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Vitality of Damana, the language of the Wiwa Indigenous community

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Hispanic Studies

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Abstract

Vitality of Damana, the language of the Wiwa People

The Wiwa are Indigenous¹ people who live in the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in Colombia. This project examines the vitality of Damana [ISO 693-3: mbp], their language, in two communities that offer high school education in Damana and Spanish. Its aim is to measure the level of endangerment of Damana according to the factors used in the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger. Quantitative and qualitative data were collected through a questionnaire that gathered demographic and background language information, self-reported proficiency and use of Spanish and Damana [n=56]. Besides the questionnaire, interviews with teachers and parents [n=27], and students [n=29] elicit attitudes towards the languages in question and describe the condition of Damana. Finally, the project includes detailed field notes. Results indicate a difference in language use and competence between older and younger generations, suggesting a pattern of language shift that results in rating the language as definitely endangered. The most urgent linguistic needs for these communities include Native Damana-speaking teachers, language documentation and pedagogical material.

Keywords

Damana, Indigenous languages, Diglossia, Bilingualism, Language Vitality, Wiwa people, Minoritized languages, Oral tradition.

¹ In his style guide, *Practical English Usage*, Swan (as cited by the Department of Justice of Canada, 2015) states that initial capitals are used for “nouns and adjectives referring to... ethnic groups.” And despite the fact that the Canadian *Constitution Act*, 1982 does not capitalize the term *aboriginal peoples*, the words Aboriginal, Indigenous and Natives are capitalized in the Canadian context. This does not only show proper grammar but demonstrates respect.

In the Colombian context Aboriginal is a synonym of *primitive* and the term was used by the conquerors and colonists to undervalue Indigenous peoples and justify their extermination. Therefore, the term is considered pejorative and it is avoided. Politically, the Indigenous groups are Peoples that integrate the Colombian Nation. That is why we decided to avoid the term Aboriginal in this text.

Summary for Lay Audience

The Wiwas are an Indigenous people located in the slopes of the mountains of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta in Colombia. This project examines the current condition of their language, Damana [ISO 693-3: mbp], in the two only communities that offer high school education in Damana and Spanish to the Wiwa Native people. Despite having a speech community of 7,400 individuals, previous research on Damana remains poor, and very few grammar or lexicon surveys have been produced (Anderson, 2014). Moreover, we do not know of any study that had considered Damana within these two educational contexts. This study measures the level of endangerment of the language according to the factors used to compile the UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley, 2012).

Results show a positive attitude towards Damana by the members of the Indigenous community. Results also indicate a difference in language use and competence between older and younger generations suggesting a pattern of language shift that allows us to rate the language as *vulnerable* or *definitively endangered*.

The most urgent linguistic needs for these communities include Native Damana-speaking teachers, language documentation and pedagogical material. The project concludes with general considerations of the reach of the different initiatives applied in the two schools including the efforts of the community and the Wiwa secretary of education. Further steps in the revitalization of the language can be better designed if the current situation of language loss is clearly determined. Information on language vitality is essential in the description of a language, especially when language endangerment is identified, to provide an effective support effort at different levels.

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Table of Contents

Abstract.....	ii
Summary for Lay Audience.....	iii
Acknowledgments.....	iv
Table of Contents.....	v
List of Tables.....	viii
List of Figures.....	x
List of Appendices.....	xiii
Chapter 1.....	1
1 Introduction.....	1
Chapter 2.....	9
2 Literature Review.....	9
2.1 Diglossia.....	9
2.2 Minoritized Peoples and Languages.....	12
2.3 Wiwa People.....	14
2.3.1 Geographical and Historical Background.....	14
2.3.2 Wiwa Government.....	21
2.4 Damana.....	25
2.4.1 Oral Tradition Language.....	27
2.4.2 Description of Damana.....	30
2.4.3 Writing System.....	32
2.4.4 Terruma Shayama.....	34
2.4.5 Speakers of Damana.....	35
2.5 Language Vitality.....	37

2.5.1	Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS).....	40
2.5.2	Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)	41
2.5.3	UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger Factors	43
2.6	Research Questions.....	46
Chapter 3.....		48
3	Methodology, Instruments, Scenario and Participants.....	48
3.1	Methodological Approach	48
3.2	Instruments.....	50
3.2.1	Questionnaire	50
3.2.2	Interviews.....	51
3.2.3	Field Notes	53
3.3	Scenario and Participants	54
3.3.1	The Communities.....	55
3.3.2	Gotsezhy	57
3.3.3	Atshintujkua.....	60
3.3.4	Participants.....	61
Chapter 4.....		65
4	Findings.....	65
4.1	Intergenerational Language Transmission.....	66
4.2	Absolute Number of Speakers	69
4.3	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population.....	75
4.4	Trends in Existing Language Domains.....	78
4.5	Response to New Domains and Media	89
4.5.1	School	90
4.5.2	Religion.....	95
4.5.3	Government.....	98

4.5.4	Internet	99
4.5.5	Media	100
4.5.6	Conclusion	101
4.6	Materials for Language Education and Literacy.....	102
4.7	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies Including Official Status and Use	107
4.7.1	Policies Implementation.....	111
4.7.2	Interculturality in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga	118
4.7.3	Interculturality in the ethno-educational center Zharneka	120
4.7.4	Conclusion	121
4.8	Community Member Attitudes toward their own Language	122
4.9	Amount and Quality of Documentation.....	126
Chapter 5	129
5	Discussion and Conclusion	129
5.1	Discussion	129
5.2	Conclusion	132
References	135
Appendices	149
Curriculum Vitae	158

List of Tables

Table 1. <i>Dialectal division of Colombian Spanish (Montes Giraldo, 1982)</i>	2
Table 2. <i>Ancestral Government System (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015). For the original in Spanish, see Appendix I</i>	23
Table 3. <i>Consonant and vowel inventory of Damana (Trillos Amaya, 1999)</i>	31
Table 4. <i>Stages of the GIDS model (Fishman, 1991)</i>	40
Table 5. <i>The EGIDS as presented by Lewis and Simons</i>	42
Table 6. <i>UNESCO nine evaluative factors of language vitality</i>	43
Table 7. <i>UNESCO degrees of endangerment (Moseley, 2010)</i>	44
Table 8. <i>Summary of participants (n=56)</i>	62
Table 9. <i>Ethnic origin questions, National Survey, 1993</i>	70
Table 10. <i>Ethnic origin questions, National Survey, 2005</i>	71
Table 11. <i>Wiwa population (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009)</i>	72
Table 12. <i>Damana speakers (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009)</i>	74
Table 13. <i>Assessment scale for proportion of Speakers within the total population scale (UNESCO, 2004)</i>	77
Table 14. <i>Settlement and concentration of the Wiwa population based on the National Survey of 2005 (Ministerio de Cultura, 2014)</i>	77
Table 15. <i>Wiwa Curriculum Guidelines as per the Shama Zhigui (OWYBT, 2012)</i>	91
Table 16. <i>Principles of ethno-education (Decr. 804, 1995, art. 2)</i>	110

Table 17. *UNESCO factors for Damana in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga and Zharneka* 129

List of Figures

Figure 1. <i>Political Constitution of Colombia, 1991. Article 10</i>	1
Figure 2. <i>Map of Colombia showing the location of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (SNSM), and the Indigenous Peoples that inhabit it (Ríos, 2020)</i>	7
Figure 3. <i>Matuna Falls (SNSM)</i>	8
Figure 4. <i>SNSM. View from Zharneka</i>	8
Figure 5. <i>Wiwa settlements map (Ríos, 2020)</i>	18
Figure 6. <i>Wiwa settlements (Detail) (Ríos, 2020)</i>	19
Figure 7. <i>Myth told by Franciso Gil Awuiguí (Quiceno, 2019) For the original in Spanish, see Appendix 2</i>	29
Figure 8. <i>Damana in the language cloud. The EGIDS level for Damana in Colombia is 6a (Vigorous) — The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable (Eberhard et al. 2019)</i>	35
Figure 9. <i>Wiwa’s language competence in Damana (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009)</i>	37
Figure 10. <i>Languages of the world (Eberhard et al., 2009)</i>	39
Figure 11. <i>Students weaving. Zharneka School</i>	45
Figure 12. <i>Meeting at "Kangaga" (The hill). Gotsezhy</i>	46
Figure 13. <i>Traditional houses. Gotsezhy</i>	47
Figure 14. <i>Traditional houses. Atshintujkua</i>	47
Figure 15. <i>Location of the two boarding schools, ethno-educational centers Zalemakú Sertuga and Zharneka (Ríos, 2020)</i>	59
Figure 16. <i>Indigenous House. Santa Marta</i>	64

Figure 17. <i>Indigenous House. Valledupar</i>	64
Figure 18. <i>Mother tongues spoken by students at the ethno-educational centers Zharneka and Zalemakú Sertuga</i>	67
Figure 19. <i>Level of Damana self assessed by the students of the ethno-educational center Zharneka</i>	68
Figure 20. <i>Speakers of Damana according to the Census, 2005 and the PPDE, 2009</i>	74
Figure 21. <i>Total mother languages spoken by students at Gotsezhy and Atshintujkua</i>	75
Figure 22. <i>Preferred language in both schools</i>	76
Figure 23. <i>Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by students of the educational center Zalemakú Sertuga</i>	82
Figure 24. <i>Frequency of use of Damana and Spanish with family and health practitioner by students of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga</i>	83
Figure 25. <i>Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by parents of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga</i>	84
Figure 26. <i>Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by Wiwa teachers of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga</i>	85
Figure 27. <i>Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by students of the ethno-educational center Zharneka</i>	86
Figure 28. <i>Frequency of use of Damana and Spanish with family and health practitioner by students of the ethno-educational center Zharneka</i>	87
Figure 29. <i>Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by parents of students at the ethno-educational center Zharneka</i>	87
Figure 30. <i>Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by Wiwa teachers of the ethno-educational center Zharneka</i>	89

Figure 31. <i>Percentage of teachers who speak Damana in each of the schools</i>	93
Figure 32. <i>Damana alphabet used in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga.....</i>	102
Figure 33. <i>Decr. 804, 1995; art. 19 and 20</i>	115
Figure 34. <i>Needs of the each school as per students and teachers.....</i>	121
Figure 35. <i>Old infrastructure. Classrooms at Zalemakú Sertuga school. Still in use at time of research.....</i>	128
Figure 36. <i>There were five newer classrooms at Zalemakú Sertuga School at time of research</i>	128
Figure 37. <i>Ushui (Women meeting house). Atshintujkua.....</i>	131
Figure 38. <i>Zalemakú Sertuga Ethno-educational Insitution. General Assembly.....</i>	134
Figure 39. <i>Zharneka Ethno-educational Institution. Own [ancestral] Knowledge class</i>	134

List of Appendices

Appendix 1.....	149
Appendix 2.....	150
Appendix 3.....	151
Appendix 4.....	152
Appendix 5.....	153
Appendix 6.....	157

Chapter 1

1 Introduction

Besides Spanish, 65 Amerindian, two Creole and one Romani languages are spoken in Colombia (Bodnar, 2013). Spanish is the official language of the whole territory of Colombia and, as stated in the current Constitution of the country issued in 1991, Indigenous languages have been recognized as official languages in the region where they are spoken (see figure 1). Spanish is spoken in all of the territory by the majority of the Colombian population and shows important dialectological differences that can be tracked to different regions (Landaburu, 2000).

Article 10. Spanish is the official language of Colombia. Ethnic group's languages and dialects are also official languages in their territory. Teaching in communities with their own linguistic tradition will be bilingual.

Artículo 10. El castellano es el idioma oficial de Colombia. Las lenguas y dialectos de los grupos étnicos son también oficiales en sus territorios. La enseñanza que se imparta en las comunidades con tradiciones lingüísticas propias será bilingüe.

Figure 1. Political Constitution of Colombia, 1991. Article 10

An academic proposal of a dialectical division of the Spanish spoken in Colombia established after a rigorous study and detailed analysis of the differences in pronunciation, grammar and lexical characteristics is presented in table 1. This distribution is based on the definition of *language* as a set of partial (sub)systems united by historic and political ties more than pure linguistic characteristics and *dialects* as the distinct variations or (sub)systems limited by a diversity of standards. For historical reasons, the classification of Spanish in Colombia portrayed below emanates from the general bipartition of Spanish in the Iberian Peninsula into Central Northern Spanish and Southern Spanish. The latter includes the language spoken in the south of the Iberian

Peninsula, the Canary Islands and most of the American continent. Simplifying somewhat, the dialectal differences found in America, including Colombia, are due to historical processes such as the chronology of colonization that brought settlers from Southern Spain to the areas of easy access like low lands and the coasts, and settlers from Central Northern Spain to the inland cities where the Viceroyalty was established. The two super-dialects, that is, dialects that encompass many sub-dialects, which are shown in Table 1, correspond to the two main dialectal regions of Spain. The coastal super-dialect of Colombia was influenced by the Spanish spoken in the Southern region of Spain and the Andean one was based on the Spanish of the Central Northern area of the Iberian Country (Montes Giraldo, 1982).

Table 1. *Dialectal division of Colombian Spanish (Montes Giraldo, 1982)*

Pacific Coast		Caribbean Coast			Coastal Super-dialect
Northern		Cartagenero	Samario	Guajiro	
Southern		Inferior Caribbean Coast			

Central Western		Central Eastern			Central or Andean Super-dialect
Nariñense-caucano	Antioqueño	Tolimense-huilense	Cundi-boyacense	Santandereano	

As stated above, there are other languages besides Spanish spoken in Colombia, including the two creole languages and Indigenous languages. The two creole languages were developed as a communication tool within slave communities of diverse origin. The slaves originated in different regions that were scattered along the West coast of Africa and brought to a place dominated by a language unknown to the enslaved population. Both creoles have their roots in those diverse African languages spoken by the enslaved black Africans that were in contact with the dominant languages of the region; Portuguese and Spanish in the case of Palenquero, the Creole of San Basilio de Palenque, and English in the case of the Creole of the Archipelago of San Andrés and Providencia (Meggeny as cited by Trillos Amaya, 1986).

With the commerce of slaves, a pidgin had developed in Africa based on Portuguese as a superstrate and the many African languages of the Western coast of Africa as substrates. This pidgin developed into a creole based on Romance with a vast number of items from elements from African languages and a typically creolized grammar. In Colombia, the creole developed into Palenquero (the Creole of San Basilio de Palenque). Palenque was founded by escaped slaves during the colonial period and remained relatively isolated until fairly recently. Like other creole languages it has a complex grammar and uses Spanish origin vocabulary (Lipski, 2019a, 2019b).

The Creole of the Raizal community of San Andrés and Providencia has its roots in the Maroons from Jamaica and Trinidad, black slaves and their European masters (most of them British) that settled in the islands, and the Mistiko Indians (Forbes, 2002). During 150 years, from 1629 to 1786, English was the dominant language in the Archipelago of San Andrés and Providencia. The intense contact of English and African languages left a strong legacy in the Raizal community and their language, the Creole of San Andres and Providencia. Besides cultural features, there are linguistic African traces in the Creole of San Andres and Providencia such as expressions, verbal markers, words and lexical compounds (Ramírez Cruz, 2017).

The Indigenous languages are present in 29 of the 32 departments that make up the country of Colombia. Due to its privileged location and diversity of environment, Colombia was settled by a considerable number of Meso-Amerindians with different linguistic traditions. The 65 surviving Amerindian languages spoken in Colombia are grouped into twelve linguistic families, and ten isolated languages that have not been classified (Landaburu, 2000).

This vast diversity represents different ways of understanding the universe and its realities and offers a variety of cultural and linguistic expressions, allowing a number of minoritized² groups to participate in the global era from the perspective of their own language. There is a documented interest from different communities in Colombia to preserve, record, and recover their languages and the Colombian government has

²See 2.2 Minoritized peoples and languages.

recognized this concern, taking into account that languages are an intangible heritage of humanity (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009).

It is the aim of the present project to examine the vitality of one of those languages, Damana³ [ISO 693-3: mbp] in two different communities located in the slopes of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta [Snowy Range Mountains of Santa Marta] (SNSM) in Colombia, South America (See figure 2). Different aspects, such as number of speakers, intergenerational transmission, domains where the language is spoken, official policies, attitude of the members of the community towards their language, didactic and linguistic material and linguistic research are measured following the criteria used to compile the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger (Moseley, 2012).

In the mountains of SNSM, the Wiwa Indigenous people have isolated themselves to preserve their ancestral culture and language. The number of speakers of Damana surpasses seven thousand⁴; however, in comparison to major languages like Spanish and English or minoritized languages like Euskera in Spain, the documentation of their language remains scarce and few grammar or lexicon surveys have been produced (Anderson, 2014). There is a significant interest in major languages and very few linguists are interested in languages like Damana. This language of oral tradition⁵ has been able to survive in spite of the processes of Hispanicization implemented during the Colonial and Republican eras, processes that led to linguistic policies that altered the balance of the status of the diverse number of languages spoken in Colombia (Trillos Amaya, 2019).

Initially, the aims of the Spanish Empire were to unify their colonies following two main principles: the spread of the Catholic religion and the establishment of the Spanish language (Hernández Chacón, n.d.). These two principles constituted the foundation of

³ In English and Spanish documents, the language is known as Damana (among other names). The two first vowel sounds are closer to a schwa or a close central rounded vowel and the Wiwas decided to represent this sound with [ɥ] to facilitate the writing process for children. Therefore, in Wiwa texts it will be found as Dɥmɥna.

⁴ See 4.2 Absolute Number of Speakers to see the numbers from Ministerio de Cultura, 2009.

⁵ See 2.4.1 Oral tradition language

the Colonial policy that prohibited the use of Indigenous languages and tried to implement the Hispanicization in America (Trillos Amaya, 2019).

After Independence, Republican policies emerged, and they were not that different from colonial ones. Simón Bolívar, who liberated five American nations from the Spanish yoke, including Colombia, maintained that Latin America was one people with one language, Spanish (Hernández Chacón, n.d.). In 1890, Colombia, emulating aspects of the French model implemented during the Enlightenment, enacted the policy of one language, Spanish, and one religion, Catholicism, thus promoting the unification of Colombian identity with cultural, ethnic and linguistic homogeneity (Trillos Amaya, 2019). Despite these policies, unbreakable resistance on the part of the Wiwas has allowed them to preserve their language.

With regards to the classroom setting, Wiwa schools in SNSM used only Spanish as a medium of instruction until fairly recently, when they introduced Damana in the classroom leading to what will be referred to in this thesis as Spanish/Damana bilingual education. We are aware of the fact that ‘bilingual education’ generally refers to a 50/50 model, which is not the case here, as Damana is not used with the same frequency as Spanish. However, school is seen bilingual because both languages are used in the school and education is considered bilingual by teachers and administrative staff of the two participant ethno-educational centers.

Bilingualism in this area of the country may be considered a case of diglossia⁶ (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 2000/1967, among others) due to the Indigenous use of each of the two languages in different contexts: Spanish for the majority of the school, administration and interaction with the colonists and Damana, at home and among Indigenous society (Trillos Amaya, 1996).

According to the UNESCO Atlas of Language (Moseley, 2010), there are 2,000 speakers of Damana; Trillos Amaya (1996) reported more than 3,000; and, more recently, these numbers have been increased to 7,000 (Anderson, 2014) and 13,600 (Bodnar, 2013). We

⁶ See 2.1 Diglossia

will analyze the reason for this difference in numbers in more detail in subsequent sections of this document. However, one possible explanation for the increase in numbers is the fact that the last survey carried out was a sociolinguistic auto-diagnosis performed by Native speakers of the languages surveyed as part of the implementation of the Protection of Native Language policies. The objective was to determine the linguistic vitality of Native languages in Colombia. The fact that the survey was carried out by Indigenous individuals could help the census-takers to approach a greater number of Indigenous people and the respondents may have felt more comfortable reporting to them. Although the number of speakers does not measure the vitality of a language, it plays an important role determining it⁷.

Previous studies have described in detail the influence of Spanish and the efforts made by the Wiwas to protect their language and culture (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953; Trillos Amaya, 1996). The results of the present study will be used to identify the current condition of Damana in two different communities. Further steps in the revitalization of the language can be better designed if the current degree of language loss is clearly determined.

Although these results will focus on two communities, the same method could be replicated in all Wiwa settlements to help the community determine the exact state of the language at the national level and to reach the Wiwa objective of revitalizing and preserving their language.

To achieve that purpose, this document has been divided into different sections. First, we include a brief summary of the information available about the Wiwas, their language, Damana and the evolution of measuring the vitality of a language. Then we describe the methodology implemented, the instruments used to gather all data, and the scenario and participants from the two communities. Afterwards, we present the data and findings and a discussion of these findings, and as our final point, we offer our conclusion and comments.

⁷ This difference in number of speakers was one of the motivations to carry out this investigation. A detailed explanation of these differences is provided in 4.2 Absolute number of speakers

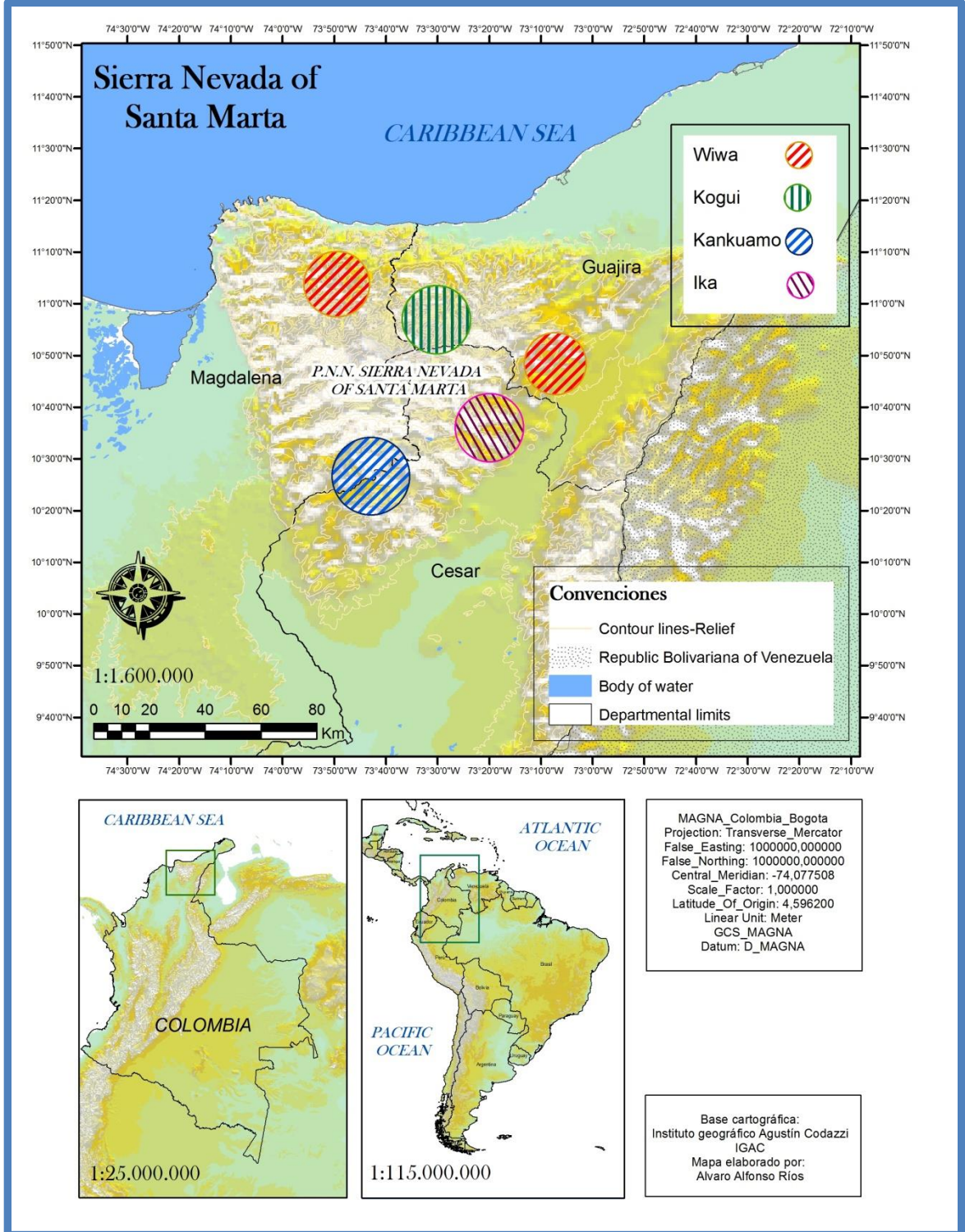


Figure 2. Map of Colombia showing the location of Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (SNSM), and the Indigenous Peoples that inhabit it (Ríos, 2020)

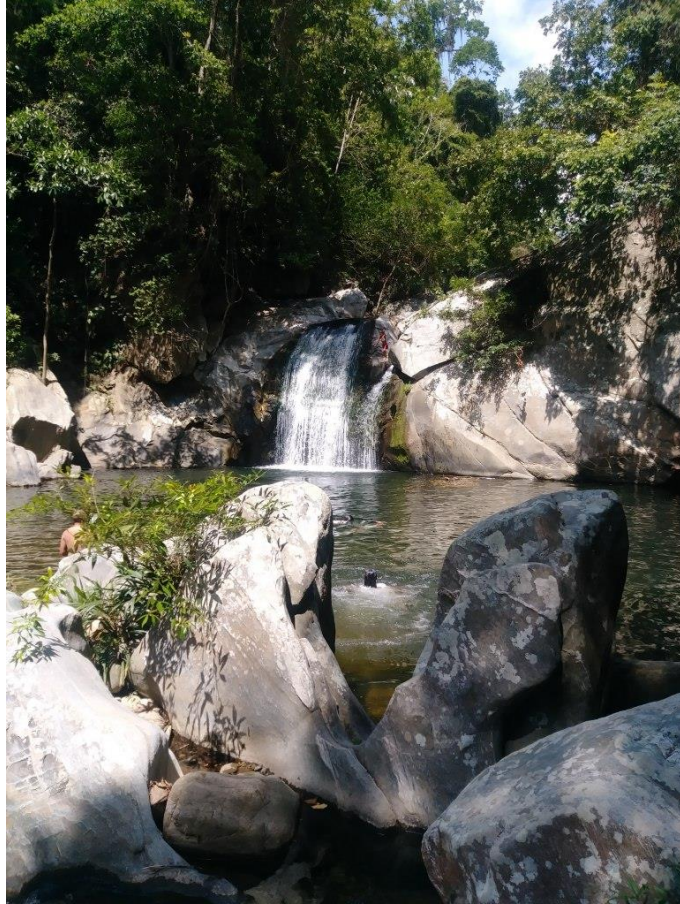


Figure 3. *Matuna Falls (SNSM)*

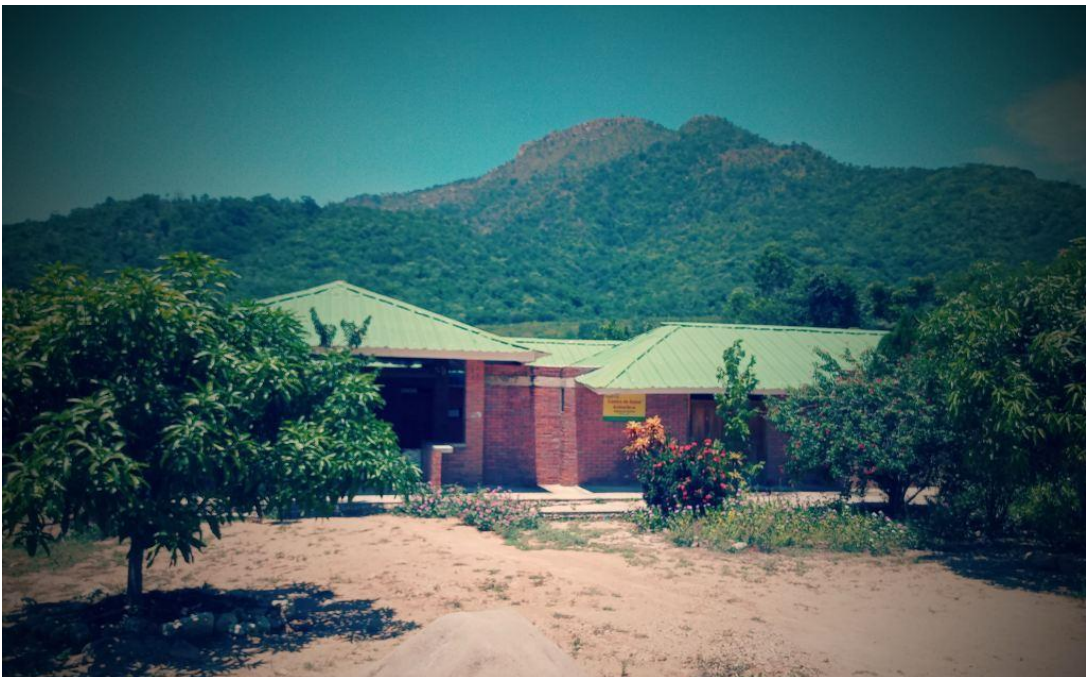


Figure 4. *SNSM. View from Zharneka*

Chapter 2

2 Literature Review

We start this section with the definition of diglossia as we believe that it adequately describes the situation of the two communities in our research. Then we present support for referring to the Wiwas as a minoritized group and their language, Damana, as a minoritized language, in opposition to the terms “minority” group and “minority” language, which were broadly used in the past. Subsequently, we summarize relevant published documents related to the Wiwas and their language, Damana. We end this chapter describing the theories and methods used to assess language vitality and explaining the theory used in this project to measure the vitality of Damana and the reason behind this selection.

2.1 Diglossia

When two languages are used in a community, the relationship between those languages could be described with the terms bilingualism and/or diglossia. In 1959, Ferguson defined cases of diglossia based on his observation of the relationship and use of two languages in some communities around the world. For him, the most important feature of diglossia is the specialized function each language has within the community. He observed that in specific situations only one language was appropriate and the overlapping in the use of both languages was very low. When diglossia is present in a society, the two languages tend to be valued differently. There is usually a language that is considered superior (High) or more prestigious in relation to different aspects. It could be regarded as more formal, elegant or scientific, among other viewpoints (Ferguson, 1959; Fishman, 2000/1967, among others).

For many years, diglossia was considered an advantageous situation because it was assumed to lead to a stable situation. If the social ‘compartmentalization’ i.e. the boundaries between the two languages, is well-established, then bilingualism is certain and the risk for the Low language (as opposed to the High language previously mentioned) to disappear is reduced (Fishman, 1972). In other words, the separation of

function of each language contributes to the preservation of both because they each have their inner value and the risk of being replaced by the other language is diminished.

However, modern life limits and narrows social compartmentalization. Open networks grow, relationships are more fluid, interactions tend to lessen status differences and sociological development like massification, urbanization and mobility tend to minimize boundaries (Fishman, 1980; Landry & Allard, 1994). Therefore, both, diglossia and bilingualism are not static and when social compartmentalization diminishes, the minoritized language is gradually replaced by the majority counterpart and language shift takes place (Fishman, 1980).

Based on these factors, Landry and Allard (1994) proposed four criteria to analyze diglossic situations. Linguistically, diglossia could take place between two related or totally unrelated languages. Sociologically, although some scholars (i.e. Jarrel, 1982 as cited by Landry and Allard, 1994) define diglossia as conflictual and others present it as non conflictual (Fishman, 1980 as cited by Landry and Allard, 1994) there is a focus on analyzing the degree of conflictual or potentially conflictual nature of diglossia.

Functionally, the use of each language is limited to specific domains. Some domains belong to the *intimacy* of the speaker such as family and friends; and other domains are associated with the *status*. In this last group we might include work, church, school, etc. This criterion includes two areas that are the main focus in our understanding of particular situations: from a functional point of view, the degree to which the languages are used for different complementary functions and from a social point of view, the domains for which the languages are used; and, finally, the stability criterion, because it is a necessary condition for diglossia to stabilize. If adequate conditions in these areas are not met, the outcome is most probably one of language shift (Landry and Allard, 1994).

Wiwa people have added Spanish to their linguistic repertoire in order to talk and write about education, government, social distance, policies among many other topics whereas they maintain Damana for matters of intimacy and primary group solidarity and religion.

The functions of the two languages are almost clearly distinct. As we will see in more detail, Damana is the language used to raise the family and perform all activities related

to the cultural traditions of the communities. Spiritual guidance and administrative or political decisions within the community are dealt with in Damana. Spanish is used in the presence of outsiders and to maintain relations with the central government and the administrative personnel that help the community implement projects and defend their rights. When the school was in hands of missionaries or the Ministry of Education, teaching was carried out in Spanish. However, since management and design of educational content was transferred to the community, the Wiwas are introducing content in their own language.

Although everything points to the situation in the two communities of interest as a case of diglossia, the overall conditions of the Indigenous languages in SNSM is not homogenous.

Three different zones have been identified that differ in relation to how far up in the SNSM the community is. In the high lands of the mountains there are Indigenous communities of Kogui, Ika and Wiwa who are monolingual in their respective languages. Where two groups are in contact, situations of Kogui/Damana, Damana/Ikan or Kogui/Damana/Ikan bilingualism may arise. This zone is known as the traditional region and there is almost no contact with Western culture or the Spanish language there. The low slopes of SNSM are inhabited by colonists and *criollos*⁸ and *mestizos*⁹ although there are also a number of Indigenous individuals who are monolinguals in Spanish due mainly to the processes of colonization that aimed to impose Spanish and, at the same time, eradicate Indigenous languages through the aggressive implementation of Catholic evangelization and Hispanicization by Catholic parishes (Trillos Amaya, 1996). Nowadays, there is a growing interest in recovering their language and culture among this Indigenous population. This zone is known as the region of acculturation. Finally, and similar to what occurs in the two boarding schools that we visited for this research, between the traditional region and the region of acculturation, there is a transition region. Indigenous people in this area are bilingual in their language and Spanish. Sometimes,

⁸Men and women of Spanish origin but born in America

⁹Men and women of mixed race, especially one having Spanish and Indigenous descent

they speak two or even three Indigenous languages in addition to Spanish (Trillos Amaya, 1997).

As we saw above, when diglossia is attested, there is usually a non-balanced relation between the two languages present. Spanish is the majority language in Colombia and the Indigenous languages have been labeled as minority languages for decades. There has been a change in terminology and we now refer to these languages as minoritized languages. In the following section, we present our rationale for calling the Wiwa a minoritized group and Damana a minoritized language.

2.2 Minoritized Peoples and Languages

For a number of years, the term minority language was used in opposition to what we call majority languages. In 1983, Aracil, when studying Catalan, coined the term “minoritized” to refer to the so-called minority languages. In order to understand the implication of this shift in terminology, we need to turn our attention to the potential for agency of a language. As Duranti (2006) said, “any act of speaking involves some kind of agency”. Agency is defined as “*the property of those entities that have some degree of control over their own behaviour, whose actions in the world affect other entities (and sometimes their own), and whose actions are the object of evaluation (e.g. in terms of their responsibility for a given outcome)*” (p. 453). This definition is based on one of Austin’s arguments laying the foundation of Speech Act Theory: all utterances are in fact *acts*, and therefore, *words always do things* (cited by Duranti, 2006).

When we oppose languages with the terms *majority* and *minority*, we could mistakenly think that the difference lies in the intrinsic characteristics of the code itself without understanding that the classification of language as majority or minority language is mediated by the power relationship of the groups that use them (Bastardas Boada, 2016). It is this power or agency of the term that motivates the introduction of the term “minoritized.”

Foucault (1972) claimed that in every society the production of discourse is controlled, selected, organised and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures that are

in the hands of those in power. These power relationships could be due to demographic density, or could be economical, political or symbolic (Bastardas Boada, 2016; Calaforra, 2003). If language is mediated by these relationships of power and they are used to impose a [majority] language, the role of this majority language is a fundamental element of social integration and exclusion. It empowers [the majority] and deprives, or as Aracil (cited by Calaforra, 2003) says, inflicts impotence [on minoritized groups]. Then the degree of competence in the majority language determines the position in the social structure and the use of language determines the access to symbolic and material capital (Calaforra, 2003).

Different properties are used to describe minoritized languages. We will cite the three presented by Calaforra (2003) that we consider pertinent to the representation of minoritized languages in Colombia:

1. Restrictive norms for the social use of the language. This is the case when a minoritized language is not used in certain domains while at the same time the dominant language expands its presence in such domains.
2. Unilateral bilingualism. This occurs when speakers of the minoritized language are expected to become bilingual, acquiring the dominant language while at the same time the dominant language speakers continue to be monolingual in the dominant language.
3. As a consequence, the minoritized linguistic group becomes a kind of subset of the dominant language community. They are part of the dominant community and the dominant community is the one that is recognized from outside.

As these characteristics adequately describe the linguistic situation in Colombia regarding Indigenous languages, we here adopt the term minoritized to describe the two Creoles and Indigenous languages of Colombia, specifically Damana. The consciousness of this dynamic leads us to vindicate the right of minoritized groups to regulate their subsistence and actively participate in the design of strategies aimed at the preservation, maintenance and documentation of their language, as well as to require compliance in the implementation of the intercultural and sociolinguistic policies issued by international

agencies like ILO, UN, UNESCO and the national government (ILO, 1989; UN, 2008; UNESCO, 2017; Law 1381, 2010).

In the next section, we describe the Indigenous group that speaks Damana, the Wiwa community.

2.3 Wiwa People

2.3.1 Geographical and Historical Background

The region of SNSM was inhabited by four different Indigenous groups who shared the territory. These groups, Kogui, Ika, Kankuamo and Wiwa belonged to the Tairona culture, who, according to Reichel Dolmatoff (1953), at the time of the conquest, were among the most advanced Indigenous group of communities in Colombia. They were located in the Valley of Don Diego River and the slopes of the mountains of SNSM. The Tairona culture built towns that had paved roads, stairs, temples and houses on foundations. They used to grow corn, cassava, beans and pumpkins using an irrigation system, and they developed commerce, cotton weaving and gold work (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953).

The territory of the Wiwas is spread among the departments of Cesar, Guajira and Magdalena (Figures 5 and 6). Currently, they live between 900 to 2,500 meters above sea level on the slopes of SNSM, with a temperature that varies between 25° C during the day and 12° C at night (Trillos Amaya, 1989).

The Wiwas are a community with strong cultural expressions and a vast oral tradition of ancient myths. The term Wiwa is used to differentiate their people from the other three Indigenous peoples located in SNSM (Ika, Kogui, and Kankuamo). The word *Wiwa* can be split into two elements. The lexeme **WI**, that indicates something warm and is the root of compound words that mean *breed*, *generate*, or *origin* and **WA**, a morpheme used to derive nouns with elements that can be numbered or listed. According to this, Wiwa means, *the own people* or *people original from these lands* (Trillos Amaya, 1989).

Members of the community suggest they were initially located in the regions of Marocazo and Guamaka (See figure 5) (Trillos Amaya, 1989) and contact with colonists started with the foundation of the city of Santa Marta in 1525. There was a close relationship between the Spaniards and the Indigenous groups based on barter, commerce and trade, but there were also Indigenous people who worked as slaves or servants in the city of Santa Marta or were *encomendados* in Spanish farms in the rural area. Some Indigenous people participated in public works like fortress and town construction and, on a few occasions, Indigenous groups allied themselves with the Spanish soldiers against rebel groups (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953).

As we can learn from the documents compiled by Langebaek (2007), the Spaniards tried to impose their language and culture through the creation of *encomiendas* to be able to exploit the Indigenous people as slaves in plantations and gold mines. With this system, a Spanish *encomendero* was granted a number of Indigenous people who worked for him and paid him tribute in exchange for protection and education. Sometimes, this tribute was paid with work (Pelozatto Reilly, 2016). Besides the tribute, a number of Indigenous people were forced to be baptized and learn Spanish. These attempts from the colonists to force the Indigenous population to give up their ancestral customs and religious practices led to protests, sometimes violent, on the part of the Native communities. In 1599, there was an Indigenous rebellion that was suppressed by the Spaniards and numerous Natives were killed or had to flee to the mountains. The Indigenous population in the *encomiendas* decreased drastically from more than 3,000 in 1600 to only about 800 in 1625 (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953). The letters and reports written by the Spanish reflect their frustration as they could not achieve their purpose to dominate and exploit the Indigenous people of the region (Langebaek, 2007).

During the XVIIIth century, the Order of the Capuchin Friars grouped the Indigenous population in *reducciones* (Sánchez Mejía, 2006). Spanish authorities decided to group the Indigenous people in an urban center to facilitate the process of incorporation to civil life as a prerequisite to achieve spiritual conversion. These centers were called *reducciones* (Saito & Rosas, 2017). The *reducciones* of the Capuchin missionaries were founded in a broad region of SNSM close to Santa Marta, the desert of Guajira, and the

jurisdiction of Valledupar (the capital of Cesar). Some of these foundations successfully “reduced” (i.e. incorporated to Western life) a significant number of Indigenous people and were the base of several Indigenous towns.

The Capuchins played an important role in the expansion of agricultural lands for Santa Marta and prepared the land for the incursion of Spanish colonization of the region given that the area was already prepared for expansion with the cities that had been founded and the reduction of the Indigenous communities (Sánchez Mejía, 2006).

The work of the missions reached its most intense point during XVIIIth century; however, the missionaries often complained because many of the Indigenous people did not abandon their customs. In 1740, the different towns and churches attracted colonists and with them, new practices. Originally, the Wiwas were settled in areas of easy access (Trillos Amaya, 1989). Their strategic location became the route for people travelling to and from Venezuela and connected the east part of the coast with the west. It also established a connection with the *Camino Real* (Royal path), the most important route to the center of the country from the Caribbean Sea. Starting with the conquest by the Spaniards, followed by the colonization of *criollos*, the Indigenous groups that inhabited those lands were forced to migrate or adapt to the new institutions, government and political-administrative rules, and even change their religion and culture. Those that did not migrate or conform to the new life style eventually disappeared and are now extinct (Peñaranda Vera, 2006).

During the XIXth century, after independence, schools were organized, *criollos* settled across the region and political refugees lived close by or among the Indigenous communities. Most of the missions had left the region and the colonization by *criollos* made a bigger impact. It was during this period that the Kankuamo Indigenous people was almost completely absorbed and their language, Kankui, disappeared to the point that it is currently considered extinct. Kankui in Damana means “*merchant of the mountain range*”. The Kankuamo people travelled the SNSM selling goods to the other Indigenous peoples (Trillos Amaya, personal communication, April 19, 2020). There is not much information about their language, except for the work of Father Celedón, who travelled

SNSM in the latter half of the 1800s documenting the Indigenous languages and the work of Trillos Amaya about a document by Robert de Wavrin (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953; Trillos Amaya, 1998b).

In 1916, the Wiwa people sent a delegation to talk to the president of Colombia to request tools, schools and investment in their region. They wanted to learn how to read, write and do math in order to deal with the *criollos* under equal conditions. The response from the government was inspired by the Concordato, an agreement signed in 1886 between the Catholic Church and the Colombian government that gave special powers to the Church. Among other things, the Church was in charge of education, health services and the exercise of civil, penal and administrative authority over the Indigenous groups, including their education, civilization and conversion. Based on this agreement, the government sent the Order of the Capuchins to establish a mission in SNSM. They remained there for sixty six years instead of the six years initially agreed between the government and the Indigenous inhabitants (Duarte Muñoz, 2018).

The establishment of mandatory school with content in Spanish and based on curricula developed in the center of the country was far from the reality that the inhabitants of SNSM lived (Ramírez & Téllez, 2006). Indigenous authorities resisted the actions of the mission, especially because of the operation of the orphanage Nuestra Señora de la Sierrita, where Indigenous children were forced to wear civilian¹⁰ clothing of *criollos* instead of their traditional attire and the use of their language was prohibited as a strategy to impose Spanish (Duarte Muñoz, 2018).

Waves of Indigenous people decided to migrate and establish centers far from the colonists and missionaries. They preserved their culture there trying to avoid close contact with the descendants of the Spanish. In 1947, one of the *Mamos*, the religious and government head for the Indigenous peoples in SNSM, banned the use of Spanish in his community in an effort to protect their traditions and customs (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953).

¹⁰The term Wiwas use to refer to Western-style clothing

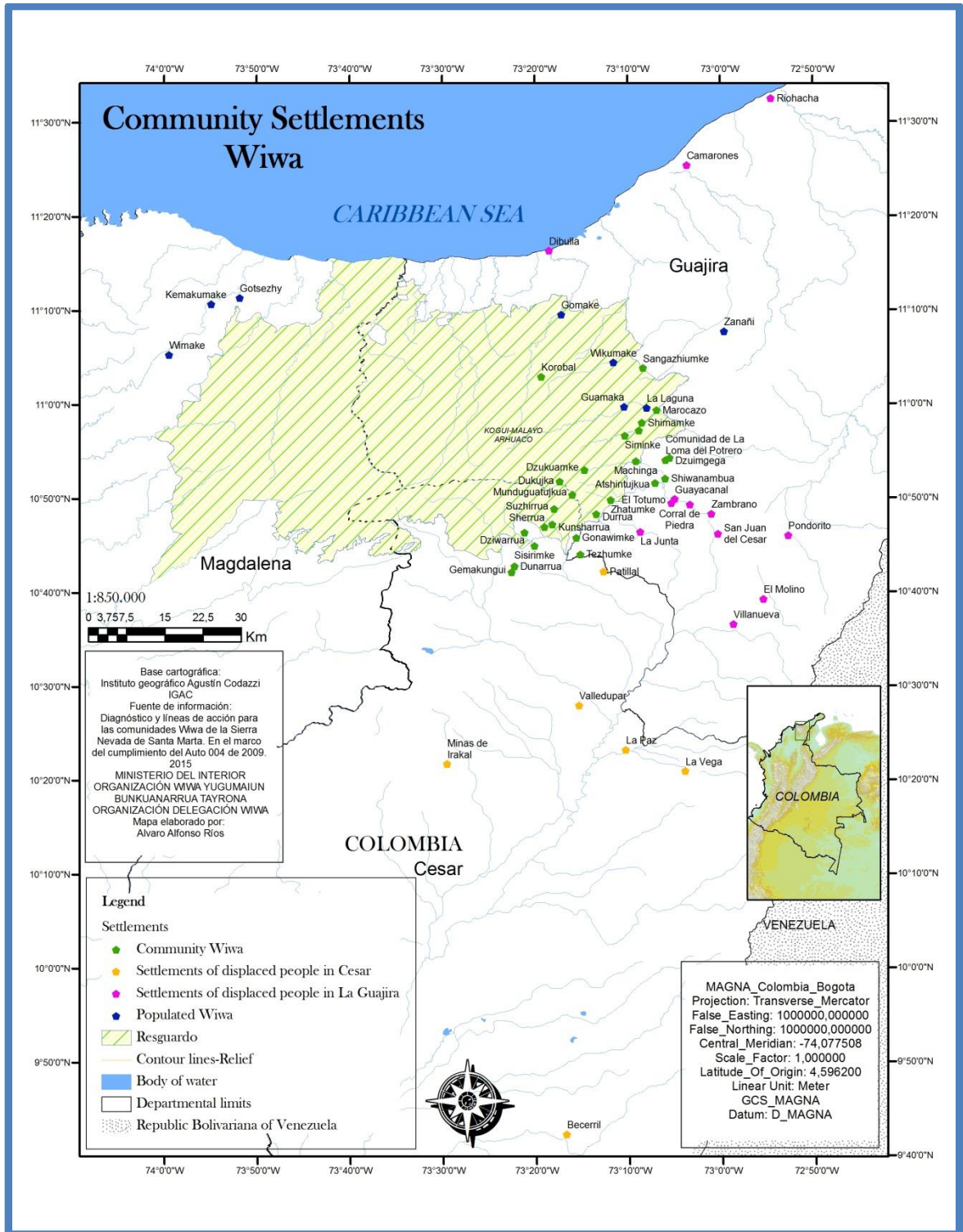


Figure 5. Wiwa settlements map (Ríos, 2020)

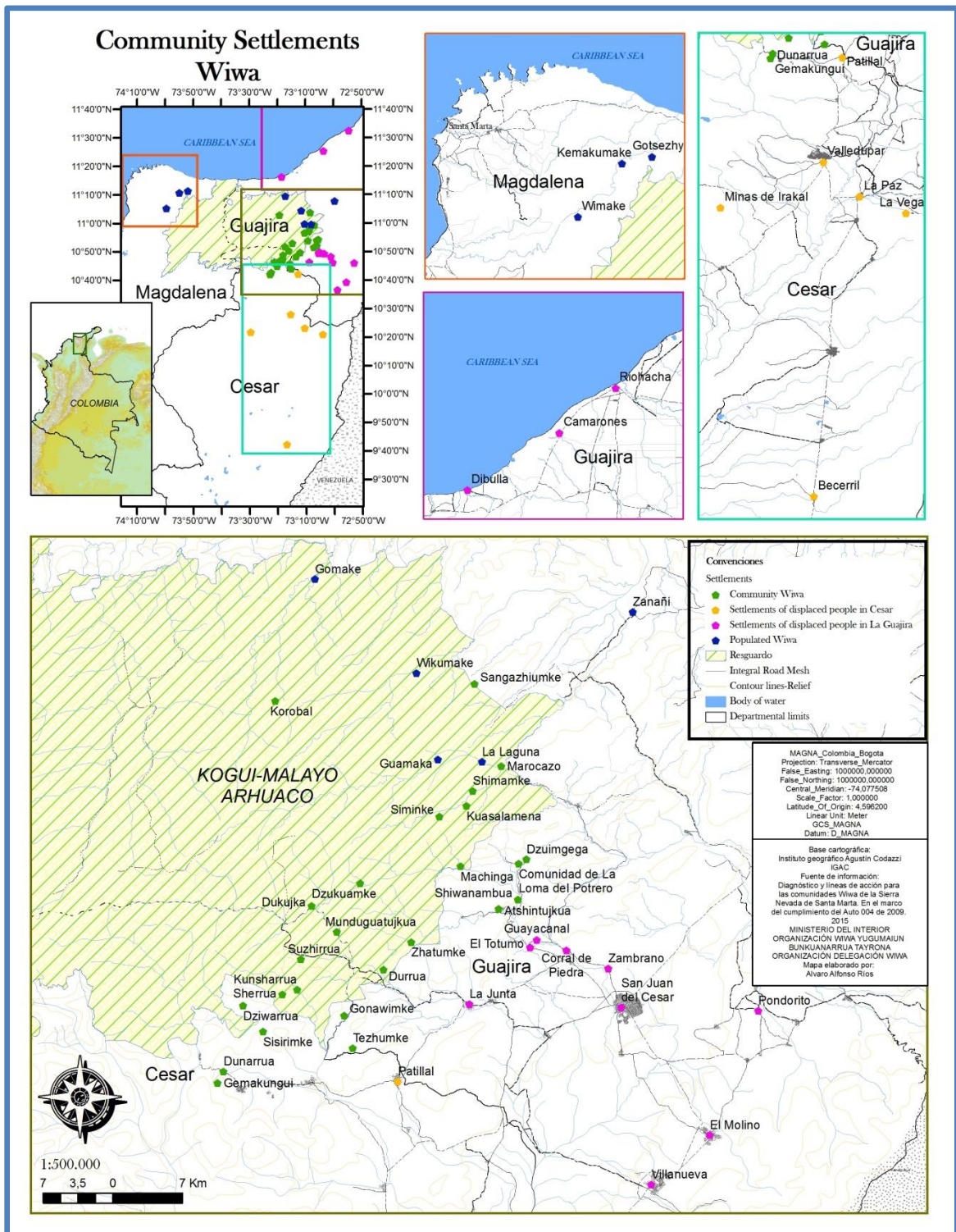


Figure 6. Wiwa settlements (Detail) (Ríos, 2020)

During the decade of the 60's, there was strong resistance from the Indigenous people. Encouraged by institutions such as the Colombian Institute of Anthropology and the Commission of Indigenous Affairs, they protested against the missions and the control of the Capuchin friars over education. Finally, in 1982 the Wiwas took one of the missions and demanded the expulsion of the Capuchin order and the return of the territory where the mission had been established to the Native *resguardo* and the responsibility of the school to the government (Duque Muñoz, 2015).

Colonization implied the invasion of the former Indigenous territories leading to the construction of new roads and a change in land development: mineral extraction, cattle raising, and new crops that harmed the lands, such as the growth of banana, and the *bonanza marimbera*¹¹. These factors inevitably led to loss of territory for the Wiwas (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953; Trillos Amaya, 1996; Fajardo Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998; Conchacala Gil, 2015, among others). Moreover, the introduction of mandatory Spanish based school education, the efforts of missionary groups of diverse religion backgrounds like the Catholic Capuchins or the Evangelicals, the contact with *criollo* colonists from the inlands, and the action of government institutions affected Indigenous culture and traditions introducing foreign elements. The Wiwas were one of the groups that fought the change by migrating to the high lands of SNSM to preserve their traditions (Trillos Amaya, 1996).

One of the foundations of Wiwa culture is the Law of Origin or *Shembuta*, according to which the SNSM has its foundation on *Shé*. The Law of Origin states that everything that exists in the physical world has everlasting existence in the spirit. With the materialization of the spiritual world, order and function are established. This order is engraved in the codes of Nature: lakes, rocks, hills, bird songs, breeze sound and the Wiwa authorities interpret these codes to protect the well being, balance and organization of physical and spiritual existence (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015).

¹¹Marimba was the name given to marihuana (*cannabis sativa*). Bonanza marimbera was an era of marihuana smuggling that brought violence and wealth to the north coastline of Colombia.

This law is applied through the close relationship of Wiwas and their ancestral territory due to the mandate to protect and care for Mother Nature; a mandate that they received from their ancestors. In order to fulfill this duty, Wiwas need access to all of their sacred places that are scattered in the region occupied by SNSM. However, some of these places were lost when the Spaniards and the *criollos* colonized their territory during the different migrations (Fajardo Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998). This is one of the reasons why in the 1980's a Wiwa group from Cesar and Guajira on the east side of SNSM, moved to the basin of the Guachaca river, on the west side of SNSM, where they bought lands and established a health office and a school, beginning the process to recover their lands according to their Law of Origin and the roots of Wiwa identity (OWYBT, 2012). As Mamo Ramón Gil¹² states, the purpose of the school was to implement ethnic education, where students were prepared to deal with the *Suntalu*¹³ and at the same time reinforce their culture and traditions (Torres Gómez, 2009).

After the Capuchins left, education was the responsibility of the government through Normalistas¹⁴ until 1993, when the government agreed to transfer the design and development of the educational programs to the different Indigenous communities. Then, the Wiwa Organization named Wiwa Yugumaiun Bunkuanarrua Tairona-OWYBT initiated an ethno-educational process in twenty-seven Wiwa communities of the region (OWYBT, 2012), including the programs implemented in the two schools of our present research.

2.3.2 Wiwa Government

Government for the Wiwa community stems from a deep understanding of the history of the world and the Law of Origin. There is a clear connection between the spiritual and the material realms and the Mamos are in charge of interpreting the spiritual sphere to

¹²The Mamo is the spiritual leader of the tribe. Mamo Ramón is the most important Mamo in SNSM. He bought the first lands that the Wiwas re-occupied in Magdalena, established the town of Gotsezhy and founded the Zalemakú Sertuga school (Gill, 2018)

¹³ Term in Damana to refer to White people

¹⁴A Normal School is authorized by the Ministry of Education to train educators for preschool and elementary levels while they complete their high school education (Ministerio de Educación, 2014).

execute the mechanisms of organization of the material realm. The *Mamanuas*, the fundamental spaces from which government is exerted, form an integral part of the knowledge of elders and authorities. These areas are located in the high, medium and low lands of SNSM and are deeply interconnected with other locations in the region (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015).

All the sacred sites for the Wiwa are located within a space called “The Black Line (La Línea Negra).” This imaginary limit encloses the heart of the world, with the two highest peaks of SNSM at the centre. The limits of the Black Line were re-established in 1994 during an assembly of Wiwa, Ika and Kogui leaders and their location was marked on a map (Uribe, 1998). Nonetheless, control over a number of these sacred places was lost during the violence raging throughout this region for years and they are in private hands, which makes it difficult for the Indigenous people to access them (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015).

The seat of the government for each community is in the *Mamanua*. All sacred knowledge is centralized there. The *Mamanua* is the social base of the ethnic groups and the laws that rule territorial and cultural organization emanate from there. This is the heart of the community and all the decisions are made through *pagamentos* or *shabiien*. During a *pagamento*, the Mamos offer tribute to Mother Earth and the spiritual beings that take care of mankind and the universe. As Mamo Ramón Gil explains:

“We offer zhama (food) to the mother because we eat fruit, animals, water without buying them from the mother, and then the Mamo pays that debt so she is not disturbed and requests a payback. When we stop offering our tribute, Mother heals herself and avalanches, storms, blood illness, ear illness, vomit, violence, death happen. Even drought that lasts for years and withers everything might happen.”

“A la madre se le da zhama (comida) porque comemos fruta, animales, agua sin comprarle a la madre, y entonces el mamo cancela esa deuda y así ella no se moleste y nos cobre, cuando se deja de pagar tributo la madre su cura a ella misma y viene avalancha, tempestad, enfermedad de sangre, de oído, de vómito, viene violencia,

muerte, puede venir sequía de varios años y se seca todo” (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015, p. 399).

Elders are the maximum authority because for the Wiwas, they have all the knowledge needed to make decisions that are sustained over time (Fajardo Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998). The Wiwas believe they need to obtain permission from their spiritual leaders and complete a *pagamento* or *shabiien* before they carry out any activity such as cutting down trees, hunting, building houses or fixing roads. That is the only way to avoid individual or collective consequences (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015).

Table 2. *Ancestral Government System (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015). For the original in Spanish, see Appendix 1*

	DESCRIPTION	FUNCTIONS
SHEMBUTA (Law of Origin)	Code and rules created by the spiritual parents from the origin of times	Regulates the material and spiritual behavior of the Wiwa individual and records the obligations towards nature and the world.
RIZAKUMA or MAMO	Male leader who has been gifted with knowledge and teachings about material and spiritual matters	Represents the traditional authority of the Wiwa communities. Provides interpretation through elements of consultation and shembuta.
SAGA	Female leader, spouse of the Mamo who has been gifted with knowledge of the culture and functions of women and nature.	Harmonizes the decisions of the Mamo, accompanies the leaders, serves as a traditional health practitioner.
YUNKUMA (Commissioner)	Person in charge of enforcing the decisions of the Mamo to regulate all functions at community and justice levels.	Enforces the decisions of consultation. Represents the community within the organization. Enforces justice.
KASHIMAMA (Corporal)	Person in charge of enforcing the decisions of the authority.	Coordinates community labor. Follows the decisions made by the Yunkuma. Executes punishment imposed to transgressors.

The current mechanisms of Wiwa government mix some of the traditional and the adopted government systems and the Wiwas are working to articulate them in a more efficient way (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015).

As we can see in Table 2, the maximum authority is the Mamo, a spiritual leader that provides example and direction to the community (Fajardo Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998). As a Mamo said,

“If it was not for the Mamo, we would not be organized... The Mamo is our sun and like the sun takes care of animals, trees, nature...the Mamo... is in contact with the sun and pays to nature at the four points of the compass.”

“Si no fuera por el mamo nosotros no estuviéramos organizados...El mamo es el sol, así mismo como el sol iba a cuidar de los animales, árboles, la naturaleza...el mamo...estuviera en contacto con el sol mamo y así mismo pagarle a la naturaleza en los cuatro puntos cardinales.” (Mamo Antonio Pinto Gil cited in Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015, p. 406)”.

High leadership positions are not exclusive to the male gender. There is a significant female figure, the *Saga*, who is usually the Mamo’s wife. She plays an important role in the direction of women and her participation in some rituals and meetings alongside of the Mamos is highly valued. They both receive special education that starts very young in life.

Power is interconnected with another type of leadership present in each community: the political and administrative authorities (Fajardo Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998). The *Yunkuma* (Commissioner) has a thorough knowledge of the Law of Origin and through it, he provides advice and solves problems. He ensures compliance with all internal requirements and has important functions within the community. He explains proposals, identifies solutions and deals with transparency and justice (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015). He is the one who mediates between the Indigenous community and the non-Indigenous world and their institutions and organizes all initiatives in the community to make sure the directions provided by the Mamo are accomplished (Fajardo

Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998). Additionally, the *Kashimama* (Corporal) is a traditional authority that enforces the decisions made by the higher authorities. He watches over the people day and night. He is a respected member of the community and is in charge of coordinating the people in the community in order to carry out any new project (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015). The *Kashimama* has functions that seem similar to those of our police officers. They bring those that contravene the rules or need special counseling to the presence of higher authorities and monitor the community to make sure the different mandates are fulfilled (Fajardo Sánchez & Gamboa Martínez, 1998).

Finally, we will mention the Cabildo Gobernador. The Cabildo is the legal institution that represents, controls and manages the Indigenous *resguardo*. They represent the Indigenous groups before government institutions for legal and administrative proceedings. They discuss and present projects to *alcaldía* (City Hall), the government of the Department and the Presidency. This model was adopted from the Colonial *Cabildos* implemented by the Spanish government. During the colony, *Cabildos* exerted control over communities, dominating traditional authorities with the functions imposed by the colonial power (Rathgeber, 2013 as cited by Ceballos Taramuel, 2019). The Indigenous groups are aware that the Cabildo Gobernador that represents them is a legacy from colonialism and does not harmonize with the territorial politics of the ancestral peoples. However, they understand these were the response to the imperative need to have proper representation before the government institutions of the country to carry out their projects and meet the requirements and needs of the Indigenous peoples (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015).

After summarizing the current condition of the Wiwa community, we will proceed to describe their language, Damana.

2.4 Damana

The languages spoken in SNSM belong to the Chibchan language family spoken in southern Central America and northwestern South America (Constenla Umaña, 1981).

According to Constenla Umaña (1985, 1988) the Chibchan languages could be classified into four sub-groups that have a solid and close relationship:

- Viceita, that includes Cabécar [ISO 639-3: cjp] and Bribri [ISO 639-3: bzd], spoken in the south of Costa Rica

- Dorasque-changuena [ISO 639-3: *None* (mis)], from Panamá

- The Arhuacan languages spoken in the north of Colombia

- Muisca [ISO 639-3: *None* (mis)] and Duit [ISO 639-3: *None* (mis)] (extinguished languages), spoken in the Cundiboyacense high plains of the Colombian Andean region.

Four languages belong to the Arhuacan sub-group (not to be confused with the Arawakan, that originated on the region that surrounds the Amazon): Damana [ISO 693-3: mbp], the language spoken by the Wiwas; Koguian [ISO 693-3: kog], Ikan [ISO 693-3: arh] and the extinct Kankui [ISO 639-3: *None* (mis)] (Landaburu, 2000).

There are different terms in the literature for these languages and as a consequence ethnographic and linguistic studies refer to them under various names. This has made their investigation more difficult as researchers have to seek files of various very different terms in order to access all of the records pertaining to one language. Damana has also been known as Wamaka, Uiuá (Williams, 1993), Arosario, Arsario, (Hoopes & Fonseca, 2003), Malayo (Constenla Umaña, 1990), Sancá, Sanja, Sanha, Sanka (Camacho, 1997), Guamaka, Guamaca (Celedón, 1886; Pacchiarotti, 2012), Maracasero or Marocasero, according to the place where they are found or the researcher's preference. The Wiwas acknowledge their language as Damana (Trillos Amaya, 1996; OWYBT, 2012) and the other terms have often been used by outsiders. It is also common to see that in most cases, where the literature uses Damana, they also use Koguian and Ikan (terms proposed by Trillos Amaya) to refer to the other two languages of SNSM, so these are the terms we will be using in this paper.

Given that Damana is a language of oral tradition, we will describe the characteristics of oral tradition in the following paragraphs.

2.4.1 Oral Tradition Language

Many Indigenous languages and communities around the world depend on oral tradition to preserve their history and culture and at the same time, prepare them to face the challenges of present life.

Each language, more than a communication tool, is the expression of the culture and identity of a community. Language reflects how a society conceives the world and cannot be separated from the people that use it. As it was expressed by Sapir (1929, p. 209), in the well-known document *The status of Linguistics as a Science*, “*the ‘real world’ is... built up on the language habits of the group [and] no two languages are sufficiently similar to be considered as representing the same... reality.*” The context and life conditions of a community and the legacy from ancestors determine the language and mark the identity of the group. In a language of oral tradition, a community with no writing assimilates their specific characteristics and uses oral tradition to entertain, teach, educate and guide, and at the same time strengthen and preserve their particular identity (Ramírez Poloche, 2012).

According to Bigot (2018), when societies settled in specific places and developed hierarchical and structured economies, writing provided them with the ability to fix in time and space their laws, contracts, accounting and records. While writing granted them the opportunity to accumulate knowledge, organize specific mental operations, classify and organize information, advance in math, calculus and accounting; oral tradition made use of mnemonic resources to transmit ancient knowledge and information in close relationship with the surrounding context.

From an ethnocentric approach, languages of oral tradition have been described as illiterate, alphabetic or unlettered, clearly reflecting the idea that cultures that do not have a written system exhibit a lack more than as an inherent feature of the language (Bigot, 2018). Vansina lists the main attitudes a number of ethnologists had towards the value of oral tradition in the study of the past of peoples including that they were not reliable and it was impossible to assess the amount of truth they contained (Vansina, 2017/1961).

However, we cannot forget that by nature, human beings are speakers and listeners and writing and reading are external phenomena that need to be learned and emerged as the result of the needs of some people. As Vansina also states, oral tradition has provided valuable information about the early history of peoples that do not use writing and in many cases this information has been substantiated by other historical sources (Vansina, 2017/1961).

Ong (2002) divides societies into those with primary orality (those that use the spoken word) and those who have developed secondary orality (those that also use the written word plus they communicate through phones, television, radio, etc.) and explains how there are mental and structural changes in societies once they get to secondary orality. The way of living, preservation of values, principles, beliefs and transmission of knowledge are done in a different manner by oral tradition cultures and communities that combine oral and written words.

The oral tradition narratives have their root in cultural systems of knowledge, beliefs, values, ideologies, emotions and all social dimensions. Transmission of ancestral knowledge and teachings has a relevant importance in the preservation of Indigenous knowledge and plays an important role in the millennial culture of Indigenous peoples. This transmission is not static and does not transmit textually from one generation to the other. The accounts evoke the past from the perspectives and needs of the present. It is a set of strategies that give meaning to the identity of Indigenous peoples (Ramírez Poloche, 2012). That is one reason why Havelock (1996) insists that the absence of writing skills in a community cannot be confused with illiteracy within a writing culture.

For the Wiwa community oral tradition plays a vital role in the transmission of knowledge and culture. The Mamo, the Saga, the elders and even parents and teachers share their valuable teachings through narratives that impart deep messages that guide and mark the identity of the Wiwa beyond their external characteristics.

As we can see in the example of figure 7, stories are not far from their everyday life. And narratives are not considered stories or legends. They are a life reflection of the events happening around us. They are linked to the past and the present, intertwining what needs

to be transmitted from one generation to the other with the current events and needs of the community. That is the organic nature of the oral tradition. An ancient story told by the Wiwas for centuries could clearly illustrate a current problem (in this case, bullying and discrimination) and provide advice and guidance to avoid it.

Koguis tell that there was a time when animals were people. It was before sunrise and after the sunrise men emerged. At that time, all birds had a common father and this father invited all of the birds to a meeting. All kinds of birds met and found out that their father had adopted an orphan boy. He was skinny and battered as an orphan. He slept by the fire and was covered in ashes and did not have proper clothes. He used to eat the left-overs from the kitchen and the father could see how the little boy was ill-treated by his legitimate children. The father used to call for the annual meeting where he taught his children. There, he transmitted millennial knowledge so one of his children could replace him and govern the world. Times, decades and centuries passed and the father supposed his children, those that still use to ill-treat his adopted orphan, were learning all of his knowledge and wisdom so one of them could replace him. One day, the time to leave had come and the father was going to heaven, to another dimension, and decided it was the moment to choose which of his children could replace him. The father called his children one by one, beginning with the oldest. He wanted to see what was coming from them, what they had learned. It was a type of evaluation. However, none of them showed the required character. When they were telling stories they remembered portions only, they did not have the leadership, the worth; they had not learned the art of government and did not have the kindness and the spirit to be a good leader. Suddenly, the little boy, called Shemanakatzá stood up and started to speak. And they all could see he had the same speech and thinking of his father. Even his voice was similar. He had authority and he had the wisdom and knowledge. His father decided to choose him and appointed his adopted son to replace him and govern the world and left.

The moral of this myth today is that you do not know where the next leader is coming from. We should not despise those we consider inferior. Today it is a moral against discrimination and bullying. In actual fact, the myth lasts for days and it is told and re told to our leaders. It teaches many different aspects. It is used to teach leadership, governance, history, identity, and may other things.

Figure 7. Myth told by Franciso Gil Awuigui (Quiceno, 2019) For the original in Spanish, see Appendix 2

For the Wiwa, the etymology of each word is closely related to the dynamics of their life. Transmission of the language is more than just learning words and meanings. Their language has a meaning of life, intrinsically linked to their culture and their way of perceiving the universe and their role on it.

Now that we have discussed the oral tradition of the language, we will continue with a summary of the main characteristics of the Damana language.

2.4.2 Description of Damana

As I mentioned before, information on Indigenous languages of SNSM has been slowly increasing: these include several documents developed by missionaries of the Summer Institute of Linguistics, including a grammar sketch of Damana (Williams, 1993), and a handful of phonetic and phonological descriptions of the Arhuacan languages (Uhle, 1888; Celedón, 1886; Jackson, 1995; Trillos Amaya, 1998b, Anderson, 2014).

Additionally, we have a number of articles and book chapters written by Trillos Amaya since 1986. These latter include, among others, a phonological description (1989), lexicon (1998), syntax (1994), grammar (1999), and typology (2016). As described by Constenla Umaña (2012) in 1888, Max Uhle presented the first classification of the Chibchan languages based on a limited number of phonetic correspondences, especially Koguan and Muisca (the latter spoken in the Andean area of Colombia). He suggested relationships among a number of Chibchan languages that included Ikan, Damana and Koguan; almost seventy years later, in 1962, Shafer (as cited by Jackson, 1995) provided evidence for the close relationship between Kankui and Damana, their relationship with Ikan, and finally the connection among these three and Koguan. The distance of these relations has been confirmed by other studies (Jackson, 1995). Using comparative methodology, associations between Chibchan languages have been identified, leading to their classification into subfamilies, one of which is the Arhuacan, formed by the three languages currently spoken in SNSM and the extinct Kankui (Constenla Umaña, 2012).

Regarding the phonology of Damana, Table 3 presents a summary of its phonological units.

According to Trillos Amaya, Damana has 19 consonants and seven vowels in its phonological inventory (Table 3). Consonants are divided into obstruents and sonorants. Obstruents may be either voiced or voiceless. Vowels are nasalized in specific environments.

Table 3. Consonant and vowel inventory of Damana (Trillos Amaya, 1999)

Consonant and vowel inventory of Dumuna											
		L	A	M	I	N	A	L	S		
OBSTRUENT		Labial	Dento alveolar	Alveolar	Pre- palatal	Palatal	Posterior				
		Voiceless	p	t	s	ʃ	tʃ	k			
		Voiced	b	d	z	ʒ	ʝ	g			
SONORANT		Nasals	m	n							
		Approximant	w						h		
		Lateral			l						
		Vibrant	Simple			r					
		Multiple			r						

	Front	Ctr.	Back	Nasal
Close	i		u	ũ
Mid	e	ə	o	
Open		a		

Damana has Subject-Object-Verb (SOV) word order and, according to the typological parameters of Hawkins (1983) for Chibchan languages, it is postpositional, the genitive follows the governing noun and the adjective follows the noun (Williams, 1993). In Damana, aspect is part of the structure and meaning of the verb itself. Verbs carry the semantics in the verbal structure. Tense, on the other hand, is analytic, external to the verb. This suggests that aspect is more important than tense. In other words, in Damana it is more important to express how processes and activities are carried out than the time where they happen. There are only two relevant tenses: ‘past’ as opposed to ‘nonpast.’ Many nouns are formed from verbal roots. *To be* and *to have* play an important role in the utterance, and based on the corresponding structure, they can express action, condition or process (Trillos Amaya, 1996).

Damana is rich in the different resources available for the expression of different types of modality. Modality is what allows the speakers to express their ideas in a variety of manners:

- Assertive, interrogative, imperative.
- Certainty, probability, possibility, uncertainty
- Need, obligation
- Permission, prohibition

Among the resources available to speakers of Damana to express modality we find supra-segmental marks, auxiliary verbs and elements of modalization, suffixes, verbal suffixes joined to the main or auxiliary verb. There are also particles that may be added to the end of sentences. These mechanisms express notions of probability, possibility, intention, obligation, power, wish, etc. The role of particles, suffixes and auxiliaries expressing modality allows the opposition of assertive and non-assertive forms. Like many other Indigenous languages, Damana morphosyntax includes different forms to express evidentiality, which is the level of commitment by the speaker to what is said, whether the speaker is a witness to what is expressed or has simply been told.

Negation in Damana is part of the system that establishes relationships between verbal categories of aspect, mood and modality. Negation is expressed in simple and complex sentences. Marks of negation are directly linked to the verb and establish the distinction between assertive vs. non-assertive and perfective vs. imperfective. This structure moderates the presence of synthetic and analytic forms (Trillos Amaya, in press).

2.4.3 Writing System

Latin American Indigenous groups used orality as a tool for resisting acculturation due to the contact with *Criollo* society (Trillos Amaya, 2001). During the 70s there was a period of linguistic revival among the Indigenous communities in SNSM. The awareness of their cultural identity was translated into their recognition of what was required to protect their legacy. After a long process, Indigenous groups passed from a defensive position to demanding the implementation of mother-tongue based literacy for their children (Trillos Amaya, 1995).

As a result, the Indigenous peoples of SNSM wanted to develop reading skills and a writing system for their language of daily use; Damana in the case of the Wiwas. They

did not want the same for their religious language, Terruma Shayama, as it is used for sacred rituals only (Trillos Amaya, 1995). Linguists who studied the grammar and phonological structure of these Indigenous languages developed alphabets that include Spanish letters as well as symbols taken from the IPA phonetic alphabet in order to best represent those phonemes of Indigenous languages that are not present in Spanish. The elaboration of a system of writing would allow the development of structure in teaching practices and would open the door for the use of traditional languages to teach academic content (Trillos Amaya, 2001).

This process of learning how to read and write establishes relationships between a linguistic and a graphic system whose core lies in the rules of correspondence. Years of evolution and historical changes add arbitrary rules to orthography that need to be learned. That is how in Spanish we have different representations for the same sound. The phoneme /k/ is represented with three different symbols; “c”, “k” and “qu” as in [‘ka.sa] *casa* ‘house’, [‘ke.so] *queso* ‘cheese’, [‘ki.lo] *kilo* ‘kilogram’; the phoneme /b/ is represented in writing with two symbols, “b” and “v” as in [bo.tar’] *botar* ‘throw away’ and [bo.’tar] *votar* ‘vote’.

Due to these Spanish rules, some teachers have inadvertently introduced arbitrary rules in their Indigenous mother-tongue writing, such as the use of b and v or k and c to represent sounds that are not distinguished in Damana. As Table 3 shows, there is no phoneme /v/. We do find phonemes /k/ and /s/ but there is no reason to spell them as ‘c’. Also, dialectal differences have impacted the way Damana is written in different regions. As we previously mentioned, it is common to find Wiwa and Kogui Indigenous speakers who are bilingual in Damana and Koguian. Damana has the phonemes /r/ and /l/ while, Koguian has /l/ but does not have /r/. In areas of close contact with Koguian, a Wiwa would say [i.‘lu.gua] to refer to *irrugua* ‘cassava’ and a Wiwa in those areas with no contact with Koguis would say [i.‘ru.gua] instead (Trillos Amaya, 1997).

Moreover, among the Wiwas, orality has been the didactical resource to educate and spread knowledge and transmit creative, cultural and recreational activities. The transfer of the orality of spoken language to a written genre creates problems of form and style.

Listening to an oral text is not the same as reading it. We do not claim that the oral essence of a text disappears in the written representation, but these are two ways of communicating ideas, knowledge, sensations and thoughts fundamentally different. Therefore, it is of paramount importance to develop both written and oral communicative skills. In SNSM, teachers need to strive to preserve the oral tradition discourse and at the same time build up writing and reading skills effectively (Trillos Amaya, 2018).

Currently, the Indigenous groups of SNSM are undergoing linguistic changes that include literacy in their mother tongue, teaching of Native languages and Spanish in the classroom, a staff of bilingual teachers and education committees where traditional Indigenous teachers can be heard. The languages of SNSM are currently the subject of intense linguistic study, including the consolidation of an alphabet and writing rules to be followed in all of the schools (Trillos Amaya, 1997).

Damana is not the only traditional language spoken by the Wiwa. There is an important language that is reserved for sacred ceremonies and is spoken by a selected minority of people. We will provide some information about this sacred language in the following section.

2.4.4 Terruma Shayama

The Wiwas use a sacred language to express their religious culture. They refer to it as Terruma Shayama. This language is used during rituals and is essentially spoken. It is not a means of communication and it is heard exclusively during religious ceremonies.

Terruma Shayama is closely related to the act of prediction and is used by the Mamos to transmit their premonitions. For the members of the community, a skilled comprehension of this language is vital to be able to receive the message given by the Mamo. Because of this, Terruma Shayama is a highly respected and revered language among this Indigenous group (Trillos Amaya, 1996).

In the next section, we turn to a description of the speakers of Damana.

2.4.5 Speakers of Damana

The number of speakers of Damana is a matter of debate. According to official numbers from DANE (the Colombian Department of Statistics), in 2005, the number of individuals who self identified as Wiwas was 10,703 (a census was performed in 2018; unfortunately, the results are not available yet). Anderson (2014) and Moseley (2010) listed around 9,500 speakers of Koguian and 14,500 speakers of Ikan. However, Anderson (2014), based on the analysis of an Auto-diagnosis conducted by Pérez Tejedor (2009), recorded 7,400 speakers of Damana while Moseley (2010) and Eberhard et al. (2019) mentioned between 1,800 and 2,000 fluent speakers. Paradoxically, Eberhard et al. (2019) classify Damana as a vigorous language used among all generations in a sustainable situation (see figure 8).

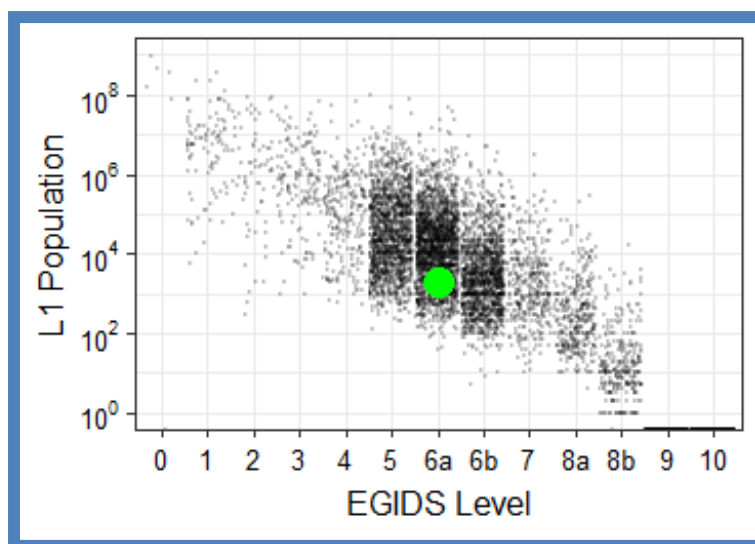


Figure 8. *Damana in the language cloud. The EGIDS level for Damana in Colombia is 6a (Vigorous) — The language is used for face-to-face communication by all generations and the situation is sustainable (Eberhard et al. 2019)*

This graph [figure 8] shows the place of Damana within the cloud of all living languages. Each language is represented by a small dot placed on the grid in relation to its user population (in the vertical axis) and its level of development or endangerment (in the horizontal axis), with the largest and strongest languages in

the upper left and the smallest and weakest languages (down to extinction) in the lower right. The population value is the estimated number of all users (including both first and second language speakers); it is plotted on a logarithmic scale (where 10² = 100; 10⁴ = 10,000). The value for the development versus endangerment dimension is the estimated level on the EGIDS scale. Damana is represented by a large, green dot because green represents the Vigorous Level (EGIDS 6a) (Eberhard et al. 2019).

Meanwhile, in the Sociolinguistic Autodiagnosis, Indigenous languages of Colombia are classified in three different situations. First, a group of languages in extreme danger of disappearing, languages that are threatened because more than half of the population are not speakers of the language, a third of the population have a low competence in the language and just one fifth of the population is competent. In second place we find linguistic groups with low level of competence according to the averages obtained in the survey. These are groups with a substantial number of individuals who do not speak the language or have partial proficiency in it (almost a third of the population) and those fully competent make up only half of the total number of the speakers. Finally, the third group, considered strong because they have a low number of non- or partially fluent speakers and a majority of fluent speakers. Based on this classification, Pérez Tejedor (2009) suggests Damana belongs to the second group because a high number of the speakers are considered to have attained only low competence in the language. Although there are 7,400 fluent speakers, these are just half of the total Wiwa population and as a result of this analysis, she considers Damana a shifting language (see figure 9).

Now that we have a better understanding of the reality of the Wiwa community and their language, we will turn our attention to how language vitality is measured and what tools are used in order to establish the vitality of a language.

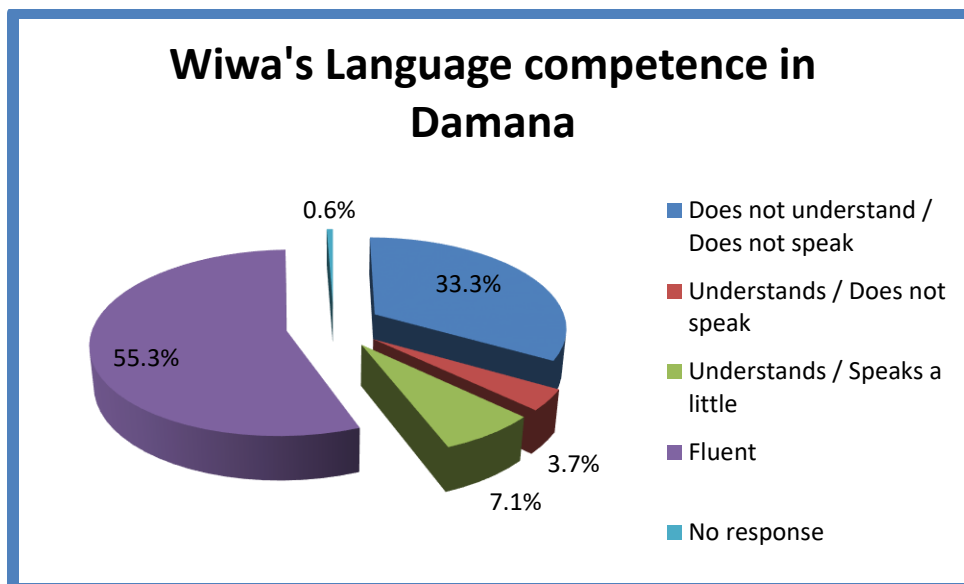


Figure 9. *Wiwa's language competence in Damana (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009)*

2.5 Language Vitality

Approximately 97% of the world's population use around 4% of the globe's languages. Inversely, 96% of the world's languages are spoken by a scarce 3% of the world's people (Bernard, 1996). As a number of scholars argue, languages are an important part of the heritage of humanity and cannot be ignored. People express their cultural identity through rituals, music, painting, craft and principally, through their language. Each person reflects their individual identity and their own beliefs in the way they use their language (Crystal, 2000). We identify particular cultures in relation to particular languages at every level because all of society's structures, including education, legal systems, religious beliefs and observances, self-governmental operations, literature, folklore, philosophy of morals and ethics, medical codes and even interpersonal interactions, are enacted via that particular language through which these activities were developed. All these events are identified and are intergenerationally associated with a specific language even in bilingual settings (Fishman, 2001). Then, when an official language rises to the position of national language, the speakers of this language rise with it and take over the control of politics and communication with the government and its representatives at the expense of the other, non official languages (Bourdieu, 1993). When these "non official"

languages lose prestige or importance, and people stop speaking, transmitting and learning them, they decline, and when nobody speaks them anymore, languages die because without people, languages do not exist (Crystal, 2000).

Once a language disappears, unique historical, cultural and ecological knowledge is lost. Languages reflect the way humans experience the world and these experiences are particular to a group of individuals (Bernard, 1992 as cited by UNESCO Ad Hoc group, 2003). Languages may differ from each other in endless and unpredictable ways because they are a human creation in response to different needs and human beings are capable of solving the same problem in a great variety of alternative ways (Aitchison, 2000). Due to these variances the analysis of language guides us to a specific “social reality.” The “real world” is built up according to the language habits of a group: in the same way that two languages are different, the representation of the social reality that they depict is totally different. This helps linguists understand how each society lives a distinct world not merely the same world with different labels. Therefore, language is incredibly valuable to the understanding of any culture (Sapir, 1929) and the more languages we study, the better our comprehension of humanity is.

Each language is vital to help us complete a broad picture of humankind. Languages of the same family share a number of features but there are isolated languages that cannot be related to others. In some instances, these languages have developed features that are not found in any other language (Crystal, 2000) and the study of these and all languages helps us solve historic and human behavioral problems providing tools to understand cultures (Sapir, 1929). “Arrays of memorable characters and ingenious plots, reflections on the human condition, imaginative descriptions and virtually unlimited creative manipulations of language” are recorded in every language and once a language is lost, that piece is also lost (Crystal, 2000).

As Emerson (1844) presented it, language is the archive of history in a two sided way. On one side, although the origin of most words is forgotten as time passes, it symbolizes the world of the first speaker and the study of etymology revives that brilliant picture, describing the way the speakers of a language used to see and understand the world. On

the other side, history is told by a specific language expressing through its own grammar and lexicon what happened before. When the language is lost, that connection to former times is gone.

Considering this, language loss is the destruction of rooted identities (Fishman, 1991); nevertheless, languages continue to disappear at a high rate. According to Ethnologue (Eberhard et al., 2019), of the 7,000 languages spoken in the world, 27% of them are “in trouble” and an additional 14% are dying (see figure 10).

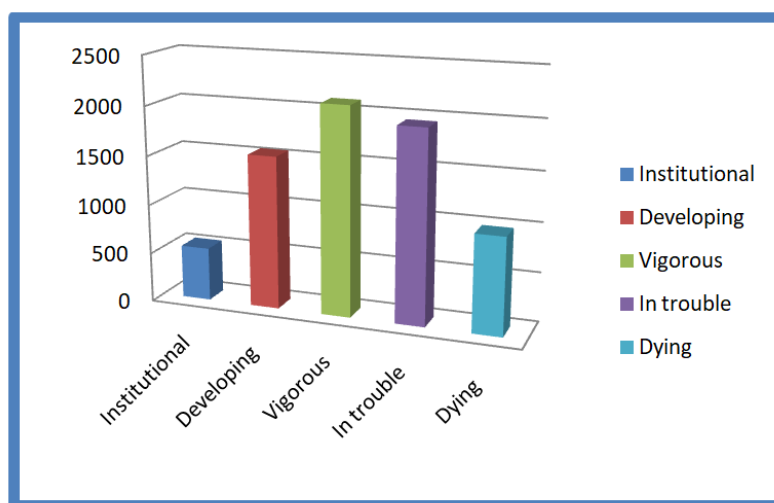


Figure 10. Languages of the world (Eberhard et al., 2009)

In South America, only 35% of languages were assessed as “vital” (or still being passed to the next generation) while the other 65% were undergoing some degree of language loss (Simons & Lewis, 2013). As a result of this situation, linguists, anthropologists, language activists and some communities have furthered their efforts to reverse language shift with different strategies.

In the following paragraphs, we will describe the three tools considered for the analysis of the language vitality of Damana.

2.5.1 Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS)

One of the most relevant steps in the assessment of the vitality of a language was the introduction of the Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (GIDS) (Fishman, 1991) which provided a solid framework to assess the endangerment or vitality of languages for almost 20 years. This model analyses language shift according to the loss of its functional use. In order to measure that functionality, GIDS assesses the role relations and the particular domains where language is implemented or avoided. Family, work, education, religion, entertainment and mass media, political parties and government are examples of the different domains where languages are used.

Table 4. *Stages of the GIDS model (Fishman, 1991)*

LEVEL	DESCRIPTION
1	The language is used in education, work, mass media, government at the nationwide level
2	The language is used for local and regional mass media and governmental services
3	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders
4	Literacy in the language is transmitted through education
5	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form throughout the community
6	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language
7	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it with their elders but is not transmitting to their children
8	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation

Taking these domains as a framework, GIDS measures the attitude, competence and performance of individuals associated with the language and quantifies language use

(Fishman, 1991). Based on these results, it is proposed that languages be classified in one of 8 stages. The first 4 levels describe languages whose vitality is strong whereas the last 4 levels are used for languages with a weak vitality. Table 4 provides a description of the stages of the GIDS model.

The GIDS model was a pioneer piece of work that provided a framework for scholars and communities that wished to protect their language or deter language shift. As any research tool, it has been analysed, modified and enriched. After careful consideration, some drawbacks have been identified. We will mention two that other models have addressed. First, the difficulty in differentiating between a language assessed as 6 *Vigorous*, that is, a language that is being maintained and is advancing in the scale towards a stable situation, from another one in the same level but in danger of shifting to the stage below because of losing speakers or not being steadily transmitted (Simons & Lewis, 2013); and second, the importance of including community attitudes towards the language in question and the amount and quality of documentation of the language as relevant factors (Dwyer, 2011). In this document, I will refer to two additional models that emerged as a result of Fishman's work. One is the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) used by the data base Ethnologue and the other consists of the UNESCO factors used to determine the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger.

2.5.2 Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS)

Ethnologue is a thorough data base that performs a comprehensive quantitative analysis of the vitality of the different languages around the world (Simons & Lewis, 2013). The information provided by numerous researchers and institutions in the globe is compiled in one place where almost all of the present spoken languages are described. Ethnologue is one of the main sources of information on vitality and endangerment of languages and their results are presented using the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS) with 13 evaluative levels; a model that emerged as an extension of GIDS in order to provide a more exact diagnosis of the condition of the languages. See Table 5 for a description of this scale.

Table 5. *The EGIDS as presented by Lewis and Simons*

Level	Label	Description	UNESCO
0	International	The language is used internationally for a broad range of functions	Safe
1	National	The language is used in education, work, mass media, and government at the nationwide level	Safe
2	Regional	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders	Safe
3	Trade	The language is used for local and regional work by both insiders and outsiders	Safe
4	Educational	Literacy in the language is being transmitted through a system of public education	Safe
5	Written	The language is used orally by all generations and is effectively used in written form in parts of the community	Safe
6a	Vigorous	The language is used orally by all generations and is being learned by children as their first language	Safe
6b	Threatened	The language is used orally by all generations but only some of the child-bearing generation are transmitting it to their children	Vulnerable
7	Shifting	The child-bearing generation knows the language well enough to use it among themselves but none are transmitting it to their children	Definitely endangered
8a	Moribund	The only remaining active speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation	Severely endangered
8b	Nearly extinct	The only remaining speakers of the language are members of the grandparent generation or older who have little opportunity to use the language	Critically endangered
9	Dormant	The language serves as a remainder of heritage identity for an ethnic community. No one has more than symbolic proficiency	Extinct
10	Extinct	No one retains a sense of ethnic identity associated with the language, even for symbolic purposes	Extinct

As can be seen in this scale, levels 6 and 8 have been expanded to an “a” and “b” sublevel to point to a language development vs. language shift situation. It also includes levels 9 and 10 to provide a better description for languages in the lower levels of the scale. EGIDS can be seen as an improvement of GIDS; however, it does not take into account the number of speakers and community attitudes towards the language (Dwyer, 2011). These are two factors of paramount importance if we want to avoid generalizing as vigorous a language that in reality could be in danger of extinction. The next resource used to measure language vitality that will be discussed in this document is the UNESCO factors.

2.5.3 UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger Factors

The UNESCO Atlas of the World’s Languages in Danger provides a description of the different languages and their current condition based on 9 factors (Table 6). Eight of these factors are assessed in a likert-scale from 0 to 5. The second factor, as its name implies, is based on the total number of speakers. Each grade has its own descriptors according to the factor being measured.

Table 6. *UNESCO nine evaluative factors of language vitality*

Factor 1	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Factor 2	Absolute Number of Speakers
Factor 3	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population
Factor 4	Trends in Existing Language Domains
Factor 5	Response to New Domains and Media
Factor 6	Materials for Language Education and Literacy
Factor 7	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies Including Official Status and Use
Factor 8	Community Member’s Attitudes toward their own Language
Factor 9	Amount and Quality of Documentation

More than just adding the numbers and thus obtaining a result, a practice that is totally discouraged by UNESCO, all the factors should be examined according to the purpose of the evaluation to determine the type of support and the actions needed for language revitalization, maintenance, perpetuation or documentation (UNESCO Ad Hoc group, 2003). Based on the correlation of these factors, a degree of endangerment might be assigned to the language. The UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger shows the 6 categories of endangerment that we reproduce here in Table 7. For the purposes of the atlas, the most important factor is intergenerational transmission.

Table 7. UNESCO degrees of endangerment (Moseley, 2010)

Degree of endangerment	Intergenerational Language Transmission
Safe	language is spoken by all generations; intergenerational transmission is uninterrupted >> <i>not included in the Atlas</i>
📍 Vulnerable	most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)
📍 definitely endangered	children no longer learn the language as mother tongue in the home
📍 severely endangered	language is spoken by grandparents and older generations; while the parent generation may understand it, they do not speak it to children or among themselves
📍 critically endangered	the youngest speakers are grandparents and older, and they speak the language partially and infrequently
📍 Extinct	there are no speakers left >> <i>included in the Atlas if presumably extinct since the 1950s</i>

To sum up, we briefly discussed the characteristics of three different tools used in the measurement of language vitality: the GIDS introduced by Fishman; the EGIDS, an expanded version of the GIDS used by Ethnologue; and the UNESCO nine factors used by the Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger. Due to the attention to the description of the different factors that could affect language vitality and the possibility of assessing the language in terms of the interrelation among these factors better than just a placement on a scale, the present study will analyse the vitality of Damana in two different Wiwa schools in SNSM implementing the UNESCO nine factors tool.



Figure 11. *Students weaving. Zharneka School*

2.6 Research Questions

Taking into account the work done to describe the degrees of vitality of a language and the apparent contradiction between scholars regarding the current condition of Damana, this study aims to answer the following questions:

1. In which stage of language endangerment according to the UNESCO Atlas of Language Endangerment is the Damana language spoken in two different Wiwa school communities located in the north slope of the Sierra Nevada de Santa Marta (SNSM) in Colombia?
2. Based on these findings, what would be the necessary steps to follow in order to revitalize the Damana language?



Figure 12. Meeting at "Kangaga" (The hill). Gotsezhy



Figure 13. *Traditional houses. Gotsezhy*



Figure 14. *Traditional houses. Atshintujkua*

Chapter 3

3 Methodology, Instruments, Scenario and Participants

This section discusses the methodological approach and the instruments used to gather the information analyzed. It also provides a brief description of the participants and scenario in the study.

As previously mentioned, this project aims to assess the vitality of Damana in two different Wiwa school communities and based on this result describe the strategies used for language maintenance and provide a framework for the design of a possible approach. In other words, the aim of this project is to observe the different aspects of language vitality within the community, in order for us to reach conclusions which could hopefully provide a useful tool for the members of the community to effectively maintain, develop, revitalize and perpetuate Damana.

According to this objective, we decided to use three different tools in the collection of data. This approach would allow us to triangulate the results and compare them to obtain a more confident interpretation in order to categorize the vitality of the language appropriately (Litosseliti, 2018). It will also help us gain a better understanding of the reality of the Wiwas and their language acquisition because this was information obtained from different sources. It is expected that in the end, all data will point in the same direction. The methodology used to analyse these tools is described below.

3.1 Methodological Approach

The fact that we want to describe the current situation of Damana in the two boarding schools guided us to a cross-sectional study where we will get a snapshot of the communities in a specific time frame. This is important because as we have learned, Indigenous languages in Colombia and particularly Damana in SNSM are under constant development due to the unstoppable effort of Indigenous communities. We may find different results in a few years and it is our hope that this study will positively contribute to improvement in the vitality of the language.

Furthermore, it seemed appropriate to apply a mixed method approach, both quantitative and qualitative.

The questions in the survey (quantitative) offer mathematical results that help us measure demographical aspects, the attitudes towards the language and its use and let us present our results within the scale that classifies the vitality of languages. Among other things, this is important as it situates Damana in relation to the rest of the languages spoken in the globe and could direct our attention to what has been done in other places to revitalize languages in the same situation. It also allows us to compare internally the attitudes, needs and wants in two Wiwa settings that, although they are both fighting to preserve their cultural identity and strive to flourish within the larger picture of Colombian society, may still be vastly dissimilar in their core linguistic needs and implementation of linguistic policies.

The other two instruments offer additional information on the attitudes and beliefs of Damana and Spanish speakers in the Wiwa community. They also present facts that are present in the two communities that impact the results of this study. From the interviews and field notes, we learned that, in some respects, Wiwa families in SNSM share a unanimous position about the importance of their language to preserve their culture; however, they clearly differ in some attitudes and beliefs. It is important then, to find common ground in this diversity to allow for a positive development of the Wiwas as a whole.

The analysis of the results is presented as an integration of quantitative and qualitative data where the two complement each other and produce a stronger final product. We share with Tashkkori and Teddlie, 2003 (as cited by Litosseliti, 2018) the view that integrating these two methodologies allows for 'diversity of views' and 'stronger inferences'.

The three collection tools chosen to gather data for this project and the rationale behind our decision will be described in the following paragraphs.

3.2 Instruments

3.2.1 Questionnaire

The first instrument was a questionnaire designed to elicit information based on numerical scales (See Appendix 5). From these results we obtained quantitative information that allowed us to classify the vitality of the language according to the nine-level UNESCO framework.

The first part of the questionnaire elicited demographic information. It included gender, age, education and occupation. We inquired about mother tongue, the dominant language of the father and of the mother and the languages spoken by the respondent during the first 5 years of life. Self-reported proficiency and use of Spanish and Damana were also collected from the participants. Self reported proficiency asked if they read, write or speak in each of the languages. We asked respondents to self-assess how often they used Damana and Spanish with their relatives, friends, and animals, and what language they used at school, stores, and doctors. In the case of parents and teachers, we also asked their perception of the use of Spanish and Damana by their children and students. Finally, we asked all the participants whether their language was a sign of identity and to rate the importance of knowing Spanish and Damana, as well as the importance for their children (in the case of parents and students) to master both languages.

The intention was to distribute this questionnaire to the households in the two communities that were visited so the heads of the family could complete it.

Unfortunately, this was not possible. The two schools visited are boarding schools. The students stay there during most of the year. They visit their families during special holidays and celebrations and parents come to the school when there is an important event with the authorities of the community. A few parents come on a regular basis to bring supplies or to work in the kitchen, surveillance or administrative tasks. As a consequence, the questionnaires were only used in the school.

3.2.2 Interviews

Secondly, the researcher conducted interviews in the two communities to elicit attitudes and perspectives regarding the language (See Appendix 6).

We wanted to obtain the opinion of the participants regarding school, so we asked all of them if they recognized any effort made by the school to promote the use of Damana. We asked parents if they knew of classes taught in Damana and whether they considered the school teachings enough for their children. The questions in the interview are listed below:

1. Do you have activities to promote the use of Damana?
Please explain
2. Do you know poems, stories, songs and sayings in Damana that are transmitted from generation to generation?
Examples
3. What is your opinion of Wiwa who do not speak Damana?
4. What is your opinion of Wiwa who do not speak Spanish?
5. Do you believe that there are better opportunities available to those who speak Spanish? Explain
6. Do you believe that it is an advantage for your children to speak Damana well? Explain
7. Do you feel Damana as part of your identity?

Besides these general questions, we asked the students what they wanted to do after school and if they felt the government or the school was helping them achieve those goals. They told us what they thought of the school curricula and if there were other subjects or additional teachings they wished were added. There was a question about infrastructure and access to new technologies like computers, cellphones, social media and information in general. Students told us their interests and attitudes towards Damana and Spanish and the role played by the community and the school regarding their language acquisition.

In the case of parents, they were asked about their attitudes and the linguistic profile of their children based on their own perception. We invited them to assess the role of the community and the school in the transmission and maintenance of Damana and Spanish and to mention their own involvement in their children's education. We also asked the following questions:

1. How important is it that your children speak Damana?
2. How important is it that your children speak Spanish?
3. Do you feel that Damana is a sign of your identity?
4. Do you recognize any intention on the part of the schools to promote the use of Damana?
5. Do you know if any classes are taught in Damana?
6. Is what the school teaches your children enough?
7. What do you teach your children that is not taught at school?
8. Do you know poems, stories, songs and sayings in Damana that are transmitted from generation to generation?
9. Do you believe that there are better opportunities available to those who speak Spanish?
10. Do you believe that it is an advantage for your children to speak Damana well?
11. Do you believe that it is an advantage for your children to speak Spanish well?
12. Do you believe that it is an advantage for your children to speak both Damana and Spanish?

Teachers answered the interview and described how they try (or not) to incorporate the Indigenous language in their classes, what the participation of the students is and their use of Damana in the different domains. They also mentioned the attitudes of the school, the community and the students regarding the implementation of opportunities to develop

and maintain Damana. We asked what else needs to be done and how they perceive the importance of Damana and Spanish in the community.

All three groups commented on the [scarce] involvement of the government in implementing policies, promoting the use of the Native language and improving the school infrastructure.

Some of the interviews were recorded and the information was analyzed and coded by the researcher based on the descriptors of language vitality. The objective was to record all of the interviews. However, adverse circumstances prevented this from happening and only 18 were recorded. Nevertheless, all of the interviews (those recorded and those transcribed) were examined for the purposes of this research. Access to electricity or use of the recorder device where the interview was being conducted was not always possible as some interviews happened in the kitchen, the top of the hill, in open isolated spaces and the school yard. Careful notes were taken trying to record as much information as possible. The goal of the interview was to complete a thorough description of the condition of the language and the beliefs of the two communities regarding it.

Although the questionnaire and the interview were condensed into one event, they provided different information. The questionnaire answers were tabulated and analyzed. These results are discussed in detail in the following pages. The statistical analysis helped us study the language in light of the UNESCO assessment of language vitality and endangerment. The responses to the interview contributed to the description of the current situation of the language and provided solid examples of the aspects contained in the UNESCO framework.

3.2.3 Field Notes

Finally, the researcher completed detailed field notes as she was visiting the communities. Some of the notes were taken in place to make sure details were not forgotten; other notes were carefully written after the fact when the researcher was recalling the experiences of the day.

The field notes contain descriptions of the places, events and conversations, as well as the attitudes of the different actors. There were visits to the community, the family houses and sacred and meeting places. We observed some of the classes and general gatherings of the school as well as interactions between students and among teachers and students in class and out of the classroom.

Although there is an explicit effort to have objective notes with a clear distinction when personal comments, feelings or hunches are expressed, there was no attempt to tape or record field observations as these procedures impact the normal behavior of people (Taylor, et al., 2015). One of the objectives of the field observations was to identify speakers of Spanish and Damana and the different circumstances under which each language is used. Based on patterns, the field notes were categorized to provide a description of language use in the community.

In the next section, we will introduce the scenario and participants.

3.3 Scenario and Participants

As previously mentioned, the Wiwa population is located in SNSM and shares this territory with two other Indigenous peoples, the Koguis and the Ikas. The political and administrative headquarters for these three Indigenous groups is known as *Casa Indígena* [Indigenous House]. There are Indigenous Houses in some of the cities close to the Native settlements including Santa Marta, San Juan and Valledupar. The Indigenous House is an organization where the Indigenous groups of SNSM meet to make decisions and start projects that affect them all. All exchanges between the Indigenous groups and the *suntalu*, as they call people who are not Indigenous, start in the Indigenous House. The representatives that work on education, legal advice, infrastructure projects, Indigenous rights, general meetings, conferences and seminars work there and all decisions regarding the schools are carried out there too.

The Cabildo Gobernador that represents the administration of each community, the Wiwa Secretary of Education, the principal of each school and a few teachers and authorities met at the Indigenous House to grant authorization for us to visit the two schools for the

purpose of this work. First, authorities from the Wiwas in Magdalena met in the Indigenous House of Santa Marta, to consider the visit to Gotsezhy; and in Valledupar and San Juan del Cesar, authorities from the Wiwas in Cesar did the same regarding the visit to Atshintujkua. They first enquired what the project was about, its duration and the extent of the contact with the community. They transmitted all this information to the Mamos, their spiritual leaders, who made the final decision.

3.3.1 The Communities

In Colombia, elementary and secondary public educational institutions are divided into district educational institutions and district ethno-educational institutions known as IED's (Institución Educativa Distrital). Ethno-educational institutions offer their educational services to Indigenous peoples. The educational institutions serve the rest of the population, *criollos* and *mestizos*.

There are some preschool and primary schools in SNSM for the Wiwa community but only two institutions offer middle and high school education to Wiwa students. These institutions are located in the communities Gotsezhy and Atshintujkua (see map, figure 15) located on the north side of SNSM; Gotsezhy is on the west and Atshintujkua on the east. As we saw, the Wiwas are distributed in three of the 32 departments of Colombia. Gotsezhy is the principal community and gathering point of the Wiwas in Magdalena. Atshintujkua, on the other hand, is the capital town of the Wiwas, and the central point for the Wiwa population of Cesar.

Both IED's (educational institutions) are public boarding schools. They are financed by the government who pays the teachers, the administrative staff, and provides some supplies and infrastructure. Currently, one of the principals and most teachers are not Indigenous. However, the Secretary of Education for the Wiwa people is an Indigenous individual who works closely with all the principals and staff of the schools located within the Wiwa territory. Although the school follows the national standards of education and prepares the students to take the standardized assessments, they also seek to preserve and develop their language and culture. That is why there is no religion class and sexual education is the responsibility of the authorities of the Indigenous groups and

not the school. Discipline is administered by the teachers and principals in close consultation with the authorities of the community. There are mamos and sagas that live on the premises or very close to the schools and are available when needed.

In both schools there are a few Wiwa teachers. They teach Damana, ancestral knowledge and arts. They are in charge of preserving the culture. Both schools are making an effort to include some Wiwa knowledge and culture in other subjects as well. However, as we observed during our visit, as this approach has not been standardized, it depends on the teachers themselves to implement it. For instance, a teacher at the ethno-educational center Zharneka told us:

In class, we have a multi-ethnic dictionary. We have three columns with terms in Damana, Spanish and English. The students analyze the languages and come with their conclusions. For example, they notice there are no words in Damana that start with ñ or w. [Although in fact, Wiwa, Wimake (a town located near Gotsezhi), wəkumən (swim), wa (approve), wən (ashes), winkubi (meeting) begin with w. There are no words that begin with e or o...]

En clase hay un diccionario multiétnico. En las tres columnas, tenemos términos en damana, español e inglés. Los estudiantes analizan y sacan sus conclusiones. Por ejemplo, ninguna palabra en damana inicia con w o ñ. VD-SJ-030-D

Students in both institutions stay at school during the academic year. They go home for vacation and long holidays. They have regular classes during the morning and diverse activities in the afternoon. Some students help with the crops and animals, cutting wood for the stoves, cleaning, or they have after-school classes to learn Indigenous arts and crafts.

As public institutions, the schools are open to all children in the area. We found peasant children who were not of Indigenous origin and students from other Indigenous communities like Koguis and Ikas. However, the majority of students are Wiwa.

In our visit to the ethno-educational center Zharneka, we found some of the upper grades of high school were gender-isolated. They are trying to implement single sex education

across the schools but they do not have enough classrooms and teachers to effectively do so. The administrators explained that education for boys and girls is different in the community and it is usual for girls to be shy and submissive in the presence of boys. They are happy with the results of the separation. As a teacher told us, times of confession and advice for boys and girls are different and sometimes with different authorities.

Gotsezhy and Atshintukua share a number of similarities as they host the same Indigenous group; however, there are also important disparities due to different factors, such as location and surrounding conditions. Therefore, we will describe each community and each school separately.

3.3.2 Gotsezhy

Gotsezhy is a small community also known as El Encanto. It is located on the Northwest slope of SNSM, 2 hours drive from Santa Marta, the closest main city. Santa Marta is the 3rd most important city in the Colombian Caribbean Region and one of the principal tourist destinations in the country. Although we did not find specific information on the population of Gotsezhy, according to the Ministerio de Cultura (2014), there is a population of 458 Wiwas in the Magdalena region, scattered in the SNSM, the city of Santa Marta and its surroundings.

The first construction at the entrance of Gotsezhy is the public ethno-educational institution, Zalemakú Sertuga. This is the school and the heart of the community. The school is named after one of the first Wiwa teachers, José Gil Sauna, who was killed by illegal groups in Cesar, Colombia and whose name in Damana was Zalemakú (Huertas Díaz et al., 2014). Zalemakú Sertuga is a boarding school that has 18 teachers (four of them are Indigenous) and 160 students. There are a number of classrooms, bathrooms, the cafeteria and a revered place called “*Kangaga*” or “la loma [the hill]”. *Kangaga* is one of the most important sacred and consultation sites; it is a low hill marked by a number of stone or wood seats called *atijkana* where students meditate or go for confession to recover their peace if they are at fault. The Mamo sits there, under a tree, and provides spiritual direction, counseling and instruction. In this place, all the spiritual needs of the

students, teachers and visitors are met. When the authorities of the community visit, they meet there; and if important decisions are made, they are made there too (Conchacala Gil, 2015).

Behind the school, there are a number of traditional houses. The two larger constructions, differentiated by the particular way in which the straw of their walls is woven, are the ceremonial house for women, *ushui*, and *unguma*, the one for men (Conchacala Gil, 2015). The rest of the constructions belong to the families of the community. The Mamo stays in one of them most of the time and each family has a traditional house there. They are built in circular shape with straw roof and clay walls. Families live in their own farms but stay in these houses when there is an important event or when they come to visit the children. The school has crops of different vegetables, coffee and coca and they raise small cattle like pigs, chickens, and fish.

Families in the Wiwa community are spread in SNSM so most of the students stay at the institution during the school months and get back home for the holidays. Many children start preschool but few of them complete their high school education, which in Colombia ends in grade 11th. At the time of our visit, there were 37 students in the two preschool classrooms but only seven in their last high school year, 11th grade. These seven students were all male. Marriage is one of the main reasons for leaving school and girls tend to marry and have children at an early age. The school is making an effort to convince young girl students to continue their education even if they are married or pregnant and we learned of two pregnant girls in 9th grade. We did not approach them as they were not adults yet and our ethics approval did not allow for it. This situation helps to explain education and language development in SNSM for the Wiwas and adds to the challenges of bringing balanced opportunities for them. If school is playing an important role in improving and strengthening the language, the fact that girls leave it before completing their education impacts intergenerational transmission in a negative way.

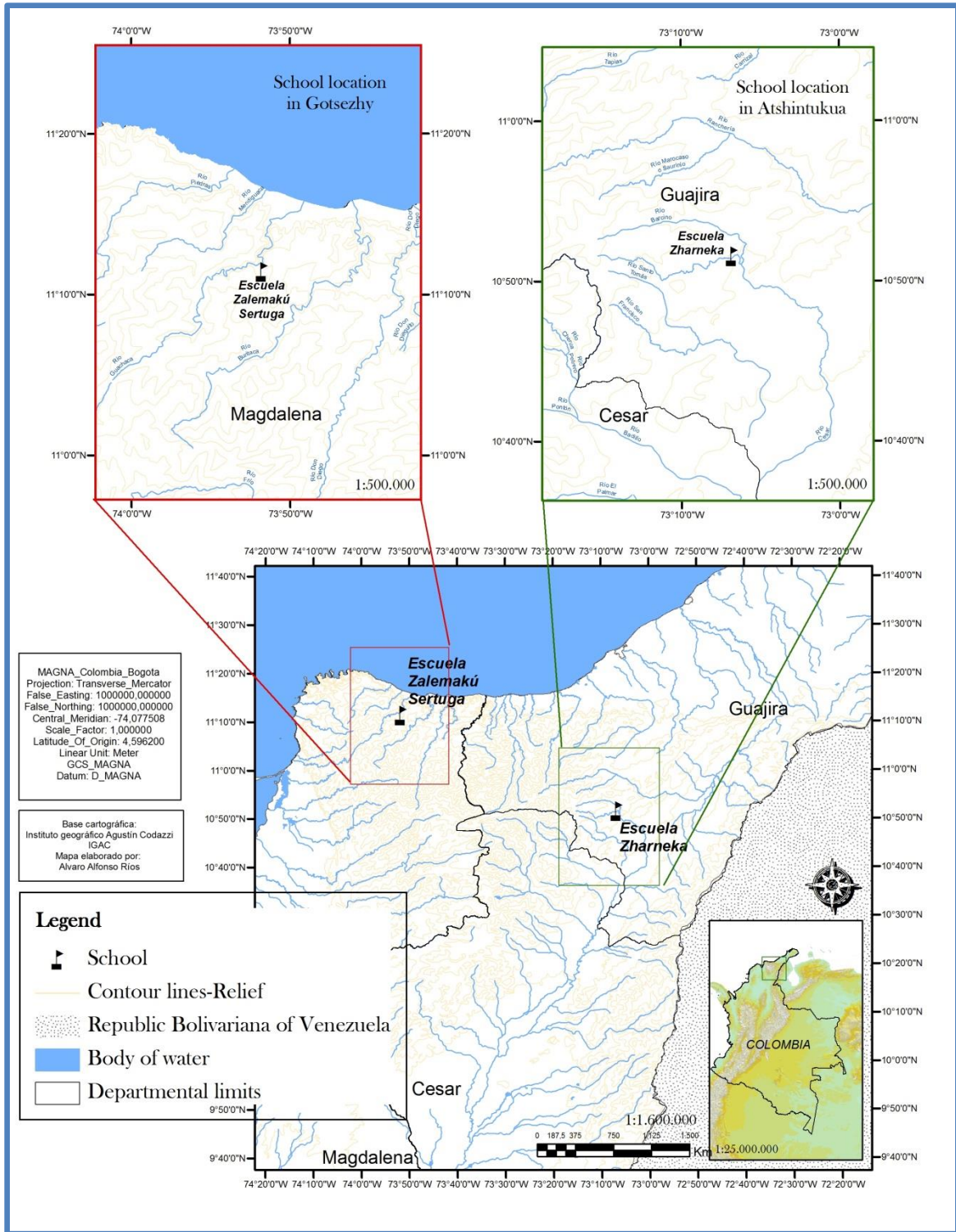


Figure 15. Location of the two boarding schools, ethno-educational centers Zalemakú Sertuga and Zharneka (Ríos, 2020)

3.3.3 Atshintujkua

In order to go to Atshintujkua, we first visited the Indigenous House of Valledupar, the 13th city of Colombia according to its population and the 4th one in the Colombian Caribbean Region. They sent us with a letter to the cabildo of Atshintujkua and the principal of the school. We were told we would find them in the Indigenous House of San Juan del Cesar, a small town famous for its Vallenato Festival, a musical celebration of typical music in the coast that attracts people from all of the country and from the four corners of the globe. From there, we drove 40 minutes to the community of Atshintujkua.

The Mamos tell that all Wiwa families started in Atshintujkua and migrated to other places in SNSM. The few families left there abandoned this site due to colonization processes; especially the orphanage built in La Sierrita to educate and convert Indigenous youth and integrate them into the *criollo* society. In 1996, the lands were restored to the community and they founded Atshintujkua again (Sauna, 2018).

This community is bigger than Gotsezhy. Atshintujkua isn't just only another town but the capital of the Wiwas. There are two types of housing in the community. Towards the north, you find the traditional sector. Houses have straw roofs and clay walls. They also have the two ceremonial houses: One for the men, the '*unguma*' and one for the women, the '*ushui*'. On the south, there are common brick walls and zinc roof houses. Between the two sectors there is a huge communal house where important meetings take place. On the eastern side there is a health centre, and the educational institution (Conchacala Gil, 2015). Unlike Gotsezhy, some families permanently live in Atshintujkua although not all of them have children in the school. The ethno-educational institution Zharneka was founded in 2004 and became a boarding school in 2012 (Sauna, 2018). It was named Zharneka after a mythical figure for the Wiwa people. There are currently 360 students in the ethno-educational center Zharneka. It has two dorms, one for boys and one for girls. These are spacious rooms where students and their tutor hang their hammocks. There are some classrooms, a cafeteria and bathrooms. To the south of the school lies the sacred site, "*Kangaga*" or "la Loma" and a spacious place where the most traditional Wiwas

grow fique¹⁵; on rare occasions, students help with the crop as a result of disciplinary action or punishment. Behind the classrooms, there is an open space where students cultivate different vegetables. The entire school infrastructure is surrounded by a brick wall with one entrance that is controlled at all times by a Wiwa guard.

3.3.4 Participants

Participants in this research were parents, teachers and students of these two institutions in SNSM. At Gotsezhy we interviewed 13 students, 11 teachers and three parents (See table 8).

All students were 18 years old or more. Nine students were in grade 11 and four were in grade 10. Twelve students are Indigenous and one of them is the son of a family of peasants. The majority of them, 9 students, spoke Damana as their first language. One of them spoke Spanish, one Koguian and the other two, Ikan.

Ten students were monolingual and three were early bilinguals. One Wiwa student was bilingual in Damana and Koguian. The mother of the Koguian speaker was Wiwa, so he also spoke Damana at home. Finally, we inquired about Age of Acquisition (AOA in the chart). One of the Ika students spoke Ikan and Spanish at home. All of the students started learning Spanish after the age of six except for the two students that learned Spanish in early childhood. Only three students did not learn Damana in their early childhood: The *suntalu* that started at the age 17, and the two Ika students that started when they were 12 and 16, the ages when they joined the Wiwa school. All of them feel they have a good level in Spanish and Damana, except for the son of the peasants who said he had little knowledge of Damana and one of the Ika students who said he could speak Damana but his writing skills were poor.

¹⁵Fique. a strong durable fiber obtained from the leaves of a succulent tropical American plant of the genus *Furcraea*: CABUYA (Fique: Merriam Webster, 2020)

Table 8. Summary of participants (n=56)

STUDENTS GOTSEZHY				
Sex	Male: 13		Female: 0	
Indigenous	YES: 12		NO: 1	
AOA ¹⁶ Damana Mean	3.5			
AOA Spanish Mean	9			
Preferred language	Damana 2	Spanish 10	Koguian 1	
Language before 5yrs. Old	Spanish 4	Damana 2	NR 6	Other 1

STUDENTS ATSHINTUJKUA				
Sex	Male: 9		Female: 7	
Indigenous	Yes 16		No 0	
AOA Damana Mean	3.5			
AOA Spanish Mean	3.5			
Preferred language	Damana 5	Spanish 7	NR 4	
Language before 5yrs. Old	Damana 7	Spanish 6	Both 3	

TEACHERS GOTSEZHY				
Sex	Male: 9		Female: 1	
Indigenous	YES: 5		NO: 5	
Age	21-30: 6	31-40: 2	41-50: 0	50+: 2
Studies	Normal: 3	College: 1	Bachelor: 5	Master: 1
First language	Damana: 4	Spanish: 5	Other: 1	

TEACHERS ATSHINTUJKUA				
Sex	Male: 5		Female: 5	
Indigenous	YES: 3		NO: 7	
Age	21-30: 3	31-40: 4	41-50: 2	50+: 1
Studies	Normal: 0	College: 4	Bachelor: 5	Master: 1
First language	Damana: 2	Spanish: 8	Other: 0	

PARENTS GOTSEZHY				
Sex	Male: 1		Female: 2	
Age	21-30: 0	31-40: 3	41-50: 0	50+: 0
Studies	No school			
First language	Damana: 2	Spanish: 0	Koguian: 1	
AOA Damana mean	1.7			
AOA Spanish mean	10.7			

¹⁶ AOA: age of acquisition: refers to the age at which the participant first started learning Spanish

PARENTS ATSHINTUJKUA				
Sex	Male: 1		Female: 3	
Age	21-30: 1	31-40: 1	41-50: 1	50+: 1
Studies	No School: 1	Elementary: 1	Middle: 1	High: 1
First language	Damana: 2		Spanish: 2	Other: 0
AOA Damana mean	3 individuals: 7		Does not speak: 1	
AOA Spanish mean	2.2			

Ten teachers filled the questionnaire and participated in the interview; nine male and one female. Five teachers were Indigenous and learned Spanish in their early years. Four full time teachers and an extra-curricular instructor were interviewed. All of the ten teachers had studies beyond high school. Three graduated from the normal school (pedagogical institute), one had a college degree, five had a bachelors and one was currently a Masters student.

It was difficult to approach parents as they do not come to the school often. We talked to three parents. Two were Wiwa and one was Kogui but spoke Damana. They had not gone to school but all of them spoke some Spanish.

At Atshintujkua, we approached 16 students, ten teachers and four parents. Seven students were female and nine were male. Damana was the first language of ten students and Spanish was the first language of the other six. However, all of them learned Spanish before turning seven, except for one that learned Spanish after ten. All of them felt confident in Spanish and four of them self-assessed their skills in Damana as poor.

Teachers were five males and five females: The five Indigenous teachers speak Damana. One of them speaks a variety of Damana called Cherúa, because of the region where it is spoken. Four graduated from college, five had a bachelors and one had a Masters degree.

The four parents were three female and one male. The first language of two of them is Damana and the other two spoke Spanish since birth. None of them could write Damana and only one of them could read it.

Now that the methodology and instruments used to gather the information have been presented and the scenario and participants have been described, let's turn our attention to the findings of this study.



Figure 16. *Indigenous House. Santa Marta*



Figure 17. *Indigenous House. Valledupar*

Chapter 4

4 Findings

All the information gathered was classified and analyzed to assess the vitality of Damana among Wiwas from the two boarding schools, the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga in the community of Gotsezhy (El Encanto), and the ethno- educational center Zharneka, located in Atshinjtukua. After careful consideration, we decided to use the parameters set by UNESCO to determine the level of Vitality or Endangerment of the languages that are portrayed in the Atlas of Language Endangerment (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group, 2003).

Table 7 summarizes the six levels used to categorize the languages. The selection of the level of endangerment is based on a thorough analysis of the nine factors listed below. We will proceed to consider each factor in light of the data collected. Examples from the interviews and questionnaires will support the information. Our own translation is followed by the original Spanish version and the code of the participant. We will conclude the analysis of each factor with our own assessment. The nine factors are:

1. Intergenerational Language Transmission.
2. Absolute Number of Speakers.
3. Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population.
4. Trends in Existing Language Domains.
5. Response to New Domains and Media.
6. Materials for Language Education and Literacy.
7. Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies Including Official Status and Use.
8. Community Member's Attitudes toward their own Language.
9. Amount and Quality of Documentation.

4.1 Intergenerational Language Transmission

During the two visits we conducted, it became evident that language transmission of Damana has not been interrupted and there have always been a number of children being raised with Damana as their first language at home. However, the situation is not consistent in the two communities and differs greatly in the two schools.

Most of the children that attend the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga come from families that mainly speak Damana or another Native language, live in the SNSM and have reduced contact with the Spanish speaking population. They learn the Indigenous language at home and start learning Spanish at ages 6 to 9, when they come to school. In our sample, 69% of the students considered Damana their mother language, 8% had Koguián and 15% spoke Ikan. Only 8% considered Spanish their mother tongue and one of these students did not belong to an Indigenous community but was the child of a family of peasants that had a farm nearby. These results show that 92% of the students from the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga in our sample spoke their traditional language before learning Spanish (see figure 18). When asked what they thought about Wiwas who did not speak Damana, some of these students told us they did not know any Wiwa that did not have some command of Damana. As we will see, there are a number of Wiwas who, as we previously mentioned, did not learn Damana but are monolingual in Spanish due to the aggressive Hispanicization and Catholic evangelization processes implemented since colonial times. The fact that some of the students have not had any contact with Wiwa Spanish monolinguals is a favorable situation for the preservation of the language and culture.

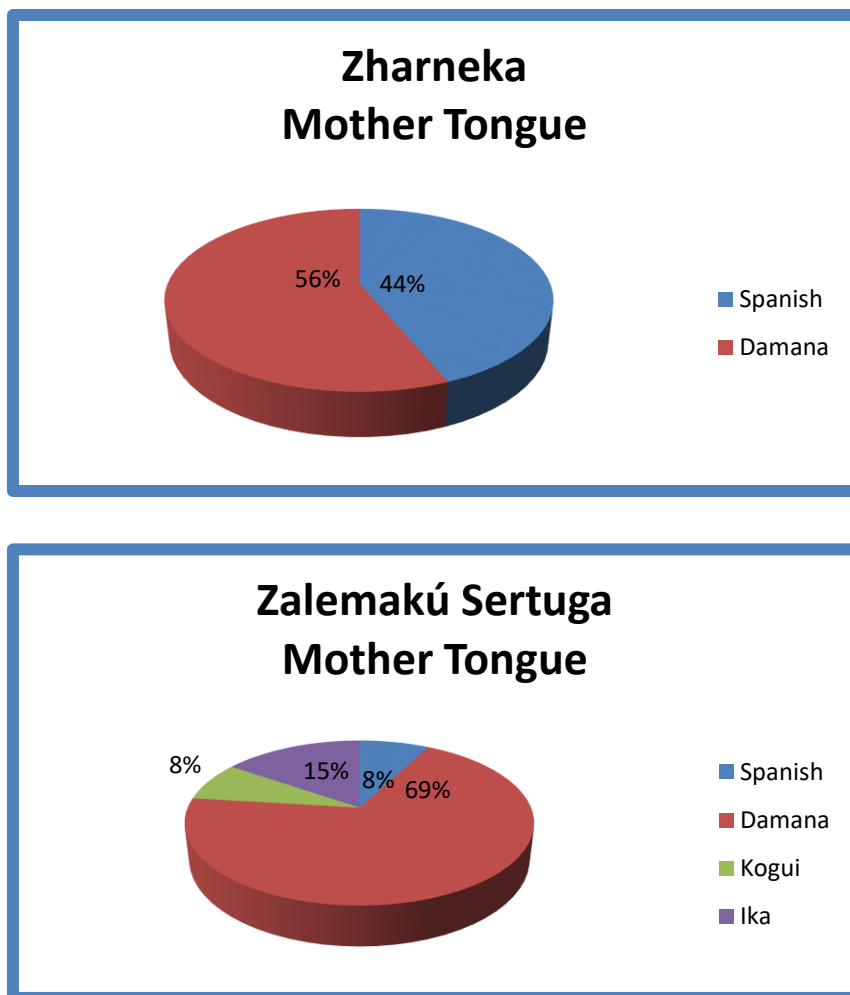


Figure 18. *Mother tongues spoken by students at the ethno-educational centers Zharneka and Zalemakú Sertuga*

In Atshintujkua, the scenario is totally different. Students at the ethno-educational center Zharneka only mentioned Damana or Spanish as their mother tongue. We did not identify students from other Indigenous groups although we were told there were some.

According to their answers, 44% of the students in our sample spoke Spanish as their first language against 56% that considered Damana their mother tongue (see figure 18). Here the efforts of the school are aimed at teaching and reinforcing Damana because Spanish is broadly spread and students complete their schooling with a good command of Spanish but a weak acquisition of Damana. This is reinforced by some of the comments made by teachers at the ethno-educational center Zharneka:

“They need more [hourly] intensity in Damana teaching. They need to practice more.”

Necesitan más intensidad en la enseñanza del damana. Necesitan practicar mucho más.
Teacher VD-SJ-025-D Zharneka.

“As Wiwa Indigenous, language and culture should be known but conditions are adverse.”

Como indígenas Wiwa la lengua y la cultura se deberían saber, pero las circunstancias son adversas. Teacher VD-SJ-027-D Zharneka.

“Traditional [Indigenous students] finish school with an advanced level in [Spanish] language. However, the level of Damana varies a lot. They develop comprehension, literacy, orthography, cohesion and coherence in Spanish but need more in Damana.”

Los tradicionales salen avanzados en la lengua pero el nivel de damana es muy variado. En español trabajan la comprensión, lectoescritura, ortografía, cohesión y coherencia pero necesitan más en damana. Teacher VD-SJ-030-D Zharneka.

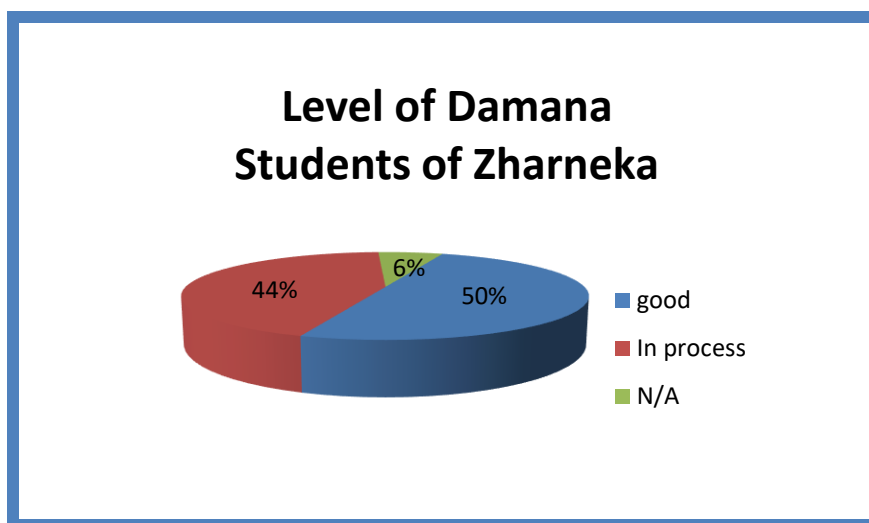


Figure 19. Level of Damana self assessed by the students of the ethno-educational center Zharneka

When asked about their level of Damana, only 50% of the students considered they had a good level in the language. 44% mentioned their language was in progress or was not good enough (figure 19).

The first descriptor of the UNESCO Languages in Danger is the Intergenerational Language Transmission. According to it, we would classify Damana as *Unsafe, grade four (4)*. As we have seen from the previous information, Damana is spoken by most but not all children at the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga and in the ethno-educational center Zharneka there are a significant number of children who do not know Damana and go to school to try to learn it. Additionally, as we will see in the next excerpts, the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga represents a small portion of the total Wiwa population and the majority of this Indigenous people inhabits the departments of Guajira and Cesar, closer to the ethno-educational center Zharneka.

4.2 Absolute Number of Speakers

Before we talk about the absolute number of speakers, it is important to discuss the population of Wiwas. This information will provide a background to the number of speakers and will also be useful in determining their proportion within the total Wiwa population.

In the national survey of 1993, for the first time, a question related to the Indigenous groups was included in the National Census and applied to all the Colombian population. Before 1993, there were no official numbers about the Indigenous population of Colombia due to the fact that Indigenous people were considered ‘minors’ (*menores de edad*) or ‘uncivilized’. Colombia only recognized her multiethnic and multicultural composition in the Constitution of 1991. According to it, Colombian Indigenous, African-Colombian and Raizal (community in San Andres Island) minorities obtained political, legal and cultural recognition. The National Department of Statistics of Colombia (DANE) included questions about ethnic groups in the two subsequent censuses.

The 1993 Survey included the questions listed in table 9 (DANE, 1993):

Table 9. Ethnic origin questions, National Survey, 1993

Year		
1993	<i>Do you belong to any ethnic group, Indigenous group or black community?</i>	Questions for all the population
	YES ___ Which one? _____ NO	
	<i>Do you speak your Indigenous language? YES NO</i>	Questions for people surveyed with the F2 form * within Indigenous areas
	<i>Do you speak another Indigenous language?</i>	
YES ___ How many? _____ NO	*Form related to Indigenous languages	
Año		
1993	<i>¿Pertenece a alguna etnia, grupo indígena o comunidad negra?</i>	Para todas las personas
	SÍ ___ ¿A cuál? _____ NO	
	<i>¿Habla su lengua indígena? SI NO</i>	Solo para las personas censadas con F2 en áreas predominantemente indígenas
	<i>¿Habla otra lengua indígena?</i>	
SÍ ___ ¿Cuántas? _____ NO		

In the 2005 survey, the questions were more detailed. The three questions below in table 10 considered not only Indigenous groups but also African descendants, Roma, Raizal from San Andres and Providencia, and Palenquero (DANE, 2005).

Finally, in 2009, the PPDE (Program to protect ethno-linguistic diversity) implemented the Sociolinguistic Auto-diagnosis. The objective of the program was to formulate policies of protection and promotion of ethnic languages in Colombia. Up to the 70's, Native languages and cultures were disappearing at a constant rate. During the second half of the twentieth century a process of decolonization and social movement turned towards the fight against discrimination based on race, religion, language or ethnic origin. These movements contributed to respect for the difference and the value of cultural and ethnic diversity (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009).

Table 10. *Ethnic origin questions, National Survey, 2005*

Year		
2005	<p><i>According to your CULTURE, PEOPLE or PHYSICAL TRAITS... do you self-identify as:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Indigenous?</i> <i>Name of the people _____</i> 2. <i>Rom?</i> 3. <i>Raizal from the Archipelago of San Andrés and Providencia?</i> 4. <i>Palenquerian from San Basilio?</i> 5. <i>Black, mulatto, African Colombian or African descendent?</i> 6. <i>None of the above?</i> 	Questions for all the population
	<i>Do you speak the language of your people? YES NO</i>	Questions for Indigenous, Rom, Raizal from San Andrés and Providencia and Palanquero from San Basilio
Año		
2005	<p><i>¿De acuerdo con su CULTURA, PUEBLO o RASGOS FÍSICOS... se reconoce como:</i></p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. <i>Indígena?</i> <i>Nombre del pueblo _____</i> 2. <i>Rom?</i> 3. <i>Raizal del archipiélago de San Andrés y Providencia?</i> 4. <i>Palenquero de San Basilio?</i> 5. <i>Negro(a), mulato(a), Afrocolombiano(a) o afrodescendiente?</i> 6. <i>Ninguno de las anteriores?</i> 	Para todas las personas
	<i>¿Habla la lengua de su pueblo? SI NO</i>	Para indígenas, rom, raizales del archipiélago de San Andrés y Providencia, y palenqueros de San Basilio

The purpose of the Sociolinguistic Auto-diagnosis was to provide current and reliable information about the sociolinguistic characteristics of the communities and society in general. This information was important to ethnic groups interested in knowing the dynamics of their population and the vitality of their languages. These groups were therefore involved in the development of the Auto-diagnosis and the structure of the questionnaires. To implement the first campaign, thirteen ethnic groups were surveyed. The Wiwas were included in this first stage. It was decided that for populations that exceeded 2,500 members, a representative probability sample was going to be used. In the case of the Wiwas, 322 interviews were carried out (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009).

The total population of Wiwas calculated in the two National Censuses and the PPDE is shown in table 11. As mentioned before, the number increased due to different factors including the fact that members of the Indigenous community felt more comfortable with the surveyors of the PPDE who were Indigenous themselves. Being part of the community also helped them to gain access to more Indigenous families as they were familiar with the region and could reach areas of difficult access that were not available for the employees of DANE who collected the information for the National Censuses of 1993 and 2005.

Table 11. *Wiwa population (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009)*

		Censo 1993	Censo 2005	PPDE 2009
Wiwa	Cesar, Magdalena, La Guajira	3,868	10,157	13,517

Moreover, the methodology used to gather all this data, besides social factors such as the new value accorded to being Indigenous or of African descent, and the promotion of self-identifying as belonging to an ethnic group, could be added to the explanations for the differences in the numbers and the increase in the latest accounts (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009).

As Landaburu (2004) states, the global Indigenous population is growing and Wiwa numbers reinforce this claim. In 1993, the Colombian total population was 33,109,840. The Indigenous population was calculated as 0.8% of the total or 532,233 individuals. In 2005, the Colombian general population grew to 41,468,384 and so did the Indigenous communities. The number increased to 3.4% or 1,392,623 people who self-identified as Indigenous (DANE, 2005). As was previously mentioned, data collected about Indigenous peoples by the National Census of 2018 is not available yet.

To summarize, before 1991 the Indigenous groups were underestimated and were disappearing. After that, there has been a reawakening to the enormous value of the globe's cultural diversity and linguistic variety. This has strengthened the efforts made by

Indigenous people to preserve their traditions and encourage them to recognize and identify themselves as members of their ancestral communities.

As some of the teachers told us:

“We should be worried about Damana and not Spanish. There are some that are ashamed of their culture but they are not many. They deny their ancestry. They need to take ownership of their deep cultural roots. The elders used to say there would come a time when they were going to wish to learn it; well, this is that time.”

Debería preocuparnos el damana y no el español. Unos se avergüenzan de su cultura pero no son muchos. Es negar la ascendencia. Necesita apropiarse de sus raíces. Los ancianos decían que llegaría un tiempo en que iban a desear aprenderlo; bueno, este es ese tiempo. Teacher VD-SJ-025-D Zharneka.

“Damana is an element of identity. We do not have studies of the language like grammar, orthography, etc. Learning is acquisition and practice [of the language].”

El damana es elemento de identidad. No hay estudio de la lengua como otras que se estudia la gramática, ortografía, etc. El aprendizaje es adquisición, práctica. Teacher VD-E-008-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“It is fundamental for the culture and identity of the Wiwas to speak and practice [Damana] everyday.”

Para la identidad cultural del pueblo wiwa es fundamental que la hablen y practiquen todos los días. Teacher VD-SJ-025-D Zharneka.

As students say,

“Damana is our culture”

El damana es nuestra cultura. Student VD-SJ-008-E Zharneka.

“[Damana] is what maintains us and strengthens our culture”

Es lo que mantiene y fortalece nuestra cultura. Student VD-SJ-018-E Zharneka.

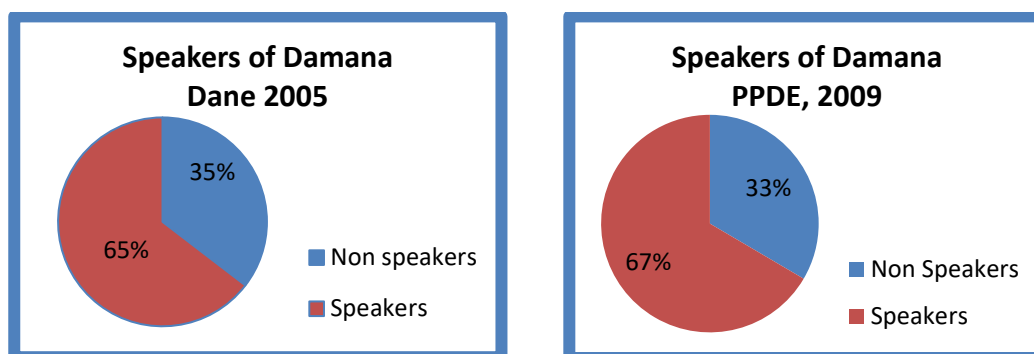


Figure 20. *Speakers of Damana according to the Census, 2005 and the PPDE, 2009*

In order to analyze the absolute number of speakers of Damana we will consider the National Survey of 2005 and the PPDE, 2009. As we can see in figure 20, the number of Wiwa Indigenous people who speaks their language has slightly grown in these four years and according to the PPDE, it totalled 67% of the Wiwa population (or 8,995 individuals) in 2009. Furthermore, the same project went beyond in their analysis and further split this group of speakers. The number of individuals that consider themselves fluent in Damana is reduced to 7,517 or 55.29% (See table 12).

Table 12. *Damana speakers (Ministerio de Cultura, 2009)*

Total Ethnic Group	Total	Native Language Ability				
		% Does not understand or speak	% Understands but does not speak	% Understands & speaks a little	% Normally speaks	% Did not inform
Wiwa	13,595	33,28	3,72	7,15	55,29	0,57

This description is not available from previous censuses as sociolinguistic information on Indigenous languages and communities in Colombia is a relatively new science that is just starting to be built (Landaburu, 2004).

Based on this information, considering the number for the second factor, absolute number of speakers, the degree of endangerment for Damana would be assessed as a *grade two (2)* or a *severely endangered* language. A population of 7,517 fluent speakers is very small and a small population of speakers is at high risk. It is vulnerable to diseases, violence, natural catastrophes, and displacement, among other risks (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group, 2003) and that places the language in severe danger.

4.3 Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population

As has been described in figure 20 and table 12, the majority of Wiwas speak their language. If we consider the most recent numbers, 55.29% of Wiwas speak Damana with fluency. The rest varies between a total lack of- to an insufficient knowledge of- their traditional language.

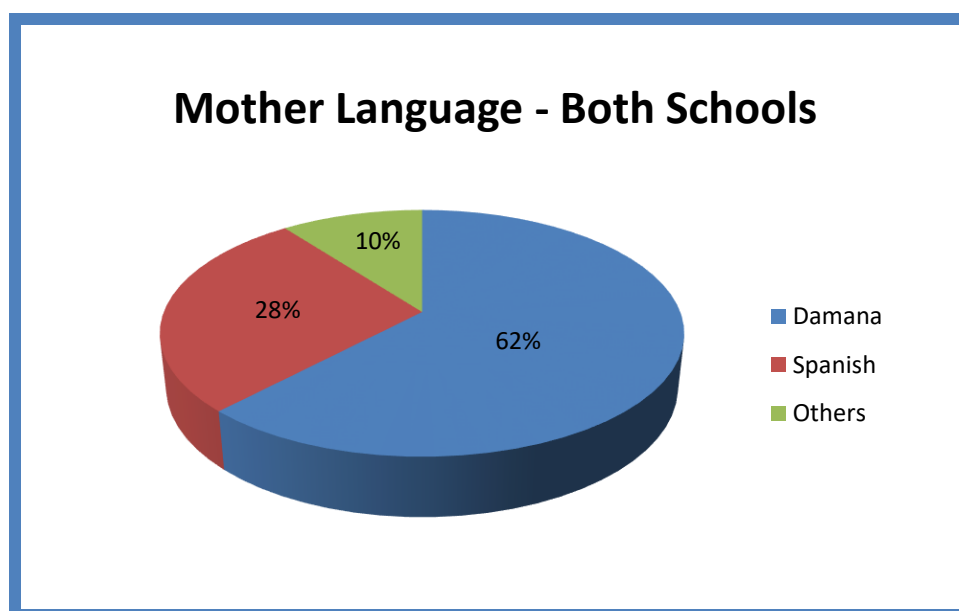


Figure 21. Total mother languages spoken by students at Gotsezhy and Atshintujkua

If we compare these results to the samples surveyed in the two Wiwa schools visited, (see figure 21) the similarities are obvious. Native speakers of Damana amount to 62% against 28% of Spanish native speakers.

Additionally, when we asked the students which language they were comfortable with, only 28% chose Damana against 41% who prefer to use Spanish (see figure 22). The fact that 31% considered themselves equally comfortable in both languages increases the use of Damana. However, the low percentage of students comfortable speaking Damana is seen as an indicator of the endangerment of the language.

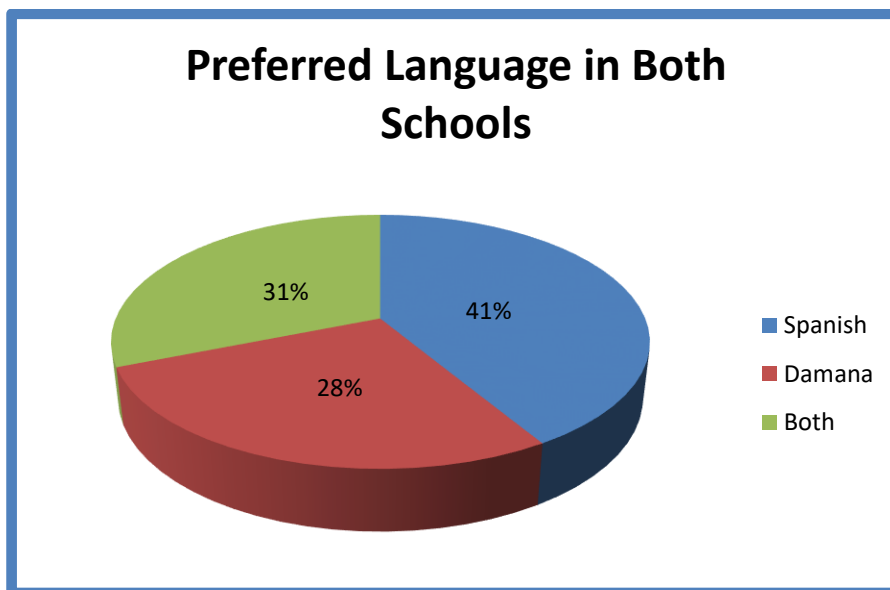


Figure 22. Preferred language in both schools

The proportion of speakers within the total population is considered one of the most significant indicators of language endangerment by the UNESCO criteria used to compile the Atlas of Language Endangerment (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group, 2003) (see table 6). Because only a low majority of Wiwas speak Damana and only a minority of the students prefers to use Damana over Spanish, Damana is considered a *severely endangered* language, *grade two* (2). In order to move up in the scale to a *definitively endangered* grade three (3), it would need a higher majority of the members of the community and the students in the school to speak it. Moreover, the current proportion of Damana speakers among the people remains below 70%, a percentage we refer to as a reduced majority (see table 13).

Table 13. Assessment scale for proportion of Speakers within the total population scale (UNESCO, 2004)

Degree of Endagerment	Grade	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Reference Population
Safe	5	All speak the language
Unsafe	4	Nearly all speak the language
Definitively endangered	3	A majority speak the language
Severely endangered	2	A minority speak the language
Critically endangered	1	Very few speak the language
Extinct	0	None speak the language

It is important to notice here that the Wiwas located in Magdalena, including Gotsezhy are in a favorable situation as the mountain region of SNSM is a zone of difficult access where Wiwas have been able to isolate themselves and maintain their customs (Trillos Amaya, 1996, Landaburu, 2004). On the other hand, the communities in Guajira and Cesar, where Atshintujkua is located, are on a main route of commerce, colonists, peasants, travelers, tourists, etc. There is much more contact with the *criollos* or *suntalu* and it is common to find *mestizos* or mixed families of *criollo* and Indigenous couples that were a result of the aggressive processes of Hispanicization implemented in the boarding schools directed by religious orders during the XIX and XX centuries.

Table 14. Settlement and concentration of the Wiwa population based on the National Survey of 2005 (Ministerio de Cultura, 2014)

Total population 10,703		
Settlement Patterns	Wiwa Population	% of all population
Higher concentration areas		
Guajira	5,264	49.18%
Cesar	4,893	45.72%
Magdalena	483	4.51%
Total	10,640	99.41%

Many of the children go to public schools in cities such as Valledupar, San Juan del Cesar and other towns that are close by and a number of Indigenous people live out of the

Native communities in the surrounding towns and cities. Also, as can be seen in table 14, the Wiwa population in Magdalena is a very small percentage of the total population because the Wiwas are more concentrated in other areas where there are better opportunities and more contact with western culture.

4.4 Trends in Existing Language Domains

Bilingualism is a common practice among the Indigenous groups in SNSM. In the 90's, approximately 18,000 Indigenous individuals belonging to the Kogui, Wiwa and Ika peoples inhabited the SNSM. 5,700 of them were monolinguals in their own Native language (2,500 Kogui, 2,000 Ika and 1,200 Wiwa aprox.) and the other 13,500 were bilingual (Trillos Amaya, 1996). It is current for the Wiwas to speak Kogui and for the Koguis to speak Damana. Many of them speak three or four languages: Spanish plus other Native languages.

The Wiwas perceive their language as more than a communication tool that can be identified by rules of grammar. It is the expression of the memory and the way of living of a group (Landaburu, 2004). They consider their mother tongue the vehicle that structures the cultural and socio-linguistic practices from birth to school age. Language preserves the collective memory and the socio-cultural identity of the Indigenous people. In the words of mamo Rumaldo Gil, their Native language is "*the one the child drinks from their mother's milk.*" Damana is the language that brings the individual to the family, then to the *tana* (social caste), passing to the social center, the ceremonial center, the community and finally to what it means to be Indigenous (Trillos Amaya, 1997).

Within the Wiwa society, women are in charge of all the responsibilities to the family and the community; their internal circle. They are the ones that transmit all the myths, legends, social practices, education and tradition and they use their language to orally do that. In the words of a Wiwa teacher,

"The one who develops and transmits the language to the children is the mother. School deepens [that knowledge] of Damana and teaches to write, but this is [just a] project of the school."

La que fortalece y transmite la lengua a los hijos es la mamá. La escuela profundiza el Damana y aprende a escribir, pero este es un proyecto de la escuela. Teacher VD-SJ-031-D Zharneka.

Furthermore, the language is used in all instances by the Indigenous groups to communicate. Their language is predominately oral and is rarely written. Damana for the Wiwas is more than a communication tool; it is a mark that shows their identity (Trillos Amaya, 1996). The vision of the Atshintujkua school states that *orality guarantees the long standing of the culture of the Wiwas through their own bilingual and intercultural education* (See Appendix 3) and as one of their teachers expressed it,

“Damana cannot be taught the same way as Spanish because besides the syntax and grammar, Damana is a language with a deep meaning of life that needs to be properly transmitted.”

Damana no se puede enseñar como el español porque además de la sintaxis y gramática, Damana es una lengua cuya palabra tiene un significado de vida que necesita ser transmitido también. Teacher VD-SJ-031-D Zharneka.

When asked if Damana was a symbol of their identity, all respondents agreed and mentioned how important Damana was for their culture.

Students from both schools mentioned Damana identified them as Indigenous, set them apart from the rest of society, and was the symbol of Indigenous communities.

As teachers mentioned,

“They cannot lose their traditional identity and the language they use to communicate with their parents.”

[Ellos] *No pueden perder la identidad tradicional y la lengua con que comunicarse con sus padres.* Teacher VD-E-004-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“[Damana] lets culture prevail, guards the great Wiwa Nation. We need to use the dialect.”

*Es lo que hace prevalecer la cultura, salvaguarda la gran nación Wiwa. Necesitamos utilizar el dialecto*¹⁷. Teacher VD-SJ-005-D Zharneka.

On the other hand, the male members of the family are responsible for the tasks performed outside the community circle. They are the ones who establish contact with the foreigners and are the first interlocutors with the outside world, including community projects, business, school and administration (Trillos Amaya, 1996).

Therefore, many of the Wiwas speak Spanish too. They use this language when they are in the presence of outsiders. It is the official language of the whole territory of Colombia and, although Indigenous languages have been recognized in the Constitution of Colombia (1991) as official languages in the region where they are spoken, and the law of protection of Native languages (Law 1381, 2010) states that Indigenous peoples have the right to use their language when they access public services, there are no interpreters and translators trained in Native languages and cultures. As a consequence, Spanish is the language that needs to be used for political and administrative purposes even in the territories inhabited by Indigenous communities. There is a wide spread idea among the members of the community that they need to learn about the language, practices and culture of the *criollos* or *suntalu* (as Indigenous call those who are not Indigenous) to be able to deal with them under equal conditions and so as to defend their own people¹⁸.

When we asked why it was important to learn Spanish, the majority mentioned the necessity to communicate with the non-Indigenous population but some of them specifically mentioned the need to defend the ethnic group:

“We need Spanish to defend ourselves because we were bought by the State.”

Necesitamos español para defendernos porque fuimos comprados por el estado. Student VD-SJ-012-E Zalemakú Sertuga.

¹⁷ It is not usual to hear teachers calling Damana a dialect. For most of them the difference is clear and all of them consider Damana a language.

¹⁸ This idea of *defense* will be explained in 4.8 Community member's attitudes towards their own language. However, it should be noted that *defenderse* in Spanish is not always necessarily as aggressive as it is in English. If I am asked whether I speak French I could say: *me defiendo*, meaning I can deal with it.

“I need to learn Spanish to be able to communicate and establish relationship with civilians [criollos].”

Necesito aprender español para poder defenderme y relacionarme con los civiles.

Student VD-SJ-016-E Zharneka.

“Spanish is needed to survive outside [of the community].”

El español se necesita para defenderse afuera. Student VD-SJ-017-E Zharneka.

“[Spanish] is needed to go to a hospital, communicate and defend yourself when you are in town.”

Hace falta para ir a un hospital, comunicarse, defenderse en el pueblo. Parent VD-SJ-024-P Zharneka.

“It gives them access to other information. It strengthens their culture. When they know Spanish they defend themselves better.”

Les da acceso a otra información. Fortalece la cultura propia sabiendo español se defienden mejor. Teacher VD-E-006-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

As mentioned, the Wiwas currently live a situation of diglossia and they use Damana in the everyday and social level. It is the language of ceremonies, traditional education, community exchanges and family life. On the other hand, Spanish is the language used to carry out big projects, deal with the authorities and the government and carry out most of the educational endeavours. There is a high interest for the younger members of the community to be fluent in Spanish. For the Wiwas, this is an important tool to deal with the world, defend the community and face the challenges of the interaction with the Spanish speaking population.

We will take a look at the results obtained in the two boarding schools. As part of the questionnaire, we asked all our respondents to self-assess the frequency they used Spanish and Damana in different situations. We told them to identify on a scale of 0 to 4, where 0 was never, 1 was rarely, 2 was sometimes, 3 frequently and 4 always, their use

of Damana and Spanish with family, friends, animals, work, school, store, authorities and health practitioners.

Based on data collected at Gotsezhy, it can be seen how students mostly use Damana in their everyday life. It is their preferred language to communicate with their family and friends and even animals and the one they mostly use at school. However, Spanish starts to take on some relevance and students show an increased use of Spanish at school and with their friends (See the two green circles in figure 23).

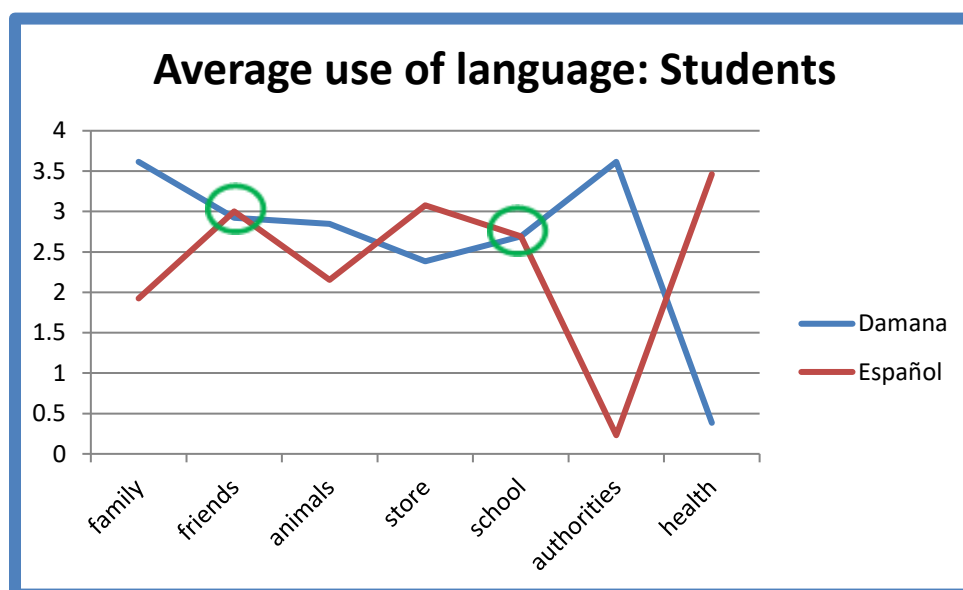


Figure 23. Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by students of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga

Figure 24 shows the results regarding communication with family and health practitioners. The bottom axis shows each student and the two lines show the frequency of use of Spanish and Damana. As can be seen, all of the Indigenous students use Damana to communicate with their families. Some of them also use Spanish but the dominant language in the family domain is Damana. Note that one of the students is non Indigenous and is in the process of learning Damana so he uses Spanish in all domains.

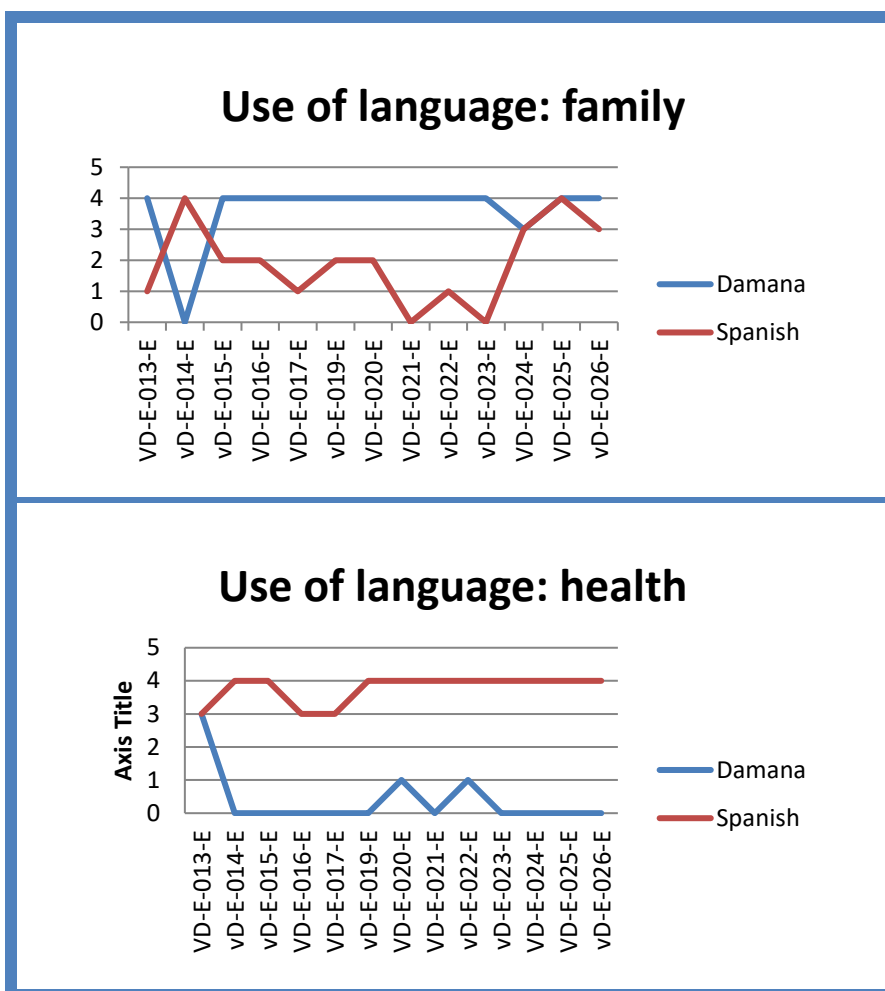


Figure 24. Frequency of use of Damana and Spanish with family and health practitioner by students of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga

As an example of those domains where Spanish clearly dominates, we find the relationship of students and their doctors. There is a health center located next to the school with a doctor and a nurse that regularly attend and there are also doctors in the near towns. The Wiwas also have their own doctors that treat many diseases using traditional knowledge. However, students concur that they mostly speak Spanish with their doctors because, when they are sick, they primarily go to Spanish speaking facilities. As we can see in figure 24 the majority of students interact in Damana with their families but in Spanish with their doctor. All this demonstrates that the Law of Protection of Native Languages has been issued but it is not enforced or implemented in the country.

If we turn our attention to parents, we can see how the situation for older generations is different. The school is relatively recent and parents tend to speak Damana, although some of them are fluent in Spanish and learned it early in their lives. For Wiwa adults at Gotsezhy, Damana is the language they use to communicate in most instances. They use it at home and when they hear from their authorities, the Mamo, the Saga or even the Commissioner and Corporal. They seldom use Spanish and they save it for any direct interaction with the Spanish speaking population when they go to towns to buy supplies and to complete errands. When they have to interact with Colombian authorities, they usually go to the closer city, in the case of Gotsezhy, Santa Marta, and deal with the government in most cases through the Indigenous House. As mentioned, all the Wiwas that work at the Indigenous House are bilingual and speak Spanish because they have to deal with the government, health and education sectors, among others. Figure 25 summarizes the average frequency of use of the two languages self reported by parents of students at the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga. As can be seen in the graph, for these Wiwas, authorities are those established in the community and they deal with them in their Native language. As to buying supplies and visiting the health practitioner, they rely on both Spanish and Damana speaking providers.

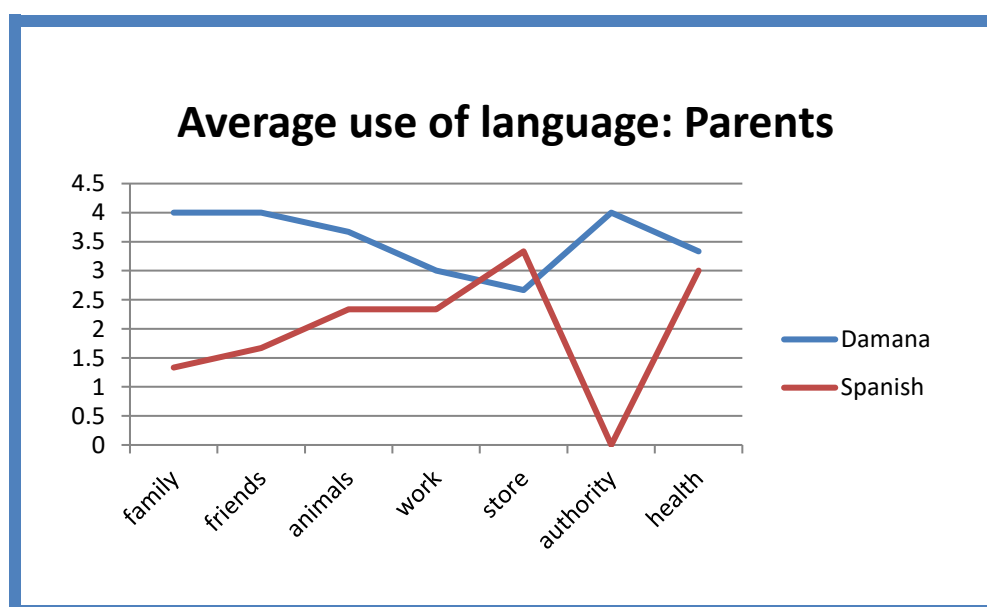


Figure 25. Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by parents of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga

For teachers that speak Damana, the situation is similar to that of parents (see figure 26). They use their own language to communicate with their fellow members of the Wiwa community and Spanish to communicate with the other teachers and administrative staff at the school, the representatives of the government, and their health practitioner.

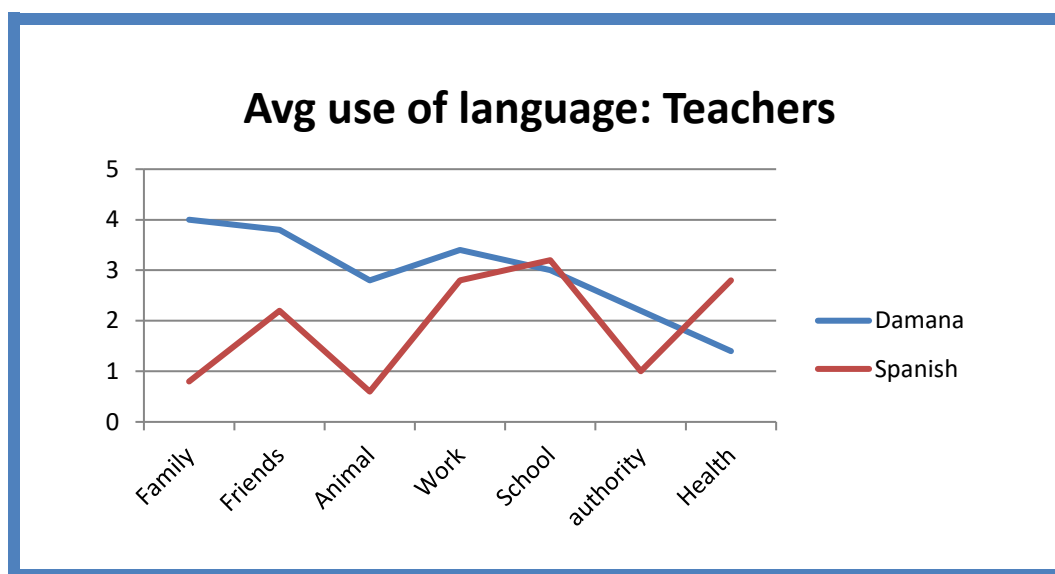


Figure 26. Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by Wiwa teachers of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga

The situation for students at the ethno-educational center Zharneka is different from that of students at the IED Zalemakú Sertuga. Spanish plays an important role and is the preferred language at school. Although Damana is present in the lives of the students, its use is limited (See figure 27). Similar to the situation in Gotsezhy, they use Spanish to interact with their health practitioners: 82% of the students said they never use Damana to communicate with their doctors. The use of Spanish with family members is also higher. In contrast with Gotsezhy, parents in Atshintujkua know Spanish so they are able to communicate with their children in this language and their use of Damana is reduced. This is why for some students Spanish is also the preferred language to use at home (see figures 27 and 28).

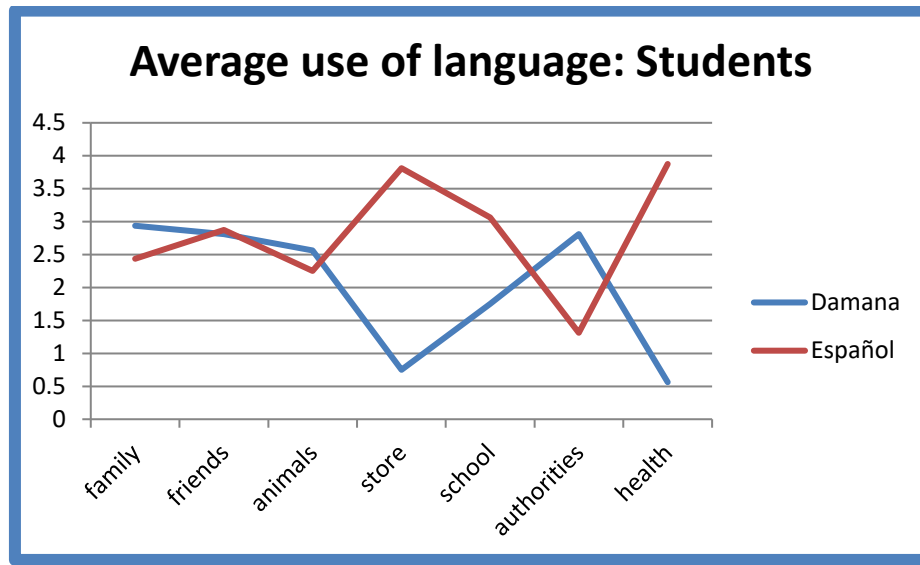
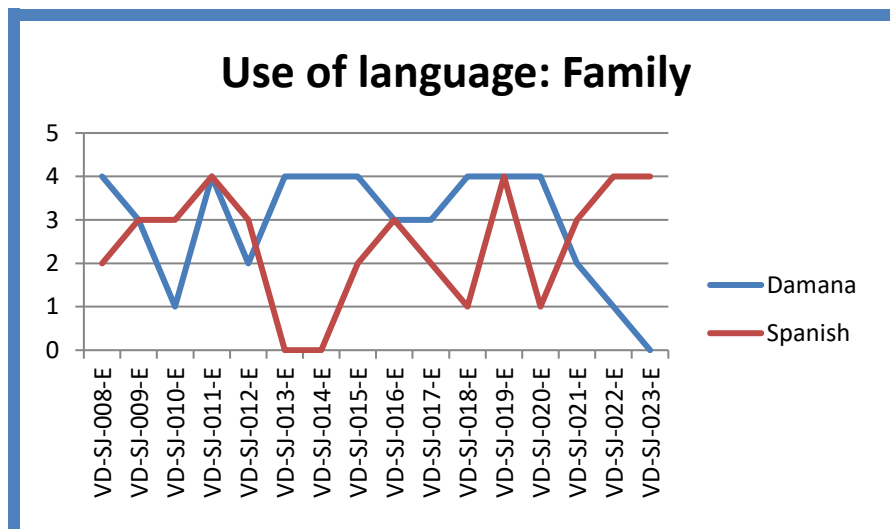


Figure 27. Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by students of the ethno-educational center Zharneka



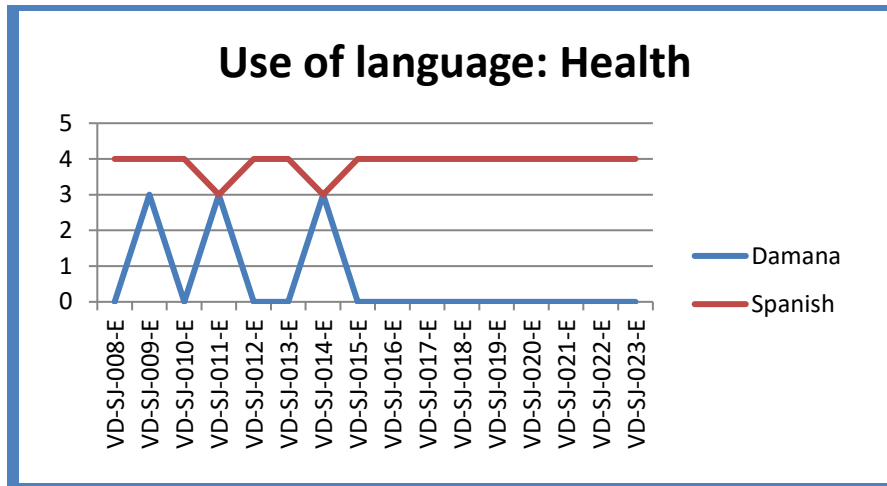


Figure 28. Frequency of use of Damana and Spanish with family and health practitioner by students of the ethno-educational center Zharneka

Among parents, the use of Damana is uncommon (see figure 29). Being an older generation, they are sons and daughters of an era of violence that implied being displaced to bigger towns and cities where the dominant language was Spanish. One parent said they were fluent in Damana and used it most of the time. However, the only domain where parents claim to use Damana more regularly was in their interactions with the family. In this domain, the use of Damana was 60% and Spanish 40%. None of the parents interviewed had any knowledge of writing and reading Damana.

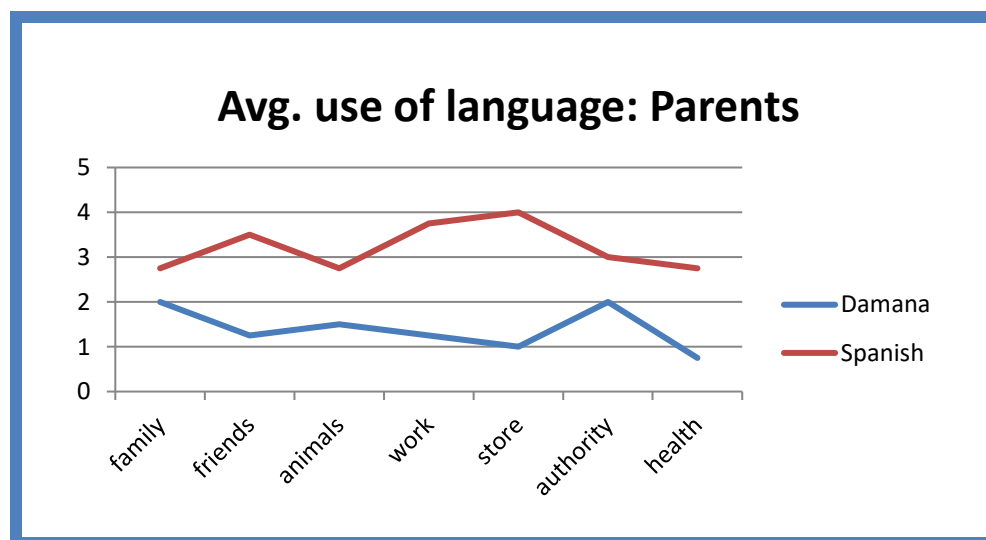


Figure 29. Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by parents of students at the ethno-educational center Zharneka

“Most of great grandparents speak Damana. There are a few grandparents who understand [Damana] but do not speak it. Nowadays, the new generation of parents wants their children to learn [Damana] so when they go to the university, they know it and they go as Indigenous people.”

La mayoría de bisabuelos hablan damana. Hay algunos abuelos que lo entienden pero no lo hablan. Ahora la nueva generación de padres quiere que sus hijos lo aprendan y lleguen a la universidad sabiendo para que vayan allá como indígenas. Teacher VD-SJ-031-D Zharneka.

“Grandparents did not teach us [Damana] because we were separated from our family. When they killed [our father], he was 30 years old and our mother spoke Spanish. I would have liked to learn [Damana].”

Los abuelos no nos enseñaron porque nos separaron de la familia. Cuando a él lo mataron, él tenía 30 años y mamá hablaba español. Me hubiera gustado aprender. Parent VD-SJ-028-P Zharneka.

“I do not know too much Spanish and I really need it. On the other hand, if we do not speak Damana we lose our culture and identity.”

Yo no sé mucho español y me hace mucha falta pero si no hablamos damana perdemos la cultura y la identidad. Parent VD-E-011-IP Zalemakú Sertuga.

We talked to five Indigenous teachers and administrative staff. They try to increase the use of Damana with their relatives and friends as they are encouraging the students to preserve their culture. Teachers that teach their own ancestral knowledge use Damana during instruction time; however, except for these two Damana teachers, all the other teachers prefer to speak Spanish (See figure 30).

In synthesis, to answer the question regarding trends in existing language domains, the description for *degree four (4), multilingual party* of UNESCO fits the use of Spanish and Damana among the Wiwas in the ethno-educational centers Zalemakú Sertuga and Zharneka almost perfectly. Paraphrasing the description, the dominant language is

Spanish, rather than the language of the ethno-linguistic group. It is the primary language in most official domains: government, public offices, and educational institutions.

Damana, however, continues to be integral to a number of public domains, especially in traditional religious institutions, a few local stores, and some of the places where members of the community socialize (especially in Gotsezhy).

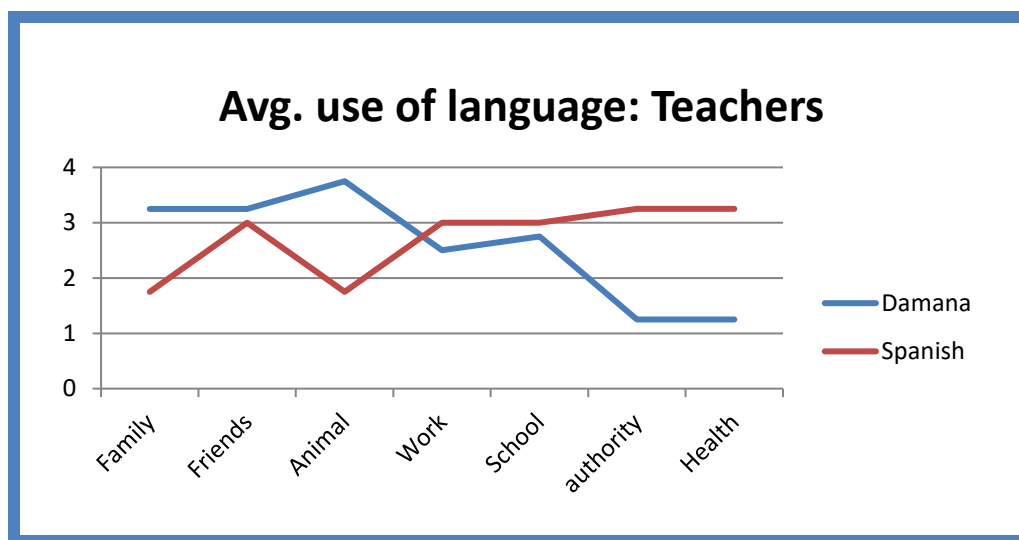


Figure 30. Average frequency of use of Damana and Spanish self assessed by Wiwa teachers of the ethno-educational center Zharneka

The coexistence of Spanish and Damana results in speakers' using each language for a different function (see diglossia, section 2.1), whereby Damana is used in informal and home contexts and Spanish is used in official and public contexts. This situation leads to a number of speakers considering Spanish the language of social and economic opportunity. However, older members of the community continue to use only their own language, Damana (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group, 2003).

4.5 Response to New Domains and Media

Society is in continuous flux and change. One of these changes is the introduction of new domains and media. Some communities manage to successfully expand their language to these domains, but the majority does not (UNESCO Ad Hoc Group, 2003). Here,

language use in different domains is discussed. School, religion and government are included as these have changed notably during the years. We will also briefly mention the presence of Damana in internet and media.

4.5.1 School

After the expulsion of the Capuchinos in 1982, the Wiwas accepted the implementation of public schools in their territory. These were managed by the Ministry of Education in Colombia and followed the official standards and curricula. In 1994, after the Constitution of 1991, the government agreed to hand over education design and education development to the different ethnic groups in the country. Each group had the opportunity to develop their own ethno-educative project. These projects had to follow specific characteristics: allow participation in the community, integrate the pedagogical proposals of these groups, be diverse so as to approach knowledge from different viewpoints (scientific, perceptual, aesthetic, symbolic, etc.) and identify the different stages of development of a human being. The government said they were committed to the implementation of these processes with the goal to provide education to the 94 Indigenous peoples and the Afro Latin American communities (Ministerio de Educación, 2009).

When the education system was transferred to the Indigenous peoples, some of them (including the Wiwas) developed their own Community Ethno-educative Project (PEC) to provide guidelines to their own education. The Wiwas and other Indigenous peoples have attempted to redesign the school and provide their own knowledge and their own learning styles that try to re-affirm their particular values, thus providing common grounds for schooling without coming back to the acculturation processes of the past (Pérez Orozco et al., 2016).

In order to do that, Wiwas designed an ethno-educative model called Shama Zhigui, a Damana expression that means “*learning from knowledge*” (OWYBT, 2012). The focus of this model is to revitalize Wiwa culture and identity. Its inspiration comes from their own Indigenous culture (Conchacala Gil, 2015). Shama Zhigui promotes an intercultural and bilingual Indigenous education incorporating traditional Wiwa content with elements

of western education (OWYBT, 2012). The objective is to develop individuals that are capable and can face the challenges of a new era building up ancestral wisdom like 'sheiumun' (territories), 'zhazhikama' (agriculture), 'tshiwandunazhakuka' (medicinal plants), 'gawi' (handwoven products), 'Damana' (language), 'zhamayandunakuiamanduna' (music and dancing), y 'nekamandunaanzhunga' (ethics and values), fundamental pillars of Wiwa education (Conchacala Gil, 2015).

Table 15. *Wiwa Curriculum Guidelines as per the Shama Zhigui (OWYBT, 2012)*

STRENGTHENING CULTURAL AXIS	AREAS	SUBJECTS
Intercultural Education	Social Sciences	History
		Ethics and Values
		Philosophy
		Geography and Territory
Bilingual Education	Social Sciences	Own [Ancestral] Law
		Indigenous Legislation
Environmental Education	Natural Sciences	Traditional Medicine
		Nature
		Chemistry
Law and Rights Education	Humanities	Physics
		Spanish
		Damana
		Ikan
		Koguan
	Mathematics	English
		Mathematics
	Information Technology	Geometry
		Information Technology
	Own [Ancestral] Knowledge	Own [ancestral] Agriculture
Traditional Music		
Hand-woven products and Technology		

The education plan seeks to cultivate Spanish, math and Damana learning processes and to manage and increase scholarships and support to individuals of the Wiwa community that want to complete graduate studies (OWYBT, 2012). The Shama Zhigui is a model based on holistic education that emphasizes the knowledge of the two cultures (See table 15). One of the mechanisms of the school is to reinforce knowledge, integrating new technologies and promoting Damana and providing spaces to learn and teach Spanish as a tool that allows intercultural interaction (OWYBT, 2012).

According to the observations reported on here, pedagogical practices were similar in both schools. The government provides teachers that are able to teach all regular subjects according to national standards. The schools also have Wiwa teachers that teach Damana and their own [ancestral] knowledge. Damana is fundamental and the teachers recognize this.

“They get help with their culture and language because it is important that they know Damana and their customs.”

Se les ayuda tanto en cultura como en lengua porque es importante que sepan el Damana y sus costumbres. Teacher VD-SJ-002-D Zharneka.

“Culture is important. They need to recover [the language]. Those that represent the community, recover it to effectively do that.”

La cultura es importante. Necesitan recuperarlo. Los que representan a la comunidad lo recuperan para lograrlo. Teacher VD-E-001-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

In Gotsezhy, they have classes of Damana and agriculture. There are extracurricular activities in the afternoon that include Wiwa culture and arts and crafts. You can hear students speaking Damana among themselves, especially when they do not want to be understood by Spanish speakers around. They also speak Damana with the Ancestral subject teachers that make up 33% of the workforce (See figure 31). Although the agriculture teacher is not Indigenous, this subject is clearly linked to ancestral knowledge.

In Atshintujkua, Spanish dominates most of the subjects and the majority of teachers speak this language. The Indigenous teachers, who represent 30% of the teachers (see figure 31) provide classes of Damana and arts and crafts; however, according to the students, these subjects are bilingual and teachers use both Damana and Spanish as the means of instruction. There are also English lessons and the interest of the Wiwa young people in this language was expressed in both schools.

If we go back in history, we find that the school used to be totally Spanish and students did not have any teachings related to their language and their culture before 1993. We can

see how, slowly, Damana has increased its presence in the school and has acquired a degree of relevance, opening doors for Native teachers and expanding opportunities to include Wiwa culture and its language in the children's education.

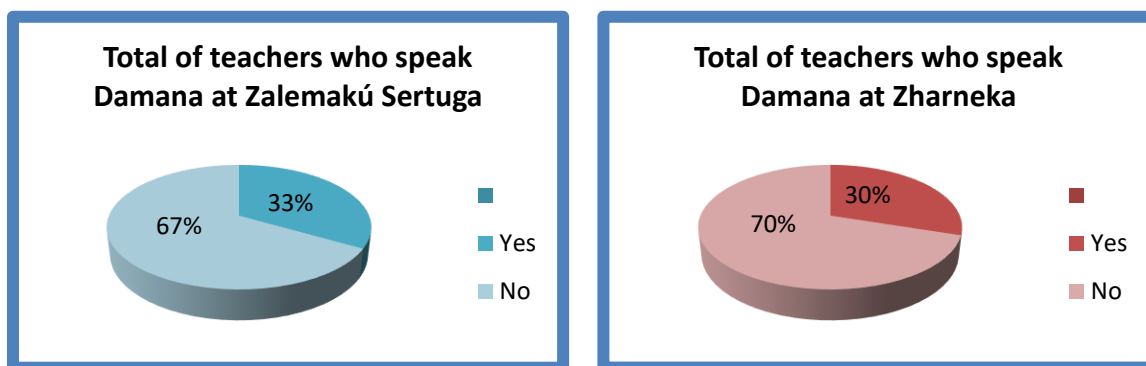


Figure 31. Percentage of teachers who speak Damana in each of the schools

However, not all the members of the community agree with the teachings of the school. Some elders see it as detrimental to culture.

“I use both languages with the children. My grandma does not like school because [people] lose culture in the city”

Uso ambas lenguas con los niños. Mi abuela no le gusta la escuela porque en la ciudad pierden la cultura. Teacher VD-E-001-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

And for some individuals, being in close contact with “western” culture creates a dichotomy where the members of the Indigenous group need to decide if they fulfill their own life project and get to embrace a new culture or devote themselves to their own community bringing all of their knowledge to its service, leaving aside their own expectations. Some consider Spanish and Damana languages that represent dissimilar universes, even psychologically and culturally, so these are two languages in conflict (Trillos Amaya, 1996). UNESCO registers the testimony given by an Indigenous student during the second meeting of graduated Indigenous students. We refer to it here as an example of the conflict that *may* be present in some Indigenous minds.

The testimony from the Indigenous student at the UNESCO encounter said that after graduation, when he came back to the community, he felt compelled to leave aside his personal goals because there is an internal conflict that forces him to choose between his individual desire and personal aspirations and the collective duties towards the community. Also, trying to maintain an intact Indigenous identity after years immersed in the logic of another culture was extremely hard. There was a commitment to the Indigenous authority to preserve their own culture and the pressure to avoid having leaders and authorities perceive him as being “whitened¹⁹, that is, one who had lost their culture to assimilate to the western culture” (UNESCO et al., 2004).

We did not witness any comment in this direction except for one teacher who said,

“They would prefer to dress normal [like criollos], they like English class more than Damana. They want to evolve but here they hinder their development.”

A ellos les gusta más la vestimenta normal, les gusta el inglés más que el damana. Quieren evolucionar y aquí los frenan. Teacher VD-SJ-029-D Zharneka.

According to the interviews of students and teachers it is very important for them to preserve their culture and identity; therefore, they need to preserve their language because, as a teacher said,

“Speaking Damana helps to learn about the culture.”

...hablar damana ayuda a entender la cultura. Teacher VD-SJ-005-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

However, they recognize the need to learn Spanish to be able to go out of the community, establish relationships with what they call “western” society and carry out projects to improve their quality of life. This was recorded in one of the interviews:

“I speak Spanish in the city and Damana in the community. In order to be outside and relate to others you need Spanish.”

¹⁹This term makes reference to the skin color. The skin of Indigenous individuals tends to be darker than the skin of those of European descent.

Hablo español en la ciudad y damana en la comunidad. Para salir y relacionarse con otros, se necesita el español. Parent VD-SJ-004-P Zharneka.

“There are opportunities [for those who speak Damana] only around here. In order to go out one needs Spanish.”

Las oportunidades son solo en el entorno para salir se necesita español. Teacher VD-E-005-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“Those who do not speak Spanish are at a disadvantage. They cannot establish relationships with other people.”

No hablar español es una desventaja. No se pueden establecer relaciones con otras personas. Student VD-SJ-016-E Zharneka.

They recognize that monolingualism in Damana limits their possibilities because they find it important in the immediate surroundings but need Spanish outside of the community. Nevertheless, they see identity as a cultural mark they cannot remove from their language.

4.5.2 Religion

As we know, during the conquest and colonial times, Catholicism was spread among the Indigenous groups as the colonists made efforts to ‘educate’ the Native people through teachings that brought evangelism, civilization and Spanish. At the same time, there was always a sector of the Indigenous population that resisted these new teachings and refused to embrace the new culture. They went so far as to relocate away from the settlements of the colonists in sites of difficult access. For those Indigenous who stayed where the newcomers were, the practice of the new religion was in Spanish, and for the Indigenous groups that preserved their ancestral beliefs the rituals were performed in Damana. With the arrival of the Evangelicals, the landscape was broadened and those that welcomed this religion learned about it and put it in practice in Spanish. As one student at the ethno-educational center Zharneka mentioned:

“[we] battle against evangelism because it affects the Indigenous community because [those that accept it] leave their religion and culture. The disappearance of Damana is a great concern. We must preserve our identity and inner Indigenous pride”.

Necesitamos batallar con el evangelismo porque afecta a los indígenas que dejan su cultura y religión. La desaparición del damana es una preocupación. Interiormente tiene que haber una identidad y orgullo indígena. Student VD-SJ-012-E Zharneka.

The three religions continue to be present among the Wiwas. Some of the Indigenous people practice Catholicism or self-identify as Evangelicals and live their beliefs through Spanish practices. Those that adhere to their traditional religion practice it in Damana and the sacred language previously mentioned: Terruma Shayama.

During our research, we did not inquire about religious practices so our comments are based on what was mentioned during the interviews and what we observed when visiting the institutions. One of the questions of the interviews was: “What do you teach your children that is not taught at school?” Students and teachers agree that they learn about values, respect, ancestral history, customs, myths, culture, traditions and advice outside of school. Many of these elements are part of the traditional religious practices of the Wiwa. Some students mentioned their parents, the elders, the Mamo and the Saga as the ones in charge of transmitting that knowledge and agreed that they learn at assembly, when they get together at *kangaga* (La Loma) or in different places, when they listen to their elders and parents. These are some examples of what the students and teachers mentioned in the interviews:

“They learn values and culture. They learn Damana, myths and history out of the school.”

Aprenden valores y cultura. Aprenden damana, mitos e historias fuera de la escuela. Teacher VD-E-006-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“School tries to replicate the teachings of the community, the advice from the Mamo and the knowledge, Shama.”

La escuela trata de recrear lo que se transmite en la comunidad. La consejería del mamo, sus conocimientos, el Shama. Teacher VD-SJ-001-D Zharneka.

“Mamos and grandparents teach us. We learn the history and profile of the Wiwa woman and we learn to respect Mother Earth.”

Nos enseñan abuelos y mamos. Aprendemos la historia y el perfil de la mujer wiwa y a respetar la madre tierra. Student VD-SJ-019-E Zharneka.

“We learn from the Mamo, we learn values and principles.”

Aprendemos con el Mamo, los padres; aprendemos valores y principios. Student VD-E-020-E Zalemakú Sertuga.

Also, the respect shown by the members of the community when they refer to the *kangaga* or La Loma, *ushui* and *unguma* (the sacred houses for men and women), revealed how important the lessons learned from the Mamos and Sagas are. Students, teachers and parents described the meetings they often have to listen to their authorities and some of them emphasized the importance of knowing Damana to be able to learn directly from the elders in the community. Teachers of Damana and ancestral knowledge try to replicate some of the teachings in class; however, as we saw from the responses collected, they are insistent on separating the learning at school and the sacred teachings received through rituals, gatherings and traditional practice.

“The community sends the children to school so they learn Spanish. Those that live close by go to the school. There is no school in the higher lands of SNSM. It is sacred territory there. Mamos are there and ideas and knowledge cannot mix with wisdom and spirit.”

La comunidad manda a los niños a la escuela para que aprendan español. Los que viven cerca van a la escuela. No hay escuela más arriba porque allá es territorio sagrado. Allá están los mamos, las ideas y conocimiento no se pueden mezclar con la sabiduría y el espíritu. Parent VD-E-011-IP Zalemakú Sertuga.

A teacher that teaches ancestral knowledge told us “*they are taught at the hill (Kangaga, La Loma), by the river, under the trees; everywhere. Education is continuous. They are taught at night when they are with the elders in specific sites*”.

La formación en la loma, a la orilla del río, bajo los árboles, se da en otros ámbitos. La educación es constante. Enseñanzas en las noches con los ancianos en sitios específicos.
Teacher VD-SJ-005-D Zharneka.

In the ethno-educational center Zharneka we met some Evangelicals. They spoke about their culture with respect and showed interest in improving their level of Damana. Although they have different eschatological beliefs, they are proud of their past and identity. Nonetheless, those that we could identify as Evangelicals were a very small percentage of the population surveyed so their religious opinions are not representative and we cannot generalize from them.

4.5.3 Government

As previously mentioned, the Indigenous communities are entitled to exercise jurisdiction and enforce their legislation in their own territory (Political Constitution of Colombia, 1991, art. 246). Under these premises, the Wiwa have established their own ancestral government system represented by the Mamo, the Saga, the Yunkuma (Commissioner) and the Kashimama (Corporal). When there is an assembly of the members of the community, it is carried out in their own language, Damana. The Mamo offers direction and shares his knowledge through the oral tradition narratives in their own language. The internal mechanisms of government function in their own language. Nonetheless, interaction with the official authorities of the country and the different national institutions takes place in Spanish.

The relationship of students with the authorities is mediated by Damana. They recognize the Mamo as the highest authority and have regular meetings where they receive teachings and directions. Disciplinary and conduct problems within the school are brought before the Indigenous authorities for correction.

When asked on a scale of one to four how often they spoke Damana or Spanish with the authorities in the community, the students at the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga reported an average of 3.6 for Damana and 0.2 for Spanish (See figure 23). On the other hand, students at the ethno-educational center Zharneka self assessed their use of the two languages with the authorities in an average of 2.8 for Damana and 1.3 for Spanish (see figure 27). As per these results, we can conclude that students in both schools recognize the elders, including the Mamo and the Saga, as their authorities and communicate with them mostly in their ancestral language.

However, beyond the school, authorities outside the community communicate in Spanish and all legal documentation is developed in this language. As we could observe, the majority of the workers in the Indigenous House are fully bilingual and all administrative formalities are carried out in the official language of all of the Colombian territory, Spanish. As Trillos Amaya (1996) describes, Spanish is used to carry out all procedures before official authorities and institutions and business transactions with non-Indigenous or *suntalu*. Even today, although Law 1381 states that Indigenous peoples are entitled to use their language in these situations and receive support from interpreters, they still need to use Spanish as these services are not available in Native languages (Trillos Amaya, Personal Communication, April 16, 2020). On the other hand, internal official activities and trials are performed in the Native language with alternative translation for foreigners, including official authorities if they are present.

4.5.4 Internet

Access to internet is limited. The school has some coverage; however, this is not enough for the students to have access to it in class. When interviewed, 94% of the students in Gotsezhy mentioned they wished they could access internet at school. Some of them told us they access the web when they are in town or through their cell phones, but the majority does not have this service. During technology class, the teacher gives them some direction on the correct use of technology and the tools that are at hand when they have access to it. However, there is no access to internet for the students during the school hours and the resources for the Wiwa community in terms of technology are limited.

Damana has a weak presence on the Internet. There is a handful of videos on youtube.com with different content and published by not for profit organizations, universities and individuals. Most of the videos are in Spanish but there are also a few in Damana. There is a tourist company that offers tours in the Wiwa territories that was founded and is managed by members of the community. A number of scholarly articles and a few books that include sections on the Wiwas and their language have been digitalized and are also available. Revista Wiwa²⁰ is a blog with different sections describing the language, culture and influential Wiwa individuals. The ethno-educational center Zharneka has a Facebook profile that has not been updated since December, 2018. The ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga is not on social networks.

As the Wiwas do not access the web on a regular basis the demand for content in their language is not high. This situation could change if access is granted to these communities.

4.5.5 Media

For many years, the role of Indigenous peoples in media was mainly the industrialized and mass produced portrayal of stereotypes of the Indigenous by the dominant media. The production of Indigenous peoples in which they may represent their perspectives, values and own cultural needs has been marginalized. Globally, after the World War II Indigenous activists became aware of the importance of finding different forms of self-representation, including media, to vindicate their culture, their history and their heritage. Forms of media expression conceptualized, produced, and/or created by Indigenous peoples across the globe define the concept of Indigenous media. These productions have started to receive more attention from academics, enthusiasts and activists, and the Indigenous producers have appropriated the new technologies to use them as tools to meet their own cultural and political needs (Wilson & Stewart, 2008).

Colombia has not remained oblivious to this change and has slowly seen the incursion of Indigenous peoples in diverse forms of media. It is important to highlight two of the

²⁰(<https://revistawiwa.blogspot.com/>)

articles of the Law of Protection of Native languages (Law 1381, 2010). Article 16 states that the government will provide the necessary tools to spread the linguistic and cultural diversity of the country through public media. The government will promote the production and emission of programs in Native languages and will support Native communities in the production of these programs. Furthermore, article 18 establishes that the State will work in close relationship with Indigenous peoples to produce audio, visual and digital material in Native language and create spaces where documents and information in Native languages might be available. The government will also provide all conditions for the training of Indigenous individuals in audio, visual and digital production. All these initiatives remain valid although they have not been implemented.

Newspapers, radio and television may occasionally portray the Wiwas and their language in one of their articles or programs, but this does not happen very often. There are no spaces devoted to these Indigenous communities. At the time of this project, we only heard of one film made by the Wiwas, a documentary called *Ushui, the Moon and the Thunder*, directed by Rafael Mojica Gil and produced by Pablo Mora Calderón and Bunkuaneyuman Communication Collective. The film is relatively recent, as it was internationally premiered in the Toronto International Film Festival, TIFF in October of 2019. This is a 72 minute documentary that narrates how Wiwa women in Kumakumake make different ritual offerings and sing to preserve order in their society. *Ushui* is the spiritual house where Wiwa women meet and only women can enter (Sheidlower, 2019; see figure 37). Bunkuaneyuman Communication Collective is a group of Wiwa communicators that create audiovisual productions including short films, documentaries and motion pictures.

4.5.6 Conclusion

From this description we can conclude that Damana has a strong presence in religion and is used in education up to a point, although it represents far from any ideal situation in which it is the medium of instruction. At school, exposure to the language is limited to a couple of subjects, principally to the teaching of Damana itself. The situation with the government is bivalent. Damana is used to communicate with the authorities inside the community but Spanish dominates the relationships with the official representatives and

all legal, political and administrative discussions. Additionally, new areas of language use like journalism, broadcast media, internet and filming see incipient efforts to increase the presence of Damana in these domains. Based on all of this and taking into account the UNESCO factors to assess the vitality of the language, Damana is assessed at a *grade two (2), coping* for Response to New Domains and Media because we can attest the language has a feeble presence in some new domains with a tendency to enhance its participation in those domains.

4.6 Materials for Language Education and Literacy

Damana is essentially a language of oral tradition. The fact that the Indigenous communities want to develop literacy in this and other languages of oral tradition such as Koguan and Ikan implies the development of a writing system so these languages can be used as a resource for teaching. This is the rationale behind the decision to adopt an alphabet and begin the process of establishing a writing system. After the establishment of an alphabet, a few spelling and punctuation rules and some grammar explanations, they are currently working on the development of specialized documents that contain all the academic information needed to describe the written language and to make it possible to translate the content of curricula into paper. The ultimate objective is to be able to create and transmit knowledge using Native languages (Trillos Amaya, 1996).

.a	.b	.ish	.d	.e	.g	.h	.i	.j
.k	.l	.dzh	.m	.n	. (~)	.o	.p	.r
.rr	.sh	.u	.#	.w	.z	.zh	.t	.s

Figure 32. Damana alphabet used in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga

The Damana alphabet currently in use at the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga includes 27 letters, as we found out in our visit to a Mother Tongue class (see figure 32).

When asked about the importance of writing for the Wiwas, they told us:

“Written records help us to retake and revive the language for those who have lost it.”

El registro escrito ayuda a retomar, revivir la lengua para el que la ha perdido. Teacher VD-SJ-031-D Zharneka.

“Language is changing. There is no writing standard. In Magdalena, they use /r/ and they use /l/ in other places. If they do not speak Damana and say they are Wiwa, they do not show it. It cannot be that a person from the US does not speak English.”

La lengua ha venido cambiando. No hay estándar de escritura. En magdalena usan r y en otros lugares l. Si no habla damana y dice que es wiwa no demuestra. Un gringo no puede no hablar inglés. Teacher VD-E-012-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“Some communities try to write so they can create a record of their culture. They try to teach the mother tongue through new tools.”

Algunas comunidades tratan de escribir para tener un registro de su cultura. Se busca enseñar la lengua materna buscando nuevas herramientas. Teacher VD-E-002-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

The community is aware of the progress achieved by the creation of their own educational system, but they are also conscious of what is lacking and what is therefore urgently needed. The influence of standard education affects all aspects of life of the new generations that attend school and are in contact with western culture. Sometimes this contact undermines the effort to include intercultural criteria, linguistic diversity and participation in the community based on the Law of Origin, which is, as previously mentioned, a fundamental component of the Wiwa people (Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015)

For this reason, the development of proper educational material is an urgent necessity among the community, not only to teach literacy but to develop ancestral knowledge. This wisdom must be a component present in all the subjects adopted at school. This new conception of ethno-education is reflected in the mission of the ethno-educational center

Zharneka which professes they are an institution “[whose] *actions* [help to] *build their own ancestral knowledge under the standards of their Law of Origin*”; and the school’s vision to “*guarantee the longstanding of Wiwa culture starting from the fulfillment of ancestral practices* (See appendix 3 for the Spanish original version).”

In order to successfully implement this mission and achieve the vision of the school, all subjects need to take into account the community’s own ancestral knowledge and, as one of the directors of the ethno-educational center Zharneka said in a personal communication:

“If learning is to be meaningful, it should start from the everyday experiences of the learner, [and for the Wiwa student] nature is closely tied to Wiwa learning.”

Also, during the interviews, teachers mentioned the importance of including ancestral knowledge in all the subjects:

“[School should include] ancestral territories, ancestral technology and ethno-mathematics, ethno-chemistry and ethno-sciences. They need to understand reality from their own universe.”

[La escuela debe incluir] *territorio ancestral, tecnología ancestral y etnomatemática, etnoquímica y etnociencia. Entender la realidad desde su propio universo.* Teacher VD-SJ-001-D Zharneka.

“It is not about leaving the everyday practices aside. Cultural preservation is of great importance.”

Se trata de no dejar la práctica de lo cotidiano. La conservación cultural es de importancia. Teacher VD-SJ-030-D Zharneka.

“There is high interest in including ancestral, Indigenous knowledge in all subjects. They need to include culture at school.”

Hay un gran interés en la transversalidad. Incluir la cultura en la escuela. Teacher VD-E-006-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

And that is why, besides attending school, education in *Kangaga* (La Loma) with their Indigenous authorities is considered fundamental:

“There are topics that only authorities or council develop, like sexual education, ancestral education and beliefs.”

Hay temas que solo trata la autoridad o el consejo como educación sexual educación, propia y creencias. Teacher VD-E-004-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“There are things that are an enigma for the school; they are taught outside [of the school environment].”

Hay cosas que son enigma para la escuela; así que se enseñan por fuera. Teacher VD-E-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“Confession, advice for boys and girls, behavior at home, all these are learned from the authorities.”

Confesión, consejos para niños, niñas, comportamiento en casa. Estos se aprenden de las autoridades. Teacher VD-E-005-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

Therefore, the need of educational material, textbooks, equipment and didactic resources grounded in the ancestral wisdom of the community is imperative for the Wiwa.

During our visits, we heard that there was a literacy booklet that had an alphabet and some vocabulary. Unfortunately, we did not have access to it and we could not see any other didactic material in Damana. Someone also commented about few booklets compiled by the Summer Institute of Linguistics, but these are not used within the school.

The need of didactic material is reinforced by the following statements by teachers from the two institutions:

“Training in second language acquisition and contextualization of both languages are needed.”

Falta entrenamiento en adquisición de la segunda lengua y contextualización de ambas lenguas. Teacher VD-SJ-030-D Zharneka.

“We need a better implementation of training policies. We need health promotion and teachers who speak Damana.”

Falta implementar mejor las políticas de capacitaciones. Promotores de salud y docentes hablantes del damana. Teacher VD-SJ-005-D Zharneka.

“The community provides 80% of Damana. The Spanish [they provide] is not much. We need texts and information in Damana and Reading. It is urgent to have an official alphabet. School teaches in Spanish first and then in Damana. Culture should be first but we do not have guidance. We do not have trained Indigenous people but this is starting to happen. There are 16 [Indigenous] students in the Bachelor of ethno-education in Magdalena University.”

La comunidad aporta el 80% al damana; el español es muy poco. Faltan textos informativos en damana. La lectura. Lo más urgente es tener un alfabeto oficial. La escuela enseña primero en español y después en damana. La cultura debería ser primero pero faltan esas guías. No contamos con licenciados indígenas pero están empezando a hacerlo. La licenciatura en etnoeducación tiene 16 estudiantes en la Unimagdalena. Teacher VD-E-012-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“School initiative comes from the mamos. Mamo Ramón started with a little school in the sacred site and in 2000 founded this IED [Institución Etnoeducativa Distrital / District Ethno-educational Institution Salemakú Zertuga]. His proposal was to teach the language [Damana] and in two years he had one Indigenous teacher and we have four now. We need Wiwa professionals. It is really hard to access university because there is no financial aid. We also need written material and contents in Damana. We also know the National standard evaluations do not agree with our standards.”

La iniciativa de la escuela viene de los mamos. El mamo Ramón empezó con una escuelita en el punto sagrado y en el 2000 con la nueva resolución crea el IED y proponen que se enseñe la lengua y solo dos años con profesor indígena y ahora hay

cuatro. Necesitamos profesionales Wiwa. Es muy difícil acceder a la universidad. No hay ayuda financiera para indígenas. Falta material escrito y textos escritos y contenidos. Evaluación estándar no es acorde con nuestros estándares. Teacher VD-E-002-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

Besides the interviews, as part of this Project we visited the community and saw the library and some classrooms where the few materials are stored. If we take into consideration UNESCO language vitality levels, assessing the materials for language education and literacy, we would classify the two schools as *grade one* (1) for accessibility of written materials. A few things have been written but the material has not been standardized and it is not used at school. As the UNESCO Ad Hoc Group (2003) records, literacy education in the language is part of the school curriculum and there is an alphabet with some orthographical rules that change from one community to the other, but written material is not available and there is a pressing need for didactic resources based on Wiwa knowledge and culture. Unfortunately, although one school has better accessibility than the other, this is the case for both schools. There was no significant difference between the materials used in the two schools.

4.7 Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies Including Official Status and Use

In order to assess the effectiveness of language attitudes and policies from the government and official institutions, we will briefly describe the Government intercultural policies first, and then we will discuss how and to what extent they have been implemented. In this section, we understand interculturality or the connection between two cultures, one dominated by Spanish and one dominated by Damana, according to the statement of the Regional Indigenous Council of Cauca (2004): “interculturality is understood as the possibility of dialogue among cultures (Walsh, 2010).” And while this dialogue takes place, the ethnic and cultural identities of the Indigenous populations are strengthened, because interculturality is the manner in which socialization processes are understood and built up within multicultural and asymmetric contexts (Tubino, 2005).

After Independence in 1810, Colombia started a long process to establish itself as an independent nation with consolidated national institutions. Between 1811 and 1886 Colombia issued nine different constitutions. Finally, in 1886 they proclaimed a constitution that governed the country until 1991. This Constitution was inspired by Catholic and Hispanic ideologies that added value to the colonial past inherited from the Spanish conquerors (Pineda Camacho, 2002). The Catholic Church played an essential role in relation to social order. According to the Constitution of 1886, individuals of Indigenous origin were considered “semi-savages” that should remain under the ward of Catholic missions and were regarded as ‘minors’ in both civil and criminal law. This perception was confirmed by the law that stated the manner in which the “*savages that were rendering themselves to civilization* [were supposed to] *be governed*²¹” (Duque Muñoz, 2015). In 1920, there were some Indigenous and social movements that tried to vindicate the dignity of the Indigenous cultures. Among them, Manuel Quintín Lame (1880-1967), who was an Indigenous leader, head of a separatist movement that sought that all Indigenous communities in Colombia be recognized as the source of national identity. In 1940, the First Indigenous Inter-American Congress took place in Pátzcuaro, Mexico, with the objective of designing projects that could improve the quality of life for Amerindian groups. The Colombian delegation emphasized the importance of Indigenous territory and this significant topic was included in the final Act of congress (Perry, 2016). In 1941, the Colombian Indigenist Institute that defends *resguardos* and establishes the foundation of new policies in favor of the Indigenous communities was founded (Semper, 2006). *Resguardo* was a colonial institution that allotted territory to the Indigenous population. Indigenous communities were forced to settle in those areas. These regions were non-taxable and were communally held. As the Creole and Mestizo²² population grew, the creation of new *resguardos* was prohibited and those in existence were integrated to Catholic parishes (Semper, 2006). In 1973, the functions of Catholic missions were restricted and, at the beginning of the 80’s, Indigenous associations

²¹ Colombian Law 89 of 1890

²² Creole: Of European and black descent. Mestizo: Lat. Am. Of Spanish and Indigenous descent

initiated actions to recover their lands (Duarte Muñoz, 2018). In 1988, the law²³ prohibited the adjudication of empty land located in the natural habitat of Indigenous communities and allowed expropriation of lands to individuals that had taken possession of spaces that belonged to the ancestral territories of the Indigenous peoples (Duque Muñoz, 2015). The recognition of *resguardos* helps to preserve the Indigenous culture and traditions as well as their spiritual values. For the Indigenous population, land is not only the source of livelihood but a vital element of their cosmovision, culture and religion (Semper, 2006).

The Constitution of 1991 recognizes the rights and dignity of Indigenous peoples. This document accepts that the ethnic and cultural diversity of the country are part of the country's heritage²⁴. Therefore, Indigenous peoples obtain autonomy and are able to promote their own educational model based on their culture and approach to reality, the right to use their own language²⁵, and the recognition that their territories are inalienable. In this way, economic, social and cultural rights²⁶ are guaranteed, and Indigenous people are able to exercise their own legislation and jurisdiction within their territory²⁷.

In 1994, the government issued Law 115, better known as the Law of Education. This law establishes that education within communities with their own linguistic tradition will be bilingual. The objective was to achieve a balanced use of the mother tongue in the territory on the one hand, and Spanish, the language used for pedagogical purposes²⁸. In order to achieve it, the government was tasked with promoting teacher training initiatives among speakers of mother tongues, speakers who would be the keepers of knowledge for the different cultural aspects of the Indigenous groups, such as identity, cosmovision, habits, etc., all this through personalized tutoring and support.

²³ Colombian Law 30 of 1988

²⁴ Political Constitution of Colombia. Art. 7

²⁵ Political Constitution of Colombia. Arts. 10 and 70

²⁶ Political Constitution of Colombia. Arts. 63, 64 and 329

²⁷ Political Constitution of Colombia. Art. 246

²⁸ Law 115 of 1994. Art. 57

A year later, in 1995, Decree 804, whose aim was to regulate education for ethnic groups, granted autonomy to the communities to develop their own ethno-educative processes (arts. 14 – 16). Article 2 of this decree highlights the value of intercultural aspects as the source of growth for both the educational dynamism and the co-existence of different cultures. This article establishes the principles of ethno-education listed in table 16 (See appendix 4 for the Spanish version).

Table 16. Principles of ethno-education (Decr. 804, 1995, art. 2)

Principles of ethno-education	
Integrity	Global conception each people has. Possibility to maintain an harmonious relationship between individuals, their social reality and nature
Linguistic diversity	Ways to see, perceive and build the universe by ethnic groups, expressed through different languages that belong to the national reality under equal conditions
Autonomy	Right that ethnic groups have to develop their own ethno-educative process
Community participation	Ability of ethnic groups to design, develop and assess their own ethno educative processes, exerting their autonomy
Interculturality	Knowledge of their own and other cultures in contact that interact and enrich each other in a dynamic manner and contribute to social reality, coexisting under equal conditions and mutual respect
Flexibility	Continuous development of ethno-educative processes according to cultural values, particularities and needs of ethnic groups
Progresiveness	Dynamism of ethno-educative processes due to continuous research that consolidate over time and contribute to the development of knowledge
Solidarity	Unification of the group around their experiences that makes them stronger and protects their existence in relation to other social groups

On the other hand, article 5 states that training and education for teachers in ethno-education is a dynamic process in continuous development. In the same chapter, article 6, states that teachers need to “*generate and take ownership of the many elements that allow them to strengthen and invigorate the global life project in the different ethnic communities*” and besides, that they must “*identify, design and complete research that*

provides tools that contribute to the respect and development of the different communities where they serve within the framework of national diversity.” Article 8 considers the responsibility of the state to create together with Indigenous and ethnic authorities special programs to train teachers in their own environment. Article 9 embodies the responsibility to organize cooperative projects to update the teams and provide specialization and research for educators that work with ethnic groups. Articles 11, 18 and 20 require teachers who teach in ethnic communities to develop knowledge of traditional languages, uses and culture of the community and to use didactic resources that incorporate ethnic culture into teaching.

Finally, in 2010, the Native Languages Law was issued²⁹. This law recognizes the right of Indigenous groups to use their language in all social domains without being discriminated against. It guarantees the presence of Native languages in media and education and the production of reading, audio, audiovisual and digital material and files that account for these languages, promote their study, encourage their research and ensures their preservation. To this effect, the Ministry of Culture becomes responsible for coordinating the promotion and protection of Indigenous languages between the government and the different ethnic groups (Bodnar, 2014).

Now that we have a better idea of the different policies issued by the government of Colombia, we will proceed to describe their implementation in the two schools of our investigation.

4.7.1 Policies Implementation

One important aspect of interculturality policies in Colombia is the autonomy it granted Indigenous groups to design their own educational model based on their culture, identity and cosmovision (Decr. 804, 1995, art 14). Under this prerogative, the Wiwas were able to develop the Wiwa ethno-educative model, the Shama Zhigui, that was previously described. Starting from this point, they have implemented an agricultural program that allows the two schools some autonomy in their sustenance. Both schools grow vegetables

²⁹ Law 1831 of 2010. Linguistic Rights of Colombia Law (Ley de los derechos lingüísticos de Colombia)

and legumes and the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga raises small animals like pigs, chicken and fish. This program belongs to the curriculum design in the Shama Zhigui and benefits all of the students.

There are additional efforts to implement a complete ethno-educative program with the employment of teachers of Wiwa origin, fluent in the two languages; three in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga and three in the ethno-educational center Zharneka. These educators are able to provide bilingual education (Decr. 804, art. 11) and are responsible for reinforcing the knowledge and use of Damana among the students. However, the inclusion of some subjects in Damana is not enough to achieve the expectations of the Shama Zhigui and more Indigenous teachers are needed. It is important to note that, among the policies, the government committed to guarantee the formation in ethno-education of teachers of Indigenous descent. However, this commitment is still quite far from the reality the Indigenous populations' lives (Law 115, art. 58). During our interviews, 70% of all of the teachers mentioned the lack of help from the government as is reinforced by the following statements:

“The government has an obligation but very little political will to fulfill that obligation.”

Muy poco del gobierno. Es su obligación pero hay poca voluntad. Teacher VD-E-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“The government could help more. Territory is the most important aspect. And they have received it. However, they need to recover their sacred sites. Government responds according to their own interest and sometimes without consultation.”

El gobierno podría ayudar más. El territorio es lo más importante. Y lo han recibido pero falta recuperar los sitios sagrados. El gobierno responde según sus intereses propios. Hacen convenios con organizaciones internacionales pero sin consultar. Teacher VD-SJ-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

In one reflection, a Wiwa teacher told us:

“The government should involve non-Indigenous teachers who learn Damana as a first language because knowledge is too broad and we [the Natives] do not cover the totality of it. All teachers should be bilingual.”

El gobierno debería involucrar a occidente a aprender damana, lengua materna. Los profesores no son bilingües. El conocimiento es muy amplio y no alcanzamos a abarcar todo. Teacher VD-E-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

It is important to note here that Article 20 of Law 1381 underlines the notion that teachers in schools that serve Native peoples should know the language and culture of those peoples. It states that the government will take all the necessary measures to ensure teachers in communities that speak a Native language are able to speak, read and write the language and know their culture. As we will see, this is another aspect of legislation that has not been implemented. The following opinion from a non-Indigenous teacher illustrates this point.

“Wiwas should specialize and take the reins of the institution. It would be better if they became professionals and would not let themselves be absorbed by the community.”

...Falta que ellos se especialicen y tomen la rienda de la institución. Sería mejor que se profesionalicen y no se dejen absorber por la comunidad Teacher VD-E-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

Again, Law 115 (1994, art. 58) has already provided direction on this aspect and Decr. 804 (1995, art. 11) has some dispositions with this effect in mind, but what is in the law is far from the reality lived in these schools.

Infrastructure constitutes another facet in which government help is missing. Both institutions we visited recognize there is no consistent help from the government and when the government assists them, the level of commitment is minimal and usually inspired by their own agendas. As a teacher stated:

“We need infrastructure, more students, organization and more Indigenous teachers. Students have difficulties with Spanish. There is no support from the families. There is

will but more reading is needed and training of teachers in second language acquisition.”

Necesitamos infraestructura, más estudiantes, organización, más maestros indígenas. Los estudiantes tienen dificultades con el español. No hay apoyo de la familia. La voluntad está pero falta lectura. El proceso de motivarse ellos mismos. Y claro la formación del maestro en la adquisición de la segunda lengua. Teacher VD-E-008-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

It is clearly established by the law that the government is responsible for protecting Indigenous languages and cultures and guaranteeing their promotion and development (Law 115, 1994, art. 57 and Law 1381, 2010; art. 2). However, as we were told,

“[we] have not seen assistance from the government. Maybe we get a booklet or some supplies but no clear effort. Now they understand Native languages are important [but] ...The school initiative came from the Mamos.”

No he visto ayuda. Quizá una cartilla, no hay un esfuerzo claro. Ahora entienden que la lengua nativa es importante. La iniciativa de la escuela vino de los mamos. Teacher VD-E-002-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

In 2017, the mayor of Santa Marta, Rafael Martínez, visited Gotsezhy to open two classrooms. This visit was recorded in pictures and messages on his twitter account (Personal Communication, April 19, 2017). However, investment is not constant and the list of needs remains unrealized, contrary to the obligation of the government as stated in Decr. 804, 1995; art. 19 and 20 as listed in figure 33.

Art. 19 *Physical infrastructure required to attend the education of ethnic groups must be agreed upon with the communities taking into consideration the geographical characteristics, conceptions of space and time and their general use and habits.*

Art. 20. *Production, selection and acquisition of educational material, textbooks, equipment and didactical resource, must take into account the particular culture of each ethnic group and be completed agreeing with [the authorities of the community].*

Art. 19. La infraestructura física requerida para la atención educativa a los grupos étnicos, debe ser concertada con las comunidades, de acuerdo con las características geográficas, las concepciones de tiempo y espacio y en general con los usos y costumbres de las mismas.

Art. 20. La elaboración, selección, adquisición de materiales educativos, textos, equipos y demás recursos didácticos, deben tener en cuenta las particularidades culturales de cada grupo étnico y llevarse a cabo en concertación con las instancias previstas en el artículo 10 el presente Decreto

Figure 33. *Decr. 804, 1995; art. 19 and 20*

The school's need of a library, electricity, better bathrooms, and a sports field were mentioned by the students of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga. Teachers included a laboratory, computers, textbooks based on their ancestral knowledge and didactic material. The lack of basic structures like bathrooms, classrooms and a cafeteria was evident during our visit.

In the ethno-educational center Zharneka, they asked for texts, library, books, didactic material and better classrooms. Teachers of the ethno-educational center Zharneka emphasized the importance of having better infrastructure and more Wiwa teachers with training to transmit culture and ancestral knowledge and didactic material with an ancestral knowledge approach.

Properly trained teachers, didactic material and infrastructure are not the only needs of these schools. The majority of respondents mentioned the difficulties in obtaining higher education. It seems out of reach and reserved for a very small number of Wiwa individuals. According to a teacher of the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga, in 2017 fourteen students graduated from high school and only one student from that graduating class is at the university. From the 2018 graduates there is no one.

At the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga, teachers mentioned that the two main obstacles are the difficulty to complete the process to be certified as an Indigenous person and to fill out all of the application requirements from universities. These are arduous and the community does not have easy access to the resources needed to complete both actions, contravening the responsibility of the government to guarantee the access of

ethnic groups to higher education to form ethno-educators (Decr. 804, 1995. Art. 8). At the same time, for the Indigenous students, the two main hurdles are the lack of economic resources to pay for higher education and the difficulties in obtaining the required grades in the National Examination³⁰ to access public higher education. This situation was described in the following statements:

“The standard National Examination is totally out of context. It includes English, that the students do not learn and some of their questions do not take into account Indigenous reality. For instance, they ask about the number of bathrooms in your household. There are no bathrooms in the [Indigenous] houses so the question is totally de-contextualized. There are no equal conditions in this type of examination.” [Although the national assessment includes an English section, it is not taken into account when Universities consider Indigenous applications]

Las pruebas estandarizadas están fuera de contexto. Incluyen Inglés que los estudiantes no aprenden y las preguntas no tienen en cuenta la realidad indígena. Preguntan por el número de baños en la casa que no es la realidad de estos chicos. Sus casas no tienen baños. Está descontextualizado y no hay igualdad de condiciones. Teacher VD-E-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“Students want to continue studying but it is not easy. Universities have spots for Indigenous individuals due to international pressure but not because of their own will. There is a gap in the contact and support to access university and complete all of the applications with the government; schools help the better they can.”

Los estudiantes quieren seguir estudiando pero no es fácil. Las universidades tienen cupos para indígenas por presión internacional no por voluntad propia no es suficiente. Lagunas en el contacto y asesoría para acceder a la universidad y hacer trámites con el gobierno y la escuela ayuda en la medida de sus posibilidades. Teacher D-E-003-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

³⁰ In Colombia, students in grade 11 (last grade of high school) present a National examination in order to graduate. Certain results according to the career chosen are required as part of the application process by universities and colleges in order to accept new students.

“Government does not help. The effort comes from the community and the IED. Many of the [Indigenous students] study and leave because there are not enough opportunities.”

El gobierno no ayuda. Es esfuerzo de la comunidad y la IED. Muchos estudian y se van porque hay falta de oportunidades. Teacher VD-E-004-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

“We want them to attend university. Government aid is available but it is very hard to access. The Ministry of the Interior certifies the Indigenous population but to subscribe and get help from the Ministry is very hard.”

Sí a la universidad. Existen ayudas gubernamentales pero muy difícil. El ministerio del interior certifica que son indígenas y hay que inscribirse para que el ministerio lo ayude pero es muy difícil. Teacher VD-SJ-025-D Zharneka.

In the diagnosis of higher education opportunities for the Indigenous population, it is recorded that there is no support from the higher education institutions to the life plan of Indigenous communities and the possibilities to access higher education are increasingly distant (UNESCO et al. 2004).

The responsibility of the government to provide infrastructure³¹, Native teachers trained in ethno-education³² and textbooks and educational resources for ethnic learning³³ are established in the law. Nevertheless, resources are sporadically provided and there is not a continuous or consistent program to advance in these urgent matters.

Although efforts to implement the Shama Zhigui, the employment of a few Wiwa teachers, the need for more Indigenous educators, better infrastructure and access to higher education are similar in both institutions, there are steep differences in the perception of the language needs of each one. That might be due to the differences in scenario and situation that have been discussed before. The mother tongue of most of the families that attend the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga is Damana and they

³¹ Decree 804 of 2010, arts. 19 – 20

³² Law 115 of 1994, art. 58

³³ Law 115 of 1994, art. 59 and Law 1831 of 1995, art. 10

send their children to the school to learn Spanish. The opposite situation is characteristic of many of the families that send their children to Atshintujkua due to the close contact with *criollos* or *suntalu* that live around and deal with Indigenous families. We will analyze the different needs of each school in the next two sections.

4.7.2 Interculturality in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga

In this school, the presence of the government is scarce and, apart from what the government has invested, they have been able to develop some of the infrastructure thanks to international and not for profit help.

Students find English classes, access to internet and infrastructure as the most pressing issues. Here, we could note that the Wiwas of this region are in constant contact with foreigners due to the tourist sites in SNSM on the one hand and on the other, to the scholars who visit, who often try to contact Mamo Ramón Gil or wish to carry out linguistic, anthropological, social or scientific studies. This close contact has sparked a desire on the part of students to learn foreign languages, especially English. Moreover, as we indicated, the National Examination includes a section to assess basic knowledge of a foreign language, and according to the Ministry of Education, the foreign language taught in Colombia is English. Although basic English knowledge is one of the standards required by the Ministry of Education, the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga in Gotsezhy, does not have an English teacher so they do not have English class. As the students said,

“School should teach English because I want to... meet foreign people. We lack internet access.

Falta tener clases de Inglés porque quiero... conocer extranjeros. Falta acceso a internet. Student VD-E-019-E Zalemakú Sertuga.

“We should not be evaluated in English as a second language in the academic section. Our second language is Spanish and we do not have English classes.”

Falta Inglés NO deben evaluar inglés como segunda lengua en la parte académica porque la segunda lengua es español y no tenemos clases de inglés. Student VD-E-025-E Zalemakú Sertuga.

It is important to consider that, according to the Political Constitution of Colombia, 1991, art. 1 and Law 1381, 2010, art. 5 Damana and Spanish are both official languages in the Wiwa territory. Considering the situation of the Indigenous communities, their mother tongue or first language is Damana. For Indigenous peoples, Spanish is a second language as it is spoken in the territory but not their first language and English would be a foreign language as it is not spoken within the territory but it is the language assessed in standard examinations. The National Bilingual programme defines two types of bilingualism. The first, bilingualism Spanish/Foreign language (students learn Spanish as a first language (L1) and one of the traditional foreign languages (FL) taught in Colombia: English, French, or German). The second, bilingualism Native language/Spanish (Indigenous students learn their Mother tongue as first language (L1) and Spanish as a second language (L2)). However, the intention in the future is to include English classes, in which case, Indigenous students would learn their first language L1 (the Native language, Damana for the Wiwa People), Spanish as a Second language L2 and English as a Foreign language FL. So, ideally, Wiwa students should learn Damana, Spanish and a foreign language (Law 115, 1994, art. 22 and 55).

Besides English, a few students mentioned the need to have more Spanish classes and more practice of reading and writing. It seems some of them do not develop enough proficiency in Spanish to feel confident to start a career in university and navigate an environment where Spanish is spoken. This was also mentioned by one of the students and one of the teachers when they were talking about the needs of the students:

“English classes are missing. We need more Spanish to be able to read, write and express ourselves.”

Falta Inglés. Falta español para leer, escribir y expresarse. Student VD-E-020-E Zalemakú Sertuga.

“They need to implement a process of language didactics. They also need to improve their Spanish level”.

Falta implementar proceso de didáctica de la lengua. También para mejorar el español.
Teacher VD-E-008-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

4.7.3 Interculturality in the ethno-educational center Zharneka

In the ethno-educational center Zharneka in Atshinjtukua, the needs are different. Most of the students mentioned Damana and Wiwa culture as the most important needs. They feel their proficiency in the use of Damana is not enough and they have seen members of the community who do not learn the language at all. As stated by students:

“We need to learn more about [Damana to know] our culture.”

[Necesitamos aprender damana para conocer] *más de la cultura.* Student VD-SJ-010-E Zharneka.

“Not everything about Damana is learned at school.”

No todo sobre el Damana se aprende en la escuela. Student VD-SJ-014-E Zharneka.

“We need to learn about Wiwa history. Only the mamó and elders teach those things.”

Falta Historia Wiwa. El Mamó y los mayores lo enseñan. Student VD-SJ-011-E Zharneka.

“Sometimes the teacher does not go beyond in the teaching of Damana.”

A veces el docente no profundiza en damana. VD-SJ-016-E Zharneka.

These students do not mention the need of English classes because they have an English teacher for high school. Additionally, they come from families that speak Spanish and their knowledge of this language is sufficient for them to interact with non-Indigenous individuals and to feel prepared to start university or college studies or a job in the city.

4.7.4 Conclusion

Figure 34 represents the total responses from teachers and students of both schools regarding the needs of the school. This was an open question in which we asked them to tell us what they considered to be what the school needed the most. The chart is useful to highlight the most pressing needs. In the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga Internet, English and access to the university are the most important needs. On the other hand, at the ethno-educational center Zharneka the most pressing issue is better Damana teachings so they can properly acquire the language.

Access to the university and internet are not mentioned as a main concern for the students and teachers at the ethno-educational center Zharneka. This could have to do with the possibility of obtaining internet in the town of San Juan which is close to the boarding school and the proximity of these towns that make it easier for the students of this school to think about higher education.

English is not a need because there is currently an English teacher and, as these students come from homes where Spanish is the main language of communication, their main concern is their Native language. For teachers of both communities, the need for Native teachers is pressing, although the students at the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga did not mention it as they focused on other needs.

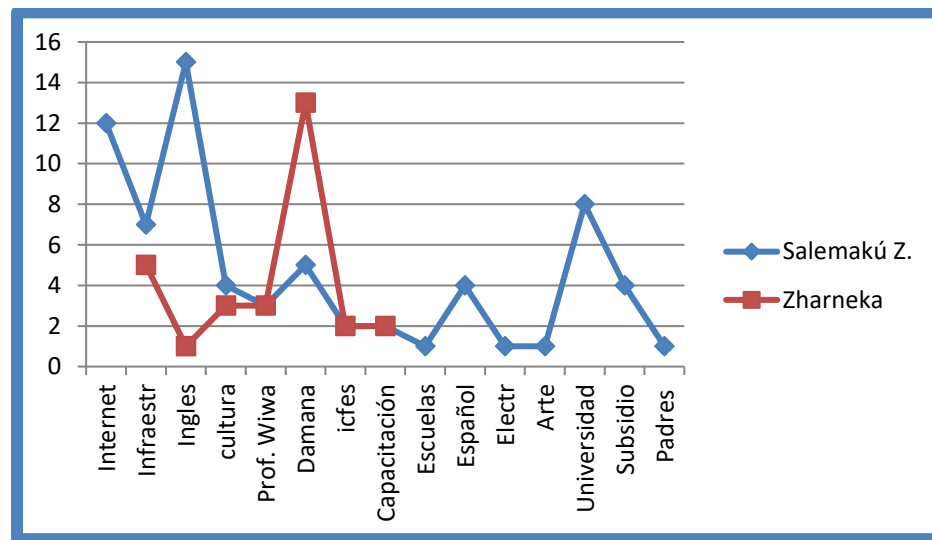


Figure 34. Needs of the each school as per students and teachers

As we have seen in the previous reports, there is a legal framework for the promotion and maintenance of Indigenous languages. The recognition of Indigenous languages as official languages in their territory by the Political Constitution of Colombia is a milestone in the fight to recognize the importance and preserve of Native languages. Subsequent laws and decrees have established the necessary policies to support Indigenous languages and protect them. Nevertheless, many of these policies are just written on paper and far from being implemented. The reasons for this range from lack of awareness of the importance of Indigenous languages, through lack of political will, lack of proper and systematic planning to succeed or even gaps in the policies themselves that make it difficult to enforce their implementation. Nevertheless, there is a strong will from the Indigenous groups and the schools to maintain Wiwa language and culture supported by the letter of these policies and in continuous development. Based on this, the vitality of Damana is moving from *grade three (3), Passive Assimilation* to *grade four (4), Differentiated Support* because, according to Colombian legislation, Indigenous languages are explicitly guaranteed and should be protected by the government, but the policies are not fully implemented, and nor does the government appear disposed to encourage the maintenance of these languages and to protect them.

4.8 Community Member Attitudes toward their own Language

During our visit to the two schools, we observed that some students interacted in both languages. There were comments in Damana and Spanish and we saw the students talking to their parents, teachers and other students in the two languages. When they do not want to be understood, they use Damana. This was evident during classes with monolingual Spanish speaking teachers. They talked to the teacher and participated in class in Spanish but used Damana to talk among themselves.

One of the questions of the survey asked parents and teachers to assess how important it was for them that their children spoke Damana. In every single survey the answer was “very important” (except for a teacher at the ethno-educational center Zharneka that

assessed Damana and Spanish as “important” to be learned). However, they also consider it “very important” or “important” that the children learn Spanish.

Students at the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga told us they consider Damana a very important part of the identity of the Wiwas as it is their own language and characterize them as Indigenous. Teachers say that they cannot lose their identity, tradition and language. Some parents do not speak Spanish so Damana is still very important for their communication and they do not want Damana to suffer the same fate as Kankui, the extinct language of the Chibchan linguistic family. Parents just consider it natural to speak Damana and proudly use it with their authorities, their children and the other members of the community. At the ethno-educational center Zharneka, the attitude is the same but the situation is different. Students, teachers and parents consider it very important to speak Damana; however, proficiency in Damana is low and the predominant language is Spanish.

For parents, Damana is a feature of Wiwa culture and identity and allows people to communicate with traditional members of the community; parents expressed their desire to have their children learn Damana, as in the following comments:

“[I want] *my children to achieve what I could not.*”

Ya que yo no pude, que ellos puedan Parent VD-SJ-028-P Zharneka.

“I did not learn Spanish. It is important that children study it so they can translate for us when we need it; for instance, when we go to the doctor.”

No aprendí español. Es importante que los hijos estudien para que cuando vayan a usarlo puedan ayudar a traducir. Por ejemplo al ir al médico. Parent VD-E-010-IP Zalemakú Sertuga.

“[Spanish] *must be learned. At least our children [should learn it].*”

Se debe aprender [español]. Al menos los hijos. Parent VD-SJ-024-P Zharneka.

Students said that Damana differentiates them from the rest of society and is part of their identity. The fundamental principles of the culture include the language and Damana is the foundation for them. Ancestors, authorities, the elders and Mamo speak it so they need it to communicate with them and preserve their culture.

One of the teachers said:

“The Mamo teaches them to interact in the river, the slash and burn³⁴, the road, the song, the birds, the breeze and the senses. Ancestral knowledge is transmitted through the language”

El mamo enseña a interactuar en el río, en la roza, en el camino, el canto, las aves, los sentidos, la brisa, A partir de la lengua se transmite el conocimiento. Teacher VD-SJ-027-D Zharneka.

Another teacher added:

“Wiwas need to speak Damana to understand the Indigenous vision. Some of the wisdom of our elders cannot be expressed in Spanish.”

El Wiwa tiene que hablar Damana para poder entender la visión indígena. En castellano hay palabras de sabiduría de los ancestros que no se pueden explicar. Teacher VD-E-008-D Zalemakú Sertuga.

Some students stated the following:

“We do find students who are not proud of their rights [identity] as Wiwa”

Sí se ven estudiantes no orgullosos de sus derechos wiwa. Student VD-SJ-018-E Zharneka.

³⁴Slash and Burn: Relating to or denoting a method of agriculture in which existing vegetation is cut down and burned off before new seeds are sown, typically used as a method for clearing forest land for farming. (Slash and burn: Lexico Dictionary by Oxford, 2020)

“[Some individuals do not know Damana because] *they did not have the opportunity due to different circumstances, like the Capuchino’s acculturation process. It is disgusting to see those who know the language and do not use it.*”

[Algunos no saben damana porque] *no han tenido oportunidad. Diversas circunstancias como la aculturación capuchina. Disgusta en cambio, el que sabe la lengua y no la practica.*” Student VD-SJ-001-D Zharneka.

“There are children who know Damana but do not use it.”

Hay niños que hablan damana y no la usan. Student VD-SJ-023-E Zharneka.

Or *“Some classmates say they do not like Damana and do not make a real effort to learn our traditional language.”*

Algunos compañeros dicen que la lengua no les gusta y no se esfuerzan por aprenderla. Student VD-SJ-019-E Zharneka.

It is true that during our visit we identified a positive attitude from the majority of the people we interacted with towards Damana and it is also true that the authorities at the government and educational levels among the Indigenous community are making an effort to spread the use of Damana and reinforce their culture. Nonetheless, this is not enough to generalize. We found teachers who do not consider Damana and the Wiwa culture as important as the standards from the government and access to the mainstream culture and official language of the country. Some youngsters do not see the importance of Damana and feel urgency to develop the dominant language spoken by the majority.

As we are evaluating the vitality of the language in the two schools, and from our interviews, surveys and observations, we identified a majority of teachers, parents and students supporting language maintenance. In order to assess the community member attitudes towards language according to UNESCO, we will give the educational centers Zalemakú Sertuga and Zharneka a *grade four (4)* because we can confidently affirm that most members support language maintenance.

4.9 Amount and Quality of Documentation

When Damana was introduced in this document, we paraphrased Anderson (2014) who said that documentation of the language is scarce. We consider it important to bring this statement into the current context of the documentation of this language.

There has been a sustained interest in the study of Damana and the culture of the Wiwas since Colonial times. Father Celedón (1886) included a Guamaka (Damana) lexicon at the end of his grammar of Koguian. During the 50's, Reichel Dolmatoff offered his description of the Indigenous peoples of SNSM, including some linguistic information about Damana, and, at the end of the 80's, the linguistic material he compiled in 1947 was published (Reichel Dolmatoff, 1953; Reichel Dolmatoff, 1989). In 1967, The Summer Institute of Linguistics produced a number of documents as they were studying the Wiwas and Damana and at the same time, sharing their religious beliefs. Among their documents, they completed a grammar sketch (Williams, 1993), some ethnographic descriptions (Hoppe, 1973), a morphological study (Williams, 1995), and the translation of some myths (Hoppe, 1974). There are other documents published by different scholars and mentions of Damana in different analysis of the Chibcha languages or the Indigenous languages in Colombia (Jackson, 1995; Constenla Umaña, 1985; Uhle, 1888).

Of great relevance has been the work conducted by Professor Maria Trillos Amaya for more than three decades. Dr. Trillos Amaya is an ethnolinguist who has conducted a variety of sociolinguistic research among the Indigenous groups of Colombia and has been one of the principal promoters of ethno-education in this country. Without offering an exhaustive list we can mention documents that describe phonetic and phonological (1999), morphological (1994), syntactic (2006), semantic (1998) and pragmatic (2005) aspects of Damana. Dr. Trillos Amaya has also published sociolinguistic descriptions (1996) and anthropological and ethnographic documents (1986, 1996 and 1997). Her publications cover a variety of documents including dissertations, articles in journals, chapters in books and complete books, not only on Damana but on Indigenous languages and ethno-education in general. When we visited the two schools, we found teachers and Master's students who know her and are grateful for her contribution to the development of the preservation of their language. Professor Maria Trillos started her studies of

Indigenous languages during her undergraduate studies and directed them to the Wiwa and their language when she joined the Masters of ethno-linguistics that Universidad de los Andes offered in collaboration with the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique / French National Centre for Scientific Research (CNRS) at the end of the 1980's in Colombia. Her work has been of great relevance not only for the Indigenous communities of SNSM but for Native languages in the whole territory of Colombia.

However, we still consider that the interest towards the language requires the active participation of other actors from the government, academia and the community itself to enrich the results of research, provide other points of view and yield a robust documentation of the language including material in other formats (audio, video recordings, multimedia, etc.).

Documentation in Damana is scarce, in part due to the relatively recent development of the written system and in part due to the isolation of the community. It is important to have scholars graduated within the Indigenous group that embark in documenting the language and providing linguistic analysis of this Native language.

Based on this description, and according to the UNESCO scale to assess this factor, we consider that Damana has moved from *grade two (2)*, a *fragmentary* amount and quality of documentation to the beginnings of *grade three (3)*, *fair*, because, as the description of this grade says, *there may be an adequate grammar or sufficient amount of grammars, dictionaries, and texts, but no everyday media; audio and video recordings... exist in varying quality or degree of annotation* (UNESCO Ad Hoc group, 2003, p. 16).



Figure 35. *Old infrastructure. Classrooms at Zalemakú Sertuga school. Still in use at time of research*



Figure 36. *There were five newer classrooms at Zalemakú Sertuga School at time of research*

Chapter 5

5 Discussion and Conclusion

In this section we will discuss the findings and address our research questions to provide a conclusion.

5.1 Discussion

According to the Unesco factors to assess the vitality of endangered languages, the different grades of the scale for Damana are listed in table 17. Factors that obtained a low score are written in red.

Table 17. UNESCO factors for Damana in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga and Zharneka

	Factor	Value	Descriptor
1	Intergenerational Language Transmission	4	Unsafe
2	Absolute Number of Speakers	2	Severely Endangered
3	Proportion of Speakers within the Total Population	2	Severely Endangered
4	Trends in Existing Language Domains	4	Multilingual Party
5	Response to New Domains and Media	2	Coping
6	Materials for Language Education and Literacy	1	
7	Governmental and Institutional Language Attitudes and Policies	3 to 4	Differentiated Support
8	Community Member Attitudes toward their own Language	4	Positive attitude
9	Amount and Quality of Documentation	3	Fair

Although there is constant intergenerational language transmission in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga in Gotsezhy, and most of the children there speak Damana from an early age, the opposite happens in the ethno-educational center Zharneka located in Atshintujkua. As we learned in our previous analysis (see table 14), the number of Wiwa individuals in Gotsezhy and even Magdalena represents a substantial minority in comparison with the Wiwa population in Atshinjtkua and the

region of Cesar and Guajira. Therefore, intergenerational language transmission is reduced and unsafe but constant, ensuring a number of children learning the language.

This is possible in part, thanks to the important role that Damana plays in some domains. It is the preferred language for interaction with the family and the Indigenous authorities. It is also the language revered and used during religious practices and ceremonies. Damana has an important position in the school with the implementation of mother tongue classes and, because of the policies developed by the government since the early 90s, it has obtained differentiated support to preserve and strengthen the language and culture. Finally, the attitude of the community members in both regions is highly positive. Although in the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga Damana is more prevalent, the students and staff of the ethno-educational center Zharneka share a positive attitude toward their language. They respect and value it as an important trait of their identity and culture.

Nevertheless, it is of paramount importance to turn our attention to those factors in which Damana scored weakly in the scale proposed by UNESCO. One of the aspects in which there is a profound need is the development of materials for language education and literacy. It is true that this is not the only need in the two schools. Basic educational materials are required. A proper science lab, access to internet, a basic library, enough classrooms and even proper bathrooms are needed. However, in order to preserve and maintain the language the standardization of the alphabet and the development of basic literacy books, a dictionary and didactic material in Damana are a top priority. Teachers of Damana have had training in education and some linguistics but preparation in first and second language acquisition, language pedagogy and applied linguistics is one of the main concerns at the school level. If there is a better implementation of the learning of Damana and the use of Damana as a tool to transmit and record knowledge, the absolute number of speakers and their proportion within the total population will increase. A solid knowledge of Damana within new generations will increase the likelihood of intergenerational transmission. It could also result in a more solid presence in new domains like the school, internet and media.

Furthermore, it is of great importance that the government work closely with Indigenous peoples to better respond to their needs and properly implement the different policies regarding interculturality and Native language protection. Indigenous peoples need to continue fighting to compel the institutions to listen to their needs and act accordingly. Some progress has been achieved but there is still work to be done. More investment will help the Wiwa people advance the important work of their schools in supporting language maintenance and culture preservation and at the same time, preparing Indigenous students who can access higher education in order to transfer the responsibility of the school to Indigenous hands.

Finally, it is our hope that this document will contribute to the documentation of the language and new scholars and members of the community decide to participate in the development of high quality material about the Wiwas, their culture and their language.



Figure 37. *Ushui (Women meeting house). Atshintujkua.*

5.2 Conclusion

First, based on the UNESCO scale and after a close analysis of the nine factors established to determine the vitality of an endangered language, we would label Damana as a *definitely endangered language* in the UNESCO scale. It is a threatened language in the ethno-educational center Zharneka where the language is used by all generations, but it is not transmitted to all of the members of the community. The school in Atshinjtukua is carrying out important work in the revival and preservation of the tongue but there are still students who graduate without a solid knowledge of Damana. In the ethno-educational center Zalemakú Sertuga, the situation is a little different and it could be considered *vulnerable* (most children speak the language, but it may be restricted to certain domains (e.g., home)). However, as we have repeated all through this text, Gotsezhy represents a small minority of the total Wiwa population and acquisition of the language needs to be extended to other regions.

Based on this analysis, some emphasis should be placed on the consolidation of Indigenous teacher staff proficient in the Native language and willing to develop and implement the principles of ethno-education in the school. These local educators and stakeholders should gain control over the school practices in close coordination with the authorities of the community (mamo, secretary of education, etc.) to ensure an application of the didactic principles according to the current situation of the institutions.

Standardization of the alphabet and development of literacy and didactic material and basic mother tongue curriculum that allows the acquisition of the language plus the introduction of ancestral knowledge in the academic content of the different subjects would guarantee improved language proficiency in Damana and an intercultural relation between the two cultures present in the school setting.

It is important to develop mechanisms to guarantee access of students to higher education and especially to train them not only in ethno-education, applied linguistics and first and second language teaching but also in other professions that allow the Wiwa community to

force and implement policies and to develop projects to meet the needs of the community.

Colombia as a nation has developed important policies that recognize the importance of Indigenous peoples and provide all the tools and strategies necessary to protect Native languages and guarantee their revitalization and protection. However, policies on paper are not enough and the lack of commitment translated into consistent support and implementation of the policies issued has had profound consequences, such as the extinction of Indigenous languages, the endangered situation for the remaining languages, and the very survival of Indigenous peoples such as the Wiwa.

Finally, this research confirmed the commitment of the Wiwa community to continue their efforts to implement an ethno-educative project that strengthens and preserves their culture through bilingual and intercultural education so their graduates maintain a solid cultural identity and at the same time, are able to work effectively among their fellow Colombian citizens in what they call western society, as it is recorded in the Shama Zhigui,

“Intercultural education is seen as the need to understand [different] societies and recognize cultural diversity present in regional, state, national and international contexts so they can interact with respect and tolerance towards the construction of an inclusive society where the autonomy of Indigenous peoples is respected and valued without economic, political or cultural subordination or dominance.”

La educación intercultural es vista como la necesidad de entender a las sociedades y reconocer la diversidad cultural existente en los contextos regionales, estatales, nacionales e internacionales, para interactuar con respeto y tolerancia hacia la construcción de una nueva sociedad incluyente, donde se tenga en cuenta y respete la autonomía, como pueblos indígenas, sin subordinación o dominación económica, política y cultural (OWYBT, 2012, p. 34).



Figure 38. *Zalemakú Sertuga Ethno-educational Institution. General Assembly*



Figure 39. *Zharneka Ethno-educational Institution. Own [ancestral] Knowledge class*

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Appendices

Appendix 1

ANCESTRAL GOVERNMENT SYSTEM

Sistema de Gobierno Ancestral (*Ministerio del Interior et al., 2015*)

	DESCRIPCIÓN	FUNCIONES
SHEMBUTA o Ley	Son los códigos y normas creadas por los padres espirituales desde el origen de los tiempos	Regula el comportamiento material y espiritual del ser Wiwa y se consignan las obligaciones ante la naturaleza y el mundo
RIZAKUMA o MAMO	Persona de sexo masculino dotado de una enseñanza y conocimiento en cuanto a lo material y espiritual	Representar la autoridad tradicional de las comunidades Wiwa. Interpretar a través de los elementos de consulta el Shembuta.
SAGA	Persona de sexo femenino, esposa del mamo, dotada de conocimiento de la cultura y la función de la mujer y la naturaleza	Armonizar las decisiones del mamo, acompañar, servir de médico tradicional entre otras.
YUNKUMA o comisario	Persona que hace cumplir las decisiones de los mamos para regular las funciones comunitarias de justicia	Hacer cumplir las decisiones de la consulta. Representar a la comunidad en la organización. Hacer cumplir la justicia.
KASHIMAMA o Cabo	Persona que hace cumplir las decisiones de las autoridades.	Coordinar las labores comunitarias. Acatar la decisión tomada por el comisario, aplicar el castigo a los infractores.

Appendix 2

MITO CONTADO POR FRANCISCO GIL AWIGUÍ (QUICENO, 2019)

Cuentan los Koguis que hubo una época que los animales eran personas antes del amanecer y que en ese amanecer surgieron los hombres, los seres humanos. Los animales en su época eran personas. En esa época todos los pájaros tenían un padre en común. Todos tenían un solo padre y una vez ese padre los llamó a hacer una reunión en un campo muy grande y abierto. Toda la especie de pájaros llegaron y el padre había adoptado un niño huérfano, ya que se lo habían dejado en la casa. Resulta que este niño huérfano era flaco, acabado, un niño huérfano, características de un niño huérfano y el padre veía como los hijos legítimos del padre maltrataban al niño huérfano. El niño huérfano no tenía ropa, no tenía nada. Así que dormía al lado de la fogata para recibir algo de calor y lleno de cenizas. Comía lo que sobraba de la cocina. Y en eso el padre en cada reunión... Lo hacía anualmente... las reuniones y en esas reuniones transmitía conocimientos milenarios para que alguno de sus hijos lo remplazara y gobernara el mundo. Y en eso, pasaron muchos tiempos, muchas décadas, muchos siglos y el padre suponía que sus hijos que maltrataban al huérfano estaban aprendiendo de todos sus conocimientos para remplazarlo. Llegó la hora en que el padre tenía que marcharse hacia el cielo, hacia otras dimensiones y decidió escoger quién lo iba a remplazar y empezó a llamar y escuchar a ver qué salía, qué habían aprendido, como una especie de evaluación. En eso comenzó desde el hijo mayor, pero ninguno; contaban las historias a medias, no tenía valor, no tenía liderazgo, no habían aprendido la política de la gobernanza, no sabían... no tenían bondad, no tenían espíritu para ser un buen líder. En eso el niño llamado Shemanakatzá se levanta y empieza a hablar. Y cuando empieza a hablar... Tenía la misma línea y discurso y el mismo pensamiento y hasta casi la misma voz que el papá. Con autoridad del conocimiento. Habló a todo el mundo, el padre lo escogió y lo dejó para que liderara el mundo y se marchó. (Transcription from the story telling of Franciso Gil Awuigú in Quiceno, 2019.)

Appendix 3

MISSION, VISION AND PEDAGOGICAL PRINCIPLES OF THE ETHNO-EDUCATIONAL CENTER ZHARNEKA

MISSION

We are an institution based on the principles of Mother Earth, a center of ancestral knowledge focused on the strengthening of the cultural and spiritual identity in a collective way producing building actions in the permanent development of own [ancestral] knowledge under the standards of our Law of Origin.

Somos una institución basada en principios de la madre tierra, como centro de conocimiento ancestral enfocada en el fortalecimiento de la identidad cultural y espiritual de manera colectiva generando acciones formadoras en la construcción permanente de conocimiento propios bajo los lineamientos de nuestra ley de Origen.

VISION

Orality will allow our own bilingual and intercultural education guarantee the permanence of the culture of the Wiwa people from the fulfillment of our ancestral practices, that let our future generations [get] an education based on pedagogical principles nurtured through knowledge of the trace left by the elders as facilitators of the essential elements for learning oriented to promote defense of unity, autonomy and territory for a good living.

La oralidad permitirá que la educación propia bilingüe e intercultural garantice la permanencia de la cultura del pueblo Wiwa a partir del cumplimiento de nuestras prácticas ancestrales, que permitan a nuestras futuras generaciones una formación basada en principios pedagógicos sustentados a través del conocimiento de la huella de los mayores como facilitadores de los elementos esenciales para el aprendizaje orientado a promover la defensa de la unidad, autonomía y territorio para un buen vivir.

PEDAGOGICAL PRINCIPLES

- Silence
- Listening
- Observation
- Weave
- Sweet Word
- Soft heart
- Dialogue of knowledge
- Community
- Thinking

PRINCIPIOS PEDAGÓGICOS

- ✓ Silencio
- ✓ Escucha
- ✓ Observación
- ✓ Tejido
- ✓ Palabra dulce
- ✓ Corazón bueno
- ✓ Diálogo de saberes
- ✓ Comunitario
- ✓ Pensamiento

Appendix 4

PRINCIPLES OF ETHNO-EDUCATION

Principios de Etno-educación (Decr. 804, 1995, art. 2)

PRINCIPIOS DE ETNOEDCACION	
Integralidad	entendida como la concepción global que cada pueblo posee y que posibilita una relación armónica y recíproca entre los hombres, su realidad social y la naturaleza;
Diversidad Lingüística	entendida como las formas de ver, concebir y construir el mundo que tienen los grupos étnicos, expresadas a través de las lenguas que hacen parte de la realidad nacional en igualdad de condiciones;
Autonomía	entendida como el derecho de los grupos étnicos para desarrollar sus procesos etnoeducativos;
Participación Comunitaria	entendida como la capacidad de los grupos étnicos para orientar, desarrollar y evaluar sus procesos etnoeducativos, ejerciendo su autonomía;
Interculturalidad	entendida como la capacidad de conocer la cultura propia y otras culturas que interactúan y se enriquecen de manera dinámica y recíproca, contribuyendo a plasmar en la realidad social, una coexistencia en igualdad de condiciones y respeto mutuo;
Flexibilidad	entendida como la construcción permanente de los procesos etnoeducativos, acordes con los valores culturales, necesidades y particularidades de los grupos étnicos;
Progresividad	entendida como la dinámica de los procesos etnoeducativos generada por la investigación, que articulados coherentemente se consolidan y contribuyen al desarrollo del conocimiento;
Solidaridad	entendida como la cohesión del grupo al rededor de sus vivencias que le permite fortalecerse y mantener su existencia, en relación con los demás grupos sociales.

Appendix 5

QUESTIONNAIRE



NUMERO DE PARTICIPANTE _____ -

1. Sexo Masculino Femenino
 Estas opciones no aplican. Yo me identifico como _____
2. Edad 18 a 30 31 a 40 41 a 50 más de 50 años
3. Estudios Primaria Secundaria
4. Ocupación _____
5. Lengua primera: _____
6. Lengua dominante de la madre: _____
7. Lengua dominante del padre: _____
8. Lengua (s) que hablaba en casa cuando era niño: _____
9. Lengua (s) que habló durante los primeros tres años de su vida: _____
10. Lengua (s) que habló durante los primeros cinco años de su vida: _____
11. ¿A qué edad empezó a hablar español? _____
12. ¿Dónde aprendió español? Familia calle trabajo escuela
 otro
13. ¿Sabe leer español? Sí no un poco
14. ¿Sabe escribir español? Sí no un poco
15. ¿Sabe hablar damana? Sí no un poco
16. ¿Sabe leer damana? Sí no un poco
17. ¿Sabe escribir damana? Sí no un poco
18. ¿Con qué lengua se siente más cómodo? Español damana
19. Con qué frecuencia habla damana:

	Siempre	Frecuentemente	A veces	Rara vez	Nunca
Con familiares	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con amigos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

A los animales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el trabajo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la iglesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la escuela	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con la policía	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el médico	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

20. Con qué frecuencia habla español:

	Siempre	Frecuentemente	A veces	Rara vez	Nunca
Con familiares	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con amigos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A los animales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En el trabajo	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la iglesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la escuela	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con la policía	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con el médico	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

21. ¿Qué tan importante es que sus hijos hablen damana?

Muy Importante Neutral Poco Nada

Importante			importante	importante
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

22. ¿Qué tan importante es que sus hijos hablen español?

Muy	Importante	Neutral	Poco	Nada
Importante			importante	importante
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

23. ¿Siente el damana como una seña de su identidad? Sí No

24. ¿Reconoce alguna intención de la escuela de promover el uso del damana? Sí

No

Por favor explique

25. ¿Sabe si algunas de las clases se dictan en damana? Sí No

26. ¿La enseñanza de la escuela es suficiente para sus hijos? Sí No

Por favor explique

27. ¿Qué enseñanzas transmite usted a sus hijos que no son enseñadas en la escuela?

28. Con qué frecuencia hablan sus hijos damana:

	Siempre	Frecuentemente	A veces	Rara vez	Nunca
Con familiares	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con sus amigos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A los animales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la escuela	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la iglesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

29. Con qué frecuencia sus hijos hablan español:

	Siempre	Frecuentemente	A veces	Rara vez	Nunca
Con familiares	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
Con sus amigos	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
A los animales	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la escuela	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En la iglesia	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
En las tiendas	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

30. ¿Disponen de actividades para fomentar el uso del damana?

¿Cuáles?

31. ¿Conocen poemas, cuentos, canciones, refranes en damana que se transmiten de generación en generación?

¿Cuáles?

32. ¿Qué opinión tiene de los Wiwa que no hablan damana?

33. ¿Qué opinión tiene de los Wiwa que no hablan español?

34. ¿Piensa usted que tienen mejores oportunidades los que hablan español?

35. ¿Cree usted que es una ventaja para sus hijos hablar bien el damana?

36. ¿Cree usted que es una ventaja para sus hijos hablar bien el español? Sí No

37. ¿Cree usted que es una ventaja para sus hijos hablar bien ambos, el damana y el español?

Sí No

Appendix 6

INTERVIEWS



¿Qué tan bien habla español?

¿Qué tan bien habla damana?

¿En qué lengua se siente más cómodo en la actualidad? ¿Por qué?

¿Siente que el damana es parte de su identidad?

¿Desea que sus hijos hablen damana? ¿Por qué?

¿Desea que sus hijos hablen español? ¿Por qué?

¿Qué acciones lleva a cabo para que sus hijos hablen español y damana?

¿Por qué es importante hablar damana?

¿Por qué es importante hablar español?

¿Qué opina de los Wiwa que no hablan damana?

¿Tienen mejores oportunidades los que hablan español?

¿Reconoce esfuerzos del gobierno, la escuela o la comunidad para preservar el damana?

¿Qué más podrían hacer?

¿Quiere añadir algo?

Curriculum Vitae

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