

## **'Speaking', between 'doing' and 'saying'**

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When we dig into the 'history of speaking' (Schlieben-Lange 1993 oppure 1983?) of one language, we are likely to be enlightened by several suggestions about hidden dimensions of grammaticalization routes as well as possible origins, or grounding, of some morphemes. It has been found that in some languages the verbs for 'to do' and 'to say' have contributed in different ways to form grammatical (mostly verbal) morphemes. This is the case of several African and Asian languages, as well as of some creoles (cf. Lord 1976; Heine & Reh 1984; Saxena 1988, 1991; Holm 1988; Kihm 1990; Manessy 1995). For example, in Beja, a northern Cushitic language, the independent forms of the verb *di* 'say' exhibit features expressing finality, intentionality and future tense (Vanhove 2004).

In this paper, we will focus on the Upper Amazonian language family Jivaroan (or Aénets), where several morphemes coding 'completive/real/past' verbal values were derived from a verbal root 'to do', while other morphemes, coding 'incompletive/unreal/future/potential' values were derived from a verbal root 'to say'.

We believe that there is still a long way to go to discover similar grammaticalization routes in many other languages, mainly in the Americas, but also in the rest of the world (cf. Traugott & Heine 1991, Hopper & Traugott 1993; Heine, Claudi, Hünemeyer 1991; Lehmann 1985; Plag 1992).

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