Notes

1. For interlinear glosses of spoken and signed language examples, Leipzig Glossing Rules (Bickel, Combrie, & Haspelmath, 2008) are followed throughout the study.

2. Conjunction ga meaning 'and' links both clauses and clause constituents in spoken Djambarrpuyŋu. Co-ordination with ga is not obligatory (Wilkinson, 1991, p. 690). No manual sign with this meaning is found in Yolngu Sign Language.

3. Deaf with a capital D is a notion that has evolved in the last decades and refers to deaf-identified society, community and culture, whereas deaf is used to denote audiological ability only (Senghas & Monaghan, 2002; Hiddinga & Crasborn, 2011). The term d/Deaf is sometimes used to refer to the pathological and sociocultural forms of deafness at the same time (LeMaster & Monaghan, 2004).

4. See section 4.2.1 for information about the types of the collected YSL data.

5. The European Science Foundation collaborative research grant awarded to Ulrike Zeshan. "Village Sign" was part of the "EuroBABEL program ("Better Analyses Based on Endangered Languages"). For further information on all their projects, see http://www.esf.org/activities/eurocores/running-programmes/eurobabel.html.

6. See chapter 2 for the discussion of these terms.

7. See however, the study conducted by Mitchell, Young, Bachleda, & Karchmer (2006) for some difficulties concerning the estimation of a number of people using ASL in the United States.

8. Although Al-Sayyid Bedouin sign language is a relative young sign language (ca. 75 years), it still cannot be regarded as emerging. Displaying a different kind of social setting as DCSLs (such as small, isolated community, many deaf signers, etc.), ABSL should rather be refererred to as a village sign language (see chapter 2.3 of this book).

9. For a detailed description of the history of the Deaf community in Israel and the development of ISL see Meir & Sandler (2008).

10. See Nyst (2012) for further common features of village sign languages.

11. In some cases, the term "village" sign language seems unsuitable as, for example, in the case of Inuit Sign Language, which is widespread in many Inuit communities throughout a large Canadian territory of Nunavut (Schuit, 2009a; 2012).

12. However, see Kusters (2010, p. 8 ff.), who suggests that considering deaf people as absolutely equal to hearing people in these communities might rather be an oversimplification. By examining a number of deaf villages, she argues that in respect to education deaf people seem to be "singled out" in these communities.

13. In his sociolinguistic typology, Trudgill (2011) refers to communities with these features as "societies of intimates".
14. Bahan & Nash (1996) refer to such communities as "assimilating" communities; Woll & Ladd (2003) call them "integrated communities".
15. Although, Nonaka (2007) reports on two instances so far, in which signing was used between two hearing members of Ban Khor village community in order not to be heard.
16. For a detailed overview of these sign languages, the reader is referred to the original sources and Kendon (1988), who undertakes a comparative review of them. For Sawmill Sign Language see Meissner & Philpott (1975ab); for Monastic Sign Languages see Umiker-Sebeok & Sebeok (1987); Kendon (1990); for Plain Indian Sign Language see West (1960) cited in Davis (2010) and Davis (2010); for North Central Desert Australian Aboriginal Sign Language see Kendon (1987, 1988).
17. Kelley & McGregor (2003) report that out of 650 tribal members in this small Keresan-speaking pueblo in central New Mexico 15 members were deaf.
18. This figure is taken from Kendon (1988, p. 32). It is acknowledged there as being modified after Peterson (1976). I appreciate kind permission by Adam Kendon to reproduce this figure. The arrow has been added by the author to show the area where YSL is used.
19. The figure is from Kendon (1988, p. 70) with kind permission by Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, UK.
20. I thank Suzannah O'Reilly for sharing her article with me.
21. The information was sourced from http://iltyemiltyem.tumblr.com/ (accessed on 10-04-12).
22. One deaf Aborigine at Yuendumu used written English to communicate and a deaf man in Eliot had acquired a sign language at a deaf school in Adelaide (Kendon, personal communication)
23. See Kendon (1984) for some information on the acquisition and learning of sign language at Yuendumu.
24. The table is taken from Pfau (2012, p. 544). Abbreviations used in the table are as follows: SP = spoken language; SL = sign language; G-QS = general question (wh-) sign; MA = manual alphabet; NMM = non-manual markers; PR/A = phonological reduction and/or assimiliation (chracteristic of (Deaf community) sign language compounds); QM = question mark (preceding the question); QS = question sign; sim. = simultaneous; SL = sign language, G-WH = general wh-sign; QP = question particle.
25. In this book, both terms village and shared sign languages will be used.
26. Kendon summarizes the available accounts and raises the issue of its use as an interlingua.

27. Additionally, it might be assumed that the data collected in three fieldsites for this study is valid for the entire Yolngu region. Communication with the informants, the language assistants, other researchers and balanda (non-Indigenous people), who have resided in various communities and settlements in North East Arnhem Region, suggest that there is little or no significant variation in the extent to which the signs are used in different Yolngu communities. However, the reader must be aware that at the present it is unclear whether the same sign language is used throughtout the North East Arnhem Land. More data from various Yolngu communities and settlements are desirable to verify this assumption. Further studies will have to show this.

28. There are, however, alternative orthographies such as Yuulngu or Yolŋu (Wilkinson, 1991). I follow here Cooke & Adone (1994), Christie & Greatorex (2004), Christie (2007) and others by using the spelling Yolngu throughout. Since there is no grapheme ŋ for the velar nasal phoneme in the English keyboard, it needs to be inserted. For ease of reference and citation of this study, I have chosen to adopt the spelling Yolngu.

29. Schebeck (2001, p. 53) explains, that the term Yolŋu is not chosen in arbitrarily manner, but follows the same principle of naming groups and languages throughout Australia. The word Yolŋu occurs in most languages in the North East Arnhem Land with the meaning 'human being', 'person', today also 'dark-skinned person' as opposed to balanda, ŋäpaki, wurrabanda 'white man').

30. Wilkinson uses the regional orthography, which was originally developed by Beulah Lowe for Gupapuyŋu.

31. I acknowledge kind permission by Craig Danvers and the Shepherdson College, Galiwin'ku to reproduce Figure 5.

32. The Land Rights Act produced by the Central Land Council (Sourced from http://www.clc.org.au/Ourland/land_rights_act/alra.pdf on the 02.11.2011)

33. The term homelands and outstation are used interchangeably in the literature (cf. Calma, 2009, p. 108) to define 'small decentralized communities of close kin, established by the movement of Aboriginal Peoples to land of social, cultural and economic significance to them'. The term homelands is favored here, since this term used by the Aboriginal Peoples themselves. "Homelands is the term that they believe most strongly reflects their traditional, ancestral and spiritual links to the language, kin and land that forms part of their home" (Amnesty International Report (2011) "The Land Holds Us: Aboriginal Peoples' right to traditional homelands in the Northern Territory" http://www.amnesty.org.au/indigenous-rights/comments/26216 retrieved on the 26.11.2011).

34. „Arnhemland is like the European Union, made up of many different nations, each clan-nation with their own language, each with its own national estate. Bringing everybody in from the homeland centres into the major settlements is not the right thing to do because people do not feel secure or happy living in

another man's land" Yiŋiya Guyula, Liya-Dhalinymirr Elder Senior Lecturer, Charles Darwin Univerisity (Source: http://www.culturalsurvival.org.au/mapuru.html)

35. The Indigenous visual arts industry is a good example of economic development, which has grown out of the homeland movement. In many homelands Yolngu are engaged in visual art production such as paintings or yidaki art, woven products such as baskets and mats or they are building cultural tourism projects such as the one in Mapuru. Based on my own experience, it is evident that such projects are not possible in a centralized community such as Galiwin'ku.

36. The 2010 Australian Bureau of Statistics report (www.abs.gov.au) revealed that the Northern Territory's population estimates 229,000 and thus represents about 1% of the total population of Australia.

37. This information was sourced from the website 'Ceremony-THE YOLNGU' (http://filmaustraliaceremony.com.au/s1_1.htm) (accessed on 7-11-11).

38. The arrow is directed at the Yolngu linguistic bloc in NE Arnhem Land.

39. Dixon (2002) rejects the idea of the large genetic unit being referred to as 'Pama-Nyungan language family' and offers a hypothesis about all Australian languages being genetically related to an ancestor language, proto-Australian.

40. The name 'Pama-Nyungan' derives from the terms pama of the linguistic groups of the far north-eastern areas and nyunga in the languages in Southwest of Australia. Both terms mean 'man' in these Indigenous languages. The family name has been chosen following the pattern of language family names such as Indo-European or Malayo-Polynesian.

41. Matha – (lit. tongue, speech, words; language, dialect, pronunciation, patrilineal social group; e.g. Balanda Matha – the English language) (Zorc, 1986, p. 181).

42. In contrast to Heath (1978) and Schebeck (2001), Dixon treats Dhuwal/Dhuwala (and possibly also Dhuwaya) as one language (Ya1), and adds Djinang (Yc1); Djinba (Yc2) to the classification.

43. Schebeck (2001, p. 14–16).

44. The abbreviations are adapted from Wilkinson. PROM is used for prominence, INTENS for intensifier, COMPL for completive, SEQ for sequence, ABL for ablative.

45. Schebeck (2001, p. 2).

46. Originally, Gupapauyŋu was used as an "official language" of the bilingual program at the school on Galiwin'ku as the school took over the bilingual education in year 1974. For more information about the bilingual education in the Northern Territory, I refer the reader to Devlin (2009).

47. The prevalence rates in developed countries are usually 0.1% to 0.2%, which is calculated based on the statistic stating that 1 or 2 in every 1,000 babies are born with a hearing impairment (Woodward, 2003). The rate of 0.32% arises

given that the appoximate population of Galiwin'ku is around 2,200 Yolngu people (according to ALPA, http://www.alpa.asn.au) and the number of deaf individuals in Galiwin'ku during the fieldwork in 2010 was reported to be 7. This number is however unreliable, since the population of communities in NE Arnhem Land varies during the seasons with many homeland residents coming to Galiwin'ku during the wet season.

48. Kendon (1988) is, for example, very skeptical of the idea that deafness is what has induced the appeareance of sign language in the first place. In his view, the prevalence of sign languages throughout Australia is due to the eco-sociological conditions of traditional Aboriginal society.

49. I remind here that Deaf with a capital D is used to refer in the literature to deaf-identified society, community and culture, whereas deaf is used to denote audiological ability only (Senghas & Monaghan, 2002; Hiddinga & Crasborn, 2011).

50. In this example, a translation of the mouthed words is once included to make clear why sign is needed to understand this sentence. Similar examples have also been observed by Heath (1982, p. 55).

51. The map is adapted from Google Maps (accessed 23-05-2011) and is modified by the author in order to locate Mapuru.

52. Mapuru has been added on the map by the author based on a map from Devlin (map 5, 1986). Source: http://livingknowledge.anu.edu.au. Courtesy of the Australian National University.

53. I acknowledge kind permission by Craig Danvers from the Shepherdson College to reproduce Figure 11, which was made for the school project in Galinwin'ku.

54. According to the ALPA (The Arnhem Land Progress Aboriginal Corporation) http://www.alpa.asn.au/pages/Galiwin%26%23039%3Bku/ (accessed on 03-04-2012).

55. All figures in the table were rounded down to the nearest whole number. In case of dialogues and conversations, the total minutes were divided by the number of participants.

56. DFG is the central, self-governing research funding organization in Germany, which has provided financial support the present study.

57. The characteristics of this participant are not included in Table 4.

58. For information see http://rrzk.uni-koeln.de/

59. For this study the version 4.1.0 was used. For more detailed information see Crasborn & Sloetjes (2008).

60. I would like to thank the MPI for providing the tool freely on the internet.

61. For the notation and transcription system that is used throughout this book, see annotation conventions.

62. In such cases, the signer is right-handed.

63. Other researchers count orientation as a separate parameter, thus accounting for five categories: handshape, location, movement, orientation and non-manual behavior (cf. Brentari, 2012).

64. The notion of "markedness" assumed here goes back to Jakobsonian Markedness Theory.

65. For some handshapes no fonts were available. In such cases, the reader is referred to handshape pictures presented in the Appendix I.

66. In this analysis, the underlying handshape of a particular YSL sign was counted without taking into account any occurring variation (see previous section for discussion).

67. As more data will become available, descriptions such as these might naturally be subject to revision.

68. Dominant and non-dominant hands have also been labeled strong and weak hand (Padden & Perlmutter, 1987) or active and passive hand (Battison, 1978). I refer to the hand, which moves or is higher in space or is more clearly articulated as dominant, the other hand is considered non-dominant (see also Sandler, 2006; Crasborn, 2011).

69. Different types of two-handed signs have been labeled differently in the literature. Van der Hulst (1996) distinguishes between balanced and unbalanced signs. Schmaling (2000) calls them double-handed and two-handed respectively.

70. I thank Roland Pfau for drawing my attention to this survey.

71. 1% of signs accounts for signs changing from one-handed to two-handed ones (Sutton-Spence & Kaneko, 2007).

72. Using the Dictionary of BSL/English (Brien, 1992, cited in Sutton-Spence & Kaneko, 2007) as a source for BSL lexical items, Sutton-Spence & Kaneko (2007) examined 1735 signs.

73. In one case, a signer was holding an object in one hand and signing with the other.

74. For an extensive survey of linguistic nonmanual markers and its functions in sign languages, the reader is referred to Pfau & Quer (2010).

75. I thank Diane Lillo-Martin and Wendy Sandler for sharing this image with me and acknowledge their kind permission to reproduce it. This image was taken from Sandler & Lillo-Martin (2006) Sign Language and Linguistic Universals. New York: Cambridge University Press, p. 30. The authours keep the copyright.

76. From Crasborn, et al. (2008, p. 49) with kind permission by John Benjamins Publishing Company, Amsterdam/Philadelphia. www.benjamins.com.

77. I am indebted to Christo Sailer for the illustration of this DGS sign.

78. It is interesting to mention at this point, that YSL strikingly differs from other documented Australian Aboriginal sign languages in the presence of signs

denoting suffix markers. For NCDSLs, for example, six semantic suffix signs were reported with various functions. One suffix marker, which is signed with a ✋ handshape by "rapidly flipping away from the signer with a forearm pronation" (Kendon, 1988, p. 229), is used to mark possession in Warlpiri sign. It is reported to be added to the personal pronominal signs, to kin terms or nominals to convey possessive meaning as in (1). The suffix marker in (1) stands for the 'possessive' suffix in spoken Warlpiri as shown in (2).

(1)   HAT MAN POSS-MARKER   [WSL]

'the man's hat'

(2)   murkardi   wati-kurlangu   [Warlpiri]

hat   man-POSS

'the man's hat'

Thus, while Kendon (1988) shows that signs in NCDSLs are employed as morphemic units of the spoken languages, no signs for any suffix markers have been found in the YSL dataset so far.

79. This example might be seen as a case of a direct borrowing from Djambarrpuyŋu into YSL.

80. YAKA appears to be very similar to the Warlpiri negation sign LAWA (Kendon, 1988).

81. This is similar to Kata Kolok negation sign, which is also indicated by a side-to-side movement of a ✋ - hand (De Vos, 2012, p. 141). In IUR, a ✋ and a ☝ handform are used interchangeably to negate a sentence (Schuit, 2013, p. 48).

82. Davis (2010) does not explicitly mention that PISL has a minimal question word paradigm. One can, however, infer from the examples published in Mallery (1881, p. 479–83 cited in Davis, 2010, p. 57) that a general question sign glossed as Q-FORM conveys a range of different meanings in PISL. Consider these examples:

Q-FORM BRING   Q-FORM

'Where are you from?'   'Who are you?'

Bakker (2012b), however, reports, that PISL also has bimorphemic question words, such as Q+COUNT.FINGERS 'how many, much', Q+WORK 'how', Q+POINT 'where', Q+PERSON 'who' and Q+COUNT+SLEEP, MOON, WINTER 'when'.

83. The figure is taken from Aboh, Pfau, & Zeshan (2005, p. 22) with kind permission by De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany www.degruyter.com.

84. A transliteration of Russian words is presented in italics.

85. In IUR the PALMS-UP sign also functions as a negator (see Schuit, 2013, p. 51).

86. In Warlprir there is also a sigh for NYAPARRA meaning where. This is done with an open ⑂ hand palm upwards and moved rapidly side to side horizontally (Kendon, 1988).

87. I do not refer to the question sign as wh-phrase and do not gloss it as such, since this manual sign is used as marker in both content and polar questions (see section 6.2.2 for discussion).

88. IUR appears to be an exception in this respect and does not make use of a larger signing space as other village sign language. IUR signs are not signed with widely extended arms and only a few locations articulated below the waist, on the back, or above the head have been found (Schuit, 2013).

89. A sign similar to YSL MÄRI is also found in AdaSL and means 'younger sibling'. Nyst (2007, p. 100) states that the AdaSL sign may be a generic directional sign meaning 'coming from behind me' as the word for 'younger sibling' in the surrounding spoken language, Akan, is akyiba, which consists of the morpheme akyiri 'later' or 'back' and ɔba 'child'.

90. As can be seen in Figure 38 – Figure 40, all YSL kinship signs are performed by pointing or touching a particular body part. The usage of some places of articulation seems to be motivated by specific physical traits or characteristics of that kin. The image of female breast is, for example used to refer to the mother or the image of a beard for the sign MOMU 'mother's father' similar to other sign languages (Wilkinson, 2009). The sign DHUWAY for 'husband' and 'wife' (see Figure 53) is articulated by touching or pointing to the hip and has been explained by the participants to refer to the close relationship of husband and wife, who always stay at one's side. For some other kinship signs, such as MÄRI 'mother's mother' (cf. Figure 52), the reference to specific body parts seems to be associated with the Yolngu cultural values and beliefs about the interconnection of body and kin relations (see also Heath, 1982; Kendon, 1988).

91. The figure is based on the drawing from Pfau & Steinbach (2006, p. 27) and is modified by the author.

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94. The figure is taken from Cormier (2012, p. 232) with kind permission by De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany www.degruyter.com. I thank Kearsy Cormier for sharing the images with me.

95. But see Zwitserlood (2003) who proposes that NGT classifiers pattern similar to gender agreement features.

96. I acknowledge kind permission by the authors, Jane Tsay and James Myers, to reproduce Figure 59.

97. In the literature on deixis theory, in these cases the body is treated as "origo" (Bühler, 1983), i.e. the sourse of the vector.

98. The spatial points are marked by the lower-case letters in the example to show agreement between the same locations during a single discourse.

99. In Table 8 these pronouns are glossed as "1+2" for inclusives and as "1" for exclusives.

100. From Wilkinson (1991, p. 182).

101. It must be mentioned here that no detailed analysis of the use of eye gaze with pronominal signs has been undertaken by the author. In fact, from the overall data, the impression is that the eye gaze always occurs with the pronominal signs in YSL and thus appears irrelevant for marking of pronominal referents. It remains to be seen, however, whether these preliminary observations can be substantiated by further data.

102. This finding is very interesting especially in the light of recent work with adult homesigners, who use this form (Coppola, Spaepen, & Goldin-Meadow, 2013). I thank Marie Coppola for pointing it out to me.

103. For reference to far-away places such as Germany, Yolngu signers also pointed in the direction of the airport. This can be considered as metonymic pointing (Le Guen, 2011b).

104. Interesting, that in large Deaf community sign languages the placement of loci in signing space is reported to be motivated by the category of definiteness. Barberà (2012) states for Catalan Sign Language (LSC), for example, that the upper locations of pointing signs correlate with non-specificity. It is noteworthy, that the speech communities, for which this "up is far communicative rule" has been reported so far, speak languages with a dominant absolute Frame of Reference (Levinson, 2003) (see section 12.2.2).

105. Notice that place names compounds in ABSL are also using pointing signs (Sandler, Aronoff, Meir, & Padden, 2011, p. 43).

106. There are also Deaf community sign languages, such as NGT, which do not possess distinct possessive pronominal forms.

107. The transcription examples from spoken languages other than English have up to four lines: the original source language, as in the examples to follow Russian and Mandarin Chinese (line 1), the accepted standard form transcribed/transliterated from the source language (line 2), the morphological gloss (line 3) and the English translation (line 4). The elements in an example that are relevant for the discussion are bold or underlined.

108. According to Rutherford (1989) topic-prominent languages such as Mandarin Chinese are often pragmatically constrained, whereas subject-prominent such as English are often grammatically constrained.

109. The figure is taken from Meir, I., Padden, C., Aronoff, M., & Sandler, W. "Body as subject", (2007), Journal of Linguistics 43, pp. 531–563 reproduced with permission by Cambridge University Press. I thank Wendy Sandler for sharing this image with me.

110. The figure is taken from Sandler & Lillo-Martin (2001, p. 544) with kind permission by John Wiley & Sons Inc., Hoboken, NJ, http://eu.wiley.com/. I thank Wendy Sandler for sharing this image with me.

111. According to conventions for sign notation used by Johnston & Schembri (2007), a manual modification of a sign is described by letters after and/ or before the modified sign. In the examples cited here +f indicates spatial modification forward/to the front, +rt to the right, and +lf to the left.

112. I acknowledge kind permission by James H.-Y. Tai and the TSL Research Group to reproduce Figure 71.

113. Other verb types (except the general directional DIR-COME-HERE) in the dataset had less than 5 tokens and were, therefore, excluded from the analysis. However, none of them occurred as spatially modified in all occurrences in the collected data.

114. Only verb types with more than 5 tokens were included. Those with 5 tokens and less were modified about 50% and less of the time.

115. This kind of movement from side to side is typically found in Deaf community sign languages to denote sentences such as "he gave him something" or "he tells her" (Padden, Meir, Aronoff, & Sandler, 2010).

116. Reduplication of verbs has been however considered as a marker of iterativity in YSL verbs (Cooke & Adone, 1994, p. 6).

117. In some cases, I had to rely on non-syntactic cues (semantic and prosodic means) to segment the text into sentences.

118. The components of the sentence or phrase were coded in terms of S for subject, V for verb and O for object.

119. A similar proposal of distinguishing between plain and non-plain (spatial+agreement) verbs has been made for Brazilian Sign Language and Catalan Sign Language by other researchers based on quite different arguments (Quadros & Quer, 2008; Quer, 2010).

120. Classifier constructions are reported to occur in all Deaf community and emerging sign languages described so far. The reader is referred to the publication analyzing classifiers in particular sign languages such as ASL (Supalla, 1986, 2003; Liddell 2003; Sandler & Lillo-Martin, 2006), Auslan (Schembri, 2003; Johnston & Schembri, 2007), BSL (Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999), DSL (Engberg-Pedersen 1993), DGS (Glück & Pfau, 1998), IPSL

(Zeshan, 2003), ISL (Meir 1998; Aronoff, Meir, Padden & Sandler, 2003, Meir & Sandler, 2008), IUR (Schuit, Baker, & Pfau, 2011), HKSL (Tang, 2003), HSL (Schmaling, 2000), NGT (Zwitserlood, 2003), SSL (Bergman & Wallin, 2003), Thai SL (Tumtavitikul, Niwatapant, & Dill, 2009) or TSL (Chang, Su & Tai, 2005).

121. Although different terminology "has prevented much needed cross-linguistic comparison of these forms" (Schembri, 2003:9), the classifier constructions have been referred to as 'verbs of motion and location' (Supalla, 1982, 1986), 'classifier predicates' (Schick, 1987, 1990), 'polymorphemic verbs' (Engberg-Pedersen, 1993), 'polysynthetic verbs' (Wallin, 1990), 'spatial-locative predicates' (Collins-Ahlgren, 1990), 'polycomponential verbs' (Schembri, 2003), 'property markers' (Slobin, et al., 2003), 'reference markers' (Edmondson, 1989), 'proforms' (Sutton-Spence & Woll, 1999, Chang, Su & Tai, 2005), 'templated visual representations' (Cogill-Koez, 2000) or 'depicting constructions' (Cormier, Quinto-Pozos, Sevcikova, & Schembri, in prep).

122. There is controversy in this field. It is a subject of debate whether classifiers should be considered as linguistic units in nature. The idea that classifiers are visually based semiotic system (DeMatteo, 1977) or linguistic and gestural hybrids (Liddell & Metzger, 1998) will not be considered here.

123. One question that remains unanswered in the sign language literature is whether there are noun classifiers as proposed by Bergman & Wallin (2003) for SSL. They claim that SSL has both, verbal and noun classifiers, free morphemes, which occur after nouns in constructions as ONE MAN CL-PERSON ('a man') or MIRROR CL-SQUARE ('a mirror'). It seems however that these 'noun classifiers' share many characteristics with tracing SASSes, i.e. they are free morphemes and their usage is not obligatory. Unless more instances of noun classifiers are discovered in the future, it is questionable to include them into the typology of sign language classifiers. This issue remains open for further research.

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126. The figure is taken from Meir & Sandler (2008, p. 108) with kind permission by Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Inc., Mahwah, USA. I thank Wendy Sandler for sharing this image with me.

127. I thank Victoria Nyst for making me aware of that.

128. The use of handling handshapes in lexical YSL signs has been identified in three signs so far: the verb LUKA 'to drink', which is signed with the ⌒ handshape, the signs for BANANA and ORANGE, which were both produced with the ⌇ handshape.

129. The figure is taken from Zwitserlood (2012, p. 162) with kind permission by De Gruyter, Berlin, Germany www.degruyter.com.

130. Although the number of examples is small, the pattern is suggestive and warrants attention.

131. I am fully aware of the difficulties in connection with distinguishing between compounds and phrases. Some of the criteria being followed here to identify YSL compounds are in need of further research. For the present study, I follow the criteria proposed by Meir, Aronoff, Sandler & Padden (2010).

132. The reader is also referred to Nyst (2012, p. 562 ff.), who mentions further similarities between shared sign languages such as a high degree of multi-channeledness.

133. De Vos (2012, p. 40) estimates that multiple deaf signers were already present in the KK community five generations ago.

134. The exact process of how the increasing arbitrariness of lexical items leads to the increasing number of handshapes is however not explained in Nyst (2007).

135. See Kendon (1984) for some information about the acquisition of Warlpiri sign language.

136. O'Reilly (2006, p. 14). I acknowledge kind permission by Suzannah O'Reilly to reproduce this figure.