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Promotion of Sign Language Research by the African Deaf Community: Cases in French-speaking West and Central Africa

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Abstract

This article is based on a draft of a joint plenary talk by the two authors at the 8th World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL8) held on 20–24 August 2015 at Kyoto University, Japan.

In part 1, Kamei, a hearing cultural anthropologist from Japan, reports generally on sign languages in West and Central Africa. Although most countries in these areas use French as their official language, we observed an influence of American Sign Language (ASL) vocabulary. Andrew J. Foster, a Deaf African-American pastor, and his Deaf African colleagues conducted missionary activities in the area of West and Central Africa. Through their activities following the independence of African countries in the 1960s, urban Deaf communities created a new creole sign language using ASL vocabulary, written/ spoken French, and indigenous African signs. Through our research, we have established that the sign language used in this region is not a dialect of ASL, but an independent sign language created by African Deaf communities. This article proposes a new name for this language: *Langue des Signes d'Afrique Francophone* (LSAF).

In part 2, Yédê, a Deaf researcher and sign language instructor in Côte d'Ivoire, presents his experience with collaborative research in West Africa. In 2009, we began research training workshops for Deaf people in Côte d'Ivoire and established a Deaf research team organized by Yédê. He is the author of five books on sign language:

- (1) The first sign language dictionary in Côte d'Ivoire (September 2012)
- (2) Three sign language manuals for technical education and vocational training prepared for Togo, Burkina Faso, and Niger (May 2014)
- (3) A manual of bilingual literacy in sign language in Côte d'Ivoire (September 2014).

Through his report, he demonstrates the importance of entrusting a primary role to Deaf people in the activities of research on sign languages in Africa. If Deaf people continue to be limited to the role of "signing models" for hearing researchers, research cannot continue in the absence of the researchers. However, if Deaf people are well trained and become researchers themselves, they are able to continue to study and use the results of research to advocate for linguistic rights for the Deaf.

In conclusion, we show future perspectives for autonomous and united research collaborations among local Deaf research teams in West and Central Africa.

Keywords: sign language; Langue des Signes d'Afrique Francophone; Deaf community

1. General situation of sign language and research (Nobutaka Kamei)

1.1. Author and purpose of part 1

This article is based on a draft of a joint plenary talk given by the two authors at the 8th World Congress of African Linguistics (WOCAL8) on 23 August 2015 at Kyoto University, Japan.¹

In part 1, I, Kamei, a hearing cultural anthropologist from Japan, report generally on sign languages in West and Central Africa.

My involvement in African area studies began in 1996, with my first visit to Yaoundé, Cameroon. My research topics are the situations of minorities in the contexts of African societies, such as forest-dwelling hunter-gatherers, children and school education, and individuals with disabilities. Since 1997, I have been conducting field research particularly in Deaf communities, first in Cameroon and then in other countries in West and Central Africa. I learned local sign languages and have been using them in the conduct of my field research.

I have conducted fieldwork among Deaf communities in nine African countries (from the west: Senegal, Burkina Faso, Côte d'Ivoire, Ghana, Togo, Benin, Nigeria, Cameroon, and Gabon). Ghana, Nigeria, and the southwestern part of Cameroon belong to the English-speaking zone of Africa, while the other seven countries, including most of Cameroon, belong to the French-speaking zone. I have conducted research on Deaf communities and sign languages in these countries and reported on my research through publications and presentations.

Part 1 will: (1) describe the background and impact of American Sign Language (ASL) in Africa; (2) propose the definition of a sign language used in French-speaking West and Central Africa; and (3) show examples of sign language dictionaries we edited with Deaf counterparts.

1.2. The background and diffusion of ASL in French-speaking Africa

Figure 1 shows African countries whose sign languages were influenced by ASL.² Figure 2 shows 22 African countries that have adopted French as an official language.³ Through the comparison of these figures, we can see that ASL has spread to most French-speaking African countries.



Figure 1. The countries with the diffusion of ASL.



Figure 2. The countries that adopt French as one of their official languages.

America had no involvement in the colonization and rule of Africa in the 19th to 20th centuries. We will explain how ASL spread without the influence of colonization on the part of the United States as a political entity.

The key actor in the diffusion of ASL in Africa was Dr. Andrew J. Foster (1925–1987) (Photo 1). He was a Deaf African-American pastor.

Dr. Foster founded the Christian Mission for the Deaf (CMD) and worked in many African countries to spread school education and Christianity to the Deaf. He is often called the father of Deaf education in Africa.

Figure 3 shows the distribution of schools founded by the CMD.⁴ The CMD founded 31 schools for the Deaf in 13 countries, also founding churches and Sunday schools in four countries. Foster is well known as having founded the most schools for the Deaf worldwide.

The first of these schools was founded in Accra, Ghana, in 1957, the year when Ghana achieved its independence, the first country of colonized sub-Saharan Africa to do so.

The network of CMD schools had a presence in almost every major city in West and Central Africa, such as Accra (Ghana), Ibadan (Nigeria), Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), Ouagadougou (Burkina Faso), Cotonou (Benin), Lomé (Togo), Dakar (Senegal), N'Djamena (Chad), Bangui (Central African Republic), Kinshasa (Democratic Republic of the Congo), and Libreville (Gabon). Of these 31 schools, 25 (about 80%) were founded in French-speaking areas.



Photo 1. Dr. Andrew J. Foster (1925–1987)
(Photo offered by the CMD)

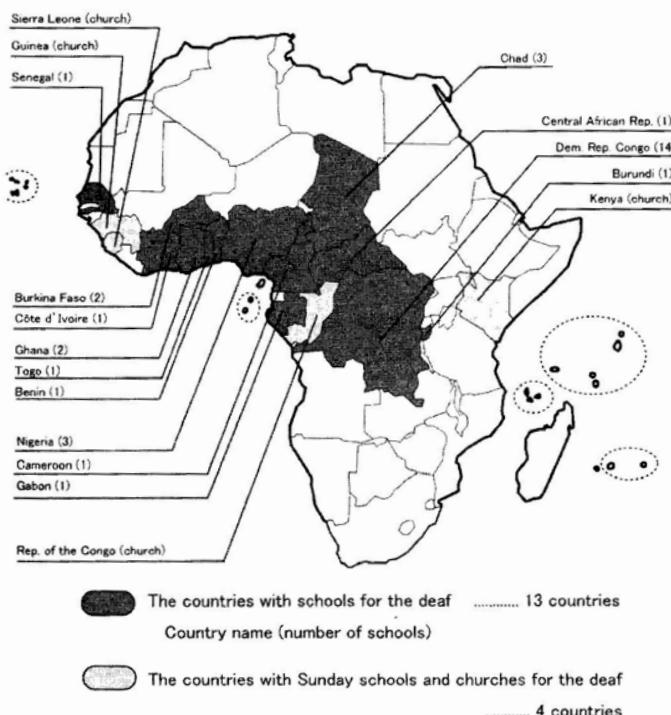


Figure 3. The countries where the CMD conducted its activities.

Photo 2 shows an example of a school for the Deaf founded by the CMD. This photograph was taken in Lomé, Togo, a French-speaking country, in 1979. The pupils are using an ASL-like sign and the teacher is writing in French on the blackboard. Both written French and signs borrowed from ASL were used in such CMD classrooms.



Photo 2. The classroom in the school for the Deaf in Lomé, Togo in 1979
(Photo offered by the CMD)

1.3. *CMD teacher-training course*

The CMD also trained young teachers, reaching 161 trainees in the teacher-training courses organized by Foster. The majority of these trainees were said to be Deaf (this claim is being researched).

Figure 4 shows the countries of origin of these 161 trainees. These connections created an extensive and effective network on the African continent, constructed by the CMD. Comparison of Figures 2 and 4 shows clearly that the network covers most French-speaking countries in Africa.

Foster often visited the capitals and large cities of many African countries, searching for trainees, especially Deaf youths. He visited churches and hospitals in these

cities looking for Deaf young people. On finding Deaf candidates, he often visited their homes or called them to the church where he stayed, proposing their participation in a teacher-training course organized in Nigeria. All expenses for his trainees' participation in this course, including transportation expenses, were provided for.

As the training course was managed by the CMD, a small missionary group, it was not well financed. Some trainees were not satisfied with the food provided. However, most trainees reported being satisfied with the opportunity to learn.

The CMD had planned to expand this work in other French-speaking countries; however, this goal did not come to fruition due to the sudden death of Foster in 1987.

The training of the teachers was managed by Deaf people themselves. The founder of the CMD and manager of the course was Andrew Foster (Deaf), the instructors were Deaf teachers from Benin, and the trainees were Deaf and hearing students from 19 countries, including most French-speaking African countries. These trainees themselves became teachers of Deaf children in their homelands.

We should bear in mind that Deaf African educators conducted this work after the independence of African countries in the 1960s. It had no relationship to colonization by European powers.

1.4. Definition of *Langue des Signes d'Afrique Francophone*

After this diffusion of ASL among African countries, the ASL vocabulary spread widely and rapidly among urban Deaf communities in these areas. These Deaf communities adopted the grammar, spelling, and mouthing of spoken and written French. The Deaf communities also added rich signs created among them in everyday life.

This process can be explained by reference to Figure 5. During the era of colonization, spoken and written French was introduced in Africa by the colonizing power, France. After these countries attained independence, ASL was introduced from America through educational activities by Deaf educators. Finally, a new sign language was created in the zone of language contact between ASL and French.

In discussions over many years, we, that is I, Kamei, the researcher, and my Deaf African counterparts, began to recognize this language not as a dialect of ASL, but as a new independent language created by African Deaf communities. We have termed this language *Langue des Signes d'Afrique Francophone* (LSAF)



Figure 4. The countries of the CMD trainees (19 countries).

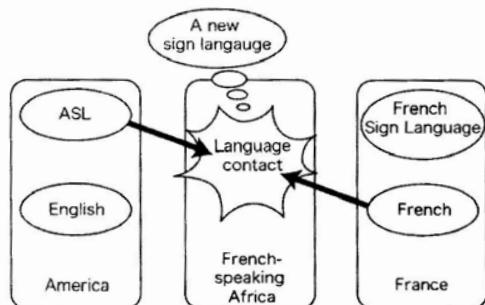


Figure 5. The language contact in French-speaking Africa.

The following is our proposed definition of LSAF:

Langue des Signes d'Afrique Francophone (LSAF) is a generic term for the sign languages used in Deaf communities in French-speaking West and Central Africa with (1) loan signs from ASL and (2) the influence of spoken/written French.

Thus, LSAF can be thought of as a generic term for creole sign languages emerging in the interaction zone of ASL and French in Africa. Together with recognizing this language, describing it is important, not only for academic purposes, but also for educational use.

I have visited Deaf communities in seven French-speaking African countries. A common sign language (LSAF) can be observed to surpass political borders here. However, minor variations in vocabulary can be found. For this reason, we have determined the use of geographic names to distinguish one dialect from another. For example, LSAF-CI is used to designate the dialect of LSAF used in Côte d'Ivoire, and LSAF-Cam is the dialect of Cameroon.

1.5. Deaf communities after Foster's death

In 1987, Foster died in an aircraft crash in Rwanda. The CMD adopted a policy of reducing financial support for these schools. African educators were forced to accept this situation, sometimes entering into financial difficulties.

Some schools were nationalized by national governments and others were continued as private schools. Some schools were taken over by hearing educators and others by Deaf educators. Although some expanded, others were closed because of war or financial trouble. We can find various patterns and outcomes related to the empowerment of Deaf communities through the examination of CMD schools after Foster's death.

The CMD originally started private missionary schools, overseen mainly by Deaf educators. Through research on Deaf education in the post-Foster era, we can classify the outcomes of these schools and their education using two criteria:

- (1) Deaf-led education (for example, in Nigeria) or hearing-led education (for example, in Burkina Faso)
- (2) Government-led education (for example, in Côte d'Ivoire) or private sector-led education (for example, in Cameroon).

Achievements and issues can be examined using these criteria. We intend to conduct comparative research on African Deaf history using this viewpoint.

1.6. Publication of dictionaries in Cameroon and Côte d'Ivoire

With the recognition of LSAF as an independent language originating in the contact zone of ASL and French, it is necessary to conduct descriptive research on this language. Here, I give as examples dictionaries published in Africa.

As part of a research project of the Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies (ILCAA-TUFS), Japan, creation of the first dictionary of LSAF was begun in 2007. The first DVD video dictionary of LSAF was created in 2008 with the collaboration of the Deaf community in Cameroon (Kamei, 2008, Kamei ed., 2008). It is an electronic dictionary of LSAF using video clips,

with indices in Japanese and French.

This DVD consists of about 3,300 clips (7 hours 40 minutes). It has the following sections: (1) a searchable dictionary (2,600 words); (2) lessons in sign language (450 phrases); (3) conversations for the study of useful expressions for daily greetings and conversational LSAF (110 phrases); (4) a grammar reference for the study of personal pronouns, tenses, and sentence patterns (150 phrases); and (5) natural dialogues between two Deaf signers, for instruction in understanding sign language (2 sessions).

After the project in Cameroon, I started another project in Côte d'Ivoire (ongoing from 2008 to the present).

In 2008, we started to promote the idea of a project for a second LSAF dictionary in Côte d'Ivoire. In 2009, we started research training with Deaf counterparts in Abidjan. Deaf counterparts interested in descriptive research on sign language began to participate in our workshop.

In 2012, the first dictionary of LSAF in Côte d'Ivoire was published (see section 2.3 and Photo 3). This dictionary contains illustrations of signs in the Côte d'Ivoire dialect of LSAF (LSAF-CI), with indices in French and English. A version with an index in Japanese is now being prepared, and a DVD dictionary project is also being conducted. We expect to be able to promote this kind of research and publication among Deaf Africans.

1.7. Summary of part 1

In summary, I highlight the following. ASL use is widespread in West and Central Africa. However, this usage is not the result of colonization by European powers. It is the result of missionary work conducted mainly by Deaf Africans after the independence of African countries.

African Deaf communities have created a new sign language (LSAF), borrowing from ASL vocabulary, spoken/written French, and original signs created in Africa. Description of this new African sign language is necessary for academic and educational purposes, mainly for African Deaf people themselves.

In part 2, Yédé Adama Sanogo, another author and a Deaf person from Côte d'Ivoire, will present examples of local activity by Deaf researchers.

2. Promoting linguistic rights for Deaf communities in West Africa: What role is there for Deaf people in the field of research on sign language? (Yédé Adama Sanogo)

2.1. Introduction of the author of part 2

The author of part 2, Yédé Adama Sanogo, is from Côte d'Ivoire and is a Deaf person. He began working in field of sign language instruction in 1997. Today, he is deeply involved in promoting sign language in Côte d'Ivoire and in West Africa as a sign language teacher, trainer of sign language interpreters, and sign language researcher in the Deaf community.

The author is also a former trainee of the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and Disabled Peoples' International Asia-Pacific (DPI/AP) Program for Persons With Disabilities in Africa. Since his training at the JICA Tokyo International Center in 2008, he has worked as a Mainstreaming Disability Advisor in Côte d'Ivoire. Most of his activities focus on promoting human rights for Deaf people. Since 2010, he has been Executive Director of the NGO Society Without Barriers—Côte d'Ivoire (SWB-CI) and

the Coordinator of the Action Plan for Sign Language promotion in Côte d'Ivoire.

2.2. Research field

(1) Where are we working?

Our research field is located in French-speaking West Africa. We work primarily in Côte d'Ivoire. However, from 2013 to 2014, we worked in Burkina Faso, Togo, and Niger.

Since 2010, our main activity has taken place in Côte d'Ivoire. In 2013, we began contact with Deaf communities in Burkina Faso, Togo, and Niger, contributing to the development of sign language books for these countries through a project of CBM, an international NGO. We worked with this NGO as Sign Language Experts from 2013 to 2014.

(2) Common issues of Deaf peoples in the research field

In our research field, French-speaking West Africa, Deaf people usually face many difficulties in areas such as access to education, information, health care, vocational training, and employment. Most countries in this region have few schools where Deaf people may study. Until the present, the main schools for the Deaf in these countries were founded by Dr. Andrew Foster (see part 1, the presentation of Dr. Kamei).

A very high proportion of Deaf children do not attend school. Many other Deaf youths withdraw after primary school, due to the lack of secondary schools that they can attend or of sign language interpretation services for them in ordinary existing schools.

In our research, we have seen that Deaf people cannot truly enjoy their right to a basic education.

As we know, the issue of education is an important matter of human development. How can linguistic research contribute to improve Deaf people's right of access to education and other basic human rights?

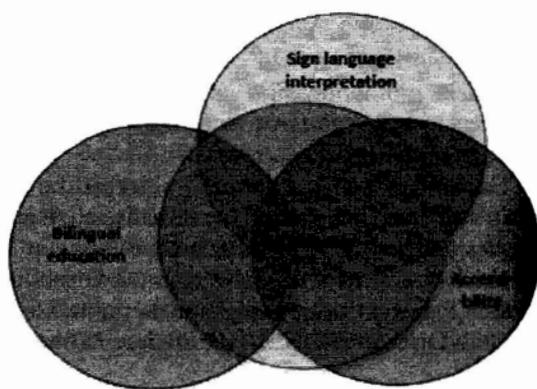
(3) Challenges of research on sign language in this region

According to a report by the World Federation of the Deaf on Deaf people and human rights around the world (Haualand and Allen, 2009), without the implementation and existence of even one of the factors below, Deaf people will not be able to fully enjoy their human rights.

To contribute to the improvement of the living conditions of Deaf people in society, we must invest in these four main areas:

- Bilingual education
- Sign language interpretation
- Sign language
- accessibility

Sign language is the key factor. As we cannot imagine the social blossoming of a hearing person without spoken language, so we cannot imagine the social blossoming of a Deaf person without sign language. Unfortunately, research on sign



language in many parts of Africa is lacking. In some African countries, not even one book in sign language is available.

Research on sign language contributes to the development of many training tools and methods, which will contribute to improving accessibility to education, information, health, vocational training, and employment for Deaf people.

The lack of research on sign language in the region of French-speaking West Africa can be cited as one factor favoring the inaccessibility of education, vocational training, and information to Deaf people. Since 2009, therefore, we have been working to bring change to Côte d'Ivoire.

2.3. Working methodology and key results

(1) How are we working in Côte d'Ivoire?

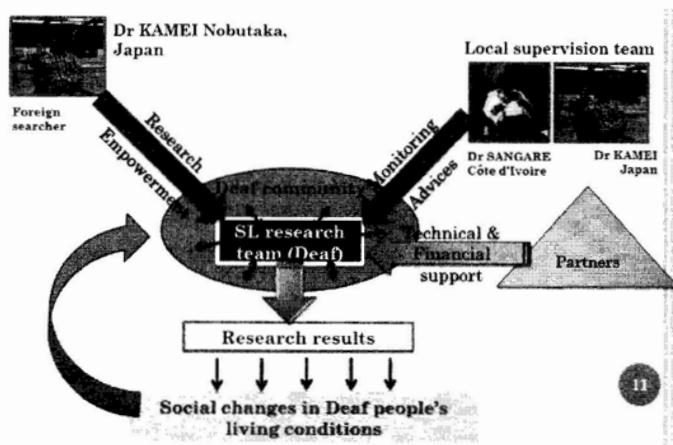
The working strategy of research in Côte d'Ivoire is described below.

First axis: *Deaf community members can obtain the strategic knowledge to conduct research themselves.*

A foreign researcher, Dr. Nobutaka Kamei (Japan), came to Côte d'Ivoire to develop research on sign language. Through his research and training, he empowered Deaf people in Abidjan (Côte d'Ivoire), giving them strategic knowledge that they could employ in research. Thus, we created a sign language research team among individuals from the Ivorian Deaf community. Within this team, Deaf people themselves have the leading role. This team is supervised by a local hearing researcher (Dr. Sangare Aby, Felix Houphouet Boigny University, Côte d'Ivoire) and a foreign researcher (Dr. Kame Nobutaka, Aichi Prefectural University, Japan).

Second axis: *Deaf people's living conditions are improved through research on sign language.*

The first results of research are scientific. These results are used in local and foreign universities for student training. We seek to use the results of research in a second way, namely in community development programs for Deaf people. We are working in partnership with local and international development NGOs to use scientific results to create sign language tools that can be used both by Deaf people in their communities and by all others to improve accessibility to education, vocational training, information, and other desirables for Deaf people.



Third axis: Research is a permanent activity in Deaf communities.

To ensure the real promotion of linguistic rights for Deaf people, permanent applied research activity is needed. Thus, the use of the results of research in community development programs for Deaf people creates a regular assessment of the social need of the community in relation to the topic of sign language. This assessment allows the sign language research team to develop new research ideas and themes.

(2) Research and results

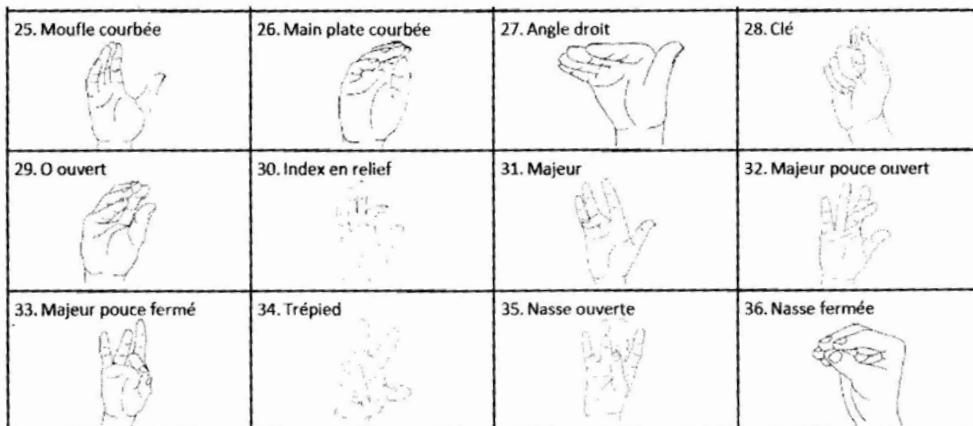
The sign language research team in Côte d'Ivoire started working in 2010. We achieved our first result in 2012 by publishing the first sign language dictionary in Côte d'Ivoire. This dictionary has 1,340 signs. In 2014, 2 years later, we published a bilingual sign language instruction manual.

The Deaf sign language team in Côte d'Ivoire has the strategic knowledge to develop sign language manuals by itself, as well as contributing to the development of sign language manuals in other countries. In 2013, through a project of CBM, an international NGO, we succeeded in developing three sign language manuals for three West African countries: Burkina Faso, Niger, and Togo.

We have begun working on the following research ideas:

- Set up a basic lexicon of LSAF-CI in the field of education
- Study hand shapes in LSAF-CI





2.4. What role is there for Deaf people in research?

The role of Deaf people in the research field depends on how they are involved in research. In most cases, we can identify two ways in which Deaf people are involved in research. Each way leads to specific impacts. See the table below:

Way	1	2
What role does the researcher give to Deaf people?	Sign model	Research collaborator
What methodology does the researcher use?	The researcher gives the necessary knowledge to be a good sign model, to obtain good pictures. The Deaf person may often have a very low level of knowledge about the issue of sign language and research	The researcher supplies resources on the issue of sign language and research topics to improve the Deaf person's knowledge and give him/her the necessary capacity to conduct research him/herself
What are the outputs for Deaf people?	The Deaf person does not acquire strategic knowledge or skills on the promotion of sign language	The Deaf person acquires strategic knowledge and skills on the promotion of sign language
What are the outcomes in the Deaf community?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research cannot continue in the absence of the researcher - Deaf people cannot invest in advocacy for social change using research results 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Research can continue in the absence of the researcher - Deaf people can invest in advocacy for social change using research results
What are the impacts?	Deaf people have difficulty enjoying basic rights, such	There are many results of research that fit the social

	<p>as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Official recognition of sign language - Quality of sign language interpretation - Bilingual education - Vocational training - Others 	<p>needs of Deaf people, such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Deaf people's linguistic rights are recognized - Deaf people are able to enjoy quality services related to sign language, such as sign language interpretation and bilingual instruction
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2.5. Summary of part 2

According to the experience in Côte d'Ivoire, we can conclude that the best way to contribute to social change in Deaf communities in the region of French-speaking West Africa through research is to increase Deaf people's participation in research on sign language. This means not only working with Deaf people as sign models, but also granting them strategic skills for the promotion of their linguistic rights, development of sign language tools, and related skills.

We think a best practice for a researcher is to set up a local sign language research team, led by Deaf people themselves, in a Deaf community. This practice will contribute to the empowerment of Deaf people in their own community. This is a sustainability matter regarding the impact we pursue: that all people around the world will be able to enjoy linguistic rights without barriers.

3. Conclusion: future perspectives and issues (Yédé Adama Sanogo and Nobutaka Kamei)

What are the role and position of a hearing researcher who visits from outside Africa and attempts to make commitments with African Deaf communities?

The provision of professional skills and knowledge is, of course, important. Also important are searching for partner organizations, sharing know-how relating to obtaining research grants, and other skills and connections. In his experience during the undertaking of collaborative research with African Deaf communities, Kamei would sometimes visit ministry offices for negotiations for the promotion of research activities, or he would give a lecture for university faculty or citizens to support awareness campaigns in local contexts. A foreign hearing researcher in collaboration with Deaf communities may need to act not only as a researcher, but also as a person able to conduct multiple optional activities for the benefit of the local Deaf community. In other words, the fieldworker must sometimes be a multi-talented activist.

LSAF is used widely and commonly among French-speaking African Deaf communities. The common basic characteristics of LSAF must be respected while carefully observing variations in its dialects among African countries. For this reason, we hope to promote autonomous research by local Deaf research teams and to share the results with each other across the African Continent.

We are promoting the following ideas: (1) to establish l'Institut de recherche sur la LSAF (Research Institute for LSAF), (2) to conduct training courses for Deaf and hearing

researchers (mainly targeting Deaf people), and (3) to organize la Conférence Internationale sur la LSAF (LSAF International Conference) to create a network of researchers and collaborators.

These prospective activities are now being prepared steadily in accordance with the basic concepts of inclusive participation of Deaf people as well as hearing people, people from inside as well as outside of Africa, and local citizens as well as professional researchers in universities. To achieve autonomous and united research collaboration among Deaf Africans, we must move forward together.

Acknowledgements

The field research for this article was conducted with support from several Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research "KAKENHI" from the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS), Japan. It is a pleasure to express our sense of thanks to: the sign language research group in Côte d'Ivoire, the sign language research group in Cameroon, all Deaf and hearing counterparts in Africa, the organizing committee of WOCAL8, Professor Shigeki Kaji (Organizer of WOCAL8), Dr. Toshiro Kamiya (Secretary General of WOCAL8), Professor Ritsuko Miyamoto (Coordinator of the sign language workshop), Ms. Nami Akiyama (Coordinator of sign language interpretation), the sign language interpreters, and all participants in our plenary talk.

Notes

¹ The original plenary talk 3 was presented in spoken English (by Kamei) and in LSAF (by Yédê), with PowerPoint slides written in English. All contents were interpreted into three languages: spoken English, International Signs, and Japanese Sign Language.

Plenary talk 3: "Promotion of sign language research by the African Deaf community: The cases in West and Central French-speaking Africa" by Yédê Adama Sanogo and Nobutaka Kamei (9:30–10:30, Sunday, August 23, 2015, Clock Tower Centennial Hall, Yoshida Main Campus, Kyoto University, Kyoto, Japan)

² All content on the history of the CMD and figures are quoted from Kamei (2006). Some data were revised to reflect the actual situation in 2015.

³ In this article, "official language" is used as a generic term for a language recognized by a government using diverse names, such as "national language," "official language," and others. Cameroon (French and English) and Equatorial Guinea (Spanish and French) each have multiple official languages, including French.

⁴ This figure shows 32 schools, which consist of the 31 schools founded by Foster and an additional school founded by the CMD in the Democratic Republic of the Congo after Foster's death.

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