The Meanings of Chimpanzee Gestures

2	
3	Catherine Hobaiter and Richard W. Byrne
4	
5	
6	
7	
8	
9	
10	
11	
12	
13	
14	
15	
16	
17	School of Psychology and Neuroscience, University of St Andrews, St Andrews,
18	KY16 9JP, Scotland
19	
20	Correspondence: R W Byrne, School of Psychology and Neuroscience, University
21	of St Andrews, St Andrews, Scotland.
22	E-mail: rwb@st-andrews.ac.uk
23 24	

25 HIGHLIGHTS

26	•	66 gestures are used intentionally to communicate 19 meanings by wild
27		chimpanzees
28	•	We analyzed >4500 cases to extract true (non-play) meanings for 36 gestures
29	•	Gestures have the same meaning(s) across individual signalers
30	•	Flexible use of several gestures for same goal is higher during social
31		negotiation

Summary

Chimpanzees' use of gesture was described in the first detailed field study [1,2], and
natural use of specific gestures has been analyzed [3-5]. But it was systematic work
with captive groups that revealed compelling evidence that chimpanzees use gestures
to communicate in a flexible, goal orientated, and intentional fashion [6-8, replicated
across all great ape species in captivity 9-17 and wild chimpanzees 18,19]. All these
aspects overlap with human language, but are apparently missing in most animal
communication systems: including great ape vocalization, where extensive study has
produced meagre evidence for intentional use [20, but see 21,22]. Findings about
great ape gestures spurred interest in a potential common ancestral origin with
components of human language [23-25]. Of particular interest, given the relevance to
language origins, is the question of what do chimpanzees intend their gestures to
mean; surprisingly, the matter of what the intentional signals are used to achieve has
been largely neglected. Here we present the first systematic study of meaning in
chimpanzee gestural communication. Individual gestures have specific meanings,
independently of signaler identity, and we provide a partial 'lexicon'; flexibility is
predominantly in the use of multiple gestures for a specific meaning. We distinguish
range of meanings: from simple requests associated with just a few gestures, to
broader social negotiation associated with a wider range of gesture types. Access to a
range of alternatives may increase communicative subtlety during important social
negotiations.

Results

55

In animal communication, signal meanings have generally been identified with the 56 57 information exchanged between individuals [26,27]: here, only the characteristic 58 effect of a signal on recipients is assessed. For example, monkey alarm calls function 59 as if they referred to specific predators: recipients act appropriately upon hearing the 60 calls [28-30]. Whether callers intend to influence a specific audience is unknown, and 61 suspected not to be the case [31]. In human communication, however, meaning has 62 been treated quite differently because signals - linguistic utterances - are produced 63 intentionally [32]. Indeed, the signaler's intentions are paramount, and cognitively 64 demanding flexibility is often necessary to interpret meaning [33,34]. Ape gesturing 65 is the only non-human communication system with substantial evidence for 66 intentional use [6-19]; providing a unique opportunity to examine the meanings, 67 analogous to human linguistic meanings, of non-human signals. Ape gestures show at 68 least first order intentionality: they are produced with the purpose of changing the 69 recipient's behavior [35]. We present a systematic analysis of meaning for the 70 gestures employed by a wild chimpanzee community. To date, the widely described 71 flexibility of gestures has been reported in terms of the variety of 'contexts' in which 72 a gesture is observed [8,36]. While this method avoids potential pitfalls of attempting 73 to interpret mental states of another species, it risks exaggerating flexibility where 74 gestures with a single meaning are employed across multiple contexts. One previous 75 study examined the effect on recipients of four hand gestures, concluding that 76 responses were not dependent on situational context and were 'primarily used for 77 directing a recipient's movement or attention' [38]. Here we investigate 78 communication in a natural group across the full range of chimpanzee behavior; and 79 we are able for the first time to distinguish 'real-world usage' from the play-based

communication that dominates in captivity. We examine what each gesture is for: if a gesture is used to alter the behavior of a recipient towards a specific goal, what was that goal? To find out, we adopt a holistic approach to the study of meaning that uses the behavior of both signaler and recipient [39], first piloted with captive groups [10,14]. We therefore focus on whether a recipient's reaction *satisfied* the signaler, so indicating their intended meaning. An outcome that resulted in the cessation of communication, and that represented a plausible desire on the part of the signaler (e.g. not an aversive experience), was taken to have satisfied the signaler and termed an Apparently Satisfactory Outcome (ASO; see SI).

What do chimpanzees gesture to achieve?

We observed 4531 gestures within 3419 bouts of intentional communication; 3175 bouts (4247 gestures) apparently satisfied the signaler (communication ceased following the audience's response; Table S1). We used ASOs to indicate the signalers' intended meanings; recorded ASOs were of 19 different kinds. Most ASOs (17) were requests to encourage interactions to start (e.g. 'groom me') or to develop ('move closer', 'play continue'); however, two that discouraged further social interaction ('stop that' and 'move away') were used broadly across contexts to negate a wide range of behavior.

Although we identified 19 ASOs and the chimpanzee has a repertoire of at least 66 gesture types [18], some gestures may have more than one meaning. In fact, only 10 of the 66 gestures were used for just a single ASO, and of these 7 were recorded on \leq 3 occasions. The majority of the repertoire was used for multiple ASOs (number of ASOs per gesture type: mean= 4.6 ± 3.0 , mode=2, range 1-12). The extent of this multiplicity or ambiguity of meaning is likely underestimated, since the

number of cases of a gesture type correlated positively with the number of ASOs with which it was associated (gestures with ≥ 3 cases, Pearson's correlation: r=0.75, n=43, p<0.0001). However, some of these ASOs occurred at very low frequencies, raising the possibility that, rather than implying genuine ambiguity, they might stem from observer error, or misunderstandings by the recipient uncorrected in further communication by the signaler. Eliminating those ASOs with less than 3 instances per gesture type across the population as potential errors, the majority of the gestural repertoire was associated with two or three meanings (mean 2.8 ASOs per gesture). Moreover, in most cases (57 of the 66 gestures) at least one ASO was play-related, e.g. 'play start'. The generality with which play-related meanings occurred indicates that there may be something special about play-signals. Play is the most common context for gestural communication [7,10], but in play gestures are not necessarily used with their normal meaning and the outcome may not reliably signal the gesture's meaning in any other context. In subsequent analyses we therefore exclude data from play bouts to avoid masking the 'real-world' meaning of gestures (an analysis including play data is provided in SI).

121

122

123

124

125

126

127

128

105

106

107

108

109

110

111

112

113

114

115

116

117

118

119

120

Do gestures have specific meanings?

We examined whether different gestures were associated with a specific pattern of outcomes, differing from the general distribution of ASOs in gestural communication. Fifteen gesture types met the conditions for inclusion in the initial analysis (SI Procedures_d), and 46 individuals contributed data. We found a significant effect of gesture type on distribution of ASOs (gesture: f=2.30, df=14,101 p=0.009, 2-way ANOVA). Thus, the frequency with which gesture types are used,

outside of play, towards particular ASOs varies between gesture types: gestures have specific meanings.

131

132

133

134

135

136

137

138

139

140

141

142

143

144

145

146

147

148

149

150

151

152

153

129

130

Does gesture meaning vary with the identity of the signaler?

The appearance of multiple meanings for a single gesture might be the result of variation among signalers in the ways in which they employ their gestural repertoire. We therefore examined whether meaning varied with signaler identity. Fifteen gesture types met the conditions for inclusion in the detailed analysis (SI Procedures_d), and 46 individuals contributed data. The possible effect of individual identity was examined in two ways, graphical and statistical. For each gesture type, we plotted the deviation from normal distribution of the ASO distribution (as used in the ANOVAs above), per individual signaler. ASOs with similar meanings are plotted adjacent to one another, allowing us to distinguish visually between gestures with multiple meanings that are unambiguously different (e.g. Big Loud Scratch: 'groom me' and 'travel with me'), and those that are more ambiguous, with several similar meanings (e.g. Object shake: 'sexual attention male', 'follow me', 'travel with me', 'move away' etc.). These plots gave a graphical indication of whether individual signalers used the same gesture in the same way (Figure S1). An additional 21 gestures were regularly used outside of play, but were not recorded with sufficient frequency from enough individuals for parametric analysis; for these gestures, similar plots, indicating whether or not signalers employed these gestures towards the same distribution of ASOs, are provided (Figure S1). In two gestures, Leaf clipping and Present climb on, all usage by all individuals tested was exclusively for their primary ASO (Table S2). In a further three gestures, Big loud scratch, Hand fling and Present groom, the primary ASO was

recorded significantly more often than all other (14) ASOs combined, indicating a close association with the primary ASO. In one gesture, Mouth stroke, all usage by all individuals was exclusively for the primary and secondary ASOs combined. In a further three gestures, Directed push, Present sexual and Reach, the primary and secondary ASOs were recorded significantly more often than all other ASOs combined. In three gestures, Embrace, Object move and Object shake, the combined frequency with which the primary, secondary and tertiary ASOs were recorded across individuals was significantly greater than all other ASOs combined. Thus, in 12 cases, of a possible 15, there was statistical evidence of an association across individuals with particular outcomes.

We found a statistical effect of individual identity in only two of the 15 gesture types: Hand on and Touch other (Table S2), with a borderline effect (p=0.058) in Slap object. Both Hand on and Touch other have a clear primary function shared across individuals (respectively: 'stop that' and 'acquire object'); however, their secondary functions varied between individuals, although with common themes of social interaction or negotiation ('move closer', 'move away', 'climb on me', 'climb on you'). Thus, while some gestures have ambiguous meaning, the majority does not; and gestures used for specific meanings are primarily used in the same way across individuals.

What does each gesture mean?

Having shown that gestures are employed for specific outcomes by all individuals, we next examined gesture meaning(s). Thirty-six gestures were suitable for the analysis of their ASO distributions in contexts other than play; the gestures associated with each ASO as both a primary outcome and secondary outcome are

listed in Table 1. In 35 of the 36 cases there was a significant association between gesture type and ASO distribution (Table S3: details of analysis in SI).

As almost all gestures (32/36) were used towards more than one ASO, we sought a convenient way of describing their level of ambiguity in meaning. Following Cartmill & Byrne [13], we took gestures used towards a single ASO 70% of the time to have 'tight meanings', while gestures used 50-70% of the time towards a single ASO were considered to have 'loose meaning'; all other cases were considered to be 'ambiguous'. On this basis, 13 gesture types had tight meaning, 11 loose meaning, and 12 were ambiguous.

Which outcomes are associated with the most gesture types?

Thirty-six gestures were associated with 13 non-play ASOs as either a primary or secondary outcome (Tables 2 & S3). We recorded how many times a particular ASO was recorded as being the primary, secondary or tertiary meaning of a gesture type. ASOs varied in the number of gestures for which they were a primary outcome, between 0 and 9 gestures, and for which they were a primary or secondary outcome, between 0 and 16 gestures. In rank ordering, the pattern is the same, whether primary alone or both primary and secondary meanings were assessed (Table 2). The number of gesture types associated with an ASO might be an effect of sample size, i.e. rarely observed outcomes are recorded less often and have fewer gesture types associated with them; however, that was not the case here. Neither the number of gestures associated with an ASO as their primary outcome (Pearson's correlation: r=0.38, n=15, p=0.16), nor primary and secondary outcomes combined (Pearson's correlation: r=0.34, n=15, p=0.22), were correlated to the number of cases of that ASO.

Discussion

Chimpanzees use their gestures in purposeful communication with other chimpanzees; as such they can be considered meaningful [32]. In the current study of wild chimpanzees, living under conditions that permit the complete expression of their natural behavior, we analyzed the meanings of 36 gestures, finding them used intentionally to achieve 15 purposes, other than in play. There was considerable similarity of use across individuals, indicating that meanings are inherent to gestures, as opposed to idiosyncratic to particular individuals or subgroups of individuals.

Similar indications of specific meaning were found in studies of captive orangutan and gorilla gesturing [10,14]. However, in those studies no analysis of individual differences was possible, and gestures used in play were included in analyses (a necessarily consequence of the limited range of behavior expressed in captive groups). Any analysis of meaning from data sets including play should be interpreted with caution. Although playful usage should not be confounded with real-world usage in the analysis of meaning, play may serve as an important learning environment for communication. Play allows younger individuals a safe testing ground for their exploratory use of gesture, towards potentially risky goals such as sexual solicitation or social negotiation. Our method of deciding intended meaning works well in non-play contexts, whereas if data from play are included the overwhelming dominance of play within the overall data set can 'swamp' any real statistical association between gesture and (non-play) meaning.

Setting aside playful uses greatly reduces the apparent 'ambiguity' of gesture meanings: 35 of the 36 gestures have specific individual patterns of meaning used towards 1-3 of the 15 intended outcomes. The degree of ambiguity remaining is not

uniform across the repertoire. Some gestures are unambiguous, employed consistently towards a single meaning, for example Leaf Clipping is used only to acquire 'sexual attention'. Others appear ambiguous: for example Grab is used for 'stop that' and 'climb on me' and 'move away' etc. (Figure S1). Appearance of ambiguity may arise in part from the difficulty for human observers in discerning subtle variations in the nature of the contact. It is evident to a human recipient whether or not a gentle touch is intended to reposition us or to prevent us from moving; however, those distinctions are visually very difficult to distinguish. Finally, gestures can be employed towards two or three outcomes of a very similar nature, for example Push is used for both 'move away' and 'stop that'. This last category is perhaps most similar to the type of broad semantic class of information expressed in primate vocalizations, where an alarm call rarely indicates (say) a leopard, specifically, but is rather used towards a range of similar ground-based threats [28].

We found considerable variation in whether an intended meaning was signaled by a single gesture type or several gestures of apparently equivalent meaning.

Intriguingly, the degree of this 'redundancy' appeared to co-vary with the need for context to fine-tune intended meaning. Our method necessarily restricts analysis to that of imperative demands (declarative communication requires no overt change in recipient behavior to satisfy the signaler). However, amongst these imperative demands we could distinguish different types of meaning, co-varying with the number of gestures used to express it.

Where we found that an intended meaning was conveyed by several different gestures, the desired outcome was often apparently one that required some negotiation or persuasion. For example, a request to give affiliative 'contact' (Embrace, Rump rub, Shake hands, Bite) does not have a canonical form of response that is always

appropriate: exactly what the signaler wants by giving the gesture may often only become clear after some further interaction. In contrast, meanings typically conveyed by a single gesture were often well-defined and unitary: for example, 'initiate grooming' (Big Loud Scratch).

The subtle regulation of individual social relationships is critical to chimpanzee reproductive strategy, in which strong alliances are formed with related or un-related individuals of both sexes. These relationships can impact on mating success, contributing towards individual fitness. Interpretation will be aided by the integration of contextual cues, some of which may be quite subtle (an individual starting to move in a certain direction, or prior experiences of interacting with a particular signaler). We suggest that in addition the availability of multiple gestures for meanings involved in social negotiation allows for equally subtle distinctions: allowing for room to maneuver in negotiation of outcomes. The majority of non-play use, of the gesture types that are generally employed in play, was in social negotiation meanings, such as 'follow me', or 'move away'. It may be that play is used to explore socially delicate communications: even though gesture meanings are basically species-typical, a young ape may have much to learn about the appropriateness of using gestures in particular social contexts.

Procedures

Observations were made on chimpanzees within the Sonso community during three field periods between October 2007 and August 2009. We used focal behavior sampling [40], and filmed all recorded cases of gestural communication using a Sony

Handycam. We defined *gestures* as discrete, mechanically ineffective physical movements of the body observed during intentional communication (see [18]). Movements of the whole body, limbs, and head were included; but not facial expressions or static body postures. Following Call and Tomasello [8; see also 18], we restricted analysis to only those gestures for which there was evidence that they were used intentionally, in a goal-directed way.

For each individual, for each gesture type, we recorded the frequency of each ASO. To remove any effect of pseudo-replication, these data were converted to proportions for each individual. Thus, we calculated the proportion of the total number of uses, by that individual, of that gesture, that corresponded to each ASO. Then, in order to identify reliable differences in usage between gestures, we calculated the overall proportion of each ASO in the data set, pooled across all other gesture types, for each individual; and this 'general distribution of ASOs' served as a null against which the actual distribution for any particular gesture type could be compared. See SI Procedures for full details of all analyses.

All research reported was approved by the School of Psychology under the approval of the University of St Andrews Animal Welfare and Ethics Committee.

Acknowledgements

We thank all the staff of the Budongo Conservation Field Station, the BCFS project's founder Vernon Reynolds and its current scientific director Klaus Zuberbühler. For permission to work in Uganda we thank the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology, the President's Office, the Uganda Wildlife Authority and the National

304	Forestry Authority. Fieldwork of CH was generously supported by grants from
305	Wenner-Gren Foundation and Russell Trust. We thank Richard Moore and four
306	anonymous referees for their helpful comments on a previous version of the
307	manuscript.
308	

References

- 310 1. Goodall, J. (1968). The Behavior of Free-living Chimpanzees in the Gombe stream
- 311 reserve. Anim. Behav. Mono. 1, 163-311.
- 2. Plooij, F.X. (1978). Some basic traits of language in wild chimpanzees. In Action,
- gesture and symbol: The emergence of language, A. Lock, ed. (London, UK:
- 314 Academic Press) pp. 111-131.
- 3. McGrew, W.C., Marchant, L.F., Scott, S. and Tutin, C.E.G. (2001). Intergroup
- differences in a social custom of wild chimpanzees: the grooming hand-clasp of
- the Mahale Mountains, Tanzania. Curr. Anthropol. 42(1), 148-153.
- 4. Nishida, T. (1980). The leaf-clipping display: a newly-discovered expressive
- gesture in wild chimpanzees. J. Hum. Evol. 9(2), 117-128.
- 5. Matsumoto-Oda, A. and Tomonaga, M. (2005). 'Intentional' control of sound
- production found in leaf-clipping display of Mahale chimpanzees. J. Ethol. 23(2),
- 322 109-112.
- 323 6. Tomasello, M., et al. (1985). The development of gestural communication in young
- 324 chimpanzees. J. Hum. Evol. 14, 175-186.
- 7. Tomasello. M., Gust, D. and Frost, G.T. (1989). A longitudinal investigation of
- gestural communication in young chimpanzees. Primates 30, 35-50.
- 8. Tomasello, M., Call, J., Nagell, K., Olguin, R. and Carpenter, M. (1994). The
- learning and use of gestural signals by young chimpanzees a trans-generational
- 329 study. Primates *35*, 137-154.
- 9. Pika, S., Liebal, K. and Tomasello, M. (2003). Gestural communication in young
- gorillas (*Gorilla gorilla*): gestural repertoire, learning and use. Am. J. Primatol.
- *60*, 95-111.

- 333 10. Genty, E., Breuer, T., Hobaiter, C and Byrne, R.W. (2009). Gestural
- communication of the gorilla (Gorilla gorilla): repertoire, intentionality and
- 335 possible origins. Anim. Cogn. *12*(*3*), 527-546.
- 336 11. Pika, S., Liebal, K. and Tomasello, M. (2005). Gestural communication in
- subadult bonobos (*Pan paniscus*): repertoire and use. Am. J. Primatol. 65(1), 39-
- 338 61.
- 12. Liebal, K., Pika, S. and Tomasello, M. (2006). Gestural communication of
- orangutans (*Pongo pygmaeus*). Gesture 6, 1-36.
- 13. Cartmill, E. and Byrne, R.W. (2007). Orangutans modify their gestural signaling
- according to their audience's comprehension. Curr. Biol. 17(15), 1345-1348.
- 343 14. Cartmill, E. and Byrne, R.W. (2010). Semantics of primate gestures: intentional
- meaning of orangutan gestures. Anim. Cogn. 13(6), 793-804.
- 15. Pollick, A.S., Jensen, A. and DeWaal, F.B.M. (2007). Gestures and multimodal
- signaling in bonobos. In The bonobos: behavior, ecology and conservation.
- Furuichi, T. and Thompson, J., eds. (New York, USA: Springer).
- 348 16. Leavens, D.A. and Hopkins, W.D. (1998). Intentional communication by
- chimpanzees: a cross-sectional study of the use of referential gestures. Dev.
- 350 Psychol. 34, 813-822.
- 351 17. Leavens, D.A., Russell, J.L. and Hopkins, W.D. (2005). Intentionality as
- measured in the persistence and elaboration of communication by chimpanzees
- 353 (*Pan troglodytes*). Child Dev. 76, 291-306.
- 18. Hobaiter, C. and Byrne, R.W. (2011). The gestural repertoire of the wild
- 355 chimpanzee. Anim. Cogn. 14(5), 745-767.
- 356 19. Hobaiter, C. and Byrne, R.W. (2011). Serial gesturing by wild chimpanzees: its
- nature and function for communication. Anim. Cogn. 14(5), 827-838.

- 358 20. Rendall, D., Owren, M.J. and Ryan, M.J. (2009). What do animal signals mean?
- 359 Anim. Beh. 78(2), 233-240.
- 360 21. Crockford, C., Wittig, R.M., Mundry, R. and Zuberbühler, K. (2012). Wild
- 361 chimpanzees inform ignorant group members of danger. Curr. Bio. 22(2), 142-
- 362 146.
- 363 22. Schel, A.M., Townsend, S.W., Machanda, Z., Zuberbuhler, K. and Slocombe,
- K.E. (2013). Chimpanzee alarm call production meets key criteria for
- 365 intentionality. Plos One. *8*(*10*), e76674.
- 366 23. Hewes, G.W. (1973). Primate Communication and the Gestural Origin of
- 367 Language. Curr. Anth. 33, 65-84.
- 368 24. Armstrong, D., Stokoe, W. and Wilcox, S. (1995). Gesture and the nature of
- language (Cambridge, UK, Cambridge University Press).
- 370 25. Corballis, M. (2002). From hand to mouth: The origins of language (New Jersey,
- 371 USA, Princeton University Press).
- 372 26. Cheney, D.L. (1992). How monkeys see the world: inside the mind of another
- species (Chicago, USA, University of Chicago Press).
- 374 27. Smith, W.J. (1965). Message, meaning, and context in ethology. Am. Nat. 99,
- 375 405-409.
- 376 28. Seyfarth, R.M., Cheney, D.L. and Marler, P. (1980). Vervet monkey alarm calls:
- semantic communication in a free-ranging primate. Anim. Behav. 28, 1070-1094.
- 378 29. Zuberbühler, K. (2003). Referential signaling in non-human primates: cognitive
- precursors and limitations for the evolution of language. Adv. Stud. Behav. 33,
- 380 265-307.
- 381 30. Zuberbühler, K., Cheney, D.L. and Seyfarth, R. M. (1999). Conceptual semantics
- in a nonhuman primate. J. Comp. Psychol. 113, 33-42.

- 383 31. Seyfarth, R.M. and Cheney, D.L. (2003). Signalers and receivers in animal
- 384 communication. Ann. Rev. Psychol. *54(1)*, 145-173.
- 385 32. Grice, H.P. (1991). Studies in the way of words (Cambridge, MA: Harvard
- 386 University Press).
- 33. Scott-Phillips, T. (2010). Animal communication: insights from linguistic
- 388 pragmatics. Anim. Behav. 79(1), e1-e4.
- 389 34. Wheeler, B.C. and Fischer, J. (2012). Functionally referential signals: a promising
- paradigm whose time has passed. Evol. Anthropol. 21, 195-205.
- 391 35. Dennett, D.C. (1987) The intentional stance (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press).
- 392 36. Liebal, K., Call, J. and Tomasello, M. (2004). Use of gesture sequences in
- 393 chimpanzees. Am. J. Primatol. *64*(*4*), 377-396.
- 38. Roberts, A.I., Vick, S.J. and Buchanan-Smith, H.M. (2012). Usage and
- comprehension of manual gestures in wild chimpanzees. Anim. Behav. 84(2),
- 396 459-470.
- 397 39. Grice, H.P. (1957). Meaning. The Philosophical Review *66*(*3*), 377-388.
- 398 40. Altmann, J. (1974). Observational study of behavior: sampling methods.
- 399 Behavior, 49(3-4), 227-267.

Table 1: Gestural Lexicon

Real-world meanings are defined and listed with the gestures to which they are associated, either a primary or a secondary outcome (Table S3: data from all individuals, raw scores converted to proportions). Meanings are consistent across individuals (Figure S1 and Table S2). Meanings are ordered in declining order of the number of gestures used to effect them: note that negation ('stop that' and 'move away') can be achieved with the largest variety of gestures, and that more alternatives are available for social negotiation than for simple requests.

Meaning: definition [primary outcome of these gestures] {secondary outcome of these gestures}

408 409 410

400

401

402

403

404 405

406

407

Stop that: either cease behavior previously directed towards the signaler or change behavior to direct it towards another [primary: Grab; Hand on; Jump; Push; Side roulade; Slap other; Somersault; Stomp 2-feet; Tap other] {secondary: Arm swing; Bite; Foot present; Hand fling; Punch other; Shake hands; Slap object}

Move away: move away from signaler [primary: Arm swing; Hand fling; Jump; Object shake; Punch object/ground; Punch other; Slap object] {secondary: Arm raise; Object move; Push; Slap other; Stomp; Tap other}

Contact: physical contact of apparently affiliative nature, e.g. hugging, touching etc. [primary: <u>Bite;</u> <u>Embrace;</u> <u>Rump rub;</u> <u>Shake hands</u>] {secondary: <u>Present sexual;</u> <u>Reach;</u> <u>Touch other</u>}

Acquire object: give signaler object [primary: Arm raise; Mouth stroke; Reach; Touch other] {secondary: Hand on}

Follow me: mature recipient follows mature signaler, usually in consortship [primary: <u>Jump;</u> <u>Slap object with object;</u> <u>Throw object</u>] {secondary: <u>Foot present;</u> <u>Rump rub;</u> <u>Stomp 2-feet</u>}

Move closer: *move closer* [primary: <u>Beckon;</u> <u>Grab-pull; Slap object with object</u>] {secondary: <u>Arm swing; Directed push; Mouth stroke</u>}

Sexual attention to male: ♀-responds sexually [primary: Leaf-clipping; Object move; Stomp] {secondary: Object shake; Punch object/ground}

Climb on me: climb on signaler's body [primary: Foot present; Present climb on] {secondary: Grab; Grab-pull}

Initiate grooming: grooming between signaler and recipient [primary: <u>Big loud scratch</u>] {secondary: <u>Bite</u>; <u>Present grooming</u>}

Sexual attention to female: *∂-responds* sexually [primary: Present sexual] {secondary: Leaf clipping}

Reposition body: move (and hold) body into indicated position [primary: <u>Directed push</u>] {secondary: <u>Beckon</u>}

Attend to specific location: adjust behavior to focus attention on indicated location [primary: Present grooming] {secondary: none}

Travel with me (adult): travel together with adult signaler [primary: n/a*] {secondary: Big loud scratch; Embrace}

Climb on you: permits signaler to climb on [primary: n/a*] {tertiary**: Reach}

Travel with me (infant): travel together with infant signaler [primary: n/a*] {other**: Big loud scratch; Grab-pull; Poke}

411

^{*} only recorded as secondary outcome

^{**} rarely observed outcome; only recorded as tertiary or less frequent

Table 2: Primary or secondary gesture meanings (excluding play)

The ASOs (as defined in Table S1) recorded as the primary, secondary, or tertiary ASO for each gesture type (Table S3). ASOs are listed in order of the number of gesture types (N) associated with them as their primary, and then secondary, or

tertiary outcome.

*Both these ASOs were recorded only as the tertiary or even less frequent outcome of a gesture type, as used by the community as a whole. However, their use was necessarily limited to young infant signalers; evidently they would be more prominently represented in a study of infant gesturing.

ASO	N ₁ (primary)	N_{1+2} (primary or secondary)	N ₁₊₂₊₃ (primary or secondary or tertiary)
Stop that	9	16	20
Move away	7	13	14
Contact	4	7	10
Acquire object	4	5	8
Follow me	3	6	10
Move closer	3	6	8
Sex attention (to male)	3	5	7
Climb on me	2	4	6
Initiate grooming	1	3	4
Sex attention (to female)	1	2	2
Reposition body	1	2	2
Attend to specific location	1	1	1
Travel with me (adult)	0	2	2
Climb on you*	0	0	1
Travel with me (infant)*	0	0	0