate	agap-oúsate		-ate		agapág-ate	theor-oúsate
	3rd	-oúsan	agap-oúsan(e)		-an(e)		agápag-an(e)	theor-oúsan(e)

3.2.2. Italian

The imperfect is formed via the addition of the imperfect suffixes onto the verb stem, which is identical to the stem of the verb found in the 2nd person plural indicative, for 1st (-*are*), 2nd (-*ere*) and 3rd (-*ire*) conjugation verbs as shown in Table 13. The suffixes remain the same, but the thematic vowels change depending on the conjugation as shown in Table 14.

Table 13: Formation of the imperfect in Italian (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 219)

Tense	Conjugation		
	1st	2nd	3rd
Infinitive	parlare 'to speak'	credere 'to believe'	finire 'to finish'
2nd person plural indicative	parlate	crede	finite
Imperfect (1stSG)	parlavo	credevo	finivo

Table 14: Imperfect suffixes in Italian (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 219)

Person		Ending	Conjugations		
			1st	2nd	3rd
			parlare 'to speak'	credere 'to believe'	dormire 'to sleep'
Singular	1st	-vo	parl-**avo**	cred-**evo**	dorm-**ivo**
	2nd	-vi	parl-**avi**	cred-**evi**	dorm-**ivi**
	3rd	-va	parl-**ava**	cred-**eva**	dorm-**iva**
Plural	1st	-vamo	parl-**avamo**	cred-**evamo**	dorm-**ivamo**
	2nd	-vate	parl-**avate**	cred-**evate**	dorm-**ivate**
	3rd	-vano	parl-**avano**	cred-**evano**	dorm-**ivano**

3.2.3. Griko

The imperfect in Griko is formed via the addition of the imperfect suffixes to the imperfective verb stem, which happens to be the same verb stem as the present (Karanastasis 1997). The table below compares the imperfect for -*o* conjugation verb, e.g., *gráfo* 'to write' and -*ao* conjugation verb *agapáo* 'to love'. Both conjugations take the

same suffixes for all person with the only difference being in the 3rd person singular, whereby *-o* conjugation verbs take the suffix *-e* while *-ao* conjugation verbs take the suffix *-a*. The *-s* for both conjugations is added onto the 2nd person singular only when the following word begins with a vowel.

Table 15: Imperfect suffixes in Griko (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

Person		Suffix	Conjugation	
			-o	-ao
			e.g., gráfo 'to write'	e.g., agapáo 'to love'
Singular	1st	-a	é-graf-**a**	agápon-**a**
	2nd	-e(s)	é-graf-**e(s)**	agápon-**e(s)**
	3rd	-e	é-graf-**e**	agáp-**a**
Plural	1st	-amo	e-gráf-**amo**	agapoú-**amo**
	2nd	-ato	e-gráf-**ato**	agapoú-**ato**
	3rd	-ane	e-gráf-**ane**	agapoú-**ane**

3.2.4. Comparison

The following table compares the imperfect suffixes for Griko, Modern Greek and Italian.

Table 16: Imperfect suffix comparison (Karanastasis 1997; Proudfoot & Cardo 2005; Holton et al. 2012)

			Language				
			Griko	Modern Greek			Italian
Declension			-o / -ao	1st	2nd		1st /2nd / 3rd
						Alternative	
Person	Singular	1st	-a	-a	-oúsa	-a	-vo
		2nd	-e(s)	-es	-oúses	-es	-vi
		3rd	-e/-a	-e	-oúse	-e	-va
	Plural	1st	-amo	-ame	-oúsame	-ame	-vamo
		2nd	-ato	-ate	-oúsate	-ate	-vate
		3rd	-ane	-an(e)	-oúsan(e)	-an(e)	-vano

Based on Table 16, it is clear that the Griko imperfect suffixes are cognate with those of 1st conjugation Modern Greek verbs for both *-o* and *-ao* conjugations, as the suffixes appear the same in both languages for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd singular and 3rd person plural, despite the 3rd person singular for *-ao* conjugation verbs taking the suffix *-a*. Interestingly, the *-ao* conjugation in Griko uses the alternative suffixes used in Modern Greek for the 2nd conjugation type A, which is the same as the suffixes used by the 1st conjugation verbs.

However, for the 1st person plural in Griko, the suffix *-amo* does not appear to be the same as Modern Greek *-ame*, but more similar to Italian *-vamo,* while the 2nd person plural suffix *-ato* is not the same in either Modern Greek *-ate* or Italian *-vate*. The 3rd person plural for Griko and Modern Greek appears to be the same with the only difference being that, in Modern Greek, the suffix *-ane* is used in informal contexts.

The following table compares the verbs *gráfo* 'to write' and *agapáo* 'to love' for both Griko and Modern Greek, as the verbs are the same in both languages.

Table 17: Comparison of the verb *gráfo* 'to write' and *agapáo* 'to love' in Griko and Modern Greek (Karanastasis 1997: 83; Holton et al. 2012: 127)

Person		-o / 1st Gráfo 'to write'		-ao / 2nd agapáo 'to love'		
		Griko	Modern Greek	Griko	Modern Greek	
					Alternative	
Singular	1st	é-graf-a	é-graf-a	agápon-a	agápag-a	agap-oúsa
	2nd	é-graf-e(s)	é-graf-es	agápon-e(s)	agápag-es	agap-oúses
	3rd	é-graf-e	é-graf-e	agáp-a	agápag-e	agap-oúse
Plural	1st	e-gráf-amo	gráf-ame	agapoú-amo	agapág-ame	agap-oúsame
	2nd	e-gráf-ato	gráf-ete	agapoú-ato	agapág-ate	agap-oúsate
	3rd	e-gráf-ane	é-graf-an	agapoú-ane	agápag-an(e)	agap-oúsan(e)

Following from the above differences between Griko and Modern Greek, both *-o* conjugations and 1st conjugation verbs take the augment *e-*, which carries stress for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular; however, for the 3rd person plural, the stress in Modern Greek is on the augment while for Griko, the stress is on the penultimate syllable. Furthermore, the augment is kept in Griko for the 1st and 2nd person plural, while for Modern Greek it is removed. Regarding the differences between the *-ao* conjugation verbs in Griko and the 2nd conjugation verbs in Modern Greek, the suffix *-ous* which is used to form the imperfect in Modern Greek is not used in Griko, as Griko uses the 1st conjugation suffixes. One similarity between these two declensions is that in both Griko and Modern Greek, the stress falls on the verb stem.

In conclusion, Griko imperfect suffixes are cognate to those of Modern Greek to form the imperfect for *-o* conjugation verbs and *-ao* conjugation verbs as they appear the same in both languages. The only difference between Griko and Modern Greek is the absence of the *-ous* suffix in Griko as Griko uses the 1st conjugation verb suffixes of Modern Greek. Griko has no similarities to Italian for this tense.

3.3. The past simple
The past simple is used to indicate that an action described by the verb took place at a specific time in the past. Griko and Modern Greek do not possess the past simple but the *aorist* (αόριστος), which blends the properties of the perfective, which is seen by the perfective stem of the verb, and the imperfect, which is indicated by the suffixes (Holton et al. 2012). The aorist is used to describe an action or state that took place and finished at some point in the past, as in example 25, whereby the act of writing started at some point in the past and finished, indicated by the past simple 1st person singular suffix *-a*.

(25) **Modern Greek**
  é-graps-a   pénte grámmata xthés
  write-PST.1SG five letters   yesterday
  'I wrote five letters yesterday.' (Holton et al. 2012: 120)

Italian possess the *passato remoto* 'simple perfect' which is used to express the distance of past events in terms of remoteness from the present situation as shown in example 26, whereby the disappearance of the dinosaurs happened very far in the past with no relationship to the present time.

(26) **Italian**

i	dinosauri	scomparv-erono	65	milioni	d'anni	fa
the	dinosaurs	disappeared-PST.3PL	65	million	years	ago

'Dinosaurs disappeared 65 million years ago.' (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 49)

3.3.1. Modern Greek

The simple past in modern Greek is formed via the active perfective stem of the verb followed by the imperfect suffixes. All three conjugations, 1st conjugation verbs and 2nd conjugation types A and B take the same suffixes as shown in Table 18. 1st conjugation verbs whose verbal stem begins with a consonant and forms two syllables with the suffix, take an augment *-e* before the verb stem, which carries stress for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural. The aorist is indicated by the presence of an *-s* onto the stem of the verb however, it can change depending on the verb.

Table 18: The aorist for 1st and 2nd conjugation verbs in Modern Greek (Holton et al. 2012: 132)

Person		Suffix	Conjugation		
			1st	2nd	
				Type A	Type B
Singular	1st	-a	égraps-**a**	agápis-**a**	theóris-**a**
	2nd	-es	égraps-**es**	agápis-**es**	theóris-**es**
	3rd	-e	égraps-**e**	agápis-**e**	theóris-**e**
Plural	1st	-ame	gráps-**ame**	agapís-**ame**	theorís-**ame**
	2nd	-ate	gráps-**ate**	agapís-**ate**	theorís-**ate**
	3rd	-an	égraps-**an**	agápis-**an**	theóris-**an(e)**

3.3.2. Italian

The *passato remoto* 'simple perfect' is used to express the distance of past event in terms of their separateness from the present situation. The *passato remoto* is formed by the addition of the *passato remoto* suffixes onto the verb stem as shown in Table 19.

Table 19: *Passato remoto* inflectional endings in Italian (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32)

Person		1st	parlare 'to talk'	2nd	credere 'to believe'	3rd	dormire 'to sleep'
Singular	1st	-ai	parl-**ai**	-etti/-ei	cred-**etti**/-**ei**	-ii	dorm-**ii**
	2nd	-asti	parl-**asti**	-esti	cred-**esti**	-isti	dorm-**isti**
	3rd	-ò	parl-**ò**	-ette/-e	cred-**ette**/-**e**	-ì	dorm-**ì**
Plural	1st	-ammo	parl-**ammo**	-emmo	cred-**emmo**	-immo	dorm-**immo**
	2nd	-aste	parl-**aste**	-este	cred-**este**	-iste	dorm-**iste**
	3rd	-arono	parl-**arono**	-ettero/-erono	cred-**ettero**/-**erono**	-irono	dorm-**irono**

3.3.3. Griko

The aorist in Griko is formed via the active perfective stem of the verb, indicated by the presence of an -*s* on the stem, followed by the imperfect suffixes which are the same for both -*o* conjugation verbs and -*ao* conjugation verbs. Verbs in the 2nd person singular take the final -*s* when the proceeding word starts with a vowel (Karanastasis 1997: 82). For -*o* conjugation and -*ao* conjugation verbs whose verb stem begins with a consonant and the verb stem together with the suffix form 2 syllables, an augment *e-* is added before the verb stem. For -*o* conjugation verbs, the stress for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular falls on the augment while for -*ao* conjugation verbs, the stress falls onto the verb stem. Furthermore, for -*o* conjugation verbs, the stress for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural falls on the verb stem while for -*ao* conjugation verbs, the stress falls onto the suffix (Karanastasis 1997: 82).

Table 20: Aorist in Griko for -*o* conjugation verbs and -*ao* conjugation verbs (Karanastasis 1997: 83)

Person		Suffix	-o grafo 'to write'	-ao agapao 'to love'
Singular	1st	-sa	é-graf-**sa**	e-gápi-**sa**
	2nd	-se(s)	é-graf-**se(s)**	e-gápi-**se(s)**
	3rd	-se	é-graf-**se**	e-gápi-**se**
Plural	1st	-samo	e-gráf-**samo**	e-gapi-**sámo**
	2nd	-sato	e-gráf-**sato**	e-gapi-**sáto**
	3rd	-sane	e-gráf-**sane**	e-gapi-**sáne**

3.3.4. Comparison

Table 21 compares the aorist and the *passato remoto* suffixes for Griko, Modern Greek and Italian.Griko aorist suffixes are cognate to those of Modern Greek for both -*o* and -*ao* conjugation verbs, as seen in Table 21. Furthermore, Griko forms the aorist exactly like Modern Greek, that is, using the perfective stem of the verb followed by the imperfect suffixes. Based on Table 21, the aorist suffixes for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular and 3rd person plural appear to be the same; however, the 1st person plural in Griko ends in -*amo* while in Modern Greek it ends in -*ame*, and the 2nd person plural in Griko ends in -*ato* while for Modern Greek it ends in -*ate*. Lastly, the 3rd person plural in Griko ends in

-ane while in Modern Greek it ends in *-an,* with the suffix *-ane* being used in informal settings. One similarity between Griko and Modern Greek is the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular as the suffixes appear to be the same.

Table 21: Aorist and *passato remoto* suffix comparison for Griko, Modern Greek and Italian (Karanastasis 1997: 81; Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32; Holton et al. 2012: 134)

Person		Language		
		Griko	Modern Greek	Italian
Singular	1st	**-a**	**-a**	-i
	2nd	**-e(s)**	**-es**	-sti
	3rd	**-e**	**-e**	-ò/-e/-ì
Plural	1st	*-amo*	*-ame*	-mmo
	2nd	*-ato*	*-ate*	-ste
	3rd	**-ane**	**-an(e)**	-rono

Table 22 compares the aorist for Griko and Modern Greek for *-o* conjugations verbs and *-ao* conjugation verbs in Griko with 1st conjugation verbs and 2nd conjugation verbs in Modern Greek for the verb *gráfo* 'to write' the verb *agapáo* 'to love', as both verbs are the same in both languages. The primary difference between Griko and Modern Greek regarding *-o* conjugation verbs and 1st conjugation verbs is that Griko maintains the augment *e-* for all persons while it is removed for the 1st and 2nd person plural in Modern Greek, this could suggest that Modern Greek has lost its unaccented syllabic augment. Regarding the stress, it is the same for all persons except for the 3rd person plural where in Griko, the stress falls on the verb stem *e-gráfs-ane,* while for Modern Greek it falls on the augment *e-*, *é-graps-an*, due to the augment carrying the stress. Both languages have similar stress patterns as stress falls on the augment *e-* due to Griko and Modern Greek having a common ancestor, Ancient Greek. The perfective stem in Griko is distinguished by *-fs* while in Modern Greek its distinguished by *-ps*.

Table 22: Aorist comparison in Griko and Modern Greek for the verb gráfo 'to write' and *agapáo* 'to love' (Karanastasis 1997: 83; Holton et al. 2012: 134)

Person		Declensions			
		-o / 1st gráfo 'to write'		-ao / 2nd agapáo 'to love'	
		Griko	Modern Greek	Griko	Modern Greek
Singular	1st	é-grafs-a	é-graps-a	e-gápis-a	agápis-a
	2nd	é-grafs-e(s)	é-graps-es	e-gápis-e(s)	agápis-es
	3rd	é-grafs-e	é-graps-e	e-gápis-e	agápis-e
Plural	1st	e-gráfs-amo	gráps-ame	e-gapis-ámo	agapís-ame
	2nd	e-gráfs-ato	gráps-ate	e-gapis-áto	agapís-ate
	3rd	e-gráfs-ane	é-graps-an(e)	e-gapis-áne	agápis-an(e)

The primary difference between Griko and Modern Greek regarding the formation of the aorist for *-ao* conjugation verbs in Griko and 2nd conjugation verbs in Modern Greek is that in Griko the augment *e-* is added for all persons while there is no augment present in Modern Greek, as it retains the original vowel from the verb stem. Secondly, for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person singular in both Griko and Modern Greek, the stress falls on the verb stem while for the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural, the stress in Griko falls on the suffix.

In conclusion, Griko aorist suffixes are cognate to those of Modern Greek aorist suffixes for both *-o* conjugation verbs and *-ao* conjugation verbs to form the aorist as they appear to the same. Furthermore, Griko, just like Modern Greek, also uses the perfective stem of the verb to form the aorist. Griko shows no similarities to Italian for the aorist.

3.4. The present perfect (*Parakeimenos* in Griko and Modern Greek and *Passato Prossimo* in Italian)

The present perfect is used to express actions or states that started in the past but continue to the present, it indicates actions or states as completed (Holton et al. 2012: 122). The present perfect in Griko and Modern Greek is known as *Parakeimenos* (Παρακειμενος) and in Italian it is known as *Passato Prossimo* 'Compound Perfect' or 'Compound Past' (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32).

The present perfect in all 3 languages is formed analytically, i.e., marking tense using auxiliary verbs and participles, with the auxiliary verb in its finite form followed by the past participle of the verb. The past participle in Griko and Modern Greek is not inflected for gender, case or number, unless the alternative present perfect is used which agrees with all 3 in Modern Greek, while in Italian, verbs whose past participles uses auxiliary verb *essere*, agrees with the subject of the verb. The primary difference between Griko and Modern Greek is that Griko follows the Romance paradigm of Italian for auxiliary verb selection (Holton et al. 2012: 132).

3.4.1. Modern Greek

The present perfect is formed via the present tense of auxiliary verb *éxo* 'have' followed by the non-finite active perfective stem of the verb, which takes the suffix *-ei* as in example 27.

(27) **Modern Greek**
    éxo   dés-ei
    have.PRES.1SG   tie-PTCP
    'I have tied.' (Holton et al. 2012: 129)

Interestingly, there is an alternative present perfect which can also be formed using auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' in the present tense followed by the passive perfect participle of verb which takes the suffix *-menos, -meni, -meno* as in example 28 however, it is restricted to active transitive verbs which can occur in the passive.

(28) **Modern Greek**
    éxo   gram-meno   to   gramma
    have.PRES.1SG   write-PTCP   the   letter
    'I have written the letter.' (Holton et al. 2012: 305)

3.4.2. Italian

The present perfect is formed via the present tense of either auxiliary verb *essere* 'be' or *avere* 'have' followed by the past participle of the verb. Motion verbs use *essere* 'be', as in example 30, while all other verbs use *avere* 'have', as in example 29.

(29) **Italian** (auxiliary verb: *avere* 'to have')
     ho   cantato
     have.PRES.1SG sing.PTCP
     'I sang' (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 32)

(30) **Italian** (auxiliary verb: *essere* 'to be)
     sono   venuto/a
     be.PRES.1SG come.PTCP
     'I came' (Maiden & Robustelli 2007)

3.4.3. Griko

The present perfect in Griko is formed via the present tense of either auxiliary verb *exo* 'have' or *ime* 'be' followed by the active past participle of the verb taking the suffix *-mena*, which is derived from the Classic Greek passive past participle suffix *-menos, -meni, -meno* (Squillaci 2016). Auxiliary verb selection follows a transitive-unaccusative split, i.e., auxiliary selection is determined by the semantic class of the verb, with motion verbs using auxiliary verb *ime* 'be', as in example 32, and all other verbs using auxiliary verb *exo* 'have', as in example 31 (Squillaci 2016: 41; Schifano, Silvestri & Squillaci 2016: 76).

(31) **Griko** (auxiliary verb: *exo* 'to have')
     éxo   fá-mena
     have.PRES.1SG eat-PTCP
     'I have eaten.' (Ralli 2012: 12)

(32) **Griko** (auxiliary verb: *ime* 'to be')
     íme   artó-mena
     be.PRES.1SG come-PTCP
     'I have come.' (Ralli 2012: 12)

3.4.4. Comparison

It is clear that Griko combines both Modern Greek and Italian to form the present perfect periphrastically, that is, following the Romance model of the transitive-unaccusative split by using auxiliary verb *ime* 'be' with motion verbs and auxiliary verb *exo* 'have' with all other verbs and by using the suffix *-mena* which is derived from Classical Greek passive past participle suffix *-menos, -meni, -meno,* which is only employed in Modern Greek for active transitive verbs which can occur in the passive.

3.5. The past perfect

The past perfect is used to describe actions or states as having been completed sometime in the past, with the consequences relevant to another point in time in the past which is either specified or implied. The past perfect in Griko and Modern Greek is known as *Ipersidelikos* (Υπερσυντέλικος) while in Italian it is known as *Trapassato Prossimo* (Holton et al. 2012: 122; Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 32). The past perfect for all three languages is formed periphrastically, i.e., marking tense using auxiliary verbs or participles, with the auxiliary verb in its finite form followed by the past participle of the verb. The past participle in Griko and Modern Greek is not inflected for gender, case or number, unless the alternative past participle is used which is inflected for all three in

Modern Greek, while in Italian, the past participles that use auxiliary verb *essere*, agrees with the subject of the verb.

3.5.1. Modern Greek

The past perfect is formed via auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' in the imperfect tense followed by the non-finite active perfective stem of the verb which takes the suffix *-ei* as shown below.

(33) **Modern Greek**
    eíxa   dés-ei
    have.PST.1SG tie-PTCP
    'I had tied.' (Holton et al. 2012: 132)

Interestingly, there is an alternative past perfect with a restricted use, which is formed using auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' in the imperfect tense followed by the passive perfect participle of verb which takes the suffix *-menos, -meni, -meno* which is inflected for gender and number based on the object of the verb as in example 34, however it is restricted to active transitive verbs which can occur in the passive.

(34) **Modern Greek**
    eíxa   gram-méno to   grámma
    have.PST.1SG write-PTCP   the letter
    'I had written the letter.' (Holton et al. 2012: 305)

3.5.2. Italian

The past perfect in Italian is formed via the imperfect indicative of the auxiliary verb *essere* 'to be' or *avere* 'to have' followed by the past participle of the verb. Motion verbs take auxiliary *essere* 'to be' as in example 36 while the rest of the verbs take *avere* 'to have' as in example 35 shown below.

(35) **Italian**
    ave-vo   cantato
    have-PST.1SG sing.PTCP
    'I had sung.' (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 32)

(36) **Italian**
    er-o   venuto/a
    be-PST.1SG come.PTCP
    'I had come.' (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 32)

3.5.3. Griko

In Griko the past perfect is formed via the auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' in the imperfect tense followed by the aorist active suffix *-onda* attached to the verb, as in example 37. The past perfect does not make a distinction in the semantic class of the verb as all types of verbs use auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' (Squillaci 2016: 41). The active participle *-onda* is derived from the classical Greek active past participle suffix *-sas, -sasa, -san* which in Medieval Greek was morphologically reduced to form *-sanda* which was further reduced to *-onda*, as shown below.

(37) **Griko**

    ícha   kám-onda
    have.PST.1SG   do-PTCP
    'I had done.' (Squillaci 2016: 41)

3.5.4. Comparison

It is clear that Griko has retained the Medieval Greek construction in forming the past perfect periphrastically, that is using auxiliary verb exo 'to have' in the imperfect followed by the verb which takes the aorist active particle *-onda*. It is does not follow the Italian paradigm as Italian either selects auxiliary verb *avere* 'to have' or *essere* 'to be' depending on the semantic class of the verb. Griko has no similarities with Italian for the past perfect.

3.6. The progressive aspect

The progressive aspect implies a continuing ongoing process referring to actual events i.e. denotes that the event is ongoing (Payne 1997: 84; Velupillai 2012: 219).

3.6.1. Modern Greek

The progressive aspect in Modern Greek is expressed through the gerund, which is formed synthetically with the addition of the suffix *-ontas* onto 1st and 2nd conjugation verbs (Holton et al. 2012; Manika 2014). The gerund is used to describe action which take place at the same time as the action of the verb it modifies, with the gerund usually expressing the means or the time during which something is done or taken place, as in example 38 whereby the act of John departing and leaving a present for Anna happened at the same. The gerund has the same subject as the verb it modifies (Holton et al. 2012: 135). Only verbs with an active voice can form the progressive aspect while verbs with only a passive voice cannot (Manika 2014: 36).

(38) **Modern Greek**

    feúg-ontas o Yiannis áfis-e   éna dóro   gia tin Ánna
    leave-GER he John   leave-PST.3SG one present for her Anna
    'As John was leaving, he left a present for Anna.' (Holton et al. 2012: 135)

The gerund also has a perfect form which is formed via the attachment of the suffix *-ontas* onto auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' followed by the perfective stem of the verb which takes the suffix *-ei* (Holton et al. 2012: 135; Manika 2014: 37).

(39) **Modern Greek**

    éx-ontas   dés-ei
    have-GER tie-PTCP
    'having tied' (Holton et al. 2012: 120)

3.6.2. Italian

The progressive aspect in Italian is formed via the conjugation of the verb *stare* 'to stay' in the present tense (example 40) or in the imperfect tense (example 41) followed by the verb taking the suffix *-ando* or *-endo*, with the choice of suffix depending on the conjugation of the verb (Table 35) (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005). When *stare* is conjugated the present tense, it indicates that the action is in progress at the present time, as in

example 40, whereby the act of the boys reading is happening at the present time as we speak (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 258):

(40) **Italian**
      i   ragazzi stan-no   legg-endo
      the boy.PL stay-PRS.3PL read-GER
      'The boys are reading.' (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 136)

When *stare* is conjugated in the imperfect tense, it indicates that the action was in progress at a past time, as shown in example 41, whereby the act of the boys reading happened at a past time (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 258).

(41) **Italian**
      i   ragazzi sta-vano   legg-endo
      the boy.PL stay.PST.IPFV.3PL read.GER
      'The boys were reading.' (Proudfoot & Cardo 2005: 137)

Table 23: Gerund formation in Italian (Maiden & Robustelli 2007: 258)

Verb ending	Gerund	Example
-are	-ando	parlare>parlando 'to talk' > 'talking'
-ere	-endo	leggere>leggendo 'to read' > 'reading'
-ire		dormire>dormendo 'to sleep' > 'sleeping'

3.6.3. Griko

As proposed by Golovko & Panov (2013) and Squillaci (2016), the progressive aspect consists of a verb form which is preceded by the unchangeable particle *ste* that does not carry any inflection for tense, aspect, mood, person, number and gender, which is a reduced form of the grammaticalized lexical verb *steo* 'to stay' which was borrowed from the Italian verb *stare* 'to stay', followed by the verb in the appropriate tense; example 42 is the present tense while example 43 in the imperfect as shown below.

(42) **Griko**
      ce   sto daso, mian alipuna *ste*   kulua   enan alao
      and in forest, a   fox   PROG chase.PRES.3SG one   rabbit
      'and a fox is chasing a rabbit in the forest' (Golovko & Panov 2013: 76)

(43) **Griko**
      ce   sto daso, mian alipuna *ste*   kulus-a   enan alao
      and in forest a   fox   PROG chase-IPFV.3SG one   rabbit
      'and a fox was chasing a rabbit in the forest' (Golovko & Panov 2013: 76)

Interestingly, the progressive aspect can also be used to for future situations, as shown in example 44.

(44) **Griko**

avri	*ste*	pam-e	totzu
tomorrow	PROG	go-PRES.1PL	field

'Tomorrow we will go to the field.' (Golovko & Panov 2013: 76)

3.6.4. Comparison

It is clear that Griko forms the progressive aspect in a combination of Italian, by using the grammaticalized particle *ste* which was borrowed from the verb *stare* 'to stay', and a combination of Modern Greek, by the verbs being conjugated in the appropriate tense.

4. Conclusion

In conclusion Griko seems to have retained a vast majority of the Modern Greek verbal morphology as verbs appear to work in the same way as Modern Greek, despite the long contact with Italian. This is based on Griko being obviously typologically closer to Modern Greek, which is due to both languages being derived from a common ancestor. The findings in this paper suggest that the only influence of Italian regarding verbal morphology on Griko is on the present perfect, where Griko either selects auxiliary verb *éxo* 'to have' or *ime* 'to be' following the Romance model of auxiliary verb selection and on the progressive aspect, where Griko uses the grammaticalized particle *ste* 'stand', which is borrowed from Italian from the verb *stare* 'to stay'. This suggest that language contact and language change can take place, but with different degrees of intensity as in Griko, which has maintained a lot of Modern Greek elements in the language, as it is seen in the verbal morphology.

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