A Companion to Linguistic Anthropology

Edited by Alessandro Duranti

CHAPTER 7

Variation in Sign Languages

Barbara LeMaster and Leila Monaghan

1 Introduction

The term "sign language" refers to a signed language performed in a three-dimensional space, using hands, face, and body rather than speech, that is understood through vision rather than through hearing. Typically, sign languages emerge among groups of deaf people who need to communicate in a language not dependent on sound. Some hearing groups, however, have also developed sign languages or sign systems of their own such as the signing used by Australian Aboriginal women in mourning (Kendon 1988) or Plains Indian signing (Farnell 1995). Sign languages also differ from the gestures used with most speech (see Haviland, this volume). This chapter will focus on the sign languages of deaf people.

Variation is a key theme throughout this chapter. We begin by outlining the kinds of variations present in sign languages and deal with two common myths about sign languages, first, that there is a universal sign language and, second, that sign language is just spoken language on the hands; then we discuss how sign languages have been influenced by literacy. In sections 2 and 3, we present a more general discussion of how sign languages are related to d/Deaf identity, community, and culture as well as to variations due to region, age, gender, ethnicity, and social setting (with "deaf" referring to audiological and "Deaf" to cultural notions of deafness). In section 4, we consider the work in linguistic anthropology on sign languages and Deaf culture. Key themes include socialization practices in Deaf communities, development of and changes within d/Deaf communities, and sign variation and d/Deaf identities. Finally, we review the kinds of variation possible.

1.1 Myth 1: Sign language is universal

Many people unfamiliar with sign languages believe there is only one way of signing for all deaf people. This is a common misconception. Sign languages are not universal,

and they are not universal for the same kinds of reasons that spoken languages are not universal. Geographical, national, political, and social boundaries can separate people by the sign languages they use. Sometimes the differences can be great, as in the differences between whole sign languages, for example, as between Japanese, British, Thai, and American signed languages.[1]

Despite there being no one universal sign language, there are situations in which one can speak of international sign languages. As with the spoken language Esperanto, "Gestuno," or "international signing" (as it is now called), is an invented communication system intended for international use. The World Federation of the Deaf's Unification of Signs Commission accepted the signs of Gestuno. The most recent and extensive dictionary was published in 1975 and has 1,470 signs. Interpreters and officials at international meetings and sporting events most commonly use it. With the unification of Europe, a European lingua franca is developing among European deaf people. Some people are calling this kind of signing "international signing" as well.

Although sign language is not universal, there is something about its nature that enables deaf people to seemingly communicate across language boundaries with other deaf signers more easily than hearing people seem to be able to do with each other. Deaf people improvise, gesture, pantomime, using whatever works, to establish a foundation for communication (Allsop, Woll, and Brauti 1995). Perhaps it is not as much the nature of signing that enables them to do this, but deaf people's practice communicating across language barriers while living in a mostly hearing, non-signing world.

Although not an international language, American Sign Language (ASL), similar to the English language, has had a widespread influence on the world and is often used as a lingua franca elsewhere. There are a number of reasons for this. ASL is the language of the world's largest organized Deaf community, and many Deaf people from throughout the world come to visit the United States. Also, Americans did much of the earliest research on sign languages and deaf communities making information about ASL available worldwide. Furthermore, there has been prolonged and extensive contact among American deaf people and deaf people from many other nations throughout the world. Prolonged and extensive contact with ASL by international deaf people can lead to adoption of ASL as a second language, and familiarity with American Deaf culture by non-American Deaf people. It also can lead to contact varieties of sign languages. ASL has also had a heavy influence on the educational language in many countries outside of the USA through exportation by missionaries and others, or through importation by local educators. For example, some Nigerian deaf schools use ASL in the classroom (Schmaling 2003), and some deaf Thai schools use an ASL-influenced version of their local sign language (Woodward 2003).

1.2 Myth 2: Sign language is signed spoken language

Another myth about sign languages is that they are the same language as the spoken language of their broader community, just done on the hands and face. This is not true. Actual sign languages have grammars that differ markedly from spoken languages in contact with them. In fact, countries which use (essentially) the same

spoken language do not necessarily have mutually intelligible sign languages. The sign languages used in the United States, England, and the Republic of Ireland, for example, are quite different from each other. Sign languages do not develop according to the grammatical rules of the spoken languages of their communities. Instead, they have their own complex morphology, phonology, syntax, and semantic rules which sometimes differ markedly from the grammars of spoken languages with which they are in contact.

What complicates recognition of sign languages as wholly different from spoken languages are the kinds of contact signing that emerge as a direct result of the intense contact between signed and spoken languages within a given community. Signers represent a linguistic minority in a sea of spoken language users. Furthermore, the majority of deaf children (90 percent) are born into hearing homes with no history of deafness (Schein and Delk 1974). Therefore, the majority of deaf children are continually surrounded by spoken language from birth, and may not even be exposed to sign language during their period of first language acquisition.

Contact sign languages emerge in many situations where sign languages come into contact with spoken languages, or where two or more signed languages are in close contact with each other. The languages influence each other, producing a contact form of language (see Garrett, this volume).[2]

An example of language contact between English and ASL can be found in the directional ASL sign that encodes the subject and object of the verb, as in the sentences in figure 7.1, "me-GIVE-TO-him/her" and "s/he-GIVE-TO-me." A signer, particularly one for whom English is a first language, may use this directional verb to simply mean "GIVE," without being aware of the ASL grammatical rule which encodes (in these cases) both subjects ("I" and "s/he") and objects ("him/her" and "me") in the movement of this sign. (See figure 7.1.) Since encoding this information by the use of movement and/or handshape is foreign to English grammar, novice contact signers may not know that the subject and object have already been encoded. Instead, they rely on English grammar and make sure they provide a separate sign for each separate English word, "I" "give" "him/her," or, "s/he" "gives" "me." This comes out as the English–ASL contact version, "I me-GIVE-TO-him/her HIM/HER" ["I am giving it to him/her"] or, "S/HE s/he-GIVE-TO-me

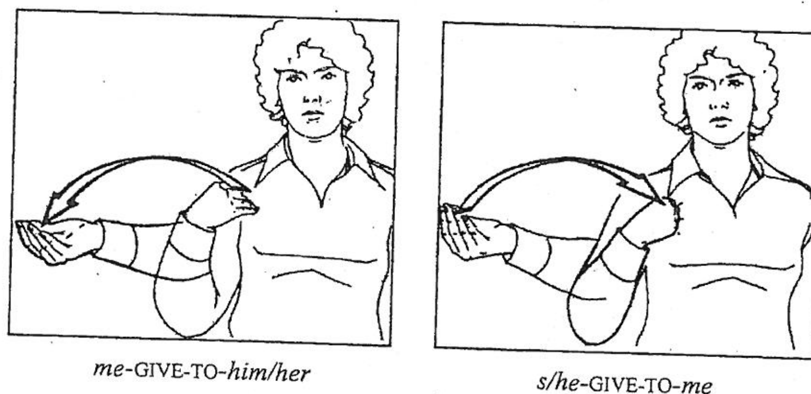


Figure 7.1 American Sign Language sentences with the directional verb "give", encoding subject and object in the movement of the verb (from Baker and Cokely 1980: 248; reproduced by permission of Dennis Cokely)

ME" ["She/he is giving it to me."]. Inadvertently the subject and object are repeated because English requires the statement of subject and object as separate nouns, while ASL embeds them in the placement of the directional verb. The English–ASL contact version borrows legitimate signs from ASL but adapts them in a peculiar way to suit the foreign grammar of the spoken language, which is English in this case.

The amount of influence spoken languages have on signed languages varies, but because sign languages coexist in the midst of larger spoken language communities, many deaf people's signing shows influence of spoken languages at some point. Contact signing arising from the interaction between ASL and English has features including ASL and ASL-like signs, some English mouthing and occasional spoken words, and reduced ASL and English morphology and syntax. Mouthing is particularly influential in some varieties of sign languages in countries where oral education (where children were expected to learn to lipread or speechread and speak rather than sign) is, or was, prevalent, including Germany, England, New Zealand, and elsewhere.

Given that contact sign languages coexist with existing sign languages, the linguistic boundaries between them may become erased[3] as they often coexist under the name of the existing sign language. For instance, when the term "ASL" is used for sign language classes it is often unclear whether unmixed American Sign Language or some contact form of ASL mixed with English will actually be taught in the class. The mere fact of producing language in a signed form makes it difficult for non-linguists to separate contact forms of sign languages from the sign languages themselves.

In short, the relationship between signed and spoken languages within a given deaf community is essentially twofold. Between the actual languages, there is no inherent relationship. They are generally wholly separate languages with unique grammars, and unique historical origins with respect to one another. On the other hand, within contact forms of signing, the relationship is intertwined. The contact signing represents the often intense relationship between the two languages, and the minority/majority status of sign *vis-à-vis* spoken language. The result of this is a hybrid communication system similar to pidginization, borrowings, and other contact language processes.

Contact between or among different sign languages also produces contact forms of sign language, although this has received much less attention by sign language scholars than the study of contact between signed and spoken languages. There are many examples of contact among sign languages around the world. For example, British Sign Language (BSL) becomes accessible to Deaf people throughout the British Isles through its portrayal on the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation) television shows. Many Deaf people in the Republic of Ireland routinely take employment in England when employment is scarce at home, and they interact intensely with the British Deaf community. As a result, many British signs are imported for Irish adaptation and use at home. However, these imported BSL signs are not always recognized as having originated in England, but are sometimes identified as minority Irish variations. For example, in one family of seven Deaf native Irish signers, some BSL signs were mistaken for female forms of ISL signs (LeMaster 2002).

1.3 The relationship between sign languages and written languages

One key aspect of the relationship between signed and spoken languages is that sign languages are by and large not written languages, but are generally in close contact with spoken languages that do have written forms. This has a number of consequences. If deaf people have been introduced to schooling, they will also be familiar with the written forms of spoken languages that are used in all levels of deaf education. These written forms enter sign languages directly via fingerspelling, where words are spelled letter by letter using conventional alphabetic letters rather than signed as entire concepts. Fingerspelling varies in similar ways to other aspects of sign language. Just as there is no universal sign language, there are no universal fingerspelling alphabets; different countries have different systems. The USA and most of Europe and Latin America use one-handed versions of the alphabet, while Britain, Australia, New Zealand, and other former British colonies use a two-handed version. (See Appendix for examples of fingerspelling systems.) Japanese Sign Language uses a syllabic fingerspelling system, similar to written systems for spoken Japanese.

One way fingerspelled letters come into use outside of actual fingerspelled words is through initialization of signs. This is where a signed alphabet letter is used in the sign, usually for part or all of the handshape of the sign (such as using A handshapes for the American sign for ALLOW). Some fingerspelled forms have even gone through simplifying lexicalization processes, tending to delete medial letters. (See figure 7.2 showing how the 'O' in J-O-B is deleted in the fingerspelled loan sign for #JOB, and the 'H' and 'A' are deleted in the fingerspelled loan sign for #WHAT.) The ASL sign WHAT also can be produced with the forefinger and thumb tapping together, and is thought to be the result of fingerspelled W-H-A-T reduced to a simplified final T.

The importance of fingerspelling varies from society to society. It is particularly important in communities that place a high emphasis on literacy in the spoken contact language. Fingerspelling is common, for example, in the United States (see Davis 1989). Other Deaf cultures place less emphasis on fingerspelling. In Thailand, fingerspelling is considered ugly and is discouraged. In places where written

Figure 7.2 Fingerspelled loan signs #JOB and #WHAT in American Sign Language (from Baker and Cokely 1980: 117; reproduced by permission of Dennis Cokely)

languages are logographic, such as China and Taiwan,[4] there is also airwriting of entire words, rather than fingerspelling *per se.*

While there is considerable acceptance in at least some parts of the world for fingerspelling, there has been little acceptance within Deaf communities of signed systems formally designed to convey written grammatical forms, such as Seeing Essential English (SEE1) and Signing Exact English (SEE2)[5] in the United States. These forms tend to be even more extreme than the naturally arising contact language forms discussed above. The ASL form I-GIVE-you NOW ["I am giving this to you now"] can become not only the contact form I I-GIVE-YOU YOU NOW but the SEE2 form I AM I-GIVE-you ING YOU NOW.

Systems such as SEE2 were developed, however, to help with the serious problem that deaf children often have in learning to read. Average reading scores for high school graduates in the United States are generally at the third or fourth grade levels,[6] and have been well below the performance of hearing students on standardized tests since 1916. Whether or not these artificial contact sign systems (such as SEE1 and SEE2) help in this process is an empirical question.

More recently, work by Padden and Ramsey (1998, 2000) and others has explored natural sign language oriented strategies of teaching reading to deaf children, including the use of fingerspelling. These approaches seem to be helping this long-term literacy problem in the spoken language of the community.

2 Relationships between Sign Language Variation and d/Deaf Identity

Research in the United States has explored the relationships between sign variation and the concepts of pathological deafness, represented by lower-case "d" in "deaf," and sociocultural deafness, represented by upper-case "D" in "Deaf." Pathological deafness refers to deafness resulting from a hearing loss. Sociocultural Deafness refers to cultural, social, and political claims based on an ethnically Deaf identity in opposition to both a pathological view of deafness and to a hearing identity (e.g., Padden and Markowicz 1975[7]). When one refers to the pathological and cultural forms of deafness simultaneously, such as for a deaf person who is also culturally Deaf, the term "d/Deaf" may be used.[8]

There are three levels of social segmentation, which provide a heuristic framework of social diversity within the United States deaf community (LeMaster 1990). They are the "deaf community," the "Deaf culture," and the "Deaf ethnicity." These three terms identify three, sometimes overlapping, groups of people. The most inclusive grouping is the "deaf community." This group is the broadest, including anyone who has an interest in deaf issues. Therefore, it also includes members of the Deaf culture and Deaf ethnicity, among other people who have an interest in deaf issues. The term "deaf community" is taken from Padden's (1980: 92) definition of the American Deaf community and modified to make it even more inclusive:

> A deaf community is a group of people who live in a particular location, share the common goals of its members, and in various ways, work toward achieving these goals. A deaf community may include persons who are not themselves Deaf, but who actively

> support the goals of the community and work with Deaf people to achieve them. (LeMaster 1990: 23)

A wide range of language use including ASL, versions of signed English, oralism, and other forms of communication linguistically marks the US "deaf community," and its membership may include hearing and d/Deaf people. Members of the deaf community do not necessarily also belong to Deaf culture or have Deaf ethnicity.

The second most inclusive group is the Deaf culture, which includes both deaf and hearing people who follow the behavioral rules of the culture and who consider themselves and are considered by other members to be a member of the cultural group. The Deaf culture includes those who learn to behave in appropriate ways, with the most central members being those who are born into a Deaf ethnicity. Linguistically, both the Deaf culture and the Deaf ethnicity are marked by appropriate uses of ASL. An inability to display ASL in appropriate situations leads to the questioning of one's rightful claim to a Deaf cultural or ethnic identity.[9] Those who are culturally Deaf are also members of the deaf community; however, they may or may not be ethnically Deaf.

The third and most exclusive level is Deaf ethnicity. As with all ethnic identities, birthright becomes important. In the case of Deaf ethnic identity, one may lay claim to this identity by birth as a deaf person, or through birth into a Deaf family (as either hearing or deaf themselves) with the use of ASL as a first language (Johnson and Erting 1989; LeMaster 1990).[10] It is essential to a US Deaf ethnic identity that ASL is acquired with first-language fluency. Therefore, some hearing people may claim a Deaf ethnic identity, although they are not deaf themselves. These are hearing children born to Deaf parents, who use ASL as their first language and who are known as CODAs, or Children Of Deaf Adults. Many CODAs live in Deaf worlds as though they are deaf themselves, and with time, come to realize what it means socioculturally to have hearing in their world. Those who are ethnically Deaf can also participate as central members of Deaf culture (first by birthright, later by choice), and may participate in the deaf community.

How d/Deaf identity plays out in cultures outside of the United States, and even within microcultures within the United States, is only beginning to be investigated.[11] Performing one's identity as a Deaf ethnic identity in a pluralistic United States – a country that emphasizes ethnicity for political, cultural, and financial purposes – can make sense. However, binary distinctions of d/Deaf or Deaf versus hearing, while often used in the United States, may not represent reality. Sometimes what is considered to be a binary "deaf versus hearing" issue is really more an issue about language fluency or cultural awareness and fit.[12] Moreover, culture and language issues within the United States are more aligned along a continuum than segmentable into two binary units. But precisely because deafness is set in opposition to hearing abilities, this binary opposition is used to describe many Deaf culture and language issues around the world. Yet it is important to recognize that these very same binary distinctions in use outside of the United States may not mean the same thing as they do within the United States (Nakamura 2001; LeMaster 2003). We have to keep in mind that the unique histories, cultures, and social sensibilities of each deaf community shape its own language ideologies, uses of language, and sense of community membership. Each community, therefore, requires locally sensitive analysis.

3 Individual and Group Variation in Signed Languages

3.1 Home signs

Although most of the studies discussed above relate to groups of deaf people, the great majority of deaf children are born into homes with no history of deafness and no knowledge of sign language. In these cases where hearing and deaf people coexist without a common language, home signs can emerge.[13] These are signs and a signing style that are invented by a family for their own use. Home signs have been found nearly everywhere, occurring primarily in hearing families with deaf children where there has been no history of signing in the family. Even deaf families that use a natural sign language in the home may, however, invent some signs that are unique to their family, although deaf families are more conservative in their invention and practice of home signs than hearing families.[14]

It is important to underscore that home sign systems developed by isolated families differ significantly from the full-fledged languages that emerge from group situations. This is quite evident in the studies of the emergent Nicaraguan Sign Language[15] and the reports of the signing used by deaf and hearing people on Martha's Vineyard in the late 1800s.[16]

3.2 Variations within specific sign languages according to region, age, sex/gender, and register

Social characteristics, including region, age, gender, and ethnicity, are often represented through variations in sign languages. These variations may be connected to the kind of schooling deaf children receive. Sign language and Deaf culture are more likely to be acquired at school than at home.[17] As we have said, most deaf children (around 90 percent) are born to hearing rather than to deaf parents.[18]

Lucas, Bayley, and Valli (2001) found that region and age in the United States cannot be considered independently of one another, that they function in concert, unlike spoken languages, and that these factors can be connected to the localized nature of residential schools. Schools in the USA tend to serve children from specific states or cities, increasing the likelihood of regional variation. Schools also provide situations where children learn language from their peers, heightening the importance of age variation. Similar residential schools exist in other countries, too, which may also lead to sign language variation among deaf communities surrounding residential schools. For example, regional and age variations linked to schooling practices have been reported in Switzerland, New Zealand, and Thailand.[19] Age by itself is particularly important in Japan, and gender and age relate to gender-segregated schooling in Ireland.[20] School segregation by ethnicity or race also can play an important role in language variation. Differences between African American and white American signing in the USA have been documented, as have differences between various groups in post-apartheid South Africa.[21]

In the USA, regional differences are, at least, both lexical and phonological.[22] Signs for BIRTHDAY provide examples of regional lexical differences, from Philadelphia to

Indiana, from Virginia to a more conventional sign which is used more widely.[23] (See figure 7.3.) Just as with spoken English in the United States, there is a perception of New York ASL signers signing very quickly and Southern ASL signers as signing slowly in comparison to other regions in the United States.[24]

Sign languages (as is true for spoken languages) mark the age of the signer through the choices of signs one uses along with how one performs those signs. Frishberg (1975) documented a number of changes in ASL over time. Notably, many two-handed signs have become one-handed (e.g., in ASL a two-horned cow has become one-horned). Many two-handed non-symmetrical signs have become symmetrical. Many signs occurring outside of the central signing space (normally from the chin to the upper chest area) have moved into that central space. Signs which had blocked the face have moved away from the face. In addition to historical changes in the form of the language, choice of lexical items also can mark one's age.[25] Slang and other terms associated with youthfulness can mark one's age by whether they are used, or used appropriately. For example, some years back the term I-HAVE-REASON was used by younger women to indicate they had their period.[26] It was supposed to be a safe way to talk about their period in front of adults (often in front of teachers who were not supposed to know the sign because of their age group).

However, generational change should not be thought of as a steady march in a specific direction. Sometimes language planning movements, or other influences on a deaf community, can shift sign variation for a given generation, then fall out of fashion, leaving the next generation to take on more "archaic" styles once again.

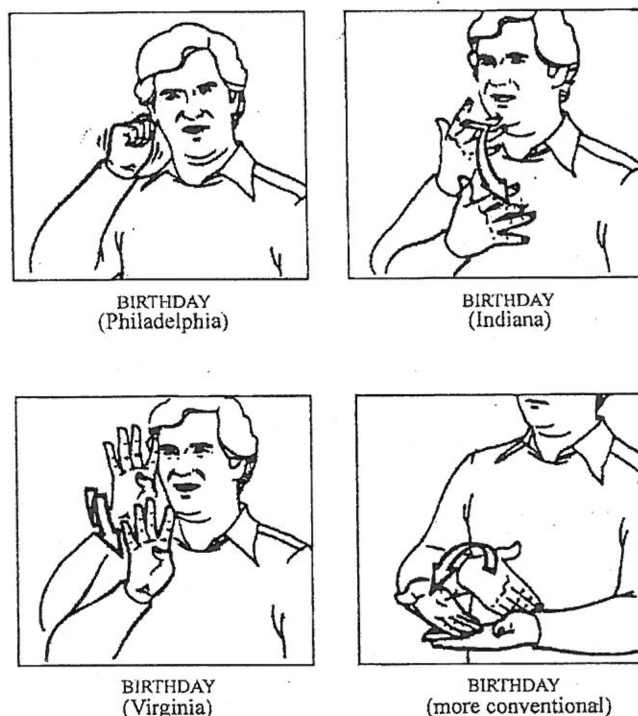


Figure 7.3 Regional variations in American Sign Language for the term "birthday" (from Baker and Cokely 1980: 85; reproduced by permission of Dennis Cokely)

A case in point is the use of the sign DEAF in the United States (discussed in Lucas et al. 2001). The oldest signers (55+ years of age) and the youngest cohorts (under 25) in the study shared the use of the non-citation (non-dictionary) form of the sign. This differed from the middle cohort (signers aged 25 to 54) who preferred a citation, or sign language dictionary, form of the sign for DEAF. The generational differences, where the older and younger cohort shared terms, and the middle cohort differed, may be understood in terms of the perceptions of ASL during these signers' lifetimes. The middle cohort may have found it important to adhere to a dictionary rendition of ASL in order to preserve the language, while both the older and younger cohorts may not have embodied that social prescription. Instead, older signers may have lacked metalinguistic awareness, while for younger signers there is an awareness of ASL as a language that is separate from English.

Variation due to gender or sex also occurs in sign languages. ("Gender" refers to cultural understandings of femininity and masculinity; "sex" refers to associations with one's biological status.) Currently there is little information about this kind of variation in sign languages, compared to research on spoken languages. However, gender distinctions in ASL have been found in the lexicon, in cohesive devices, and in signing space.[27] Gender distinctions in sign languages, as with spoken languages, are probably most prominently found in interactive data, in the performances of sign languages rather than in static lexicons or interpretations of grammars. Therefore, gender distinctions are not as readily apparent in ASL as are other social distinctions involving the lexicon, such as regional or age differences.[28]

The clearest gender distinctions in signed languages come from work on age-graded gendered Irish Sign Language used in the Republic of Ireland (e.g., LeMaster 1990, 2000, 2002[29]). Stemming from sex-segregated deaf school language use, two gender-distinct sign lexicons developed. Signs for common everyday nouns, verbs, and adjectives in the lexicon such as NIGHT, USE, and CRUEL differ by the sex of the signer. Women born before 1930 and men born before 1945 who attended the Dublin deaf schools in Cabra are the most likely to use gendered forms of ISL.[30] (See figures 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6.)

Figure 7.4 Female and male signs for NIGHT in Irish Sign Language (picture copyright Barbara LeMaster)

Figure 7.5 Female and male signs for USE in Irish Sign Language (picture copyright Barbara LeMaster)

Figure 7.6 Female and male signs for CRUEL in Irish Sign Language (picture copyright Barbara LeMaster)

Another type of variation found in ASL, and other sign languages, is by ethnicity or social group. In the case of African American Deaf signing (Aramburo 1989), signing varieties are influenced both by African American Vernacular English used by African American hearing people, and by the separation between white and African American communities more generally. The separation between African American and white people, particularly in Southern communities where, historically, schools were segregated, shows up in signing differences between African American and white signers. African American signers, particularly in the South, have vocabularies that differ from those of white signers living in the same area.[31] (See the black and white examples for

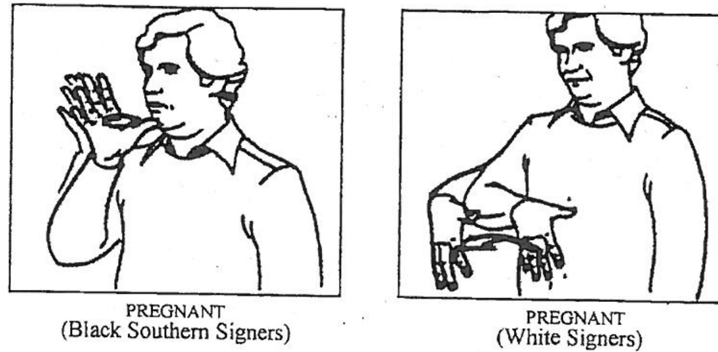


Figure 7.7 Black and white Southerners' signs for PREGNANT (from Baker and Cokely 1980: 86; reproduced by permission of Dennis Cokely)

the sign PREGNANT in figure 7.7.) Surely in the pluralistic United States there are other markers of ethnicity in signs, but the research in this area of sign language variation is just beginning.[32]

Just as US Southern segregation left its mark on the signing styles of black and white Americans, South African apartheid deeply affected language forms there. Separate schooling systems and residential segregation have led to many separate forms, particularly lexical forms. A sign language dictionary written during apartheid focused on the many differences between various groups of signers (Penn and Reagan 1994). It has been argued, however, that these signing forms are variations within one larger, mutually intelligible system (Aarons and Reynolds 2003).

Another key factor in language variation is how language reflects and helps create changes in social setting, sometimes discussed as register variation. In early research on the American situation, contact forms of signing and non-contact forms of sign languages were juxtaposed in a diglossic opposition where the contact forms have been referenced as "high" varieties and the non-contact sign language (ASL) as the "low" variety (e.g., Stokoe 1969–70). Later researchers dispute this diglossic characterization of English-influenced versus non-contact ASL. A separate, formal ASL is beginning to be recognized, leading some researchers to argue that both formal and informal forms of ASL are used within the American Deaf community as found in such settings as an academic lecture and a church service (Zimmer 1989; Monaghan 1991).

4 Sign Language Variation and Linguistic Anthropology

Linguistic anthropologists view language as a crucial part of our complex social and cultural world, and as communicating a complex range of information within ever-changing interactional contexts. While a few researchers of American Sign Language concerned themselves with variation early on,[33] linguistic anthropological studies of sign language variation became more frequent starting in the 1980s.

Some linguistic anthropologists have looked at socialization practices within deaf communities, particularly at how explicit and implicit cultural assumptions are passed

on to children and adults. Because over 90 percent of deaf children are born into hearing families, there is often a tension between the practices and values of the d/Deaf world and the hearing world. Topics that have been studied in the United States include how deaf children are socialized into deaf residential schools (Erting 1985) and into hearing schools (Keating and Mirus 2001), the issues facing hard-of-hearing people as they negotiate being neither hearing nor deaf (Grushkin 1996), and the problems for a Deaf student in a hearing college classroom caused by the differences between American Sign Language and English (K. Johnson 1991). Studies outside of the United States include how parents, the medical profession, and d/Deaf communities in the USA and Scandinavia differ in their ideas about cochlear implants (Fjord 2001), how new children in Thai schools for the deaf are socialized by older children (Reilly 1995), and of the effects of the church and state on Irish deaf identity in residential schools (LeMaster 1990).

Another major theme of current work in linguistic anthropology is the development of and changes within d/Deaf communities. Since a key socialization strategy world-wide has been oral education systems (where children were expected to learn to speak and to read lips, or "speechread" as it is called today), many studies look at how communities and their associated sign languages developed covertly, away from the eyes of school authorities and parents. One language, Nicaraguan Sign Language, has even been studied since very near its inception. The Nicaraguan government founded the first large-scale schools for the deaf in Nicaragua in the late 1970s. Although the education system was oral, these school children started developing their own sign language, a process that has been documented by a group of researchers since the 1980s. This recognition by researchers has been part of building a strong young adult community (Kegl and McWhorter 1997; A. Senghas 1995; R. Senghas 1997). Similar processes have also been documented later on in the cycle of community development in New Zealand (Monaghan 1996) and Japan (Nakamura 2001), while the historical battles between signing and oral systems have been documented for nineteenth-century Spain (Plann 1997) and the United States (Baynton 1996). Ireland, where the education system was a signing-based one until 1945, provides an interesting counterexample to these studies of communities developing from oral education systems (LeMaster 2000). This process of development has been documented for countries as far spread and different as Austria, Russia, Brazil, and Nigeria (Monaghan, Schmaling, Nakamura, and Turner 2003).[34]

The hallmark of linguistic anthropological studies is attention to the types of sign variation present within a deaf community, and ethnographic descriptions of how language use is tied to d/Deaf identities. Questions about the relative universality of types of signing variation – a national language, a local language, a contact sign/spoken version of sign language, types of social variations, a home language, and so on – and what the local practice of these variations means in terms of defining d/Deaf identities, are questions that are only beginning to be asked by linguistic anthropologists working in the field. The study of signed languages and Deaf communities provides, in some ways, even richer data than studies of spoken language communities. In addition to all the kinds of variations of language found in spoken language communities, analysts must understand the role of disability in the construction of a d/Deaf identity. Linguistic anthropology provides the most comprehensive tools to conduct this research.

5 Conclusion

In this chapter, sign languages have been seen as entities unto themselves and as languages used by d/Deaf people. As languages are the reflection of how groups of people communicate, we can also see that when we talk generally about sign languages, we are talking about individual, cultural, and society-level issues.

Although some people still have the misunderstanding that a given sign language is universal, sign languages, like spoken languages, are in fact local phenomena. All groups have their own distinctive ways of using sign language and when groups are cut off from each other, the languages will differ. International sign languages are the function of international communities agreeing on a common system like Gestuno, using a common language like American Sign Language, or developing new ways of communicating face to face despite different national origins and linguistic differences. Sign languages develop wherever there is a group of people who need to communicate by visual means. Not all people with hearing loss, however, use sign languages.

In sociolinguistics, researchers study the effects that social characteristics such as region, age, gender, and social status have on language variation, paying attention to statistically significant or otherwise quantifiable variations of language used within particular populations. In linguistic anthropology, on the other hand, while researchers are also interested in studying the effects of these social characteristics on language variation, their attention is less on small parsings of variation across a wide spectrum of language users, and more on deep descriptions of holistic samplings of variations embedded within a particular culture. Linguistic anthropologists are interested in how languages contribute to the emergence and maintenance, or loss, of cultures. They study language socialization, and the range of linguistic variation within a given population (perhaps within one individual, or one family, or one community). They track developments of culture and language across time. The sections in this chapter on home signing, literacy and deafness, and contact language focus on how deaf people have gained access to the dominant (spoken) language around them.

What the societal and individual ramifications of sign languages have in common is that variation is always a key to understanding developing patterns within deaf communities. Characteristics of sign language users will be reflected in their language and signers will build upon these particularities to create cultures of their own. Variations between individuals and larger societies have profound implications for educational and governmental policies. Although documenting the lives of d/Deaf individuals and d/Deaf communities is just one part of the much larger process of the recognition of the rights of all deaf people, it is a process that allows communities to see where they have come from and where they might like to go.

NOTES

We would like to thank the many people who have helped make this chapter possible, including Alessandro Duranti for inviting us to be a part of this volume and for his comments, and Pamela Bunte, Carol Erting, Paul Garrett, Donald Grushkin, Elizabeth Keating, Misty Jaffe, Kristen Johnson, Ceil Lucas, Laura Miller, Karen Nakamura, Susan Needham, Angela Nonaka, and Richard Senghas for references, comments, and/or suggestions.

We would also like to thank Dennis Cokely for permission to reproduce illustrations here. Thanks also to the Deaf Studies Research Unit, Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand, for permission to use the New Zealand fingerspelling alphabet.

1 Even signs that are iconic representations of the same object, such as "tree," can differ between languages: see Klima and Bellugi 1979.
2 Some sign language scholars have called this kind of language mixing Pidgin Sign English or PSE, arguing that the mixing between English and ASL is similar to what occurs among pidgins or trade languages where pieces of each language are merged for common use (Fischer 1975, 1978; Woodward 1973a, 1973b). Yet, in the case of language varieties emerging from contact between signed and spoken languages, generally signers employ spoken language grammar while using sign vocabulary often devoid of grammatical markings and conceptually inappropriate. More recently, this kind of language mixing has been called "contact signing" (Lucas and Valli 1992) which is more consistent with current understandings of pidgin and creole languages today.
3 See Irvine and Gal 2000 for the concept of erasure.
4 See Ann 2003 for work on Taiwan.
5 See Ramsey 1989 for a discussion of these systems.
6 See King and Quigley 1985 for a review and Gallaudet Research Institute 1996 for a more recent study; Holt, Traxler, and Allen 1992 for interpreting scores for deaf students.
7 Baker and Battison 1980, Lane, Hoffmeister, and Bahan 1996, Johnson and Erting 1989, Meadow 1972, Padden 1980, Padden and Humphries 1988, Padden and Markowicz 1975, Stokoe 1980, Vernon and Makowsky 1969, Wilcox 1989.
8 This is a convention developed by LeMaster for use in her own work to refer to the situations in which both pathological and social d/Deafness are being referenced simultaneously.
9 See these works for an introduction to this concept: Padden and Markowicz 1975, Stokoe et al. 1976, Woodward 1973c.
10 There is disagreement about whether hearing people can claim Deaf ethnicity. Some scholars argue that they can, based on a birthright in terms of parentage and first language acquisition. Other scholars maintain that the children with this birthright must be deaf, and yet others argue that they can be either deaf or hearing. Most scholars say that they cannot be hearing because they must be physically deaf in order to embody a Deaf ethnic identity.
11 See Erting, Johnson, Smith, and Snider 1994 for Deaf Way I proceedings, and other conference proceedings from the International Symposia on Sign Language Research, the Congresses of the World Federation of the Deaf, the Theoretical Issues on Sign Language Research conferences, and other conference proceedings involving international researchers. Also see newsletters from various deaf organizations from around the world for information on deaf communities and their languages. Also see Ceil Lucas' "Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities" Series published through Gallaudet University.
12 See both LeMaster 1990 and 1996.
13 Frishberg 1987, Kuschel 1973, Davis and Supalla 1995.
14 Lucas et al. 2001.
15 Kegl and McWhorter 1997, A. Senghas 1995, R. Senghas 1997.
16 Groce 1985.
17 The majority of deaf children (90%) are born into hearing families, while fewer deaf children (10%) are born to deaf parents.
18 Schein and Delk 1974.
19 For discussion on Switzerland see Boyes Braem, Caramore, Hermann, and Hermann 2003. For New Zealand see Collins-Ahlgren 1989, and Thailand see Woodward 2003.
20 See Nakamura 2001 for a discussion on variation by age in Japan, and LeMaster 1990, 1993, 1997, 2000, and 2002 for gender and age variation in Ireland.

21 For the US black/white situation, see Aramburo 1989 and Woodward 1976. See Aarons and Reynolds 2003 for the post-apartheid South African discussion.
22 See Lucas et al. 2001. See also Baker and Cokely 1980, Shroyer and Shroyer 1984.
23 A modified B hand is an open palm, with the thumb crossed over the palm, and the fingers held together tightly.
24 See Woodward 1976.
25 See also Battison 1978, Woodward and Erting 1975.
26 Mel Carter, personal communication.
27 See Baker and Cokely 1980, Lucas et al. 2001, Mansfield 1993, Malloy and Doner 1995.
28 Perhaps this is why Lucas et al. (2001) point out that ASL gender differences are not as important as regional or age differences.
29 See also LeMaster 1997; LeMaster and Dwyer 1991; LeMaster and Foran 1986; Matthews 1996; Ó Baoill and Matthews 2000.
30 See also Burns 1998.
31 See Baker and Cokely 1980, Woodward 1976.
32 Lucas et al. 2001 point out, however, that despite widespread perceptions of quite different signing styles between African American and white signers, their formal interviews revealed only lexical differences, not phonological or syntactic differences.
33 James Woodward has been writing about variation since the 1970s, and has produced an impressive collection of work (Woodward 1973a, 1973b, 1974, 1976, 1980; Woodward and DeSantis 1977). Carol Erting, a linguistic anthropologist, has also been writing about variation and links to Deaf identity since the 1970s (e.g. Erting 1981, 1985). Their joint works include Woodward, Erting, and Oliver 1976 and Erting and Woodward 1979.
34 Space is too limited here for a discussion of general historical works on Deaf cultures, but key works include Gannon 1981, Lane 1984, Van Cleve and Crouch 1989, and Van Cleve 1993.

REFERENCES

Aarons, D., and Reynolds, L. (2003). South African Sign Language: Changing Policies and Practice. In L. Monaghan, C. Schmaling, K. Nakamura, and G. H. Turner (eds.), *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Allsop, L., Woll, B. and Brauti, J. M. (1995). International Sign: The Creation of an International Deaf Community and Sign Language. In H. Bos and G. M. Schermer (eds.), *Sign Language Research 1994* (pp. 171–188). Hamburg: Signum.

Ann, J. (2003). The Chiying School of Taiwan: A Foreigner's Perspective. In L. Monaghan, C. Schmaling, K. Nakamura, and G. H. Turner (eds.), *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Aramburo, A. (1989). Sociolinguistic Aspects of the Black Deaf Community. In C. Lucas (ed.), *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community* (pp. 103–119). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Baker, C., and Battison, R. (eds.) (1980). *Sign Language and the Deaf Community: Essays in Honor of William C. Stokoe.* Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf.

Baker, C., and Cokely, D. (1980). *American Sign Language: A Teacher's Resource Text on Grammar and Culture.* Silver Spring, MD: TJ Publishers.

Battison, R. (1978). *Lexical Borrowing in American Sign Language.* Silver Spring, MD: Linstok Press.

Baynton, D. (1996). *Forbidden Signs: American Culture and the Campaign against Sign Language.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Boyes Braem, P., Caramore, B., Hermann, R., and Hermann, P. S. (2003). Romance and Reality: Sociolinguistic Similarities and Differences Between Swiss German Sign Language

and Rhaeto-Romansh. In L. Monaghan, C. Schmaling, K. Nakamura, and G. H. Turner (eds.), *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Burns, S. E. (1998). Ireland's Second Minority Language. In C. Lucas (eds.), *Pinky Extension and Eye Gaze: Language Use in Deaf Communities* (pp. 233–273). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Collins-Ahlgren, M. (1989). Aspects of New Zealand Sign Language. Unpublished PhD dissertation, Victoria University, Wellington, NZ.

Davis, J. (1989). Distinguishing Language Contact Phenomena in ASL Interpretation. In C. Lucas (ed.), *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Davis, J., and Supalla, S. (1995). A Sociolinguistic Description of Sign Language Use in a Navajo Family. In C. Lucas (ed.), *Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities* (pp. 77–108). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Erting, C. (1981). An Anthropological Approach to the Study of the Communicative Competence of Deaf Children. *Sign Language Studies* 32: 221–238.

Erting, C. (1985). Sociocultural Dimensions of Deaf Education: Belief Systems and Communicative Interaction. *Sign Language Studies* 47: 111–126.

Erting, C., Johnson, R., Smith, D., and Snider, B. D. (eds.) (1994). *The Deaf Way: Perspectives from the International Conference on Deaf Cultures.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Erting, C., and Woodward, J. (1979). Sign Language and the Deaf Community: A Sociolinguistic Profile. *Discourse Processes* 2: 283–300.

Farnell, B. (1995). *Do You See What I Mean? Plains Indian Sign Talk and the Embodiment of Action.* Austin: University of Texas Press.

Fischer, S. (1975). Influences on Word Order Change in American Sign Language. In C. N. Li (ed.), *Word Order and Word Order Change* (pp. 1–25). Austin: University of Texas Press.

Fischer, S. (1978). Sign Language and Creoles. In P. Siple (ed.), *Understanding Language through Sign Language Research* (pp. 309–332). New York: Academic Press.

Fjord, L. (2001). Contested Signs: Discursive Disputes in the Geography of Pediatric Cochlear Implants, Language, Kinship, and Embodiment. PhD dissertation, University of Virginia.

Frishberg, N. (1975). Arbitrariness and Iconicity: Historical Change in American Sign Language. *Language* 51: 696–719.

Frishberg, N. (1987). Home Sign. In J. V. Van Cleve (ed.), *Gallaudet Encyclopedia of Deaf People and Deafness,* vol. 3 (pp. 128–131). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Gallaudet Research Institute (1996). Stanford Achievement Test, 9th Edition, Form S, Norms Booklet for Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Students. (Including Conversions of Raw Score to Scaled Score and Grade Equivalent and Age-based Percentile Ranks for Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Students.) Washington, DC: Gallaudet University.

Gannon, J. R. (1981). *Deaf Heritage: A Narrative History of Deaf America.* Silver Spring, MD: NAD Publishers.

Groce, N. E. (1985). *Everyone Here Spoke Sign Language: Hereditary Deafness on Martha's Vineyard.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Grushkin, D. A. (1996). Academic, Linguistic, Social and Identity Development in Hard-of-Hearing Adolescents Educated within an ASL/English Bilingual/Bicultural Educational Setting for Deaf and Hard-of-Hearing Students. PhD thesis, University of Arizona, Tucson.

Holt, J. A., Traxler, C. B., and Allen, T. E. (1992). Interpreting the Scores: A User's Guide to the 8th Edition Stanford Achievement Test for Educators of Deaf and Hard of Hearing Students. *GRI Technical Report: 92-1.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University.

Irvine, J. T. and Gal, S. (2000). Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity (ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities* (pp. 35–84). Santa Fe, NM: School of American Research Press.

Johnson, K. (1991). Miscommunicating in Interpreted Classroom Interaction. *Sign Language Studies* 70: 1–34.

Johnson, R., and Erting, C. (1989). Linguistic Socialization in the Context of Emergent Deaf Ethnicity. Wenner-Gren Foundation Working Papers in Anthropology: Ethnicity and Socialization in a Classroom for Deaf Children. In C. Lucas (ed.), *The Sociolinguistics of American Sign Language* (pp. 41–84). New York: Academic Press.

Keating, E., and Mirus, G. (2001). Cross Modal Conversations: Deaf Children and Hearing Peers at School. Department of Applied Linguistics and TESL, UCLA: Crossroads of Language, Interaction, and Culture Conference.

Kegl, J., and McWhorter, J. (1997). Perspectives on an Emerging Language. In E. Clark (ed.), *The Proceedings of the Twenty-eighth Annual Child Language Research Forum* (pp. 15–38). Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

Kendon, A. (1988). *Sign Languages of Aboriginal Australia: Cultural, Semiotic, and Communicative.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kendon, A. (1997). Gesture. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 26: 109–128.

Kennedy, G., Arnold, R., Dugdale, P., Fahey, S., and Moskovitz, D. (1997). *A Dictionary of New Zealand Sign Language.* Auckland, NZ: Auckland University Press/Bridget Williams Books.

King, C., and Quigley, S. (1985). *Reading and Deafness.* San Diego, CA: College-Hill Press.

Klima, E., and Bellugi, U. (1979). *The Signs of Language.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Kuschel, R. (1973). The Silent Inventor: The Creation of a Sign Language by the Only Deaf-Mute on a Polynesian Island. *Sign Language Studies* 3: 1–28.

Lane, H. (1984). *When the Mind Hears: A History of the Deaf.* New York: Random House.

Lane, H., Hoffmeister, R., and Bahan, B. (1996). *A Journey into the DEAF-WORLD.* San Diego, CA: DawnSign Press.

LeMaster, B. (1990). The Maintenance and Loss of Female and Male Signs in the Dublin Deaf Community. PhD dissertation, University of California, Los Angeles.

LeMaster, B. (1993). When Women and Men Talk Differently: Language and Policy in the Dublin Deaf Community. In T. Wilson, H. Donnan, and C. Curtin (eds.), *Irish Towns and Cities: Anthropological Perspectives on Urban Life.* Belfast: The Queen's University of Belfast, Ireland.

LeMaster, B. (1996). Language and Identity Revisited: Moving from Homogeneous Heterogeneity to Complex Multiplicity. Manuscript from presentation at the 94th Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association, November, San Francisco.

LeMaster, B. (1997). Sex Differences in Irish Sign Language. In J. H. Hill, P. J. Mistry, and L. Campbell (eds.), *The Life of Language: Papers in Linguistics in Honor of William Bright* (pp. 67–85). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.

LeMaster, B. (2000). Reappropriation of Gendered Irish Sign Language in One Family. *Visual Anthropology Review* 15(2): 1–15.

LeMaster, B. (2002). What Difference Does Difference Make? Negotiating Gender and Generation in Irish Sign Language. In S. Benor, M. Rose, D. Sharma, J. Sweetland, and Q. Zhang (eds.), *Gendered Practices in Language.* Stanford, CA: CSLI Publications.

LeMaster, B. (2003). School Language and Shifts in Irish Deaf Identity. In L. Monaghan, C. Schmaling, K. Nakamura, and G. H. Turner (eds.), *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

LeMaster, B., and Dwyer, J. (1991). Knowing and Using Female and Male Signs in Dublin. *Sign Language Studies* 73: 361– 396.

LeMaster, B., and Foran, S. (1986). The Irish Sign Language. In *The Gallaudet Encyclopedia of Deaf People and Deafness,* vol. 3 (pp. 82–84). New York: McGraw-Hill.

Lucas, C., Bayley, R., and Valli, C. (in collaboration with M. Rose, A. Wulf, P. Dudis, S. Schatz, and L. Sanheim) (2001). *Sociolinguistic Variation in American Sign Language* (Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities Series, vol. 7). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Lucas, C., and Valli, C. (1989). Language Contact in the American Deaf Community. In C. Lucas (ed.), *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community* (pp. 11–40). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Lucas, C., and Valli, C. (1992). *Language Contact in the American Deaf Community.* San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Malloy, C., and Doner, J. (1995). Variation in ASL Discourse: Gender Differences in the Use of Cohesive Devices. In L. Byers, J. Chaiken, and M. Mueller (eds.) *Communication Forum 1995* (pp. 183–205). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University, Department of ASL, Linguistics, and Interpretation.

Mansfield, D. (1993). Gender Differences in ASL: A Sociolinguistic Study of Sign Choices by Deaf Native Signers. In E. Winston (ed.), *Communication Forum 1993* (pp. 86–98). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University, Department of ASL, Linguistics, and Interpretation.

Matthews, P. (1996). *The Irish Deaf Community,* vol. 1. Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

Meadow, K. (1972). Sociolinguistics, Sign Language and the Deaf Sub-Culture. In T. O'Rourke (ed.), *Psycholinguistics and Total Communication: The State of the Art* (pp. 19–33). Silver Spring, MD: American Annals of the Deaf.

Metzger, M. (ed.). (2000). *Bilingualism and Identity in Deaf Communities* (Sociolinguistics in Deaf Communities Series, vol. 6). Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Monaghan, L. (1991). The Founding of Two Deaf Churches: The Interplay of Deaf and Christian Identities. *Sign Language Studies* 73: 431–452.

Monaghan, L. (1996). Signing, Oralism and the Development of the New Zealand Deaf Community: An Ethnography and History of Language Ideologies. PhD thesis, University of California, Los Angeles.

Monaghan, L., Schmaling, C., Nakamura, K., and Turner, G. H. (eds.) (2003). *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Nakamura, K. (2001). Deaf Identities, Sign Language, and Minority Social Movements Politics in Modern Japan (1868–2000). PhD thesis, Yale University.

Ó Baoill, D. P., and Matthews, P. A. (2000). *The Irish Deaf Community, vol. 2: The Structure of Irish Sign Language.* Dublin: Institiúid Teangeolaíochta Éireann.

Padden, C. (1980). The Deaf Community and the Culture of Deaf People. In C. Baker and R. Battison (eds.), *Sign Language and the Deaf Community: Essays in Honor of William C. Stokoe* (pp. 89–103). Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf.

Padden, C., and Humphries, T. (1988). *Deaf in America: Voices from a Culture.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Padden, C., and Markowicz, H. (1975). Crossing Cultural Group Boundaries into the Deaf Community. Paper presented at the Conference on Culture and Communication, Temple University, Philadelphia, March.

Padden, C., and Ramsey, C. (1998). Reading Ability in Signing Deaf Children. *Topics in Language Disorders* 18: 30–46.

Padden, C., and Ramsey, C. (2000). American Sign Language and Reading Ability in Deaf Children. In C. Chamberlain, J. Morford, and R. Mayberry (eds.), *Language Acquisition by Eye* (pp. 165–189). Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Penn, C., and Reagan, T. (1994). The Properties of South African Sign Language: Lexical Diversity and Syntactic Unity. *Sign Language Studies* 23(85): 319–327.

Plann, S. (1997). *A Silent Minority.* Berkeley: University of California Press.

Ramsey, C. L. (1989). Language Planning in Deaf Education. In C. Lucas (ed.), *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community* (pp. 123–146). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

Reilly, C. (1995). A Deaf Way of Education: Interaction among Children in a Thai Boarding School. PhD thesis, University of Maryland.

Schein, J., and Delk, M. (1974). *The Deaf Population of the United States.* Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf.

Schmaling, C. (2003). A for Apple: The Impact of Western Education and ASL on the Deaf Community in Kano State, Northern Nigeria. In L. Monaghan, C. Schmaling, K. Nakamura, and G. H. Turner (eds.), *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Senghas, A. (1995). Children's Contribution to the Birth of Nicaraguan Sign Language. PhD thesis, Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Senghas, R. (1997). An "Unspeakable, Unwriteable" Language: Deaf Identity, Language and Personhood among the First Cohorts of Nicaraguan Signers. PhD thesis, University of Rochester, New York.

Shroyer, E., and Shroyer, S. (1984). *Signs across America.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press.

Stokoe, W. (1969–70). Linguistic Description of Sign Language. In F. P. Dinneen (ed.), *Monograph Series on Language and Linguistics* (pp. 243–250). Washington, DC: Georgetown University Press.

Stokoe, W. (1980). *Sign and Culture: A Reader for Students of ASL.* Silver Spring, MD: Linstok Press.

Stokoe, W., Casterline, D. and Croneberg, C. (1976 [1965]). *A Dictionary of American Sign Language on Linguistic Principles.* 1st edition, Washington, DC: Gallaudet College Press; 2nd edition, Silver Spring, MD: Linstok Press.

Unification of Signs Commission (1975). *Gestuno: International Sign Language of the Deaf.* Carlisle, UK: British Deaf Association [for] the World Federation of the Deaf.

Van Cleve, J. V. (ed.). (1993). *Deaf History Unveiled: Interpretations from the New Scholarship.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Van Cleve, J. V., and Crouch, B. (1989). *A Place of Their Own: Creating the Deaf Community in America.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

Vernon, M., and Makowsky, B. (1969). Deafness and Minority Group Dynamics. *The Deaf American* 21(11): 3–6.

Wilcox, S. (ed.) (1989). *American Deaf Culture: An Anthology.* Silver Spring, MD: Linstok Press.

Woodward, J. (1973a). Some Characteristics of Pidgin Sign English. *Sign Language Studies* 3: 39–46.

Woodward, J. (1973b). Language Continuum, a Different Point of View. *Sign Language Studies* 2: 81–83.

Woodward, J. (1973c). Some Observations on Sociolinguistic Variation and American Sign Language. *Kansas Journal of Sociology* 9(2): 191–200.

Woodward, J. (1974). A Report on Montana-Washington Implicational Research. *Sign Language Studies* 4: 77–101.

Woodward, J. (1976). Black Southern Signing. *Language in Society* 5(2): 211–218.

Woodward, J. (1980). Sociolinguistic Research on American Sign Language: An Historical Perspective. In C. Baker and R. Battison (eds.), *Sign Language and the Deaf Community* (pp. 117–134). Silver Spring, MD: National Association of the Deaf.

Woodward, J. (2003). Sign Languages and Deaf Identities in Thailand and Viet Nam. In L. Monaghan, C. Schmaling, K. Nakamura, and G. H. Turner (eds.), *Many Ways to be Deaf.* Washington, DC: Gallaudet University Press.

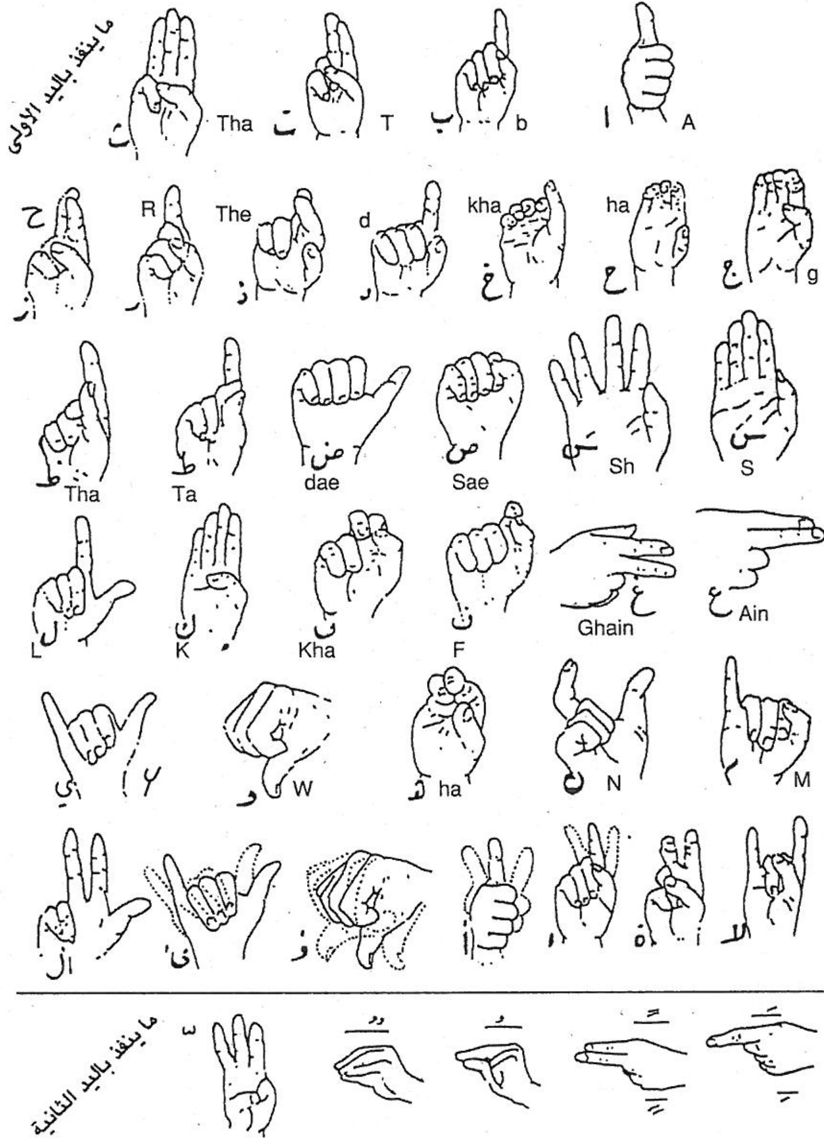
Woodward, J., and DeSantis, S. (1977). Negative Incorporation in French and American Sign Languages. *Language in Society* 6(3): 379–388.

Woodward, J., and Erting, C. (1975). Synchronic Variation and Historical Change in American Sign Language. *Language Sciences* 37: 9–12.

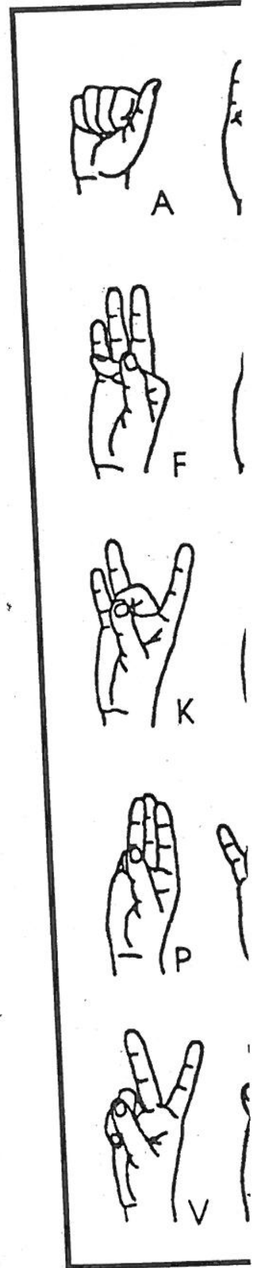
Woodward, J., Erting, C., and Oliver, S. (1976). Facing and Handling Variation in ASL Phonology. *Sign Language Studies* 5(10): 43–52.

Zimmer, J. (1989). Toward a Description of Register Variation in American Sign Language. In C. Lucas (ed.), *The Sociolinguistics of the Deaf Community* (pp. 253–272). San Diego, CA: Academic Press.

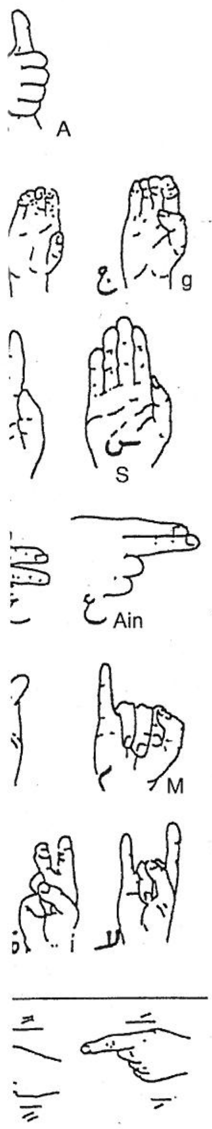
Appendix: Fingerspelling Systems from Different Sign Languages

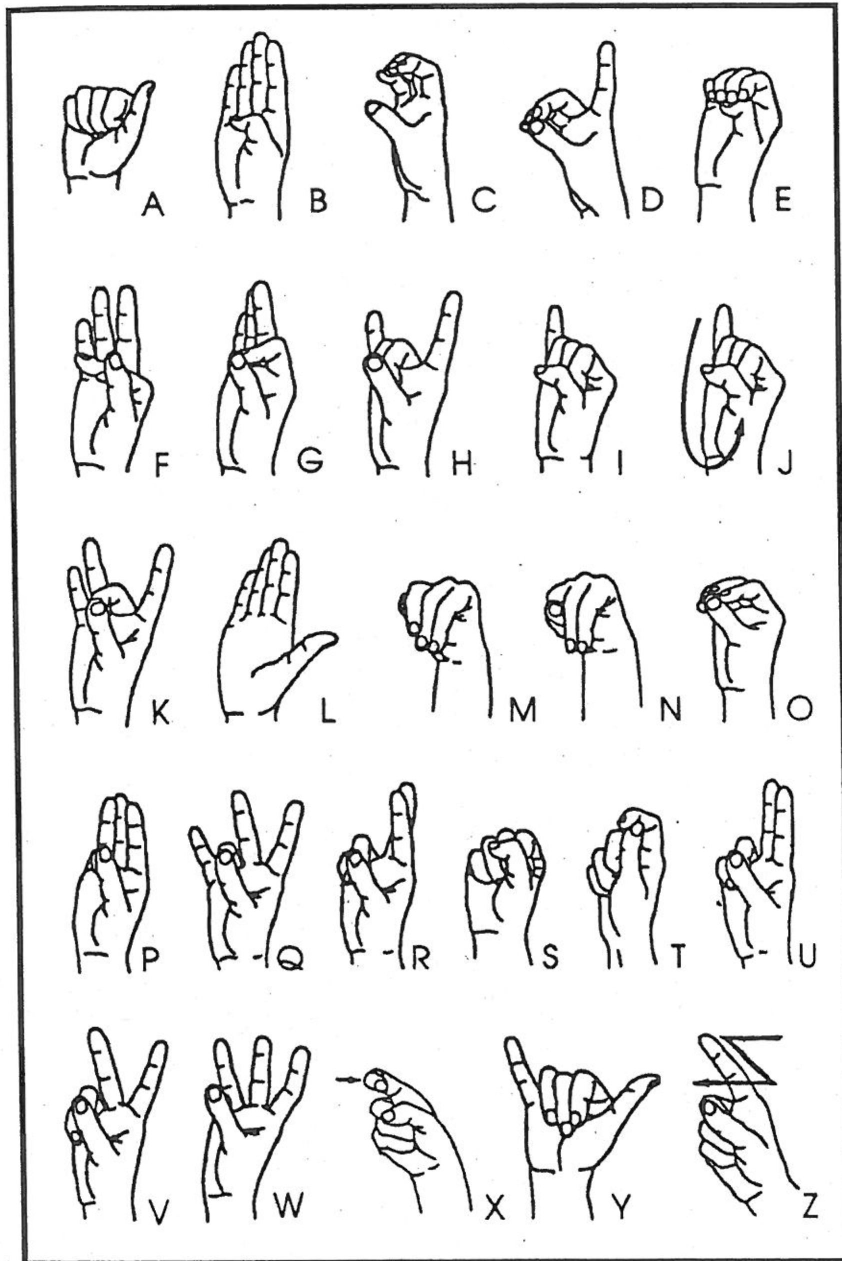


(a) Fingerspelling from Saudi Arabian Sign Language



(b) Fingerspelling in I





(b) Fingerspelling in Irish Sign Language

아름다운 한글지화

아이들이 '엄마' '아빠' 부르는 소리 친구들과 전화로 하는 대화
너무나 일상적인 당연함들이 농아인들에게는 큰 소망입니다.
서로에게 가장 알맞은 눈 높이에서 손짓으로 대화하는 당신을 볼 수 있으면 좋겠습니다.
그 옆에 「아름다운 손짓」과 함께 하시기 바랍니다.

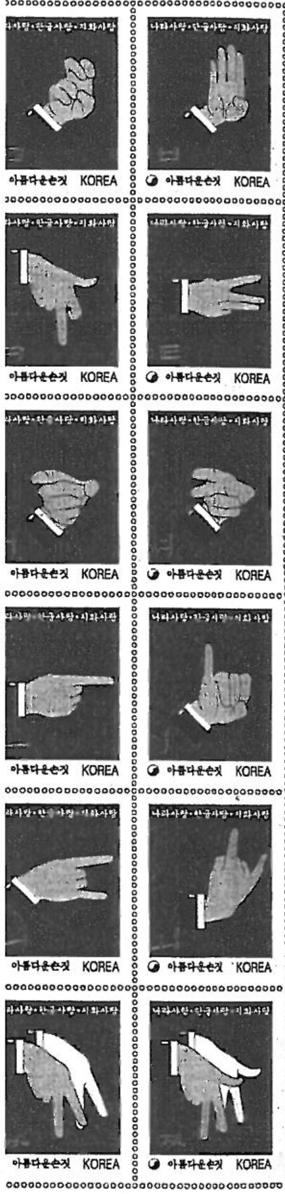
한글 지문자(指文字)

아름다운손짓 /서울시 서초구 방배2동 272-3일 송빌딩 2층 / TEL : (02)575-6790, 576-0518 / FAX : (02)576-7321
www.bsign.co.kr / E-mail : bsign22@hanmail.net

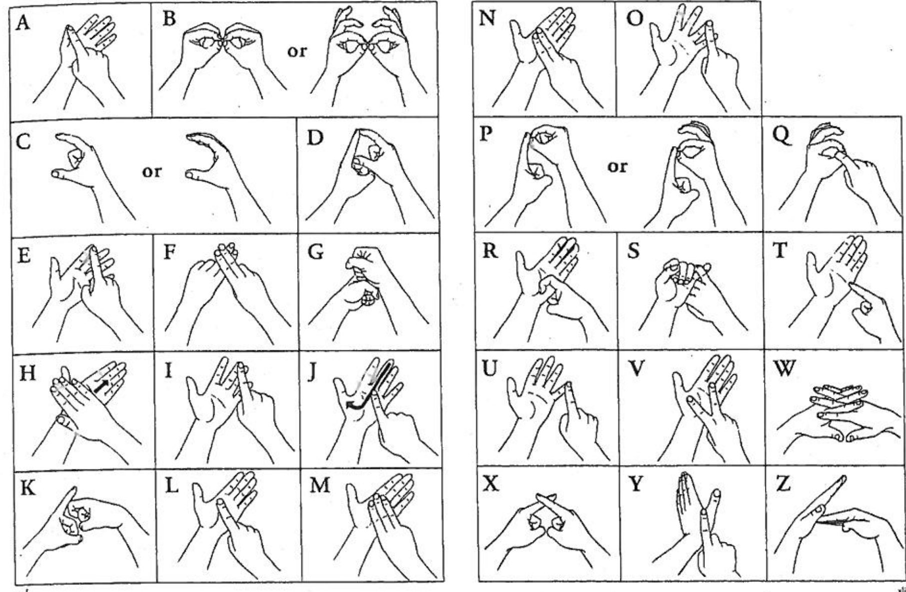
(c) Fingerspelling in Korean Sign Language

(d) Fingerspelling from Ne
Kennedy, R. Arnold, P. Dugd
Language. Auckland: Auckla

는 대화
니다.
았으면 좋겠습니다.



6-0518/ FAX:(02)576-7321
ail.net



(d) Fingerspelling from New Zealand Sign Language. Reproduced by permission from G. Kennedy, R. Arnold, P. Dugdale, and D. Moskovitz (1998) *A Dictionary of New Zealand Sign Language*. Auckland: Auckland University Press.