'be'-verb involved: Since the construction originally expresses a state (position or condition, "Befindlichkeit") of the subject — as is sufficiently proved by the prepositions used —, the verb employed as an auxiliary, if there is a choice, will be the verb 'be at a place'. It could therefore be predicted that Spanish and Portuguese use *estar* rather than *ser* in their progressive constructions. The same can be seen in African languages. Thus, the Ewe progressive construction *éle vavá m̀* (he:is RDP:come PROG) 'he is coming' originally expresses a location: *m* derives from *me 'inside', so that the original meaning is 'he is in coming' (Heine 1980: 105f). In Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979: 128, 181f), the postposition *-ç'ə́* 'in' is converted into the intransitive verb 'be in' by adding stative verb inflection. The full verb is put into the masdar, an infinitive-like verbal noun, and is constructed as the oblique complement of the auxiliary, as shown in E3.

> E3 Abkhaz (Hewitt 1979: 181)
> *a-x˚màr-ra   ç'ə́-w+p'*
> ART-play-INF in-PRS+INDEP
> 'he is playing'

In Uzbek (Žirmunskij 1966: 86), there are four auxiliaries which may be used in the progressive frame "main verb-gerund auxiliary-gerund-inflection", e.g. in *ëz-ib* AUX-*ib-man* 'I am writing', namely *tur-* 'stand', *ŭt* 'sit', *ët* 'lie' and *jur-* 'walk about'. It is palpable how all these verbs characterize the spatial situation of the subject.

Givón (1973: §5) and Heine & Reh (1984: 124–126) also point to a second source of progressive aspect markers, namely verbs of the meaning 'stay', 'remain', 'keep'. This can also be exemplified from Portuguese, which uses *ficar* (beside *estar*) in progressive constructions.

For HABITUAL ASPECT/AKTIONSART, two sources may be mentioned. The first is a periphrasis with the copula, as for progressive aspect. In Imbabura Quechua, the same suffix *-j* which also forms simultaneous relative clauses is used on the full verb. The resulting form is constructed as the predicate complement of the copula. Sentences such as the one in E4 can nevertheless not be analyzed as containing a syntactically regular free relative clause (see Cole 1982: 149).

> E4 Quechua (Cole 1982: 149)
> *Utavalu-pi trabaja-j   ka-rka-ni.*
> Otavalo-LOC work-SIM.NR COP-PAST-1.SG
> 'I used to work in Otavalo.'