

## Supplementary Materials

### Universal meaning extensions of perception verbs are grounded in interaction

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These Supplementary Materials provide additional examples as further evidence for the arguments made in the main paper, see <https://doi.org/10.1515/cog-2017-0034>. Please cite the main paper when referring to these examples.

The main text of *Universal meaning extensions of perception verbs are grounded in interaction* provides a full exposition. For background information on the languages and corpora that are drawn on here, please consult §2. For further details on the lesser-described languages of concern, suggested sources are: Avatime, Defina (2016), van Putten (2016); Chintang, Dirksmeyer (2008), Stoll et al. (2012); Cha'palaa, Floyd (2015); Duna, San Roque (2008); Italian, Rossi (2015); Lao, Enfield (2007); Semai, Dentan (1999), Tufvesson (2011); Siwu, Dingemane (in press); Tzeltal, Brown (2011); Whitesands, Hammond (2014).

## SIGHT

These are supplementary examples for §3.1.

**S1 Cha'palaa:** see/look > know about (cognition)

The speaker has just characterized the people of another community, and backs up his claim by referring to his direct perceptual experience and thus—by extension—the actuality of his knowledge.

(S1) *i juntsa-la-nu*                      *kera-i*  
1 DIST.DEM-COLLECTIVE-ACC   **see/look**-EGO  
'I **know about** them.' (Cha\_11/SF)

**S2 Duna:** see/look > figure out (cognition)

This example focuses on vision as part of a cognitive process. The speaker describes how medical staff figure out the cost of treatment at the local clinic.

(S2) *eya sopa le rei=na yaka-ya*  
rope below sew be/sit.STAT=SPEC count-DEP  
*yolo-nda-narua-ko ke-rane...*  
price-INT-NTN.P-SUB **see/look**-SW.SEQ

‘They count the stitches and **figure out** what the price will be...’ (Dun\_138/LSR)

**S3 Spanish:** see > think (cognition)

The Spanish data included one example where *ver* ‘see’ appears to be used as a mental quotative to introduce the thoughts or feelings of the speaker (S13).

(S3) *y yo ví ay que día tan divino!*  
and 1SG **see**.PST ay what day so beautiful  
‘And I **thought**, wow what a beautiful day!’ (Spa\_067/EN)

This example from Spanish is notably similar to (quasi-)quotative uses of vision verbs in English (de Clerck 2006) and Korowai (Trans New Guinea, de Vries 2013).

**S4 Lao:** look > check on (attention)

The verb *beng1* ‘look’ is used by a speaker to quiz his relative as to whether they have checked on the wellbeing of the family’s cows.

(S4) *ngua2 kaø bòø dajø beng1 bòø3 vaang1 saw4 hanø*  
cow TPC.LNK NEG ACHV **look** QPLR period early.morning TPC.DIST  
‘The cows, didn’t [you] **check on** them this morning?’ (Lao\_028/NE)

The association of vision verbs with focused attention (including meanings such as ‘check on’, ‘look after’) is sporadically reported elsewhere, for example, by Jakobi and El-Guzuuli (2013: 214) in relation to the Nile Nubian language Dongolawi.

**S5 Duna:** see/look > watch out (attention)

The speaker calls *kepa* ‘look!’ to a young child as she (the child) unwittingly approaches a wasp nest. Following this, the speaker’s companion, June, makes the potential danger explicit, clarifying why the little girl should attend to and avoid the wasps.

(S5) Diana: *roma rei=na ke-pa*  
above be/sit.STAT=SPEC **see/look-IMP**  
‘[The wasps] sitting up there, **watch out!**’  
[lines omitted]

June: *ho reinaka ko ha neyana*  
‘These things sitting here, they bite you!’ (Dun\_046/LSR)

**S6 Italian:** see > meet with (socializing)

Friends are talking about a mutual friend that most of them have not been in contact with lately. The notion of ‘seeing’ someone stands for meeting, spending time and talking with that person.

(S6) *diciasset- l’ ho vista anche il ventuno*  
seventeen 3SG.ACC have-1SG **see-PST.PTP** also the twenty-one  
‘Seventeen- I **met with** her also on the twenty-first.’ (Ita\_130/GR)

The extension of sight verbs to meanings to do with social interaction have been widely noted in the literature for a range of languages (e.g., Cooper 1974; Viberg 1983; Evans and Wilkins 2000: 573-574; Aikhenvald and Storch 2013: 27)

**S7 Siwu:** see > find (locating)

In this example two Siwu speakers are talking about finding a lost child.

(S7) *ilê kà mi nyà ù?*  
where ING 2PL **see** 3SG  
‘Where did you **find** it [the child]?’ (Siw\_145/MD)

### S8 Chintang: look > try (trying)

Two people are departing the scene, leaving the video camera running. The verb *khaŋ* ‘look’ provides the meaning ‘try to...’ in the phrase ‘try to video-record’. (The video-recording is itself described with a different vision verb, *copt* ‘see/look’; see S14).

- (S8) *copt-u-khaŋ-ne* (.) *alagga*  
see/look-3-look-OPT alone  
‘May [the camera] **try** to video-record, alone!’ (Chi\_085/TD)

A ‘see’ > ‘try’ extension is common in Papuan languages (Foley 1986), and our data support Voinov’s (2013) contention that this association is likely widespread cross-linguistically.

### S9 Whitesands: see/look > consider to be (co-identification)

Example (S8) illustrates that sight verbs were used to talk about how one views and interprets an object or situation, equating it with something else. The speaker talks about the amusing behaviour of his daughter when she swims.

- (S9) *t-aiing* *haroiuu na-k-ə-afu* *t-ol* *kow*  
3SG.NPST-swim now 2-NPST-SG-see/look 3SG.NPST-do cow  
‘If she [the speaker’s infant daughter] was to swim now you would **consider her to be** a cow.’ (Whi\_79/JH)<sup>1</sup>

Co-identification meanings have also been reported for Tswana (Bantu, Vanhove 2008: 359) and Tani (Tibeto-Burman, Post and Modi 2010).

### S10 Mandarin: look > read

The Mandarin verb *kan* ‘look’ is used to mean ‘read’.

- (S10) *ta kan bagua ban, kan de chao kaixin de...*  
3SG **look** gossip page look PRT very happy PRT  
‘She’s happily **reading** the gossip page...’ (Man\_090/KK)

A lexical association between vision and reading is found in languages as diverse as Tzeltal (Mayan, P. Brown pers comm.; see also Campbell et al. 1986: 533), Manambu (Ndu, Aikhenvald 2013), and English (Baker 1999).

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<sup>1</sup> JH notes that Whitesands has two basic verbs ‘see/look’, *-eru*, as in (s8), and *-afu*. These are near-synonymous and are dialectal variants.

**S11 English:** see > experience

In this example, where the speaker excitedly describes a recent noteworthy event, the English verb *see* is used to mean something like ‘be present, experience’.

(S11) *You should have **seen** [i.e., **experienced**] Friday night ma- guys against girls playing darts and the girls won.* (Eng\_040/KK)

Example S11 parallels colexifications in Estonian (Uralic, Langemets et al. 2009, as cited in Proos in press) and in Ewe (Kwa, Ameka 2008).

**S12 Siwu:** see > as soon as

In Siwu, the verb *nyá* ‘see’ has become grammaticalized as a temporal marker meaning something like ‘be just about to’ or ‘as soon as’.

(S12) *kɔ lo **nyà** lò yora zì dèka sharp...*  
INTJ 1SG **see** 1SG fire time one sharp  
‘But **as soon as** [more literally: I saw] I fired one sharp shot...’ (Siw\_034/MD)

A similar temporal extension has also been noted for a vision verb in the related language Ewe (Ameka 2008).

**S13 Avatime:** see > have

In Avatime, the verb *mɔ̀* ‘see’ can express possession.

(S13) *xé wɔ-mɔ̀ four thousand xé lì-kpa ‘i-bɔ*  
if 2SG.PFV-see four thousand and C3SG-fish C4SG-money  
*‘i-ma tsyɛ wáà-dzi àmɔwɔ tiabà*  
C4SG.PFV-not.be too 2SG.POT-buy amɔ two  
‘If you **have** four thousand [cedis, Ghanaian currency] and there is no fish money too, you can buy two *amɔ* (corn dough-balls).’ (Ava\_198/RD.SvP)

The related language Ewe can also express possession using a vision verb (Ameka 2012). Ameka (2012) further comments on the conceptual relationship between perception and ownership, while Aikhenvald and Storch 2013: 27-28 discuss vision > possession links in other African languages.

**S14 Chintang:** see/look > video-record

Two people are departing the scene, leaving the video camera running. The verb *copt* ‘see/look’ describes the camera’s recording process; see also S21).

- (S14) *copt-u-khaŋ-ne* (.) *alagga*  
see/look-3-look-OPT alone  
‘May [the camera] try to **video-record**, alone!’ (Chi\_085/TD)

Our ability to observe the Chintang extension ‘video-record’ (see also Lao hear > audio-record, S21) likely relates to the nature of the corpus, in that people may be likely to mention the situation of being recorded (Dingemanse 2011: 8-14).

**S15 English:** see > express to

The English term *looking at* can be used in reference to conveying an emotional attitude through non-verbal communication.

- (S15) *and we look at* [i.e., **express to**] *her like, you know, what the hell are you doing?*  
(Eng\_008/KK)

**S16 Mandarin:** look > depend on

Here, Wu asks Zhou a question about how to use a computer application for complex diagrams.

- (S16) Wu: *ranhou, ta chulai de bili jiu shi yi bi yi.*  
‘So then, the proportion that comes out is one-to-one?’

Zhou: *no. yao kan ni de charu bili.*  
no will look 2SG PRT input proportion.  
‘No. **It depends on** [more literally: (you) will look at] your input proportion.’

*ni na zhang tu de charu bili shuo shiyi bi shi ta jiu hui chuxian yi bi shi.*  
‘If your diagram has an input proportion of one-to-ten, then it will appear as one-to-ten.’ (Man\_063/KK)

## HEARING

These are supplementary examples for §3.2.

### S17 Lao: hear > know (cognition)

Lao speakers discuss how they have come to know certain information about a relative.

- (S17) *daj4-ñin2 bak2-mòòn1 man2 mùa2 qaw3 ngen2 nam2 khòj5*  
**obtain-hear** M.NRSPCT-M 3.B return take money with 1SG.PLT  
*vaa1 qi- qiø-phòð1 tok2 khandaj3 vaa1 san4*  
say d- daddy fall stairs say thus

‘[I] **know** [from] Mòòn, he went to get money from me, he said Da- Daddy fell from the stairs, he said.’ (Lao\_047/NE)

### S18 Siwu: hear > pay attention to (attention)

In this Siwu example a mother rebukes her son, who is sitting next to her. Her complaint does not concern his literal hearing but rather his lack of attention.

- (S18) *ai ta bie sɔ anð it̩mɛ qùqùqùqù*  
2SG.NEG PROG want that 3SG.hear message at.all  
‘You don’t want to **pay attention to** this message at all.’ (akp\_028/MD)

### S19 Lao: listen > tell

In Lao, *fang2* ‘listen’ is used with *vaw4* ‘speak’ to mean ‘tell’.

- (S19) *cang1-daj3 vaw4 suu1 haw2 fang2*  
way-which speak towards 1PL listen  
‘How is it, **tell us** [more literally: speak for us to listen].’ (Lao\_046/NE)

### S20 Cha’palaa: hear/listen > ask

In Cha’palaa, *pa-* ‘speak’ is chained with the audition verb *me-* in a construction that means ‘ask’.

- (S20) *pa-ke-'*                      *me-ra-'*                      *malaa*  
 speak-do-SAME.REF hear/listen-SAME.REF when  
 ‘When I **asked** [more literally: spoke and listened]...’ (Cha\_001/SF)

Similar extensions of audition (or primarily audition) verbs to mean ‘ask’ are reported elsewhere, for example in Kaluli (Trans New Guinea, Schieffelin and Feld 1998) and in Tani (Tibeto-Burman, Post and Modi 2010).

### S21 Lao: hear > audio-record

The Lao material also included *ñin2* ‘hear’ meaning ‘audio-record’,<sup>2</sup> an auditory parallel of Chintang *copt* ‘see/look’ as ‘video-record’ in (S7), above.

- (S21) *qoo4 lùang1 lin5 phaj5 niø ñang2*  
 INTJ story play cards TPC still  
*dajø-ñin2 vaa3 thèè4 niø*  
 obtain-hear QPLR.INFER really TPC  
 ‘Oh, stories of playing cards were also **recorded**?’ (Lao\_027/NE)

## TASTE and TOUCH

These are supplementary examples for §3.3; see (9) in the main paper for a smell example.

### S22 Italian: taste > find out (cognition)

The speaker asks a friend to investigate the state of some food.

- (S22) *non è che me la assagg-i*  
 NEG be.3SG that/what 1SG.DAT 3S.ACC **taste-2SG**  
*e mi dic-i se è marcia*  
 and 1S.DAT say-2SG if be.3SG rotten  
 ‘Would you mind **finding out** for me and telling me if it’s rotten?’  
 Ita\_011/GR)

<sup>2</sup> Enfield (in press) describes that in some Lao dialects, *ñin2* ‘hear’ can also mean ‘feel’, but that this is not representative of Vientiane Lao (the de facto standard variety). Thus, we treat *ñin2* as an audition rather than a multi-sense term.



**S23 Spanish:** touch > oblige

The speaker comments sympathetically on an obligation of her husband’s.

- (S23) *pobre Hector le tocó ir-se*  
poor Hector it touch.PST go REFL  
‘Poor Hector, he was **obliged** to go.’ (Spa\_077/EN)

The use of Spanish *tocó* ‘touch’ to express obligation echoes a similar modal auxiliary construction described for Italian, also present in Italian-influenced Maltese (Afro-Asiatic, Vanhove et al. 2009).

**S24 Duna:** touch > have control over

The speaker explains that it was not possible to purchase a cut of meat, because the owner of the meat was not present to oversee and approve the pricing.

- (S24) *yão ita auwa na-hoa-ye ka-ta*  
nothing pig owner NEG-come-NEG be/stand-SEQ  
*ala koya neya kone-na*  
**touch** be/stand NOT INTENS-SPEC

‘The pig’s owner wasn’t there so he [the person cooking the pig] couldn’t **have control over** it [i.e., could not set the price and sell the meat].’  
(Dun\_020/LSR)

**S25 Duna:** touch > involve

In Duna touch was also conceptualized as ‘involving’ or ‘talking (negatively) about’ a person. The speaker imagines an utterance they will direct to a person who has recently been criticizing the speaker’s behavior concerning an old dispute between them. This is part of a longer conversation where the speaker expresses surprise and censure that the recipient apparently wants to revisit an earlier (according to the speaker, unjustified) complaint, and draw the speaker into further conflict.

- (S25) *ayu ka no-ta ala kei riya-rape*  
now 2SG.ERG 1SG-LOC touch be/stand again-UNC  
‘Now you want to **involve** me again, huh?’ (Dun\_33/LSR)

## MULTI-SENSE VERBS

These are supplementary examples for §3.4.

### S26 Avatime: sense > understand (cognition)

The speakers are discussing who will listen to the recordings currently being made of them. The first occurrence of *nu* ‘sense’ in this utterance refers to physical audition, but the second (in bold) refers to understanding.

- (S26) *bá-nalɔ*                      *be-ze- bá-na-*                      *bá-naa*  
 C1PL-person:DIST.DEM C1PL-be C1PL-person C1PL-person:DEF  
*be-té-zě-nu*                      *ko tsyɛ* *bɛ-tá-zě-**nu***                      *e-bo-la*                      *mè*  
 C1PL-INT-REC-sense C too C1PL-INT-REC-sense C3PL-matter-DEF inside  
 ‘Those people, those p-, those people who are going to listen to this [recording], are they going to **understand** what we are talking about?’ (Ava\_110/RD.SvP)

### S27 Spanish: sense > think (cognition)

The speaker is doing the hair of a friend, and uses *siento* to introduce an impressionistic inference concerning her friends feelings. She initially couches her question using the verb *entender* ‘understand’, but then reformulates her utterance using the multi-sense verb.

- (S27) *pareces como, como que-- te digo qué entendí?*  
*como si-- qué **siento**?*                      *como si*                      *te*                      *diera*                      *asco*  
 as if what sense.1SG as if 2SG give.COND disgust  
 ‘You look like, like-- you know what I understood? As if-- what I **think**? As if you were grossed out by it.’ (Spa\_065/EN)

In this example *siento* could alternatively be translated with the English perception verb *feel*, which has similar cognitive extensions.

### S28 Duna: sense > pay attention to (attention)

The speaker notes her baby’s shift in gaze and posture and comments that she (the baby) is attending to someone calling out a short distance away.

- (S28) *Julinda, yia-na waki-nda ho kei-na ke-pa*  
 PSN call-SPEC sense-PURP here be/stand.STAT-SPEC see-IMP  
 ‘Julinda, [the baby] is **paying attention to** the call, look!’ (Dun\_106/LSR)

**S29 Italian:** sense > check (attention)

In this example, the speaker has warmed up some leftover pizza and placed it on the table, but one of their companions complains it is cold. The speaker responds with this utterance, and then cuts a piece to determine the state of things for themselves.

- (S29) *fammi sentire*  
 make.IMP.2SG>1SG.DAT **sense**.INF  
 ‘Let me **check**.’ (Ita\_13/GR)

As stated in the main paper §2.1, we have not treated temperature terms as ‘perceptual’ for the purposes of our study. However, this example illustrates how a literal temperature-sensing meaning can be co-present with an attentional meaning.

**S30 Whitesands:** sense > find (locating)

The speaker describes searching for his father.

- (S30) *Ia-k-ə-ua m-etou dada iken parue ia-k-ə-uen*  
 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-come ER-**sense** father place which 1.EXCL-NPST-SG-go  
*ohni*  
 BEN.3SG  
 ‘I will come and **find** where Dada is, and I will go there.’ (Whi\_20/JH)

**S31 Tzeltal:** sense > try (trying)

Tzeltal speakers discuss the efficacy of a particular medical treatment.

- (S31) *ja' xix a, ay y-u'un-uk ba ya*  
 it's.that PRT PRT, EXIST 3.ERG-RELN-SUBJ where ICP  
*s-bik' xan y-a'y ek ta'yej*  
 3.ERG-swallow again 3.ERG-sense too PRT  
 ‘It’s just that, there are some of hers where she’ll take [the pills] again to **try** too.’  
 (Tze\_329/PB)

**S32 Duna:** sense > ask

The speaker has been trying to get some information from her young child about what food has been eaten, but finds the answers unclear; she states that she will ask the child’s father instead.

- (S32) *No waki-nda=nia, rika*  
 1SG **sense**-INT=ASSERT wait.IMP  
 ‘I will **ask** [him], wait.’ (Dun\_103/LSR)

**S33 Italian:** sense > be in touch with; hear from

A group of friends talk about a mutual friend.

- (S33) *tu l’hai provato a sentir=lo,*  
 2SG.NOM 3SG.ACC=have.2SG try.PST.PTP to **sense**.INF=3SG.ACC  
*tu l’hai sentito a natale*  
 2SG.NOM 3SG.ACC=have.2SG **sense**.PST.PTP at christmas  
 ‘Have you tried to **be in touch with** him, have you **heard from** him during Christmas?’ (Ita\_118/GR)

**S34 Tzeltal:** sense > feel (pain)

Two Tzeltal speakers discuss medical conditions, employing the multi-sense verb *a’y* to talk about another person’s sensation of pain.

- (S34) *banti laj y-a’y x-ti’wan-ø ch’i?*  
 where QUOT 3.ERG-**sense** ASP-hurt-3.ABS PRT  
 ‘Where does she say she **feels** that it hurts?’ (Tze\_291/PB)

**S35 Tzeltal:** sense > feel like

The speaker expresses a current inclination by using *a’y*.

- (S35) *jo ya x-kuxul nakl-on a k-a’y*  
 hmm ICP ASP-feel.good sit-1.ABS PRT 1.ERG-**sense**  
 ‘Hmm I **feel like** sitting down.’ (Tze\_298/PB)

**S36 Tzeltal:** sense > feel (emotion/disposition)

The speaker comments on the emotion her young daughter appears to be experiencing.

- (S36) *ya x-k’oj-∅ a y-a’y k-ala*  
 ICP ASP-be.bored-3.ABS PRT 3.ERG-sense 1.ERG-DIM  
*k’ox i k’an ok’-∅-ok-ix yael=e*  
 youngest.child DEIC want cry-3.ABS-SUBJ-ACS it.seems=CFC  
 ‘My little youngest is **feeling** bored, she wants to cry it seems.’ (Tze\_414/PB)

### S37 Tzeltal: sense > do

Two speakers discuss the activities of others.

- (S37) *sel nopjun-il laj ya y-a’y-ik=e yael ek a te:*  
 ? study-NMZ QUOT ICP 3.ERG-sense-PL=CFC PRT too PRT COMP  
*y-a’y-ik jalab*  
 3.ERG-sense-PL weaving  
 ‘They are **doing** study apparently too, they say, they are **doing** weaving.’  
 (Tze\_007/PB)

## INTRAFIELD EXTENSIONS

These are supplementary examples for §3.5.

### S38 Spanish: see > find out > taste

Two people are cooking, and want to know if the sauce they are making is salty enough.

- (S38) *pero probemos la a ver*  
 but try.SUBJ.1PL DEF.FEM to see  
 ‘But let’s try it to **find out [taste]**.’ (Spa\_014/EN)

### S39 Whitesands: listen > pay attention to > feel

The verb *teling* ‘listen’ is used with a transfield attentional meaning in regard to a tactile percept, the feel of a fishing line during the technique of trolling (i.e., drawing a fishing line through the water), and so can be interpreted as having a tactile meaning.

(S39) *m-ə-teling la-n ko m-ə-oipqkan*  
ER-SG-**listen** DAT-3SG then ER-SG-troll  
‘You **pay attention to [feel]** it [the fishing line in your hand] and then  
you’re trolling.’ (Whi\_046/JH)

Whitesands example (S39) has a near parallel in English tech-speak, where (applications for) touch-controlled electronic devices are routinely described as having the ability to ‘listen for’ touch events or as employing ‘event listeners’ that respond to tactile contact, etc.

### Abbreviations and conventions

In translation lines an English approximation of the transfield association of the perception verb is shown in bold. This is not intended to exclude the possibility of a co-present literal perception meaning. In English examples and for intrafield associations, extended meanings are shown in square brackets.

Annotations following examples indicate the language (identified by the first three letters), the number of the example in the database of San Roque et al. (2015), and the initials of the author or other researcher(s) who contributed the material to that database: Penelope Brown, Rebecca Defina, Mark Dingemans, Tyko Dirksmeyer, Nick Enfield, Simeon Floyd, Jeremy Hammond, Kobin Kendrick, Elisabeth Norcliffe, Giovanni Rossi, Lila San Roque, Sylvia Tufvesson, and Saskia van Putten.

Abbreviations used in interlinear glosses are as follows: 1 first person, 2 second person, 3 third person, ABS absolutive, ACC accusative, ACHV achievement marker, ASP neutral aspect marker, ASSERT assertion, BEN benefactive, CFC clause-final clitic, *Cn* noun class, COMP complementizer, COND conditional, DAT dative, DEF definite, DEIC deictic, DEM demonstrative, DEP dependent, DIST distal, EGO egophoric, ER echo referent, ERG ergative, EXCL exclusive, ICP incomplete aspect, IMP imperative, INF infinitive, INFER inference, ING ingressive, INT intensive, INTENS intensifier, INTJ interjection, LOC locative, M male, NEG negation, NMZ nominalizer, NOM nominative, NRSPCT non-respect, NPST non-past, NTN.P prior notional evidence, OPT optative, PL plural, PLT polite, PFV perfective, POT potential, PROG progressive, PRT particle, PST past, PTP participle, PURP purposive, QPLR polar question, QUOT quotative, REC recurrent, REFL reflexive, RELN relational noun, SAME.REF same referent, SEQ sequential, SG singular, SPEC specific, STAT stative, SUB subordinator, SUBJ subjunctive, SW switch, TPC topic, TPC.LNK topic linker, UNC uncertainty. In some longer examples, the duration of pauses

(in seconds) are noted in parentheses. Overlapped elements of speech are indicated using a square bracket in the original language line to show the point where overlap between speakers commences. In the interests of space, we give an interlinear gloss only for those lines that include a perception verb.

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