CADERNOS DE PESQUISA
ISSN 2178-2229

Programa de Pós Graduação em Educação PPGE

DOI: https://doi.org/10.18764/2178-2229v33n2e26782

An approach to the history of Colombian sign language: from the Our Lady of Wisdom Institute (INSABI) to señalitura

Ofelia Ros
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0000-0001-8615-3582

Astrid Lorena Bernal Velásquez
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0009-0001-4684-5629

Laura CristinaTrillos Leal
ORCID: https://orcid.org/0009-0008-8730-7756

Abstract: This article presents key milestones in the history of Colombian Sign Language (LSC), considering the education of deaf people and their transition from oralism to sign language, the importance of the deaf association movement for both the emergence of LSC and its official recognition in 1996, and the consolidation of rhetorical expressions within LSC. We will focus on one of the educational institutions where sign language was consolidated, the Instituto Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría (Bogotá), and where the deaf association movement began. This association movement is fundamental to the deaf community, founded on the value of sign language as a natural and first language; it also facilitated the deaf community's engagement with rhetorical expressions in Colombian Sign Language, which Laura Trillos (2016) refers to as "señalitura." We reflect on señalitura as another milestone for the deaf community in the processes of appropriating and preserving their language, culture, history, and deaf identity.
Keywords: colombian sign language; deaf education; deaf association movement; “señalitura”

1 Introduction

The approach to the history of Colombian Sign Language (LSC) arose from the research Project: 100 años de la educación del Sordo en Colombia: un pretexto para el acercamiento a la historia de la lengua de señas colombiana – LSC, sponsor by Instituto Caro y Cuervo, in Colombia. The methodology used aimed to document the emergence of Colombian Sign Language within Instituto Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría, through testimonies, historical archive documents in different formats, and a bibliographic review of specialized sources between 1924 and 1996. The interest refers to the urgent need to compile the history of Colombian deaf people as a way of compiling the common origin and historical journey of the deaf community (Hurtado, 2003).

Esta licença permite que outros distribuam, remixem, adaptem e criem a partir do seu trabalho, mesmo para fins comerciais, desde que lhe atribuam o devido crédito pela criação original.

The research was subsequently expanded to include the review and analysis of official data contained in education documents, which record the educational provision and its functioning, as well as articles from the 1991 Political Constitution of Colombia and government laws on the education of the deaf population and the regulation of sign language. We propose the importance of the associative movement of the deaf in the valuation of sign language as a natural and first language, its impact on the recognition of LSC in 1996, and the creation of the corpus of “señalitura” compiled by the Grupo de comunidad, identidad lingüística y cultural of the Instituto Nacional para Sordos (INSOR) in 2013. We also propose to analyze these major milestones of the deaf community in the processes of appropriation, valorization, and preservation of Colombian deaf language and culture. Finally, we present an analysis of one of the rhetorical expressions in sign language, so-called “señalitura”, by Laura Trillos (2016), in relation to the historical journey undertaken, but from the perspective of a sign language narrative.

The methodology used to analyze the selected “señalitura” is based on the literary theory of Sociocriticism, following the legacy left at Instituto Caro y Cuervo by Professor Hélène Pouliquen (2017). Within this framework, we draw on developments in Critical Theory, established by the Frankfurt School, to focus on critically analyzing the production of subjectivities around the tension between orality and sign language in the Colombian context, considering the power relations that reproduce an asymmetrical relationship between hearing and deaf people. The proposed analysis recognizes the function of words in the transmission of social axiology in linguistic text; the linguistic and semiological analysis of sign language is the basis for subsequent axiological analysis. Through this methodology of analysis, we aim to highlight the consolidation of the social value of Colombian Sign Language in relation to the socio-historical context. In turn, the methodology makes it possible to analyze the value of the deaf community in its resistance to oralism: how bonds enable the valorization of Colombian Sign Language and deaf culture, and how sign language is a fundamental part of their resistance and revaluation.

In this way, the analysis of sign language narratives complements historical research on the emergence and consolidation of sign language in Colombia. The review and analysis of the archives of the *Instituto Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría* (INSABI), together with media archives and legislation on Colombian Sign Language

in education, is complemented by the analysis of rhetorical expressions in sign language, "señalitura", composed of iconic units that are polyvalent and plurideterminate. We propose that rhetorical expressions articulate a challenge to the forms of domination, homogenization, and erasure of the uniqueness of deaf culture and community in official discourse and history. In this context, the poetic language follows a logic that transcends the logic of codified discourse found in the archive and in legislation, invoking the carnivalesque language that Julia Kristeva (1996) highlights in the work of Mikhail Bakhtin (1987, p. 439), which is only fully realized outside the margins of official culture.

We begin by presenting a documentary and audiovisual review of the emergence of Colombian Sign Language at INSABI, an institution focused on the education of deaf people since 1924. Although compiling an archive on this emergence was not a priority for deaf people at the time, nor for educational agendas or social actors working with this population, the existing records now allow us to trace the historical development of sign language. These records were possible despite the predominance of oralism, a clinically oriented educational approach imposed after the Milan Congress of 1880. This approach prohibited the use of sign language and disregarded the interests of deaf people, hindering their linguistic consolidation, the formation of a community, and intergenerational transmission of their language. Nevertheless, sign language persisted in the daily lives of INSABI students, actively resisting that period of imposition.

In 1996, with the enactment of Law 324, this right was partially restored through the recognition of regulations benefiting the country's deaf community. Later, Law 982 of 2005 expanded the legal framework to ensure equal opportunities for deaf and deafblind individuals, taking into account the sociolinguistic characteristics of the deaf population. Based on this legal framework and its evolution, following Hurtado (2003), who cites the work of Orozco (1990), one of the first historians of LSC, we present an overview of four key moments that allow us to understand the development and rise of Colombian Sign Language in educational, social, and cultural contexts.

The first stage refers to the flourishing of education for deaf people and the creation of centers dedicated to this purpose between 1924 and 1938. The second corresponds to the deaf association movement, which led to the formation of the first collective of deaf people and the creation of organizations between 1955 and 1984.

The third highlights the legal recognition of LSC (1996), positioning Colombia as the first country in the Americas and the fourth worldwide to recognize the language of the deaf population (FENASCOL, 1996, p. 5). The fourth stage relates to the emergence of educational proposals with a bilingual and bicultural approach, as well as the assimilation of the socio-anthropological approach, which took on different nuances in the recognition of deaf people from 1996 to the present. In this final stage, we analyze rhetorical expressions in LSC and the consolidation of "señalitura".

2 First educational offers for the deaf

The first period (1924-1938) marks the beginning of deaf education in Colombia, following the arrival of a deaf person in 1924 at the Instituto Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría (INSABI) in San Juanito, Meta Department. *Escuela de ciegos y sordomudos de Medellín* y al *Instituto de Sordomudos y Ciegos*, in the capital city; the latter was established under Law 56/1925 (Colombia, 1925). In 1938, the *Federación de Ciegos y Sordomudos* was formed under Law 143/1938, promoting the creation and development of schools for the education of both populations. This law was regulated by Decree 307 of 1940.

INSABI was founded on March 17, 1924. Its creation stemmed from the involvement of Blanca Lucila Bobadilla, a five-year-old deaf girl who inspired Mother Ives of the Sacred Heart to embark on the path of education for deaf people. This marked a new chapter in the educational history of the deaf population in Colombia, as there are no documented records of similar experiences in previous years, beyond the colonial accounts found in the Chronicles of Juan Rodríguez Freyle. Historically, sign languages had been permeated by prejudices generated by ignorance and misunderstanding (Munguía, 2017), to the point of suppressing the deaf community's use of sign language in public spaces to avoid ridicule. Something similar occurred regarding the social conception and representation of deaf people. According to Skliar (1997), the concept of deafness and deaf people became a critical topic of debate, sparking controversy in various settings, including education. However, Oviedo (2001) indicates that personal exchanges among deaf people generated an imprecise evolutionary process in sign language, influenced by both Amerindian and European sign languages. This influence is related to the exchange between deaf Colombians educated in Europe and those educated in Colombia, as well as to the origins of the

nuns who administered INSABI and the incoming and outgoing mobility of deaf people in educational settings.

INSABI was a key center for the emergence of sign language in Colombia, centered around formal education and the teaching of catechism, the sacraments, and the liturgical celebrations of the Catholic Church. The Institute was a benchmark for educational programs for the deaf, and thus, based on the formalization of accumulated experience, they created the INSABI educational ministry in 1981. This ministry was led by a nun who interacted with the deaf community using the codes circulating within their context. Among the Institute's archives is a video of the pastoral team, in which the nun states:

> […] God has chosen me to teach and work with the deaf in Colombia (INSABI Educational Ministry, 2008, min. 0:37-0:43)
>
> […] One day I was reviewing some things and I began to learn sign language. The deaf students at the Institute taught me signs and I learned quickly, I understood easily. I began to think about and organize the signs for the Eucharist to guide the spirituality of the deaf, then to teach catechism and the sacraments to the deaf […] (INSABI Educational Ministry, 2008, min. 1:14-1:51)[1]

The spiritual guidance of the deaf, led by a nun, brought Sunday Mass in Colombian Sign Language (LSC) to Colombian television screens in the 1990s. In interpreting the sacrament of the Eucharist, the nun used linguistic resources she developed through constant interaction with the deaf community. Likewise, with the aim of evangelizing this linguistic community, part of the work carried out by this educational ministry was published in the Vocabulario Católico en Lengua de Señas (INSABI, 2008), where sign language vocabulary related to pastoral action was presented.

This institution, dedicated to the education of deaf people, has been mentioned in various ways in the specialized literature, depending on the historical emphases or interpretations that have shaped its trajectory within the deaf community. One of the most common references is to it as a Catholic boarding school run by nuns where the education of deaf people began, with an emphasis primarily on oralist methods (Morales; Lenis; Aguilar, 2020, p. 131). Oviedo (2015), for his part, refers to it as the boarding school of the deaf, and posits that Colombian Sign Language (LSC) emerged

[1] The speech is presented in sign language; the quote is our interpretation of its Spanish equivalent.

there, influenced in its early stages by French, Spanish, and American Sign Language. For the Colombian Deaf community, it is known as *Sabiduría* or INSABI.

For its part, Law 143 of November 8, 1948, Article 3, refers to this institution as the "Escuela de Sordomudas de Cundinamarca de Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría." In its Code of Conduct (INSABI, 2013), it refers to itself as *Instituto Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría*. In this regard, it is important to mention that the Institute's name included the phrase "for the deaf" for decades; however, in response to national transformations in the education sector, this phrase was removed. This modification was made under the premise that the aforementioned epithet discriminated against other disabilities in terms of inclusive education; for this reason, the Institute enabled, in 2014, its offer for deaf people with disabilities associated with other medical conditions and the hearing population.

Mother Ives, of French origin, as Hurtado (2003) mentions, was a specialist in teaching the deaf. Her methods had characteristics of European methods of the time, which focused on the development of speech, lipreading, and writing. At that time, we were far from considering sign language as part of inclusive pedagogy, since the primary consideration was the deaf person as a subject of education and rehabilitation. The records show three constants that boosted the achievement of education for the deaf in Colombia: the boarding school model, the administration by nuns, and the emergence of sign language within INSABI.

With the approval of the *Ministerio de Educación Nacional*, INSABI continued operating, which increased student demand. *Las Hermanas de la Sabiduría* oversaw the expansion of the building, and in 1939 construction began on the structure that would provide an educational space for the blind and deaf. At that time, the Institute already had a specialized program for blind girls.

For the INSABI administration, it was a priority to ensure that deaf people could complete their full educational path. Thus, on November 13, 1962, they obtained official recognition as a primary school. Eleven years later, in 1973, it inaugurated the Polytechnic for deaf girls, so that upon completing their primary education, they could continue their training in dressmaking and weaving, in accordance with a view of deaf people that oriented them towards arts and crafts.

Between 1990 and 1999, the Institute transformed its practices in accordance with national policies and guidelines. Orozco (1990) argues that in Colombia, the rise

of the Verbotonal method and total communication occurred between 1974 and 1982, accompanied by transformations in the understanding of deafness and its relationship to learning. These proposals constituted a way of aligning the demands of the social context, both in terms of employment for deaf people and in the processes of teaching written language.

INSABI formalized its offer, receiving approval from the *Ministerio de Educación Nacional* for the basic cycle of secondary education in 2004, the middle cycle of secondary education and approval for *Formación en el Trabajo y el Desarrollo Humano,* FTDH (INSABI, 2013). The institution gradually established itself as a space where forms of visual communication began to emerge between deaf signers and their teachers, even though these were not recognized as a language or an officially valid communication system. These sign codes were restricted and arose out of necessity in specific situations, giving rise to shared repertoires within the educational community, which is known as restricted sign code. Oviedo (2001) points out that INSABI, due to its boarding school model, was a space where deaf individuals concentrated, allowing the identification of a unifying factor within the deaf community in the signs used.

Over time, contact between deaf students from different regions or those trained abroad, and even from other countries like the United States and Spain, and some sign language practitioners fostered this consolidation through exchange; Oviedo (2001) affirms lexical influences from French and American Sign Language. This type of contact would have given rise to a pidgin language, that is, a simplified form of communication that arises between groups without a common language, in which lexical elements from each group are combined. When acquired as a mother tongue by a new generation of deaf signers, this interlanguage gradually transformed into a creole language: Colombian Sign Language, which continues to evolve according to the communicative and educational needs of its community.

However, the Institute's consolidation as a national leader in deaf education is marked by a tension: on the one hand, it provided the space and time for sign language production to take place; on the other hand, its oralist and rehabilitative approach was in line with global trends in deaf education. This paradox encapsulates the underlying tension in the debate between orality and the emergence of sign language in Colombia.

In the international context, the formal approach to sign language began with Abbé L'Épée in 1760, but following the decisions of the International Congress of Educators of the Deaf in 1880, its use was prohibited in school settings. This imposition was a setback in educational opportunities for deaf community, restricting the use of their natural language and the presence of deaf teachers in schools, where their role was already crucial. As a consequence, deaf people and their form of communication were excluded from the school environment, which weakened the development of sign language and allowed hearing people to position themselves as the sole authorities on pedagogical knowledge, without acknowledging the linguistic experience of signers.

In Colombia, the Institute adapted to the models and regulations of the time regarding the education of deaf people, integrating training and rehabilitation; and it had state-of-the-art equipment to meet the demands of the context. Over time, the approach for deaf people evolved to consolidate an educational offering attentive to the linguistic needs of the population. The adoption of Colombian Sign Language (LSC) at INSABI was officially recognized in 2000. This protected the sign language, its dynamics, and its continuity over time, to the point of "reaching out" (Morales; Lenis; Aguilar, 2001, p. 2013) to spaces outside the institution as part of linguistic resistance. The institution that once welcomed a large part of the country's deaf population now has its doors closed. The deaf community recognizes the Institute as the birthplace of Spanish Sign Language. Today, although no longer functioning as an educational center for the deaf, it continues to bring the deaf community together for the celebration of sacraments, liturgical feasts, and community events.

Contemporary with INSABI, the *Escuela de Ciegos y Sordos de Medellín* was created by Ordinance No. 6 of March 2, 1925, thanks to the efforts of teacher Francisco Luis Hernández. Currently, in honor of its founder, it bears the name Francisco Luis Hernández *Escuela de Ciegos y Sordos* – CIESOR, located in the Aranjuez neighborhood of Medellín. This institution is part of the city's historical heritage and is a landmark in its educational services for the deaf community; in March 2025, it celebrated its 100th anniversary and continues to serve the deaf community. With borrowed facilities, six deaf students, six blind students, and a teacher, the project began. In 1927, the land for the construction of the school was donated, and it opened in 1935 with seventy students. Around 1952, with the support of the *Hijas de la*

Saniduría, a girls' section was opened, and in 1956, the Instituto San Luis María de Montfort was founded in the municipality of Bello, Antioquia.

Likewise, in 1926, the *Instituto Colombiano para Ciegos y Sordomudos* was founded according to Law 56 of November 2, 1925. This law stipulated the creation of the Institute with the possibility of employing foreign technicians (Colombia, 1925, art. 1) and allocated it an annual budget (Colombia, 1925, art. 2, 3). This work initially focused solely on the blind population, and around 1940 the integration of deaf people began; this is recounted by the deaf historian, Edgar Rodríguez (2020), in his sign language blog on his YouTube channel.

Alongside the progress in consolidating educational programs for blind and deaf people, the *Federación de Ciegos y Sordomudos* was established by Law 143 of 1938. This law provided financial support to the nascent Federation (Colombia, 1938, art. 2), referencing Law 37 of 1929 and Law 24 of 1931, which outlined the collection of funds for its nationwide operation (Colombia, 1929). Law 143 (Colombia, 1938, art. 3) also stipulated that the Federation must be governed by a board of directors with representatives from existing schools and institutes, and defined its functions. The Colombian state began supporting initiatives for blind and deaf-mute[2] people, whom it recognized as a population of social utility in said law. Therefore, in 1938, three educational institutions for the deaf and a constituted Federation were recognized at the national level, which would be the starting point for the deaf association movement in the country.

3 Deaf association movement

The second period (1955-1984) encompasses the processes of spontaneous gatherings and organization among deaf people in Colombia, especially in non-institutional public spaces. These meetings typically took place near schools attended by deaf students, with cafeterias being one of the most frequent meeting points. These dynamics fostered the strengthening of identity, the exchange of sign language, and the building of community ties outside the control of hearing individuals who favored oralism within educational structures.

[2] Terminology of the period

Around 1955, the *Federación de ciegos y sordomudos* was dissolved by Decree 1955, thus ending the institutional practice of providing joint care to blind and deaf individuals. This separation stemmed from the understanding that both populations required distinct educational approaches based on opposing sensory needs. For example, while blind people accessed Spanish naturally through hearing, deaf people required formal instruction, preferably mediated by sign language, which at that time was still scarce in school settings. Furthermore, strategies that prioritized oral communication proved inclusive for some and exclusive for others, highlighting the need for a differentiated and specific pedagogical model for each group.

As a result of this dissolution, the *Instituto Nacional de Sordomudos y el Instituto Nacional de Ciegos*[3] were established. These institutes emerged with independent legal status and their own assets (Colombia, 1955, art. 1) and were subject to inspection and oversight by the *Ministerio de Salud Pública* and the Ministerio de Educación Nacional (Colombia, 1955, art. 4). The former became a key resource for community organization among the deaf, as it allowed deaf people to consolidate themselves as a linguistic community by providing a common space for meeting and education. In 1972, both institutes were recognized as public institutions under the Ministry of National Education by Decree 1823 of 1972. Thus, both blind and deaf people now have access to public entities that promote public policies, guidelines, and technical assistance on educational, employment, and social participation issues.

At the community level, deaf students traveled home on weekends, allowing them to participate in community interaction without restrictions, but under the observation of hearing people. These encounters between deaf people from different regions and with diverse experiences in using the language played a unifying role. They revealed elements characteristic of a linguistic community that shares a language with visual, gestural, and spatial features. Additionally, a series of exchanges began between deaf students educated in European schools and deaf people from other countries. These exchanges allowed the emerging sign language to incorporate certain linguistic borrowings from sign languages in other parts of the world. During this period a *pidgin* language was developing which, when inherited by the next generation of signers, would give rise to Colombian Sign Language (LSC).

[3] Today they are known as the National Institute for the Deaf (INSOR) and the National Institute for the Blind (INCI).

On June 5, 1957, the *Sociedad de Sordomudos de Colombia* (SORMUCOL) was founded in Bogotá, with legal status No. 0314 from the Ministry of Justice. Currently known as the *Sociedad de Sordos de Bogotá* (SORDEBOG), it seeks to benefit the deaf population of Bogotá by empowering its members, promoting Colombian Sign Language (LSC), and preserving their cultural heritage. SORMUCOL became a key space for the deaf community at the time, granted by the Capital District, as evidenced in Agreement No. 20 of 1964, approved by the Bogotá City Council under the presidency of Councilman Guillermo Nannetti Valencia. In this agreement, the sale of a plot of land to a charitable organization was proposed, a profile that SORMUCOL met, as demonstrated by the justification recorded on page 48 of the document: its social character, the significant number of members (320 in Bogotá, 1,686 at the departmental level, and 36,895 at the national level), and its ties to international organizations such as the *Fédération Mondiale des Sourds*, founded in 1951 in Rome, and the *Comité International des Sports Silencieux*, founded in Belgium. This international participation not only strengthened its institutional recognition but also fostered contact with sign language communities in other countries, which contributed to the development of interlanguage forms that, over time, would lead to the consolidation of Colombian Sign Language (LSC).

Meanwhile, in 1958, the *Asociación de Sordos del Valle* (ASORVAL) was founded in Santiago de Cali, as a result of the ongoing mobility and exchanges among deaf people in the region. This association had a significant impact on the social and educational spheres of southern Colombia, as it fostered the creation of an educational institution known as the Fundación para Sordos del Valle (ASORVAL).

From that moment on, the deaf community movement in Colombia began to strengthen progressively; by 1984, the country already had twelve associations in different regions. That same year, the *Asamblea Nacional de Sordos* was held, with the participation of international guests, which allowed learning about the experiences of other communities and consolidating the organizational processes that had been developing at national and international levels. One of the main results of this assembly was the creation of the Federación Nacional de Sordos de Colombia (FENASCOL) on January 4, 1984.

The third key historical moment is the legal recognition of Colombian Sign Language (LSC) in 1996, due to the organization of the deaf community, the

conclusions of the National Assembly, and the subsequent creation of FENASCOL. Deaf people took the lead in disseminating LSC, increasing exchange with the deaf population in different regions of Colombia and other countries. From then on, FENASCOL, and the Associations of the Deaf undertook actions to promote Colombian Sign Language, thus achieving its national recognition. Law 324 of 1996 grants legal recognition to LSC and establishes several regulations to benefit the deaf population. As part of this recognition, a legal framework is created for the deaf community that enables the study of LSC, the training of interpreters, and access to the media. (INSOR, 2006, p. 16). As a legal basis, it recognizes the linguistic rights of deaf people and conceives of Colombian Sign Language as the language of the deaf community, which is later reconsidered as their natural language. It recognizes its grammatical structure, its applicability in educational contexts, and grants other provisions in favor of the deaf population.

Around 2005, Law 982 emerged, offering a more precise conception of Colombian Sign Language (LSC) and its relationship to a deaf culture and community. It reflects a shift towards bilingual proposals and transformations in the understanding of deaf people, from an approach that recognizes the individual above and beyond the disability. At this time, three characteristics of Colombian Sign Language can be considered: it is recognized as a natural language, which is fundamental, as it implies that it is a complete linguistic system with its own morphology, syntax, and sociolinguistic variations; it is valued as a language with grammatical elements; and it is recognized as part of the nation's multicultural heritage, on equal footing with indigenous communities[4]. Along these lines, it lays the groundwork for the recognition of deaf sign language users as a linguistic community

Regarding the legal recognition of sign languages, the World Federation of the Deaf (WFD) published an international guide in 2023 aimed at strengthening deaf communities and their languages in its 135 member countries. This guide proposes six minimum requirements that should be included in legislation: explicit legal recognition of sign languages, guarantees of linguistic rights, inclusion of deaf people in decision-making, quality bilingual education, promotion of accessible services, and respect for linguistic diversity. These points are articulated with eight guiding principles that

[4] Sentence C-605 of 2012 reinforces this principle by stating that the LSC is part of the national linguistic heritage

emphasize the active participation of deaf communities, rights-based language planning, access to public services in sign languages, and the recognition of sign languages as part of the national linguistic heritage. These principles are aligned with the guidelines of the Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities, adopted by the UN in 2006, which entered into force in 2008 and was ratified in Colombia with Law 1346 of 2009.

Colombia's progress in recognizing sign language allowed for a case study by the FMS (2023, p. 43) to highlight legislative advances in the recognition of sign language and the deaf community. This study addresses the guiding principles and analyzes how Law 324 of 1996, Law 982 of 2005, and Law 2049 of 2020 align with these principles. Within the framework of Inclusive Education, Colombia has Law 1346 of 2009, Statutory Law 1618 of 2013 and Decree 1421 of 2017, which directly impact the use and recognition of LSC, education for deaf people and the consolidation of community spaces among deaf individuals.

Following demonstrations by the deaf community advocating for the fulfillment of their constitutional rights as citizens and as deaf individuals, Colombia embarked on the path toward developing bilingual educational programs. This led to the creation of Colegio Nuevo Horizonte, the first bilingual school in Bogotá. This institution adopted Colombian Sign Language (LSC) as the first language, written Spanish as the second language, and incorporated deaf adults as linguistic models (Hurtado, 2003, p. 40; INSOR, 2006, p. 15). Around 1995, INSOR recognized the need for early childhood education (ages 0-5) in linguistic environments that would foster the natural acquisition of LSC, and by 1998, preschool and primary school levels were included. From this experience, the first guidelines emerged in terms of Bilingual and Bicultural Education for the Deaf - EBBS, in contexts conducive to the acquisition of sign language and the learning of a second language, which in Colombia is written Spanish. In this sense, Decree 1421 of 2017, which arises from article 11 of Statutory Law 1618 of 2013, takes on great importance since it directly cites the Bilingual Bicultural Offer for the Deaf in article 2.3.3.5.2.3.2 numeral 2 (Colombia, 2013).

While the groundwork for a bilingual and bicultural educational program was laid in the 1990s, Decree 1421/17 (Colombia, 2017) explicitly establishes it within the legal framework, mentioning pedagogical terms and the need to guarantee financial support. Additionally, this Decree emphasizes the use of Colombian Sign Language in

all teaching processes, which is key to the linguistic, emotional, and cognitive development of deaf individuals. With the legal recognition of educational programs for the deaf, a transformation process began, allowing for the reorganization of educational offerings in the country. Thus, the *Instituto Nacional para Sordos* (INSOR), as an advisory body and at the time attached to the *Ministerio de Educación Nacional*[5], undertook the support of the implementation of Decree 1421 in departmental and district education secretariats and their institutions.

Currently, educational programs for the deaf define themselves as spaces that recognize the unique characteristics of students as individuals with the potential to become bilingual: signers of Colombian Sign Language (LSC) and users of Spanish as a second language. These programs, known as Bilingual and Bicultural Educational Programs for the Deaf (OEBBS), aim to be an educational response that considers the linguistic, pedagogical, and affective dimensions of the teaching and learning process (INSOR, 2020, p. 5). Thus, an OEBBS encompasses five areas of management in its curriculum organization: administrative, managerial, academic, linguistic, and community-based. Its implementation is based on an inclusive education perspective grounded in the bilingual-bicultural approach for the deaf (Colombia, 2017; INSOR, 2020).

Within this framework, although sign language should be present across the entire educational process, there are three components—academic, linguistic, and community—in which Colombian Sign Language (LSC) should have a stronger presence. It is precisely in these components that the role of the linguistic model becomes highly relevant. In Colombia, the role of the linguistic model emerged in the late 1990s in response to the need for deaf adults who could facilitate early language acquisition, both in school and at home. Drawing on their experience as deaf signers, linguistic models have the task of transmitting LSC to students in a natural and meaningful way.

At that time, many teachers were not sign language practitioners, and deaf people lacked access to professional training, but they did have strong ties to the community. This led to the emergence of the linguistic model as a key figure in

[5] The National Institute for the Deaf (INSOR), through Decree 1074 of June 29, 2023, was placed under the administrative sector of the Ministry of Equality and Equity. In Decree 1075 of June 29, 2023, Article 3, INSOR, as an entity attached to the Ministry of Equality and Equity, became part of the Vice-Ministry of Diversity for the Guarantee of the Rights of Persons with Disabilities.

pedagogical mediation in Colombian Sign Language. Over time, several of these professionals have pursued higher education, which has contributed to strengthening the bilingual-bicultural model, although challenges remain in their formal professional recognition.

This contemporary vision of educational opportunities for the deaf population is deeply intertwined with the historical struggles for linguistic and cultural recognition. Up to this point, we have seen how both official educational spaces, such as INSABI, and those created autonomously by deaf people, such as associations, cafés, sports and cultural activities, have fostered interregional encounters among signers in the country. These encounters have not only allowed for the consolidation of a shared sign language, but also a community with increasingly cohesive social, historical, and cultural ties.

Here it is worth recalling a principle highlighted by sociolinguistics: language is not simply a means of communication, but a way of seeing, interpreting, and inhabiting the world. In this sense, Colombian Sign Language is not only linguistic heritage: it is also an expression of Deaf culture and the way in which this community has reinterpreted its history, its struggles, and its particular way of creating meaning. In the case of spoken languages, we speak of "*oralitura*"; in sign languages, we propose the term "*señalitura*" to refer to those visuo-gestural rhetorical creations that, without being fixed in a written text, have high cultural, linguistic, and symbolic value.

4 Rhetorical Manifestations in LSC

Within the deaf community, sign language emerged: an aesthetic form of verbal expression in Colombian Sign Language (LSC) that is performative in nature and independent of writing, thus distinguishing it from sign language literature. LSC literature is characterized by narratives recorded on video, which serve a function analogous to writing by preserving texts for the deaf community. These recordings include sign language interpretations of written works, such as novels, fables, or published stories, as well as narratives from the oral tradition.

The Instituto Nacional para Sordos (INSOR) has compiled a collection of classic Colombian stories, myths, and legends interpreted in Colombian Sign Language on its educational portal, available free of charge to all users. This collection is a clear example of literature in LSC, specifically in its form of interpretation and

adaptation of written works. This dissemination strategy reflects INSOR's commitment, as a state entity, to providing guidance and technical assistance to the deaf community, particularly regarding the development of language skills.

On the other hand, the narrative texts in sign language that make up the corpus compiled by the *Grupo de comunidad, identidad lingüística y cultural* (INSOR, 2013a) are commonly created in Colombian Sign Language and shared within the deaf community during social activities, festivities, and celebrations, such as outings, birthdays of deaf members, anniversaries of associations, World Deaf Day, marches against audism, and other events attended by deaf people to reaffirm their identity. In these spaces, discourses about the struggle of deaf people as a community and their contact with hearing people are frequent, as are poems and songs shared on social media to recall the history of sign language and reaffirm a sense of belonging to the community. Life stories with fictional elements, tales, scary stories, riddles, and humorous narratives are also shared.

Laura Trillos (2016, p. 3)[6] revisits and expands upon the vestiges of the historical tension between oralism and sign language in deaf education, questioning the teaching of written literature translated into sign language instead of an original rhetorical expression of a narrative or poetic nature in sign language, which she calls "señalitura" (Trillos, 2016). Sign language can be found in the Colombian, Uruguayan, Peruvian, Venezuelan, Spanish, and American deaf communities; its emergence requires an organization of deaf people who use a sign language and have a sense of belonging and community identity built through this expression. Signage pertains to texts produced in a language whose means of transmission is sight, through manual features, that is, configurations made with the hands that constitute basic units of expression at the phonological, morphological, syntactic and semantic level, and non-manual features such as facial expressions, body movements, the eyes and lips (Oviedo, 1996, p. 20).

In Colombia, such texts were not recorded in any writing system; there were several versions of the same story, and they were usually shared online or through face-to-face meetings. Nor are they expressed in the same way as texts from oral

[6] This section of the article revisits fragments of the Master's thesis Perceptions about the deaf in relation to the hearing, in light of seven narrative texts of signage, authored by Laura Cristina Trillos Leal (2016), published in the Virtual Repository La Palabra, (Theses of the Master's Degrees of the Andrés Bello Seminar, ICC) Caro y Cuervo Institute (ICC, Colombia)

languages that do not use writing. That is, the texts of the deaf are not contests between minstrels challenging each other to compose a song, nor do they aim to preserve the ancestral knowledge of a collective memory, which characterizes oral traditions (Zapata, 2008, p. 133).

However, sign language is not a new concept; it has been addressed by several researchers of sign language and deaf culture, using other names that allude to the same phenomenon. Some authors refer to it as deaf literature, sign language literature, or deaf-lit, such as Peters, McDonald, Bauman, Nelson, Rose, Stokoe, and Mitchell in the United States, and Kaneko and Sutton-Spence, among others, in England. In Spain, the subject of signed poetry has been addressed (Sampedro, 2012), and in Venezuela, the case of the signed short story has been examined from a linguistic analysis perspective at the discourse level (Oviedo, 1996). In Latin American countries, these rhetorical manifestations are often referred to as sign language literature or sign literature, but, as Trillos (2016) suggests, the Spanish language presents an etymological trap that contradicts the cultural phenomenon itself.

As Walter Ong (1987, p. 20) aptly points out, the word literature comes from the Latin *littera*, meaning letter of the alphabet, that is, it refers strictly to the written word. We can confirm this etymological explanation by consulting Roberts and Pastor (1997, p. 38), who also state that *littera* originates from the Indo-European root *deph*, meaning to imprint. Apparently, this suffix passed into Etruscan, which then passed the term to Greek and subsequently to Latin with the meaning of letter. In this sense, the term literature refers to the rhetorical manifestation of languages that have writing systems, fixing, imprinting, various types of texts on paper.

In sign language, we find rhetorical figures. For example, metonymy is formed by imitating one of the physical features of a referent, a phenomenon known as iconicity. Often, the physical feature can be accompanied by a habit, as in the case of living beings. For instance, the sign for a dog is constructed both by imitating its teeth and by its habit of barking. Such signs are metonyms because they use specific parts—physical features and habits—to allude to the complete referent, that is, its overall meaning. It's worth noting that, in addition to being metonymic, these signs directly imitate the physical parts of the referents; in other words, besides being metonymic, they are also iconic.

This contradicts the claims of authors such as Oviedo (2001) and Sampedro (2012), who assert that iconicity, a fundamental and frequent feature in any sign language, limits visual-gestural languages to an exclusively concrete lexical repertoire. However, the imitation of the most obvious visual features does not preclude allusions to abstract concepts. In abstract notions such as feelings, moods, memories, disciplines, or philosophical questions, signs are often imitations of their content. An example in Colombian Sign Language is the sign for “being excited”, which imitates the effect of emotion: the skin prickling from the wrist to the upper forearm, while the facial expression changes from a monotonous state to one of exaltation. When referring to the sense of being in relation to existence, the sign consists of joining two fingers of opposite hands above the head, representing the encounter of oneself facing a kind of mirror that exists in thought. In these signs, facial expressions, hand gestures, and spatial awareness are all fundamental[7].

In LSC, a sign can be metonymic, iconic, and metaphorical, depending on the narrative context in which it is used. For example, the sign for "bull" is metonymic and iconic insofar as it directly imitates parts of the referent, placing closed fists at the temples with the little finger raised as if it were the horn; but when the sign is found in a narrative, the narrator, in addition to constructing the character's sign with the most evident visual features of the animal, the bull's horns, takes this construction to a fictional context that imprints an additional meaning on it In LSC, a sign can be metonymic, iconic, and metaphorical, depending on the narrative context in which it is used. For example, the sign for “bull” is metonymic and iconic insofar as it directly imitates parts of the referent, placing closed fists at the temples with the little finger raised as if it were the horn; but when the sign is found in a narrative, the narrator, in addition to constructing the character's sign with the most evident visual features of the animal, the bull's horns, takes this construction to a fictional context that imprints an additional meaning on it[8] (Kaneko; Sutton-Spence, 2012, p. 4).

In the case of sign languages, Kaneko and Sutton-Spence (2012) explain that there is an inseparable relationship between iconicity and metaphor, a relationship in which a process called double mapping occurs: “Essentially, metaphors in sign languages undergo a double mapping process: metaphorical, from the abstract

[7] See the signs mentioned in the following link: https://youtu.be/IJpQrwbzpgY
[8] See the “Historia del toro”, available at the following link: https://youtu.be/kB7Mz00lARY

concept to the concrete concept, and iconic, from the concrete concept to the linguistic form" (Kaneko; Sutton-Spence 2012, p. 107).

In this sense, in a text narrated or recited in sign language, it is possible to see that iconicity and metaphor converge simultaneously in the signs used by deaf poets and storytellers. Following this line of thought, a metaphor is formed in two steps: first, the signer takes the most evident features of the referent (iconicity), and then transports the iconic sign to a fictional or poetic context that imbues it with additional meaning. Thus, in both narrative and poetic works, it is possible to find images that bear a strong visual resemblance to the object represented, alluding to characters, elements, and situations, but which, at the same time, by being immersed in a narrative or poetic context, acquire a symbolic meaning. Following the proposal of Kaneko and Sutton-Spence (2012), by acquiring this meaning, the referenced images become metaphors in a visual-gestural language.

In Colombian Sign Language, we can find a type of metaphor that doesn't depend exclusively on the narrative or poetic context; that is, the sign itself is a metaphor, whereas other signs depend on the narrative or poetic context to acquire their metaphorical nuance. For example, the sign whose original prototype is a scolded dog highlights the feature of its drooping ears. The iconicity of this expression directly imitates the attitude of a downcast dog, with its ears lowered and its muzzle sad, but the sign actually alludes to a state of mind: it's an idiomatic expression that describes a range of feelings such as humiliation, sadness, frustration, and shame, provoked by an unpleasant, generally embarrassing, situation. Culturally, from the perspective of the Colombian deaf community, this expression alludes to the fact that, just as a dog lowers its head and its ears, the affected person feels their mood decline, thus creating an iconic metaphor[9].

Next, we present the analysis of "Two Soldiers," from the aforementioned corpus, as it metaphorically relates to the history of Colombian Sign Language (LSC) in tension with oralism and audism. Following the proposed methodology for analysis, based on Sociocriticism, we will first examine in detail the use of LSC: idiomatic expressions, narrative style, literary tropes, signs that become metaphors. For this, it is essential to have the video recording, that is, the LSC interpretation, of the stories

---

[9] See the sign in question at the following link: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nJo3anIQLfY

contained in the corpus. The narrative plot of “Dos soldados”[10] revolves around two friends, one hearing and the other deaf, who are in the army and must find a way to relieve a bodily urge without being discovered by the general or the opposing side. One of the soldiers, with his friend's help, relieves himself of the heavy burden of his stomach when he sees the general momentarily step aside. A minute later, the general resumes his rounds and steps in the excrement, assuming it must be from some animal roaming the jungle. Immediately, the other soldier has the opportunity to relieve himself of his discomfort, a relief the general finds transformed into several droppings that harass him with every step he takes as he inspects the two soldiers again. Once the evacuation is complete, both characters return to the army ranks, where they blend in with the rest of their comrades, once again becoming indistinguishable among the other soldiers who look identical in their uniforms and with their respective weapons.

Initially, the plot highlights the presence of deaf people as soldiers in armed conflicts and wars, particularly in Colombia. This reality, not explicitly addressed by historical studies, is brought to light and challenged in the narrative, denouncing the presence of deaf soldiers in the ranks of the various armed conflicts throughout Colombia's history. Currently, the Special Jurisdiction for Peace (JEP) has implemented differentiated approaches for victims with disabilities and promotes the #WeHearWithAllOurSenses campaign to raise awareness of their participation and protect their rights.

Furthermore, the homogeneity of the army connotes the homogeneity and erasure of the unique characteristics of deaf people within society at large. Specifically, oralism, which tends to teach a group historically considered uniform, without particular subjects possessing distinct traits, is a colonial vestige of one of the axioms that Amos Comenius (2012) [Comenius] proposes in his *Didactica Magna* of 1657: to teach everything to everyone completely. Just as soldiers wear identical uniforms, carry the same rifles, and appear to be a single body without individual characteristics, oralized deaf people were treated as if they were hearing. Like the deaf soldier in the story, who experiences tension while trying to resolve a pressing need without being discovered, deaf people in the 1950s faced the challenge of circumventing the norms imposed by

[10] See an excerpt of the story originally narrated in LSC, available at the following link: https://youtu.be/h2xtn--Nn1w

authorities and educational systems that required them to be oralized in order to be assimilated by the hearing majority.

Deaf children interned in institutions such as INSABI or CIESOR had to wait until nightfall, in the darkness of their dormitories, to communicate using sign language, since they could not use it freely during the day in educational or social settings. As Oviedo (2001), Gascón and Storch (2004, p. 40), and Ramírez and Castañeda (2003, pp. 4-5) point out, oralism sought to make deaf people speak like hearing people and not be distinguished by their particularities, in a manner similar to a body of soldiers subjected to an unquestionable authority (INSOR, 2013b).

The army is under the command of an authority figure, embodied by the general, who insists on the importance of not being discovered by the enemy. The way he gives orders is ironic for the deaf community, as he relies on hearing to achieve this end. He proclaims phrases like: “Watch out! Be very careful! Keep your eyes and ears open! We are in danger!” or “Are your ears open?”[11] (INSOR, 2013b). The humor in the story is not solely tied to the scatological; irony is a narrative device in which the general's very attitude, his insistent command, is nullified by the presence of a deaf character who pretends to hear and secretly defies his orders.

Scott and Mora (2000) analyze how subordinate groups, even in contexts of surveillance and control, find cracks, small margins, or spaces of escape from which they can exercise discreet forms of resistance. Although their analysis does not directly address the experience of deaf people, their interpretive framework allows us to understand certain practices of this community in contexts of strong oralist repression. As we saw in the historical overview presented in the previous sections, in boarding schools like CIESOR and INSABI, deaf children were forced to communicate exclusively in spoken language under the strict supervision of hearing teachers. However, they found moments of relative privacy, in the dormitories, bathrooms, or courtyards, to express themselves in sign language away from the normative gaze. These seemingly simple acts represented forms of identity affirmation and everyday resistance against a system that sought to homogenize them. The deaf soldier in the story allegorizes an individual under pressure and surveillance who finds in irony a way to affirm his singularity. Just as the character must move and watch himself while

[11] Our interpretation of the LSC

defecating to avoid being discovered, deaf people also had to rely on their own senses and strategies to create spaces for expression outside the control of educational authorities. As a testimony collected in the Historical Memory of the Deaf Community of Bogotá recalls: “Speaking in sign language was wrong, and speaking was right.” Faced with this imposition, deaf associations emerged in different parts of the world seeking to defend their language and cultural practices, “in the face of the global expansion of oralism” (Documentary […], 2003).

Paradoxically, in a historical context where oralism was on the lookout for signs, it was only possible to be at peace by listening to the surroundings. On one side were the oralists, who even displayed examples of audism; on the other, the signers, mostly clandestine, like the deaf character camouflaged among the hearing soldiers. Despite this, the deaf character does not relinquish his deaf subjectivity; it persists even in the way he defecates under tension and danger. The fecal matter stepped on by the general has different forms: the first is a mound that undulates harmoniously to the tip, and the second consists of several deformed points, left at very short distances from each other. The description of the fecal matter is iconic, as it directly imitates the shape of excrement. However, if we consider these descriptions within the narrative universe, we realize that the signs denote more than just its various forms. The narrator's manual and non-manual gestures reveal each character's subjectivity within the narrative context in relation to their status as a deaf or hearing person. The sense of hearing allows the hearing soldier to defecate without moving, while remaining vigilant against detection by either the authorities or the enemy. In contrast, the deaf character must rely on sight, turning his head and shifting position to gain a more complete view of his surroundings; this is why his feces are broken into small pellets.

Deaf singularity denied in an attempt to annihilate difference returns in the form of excrement under the general's footsteps. Surrounded by the soldier's waste, the general ends up smeared with it; his authority does not exempt him from being soiled by what his own troops produce. Analogously and metaphorically, by demanding mastery of spoken language, this authoritarian power is smeared with the discomfort generated by its excessive surveillance. Metaphorically, when deaf people are urged to be discreet so as not to be discovered by the opposing side, the result is, paradoxically, fecal matter on the shoes of the competent authority. Similarly, the explicit prohibition of sign language ended up producing the opposite effect: deaf

people became interested in this distinctive feature of their subjectivity, using it in secret, preserving it, and later defending it. Thus, the total surveillance exercised by the oralist and audist teachers proved unsustainable. The authority ended up cracking in its own totalitarian illusion: in legal terms, the deaf population is recognized as a linguistic and cultural community with its own language, and, at least on paper, bilingual and bicultural educational offers have been proposed.

5 Conclusions

In summary, this article presents a historical review of the emergence and legal recognition of Colombian Sign Language, up to what we consider one of its most recent milestones: the consolidation of a corpus of “señalitura”. We analyze rhetorical expressions in LSC, the use of tropes such as metaphors and irony, in the frame of a sociocritical analysis surrounding the tensions education the deaf population historical oppressions, and the erasure of deafness's singularities by the dominant hearing culture.

Like the sign languages of other South American countries, Colombian Sign Language originated in spaces run by religious communities that administered educational institutions in the form of boarding schools. As Ramírez and Castañeda (2003, p. 4-5) state, the founding of the first schools for the deaf in Colombia stemmed from the evangelizing intentions of some Catholic communities. Although these schools did not incorporate sign language, adhering to international oralist guidelines for deaf education, they facilitated the gathering of deaf individuals who later founded associations for the deaf and fought for the recognition of their language.

The origin of Colombian Sign Language is particularly recognized in the Catholic boarding school, *Instituto Nuestra Señora de la Sabiduría* (INSABI), where the interaction of the deaf through signs was, on the one hand, censored in the oralist paradigm predominant in deaf education, but on the other hand, it was allowed and used as a tool for the mission of evangelization, enabling the construction of a visual-gestural language with its own characteristics in its vocabulary, grammatical structure and rhetorical expressions.

From this meeting place, and in the face of the prohibition and denigration of their language by those who promoted oralism and audism, deaf people organized themselves into groups that demanded the right to use sign language freely in all areas

of society; they demanded to be recognized as members of a community with its own language and culture. These associations fostered the rise of political discourse regarding the rights of the deaf community and promoted laws for the recognition of Colombian Sign Language. Likewise, spaces for gathering, recreation, and celebration fostered original narrative or poetic rhetorical expressions in sign language, or sign language texts.

In a new milestone for Colombian Sign Language, the deaf linguistic community begins to narrate its history and its stories iconically and metaphorically. We maintain that literary analysis of the sign language produced within the deaf community is key to understanding its complexities, in which metaphors operate on multiple levels. These metaphors involve not only the metaphorical movement inherent in the constitution of the sign, but also the movement of its articulation within the narrative context. We propose, as a line of future research, to delve deeper into the interaction between iconicity and metaphor, in which the visual images of Colombian Sign Language use iconicity to produce intensely visual representations with a double metaphorical inscription that challenges the proposals of Oviedo (2001) and Sampedro (2012), who limit visual-gestural languages to an exclusively concrete lexical repertoire.

In the analyzed story, “Two Soldiers” the historical tensions of Colombian Sign Language are metaphorically explored. The narrative makes visible subjective relationships within a context of oppression, where the bond between the main characters and humor weaves the story together. Highlighting the metaphorical and ironic language of “Two Soldiers” it becomes evident that Colombian Sign Language is composed of polyvalent and multidetermined iconic units, where the poetic word borders on the discourse codified in the historical archive and in legislation, to make visible the tendency to dissolve or erase the deaf culture singularities. As a basis for future research, we propose expanding the study of literary tropes in Colombian Sign Languages, comparing them with the sign language of other Latin American countries, delving into the iconic carnivalesque language (Bajtín, 1987) that ironizes, questions, and subverts the predominant hearing culture.

REFERENCIAS

Bajtín, Mijaíl. **La cultura popular en la Edad Media y en el Renacimiento. El contexto de François Rebeláis**. Trad. Julio Forcat y César Conroy. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987 [1965].

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 56 de 1925. Por el cual se crea un instituto de Sordomudos y Ciegos en la capital de la República. **Diario Oficial**, Bogotá, 2 nov. 1925, Available at: https://www.suinjuriscol.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?id=1608857. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 37 de 1929. Por el cual se crea un impuesto y se concede una autorización al Instituto Colombiano para Ciegos. **Diario Oficial**, Bogotá, 2 nov. 1929. Available at: https://www.suinjuriscol.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?ruta=Leyes/1592777. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 24 de 1931. Por el cual se adicionan y se modifican las disposiciones legales de educación pública sobre escuelas anormales. **Diario Oficial**, Bogotá, 11 feb. 1931. Available at: https://www.suinjuriscol.gov.co/viewDocument.asp?ruta=Leyes/1580132. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 143 de 1938. Por la cual se impulsa la educación de ciegos y sordomudos del país y se dictan otras disposiciones. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, nov. 1938. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=67185. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 324 de 1996. Se crean normas a favor de la comunidad sorda. **Diario oficial**. Bogotá, oct. 1996. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=349. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 982 de 2005. Por la cual se establecen normas tendientes a la equiparación de oportunidades para las personas sordas y sordociegas y se dictan otras disposiciones. Bogotá, agosto 2005. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=1728. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 1346 de 2009. Por medio de la cual se aprueba la "Convención sobre los Derechos de las Personas con Discapacidad. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, jul. 2009. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=37150. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 1618 de 2013. Por medio de la cual se establecen las disposiciones para garantizar el pleno ejercicio de los derechos de las personas con discapacidad. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, feb. 2013. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=52081. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Congreso de Colombia. Ley 2049 de 2020. Por medo de la cual se crea el Consejo Nacional de Planeación Lingüística de la lengua de señas colombiana (LSC) con el objetivo de concertar la política pública para sordos del país. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=138150. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Decreto 307 de 1940. Por el cual se reglamenta la Ley 143 de 1938. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, 15 feb. 1940. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=77959. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Decreto 1955 de 1955. Por el cual se disuelve la Federación Nacional de Ciegos y Sordomudos. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, 15 jul. 1955. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=67154. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Decreto 1823 de 1972. Por el cual se clasifica y adscribe al MEN el Instituto Nacional para Sordos – INSOR y se aprueban sus estatutos. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, 30 sep. 1972. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=75793. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COLOMBIA. Decreto 1421 de 2017. Por el cual se reglamenta, en el marco de la educación inclusiva, la atención educativa a la población con discapacidad. **Diario oficial**, Bogotá, Agosto 2017. Available at: https://www.funcionpublica.gov.co/eva/gestornormativo/norma.php?i=87040. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

COMENIO, Jan Amos. **Didáctica magna**. Traducción Saturnino López Peces. España: Editorial Akal, 2012.

CONCEJO DE BOGOTÁ. **Expediente del Proyecto de Acuerdo nº 20 de 1964**. Bogotá: Concejo de Bogotá, 1964.

DOCUMENTAL memoria histórica de la comunidad sorda de Bogotá. Producción de Daniel Andrés Ocampo. [*S. l.*]: FILmedios, 2007. 1 película (45 min).

FEDERACIÓN NACIONAL DE SORDOS DE COLOMBIA. **Vocabulario de la lengua de señas colombiana**. Bogotá: FENASCOL, 1996. t. 2.

GASCÓN, Antonio; STORCH, José Gabriel. **Historia de la educación de los sordos en España y su influencia en Europa y América**. España: Editorial Universitaria Ramón Areces, 2004.

HURTADO, Alberto. **Entre la integración y la diferencia**: la lucha por la reivindicación de los sordos como comunidad lingüística en Colombia. 2003. (Monografía de grado) – Facultad de Ciencias Sociales, Universidad de los Andes, Bogotá, 2003.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL PARA SORDOS. **Educación bilingüe para sordos. Etapa escolar. Orientaciones pedagógicas**. Bogotá, 2006.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL PARA SORDOS. **Oferta Educativa Bilingüe Bicultural para Personas Sordas – OEBBS**: Orientaciones generales. Bogotá: INSOR, 2020.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL PARA SORDOS. **Corpus señalitura**: grupo de comunidad, identidad lingüística y cultural. Bogotá: INSOR, 2013a.

INSTITUTO NACIONAL PARA SORDOS. **Experiencias de vida, región Andina**. Bogotá: INSOR, 2013b.

INSTITUTO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SABIDURÍA. **Vocabulario católico en lengua de señas**. Bogotá: Universidad de San Buenaventura: INSABI, 2008.

INSTITUTO NUESTRA SEÑORA DE LA SABIDURÍA. **Manual de convivencia**. Bogotá: INSABI, 2013.

KANEKO, Michiko; SUTTON-SPENCE, Rachel. **Iconicity and metaphor in sign language poetry**: metaphor and symbol. Reino Unido: Universidad de Bristol, 2012.

KRISTEVA, Julia. **Sentido y sin sentido de la rebeldía**. literatura y psicoanálisis. Traducción Guadalupe Santa Cruz. Chile: Editorial Cuarto Propio, 1996.

MORALES, Gina; LENIS, Martha; AGUILAR, Aura. Post-acuerdo y diversidad sorda: Hacia narrativas del conflicto en LSC. *In*: MUÑOZ, Luis Enrique Pincheira (comp.). **Inclusión de la diversidad cultural y social a la educación**. Chile: CELEI, 2020. p. 129-144.

MUNGUÍA, Irma. Reseña Manos a la obra: lengua de señas, comunidad sorda y educación. **Revista Iztapalapa**, Ciudad de Méjico, n. 83, p. 229-235, 2017.

ONG, Walter. **Oralidad y escritura**: tecnologías de la palabra. Traducción Angélica Scherp. México: Fondo de Cultura Económica, 1987.

OROZCO, Pilar. **“El Sordo en Colombia”**. Documento no publicado Instituto Nacional para Sordos. Colombia. 1990.

OVIEDO, Alejandro. **Contando cuentos en lengua de señas venezolana**. Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 1996.

OVIEDO, Alejandro. **Apuntes para una gramática de la lengua de señas colombiana**. Colombia: Universidad del Valle: INSOR, 2001.

OVIEDO, Alejandro. Colombia, atlas sordo. **Cultura Sorda**. Berlín, 2015. Available at: https://cultura-sorda.org/colombia-tlas-sordo/. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

Pastoral educativa INSABI. Bogotá: ForceDarkYC, 2008. 1 video (7min). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=KOJFxe7rHHo. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

POULIQUEN, Hélène. De la sociología de la literatura a la sociocrítica y a la estética sociológica. **La Palabra**, Tunja, n. 31, p. 39-49, 2017.

RAMÍREZ, Paulina; CASTAÑEDA, Marcela. **Educación bilingüe para sordos (generalidades)**. Bogotá: INSOR, 2003.

ROBERTS Edward; PASTOR, Bárbara. **Diccionario etimológico indoeuropeo de la lengua española**. España: Alianza Diccionarios, 1997.

RODRIGUEZ, Edgar Julio. **Instituto Colombiano para Ciegos y Sordomudos (1920)**. Bogotá: [*s. n.*], 16 jun. 2020. 1 video (5 min). Available at: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i38fbUtavQk. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

RODRÍGUEZ, Juan. El Carnero. Capitulo XVI. Tomado de https://www.ellibrototal.com/ltotal/?t=1&d=3

SAMPEDRO, Terrón. La poesía en lengua de signos: una introducción. **Estudios sobre la lengua de signos española**, n. 3, p. 93-112, 2012.

SCOTT, James y MORA, Aguilar. **Los dominados y el arte de la resistencia: discursos ocultos**. México: Era, 2000.

SKLIAR, Carlos. **La educación de los sordos**: una reconstrucción histórica, cognitiva y pedagógica. Mendoza: Editorial de la Universidad Nacional de Cuyo, 1997.

TRILLOS, Laura. **Percepciones sobre el sordo con relación al oyente, a la luz de siete textos narrativos señalitarios**. 2016. (Tesis Maestría en Literatura y Cultura) – Instituto Caro y Cuervo, Bogotá, 2016. Available at: https://bibliotecadigital.caroycuervo.gov.co/id/eprint/1269/1/2016-1095800987.pdf. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

WORLD FEDERATION OF THE DEAF. **Directrices para lograr el reconocimiento de los derechos de las personas sordas a la lengua de señas**: conjunto de herramientas de la FMS para su incidencia política. [*S. l.*]: FMS, 2023. Available at: https://wfdeaf.org/wp-content/uploads/Guidelines-for-Achieving-Sign-Language-Rights_Spanish.pdf. Accessed on: dic. 30, 2025.

ZAPATA, Fredy John. **Tradición y pervivencia de la trova antioqueña**. Medellín: Producciones colombianas, 2008.

Received in december 2025 | Approved in march 2026

MINI BIOGRAPHY

María Ofelia Ros Matturro
Postdoctoral Fellow, University of Michigan, USA. Ph.D. and Master of Arts in Romance Languages and Literatures: Spanish, University of Michigan, USA. Associate Professor, Universidad de la República (Uruguay). Coordinator, Research Group: Dispositivo psicoanalítico grupal con mediadores literarios y técnicas narrativas
E-mail: ofeliar@umich.edu

Astrid Lorena Bernal Velásquez
Master of Arts, Education with an emphasis in Management and Evaluation, Universidad del Externado de Colombia. Profesional especializado, Instituto Caro y Cuervo. Researcher, Linguistics Group, Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Colombia)
E-mail: astrid.velasquez@caroycuervo.gov.com

Laura Cristina Trillos Leal
Master of Arts in Literature and Culture, Instituto Caro y Cuervo (Colombia). Masters of Arts in Theater and Performing Arts, Universidad Complutense de Madrid. Teacher of Spanish as a Second Language and Colombian Sign Language, Secretaría Distrital de Educación de Bogotá
E-mail: ltrillos@ucm.es

Translated by **María Ofelia Ros Matturro**